

Neoliberal Urbanism and Privatization of Space: A Study of Urban Redevelopment in Dhaka City

**MSS, 2nd Semester
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**Department of Sociology
University of Dhaka
December 2014**

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**The present Advanced Research Thesis is submitted in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of Master of Social Sciences (MSS) in Sociology**



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List of Abbreviations

BBS	Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics
BFF	Bangladesh Football Federation
BSS	Bangladesh Songbad Songstha
CBD	Central Business District
DCC	Dhaka City Corporation
DIT	Dhaka Improvement Trust
DMA	Dhaka Metropolitan Area
DRA	Dhanmondi Residential Area
DMDP	Dhaka Metropolitan Development Planning
DNCC	Dhaka North City Corporation
DSCC	Dhaka South City Corporation
DSMA	Dhaka Statistical Metropolitan Area
FBCCI	Federation of Bangladesh Chamber and Commerce Industry
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GNP	Gross National Product
HA	Housing Authority
HOS	House Ownership Scheme
IMF	International Monetary Fund
LC	Letter of Credit
NGOs	Non Governmental Organizations
NURM	National Urban Renewal Mission
PPPs	Public Private Partnerships
RAJUK	Rajdhani Unnayan Kortripokkha
REIT	Real Estate Investment Trust
RMG	Readymade Garment
SAP	Structural Adjustment Planning
SPSS	Statistical Package for Social Sciences
UDC	Urban Development Corporation
UN	United Nations
US	United States

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Abstract

This study is an effort to demonstrate the interaction between neoliberalism and privatization of the urban space of the city of Dhaka. The neoliberal agenda has given birth to the modern Dhaka bestowed with all elements of luxury. The city of Dhaka is now perceptible with series of skyscrapers, gorgeous shopping malls, elegant cafes and restaurants reflecting absolutely a consumer culture.

The theory of Neoliberalism of David Harvey was put forward to make the study theoretically sound. Land use survey, in-depth interviews and observation were employed to sketch the landscape of commercialization and privatization of the city space. The study was followed by 'theory to data' approach where qualitative data have supplemented the quantitative method. Gulshan, Motijheel and Dhanmondi are taken as the study areas as they are the center of finance, consumerism and infrastructure of the city. Furthermore, in case of selecting the study area there was a blend of South Dhaka and North Dhaka to represent the real political and economic practice of the world system. The data was analyzed both statistically and thematically.

The study found that the residential space of Dhanmondi and Gulshan were transformed into commercial establishments and public space of Motijheel was in privatized ones. The poor people were uprooted from their slum or slum like habitation and thrown to urban periphery. They were segregated from the central city to make the inner road, canal side, lake side, footpath beautiful and lucrative. Thus the commercialization and privatization of space have unfortunately deprived the poor segment of the population from their right to modern city life. Rather it has facilitated only very few national bourgeoisie and transnational elites. It has reduced the commercial role of Motijheel and handed over it to Gulshan. But Motijheel has not yet lost its central commercial role as business zone of the city. All of these transformations of space of the city of Dhaka has actually put in practice the political and economic practices of neoliberalism with the help of the neoliberal state. The neoliberal state was created to promote good business environment and facilitate restoration of class in the city.

CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

1.1 Context of the study

Neoliberalism in its primary postulation denotes as an ideology of private proprietorship or the liberation of entrepreneurial freedom of human that in larger scale, paves way to open, competitive, and unregulated markets and thus representing as an imperious instrument of economic development. It promotes the primacy of private intervention and the deregulation of state's monitoring in the expansion and expropriation of private sector. Under neoliberalism, the task of state is to favor and facilitate the neoliberal policies and projects. In order to favor neoliberal agendas, a conventional neoliberal state has to formulate institutional policies and to facilitate the projects up taken under neoliberal upsurge, and thereby, often deploys the demonstration of its muscle power. Eventually, neoliberalism takes a look of creation through a process of destruction demolishing the right and occupancy of a particular section of population (Harvey, 2005).

Urbanization can be merely viewed as an expansion of physicality of an urban space, which is usually marked and accelerated by the in-migration of rural to urban areas. The present world is the urban world, as it houses more than half of population (54%) in urban locations and by 2050, this scenario will experience a sharp increase, where 66% people of the world will be the urban dwellers (UN, 2014). Neoliberalism has a close connection with urbanization, as it considers urban space as a breeding ground to generate and regenerate its capital, as it establishes establishments and edifices upon this space to promote the business and entrepreneurship in private sector cornering the urban poor in particular (Adham, 2005).

Bangladesh, a south-south developing country of the world, has become independent just four decades ago at the expense of millions of lives and havocs infrastructures and resources. Though her maximum population resides in rural areas, recent decades has hunched with a vast explosion of migration from rural to urban location. Besides, joining with international business world, being a member of World Bank (WB), International Monetary Fund (IMF) and signing in their policies like Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs) has led to the change in underlying pattern of the country. The continuous pressure by these institutions to overlook the urge of agricultural sector and increase investment and infrastructure on industrial sector, has made many rural families vulnerable to earn subsistence. It is mainly the project of neoliberalism implemented through these WB and IMF to promote the

establishment and flourish of private corporations. As a result, these poor have to migrate to the capital of the country, Dhaka.

Dhaka, the nucleus city of the country has become a destination point of neoliberal practices in Bangladesh. It has experienced and still experiencing urban transformations due to accommodate these new form economic activities with establishments of structures and infrastructures as well as to house a vast number of population. This research paper tends to reveal the inner story of renewal of Dhaka city because of the transformation caused by neoliberalism, its policies and projects.

1.2 Statement of the problem

Dhaka, one of the megacities of South Asia, is experiencing rapid urban transformation in recent decades. The city is located at the bank of river Buriganga. It has a population of roughly 16982 (in thousands), making it the premier city of Bangladesh. It is the 11th largest city in terms of population (UN DESA, 2014). Not only in population, Dhaka has a 400 years of eventful history of urban expansion in terms of physical, economic, and cultural transformation.

Along the way of glorious Independence War of 1971, Dhaka for the first time becomes the capital of independent Bangladesh. In independent Bangladesh, Dhaka soon experiences a tremendous acceleration of urbanization process with the influx of in-migrant population. As a result, Dhaka finds to extend its area to accommodate this increasing bulk of population and more importantly, to reorganize the existing land to space more people in a same place and therefore, the conception of renovation pops up. The privatized companies play a pivotal role in reshaping the urban area of Dhaka. The whole Dhaka starts to mold, where vacant space and small-scale structures yield to lose their position to large residential apartments. Dhaka also appears as the hub of the business and trade centers of the country since independence. Many industries start to be established in this city. Moreover, as in form of neoliberal ideology (shifting of manufacturing sector to the developing countries), new form of business as such readymade garment industry finds higher concentration in terms of expansion, in Dhaka. With the development of industries and businesses, the lifestyle of Dhaka also experiences to be reshaped. A huge number of shopping malls, food places, and recreational centers have also appeared as an increasing way of capital dispersion and generation through consumerism, tracing the track of neoliberal urbanism. As a result, sky-rocking buildings of

residential as well as commercial settlement change the spatial set up of Dhaka city found in present day (Hossain, 2008).

In last two decades, Dhaka has experienced a huge transformation to place these large industries and trading centers in the one hand, and on the other hand, it has also reshaped its space to house these massive population. By doing this, a segregation line has to be demarked by the state of spacing the center urban location to the higher class of people as well as new forms of spatial practices of economic activities to cater the consumer culture of these city dwellers, forcing the poor to move to the semi-urban peripheries. This study attempts to evaluate this redevelopment of the Dhaka city in the light of neoliberal transformation through the privatization of space.

1.3 Research objective

The intension of the research paper is to make understand that how neoliberal policies and projects accompanied by the state apparatus target to redevelop the urban space of Dhaka city by shifting its occupancy and access to a privatized or restricted practices. More specifically, the study is projected to cover a broader objective encompassed by a number of specific objectives.

1.3.1 Broader Objective

The broader objective framed for the research is to explain the nature of urbanization and privatization of space highlighting new urban development during the period of neoliberal transformation.

1.3.2 Specific objectives

The specific objectives to envelop the broad ones are as follows-

1. To explore the nature of urbanization of Dhaka city in the beginning of 1990s
2. To understand the spatial arrangements (land use) in early 1990s
3. To explain the neoliberal transformation of Dhaka city in recent times
4. To elucidate how the redevelopment of Dhaka has traced towards the privatized space in terms of occupancy and access
5. To portray the nature of urbanization of Dhaka in present time
6. To study the privatization of space in the light of redevelopment of Dhaka city
7. To explicate the role of state to urban redevelopment leading to the privatization of space in Dhaka city

1.4 Research question

With a view to achieving the proposed objectives, the present study is going to answer the following research questions-

1. What was the nature of urbanization of Dhaka city in the beginning of 1990s?
2. How was the spatial arrangement (land use) in early 1990s?
3. How the neoliberal transformation occurs in Dhaka city in recent times?
4. How has the redevelopment of Dhaka traced towards the privatized space in terms of occupancy and access?
5. What is the nature of urbanization of Dhaka in present time?
6. How the privatization of space flourishes in the light of redevelopment of Dhaka city?
7. What is the role of state to urban redevelopment leading to the privatization of space in Dhaka city?

1.5 Key concepts framed for the study

1.5.1 Neoliberalism

Neoliberalism is a theory of political economic practices that supports an institutional framework for emancipating individual entrepreneurial freedom and skill with a view to attaining human prosperity and thereby promotes free market, strong private property rights and free trade, where state plays a supportive role to set up all necessary settings as well as formulate policies and schemes for facilitating these practices (Harvey, 2005).

In this study, neoliberalism is taken as a mission, where policies enacted by the state and projects undertaken to promote private property right (mainly by the private sector) are considered as the assignments representing the mission of neoliberalism. Another important thing to noted is that, this study deals with the intra-state mechanism of neoliberalism associating state and other factors, rather than its inter-state facet.

1.5.2 Urbanization

Urbanization is the physical growth of urban areas as a result of global change. United Nations defined urbanization as the movement of people from rural to urban areas with population growth equating to urban migration (United Nations, 2008).

In this study, physical expansion of an area is signified as urbanization.

1.5.3 Urbanism

According to Fanelli and Paulson, “*Neoliberal urbanism broadly refers to a range of uneven urban processes taking place simultaneously in the communities where we live and work. This includes the privatization, restructuring, or elimination of public goods and municipal services; the shifting of the cost of maintenance of public resources onto the working class; the increasing precariousness of work; the devolution of responsibilities onto local governments without matching fiscal supports; the scaling of regulatory capacities upwards to regional or international institutions (characterized by little transparency, accountability, or public consultation); the reining in of the power of municipal unions and community groups; the scaling back of social entitlement programs; and expansion of so-called “public-private partnerships” that shift some of the responsibility for urban governance to corporations*” (2010: 4).

For this study, urbanism is to be understood under following categories-

- i. Privatization of urban space, that means Increasing number of headquarters of corporations, private schools, hospitals and service centers
- ii. Increasing number of shopping malls, cafe, restaurants beauty parlors and gymnasiums
- iii. Beautifications of the city for tourism and making it attractive to foreigners

1.5.4 Privatization

Privatization is framed for the study as a process of gradual shifting of ownership and more importantly, access of an entity to a privatized manner by private sector.

1.5.5 Space

Space means area or expanse. Yet, for the study, space means positions, plots, buildings, structures, establishments situating in the study area. Here the exercise of space coincides with ownership, rather to access to it.

1.5.6 Privatization of space

Privatization of space is viewed as the development of an area or a plot or a roadside area through the hand of private sector and it remains privatized or restricted in terms of access.

1.5.7 Redevelopment

Redevelopment is examined in this research as the transformation of a space particularly by adjoining new structures, edifices and other establishments. It is synonymous to renewal, re fabrication and renovation in the study.

1.5.8 State

In this study, state is framed as an entity having the authority to formulate policy, run projects and exercise power within the country. Here, state is much more related to the concept of government.

1.5.9 Neoliberal state

The neoliberal state indicates a new form of state governance in which the state functions as an agent for the (re) commodification of its territory — at local, regional and national scale. It has acquired a dominancy in the market discourse over other regulatory operations within the state's institutional architecture (Harvey, 1989). This study also corresponds to neoliberal state considering the above statement.

1.5.10 Accumulation by Dispossession

Accumulation by Dispossession is a process to gather wealth through new forms of techniques and thus accentuate social disparity (Harvey, 2007).

1.5.11 Right to the City

The meaning of the right to the city is the right to hold the command over the urban space, which rests upon the corporate capitalist as well as political elite to shape and reshape the urban space and thereby accentuate capital under neoliberal policies (Harvey, 2008).

1.6 Scope of the study

A large volume of work is found on urban redevelopment connecting with poor displacement and urban impoverishment throughout the world. In Bangladesh, research on urban space spotlights on urban poverty, slum condition, eviction of slum and so on. Hence, little attention is given on urban transformation linking with neoliberalism. Therefore, this research paper is the primary one, which makes an endeavor to link urban transformation with neoliberalism and thereby to understand the neoliberal process of change of urban space from sociological perspective.

1.7 Limitation of the study

The research like studying the redevelopment of the city linking with neoliberal policies and projects is an introductory one in the context of Bangladesh. As a result, a number of constraints faced in commencing the study. Some pivotal of them are as follows-

1. The study faces shortage in looking for and going through available and relevant literature on revealing the implication of neoliberal policies to the urban redevelopment.
2. Due to time constraints, the study cannot be accomplished soundly.
3. Limited number of detail may weaken the appropriate academic appearance of the study
4. To depict the overall urban transformation feature of Dhaka city, only three areas might be too small to draw a concrete conclusion of the study.

CHAPTER TWO

Chronicle of Dhaka

Dhaka, the capital of Bangladesh has a remarkable history. It has experienced many upheavals throughout its expansion as well as transformation. This chapter has been constructed with information adopted from some classical books and articles namely *'The Growth of Dacca City; Population and Area'* (1981) by Atiqullah and Khan, *'Dhaka Town Improvement Planning by Patrick Geddes'* (1990) of Mohaimin, *'Dhaka: From City to Mega City'* (1996) by Islam, *'Dhaka: The Mughal Capital'* (1996) by Karim, *'Dhaka: History and Urban Life'* of Ahmed (2001) and *'Rapid Urban Growth and Poverty in Dhaka City'* by Hossain (2008).

However, in this chapter, the historical transformation of Dhaka city can be categorized in to six time span. These are-

1. Pre-Mughal Dhaka
2. Mughal Dhaka
3. Dhaka under East-India Company Ruling
4. Dhaka during British rule
5. Dhaka in Pakistan Period
6. Dhaka as the Capital of Independent Bangladesh

2.1 Pre-Mughal Dhaka

A very meager history of Dhaka can be traced before Mughal period. The antiquity of Dhaka may be found to 7th century A.D. The then time it was a part of Buddhist Kingdom of Kamrup and remained under Buddhist kingdom in the 7th and 8th century A.D. The Sena kings of Vikrampur ruled Dhaka from about 9th century A.D. The Muslims came to Dhaka in 1270 with the advent of Pathan reign in Bengal. After that, Mughal rule began in Dhaka in 1608 (Atikullah. & Khan 1981).

Just before the onset of Mughal kingdom, Dhaka was beset between the Dholai Khal and Buriganga River. The town Dhaka comprised of several market palces as such- Bangla Bazar, Shankhari Bazar, Lakshmi Bazar and tanti Bazar. There existed a few localities as well like Patuatoli, Kumartuli, Benia Nagar, Goal Nagar where business men and craftsmen resided (Islam,1996).

2.2 Mughal Dhaka

Islam Khan (1608-1613), the Mughal Viceroy of Bengal renamed Dhaka as Jahangirnagar and made the capital of Bengal. He shifted the capital from Rajmahal to Dhaka in 1610 aiming to defeat the landlords of Bengal. During the Mughal period besides, great military centre and administrative headquarter, Dhaka turned into an important commercial and industrial town.

During the rule of Ibrahim Khan (1616-1620), Dhaka became the destination of trade center in South East Asia. The European traders began to come to this area since 1616. Yet, in the 1640s Shah Suja transferred capital from Dhaka to Rajmahal, while Mir Jumla relocated Dhaka as capital in 1660.

The tremendous advancement of Dhaka took place during the reign of Shaista Khan (1662-1669). The city that time stretched for 12 miles in length and 6 miles in breadth accommodating almost 1 million of people.

The European settlers came in the late 17th century. They were mainly Portuguese, Dutch, English and French traders. In 1717, capital once again shifted from Dhaka to Rajmahal tracing Dhaka amidst of century long deprivation (Karim, 1996).

2.2.1 Features of Mughal Dhaka

2.2.1.1 Administrative Area

Islam Khan reconstructed old Afghan Fort and used it as the administrative quarter of the Mughals. The civil secretariat was established there and military head quarters was set up to its north side.

2.2.1.2 Business Area

The Chauk Bazar was situated at the south of the fort and served as the central business district of the city. The then time it was named as '*Badshahi Bazar (Royal Market)*'. It was primarily focused to serve the necessities of the upper as well as the lower section of population. Bangla Bazar was another commercial area reported at that time. Though it was the prime shopping center in pre-mughal period, yet gave up place to Chauk Bazar in the Mughal time.

2.2.1.3 Industrial Areas

Cottage industry was one of the significant aspects of the economic life of the city. The muslin was the chief trading unit of the city. These industries were located between Bangla Bazar and Chauk Bazar. The artisan of these factories resided there also. There were also several localities specialized with indigenous industries as such Shankhari Bazar (shell cutter's area), Pauatoli (jute silk painter's locality), Sutrapur (carpenter's community), Kumartoli (potter's area), Churi Hatta (bangle market), Jalua Nagar (Fisherman's locality), Sanchi Pander (betel leaf market) and Tanti Bazar (weaver's market).

Besides, Dhaka also exported rice, silk and sugar. In turn, conch shells, perfumes, spices were imported.

2.2.1.4. Low Class Residential Area:

People belong to lower class working with these specialized industries inhabited around Dholai Khal and Buriganga river side areas. They were mainly laborers, artisans and petty traders. These areas were almost separated from the upper class residential areas. The 'Kuttis' were also housed in Dholai Khal who came from Qazibagh, Lalbag, Rajarbag and Arambag.

The European settlement established with the Portuguese. They also set up a mission here in 1616. After that the Dutch, English, French and Greeks put their feet in Dhaka. Among them the English, French, and Dutch had their factories at river side easiness of transportation. Factories and nearby areas were the residence for low paid foreign laborers.

2.2.1.5 High Class Residential Areas:

The viceroy lived in the fort. Two residential-cum-shopping centers called Bakshi Baazar and Dewan Bazar were developed for ministers and high officials. Moreover, two purely residential areas namely Shujatpur Mohalla and Christian Mohalla were developed containing two or three storied mansions for Qazi (judges) and distinct bungalows for scholars and teachers. Some localities were set up for government servants and lower class employees like Mahuttli for elephant keeper, Churihatta for royal guards and specialist ornament workers.

The European entrepreneurs resided in bungalows in Tejgaon. These Europeans used to live in brick built for the purpose of security (Atikullah. & Khan, 1981).

2.2.2 House type

In the Mughal time, the aristocrats used to live in bungalows made of bamboo and grass and adorned with stylish designs. Because of heavy rainfall and high temperature, these

bungalows required repairing in every year and these buildings had a life span of 15 years. The founder of Mughal Dhaka, Islam Khan lived in a deck near the Chandni Ghat. The permanent building of Mughal era were the masjids, palaces Katras, and forts built of bricks.

The Katras were constructed as the resting place for caravans. There existed two Katras in Dhaka. One is the Bara Katra established by Abul Qasim in 1644 and another is Chota Katra built by Nawab Shaista Khan in 1663. They both were located at the Chauk near the river Buriganga. These Katras are astonishing in architectural design.

The forts situated as a palace of the viceroy as well as the house of the soldiers. Prince Muhammad Azam initiated the construction Lalbag Fort, yet he could not complete it up and thereby remained incomplete. Viceroy Shaista Khan used to reside at that fort.

The removal of the capital in 1706 to Rajmahal was a shock to administrative stability as well as the growth of the city. Moreover, the death of the emperor Aurangzeb turned sharp decline to Mughal Empire. As a result, Dhaka experienced 60 years of unrest, disorder and political instability. In the mean time, the East India Company grabbed political power and took over the control over Dhaka city in 1764 (Islam, 1996).

2.3 Dhaka under East-India Company ruling

Dhaka at the edge of Mughal ruling and the beginning of East India Company in 1765, began to decline its importance and area size. Several disastrous incidents as such famine, floods and fires attacked the city. Moreover, the increasing importance of Calcutta made Dhaka difficult to survive its existence as a commercial and business center.

In 1800, about 200,000 people inhabited in Dhaka decreased to 68,038 in 1838 and even depleted to 58,636 in 1968. The two third of the city was filled with filth and jungles overgrew. The garden houses of Dhaka city disappeared.

Charles Dawes, the collector of East India Company showed first interest to change the face of Dhaka and laid Ramna Park in 1825. Consequently, several roads were widened and new buildings were constructed for administrative and educational purposes near present Victoria Park.

2.3.1 Feature of Dhaka under East-India Company

2.3.1 .1 Administrative Development

The administrative heart of Mughal period, the fort turned into jail by the British. In the first half of 19th century new administrative site established near Victoria Park.

2.3.1.2 . Educational Institutions

The prime center of education was located near Victoria Park during East India Company ruling. After that, educational institution establishment shifted to Ramna.

2.3.1 .3 Business Area

The East India Company inherited a well developed central business district from the Mughals in the Chauk. Formerly, it was a retail market place in nature which gradually shifted to a wholesale market location.

2.3.1 . 4 Industrial Location

In the East India time, the most industrial zones retained their working. The shell cutting continued in Shankhari Bazar, brass and metal work in Thateri Bazar, gold, silver work and weaving carried on in Tanti Bazar (Atikullah and Khan, 1981).

2.3.2 House type

2.3.2.1 Low cost residence

The lower section of residence of Mughal time continued to be low and expanded to swallow some parts of surrounding areas.

The waning economy, populace and administrative significance brought about the decrease of Dhaka city. Rennell prepared a map of the city as extending from Nawabgonj to Iron Bridge and from the Buriganga river to Nimtoli Kuthi, spacing the present Bangladesh Asiatic Society office.

2.3.2.2. House of foreign traders

The European houses near the water front were adorned in western pattern. They had open compound spaces and gardens. The houses like the Dutch Kuthis at Wise Ghat were massive in structure with huge pillars with round towers and verandas (Ahmed, 2001).

2.4 Dhaka during British rule

In 1857, Dhaka experienced severe catastrophe due to raising revolution against East India Company. The Company ruling ended while the British Crown up took the administration in 1858. Calcutta declared as the capital city and became the center of appeal, which Dhaka was in Mughal ruling. However, since 1872, ebbed population of Dhaka reported a continuous growth.

Atikullah and Karim (1981) reveal several factors in changing the trend of Dhaka city under British ruling. These are as follows:

- i. The establishment of Dhaka Municipality in 1864
- ii. The opening of water supply in 1874
- iii. The installation of electricity in 1878
- iv. The establishment of railway communication between Dhaka and Narayangonj in 1885 and extended to Mymensingh in 1886

Here two significant urban services led the city to a settled residential establishment. For the first time the facility of water supply started to be offered to residences since 1874. Furthermore, city was connected to electricity in 1878. The advancement of the city further extended with the hand of Lord Curzon as he partitioned Bengal and declared Dhaka as the provincial capital of East Bengal and Assam in 1905. The town Dhaka with no more than 100,000 of populace started to extend rapidly. About 21 percent of population increase found between 1901 and 1911. The civil lines were developed where a good number of buildings were constructed to house offices and administrative personnel. Yet, Dhaka lost its eminence as the provincial capital since the province was dissolved in 1912. As a compensation, University of Dhaka was established and administrative were utilized as university building. But due to the out breaking the First World War, the functioning of University of Dhaka delayed till 1921. The main development took place in Ramna area. Apart from this, some more localities were developed by government officials and local land lords for residential purposes. The important areas were Gandaria, Wari, Purana Paltan, Gopibagh, Swamibagh.

2.4.1 Feature of Dhaka during British rule

2.4.1. 1. Administrative pattern

Since 1905, the center of principal administration of the city located in Ramna. Today's Dhaka Medical College and Hospital was used as the provincial secretariat. But the headquarters of district administration continued to be functioned near Victoria Park. Yet, the dissolution of partition, Ramna area lost its administrative operations.

2.4.1. 2 Educational Institutions

Under the British period, the Ahsanullah Engineering School was established in 1876. The University of Dhaka was established in 1921 and it took over the previous secretariat building and the Curzon Hall. The Intermediate College took the space of the Government

House. Many residential halls for students were also set up in this area. By 1920s, several educational institutions were occupied in Ramna area.

2.4.1.3 Business Area

In the British reign, the Chauk Bazar appeared as a wholesale market. Moreover, it became a station for placing institutions like North Brook Hall and Baptist Mission. The retail market place moved to eastward along Islampur and northward Nawabpur Road. Bangla Bazar also redeveloped as a retail trade center under the British ruling.

2.4.1.4. Industrial Location

A small number of large scale industries were established at that period. A glass factory (Hardeo) was founded in 1929 at Hatkhola railway crossing. A pharmaceutical factory named Shadhana Ausodhalaya was also established in Gandaria at that time.

2.4.1. 5 Low Class Residence

Some upper class residential areas as such Nawabgonj deteriorated as a lower class accommodation area. The shifting of river to the southward caused this deterioration of Nawabgonj (Mamun, 1990).

2.4.2 House Types

Before 1905, there was a juxtaposition of the Mughal as well as European architectural style buildings. The Northbrook Hall was one of them, built to provide the purpose of the town hall.

The Ahsan Manjil was first built in 1872 and then repaired in 1888. It followed solely the European style. However, the Nawabs built a garden house at Dilkusha where Nawab Ahasanullah had to reside for three years to repair the Ahsan Manjil. Within a very short period, between 1901 and 1911, Ramna emerged as the high class residential area. The houses built in Ramna followed European style i.e. large compounds and gardens. However, they maintained red color like Mughal buildings. These residential houses had the best available contemporary living amenities. Some of the magnificent buildings built in the British time still stand today are the High Court building and the Curzon Hall.

During seven decades, from 1872 to 1941, the growth of the city was not so marked as the increase of population. The municipal area stayed more or less steady, around six miles. However, some developments took place outside the municipal areas as such Motijheel. The population got tripled between 1872 and 1941.

Before 1947, the shopping areas extended from Chouk Bazar to Sadarghat and from Buriganga River to Nawabpur Road. With creation of Pakistan, Dhaka gained the status of the provincial capital once more (Ahmed, 2001).

2.5 .Dhaka in Pakistan Period

After adjoining with Pakistan in 1947, Dhaka gained the status of provincial capital of East Pakistan. Due to about 1500 miles of difference with the capital Islamabad of West Pakistan, lots of responsibilities were vested upon Dhaka. It had to house numerous government offices, industries, firms, embassies and consulates of foreign countries. The population of Dhaka has also increased almost 66 percent from 335,928 to 556,712 between 1951 and 1961. A large number of Muslim migrants from India also boosted up this increase of population. In short, from a district headquarter and university town Dhaka all of a sudden, turned into the subsidiary capital of Pakistan. Therefore, to afford this increasing number of population along with huge number offices and industries Dhaka had to be extended with new buildings and other constructions.

2.5.1 Feature of Dhaka in Pakistan Period

2.5.1.1 Industrial Location:

After being merged with Pakistan, Dhaka had experienced tremendous growth of industries. On the eve of 1947, there were only four or five large scale industries which reached over 100 in 1962. Three industrial locations developed in the city as such- Tejgaon, Postogola and Hazaribagh (Atikullah and Khan, 1981).

2.5.1.2 Business Area:

Being a commercial center Dhaka gripped both wholesale as well as retail trade. The Chauk Bazar, Mitford Road, Farashgonj comprised the whole sale area. On the other hand, the retail trade area ranged from Islampur, Bangla Bazar, Atuatuli, Jinnah Avenue (today's Bangabandhu Avenue) to Nawabpur road. A large number of commercial firms set up in Motijheel. Jinnah Avenue (today's Bangabandhu Avenue) and Motijheel formed the central business district of the city. At that time, a shopping center had developed in New Market. Apart from this, other commercial areas found at that time are Shantinagar, Fakriapool, Maghbazar, Shahjahanpur, Karwan Bazar etc.

2.5.1.3 Higher Class Residence:

Dhanmondi as a residential area did not contain any shopping or community center, club etc. the total area was fragmented in to plots without keeping any public requirements. Almost all the plots were rectangular and a grid pattern of roads crisscrossed these plots. There was a Khal (water channel which also exists today) dug to drain the rainwater as well as enhance scenic beauty.

To face the continuous population growth Dhaka Improvement Trust (City Authority) selected Gulshan for high class residential area.

Badda on the East of Gulshan was developed as a middle class residential area. Besides, government established Motijheel and Azimpur as residential estates for their employees. Private enterprise had flourished in Ramna, Maghbazar and Eskaton. Mohammadpur colony emerged to the north of Dhanmondi (Ahmed, 2001).

2.5.2. House Type

Houses of high class areas like Dhanmondi were constructed with concrete and glass. These houses carried large balconies and wall size windows as well. At inner side most of these houses possessed three bed rooms, living room, dining room and kitchen etc. In Ramna and Eskaton area a number flats reported at that time. The government employees resided at Ramna, Minto road, Bailey road and Eskaton. For foreigners, the Ispahani Colony of Maghbazar accommodated some American families in apartments (Islam, 1996).

2.6 Dhaka as the Capital of Independent Bangladesh

Today to understand the expansion of Dhaka city, anyone has to depend on several connotations or meaning of different government agencies. These are as follows:

2.6.1 Connotations on the expansion of Dhaka city

The first one starts for Dhaka City Corporation (DCC). This agency has its clear administrative boundary. Since 2005, the area of DCC is 145 sq. km. it extends from northern bank of Buriganga in the south to Tongi Khal in the north and Gandaria in the south-east, Badda in the east to Rayer Bazar in the west and Mirpur in the north-west. A separated part of DCC is Uttara which extends north of Dhaka Cantonment.

The boundary of Dhaka is secondly framed by Dhaka Metropolitan Area (DMA) more particularly preferred to be noted as Dhaka Metropolitan Police (DMP) area. In length, the DMP area is much larger than the DCC area. At present, the DMP area is about 306 sq. km.

The third connotation is derived from Dhaka Statistical Metropolitan Area (DSMA). In 1981, DSMA had an area of 797 sq. km. this area has even increased its region to 1353 sq. km. in 1991. The DSMA stretches from Narayangonj to Savar incorporating DCC area, Narayangonj, Kadam Rasul, Tongi, Gazipur, Savar Municipality and Dhaka and Mirpur and Savar Cantonment. Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics chose DSMA as ‘Dhaka Mega City’ in 1991.

The last and fourth concept of Dhaka is given by the Capital Development Authority or Rajdhani Unnayan Kartripakkha (RAJUK) previously named as Dhaka Improvement Trust (DIT). In 1959, DIT had an area about 829 sq. km. in planning. The present planning area of Dhaka encompasses around 1528 sq.km. This planning is named as Dhaka Metropolitan Development Planning (DMDP) as well (Islam, 2005).

Table 2.1: Area of Dhaka City with the span of time

Year	Periods	Area (sq.km)
1608	Pre-mughal	2
1700	Mughal period	40
1800	British period	4.5
1867	British period	10
1872	British period	20
1881	British period	20
1891	British period	20
1901	British period	20
1931	British period	20
1941	British period	25
1951	Pakistan period	85
1961	Pakistan period	125
1974	Bangladesh period	336
1981	Bangladesh Period	510
1991	Bangladesh period	1353
2001	Bangladesh period	1530

Source: Hossain, 2008: p.11

2.6.2 Transition of process of urbanization

The process of urbanization of Dhaka has got momentum after the independence of the country, as Dhaka has designated as the capital of independent Bangladesh. In 1974, the population of Dhaka has risen to 2,068,353. To accommodate this increasing number of population, low-lying areas to the east and west of the city has started to be extended. From the east, city expands to, Goran, Jurain, Khilgaon, Badda and Rampura. Where Kamrangirchar, Western Mohammadpur, Kallyanpur, Shyamoli are the areas developed in the west to Dhaka (Chowdhury and Faruqui, 1991). Dhaka has reached to three million population in 1981 covering an area of just 510 square kilometers. As a result, wetlands and swamps of this gradually started to yield to the demands of establishing new residential, business and commercial establishments.

Table 2.2: Population of Dhaka City with the period of time

Year	Population
1608	30,000
1700	900,000
1800	200,000
1867	51,636
1872	69,212
1881	80,358
1891	83,358
1901	104,385
1931	161,922
1941	239,728
1951	411279
1961	718766
1974	2068353
1981	3440147
1991	6887459
2001	10712206

Source: Atikullah and Khan, 1981 and Hossain, 2008

The highest agglomeration of population and concentration of establishments of structures has been observed in the decade of 1980s (1981-1991). Within this time span, the city space has been doubled to 1353 square kilometers from 510 square kilometers. The city has expanded to the neighborhood areas as such Savar, Gazipur, Narayangonj and Keranigonj (Siddiqui, Awal and Ahmed, 2000).

The census of 2001 discloses a constant population boom, as it has reached to 10.7 million with a 56.5% of population growth from the previous decade. This excessive amount of populace creates crisis urban utility services causes damages to other improvement of life. All these result in the establishment of slums and squatters, with huge number of people belonging under poverty line (Hossain, 2008).

CHAPTER THREE

Review of Literature

This chapter has been framed dividing into several segments. It begins with the literatures on theoretical and conceptual framing. After that, the literature regarding the effect of neoliberalism around the world from north to south comes under review. And at last, literatures though very few in number found on the transformation of Dhaka city along with neoliberal upsurge are taken into consideration.

3.1 Literature on theoretical and conceptual framework

One of the pioneering book in the field of neoliberalism is David Harvey's the "*A Brief History of Neoliberalism*" published in 2005. Harvey tends to illustrate the neoliberal theory, and tensions and contradictions of explaining the function of the neoliberal state. Then he tries to sketch the practice of neoliberal theory and argues the gap between neoliberal theory and action in practice.

As found in neoliberal theory, Harvey (2005) contends that a typical neoliberal state should play in favor of private property rights and free market and trading to establish individual freedom. Therefore, the neoliberal state has to take over any repressive techniques to entrench this freedom by all means. The state looks forward to eradicate the 'tragedy of commons'- the tendency of people to carelessly use common resources as such water and energy. Moreover, to flourish privatization, private sectors will take up the parts, which were formerly run by the state. In addition to this, while monitoring the private corporations state will play a deregulated role.

Harvey focuses some obscurity of ideas of neoliberal theory along with its contending spheres of functions in form of tension and contradiction of neoliberal theory.

At the beginning, Harvey views that the concept of monopoly power is a problem in pricing and access to have the service is not feasible without state's intervention, while the neoliberal theory promotes privatization of formerly state run functions. Lastly, the concern of market failure by the private firms creates another contradiction, since private companies often elude to pay full costs accountable to them by leaving their responsibilities outside the market (Harvey, 2005).

In practicing neoliberal theory, Harvey has sought two fundamental arena to reconstruct class power dynamics. It tries to look for establishing ‘good business or investment climate’ in order to pave way to class power restoration. In consequence, as such in the situation of conflict, state adopts policy to support ‘good business climate’ contrasting collective labor rights and environmental protection.

In vain, Harvey contends that neoliberal is an unstable political form, as he realizes the difference between public goal and actual implication of neoliberalism. As Harvey opines, *“But all is not well with the neoliberal state, and it is for this reason that it appears to be either a transitional or an unstable political form. At the heart of the problem lies a burgeoning disparity between the declared public aims of neoliberalism—the well-being of all—and its actual consequences—the restoration of class power. But beyond this there lies a whole series of more specific contradictions that need to be highlighted”* (Harvey, 2005: pp 78-79).

Harvey (2005) depicts a series of contradictions between neoliberal theory and practice. These contradictions are as follows:

First, on the one hand, the neoliberal state is expected to take a back seat and simply set the stage for market functions, but on the other it is supposed to be activist in creating a good business climate and to behave as a competitive entity in global politics. In its latter role it has to work as a collective corporation, and this poses the problem of how to ensure citizen loyalty.

Second, authoritarianism in market enforcement sits uneasily with ideals of individual freedoms. The more neoliberalism veers towards the former, the harder it becomes to maintain its legitimacy with respect to the latter and the more it has to reveal its anti-democratic colours.

Third, while it may be crucial to preserve the integrity of the financial system, the irresponsible and self-aggrandizing individualism of operators within it produces speculative volatility, financial scandals, and chronic instability.

Four, while the virtues of competition are placed up front, the reality is the increasing consolidation of oligopolistic, monopoly, and transnational power within a few centralized multinational corporations: the world of soft-drinks competition is reduced to Coca Cola versus Pepsi, the energy industry is reduced to five huge transnational corporations, and a few

media magnates control most of the flow of news, much of which then becomes pure propaganda.

Five, at the popular level, the drive towards market freedoms and the commodification of everything can all too easily run amok and produce social incoherence. The destruction of forms of social solidarity and even, as Thatcher suggested, of the very idea of society itself, leaves a gaping hole in the social order. It then becomes peculiarly difficult to combat anomie and control the resultant anti-social behaviors such as criminality, pornography, or the virtual enslavement of others.

In the lecture on “*Neoliberalism and the City*”, Harvey critically discussed the economic upheavals accompanied by urban renewal of New York City.

Between 1960s-1970s there remained enormous wealth popularly called “surplus capital” all around New York City. Individuals like investors and entrepreneurs increasingly engaged in real estate business. As a result the city experienced a massive building boom, specifically in office area. The city authority assisted this building up process by creating several conducive programs such as forgiving property taxes. Yet, in 1973, the property market of New York City again collapsed due to incredible over and most significantly empty buildings all around the city. Therefore, to survive the city the authority adopted two types of planning.

At the beginning, the investors set up an international diplomacy. They invited the Saudis to convert their petrodollars in the US banks and the Saudis got agreed to this proposal. This made New York City as the financial capital of the world (Harvey, 2007). Hence, through this money the investment bankers invested in new forms of financial business and thereby city restructuring. They along with City Corporation formed Downtown Business Partnership. This partnership sketched to reconstruct New York as a city of consumption and built Broadway, museum of modern art and many more.

After spending money on domestic market, gradually they found that internal market was not spacing for investing more money. Then gradually the investors thought to lend this ‘surplus capital’ to developing countries. As a result, the investor of the US started to provide loan to developing countries like Poland, Mexico, Argentina and Brazil (Harvey, 2007).

One of the critical arguments of Harvey (2007) lies in his paper named “*Neoliberalism as a Creative Destruction*” where he finds that neoliberalism has done tremendous achievement in composing and re-composing class position in the society. He views that neoliberalism has re

established class position for the developed countries and for the developing ones, it leads to the reorder of class status.

Harvey asserts the bourgeois class adopts a practice namely, “accumulation by dispossession” with a view to attaining resources through new forms of procedure and thereby aggregate social inequality. For Harvey, accumulation by dispossession means, “*I mean the continuation and proliferation of accretion practices that Marx had designated as "primitive" or "original" during the rise of capitalism*” (Harvey, 2007: 34).

Harvey argues that there four driving wheels of neoliberalism through these it smashes the right of the poor and perpetuates creative destruction. These are as follows-

1. Privatization
2. Financialization
3. The Management and Manipulation of Crises and
4. State Redistribution

In the “*Political Economy of Public Space*” (2006), Harvey attempts to explicate several cases on how our daily life experiences in the city is intermingled with how we belong in this world and we think and act politically within it. For this, Harvey takes the re fabrication of public space in Second Empire of Paris. He considers to examine Haussmann’s.

Harvey express that the large boulevards though public in nature, but are extensively exercised by the upper segment of population. Moreover, the French army built these boulevards in such widened so that laborers could not demonstrate movement by lighting fire in the road. Nevertheless, Harvey also observes the café establishments upon the boulevards. He posits that, these cafes are exclusively used by this upper section of the society. While the poor cannot but observe these such absurdity or in simple saying mockery. As Harvey, “*...the poor neither ignore nor evade it. They are forced to confront it in exactly the same way the occupants of the café cannot avoid seeing them*” (Harvey 2006: 21). In this way the poor are entangled to the re fabrication of city space.

Harvey’s “*The Right to the City*” (2008) is a classic work in understanding how the collective rights of city dwellers to live in the city and shape its development has been shifted in the hand of the corporate capitalists due to the influence of the neoliberalism. He views, the right to the city as the right to command over the urban process. And he argues that it is the right of the political and economic elites to command over the urban process. Therefore,

it is their right to shape and reshape city in their own desires, as it is their right to accumulate capital through the process of neoliberalism. As Harvey states,

“We live in a world, after all, where the rights of private property and the profit rate trump all other notions of rights one can think of” (Harvey, 2008:1).

As a result, he opines, right to the city is parallel to the growth of “Urbanization under Capitalism” (Harvey, 2008).

He shows why and how the right to the city is controlled by the capitalist elites under the support of the state in the context of several countries and cities as well as variations in their nature.

In viewing the context of Paris, Harvey states that, Napoleon Bonaparte took an initiative to solve the surplus of capital and unemployment problem through urbanization. This urbanization involved rebuilding Paris through infrastructural investment. To bring this change he appointed Haussman. Haussman’s system constructed new way of life along with urban infrastructure for which Paris became the “City of Light”.

In studying the context of the U.S, Harvey opines that, the U.S has taken a wise policy by considering the housing market as an important stabilizer of the economy. Since the year of 2000, the property market has been absorbing a great deal of the surplus capital directly through new construction in adorning the city, suburban housing, and new office spaces. This process has run in association with the inflation of housing asset prices and low mortgage refinancing. It has boosted the U.S. internal market for consumer goods and services.

From Harvey’s point of view, the urbanization of China over the last 20 years focuses on infrastructural development which is more important than that of the U.S. infrastructural development includes construction of dams and highways. China is only epicenter of an urbanization process that has now become global partly through integrating financial markets. Chinese financial markets used their flexibility to debt-finance urban development around the world. Ultimately, the urbanization of China is more important than China.

In analyzing the situation of developing world, Harvey contends that, the urban area has been flooded with impoverished migrants, and has become an abode to them- A planet of slums. It is common for both the periphery-Mumbai, Santiago, Mexico city and the core-London, Los Angeles, New York. Yet, Harvey asserts, *“But we also increasingly live in divided, fragmented and conflict-prone cities”* (Harvey, 2008:7).

Due to the upsurge of neoliberalism, the city is experiencing two groups- the rich and the poor. And the difference between them has ever widened because of neoliberal policies. This eventually reshapes a city as in form of a city of fragments and gated communities, where privatized public spaces are kept under constant surveillance.

Loic Waquant in his book titled *“Punishing the poor- The Neoliberal Government of Social Insecurity”* (2009) tries to elucidate the social strategy of transformation from welfare to warfare can be understood by analyzing it with the rise of prison. Workfare and prison are two sides of a coin. Due to the implementation of neoliberal policies, the poor are losing their ground. The single women and minorities are main victims of this.

He purports two major parts. Of which, the first one is, penal apparatus as a core organ of the state. It is an expression of the sovereignty and is used as an instrument to intervene in selective social and physical space. And the last one is neoliberalism entails the enlargement of the penal sector. He opines, *“The state adopts it to check social reverberation caused by the diffusion of social insecurity in lower rung of the society”* (Wacquant, 2009:15).

In the *“Fortified Enclaves: The New Urban Segregation”* (1996) Teresa P. R. Calderia views fortified enclaves as,

“Fortified enclaves are privatized, enclosed, and monitored spaces for residence, consumption, leisure, and work. The fear of violence is one of their main justifications. They appeal to those who are abandoning the traditional public sphere of the streets to the poor, the “marginal,” and the homeless. In cities fragmented by fortified enclaves, it is difficult to maintain the principles of openness and free circulation that have been among the most significant organizing values of modern cities” (Calderia, 1996:114).

Here she presents “Fortified Enclave” as a model of spatial segregation in Sao Paolo and Los Angeles. She argues, being justified by fears of the dangerous poor, “Fortified Enclave” is a privatized, enclosed, and monitored space that has come to represent markers of status in a new aesthetic of security and segregation in societies of Sao Paolo and Los Angeles.

In *“Spatializing States: Toward an Ethnography of Neoliberal Governmentality”* (2002), James Ferguson and Akhil Gupta have intended to show the term of state with its conventional feature through two terms, verticality- state is above the society and encompassment- the locality is encompassed by the state. By depicting this typical nature of state, they contend that, this nature of state is changing because of neoliberal economy. The writers posit that today’s transnational political economy pose threats to state’s contemporary

spatial practices. International agencies and transnational non-governmental development organizations are now challenging this traditional spatiality of the state. This intervention of transnational development sector has enlarged the concept governmentality to “Transnational Governmentality” coined by Michel Foucault (1991) tracing of the transition from Keynesian Welfare State to free market polices supported by the West.

Low in her formerly “*On the plaza: the politics of public space and culture*” (2000) and later on the 5th chapter “How Private Interest Take over Public Space: Zoning, Taxes and Gated Community” of her edited book “*The Politics of Public Space*” (2006) depicts the revival of privatization of urban space in the United Space. She demonstrates the snatching of public space by cruel force, then redesign it and at the end re open this space with a new look surrounded by severe surveillance and strict policing measurement. She argues that, the privatization of space is advanced by government’s “legal and economic” schemes, which facilitates the flourish of privatizing space. For Low, “*And policing and surveillance ensures that the mall, shopping center, or gated community will only allow a certain “public” to use its privatized public facilities*” (2000: 83).

3.2 Neoliberal wave; from North to South

Godfrey in the “*Urban Development and Redevelopment in San Francisco*” (1997) argues that for three times the city San Francisco has been redeveloped. And therefore, by establishing a historico-geography analysis he tries to pose a question whether the current rearrangement measures of San Francisco is tracing to its fourth imminent renewal.

The first instant city formation of San Francisco initiated while California gold rush sparked by the in-migrants after 1849. About 25 five years after, by 1875 the city as the central business district became a site of distinctive financial, wholesaling, and retailing area and with this process ten storied skyscrapers was built in 1889.

Due the fatal earthquake and firing the city had to cater itself again in 1906. The city’s architecture showed escalating height and modernism as such- a consistent Beaux Arts, neoclassical modernism overrun the previous Victorian mixture of buildings. During its business boom in 1920s a several number of skyscrapers were built, for Godfrey (1997), “*a city that was architecturally very cohesive, and, in a sense, the fullest flowering of that great age of city-building*” (Heritage, cited in Godfrey 1997:23).

The third instant city of San Francisco is much similar of contemporary skyline buildings established from 1960 to 1985. The twenty-story Crown Zellerbach Building in 1959 was the opening of third instant city construction of San Francisco. The distinctiveness of this city is, its skyscrapers stand behind open plaza, away from the street and therefore, often criticized by the traditionalists as “anti-urban”.

In keep pace with neoliberal economy the city is once again getting restructured. San Francisco core is called as the "Wall Street of the West," has become an important center of regional and international finance, headquartering several insurance companies, important banks, brokerage firms and international corporations. In 1983 San Francisco Planning Department released a Downtown Plan with postmodern design standards, which curtails height and bulk allowances for buildings and put greater preference on historic preservation in central areas. As a result, medium size buildings with gross floor area have been set. The writer poses the question that through this process, the latest instant city formation might have been started.

Whitehand in his *“The City Center: The Case of Redevelopment”* (1978) aims to express the redevelopment of the city center of Glasgow, 1840-1969. He uses historico-geography theory of urban form for adaptation and renewal of physical structures. The second city by population in Britain, Glasgow is viewed as a central area of England. The quantity of redevelopment of central Glasgow from 1840 to 1969 is slightly less than the total area of all plots existing in the city centre at the start of that period. Whitehand found that, the average redevelopment rate of Glasgow within the study period is comparatively low than London (Whitehand, 1978). The central area of Glasgow had become more redeveloped than its periphery. The massive redevelopment was contributed by the Victorian and Edwardian periods. The extensive re-building of the city centre at that time was followed by half a century of relatively slow renewal of economic and population growth. The propensity for redevelopment occurs more swiftly within certain parts of the city centre, notably the shopping areas, has implications for the rates of replacement of buildings of different times.

In the paper *“Caracas: Privatization and Re-Signification of Public Space”* (2009) Herrera and Spirkoska attempt to evaluate space as a social within the physical urbanities, where dynamic structures and fixed forms perform. Moreover, they focus on space production, which is built upon the processes of adaptation, distortion and confrontation for its comprehensive understandings. In this light, the writers view the city Caracas as a complex accumulation of processes, which is taking place over time and space. They take a

periodization method- use of historical periods city is enclosed in particular social, political and economic processes for explanation of space arrangement of the city throughout time.

Herrera and Spirkoska imply three observation objects: *Plan Rotival (1940-1951, 23 de Enero (1955-1959) and the Five Main Highways (1945-1965)* to cover two socio-political periods: The Last Dictatorship and The Creation of the Social Democrat Era. The study found that Caracas adopts its urban structure from foreign influence especially from Spain it set up first colony in Caracas. At the edge of nineteenth century (1870-1888) as a part of French colony, Venezuela opened its gate for foreign investment and European migration through which Caracas became modernized through architectural development. At the end of nineteenth century, the first expansion of city is observed as the richer class of the society created the first suburb at the south for residence. In the beginning of the twentieth century, Venezuela started to transfer from an agricultural to industrial economy since huge oil reserves were found at that time. Therefore, society shifted from rural to urban one. The last dictator Marcos Perez Jimenez converted Caracas into a full city shape (1960s-1970s) with technology and aesthetic buildings. During the political shift of Venezuela from dictatorship to socialism the West side of Caracas remained busy with governmental withdrawal movement while East side of the city was to cater with the privatization boom- residential arrangements for middle and upper class was privately developed, privatized shopping malls, medical and educational infrastructure were also built up. Since the shift of political structure, in form of socialist state Venezuela first set high oil price which gives a strong economic foundation to the socialist government through which the government takes a precedence over long term investment for the wealth of the inhabitants. In its latest constitutional law of 2001, the country has moved to a new social order where there is strong restrain for privatization.

Keeling in his "*Neoliberal Reform and Landscape Change in Buenos Aires, Argentina*" (1999) contends that, the capital of Argentina Buenos Aires, experiences a landscape change in keep abreast with urban restructuring due to globalization. In 1990 with the welcoming address of then President Carlos Saul Menem, neoliberalism enters in Argentina accompanied by flourish of freedom of private sector. It results mostly in the restructuring of housing market. As global market opens before locality, it leads to the increase of land rent value, land use practices and housing provision. The land or property in and around of downtown of core Buenos Aires has become the primary target for private land developers and urban

renewal projects. For this, the poor segment of the population is needed to be evacuated from these spaces. therefore, this pity poor has to move to hinterlands.

An interesting article of Dodman namely *“Developers in the Public Interest? The Role of Urban Development Corporations in the Anglophone Caribbean”* (2008) depicts how governmental agencies can make effort to urban regeneration through constructing roads, parks and buildings and thereby upholding modernization and respond to neoliberal policies. The paper contains the story of Urban Development Corporations (UDCs) of Jamaica, Antigua and Barbuda and Trinidad and Tobago.

Several Caribbean governments have established Urban Development Corporations (UDCs) with a view to facing development challenges by rapid urbanization. The first Urban Development Corporation (UDC) is established by the Jamaica government in 1968 to cater Kingston city. Later Antigua and Barbuda sets up St. John’s Development Company (SJDC) in 1986 to rearrange the downtown area of St. John’s. The Trinidad and Tobago government (1994) in the name of Urban Development Corporation of Trinidad and Tobago (UDeCOTT) forms the last addition to UDC to transform the urban areas. These corporations are extensively authorized to formulate far-reaching plan as such- to acquire, manage, or dispose of lands and to maintain roads, building of residential educational health infrastructures, recreation centre- public parks, hotels, resorts and so on.

Dodman argues that these UDCs have a significant effect for the development of urban areas of the Anglophone Caribbean nations. For Dodman (2008), *“These three urban development corporations share a variety of key organizational and functional similarities related to their overall objectives to address the challenges of urbanization. These can be summarized as acting as developers in the public interest, meeting a perceived desire for modernity, and acting as agents of neoliberalization* (2008: 8).

The clear-cut attainment of UDCs is that, it evades the bureaucratic ‘red tape’. Hence, any decision can be taken by passing the multiple bureaucratic stages. It renders UDCs the opportunity to conduct large scale of urban transformation in a short period of time. Therefore, it makes UDCs as developers working for public interest. Apart from working for public interest, the UDCs modify the urban areas to serve the needs of modernity. These corporations make effort to reach to the structures of their respective countries to reach to modernity or grasp the globalized world’s vision. Finally and more importantly, besides functioning for public interest and modernity, these agencies (UDCs) are also responding to

neoliberal agendas. These three Caribbean countries have adopted Structural Adjustment Policies (SAPs), where these UDCs are pressing effective measure to respond to it. As such, UDC of Jamaica accumulated 1.4 billion USD revenue for the financial year 2004-05 from selling of real estate, hotel operations, project management fees and rental incomes. Hence, it operates its development programs without direct funding from the government.

Adham's (2005) "*Globalization, Neoliberalism, and New Spaces of Capital in Cairo* " is a scholarly work on Cairo city tracing its transformation to free market economy particularly, producing of privatized space and urban enclave in public domain as a consequence of neoliberal economic restructuring. In his paper, he points on three arguments as such examining neoliberal economic system of Cairo, the production of greater inequality due to spatial restructuring under this new economic sphere and most importantly, transition of public area to privatized space and urban enclaves. In answering to the first argument the writer intends to focus on the 'Infatih'- the unlock of the market of Egypt before the west in 1974. It is the remarkable event, through which Egyptian market has started to get the taste of neoliberal market economy. The state mechanism gradually turns into monopolistic capitalism where a new class of neo-capitalists emerges with the direct patronization of the successive governments. The adopt of state's neoliberal policies is furthered entrenched by government's decision to join to First Gulf War led by the United States in 1991. It has facilitated the debt sanctioning from America and supporting of other development programs and debt by World Bank and IMF. It eventually boosts up the neoliberal economic system of Egypt evolving its capital Cairo. This new economic structure has led to new social and economic segregation of classes within the country. For Adham, "*The polarization of society into groups of haves and the have-nots is a recurring theme in the critique of economic neoliberalism and globalization* (2005: 21)." He depicts a statistics of Egypt where majority 86% of population constitutes 26% of GDP and the most privileged 2% hold 40% percent of the GDP. It puts effect on housing type of Cairo city. Adham mentions a statistics where low economic class possesses 66% urban housing, highest income section belongs to 10%, and it is obviously the most luxurious portion of the city. In support of final argument, the writer shows that real estate and land development business has become one of most prominent and profitable business due to the usher of neoliberalism in Cairo. Adham states an estimate where, number of Real Estate Development Company has risen triple between 1993 to 1999. It ranges from transformation of land into fortified enclave and large agricultural ranches.

The highest segment of economic class and its subservient middle range class occupy this new spatial set up.

The “*Neoliberalization and Privatization in Hong Kong after the 1997 Financial Crisis*” (2007) by Chung and Ngai is a strong paper on the effect of neoliberalism in the post- 1997 crisis of Hong Kong. The writers depict the neoliberal project of Hong Kong in the light of “creative destruction” by Brenner and Theodore (2002). This study argues that, neoliberalism begins in late 1980s in Hong Kong, but is accelerated after the financial crisis of 1997.

Due to post-colonial country, Hong Kong is run by free market principles. The financial recession is the turning point further deepening the neoliberal process where lucrative public assets are to be privatized by private sectors intervention as such- the handover of public owned real estate to private companies on subsidy. It traces the profit making sign of the private sector. Here Chung and Ngai examine several schemes as such Tenants Purchase Scheme (1998), the MTR privatization (2000), and the Eastern and Western Harbour Tunnel disputes (2005) to understand the invasion of privatization in Hong Kong.

Tenants Purchase Scheme is launched by the Housing Authorities (HA) in 1998 targeting 70% home ownership of Hong Kong by 2007. But due to the extensive objection from private real estate developers the government has to suspend the this scheme in 2001. The Mass Transit Railway (MTR) has been operating by the state since 1979 and has been proved as world’s one of the most efficient mass transit system (Chung and Ngai, 2007). To minimize the budget deficit, the government has listed 23% share of MTR to share market. Moreover, the government plans to increase the fare of MTR in spite of its high profitability. It seems to the writers as people’s more inclined to private sector. The Eastern and Western Harbour Tunnels are operated by private companies. In 2005, the company abruptly, increased the toll charge, despite the government’s objection.

The Privatization of the Link Real Estate Investment Trust (REIT) is an example of extension of invasion of the private sector of Hong Kong. The Housing Authority (HA) has halt the activities of House Ownership Scheme (HOS), largest private housing scheme along with Tenants Purchase Scheme in 2001. But, in 2006 due to shorten the budgetary crisis the government has withdrawn the suspension over the HOS, yet Tenant purchase scheme remains in darkness. As a result, the housing sector has been surrendered to private sector. In this way, the pro-business privatization has a long term negative social consequences backed up by the state as viewed by Chung and Ngai.

Swapna Banerjee-Guha (2009) aims to illustrate the engagement of neoliberalism with existing urban policies of India and thereby observing the inter and intra-urban development particularly focusing on Mumbai- India's most speculative business center.

For Kolkata, the former Bata India has taken a riverside Batanagar project. In its 262 acres of land, Bata in a joint venture with Calcutta Metropolitan Group (another private firm) have projected to set up housing and recreational infrastructure including nine-hole golf course, duplex houses, condominiums, hotels, hospitals and schools. In Jadabpur, former Annapurna Glass factory has accommodated four 35-storied building and a large shopping mall. Another 400 acre of land of Hindustan Motors has also transformed into large residential area. All of these projects are under the umbrella of National Urban Renewal Mission (NURM). In these newly fortified areas, the poor are labeled as intruders and thereby get excluded from these spaces.

In Hyderabad, the housing projects for are intentionally located in the peripheral areas in order to keep the city "slum free". Nevertheless, these new locations are devoid of basic infrastructure and livelihood structure. Urban renewal also strikes in Chandigarh, Ahmadabad or Jaipur where an average population is about 15 lakh, one third of new 300 new malls in the next five years are going to be established in these cities.

The business city Mumbai in 1980s with the with the decline of manufacturing industries ushers to get reconstructed with a new identity as the country's future international financial and service center. The city authority starts to promote cost competition through fiscal conservation, tax incentives, deregulation of land use planning, growing role of consultant firms, Public-Private Partnerships (PPPs), and privatization of the local state. As a result, gradually, Mumbai emerges with a "world class" financial centre.

3.3 Bangladesh Context

Alam and Shafi (1990) in the "*The Urbanization Process and the Challenges*" examine that rapid urbanization is a demographic trend and is associated with general poverty. Alam and Shafi observe two categories of unplanned growth in the physical expansion of Dhaka Metropolitan. The first one is the middle class residential locations built by land owners of Old Dhaka as well as the immediate neighborhood of planned areas. The owners in these regions are mostly intend to build multi-storied houses. The second one is constructing of housing infrastructure in the low-lying areas prone to monsoon floods. The owners in this land deliberately build thatched houses to excavate these flood affected areas. The urban

service facilities as such- water, sanitation, energy are inadequate in both of these unplanned areas. Moreover, a number of squatter settlements are increasingly growing up in slum areas (Alam and Shafi 1990).

A study on “*Urbanization in Bangladesh: Present Status and Policy Implications*” (2010) by Zaman, Alam and Islam evaluates the rapid urbanization process of Bangladesh, her present situation based on secondary literature from 1996 to 2010 and eventually look for a set of recommendations to fight against the current challenges of urbanization in Bangladesh.

In the study, the writers found that Dhaka is the highest concentration of population along with the highest population growth all around the world along with the city Lagos. From secondary data, the study picks that the in migration of Dhaka is at the top of the country. With this huge proportion of population, the city Dhaka is embedded with numerous problems like housing, basic service requirements i.e. electricity, water supply, transportation and so on.

In this regard, the authors formulate on a package of recommendations for the improvement of urbanization of the country, focusing on the development of Dhaka city. This starts from the development of city government, decentralization of functions, to coordination of fiscal and administrative systems and good urban planning and sound incentive- to lessen the number of homelessness, set up of slums in the periphery and improvement of urban service delivery.

Rahman in his “*Urbanization and Urban crime in Bangladesh*” (2012) attempts to contend that urbanization with its pattern are closely linked to the increasing rate of urban crime and violence in present day. He mentions that the fast growing urbanization of Dhaka city is observed with up rise of floating population, unemployment, squatter establishment and violence. Rahman argues that, these slums situated at lakes, river, railway station side are condensed with massive population and these localities are contended as the epicenters of urban crimes such as- drug trafficking, organized crimes, sexual abuses and many more. And these crimes affect all segment of population of the society regardless age, sex and economic disparity.

Shahdat Hossain in the “*Migration, Urbanization and Poverty in Dhaka, Bangladesh*” (2013) tends to explore the contemporary migration and accelerated urban renewal as a metamorphosis of tracing new challenges to urban slums and eventually creating poverty in the periphery regimes of Dhaka.

According to him, the urbanization of Dhaka is has a close connection with rural dislocation and huge migration of this village populace to shift to downtown peripheries. Since the agricultural production is failing to meet up basic financial requirements therefore, many rural individuals are like to take up non farming activities as such- engaging in jobs, trading and so on. A recent phenomenon points in the study is the “overseas money”- those who have remittance earners are keen on buying the neighborhood lands, which is also making the economically collapsed farmers into a more vulnerable situation. Furthermore, due to establish the projects of modernization large corporations also evacuate the pity peasants from their land with a little compensation. As a result, these newly migrants move to urban peripheral parts to elude from poverty in this neoliberal reform era.

Hossain (2013) further explains the beautification of the city, which has become a common concept in the age of neoliberal urban transition and urban renewal. The city transformation has been functioning by numerous real estate development agencies with the offering of housing deals and attractive land offer. These land development offerings are mainly targeting a small segment-for the economically elite class. This privatized mechanism of urban space is establishing handsome proportion of hospitals, schools, colleges and universities to fulfill the demand of affluent section of population. Hossain argues that, now Dhaka has become the city of new restaurants, shopping malls, beauty parlors, cafes and gymnasiums. This privatization of space discriminates the urban poor and makes them forced to move to urban peripheries .

Islam and Shafi in the “*Globalization and Transformation of Dhaka City*” (2010) aim to evaluate the reasons of transformation Dhaka city due to globalization with its imminent consequences. The authors precede the study in two sections. The first part covers with the factors behind the causes of transformation of Dhaka. While the second segment deals with the effects of transformation because of globalization.

The study finds explosive increase in population as the primary cause for transition of Dhaka city. Rural-urban migration is the major factor behind the explosion of population in Dhaka city. Secondly, growth of national economy is another ground of urban renewal. Dhaka, the capital of Bangladesh in 1971, was a poor city accompanied by ‘shared poverty’. Now after 40 years of independence, Dhaka has seen a fair growth in economic sector with around USD 500 GNP per capita. Thirdly, Dhaka city authority and other governmental agencies are in dire need of funding of inadequate resource and thereby weak infrastructure for city building. Physiographic constraints and limited supply of buildable land is another cause of unplanned

urban transformation. Last of all, due to lack of transparency, accountability, participation, decentralization, responsiveness, efficiency urban planning and development do get into light in proper way. Therefore, poor governance results in huge urban trouble.

In the second section of the study, Islam and Shafi put an analysis on the effects of factors of globalization along with the growth of Dhaka city especially focusing on its industrial, commercial residential arrangements. They divide theses on three sectors such as- industrial development pattern, commercial development pattern and residential development pattern. Since 1980s for last two decades export based garment industries have taken place in Dhaka city primarily because of the availability of enough floor space. At present, there are almost 3000 factories at the core of the city (Islam and Shafi 2010). Due to the free flow allowance of globalization, foreign products have been starting to intrude in local market for last two decades. Hence, to gather fiesta of foreign products large number of shopping malls have been set up in the city. Once old Dhaka was designated as wholesale and retail market area and the core of new Dhaka, Motijheel was considered as the Commercial Business District (CBD). However, for last several eras, due to the unplanned permission from Rajdhani Unnayan Kortripokkh (RAJUK) roadside business development centers as such- shopping malls, business centers have become popular phenomena for the city renewals- private real estate agencies, land developers and malls owners. For Islam and Shafi (2010: 84), *“Dhaka city boasts of housing one of the biggest shopping malls in Asia Bashundhara City...Luxuries like this are not at all benefitting the country as the shopping complex creates tremendous traffic congestion due to its location in one of the busist parts of the city”*. For understanding residential development pattern, the writers partition among high-income residential areas, middle-income residential areas and low-income residential areas. Dhanmondi, Banani and Gulshan in liberation era and Baridhara, Nikunja, Uttara, in post liberation era are considered as high economic class residential location. The study finds that, houses in these areas are primarily occupied by the overseas buyers. Today many of these areas and individual buildings are taking the feature of gated community found in developed cities. Well planned housing sector for middle class individuals flourished in pre liberation phase combining Mohammadpur, Shahjahanpur, Mirpur, Lalmatia etc. after the liberation, due to accommodate a huge middle class population private real estate agencies have started to grasp these areas for mixed use of housing as well as commercial development. The study depicts that there prevails huge population density in these spaces. Moreover, individuals usually buy these lands or mostly flats on loans with high interest. The poor are dwelt in all

around Dhaka city mainly in low lands. They reside in slums and squatters. In the study authors assert that in recent years massive scale evictions in order to free government lands makes the slum dwellers vulnerable and thereby being forced to shift to urban fringes (Islam and Shafi 2010).

3.4 Point of departure

Most of the literatures of the offshore scholars focus on the neoliberal mission, neoliberal economy and its implication to a city, while a few works is found on linking neoliberalism with urban transformation. While, the overwhelming literatures in the context of Bangladesh trigger on studying urbanization transformation in terms population expansion and issues caused by rapid and over urbanization like urban criminality or poverty. In this case, this study attempts to coincide neoliberalism with urban redevelopment spotlighting on privatization of space.

CHAPTER FOUR

Theoretical Framework

This chapter flourishes with several critical and condensed writing of Harvey on neoliberalism. Here, the studies as such, “A Brief History to Neoliberalism” (2005), “Neoliberalism as Creative Destruction” (2007), “The Political Economy of Public Space” (2006) and “The Right to the City” (2008) have been overviewed for sketching theoretical framework of this study.

4.1 Neoliberalism in David Harvey

Harvey contends neoliberalism as a theory of political economic practices rather than an absolute political ideology. It supports an institutional framework for liberating individual entrepreneurial freedom and skill with a view to attaining human prosperity and thereby promotes free market, strong private property rights and free trade. The task of the state is to set up all necessary settings as well as formulate policies and schemes for facilitating these practices. In his “*A Brief History to Neoliberalism*” Harvey (2005) depicts a wide ranging definition of neoliberalism as,

“Neoliberalism is in the first instance a theory of political economic practices that proposes that human well-being can best be advanced by liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills within an institutional framework characterized by strong private property rights, free markets and free trade. The role of the state is to create and preserve an institutional framework appropriate to such practices. The state has to guarantee, for example, the quality and integrity of money. It must also set up those military, defence, police and legal structures and functions required to secure private property rights and to guarantee, by force if need be, the proper functioning of markets. Furthermore, if markets do not exist (in areas such as land, water, education, health care, social security, or environmental pollution) then they must be created, by state action if necessary. But beyond these tasks the state should not venture. State interventions in markets (once created) must be kept to a bare minimum because, according to the theory, the state cannot possibly possess enough information to second-guess market signals (prices) and because powerful interest groups will inevitably distort and bias state interventions (particularly in democracies) for their own benefit” (Harvey, 2005:2).

Definition of neoliberalism suggested by Harvey involves the sternly confined idea that the world has gone through “*an emphatic turn towards neoliberalism in political-economic practices and thinking since the 1970s*” (2005: 2). Here Harvey argues to observe neoliberalism as a distinct economic theory that has tended to take over modern liberalism—from Keynesian approaches to macroeconomic government. The role of the state lies in maintaining and paves way to flourishing individuals’ commercial freedom as well as private property rights.

4.2 The neoliberal state

4.2.1 The neoliberal state in theory

On basing neoliberal theory, neoliberal state ought to play for the individual private property rights, free trading, free movements of markets and the rule of law. These are the essential settings to promote individual liberty. Hence, the state has to monopolize its suppressive techniques to enhance these liberties by any means.

The neoliberal theory proposes an idea of eradication of poverty from both local and international spheres, which can be achieved through free markets and free trades. The lack of private property right is viewed as one of the greatest impediments to secure such economic advancement and human welfare. Furthermore, the establishment of private property right can be an option to solve the ‘tragedy of commons’- the propensity of people to carelessly use common resources as such water and energy. Sectors previously run or regulated by the state must be handed over to the private sectors. Moreover, state will perform deregulated role in monitoring private enterprises. The primary task of the state will be to encourage the contest between private companies. This free flexibility of capital between sectors, regions and countries is considered as a significant contribution of neoliberalism. Therefore, it urges to remove all hindrance such as taxes, tariffs and environmental conservation.

Under the neoliberal era, the state’s controlling capability over capital flow and commodity is to be yield to global market. Here, international competition is viewed as advantageous since it improves productivity and efficiency and lessens prices. Therefore, World Trade Organization (WTO) plays critical role to incorporate such laws of freedom of trade and so on.

The proponents of neoliberalism found it as antagonistic to democracy. It shows a critical view to democracy where majority rule governance is considered as a probable threat. It

hinders individual rights and freedom. As Harvey (2005: 66) opines, “*Democracy is viewed as a luxury*”. As a result, neoliberal theorists support legal system and rule of law to seek to solution to a problem

4.2.2 Tensions and contradictions of neoliberal theory

Neoliberalism theory has come up with some obscure ideas as well as contradicting spheres in explaining the functions of neoliberal state.

Firstly, the contest between private sectors often results in monopoly as stronger sides diminish the feeble ones. It is found difficult to provide permission of electrical or gas supply lines to several companies in an area. Harvey mentions the competing electrical power grids, water and sewerage systems and railway links between Boston and Washington in this case. He argues that in situations of provision, access and pricing there is no alternative to state’s regulation. Therefore, the concept of monopoly power seems as a problem.

And last of all, the concern of market failure creates a controversy. It emerges while private firms evade paying full expenses accountable to them by leaving their liabilities outside the market. Here Harvey contends the classic case of pollution, where individuals and companies escape costs by discharging lethal wastes freely in the environment. It certainly degrades the ecosystem. Human health can also be affected due to the attack of these detrimental substances. However, the neoliberal theorists claim that restrained intervention of state consequences such problems.

4.2.3 The neoliberal state in practice

There are two reasons because of which the character of neoliberal state is hard to describe. First of all, the diversity of the pattern of neoliberal theory soon becomes noticeable. Secondly, the dynamic of neoliberalization has forced adaptation that varies greatly from space to space and over time.

According to Harvey (2005), there are two major spheres to re fabricate the class power dynamics. Primarily, the need to establish ‘good business or investment climate’ for capitalists creates a space of the restoration of class power. Political stability and full respect of law emerge as the conditions that must be considered as ‘class neutral’ phenomena in neoliberal theory. Yet, in practice, in a situation of clash, the conventional neoliberal state supports the ‘good business climate’ opposing the collective labor rights and environmental conservation. Lastly, in facing a conflicting incident, a neoliberal state usually prioritize the integrity of financial system over the well being of population or environmental quality.

Harvey attempts to put traits of several countries with their respective contexts of tracing the track of neoliberalization. Health, education and housing the prime sectors for Britain since Second World War have long been driven to public sector. While Margaret Thatcher has changed these typical state oriented service sectors. She enacted the privatization in health and education sectors, cut tax and formulated new market mechanisms. All these usher the neoliberal scheme in world economy. Along to her way, many social democratic countries of Central and Eastern Europe has embraced the policies of neoliberalism to their countries. However, several developmental countries like Singapore relies on public sector to run basic need programs as such education and health care. On the contrary, the overwhelming developmental countries are engaged in establishing as well as flourishing 'good business climate' and thereby promoting privatization of numerous previously state run activities. Therefore, these countries facilitate competition between firms, corporations and territorial entities and allow the rules of free trade and rely on open export markets.

Nowadays the membership of International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Trade Organization (WTO) is a prerequisite for getting entry into the institutional arrangements of world trade. Hence, the developmental countries are increasingly merging into this neoliberal fold. Harvey remarks that the effect of Asian crisis 1997-1998, has dragged more developmental countries in neoliberal practice i.e. South Korea due to the struggle in recent time.

Harvey portrays a scenario of extraction through financial mechanism. It demonstrates a manifestation of class power in international financial centers. The entrepreneurs of developing countries while borrow money form abroad, own country's sufficient foreign exchange is required to cover the borrowings i.e. the US Treasury bonds. The difference between interest rate of the money and and the money deposited in the US treasuries yields net financial flow to the imperial center at the cost of developing countries. Harvey construes this exploitation as, *"This tendency on the part of the core states like the US to protect financial interests and to stand by as they suck in surpluses from elsewhere both promotes and reflects the consolidation of upper-class power within those states around processes of financialization"* (2005: 74).

Neoliberal state after being exploited at international economy targets at least to retain the flourishing of domestic economy in order to survive with outer world. So, it considers labor market as a crucial and sensitive aspect. Neoliberal state requires squeezing all sorts of social solidarity that restrains capital accumulation as such trade unions are not to be established or

if established should be driven in a restricted way. In this way, neoliberal state refrains flexible specialization- multi skilled workers capable doing several types of work and promotes flexible accumulation- culmination of capital through organizational flexibility i.e. new forms of service sectors. It eventually results in low wages, threat to job insecurity, and loss of job benefits.

Another significant feature depicted by Harvey on neoliberal state is that it increasingly favors public-private partnerships inaugurated by Margaret Thatcher. It argues that business and corporations closely work together with the state. Moreover, they usually play a crucial role in influencing public policies and formulating regulatory frameworks which are mainly beneficial to them.

To sustain this continuous domination of the private sector, the conventional neoliberal state adopts conceive strategy. The most familiar technique taken by the state is the policing tactics. The state increases the forms of surveillance and multiplies the deployment of police and formulates number of forceful laws and policies as such anti-picketing rules. This proliferation of number of law enforcing agencies, forms of surveillance and policy enactment ultimately works to guard the corporate interest suppressing the working class or any other opposing their interest. All these practices are not fitted to neoliberal theory (Harvey 2005).

In neoliberal era, in order to protect civil right or the rights of handicapped persons a number of Non Governmental Organization (NGOs) work side by side of the neoliberal state. These non-governmental organizations often perform their functions as a shadow government familiarly known as 'civil society'. This is also another practice found in neoliberal state absent in neoliberal theory.

4.2.4 David Harvey with adverse aspects of neoliberalism; theory and practice

Harvey finds neoliberal state as an unstable political form. The main problem Harvey discovers in neoliberalism is that burgeoning inequality between the stated public goal of neoliberalism- betterment of the masses, whereas, the actual ramification of neoliberalism- the restoration of class power. And neoliberal state works as a supporting body to perpetuate this class domination (Harvey 2005).

4.3 Neoliberalism as Creative Destruction: David Harvey

Harvey (2007) contends that neoliberalism has made magnificent success to the forming and reforming the class position of the higher class. It has led restoration of class status in developed countries like the US, Britain and emergence as well as reordering of class position in many developing countries such as China, India and so on.

4.3.1 Accumulation by dispossession

The entrepreneurs and corporate class apply a process “accumulation by dispossession” to gather wealth through new forms of techniques and thus accentuate social disparity. David Harvey defines this process accumulation by dispossession as, “*I mean the continuation and proliferation of accretion practices that Marx had designated as "primitive" or "original" during the rise of capitalism*” (Harvey, 2007: 34). Harvey illustrates several features of this process of new forms of exploitation. This involves:

- I. Commodification and privatization of land
- II. Eviction of people from the lands
- III. Transformation of property rights i.e. state owned, commons, communal into completely private property
- IV. Repression of the commons right
- V. Commodification of labor power
- VI. Appropriation resources by implying colonial, neocolonial and imperial process
- VII. Monetization of exchange and taxation
- VIII. Slave trade particularly sex industry
- IX. Use of the credit system as radical means of primitive accumulation.

4.3.2 Driving forces of accumulation by dispossession

State by dint of its exclusive access and utilization of policy making and violent activities supports as well as facilitates this neoliberal process of accumulation as such handover of health care or access to education to privatized sector which was formerly run by the state. Harvey concedes four main driving forces flowing neoliberalism to the way to the creative destruction (Harvey 2007).

4.3.2.1. Privatization

Neoliberal mission signifies the privatization and commodification of public property. It searches for the accumulation of capital through privatizing all types of public services as

such water, telecommunication, transportation and social welfare provision i.e. housing, health care, education, public institution e.g. universities, hospitals and so on.

4.3.2. 2. Financialization

Deregulation permits the private companies to flourish redistributive activity in financial system through speculation, thievery and fraud. Structured asset destruction through inflation, stock promotions and corporate collapse through credit and stock manipulation are the weapons of these frauds in financial system caused by the deregulation of the neoliberal state.

4.3.2.3. The management and manipulation of crises

It is a deeper procedure that involves the rising of the debt trap as the major way of accumulation by dispossession. It entails crisis creation, management and manipulation in the international arena through the deliberative rearrangement of wealth from the poor countries to the rich ones.

4.3.2. 4. State redistribution

The neoliberal state in nature is a prime agent of redistributive policies inverse the flow from upper to lower class. It starts this process with privatization policies and budget cutting of the state for social developmental functions. Though privatization often reveals as beneficial but in long run, it might be proved with adverse impact. Harvey mentions the context of the poorer section of London where in Thatcher's reign privatization of housing sector apparently appeared before the low income earners as a blessing but gradually revealed that it was a policy to shift these people to periphery (Harvey 2007).

4.4 Political Economy of Public Space: David Harvey

David Harvey tends to show several case studies depicting that, what our daily life experiences in the city certainly has some influence on how we belong in this world and we think and act politically within it. Therefore, Harvey takes the renewal of public space in Second Empire of Paris. He tended to observe Haussmann's work and modeled his actions in restructuring New York.

4.4.1 Haussmann's renewal of public space

Harvey contends the work of Haussmann in reshaping Paris as well the section of people occupying this new urban space of Paris. The construction of new boulevards comes up with aesthetic beauty for Paris. Yet, Harvey argues that though the boulevards are obviously

public place, the right to occupy these new boulevards primarily rests upon the upper class of the city dwellers by having these into uses. They need to utilize these boulevards either for driving vehicles or for relishing their beauty. On the contrary, the poorer section is not in need of such magnanimous and magnificent boulevards. Furthermore, the café houses are not private spaces either, however a certain segment of people, particularly, the richer ones exercise this space for consumption as well as commercial purpose. The poor are not capable of use this specific public space as this belongs to selective ones and more importantly beyond their capacity to afford this space to occupy or exercise. As Harvey portrays, “*The café projects an illuminated image outward onto the public space...the poor neither ignore nor evade it. They are forced to confront it in exactly the same way the occupants of the café cannot avoid seeing them*” (Harvey 2006: 21). In this way the poor are entangled to the re fabrication of city space.

Harvey critically observes that one of the reasons of the establishment of boulevards is sustaining the military repressions. These new boulevards are designed in such a way so that they can easily escape the barricades or fire lines of the workers during protest. Moreover, the boulevards emerge as the spaces of militarization, surveillance and control. All these actions make these boulevards as “*public places to facilitate the state’s protection bourgeois private property*” (Harvey 2006: 23).

4.4.2 The Politics behind the renewal of Paris city space

The politics behind this urban renewal of Paris reveals as to give up the “right to the city” to the hand of the bourgeois. The exercise and experience of new public spaces like boulevards and café demonstrate the exclusive control and occupation of private activities and functions. Haussmann frames a process of “embourgeoisment” for the center of the city. This process proclaims the establishment of new buildings and construction sites around the boulevards shifting the industrial activities to the periphery. These new establishments primarily space the architecture and aesthetic beauty of the city. All these things are done to push the poor from the city center to the periphery as at that time bourgeois interest force the political goal to mould the city after their desire.

4.5 The Right to the City: David Harvey

In this study, David Harvey’s “*The Right to the City*” is preferred to be taken as one of the fundamental theoretical approach. It strategically tends to describe the capitalist process and

how the city has been the space for investing surplus capital. Particularly, this process is done through the constant creation of construction.

In “*The Right to the City*” Harvey (2008) postulates, to claim the right to the city, here is to claim some kind of shaping power over the process of urbanization, over the ways in which the cities are made and remade. And he offers to do so in a fundamental and radical way.

4.5.1 Outline of the Right to the City

An outline of “the right to the city” can be drawn as- the right to the city means the right to command over the urban process. The right to command over the urban process is the right of the political and capitalist class to shape cities and city life more and more after their own desires. The right of the political and economic elite to shape the city is their right to accumulate capital under neoliberal policies. Therefore, the right to the city is parallel to the growth of “Urbanization under Capitalism” (Harvey, 2008).

4.5.2 Urbanization as a class phenomenon enforced by neoliberalism

“Urbanization has always been, therefore, a class phenomenon, since surpluses are extracted from somewhere and from somebody, while the control over their disbursement typically lies in few hands” (Harvey, 2008:2).

This is an intimate relationship between urbanization and capitalism. Capitalists produce surplus to get surplus value. They invest this surplus value to get more production. The continuous reinvestment results in expansion of surplus production at a compound rate. Thus, the capital is accumulated and disbursed in a few hands.

According to the postulation of Harvey (2008), the major considerations are-

- I. Neoliberalism integrates state and corporate interests.
- II. It applies money power to ensure disbursement of capital
- III. It uses state apparatus to disburse the surplus in the hand of the corporate capital class and upper class in shaping the urban process.
- IV. Thus the right to the city falls into the hands of private or quasi-private interests.
- V. Ultimately, the corporate capital class and upper class shape the cities or urban society after their own interests and desires.

4.5.3 The context of Paris; how urbanization absorbs surplus product

Shaping and reshaping urbanization process requires huge quantities of labor and capital. Napoleon Bonaparte therefore took an initiative to solve the surplus of capital and

unemployment problem through urbanization. This urbanization involved rebuilding Paris through infrastructural investment such as construction of railroads or grand works e.g. Suez Canal

4.5.4 Development of both urban infrastructure and construction of new way of life

Haussman's system constructed new way of life along with urban infrastructure for which Paris became the "City of Light"- the great center of consumption, tourism and pleasure, the cafes, department stores, fashion industry and grand expositions. All of these changed urban living so that it could absorb vast surpluses and employment through consumerism.

4.5.5 Impact of Urbanization under Capitalism

The impacts are presented below:

4.5.5.1 Urban inequality

Urbanization under capitalism permits surplus savings to access to surplus housing demand. It permits a few people to afford sky rocking houses. On the counter part, it permits majority not to afford the sky rocking house prices in urban centers. Rather, they are forced to metropolitan semi-periphery. They are deprived of all living standards.

4.5.5.2 Stock trading

Incredible volatility in stock trading is the reflection of how financial capital and moneymarkets work in relation to urbanization.

4.5.5.3 Life as commodity

Consumerism, tourism and culture based knowledge industries e.g. film industries has turned the city life of dwellers into commodity. Shopping malls, multiplexes, box stores, fast food shops, artisanal market places are the manifestation of the consumerism, tourism which absorb surplus values and product and labor. Zukin (1995) puts it as "Pacification by Cappuccino".

4.5.5.4 Privatization of public sector

Supporting neoliberal ethic, public sectors has also become privatized. Police security becomes privatized when it is situated in the aristocratic residential areas to prevent others to enter into this boundary.

4.5.5. 5 Dispossession

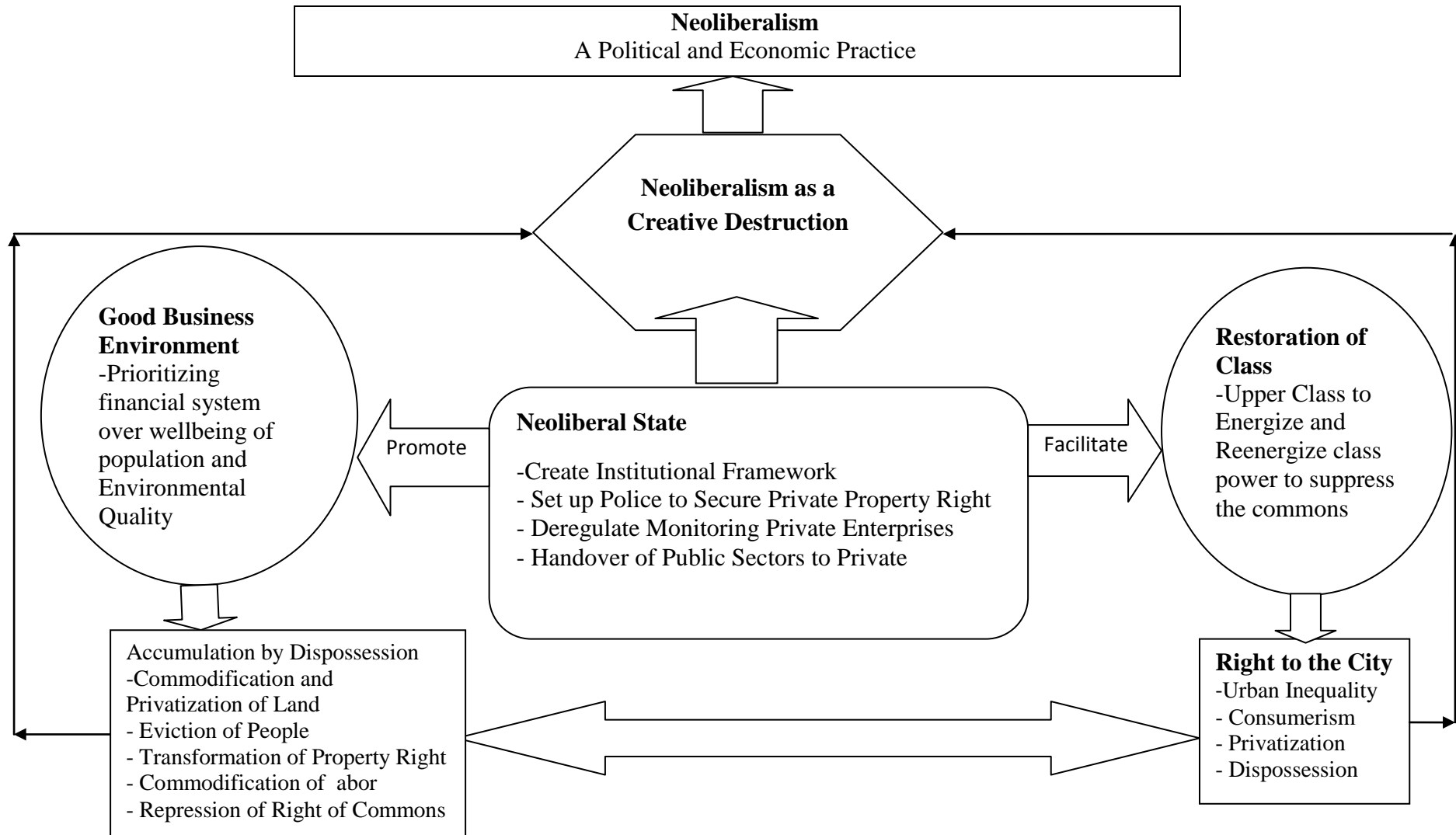
The poor, unprivileged and marginalized from political power suffer first and foremost from dispossession process. “Process of displacement and what I call “accumulation by dispossession” also lies at the core of the urban process under capitalism” (Harvey 2008: 10).

This process involves creative destruction through violence. Financial power backed up by the state to push to forcible slum clearance for the use of capitalist and upper class.

4.6 Sketching the Theory

On the basis of above discussed themes a theoretical outline has been sketched combining all condensed concepts argued by Harvey in order to frame the study. The findings and interpretation of the study will try to evaluate that to what extent this theory is to be fitted in to track the transformation of Dhaka city. The theoretical framework is portrayed below:

Diagram-4.1: Theoretical Framework



CHAPTER FIVE

Methodology

In this chapter, a clear description will be presented on how the study is to be conducted, the methods and strategies will be adopted, challenges to be encountered during the fieldwork, as well as ethical considerations and dilemmas. It will comprehensively discuss research methodology, instrument of data collection, tools of data analysis and consideration of ethical issues.

5.1 The approach of ‘Theory to Data’

The drag from ‘Theory to Data’ and ‘Data to Theory’ are extensively exercised techniques in commencing scientific research basing on the nature and feature of research topic (Zetterberg, 1966). In this study, the strategy from ‘Theory to Data’ will be followed, as a concrete and condensed theoretical approach on neoliberalism is framed for this study. Here, neoliberalism is sketched as a political and economic practice, sought to be featured by its nature of creative destruction followed by Harvey (2007) “Neoliberalism as a Creative Destruction”. This creative destruction nature of neoliberalism is worked out by its two apparatuses namely ‘Accumulation by Dispossession’ and ‘Right to the City’. In this framework, the role of neoliberal state is designated as to ‘maintain good business environment’ and ‘restore of class’. And to serve these functions, state with its different schemes (institutional framework) and bodies (establishment of police) works to support and promote the apparatuses of neoliberalism and thereby paves way to the perpetuation of neoliberal mission.

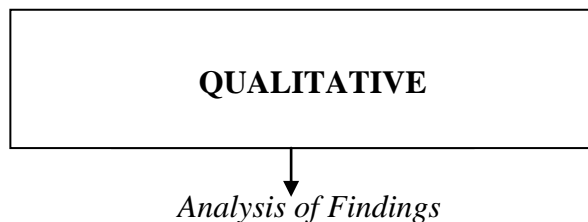
5.2 Research Methodology

According to Silverman, “*A methodology refers to the gathering, forms of data analysis etc. in planning and executing a research study*” (2001:04). That means methodology is the skeleton of a research that outlines the pathway in which a study is be conducted. Social research deals with understanding, describing, analyzing and explaining social phenomena and events. On the basis of research design, three types of research methodologies i.e. quantitative, qualitative and mixed methodologies can be approached in order to conduct a social research (Creswell, 2007). In this study, mixed approach has been selected for research design- data collection, analysis and interpretation.

5.3 Rationale of mixed approach

“Mixed method research is an approach to inquiry that combines or associates both qualitative and quantitative forms. It involves philosophical assumptions, the use of qualitative and quantitative approaches, and mixing of both approaches in a study” (Creswell and Clark, cited in Creswell, 2009:04). For the design of this research, mixed approach has taken into consideration. Because, the triangulated use of qualitative and quantitative data will allow developing a comprehensive view in revealing findings, than applying a single tool. To understand the redevelopment of Dhaka city through the shifting to the privatization of space, of three types of mixed approach concurrent mixed method-the collection of both types of data (qualitative and quantitative) at the same time and integrates the information in the interpretation or discussion of overall results. And in sorts of concurrent approach, this research will specifically follow Concurrent Embedded Strategy. That means, in this approach, a primary method guides the project where a secondary method, provides supporting role in this procedure. The mixing of data from two methods often integrates the information and compare one with another, usually in the discussion section of the study (Creswell, 2007).

Diagram-5.1: Concurrent Embedded Design



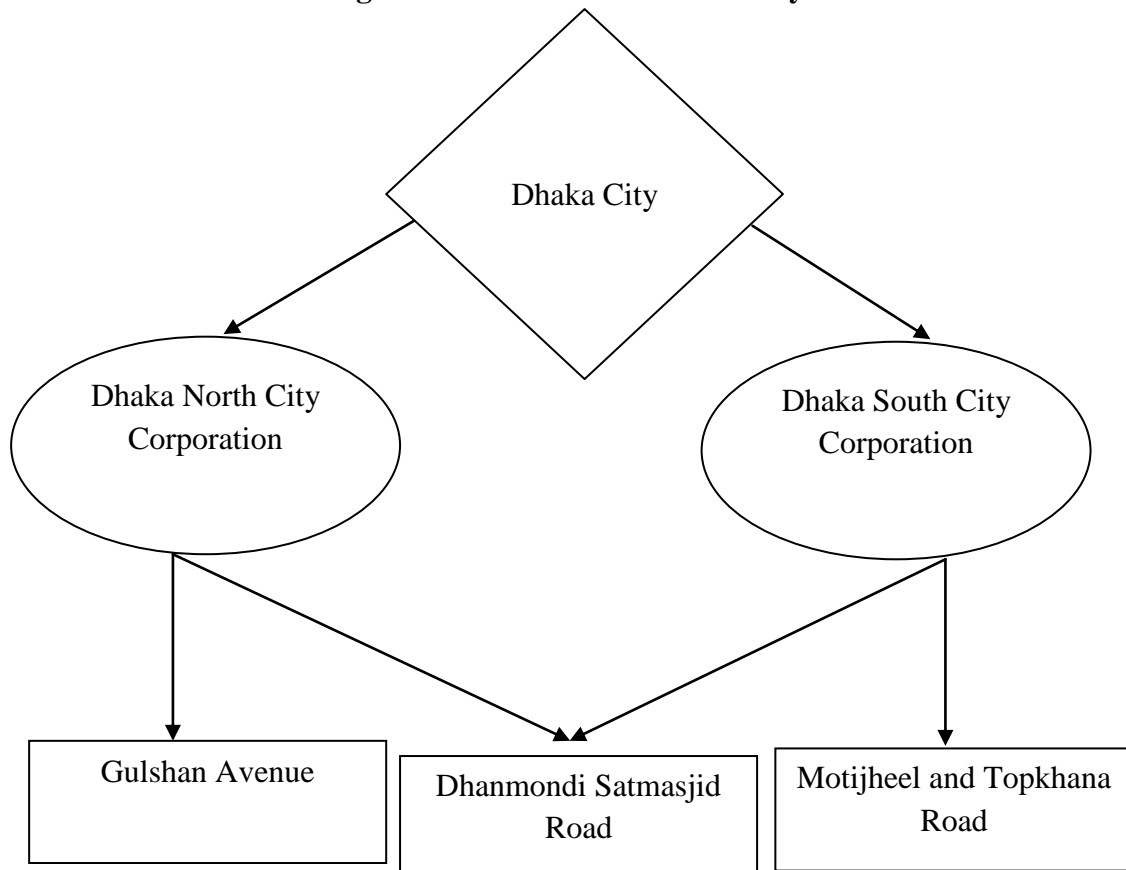
Source: Creswell et al. (2003)

Hence, to unveil the neoliberal transformation of Dhaka city focusing on the privatization of space as well as current spatial arrangements, both qualitative and quantitative data will be collected. Between them, qualitative data will take the leading charge to disclose the alteration process along with the early and present time spatial establishments. While the quantitative data will make an attempt to quantify the current proportion spatial set up in terms of ownership, nature and feature of the structures. Here quantitative data will supplement the qualitative one in depicting the present day scenario and more importantly, both of these data will integrate with one another and will draw a detail portray on how neoliberalism has transformed Dhaka to a privatized space.

5.4 Selecting study area

In order to find out the neoliberal transformation of Dhaka city this research has identified several major roads instead of areas while collecting information on city Dhaka. This is an unconventional attempt tends to trace the road, roadside transformation and present spatial arrangements on roadside and thereby to understand the change of the area connected to this road. In lieu of this, Dhaka City at first divided in terms of City Corporation, Dhaka North City Corporation (DNCC) and Dhaka South City Corporation (DSCC). One major road/avenue from each area has been purposively selected on the basis of importance on both past and present time, transformation due to neoliberal invasion and current spatial embellishment and capacity of representing that respective area.

Diagram-5.2: The Selection of Study Area



Hence, The Gulshan Avenue for Dhaka North City Corporation and Motijheel and Topkhana Road for Dhaka South City Corporation have been selected as study area. Moreover, another road besetting in both City Corporation (North and South) and significant for the aforesaid reasons namely Dhanmondi Satmasjid Road also taken as study location.

For Dhanmondi Satmasjid road, Dhaka South City Corporation covers 1.8 kilometers straight line from BGB Gate to the circle of Dhanmondi road.16 (Bangladesh Eye Hospital) and from onwards to Mohammadpur Bus Depot 1 kilometer road is under the possession of Dhaka North City Corporation.

Table-5.1: Description of Study Location

Road Name	Expansion	Length	Area Covered	City Corporation
Gulshan Avenue	From Gulshan circle-1 to Gulshan circle-2	1.6 kilometers	Gulshan	Dhaka North City Corporation
Motijheel and Topkhana Road	From Paltan circle to Shapla Chattar (circle) through Daynik Bangla circle	1.3 kilometers	Motijheel	Dhaka South City Corporation
Dhanmondi Satmasjid Road	From Shaheed Shakil BGB Gate to Mohammadpur Bus stand	2.8 kilometers	Dhanmondi and edge of Lalmatia	Dhaka North and South City Corporation

5.5 Method for data collection

As early mentioned, this study will follow mixed approach, so both quantitative and qualitative data collection methods will taken to gather compact and concrete data from the field.

5.5.1 Quantitative method

A quantitative research seeks to quantify, or reflect with numbers, observation on human behavior (Jackson, 2003). The predominant method of quantitative data collection is survey. However, to conduct this study, the Land Use Survey will be taken as a quantitative method

for data collection, with a view to revealing the specific plot or spatial set up in every particular location (road).

5.5.1.1 Land Use Survey

A Land Use survey is a type of survey where data is collected on how land of an area is being used. The Land Use Survey often classifies lands in form of commercial, residential, administrative and others.

On the basis of the purpose, a Land Use survey can be of three categories as such standard land use survey, engineering land use survey and informational land use survey. For this study, Informational Land Use Survey has been adopted.

Data collected through this type of Land Use Survey combines four dimensions-

- I. Development site dimension- It includes the development or nature of a building
- II. Structure Dimension- This incorporates the structure i.e. storey of the building
- III. Activity Dimension- This involves the type of activities run in the building
- IV. Function Dimension- It occupies specific type of activities go on the building

5.5.1.2 Implying Land Use Survey

The Land Use Survey will be conducted on both sides of every study unit or road. By formulating map and filling up data sheet, Land Use Survey in every area will be carried out.

5.5.1.2. 1. Mapping

A map on each road will be drawn, where name of the establishment i.e buildings (if visible) will be included, nature of the building e.g. commercial, residential or mixed space, structure of the building (if exists) in form of stories or floors are included.

5.5.1.2. 2. Data sheet

Another data sheet will be filled up, in which all descriptive information will be available. It will be following this way-

- I. Name of the establishment- The name of the set up i.e. building
- II. Ownership of the establishment- In which sector, the establishment belongs to either public (governmental) or private. Here, public-private concept exists not in form of access to the space, rather on the ownership of the space
- III. Nature of the establishment- Whether the structure is a commercial, residential, mixed, administrative or educational site

- IV. Structure of the establishment- How many storey the structure is
- V. Feature or Function of the building- What sorts specific functions are performed in the establishment
- VI. Remarks- Anything else significant for the study about the establishment depicts in this section

5.5.2 Qualitative method

Qualitative research focuses verbal descriptions and explanations of human behavior. It emphasizes attentive and comprehensive portrayal of social practices in an effort to understand how the participants experience and explain their own world (Jackson, 2003). Observations, interviews, documents, discussions are one of the commonly applied techniques for collecting qualitative information. In order to find the inner story of transformation this roadside infrastructure along with whole area, this study will gather information from observation, in-depth interviews and informal discussions.

5.5.2.1 In-depth interview; Residential or Workplace History

In-depth interviews in form of residential or workplace history are conducted with the individuals exercising the space either for living or working purpose for last twenty five years at least. Mostly, senior citizens of these locations are the prime target for the source of information. An unstructured, open ended interview guideline will be followed while this interview. The residential or workplace history will cover the conceptual framework as mentioned-

- I. Early time residential or workplace history
- II. Urban transformation
- III. Urban transformation in private sector
- IV. Residence/workplace; today
- V. Access to privatized space
- VI. Surveillance in privatized space
- VII. Role of the state
- VIII. Right to the urban space

5.5.2.2 Observation; complete observer

This research will also involve observation in category of complete observer- the researcher is behind a one-way mirror that permits undetected and unnoticed observation (Neuman, 1997).

To understand current spatial establishment, observation with active looking, informal interviewing and detailed field notes will depict the existing spatial arrangements of the study locations.

5.5.2.3 Informal discussion

A significant number of informal discussions will be conducted to cross-check the data revealed from in-depth interviews. Moreover, heterogeneous age group discussion conditioning exercising these spaces for at least five to ten years will deliver concrete and argumentative findings. The voice of young generation (as most of them do not cover the residential and workplace exercising for twenty years and more) will have an option to be raised in these discussions. The informal discussions will array with following conceptual framework as such-

- I. Early time residential/workplace history
- II. Urban transformation
- III. Urban transformation in private sector
- IV. Residence/workplace; today
- V. Access to privatized space
- VI. Surveillance in privatized space
- VII. Role of the state
- VIII. Right to the urban space

5.6 Sampling framework and sample size

For the implication of Land Use Survey, each and every establishment belonging either side of the study location, Gulshan Avenue, Motijheel and Topkhana Road and Dhanmondi Satmasjid Road have gone under mapping and enrolling in the data sheet.

Table 5.2: Number of Establishments in the study area

Name of the Road	Number of establishment or space
Gulshan Avenue	94
Motijheel and Topkhana Road	92
Dhanmondi Satmasjid Road	137
Total	323

It indicates that, these all 323 establishment of three study areas are included in data sheet and covered with map.

In order to get qualitative findings, the early mentioned in-depth interviews, informal discussion and observations have been conducted. These in-depth interviews were judgmental in type, however, residing or working in that respective area for more than twenty years is the only criteria of selecting respondents. For informal discussion, the criteria for selecting respondents has been maintained that no discussants will be taken for study living or working in that not more than five to ten years.

Table 5.3: Qualitative Tools implied in the study

Data collection tool	Number of tools in each area	Number of tools combining whole areas
Observation	1	3
In-depth interviews (either residential or workplace history)	8	24
Informal Discussion	2	6

5.7 Commencing field study

As the study has followed concurrent embedded mixed approach, therefore, both quantitative and qualitative data have collected at a same time. Here a technique has been applied to facilitate the data collection process. Each study location has been split into two parts as such for Gulshan Avenue, from Navana Tower to Agora Bus stop comprises the first half, while onwards Agora bus stop to Gulshan-2 circle constitutes the second half. Now in opening half, at first mapping and enrollment of feature of establishments has been completed. Then four interviews and two informal discussions have been conducted in that respective area. Then the closing half have followed the same procedure. In this way, Motijheel and Topkhana road have split into Topkhana road and Motijheel road. And for Dhanmondi Satmasjid road, first half begins from BGB Gate to the circle of Dhanmondi road.¹⁶ (Bangladesh Eye Hospital) and second half stretches from onwards to Mohammdpur Bus Depot. The first accomplishment of mapping in a small area (as the road has been divided) gives an idea on the location, its new spatial arrangements and some existing old structure. This eventually hunches to conduct a spontaneous and meaningful discussion (both in-depth interviews and

informal discussions). However, for observation in different times of a day these areas has been observed along with structures set up, who are enjoying these spaces, access of poor to these newly formed private spaces and so on.

5.8 Data Analysis

For quantitative, data gathered in data sheet will be entered in the SPSS software for quantitative analysis. Then descriptive statistics i.e. ownership of the building public (governmental) or private will be provided to understand the present scenario of study areas in form of numbers. Moreover, some bivariate data analysis will also be applied to clarify this scenario i.e. nature of building (commercial, residential) in terms of ownership (public or private). SPSS version 16 will be used to have a sound quantitative data analysis.

To analyze qualitative data, recorded interviews and discussions will be transcribed in English. Collected data through observation and interviews is mostly in words. Data from the discussions is also depicted in words. Thereby words, context, internal consistency, frequency and intensity comments, specificity, trends/themes and interrelations will be considered during the interpretation of the data. Field notes taken from the field work will be brought under consideration.

5.9 Validity and Reliability

Validity are the steps that are taken to show accuracy of research and findings. It will be achieved through triangulation (Bryman, 2004). Data will be collected through data sheet, interviews, observation and discussions from the study area and experienced population belonging the area. Findings on charts and diagrams from the quantitative data sheet and direct quotes driven from interviews and discussions will be presented in the thesis to contribute to the transparency of the data for the reader. Validity of this research project will be ensured through triangulation of data collection method.

Reliability is concerned with the accuracy of reporting, consistency of coding and thoroughness of analysis (Bryman, 2004). This is because accurateness will be accomplished with almost accurate mapping of each and every establishments of the study area, high resolution images on the infrastructures of the study locations as well as high quality voice recording equipment and immediately writing down observations and impressions after interviews. Finally, strategies of the interpretation of data from the field notes will be discussed properly with the researcher's advisor.

5.10 Ethical considerations

While capturing images of the buildings, oral permission will be sought to the authorized persons i.e. receptionists and officers of all captured buildings. All participants in the research process are informed about the motive of the study. Additionally the informants will be conversed about their consent. All participation in the study is purely voluntary and participants have the choice to withdraw from any further involvement in the research at any time. It is clearly explained at the beginning of each interview after which participants will be given the opportunity to ask for any clarification. For informal discussions, verbal consent will be provided of utilizing recorders in research area. An audio recorder is used explicitly so that the participant can understand that their consent has been given priority and privacy has been maintained.

For the purpose of spatial arrangements, data sheet contains specification of buildings at the study area. Audio recording of individual interviews, informal discussions, transcriptions of interviews and informal discussion and field notes will be held confidentially. Participants will not be requested to provide their respective personal or companies details such as names, provision or other information that can potentially lead to them being personally identifiable. All data will be gathered anonymously for the final output of the research (the masters thesis). All audio records and filed notes will be deleted or erased after the completion of the thesis write up process.

CHAPTER SIX

Findings

This section has portrayed the neoliberal transformation that Dhaka city has been gone through in last two decades as well as its spatial arrangements belonging at present time with the use of facts and findings from multifarious facets after gathering data on three study locations, i.e. Gulshan Avenue, Motijheel and Topkhana road and Dhanmondi Satmasjid road. With quantitative method at first, the current establishment of the study area has been presented, where the qualitative one has explicated the process of neoliberal transformation on the respective area. However, the findings has been expressed on area wise presentation.

6.1 Findings of Gulshan area

For the purpose of study intervention, the Gulshan Avenue (from Gulshan circle-1 towards Gulshan circle-2) has been taken into consideration. In measurement, it directs through 1.6 kilometers of way. Quantitative data along with the support of observation has outlined in form of land use survey so that all the establishments of present time can be identified and thereby analyzed. Qualitative finding then has followed the quantitative one to disclose the process of urban redevelopment caused by neoliberal transformation.

6.1.1 Quantitative findings on Gulshan Avenue

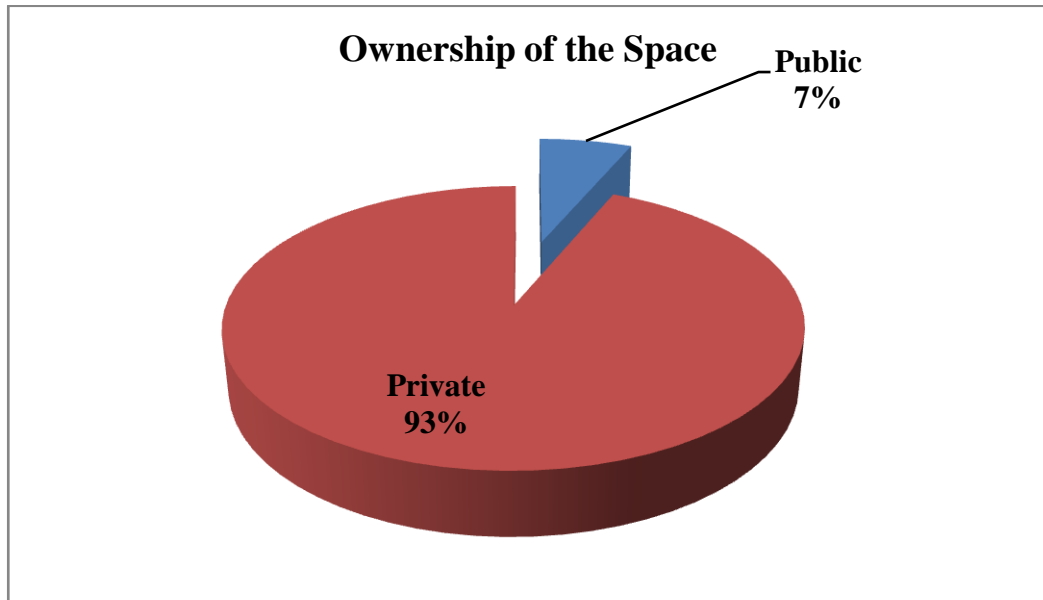
This spacious wide road (in fact avenue) with its spatial set up of either position is inclusive to study unit. In the first instance, all the establishments belong to both side of Gulshan Avenue road are considered into counting, mapping and listing. There are all total 94 establishments or more commonly buildings are found in two sides of this road. These are then categorized in terms of ownership i.e. public or private property, nature of establishments on the basis of purpose of use e.g. commercial, residential, administrative and mixed buildings. After that the storied of these buildings are also taken into account. And last of all, the feature of these establishments that means the sort of institutions taking place in these buildings are also reported the well apprehension of the study.

6.1.1.1 Ownership of the establishment

In Gulshan area, the overwhelming number of buildings are under private ownership as depicted in figure- 6.1. The study finds that 93% of the establishment of buildings is owned

by the private companies or persons. On the other hand, a minimal 7% of the buildings are settled as public property.

Figure- 6.1: Ownership of the Space

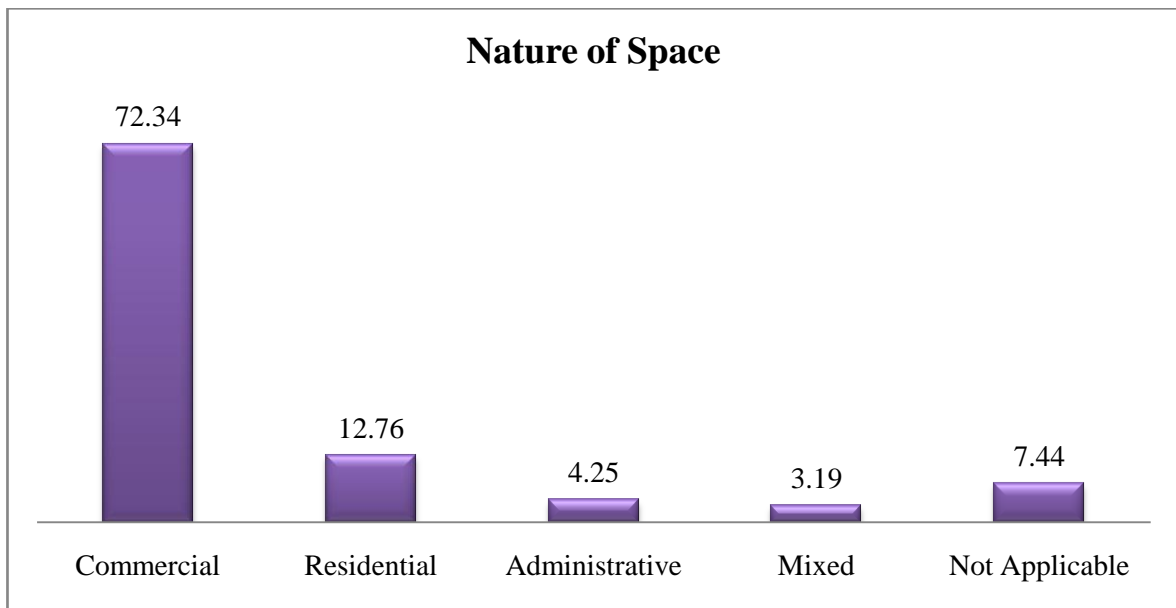


The observation on the Gulshan Avenue reveals that there is a mass occupancy of private property in both side of the road. These mainly accommodate to commercial, residential, administrative spaces and often use as a combination of above purposes. There exist a minimal number of public properties in this road. Out of 94 establishments only 7 infrastructures are reported as public.

6.1.1.2 Nature of the Establishments

The nature of establishments or buildings for the purpose of functions is divided in to the following categories.

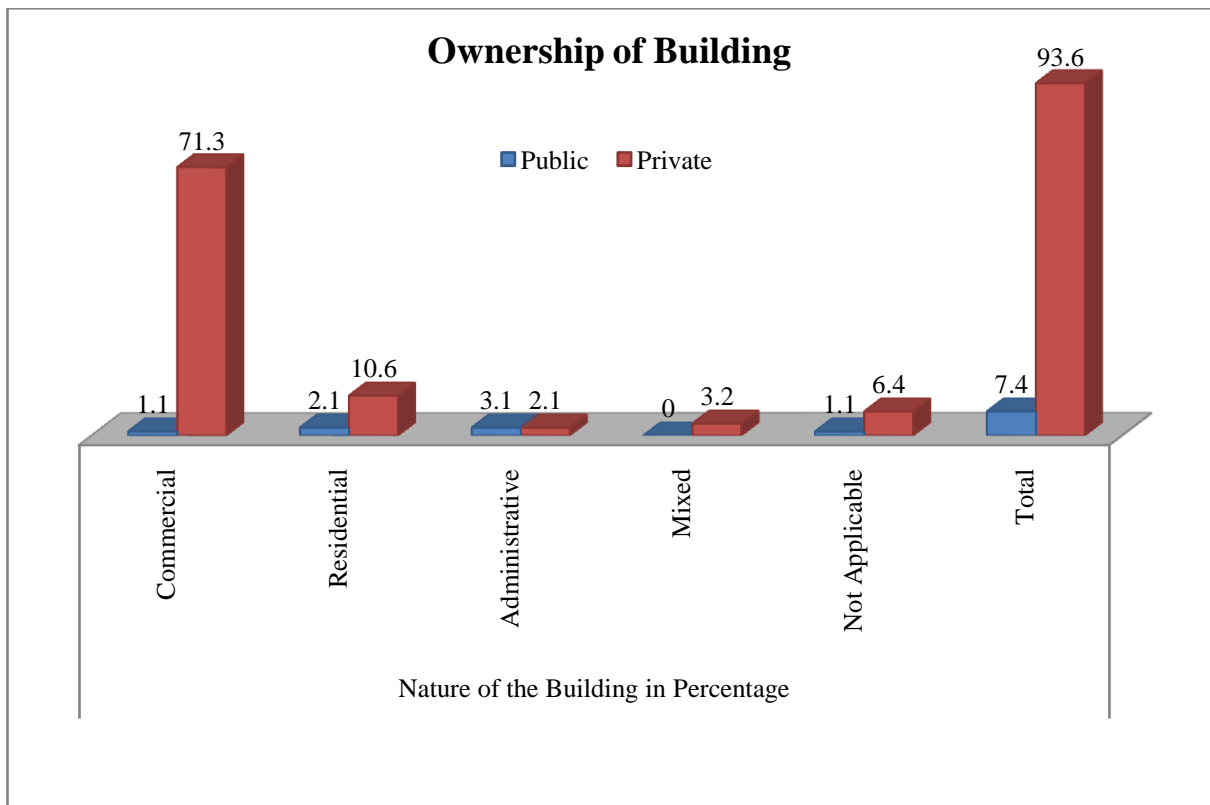
The chart 6.2. depicts that in most of the cases the buildings of the Gulshan Avenue road are established for commercial purposes. Almost three-fourth (72.34%) of the buildings built in the area is used for commercial reasons. Next to commercial space, residential building comprises 12.76% space of both side of Gulshan Avenue. A 4.25% of the space is used for functions. Only 3.19% of buildings are used for mixed purposes as, they accommodate commercial along with residential or administrative space in a same building. A 7.44% of space finds not applicable as these spaces are either free space or a preliminary construction site which field level personnel do not know what is going to be constructed while asked by the researcher.

Figure- 6.2: Nature of the Space

The observation on Gulshan Avenue finds that mixed buildings primarily consist of commercial cum residential space. A typical 6-storied mixed building's arrangement is found in observation as- the first three the stories place for commercial uses and last three stories fulfill the residential purposes. An ideal mixed building's portrait stands in the Gulshan-1 circle, the Navana Tower. This is a 31-storied building, where first 5 stories from the ground place for shopping mall, next 11 levels space as official use and the upper 15 stories accommodate the residential flats.

6.1.1.3 Nature of Building in terms of Ownership

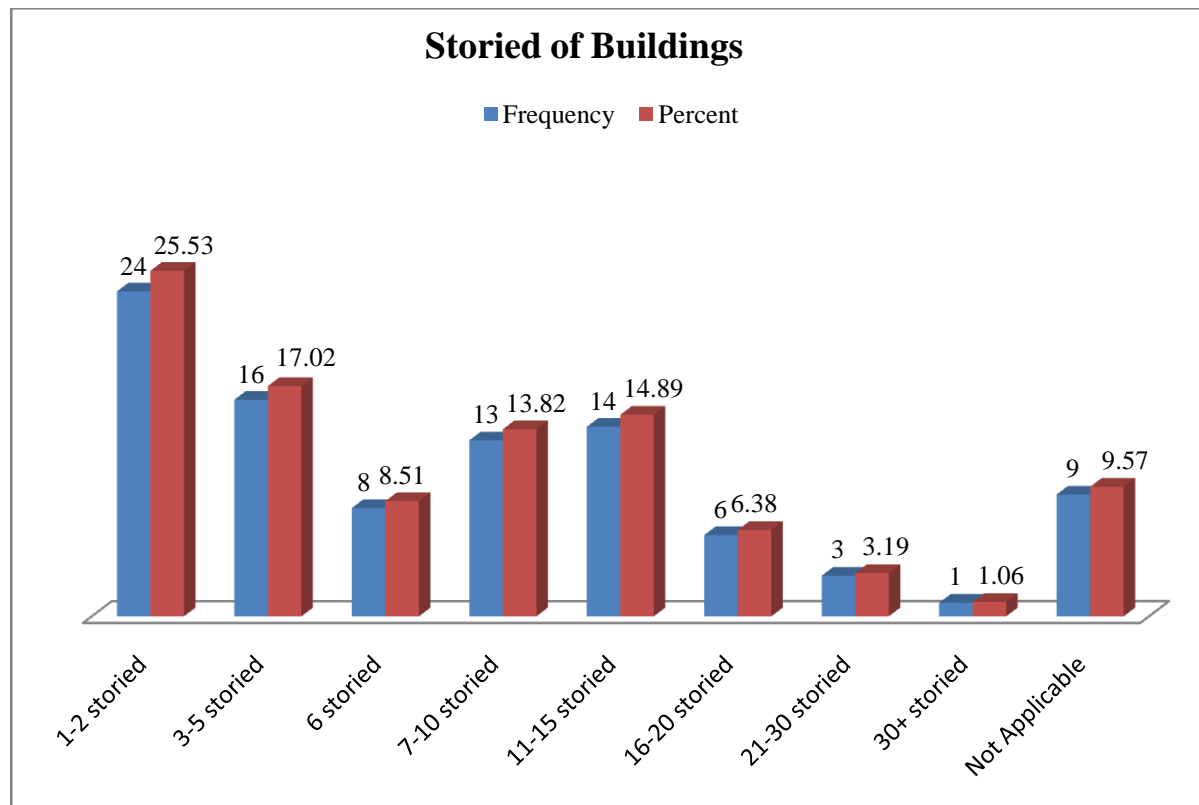
This figure 6.3 tends to show the nature of buildings along with its public or private ownership. In the very first findings, it has already stated that the majority of the space in this area is privately occupied; the commercial space thereby reflects this maximum private proprietorship (71.3%). In public space, only 2.1% of the residential place is under the occupancy of the government. While a majority amount of place used for the government side (3.1%) possesses administrative purpose, while private sector uses a bit lower (2.1%).

Figure- 6.3: Nature of Buildings in terms of Ownership

The Observation discloses that Dhaka North City Corporation Office “Nagar Bhaban”, Gulshan Thana, a government employee quarter namely “Ichamoti”, Titas Gas Gulshan Zone office, constructing RAJUK Central Park, DNCC market of Gulshan-2 and two other government duplex residence are the public properties listed throughout this 1.6 km long Gulshan Avenue. Among them, Gushan Thana and Dhaka North City Corporation Office are set up to perform administrative functions. A E- Type government quarter accommodates higher level government employees (join secretary level and above) and 2 duplex type structures house governmental state minister level individuals. The RAJUK Central Park is under construction to unravel as an open space for the inhabitants of this area.

6.1.1.4 Status on storied of Buildings

From the figure 6.4, it is found that a quarter proportion of buildings is 1-2 storied (26%). Furthermore, a 17% of the buildings is from 3-5 storied. This is also area of a high concentration of massive size of buildings. About 39.38% buildings belongs to higher than 10 storied of which 10-15 storied buildings constitutes 15% of total multi-storied constructions. It also reveals that almost 9% buildings is of 6-storied.

Figure-6.4: Storied of Buildings

In observation it is unveiled that 1-2 storied buildings are chiefly possessed by the corporate section of private banks. The 6-storied buildings are mainly used for spacing either residential or residential cum commercial places. One thing is unveiled in the study that, the higher the stories go up, the lower the percentage of residential place is spaced in the buildings, since commercial as well as official sites are designed in these skyscraper buildings.

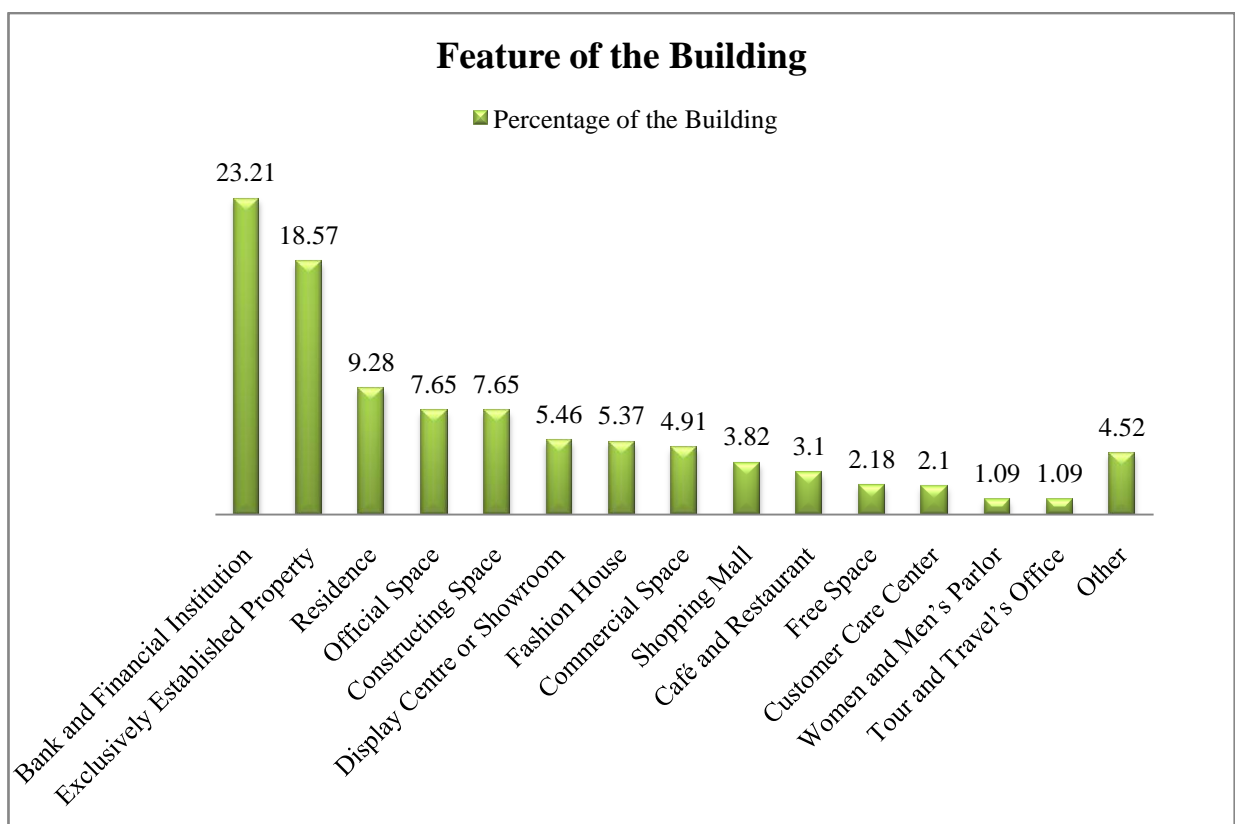
6.1.1.5 Feature of Building

This figure 6.5 makes an attempt to reveal the specification of institutions taking place in the spaces (in form of buildings) of Gulshan Avenue, so that the kind of sectors settled in this location can be easily understood. The bank and financial companies constitute the highest proportion of institution (23.21) in Gulshan Avenue. The exclusively established properties comprise the second highest amount (19%) in terms of spatial practices. A noteworthy proportion of residential arrangement (9.28%) found in this area accommodating a significant number of people. Apart from this, about 8% space uses for official purpose. Another 5% space is utilized as commercial place.

Moreover, with a view to fulfilling neoliberal consumer culture about 11% space with display centre or showroom (5.46%) and fashion houses (5.37%) are adorned in both sides of the road. A considerable percentage (3.82%) of shopping malls is also found to accelerate this process. Furthermore, new forms of service sector like customer care centers, women's' and men's' parlor and tour and travel's office aggregate 4.28% of this urban space.

The figure 6.5 illustrates that a 7.65% of the Gulshan Avenue space is now going through construction as a part urban renewal. However, only a meager space (2.18%) is remain free out of construction or structure.

Figure- 6.5: Feature of Building



In Gulshan, there is a massive prevalence of private banks in either side of the avenue. Private companies position their corporate and some extent head office on that road. A noteworthy proportion of foreign banks use this space to establish their head offices. The huge existence of banks represents Gulshan as a prime commercial area of the city. Furthermore, a significant number of financial institution i.e. stock market companies also set their offices in this location.

A significant portion space (in terms of buildings) in Gulshan Avenue is being utilized as an abode higher class individuals. There are three sorts of buildings where these people dwelt in.

There are a good number of duplex or triplex structures building housing for single family. These are the earliest buildings set up in this area. The second one category is solely residential apartments built by real estate developers. These buildings start from 6-stories up to 10-stories in general. And the final one is developed by the real estate companies in form of residential cum commercial building. This is the latest type of construction structure that creates opportunity to utilize the precious land of today's Gulshan as commercial space as well as spaces for residential purpose. In this way, the designer halves whole building into two parts, where space for residence takes the upper portion and commercial place resides at the bottom half. These buildings can structure of varied stories like from 6-stories to more than 15-stories.

Furthermore, there prevail a handsome number of shopping malls in this area. Apart from this, display centers and show rooms of renowned brands of cell phones, televisions, electric and electronic devices and other home appliances are also have their place in this space. From Gulshan-1 circle to Gulshan-2 circle a quite surprising number of café and restaurant have their position. These range from international brands like Pizza Hut and KFC to renowned national brands i.e. move n' pick and Fakruddin Biriyani.

6.1.1.6 Exclusive Establishment

From the aforesaid mentioned chart it has already revealed that a healthy proportion of buildings are featured in form of exclusive establishment. It means that these spaces are absolutely owned or exercised by public or private companies or individuals for the purpose of serving commercial, residential or administrative functions.

Table- 6.1: Exclusive Establishment

Nature of Building	Percentage
Commercial (Bank and Financial Institution)	70
Residential	17.6
Administrative	12.8
Total	100

The table 6.1 discloses that out of these exclusive establishments the overwhelming percentage (70) is occupied by the private bank or financial institutions. Mainly, corporate branches as well as head offices of the banks establish these exclusive offices. The second position of exclusive establishment is possessed for the residential purpose. For administrative purpose, only 13% space is exclusively used. Here an interesting finding

reveals that, of these exclusive establishments a healthy proportion belongs to public sector i.e. the position of the Dhaka North City Corporation office and Gulshan Thana are significant among these.

In most of the cases, the corporate offices of these banks take a shape of high colorful glassed duplex or triplex structure (exclusively established) to cater with the upper segment of population to serve their financial purpose. While, this exclusively established space also accommodates several head offices of foreign as well as national level private banks adorning with dazzling single occupied (exclusively established) buildings finds in observation.

The exclusive establishment as residence takes an extra-ordinary look in design and facilities. The duplex or triple design of these buildings resemble the posh lifestyle as the large space houses like these accommodate a single family each.

6.1.1.7 Constructing Space

As presented in table 6.2 all total 14 ongoing construction spaces is found in Gulshan Avenue. The highest amount (71%) of these constructing buildings will be used for commercial purposes as documented in project summery as well in discussion with the field level personnel of the construction site. Only a single building (7.2% of total constructing buildings) will be housed for the dwelling purpose. Here, 3 buildings (21.4%) remains not applicable as, either these spaces just launch the construction or the personnel yet not aware of what is going to be built in that particular place.

Table- 6.2: Constructing Space

Nature of Building	Frequency	Percentage
Commercial	10	71.4
Residential	1	7.2
Not Applicable	3	21.4
Total	14	100

Observation reveals that there is ongoing construction on public sphere, all are in private spaces. A large amount of these buildings are above 10-stories. There are 9 on-going buildings found, of which 8 will be constructed within 11-15 storied. And another building will be established up to 20 stories.

The map of Gulshan Avenue is presented below on Map-6.1, in the very next page.

MAP: GULSHAN AVENUE

6.1.2 Findings of Gulshan area based on qualitative information

In-depth interviews, informal discussions, and observation are adopted to find out the inner story of today's Gulshan. As interviews have taken in form of residential or working history, therefore, answers or information delivered from the respondents evolve around the Gulshan area encompassing this Gulshan Avenue.

6.1.2.1 Gulshan in early time

Senior citizens of Gulshan belonging around Gulshan Avenue, in In-depth interviews state that, the emergence of Gulshan area begins in the second half of previous century. The Pakistani ruler, Ayub Khan in 1960s, made an initiative to create Gulshan as an abode for upper class of people. As a result, a lottery was drawn among the interest applicants and a 20 katha of plot was distributed among each winner. Then the winners made boundary to their own plots. Some of them started to build one storied house and homestead gardening in front of large free spaces of the house. While most of the plots remained empty with boundary. At that time no poor was reported to live in form of establishing slum or squatter in this area. This is the early story of establishment of Gulshan area along with Gulshan Avenue.

6.1.2.2 Gulshan Avenue in 1990s

6.1.2.2.1 The Upper Class

In the early 1990s (the starting point of study) the situation of Gulshan Avenue not much changed. Yet, a significant number of empty plots got settled with the owners or residents. These owners usually built one or highest two or three storied duplex or triplex structure houses for their own accommodation. The population on the either side of the road was very small in number. People without living purpose did not usually visit this road. In stating about Gulshan Avenue, a more than 30 year experience of inhabitant who is 65 year old claims, *"This area was almost remained empty, a very small proportion of people resided...After the evening prayer this such wide road (Gulshan Avenue) became vacant"*

Some of them rented their duplex type houses several foreign embassies, in fact, setting up of embassies in this area started since early 1980s.

In 90s, all facilities were sufficient to lead an aristocratic life. The either circle Gulshan, Gulshan-1 and Gulshan-2 were used as a gathering place of all necessary items. Gulshan-1 D.C.C and Gulshan-2 D.C.C market were already set up since 1980s. For shopping or marketing purpose, these high-class inhabitants usually visited these markets. Yet, there was

no arrangement for privatized shopping or marketing place at that time. However, a number of restaurants also formed to serve these dwellers.

There existed a sound recreational arrangement for the dwellers of this area at the starting point of study time. The RAJUK on the Gulshan Avenue established the most amusing park of that time, the “Wonder Land” for the recreation of the kids of this area. Apart from this, there also existed Ladies Park and lakeside to perform pastimes of the residents.

This Gulshan area since long time has a renowned lake, ‘Gulshan Lake’ flowing just two road back of the study area Gulshan Avenue. It has its existence due to two reasons one for bypassing the rain or more importantly floodwater and as scenic beauty adding another feather of the aristocratic location of Gulshan.

The utility service was first class since the beginning of this area embellishment. Electricity, water and gas supply was available in the 1990s.

In quest of educational institutions, in-depth interviews reveal that there existed two government primary schools in this Gulshan area. On the contrary, in the early 1990s, the respondents reported only one private educational institution namely “Manarat International School & College”. A female housewife 50 years of age residing Gulshan Avenue opined that, *“In whole Gulshan, there existed only one private school ‘Manarat’ now this number has increased much”*

For this higher segment of the society, Gulshan placed sophisticated health care service. In the beginning of the 1990s, there was only one private clinic, which is named as “Lake View Clinic” near present road no.79 Gulshan. Moreover, on that time, from the long time residents’ interviews it is found from several doctors’ chambers as such Dr. Talukder or Dr. Quadir, they usually received treatments.

6.1.2.2.2 The Lower Class

Besides the story of aristocrat Gushan area, a significant number of poor started to reside at this area in early 90s. They did not have set up on the Gulshan Avenue, while just one road back, they started live by establishing squatter in the free plots. By building 6-8 rooms with tin, bamboo made walls and floor with mud, each family lived in the free space. They did not need to pay any rental fee. These squatting people were engaged in informal labor.

These people mainly worked as domestic servants in nearby duplex or triplex houses, guards of these houses, rickshaw puller, tea sellers, street vendors and beggars. At that time, street

vending or informal labor on street side like poultry selling, washing soap selling, tea stall or street food (Chatpati) arrangements on the Gulshan Avenue street was viewed as normal, so these people could engage in these activities and earn the means of subsistence.

These people used to go to Gulshan-2 for marketing i.e. buying vegetables and Notun Bazar for shopping i.e. purchasing clothes. A street vendor vending over 20 years aging 55 year views that, *“No no, none of these shops (malls) did not exist”*

The Wonder Land also spaced the lower segment of population as well. Usually in 1990s the entrance fair in the Wonder Land costs BDT 5. Hence, people of all walks could visit that park. Yet, these people were not allowed to enter into the “Ladies Park”. However, the Lake Park was open for them.

The utility service was totally absent in that free plots-squatting place for the poor. There was no electricity, water or gas connection at that space. People collected water from nearby Gulshan Lake, used lamp to lit light and gathered wood, bamboo chart as firewood for cooking. A women engaging in informal labor for last 20 years posits, *“We usually collected fire wood for cooking”*

For seeking treatment, poor people looked for the assistance of else ones. On the Gulshan Avenue, at Gulshan Central Masjid (locally named Azad Masjid), a charitable medical service provides treatment to the lower class people, free of cost. Moreover, an NGO, in the early 90s initiated free medical service with medicine to these people. For a major trouble or casualties, they moved to Dhaka Medical College Hospital and PG (present name Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujib Medical University) hospital.

6.1.2.3 The Transformation of Gulshan Avenue

With In-depth interviews and informal discussions, the process of transition of Gulshan Avenue has been unveiled. Both upper and lower segment of population argued that Gulshan Avenue has transformed radically. The housing pattern, spatial rearrangement, places for shopping, marketing, food zones, employment type all has been molding for last 15 years.

6.1.2.3. 1. The Upper Class

With In-depth interviews some owners living more than 30 years argues that these plots of Gulshan Avenue has gone through several steps of change. At the beginning, this area observes a change in shifting ownership of plots. Many owners owning the plots during Pakistan time have started to yield their properties from the mid 1980s. The then time, many

uprising corporate companies like Eastern Housing, Amin Mohammad Foundation, Premier Group gradually began to purchase these properties from them. However, until the end of last century everything was more or less same. The starting of new century hunches with an up surging change of Gulshan area along with other parts of Dhaka city. With increase of mass population, the number of high-income individuals has also risen up. So to accommodate these ‘new money’ holders, at first, in the early 2000s, the housing project was first initiated by these real estate development companies to those spaces previously they purchased from the owners. They first constructed 6-storied buildings with car parking at the ground in Gulshan Avenue. Along with this, some house owners by themselves started to rebuild their duplex in form of 5-storied, two-unit building. Soon they felt it difficult to manage such complex instruments of building. Real estate developer companies then welcomed these owners with lucrative offers of sharing the proportion of flats along with cash incentives. Therefore, the second step of restructuring of Gulshan started with it. A landowner who is 65+ retired government employee yielding land to the real estate agencies remarks,

“At I first heard that many of us handed their lands to the developers ((real estate agencies), in this way, one day I asked to my neighbor, probably you have handed your lands to the real estate companies, so how this process goes on? He described me. Then one day a real estate agent phoned to my land phone and asked for my appointment, I permitted. After his arrival, I got informed that they had taken the plot beside my one’s for development. They offered me 50percentage share of newly established apartment, along liquid cash. As my son was in need of going abroad for higher studies, so I could not avoid such a lucrative offer, accepted it...Though they projected for 2 years, however managed to handover the apartments by 3 years”

Soon, the real estate companies get realized that this road (Gulshan Avenue) has an appeal to be established as a central business district for new Dhaka in twenty first century. Hence, they started to purchase the plots from the owners with high rate. This initiates the third step of Gulshan renewal. These land developers have changed the face of Gulshan Avenue, and the process has been accelerating since 2005 and onwards. As, this is a very spacious road well connected to the airport and other parts of the city, so there is less chance to face traffic congestion. Therefore, they have molded these spaces as commercial as well as official space so that new forms business like buying houses for Readymade Garment (RMG) sector, multinational companies’ corporate offices, tour and travels’ offices and more importantly

national and multinational privatized banks and stock markets financial organizations can have their arrangements here.

Along with high-rise buildings, the outfit of Gulshan Avenue has also changed. This road has housed a significant number of shopping malls. This process has begun with the establishment of “Rupayan Center” in early 2000. Gulshan Pink City have also established tracing to the earlier one. In informal discussion with the senior sales clerk and cashier of the shops of shopping malls, it is found that to create provision for newly inhabited dwellers for last 15 years a good number of shopping malls have been established. The ‘RM centre’ and ‘Navana Tower’ are some of them. Nevertheless, a huge number of café, restaurant and fast food centers are set up in this Gulshan Avenue for last 15 years. The residents of this location argue that as this is a workplace of many top classes commercial as well as professional sites, hence to maintain such type of consumer culture, a wide range of food zones are formed. It includes international chain fast food like KFC, Pizza Hut, American Burger to national high class restaurants like ‘Fakruddin Biriyan’ or ‘Move n’ Pick’ restaurant.

The only recreational center situating at Gulshan Avenue, the ‘Wonder Land’ gets closed since 2012. Because, the authority running this park was ordered by the High Court order to close the park. However, the “Lady’s Park” and “Lake Park” still remain and continue to be a recreational place for the inhabitants of Gulshan.

The Gulshan Lake has been immensely changed for last 15 years. A linking road between two sides of the road has been adjoined. A number of fabulous lake view apartments were established at either side the linking road. The government has evicted the squatters possessing at the both sides of the lake. However, the wide of lake has been squeezed as observed by the residents than 1990s.

With one private or even not more than 10 educational institution in early 1990s, Gulshan has placed more than 100 educational institutions in last 15 years. It ranges from private English medium schools, A&O level programs running institutions, private colleges even private medical college and universities. From Turkish School and Green Dale international School to Cambrian College and Shahabuddin Medical College and Manarat International University all have their existence in this area now.

With the increase of population and other infrastructures, the Gulshan area’s medical care facilities have also improved with the passage of time. For last 15years, a significant number of medical care centers like hospitals, diagnostic centers have also placed in this area. Just

two or three roads back of the Gulshan Avenue, one of the largest and most expensive hospitals of the city gained its place in the first decade of this new century, namely “United Hospital”. Moreover, the Shahabuddin Medical College and Hospital was also established at the beginning of the 2002. Furthermore, the Lake View Clinic and Lab Aid Diagnostic Center are also at this area to serve this posh class of population.

6.1.2.3.2. The Lower Class

The poor living at the empty plots had to be evicted as these plots were started to be constructed by the early 2000. Being evicted from one land, these poor people again built their houses in another free plot. Then again they got evicted and moved to another free plot. This scenario has become so rapid since 2005, as this was the boom time of building buildings at Gulshan area. A 40 year old river eroded woman Faridour, now working as a domestic worker contends that,

“I have been living in this area since 1995, working here. At first, we saw an empty plot and thereby established 5-6 rooms, after living for 2 years the owners of the land evicted us. Then we started to look for another empty one...Some land owners gave us time to evacuate his land whereas, some others did not do that...often police and bulldozer were used to make us evicted, we at a time had to save our utensils from the rush of bulldozer and ourselves from the beating of police. At last finding no other ways, we started to live at lake side”

A huge number of people started to living near lakeside area since early 2000. They were engaged in many activities at this Gulshan locality. They built their houses with tin and bamboo frame. They managed illegal electricity connection for their almost 100-120 lakeside households. They used water of lakeside for cooking, bathing and other purposes and depended on firewood for cooking. However, the Army backed caretaker government has led the project of establishing link road on the either side of the lake, which has brought two things. Firstly, it has increased the land value of lakeside plots, as a backside plot suddenly gets front side. And secondly, it has evicted about 150 of households settling slum at the lake side. A 35 year old women who works as a cleaner in shopping malls living at that slum states,

“We used to reside at the opposite side of the lake, ‘Khata Pagla’ slum. One day suddenly, the guards of the society came and forced us to leave the place; they uprooted the bamboo frames of the house as they were ordered from the society to make us evicted. But we did not lose the ground, waited for 5 days, 10 days, we wet in the rain but did not leave the place.

Every day, they (guards of the society) threatened us to leave. At last, viewing no other hope, rented a house at Badda at monthly rent BDT 1200”

Being evicted from the lakeside, these pity people started to dwell at Korail slum or Badda area.

The Wonder Land, only recreational center accessible to the lower income group has also started to change its nature. Before 2000, the ticket fare was very low from BDT 5 to BDT 20. That time, often the park authority offered free tickets for the poor. They gathered these tickets and used to visit to this park at their past times. However, in 2002, the ticket fare of this park has suddenly risen up to BDT 100 and the free entrance ticket was remained close from that time. By applying such initiatives, the authority in fact kept the poor out of this park. Until its closing in 2012, this situation remains same.

At one point of time, there were street foods shops at the Gulshan Avenue. Therefore, lower income group could afford low cost food from these shops as well as many street vendors could run their business at the both side of the road. But as the time goes up, the street hawking gets banned at this road. The Police forcedly evicted these shops and at times harassed these people to make their shops closed. As a result, places for eatery of the poor section of this area started to become reduced.

For educational purpose of the lower economic section, out of two government primary schools one has shut down. Several NGOs like BRAC has established elementary education for slum children at Korail area. However, people living in low cost areas like Badda, these facilities are not available.

The treatment facilities for the poor had degraded with the passage of time. The NGOs providing free treatment to the poor at Gulshan area has wrapped up their activities. In whole Gulshan Avenue and around areas, there exists only one charitable medical facilities and the masjid authority provides this.

6.1.2.4 Gulshan; Today

With non-participant observation, in-depth interviews and informal discussions the sketch of Gulshan Avenue at present day has tended to draw out.

Walking through Gulshan Avenue that means from Gulshan circle-1 to Gulshan circle-2 takes not more than 20 minutes. Yet, roaming in this road firstly comes with mind that, there is a competition going on all around this area. It is a competition not between men, but between

buildings. It is quite easily observed that each latest establishing construction tries to subjugate or exceed the building standing beside of it. This Avenue is now turning into a space of skyscrapers. From the field study, at least 5 constructing buildings could remember, of them 2 will reach up to 14 stories and similar will climb to 15 levels and the last one will try to touch the sky with 24 stories. In fact, this is not a competition between buildings, but something else.

Gulshan Avenue has tried to renew itself as the heart of the new Dhaka city with its lots of newly developed spaces of administrative, official, commercial functioning. With these high-rise buildings this area is becoming a lucrative one to grab all new settlements at this pace. It has now creating huge spaces for both commercial as well as residential functioning. The 'UdayTower' near to Gulshan-1 circle, spaces 12000 sft. per floor. The space for commercial usage is more or less same in Gulshan Avenue. The residential space also shows magnificence. A constructing building of Navana will offer 7300 sft per flat. Moreover, many real estate companies along with commercial purpose also serve the residential one. The Navana Tower at Gulshancircle-1 is an ideal type building. It is a 31-storied building, where first 5 floor uses as shopping mall, next 11 floor for official usages and top 15 stories are used for residential performances.

The Gulshan Avenue has now turned as one of central food zones of the city. All types of national and international sophisticated food items are available at this place. One of the reasons for that is, a huge number of foreigners live around the Gulshan Avenue, so to taste them continental, Thai or Chinese a lot of restaurants has set up. They can prepare foods from Indian to Chinese, Thai to Brazilian and American to Italian. Moreover, a noteworthy number of international food chain shops has been established in Dhaka for last 5 years, and thereby have their outlets at the heart of Gulshan, Gulshan Avenue. The KFC, PizzaHut, PIZZA Inn, American Burger, all have their branches at this road. Not only international restaurants and food shops, a good number of national branded food places like Fakruddin Biriyani and Sausly's also have their kitchen at sphere. The corporate class who remains busy with jostling activities has come here to have dining along with musical show to sound their mind and body. Many visit these spots for discussing on official or business deals with lunch as well.

Besides, buildings and restaurants, to fulfill the consumerism culture, a significant number of fashion houses are housed at the either side of the road. It ranges from Bata and Apex to Westecs, Dress Republic, to Sapura Silk and Women's World and to Cat's Eye. The corporate people and aristocrat dwellers are the chief buyers of these fashion houses.

Furthermore, a significant number of showroom and display centers are trying center their desired customers to their stores. It starts from branded mobile phone show room like Nokia and Samsung to Diamond showrooms of Diamond World and Al-Hassan Diamond Gallery.

The education and medical care of the Gulshan area has now become totally privatized. Here the united Hospital and the Shahabuddin Medical Colleges are always at service of the rich ones, as without deposited money on patient's name they usually do not provide treatment. The educational system has also shifted to private hands.

The story of the poor is a reverse one. These high rising buildings have evicted them and made them shelter less as well. The number of people sleeping on road has increased in Gulshan for last 10 years. The people who have at least some money after taking food look for a shelter. As Gulshan no longer has free space to provide them shelter, therefore, neighborhood of Gulshan are the primary choices of these evicted people as most of them are engaged many activities at Gulshan area. They usually choose Korail slum, Shahadatpur slum, Notun Bazar area and Badda area. Hence, in this way, newly developed Gulshan has cornered or pushed the working class population to peripheral zones of the city. However, a significant number of people have to live in destitute; they live as shelter less under the open sky. The Gulshan Central Masjid field, Gulshan-1 N.D.C.C Market and Gulshan-2 N.D.C.C Market car parking are the main amalgamation place of such shelter less people. A 60-year old beggar in front of Gulshan Masjid states,

“(After being evicted) Those who have land returned to the village, and those who have not live in roads. Those who have the afford take house rent, but I do not have therefore live in roads”

With the development of Gulshan area, new forms of employment have also developed for the lower section of the society. They primarily engage in construction sites as day laborer, mason, cutting rods and other manual jobs. Moreover, in newly established commercial centers, the female persons work as cleaner and sweeper. They also work at flats as domestic workers. The male counterparts often work as guards at residences and buildings. However, these professions have become much uncertain nowadays. Due to a huge number of reserve laborers, the job of daily laborer does not remain permanent. A new dimensional service sector has been flourished in Dhaka for last 5-10 years. These are security guards companies and cleaning and sweeping companies. The high rising buildings often appoint sweeping companies, instead of local female workers. The company endorsed security guards are seem

as more reliable than local ones in the eyes of the authority of banks, shopping malls, fashion houses, restaurants. Hence, the job insecurity has increased much for this segment of population. On top of that, informal business like tea stalls, street food shops are remained ceased by the police.

It is observed by both section of population that the vigilance and monitoring of police has increased much than 20 years backs. However, it unleashes inverse responses from two sides. For the upper class, the monitoring of police has increased and has become for last 5-6 years. Often police is viewed providing surveillance with police van in the Gulshan Avenue road. The researcher also in his days of data collection period viewed police van at least three times in a day to cross the Gulshan Avenue road. The poor also agreed that the police have increased its in vigilance. It often goes against them. The police have banned their street vending on the main road (Gulshan Avenue). Even in inner road, they often face problem while police also attack at inner roads of Gushan area. Police seize their materials, stalls and often arrested them. Besides, in informal discussions, some poor people claim that police sometimes harassed the lower class people like waiters of restaurants or sellers of shopping malls at night by charging them as suspicious.

Regarding private police, means guards of the shopping malls or restaurants, lower section of people state these guards of behave rudely while standing in front the show room or restaurant. The main duty of the guards is to make the outer space clean devoid of poor people. As a result, they do not tolerate beggars or any low class persons in front of their houses.

In answering the common question of right to the city, interesting answers are received from the poor people of the community. They claimed that once before 15- 20 years, this area was their so close. They had the access to exercise the space. Now this situation has totally altered. This Gulshan Avenue and alongside area has totally become a restricted place for the poor. Here, each and every item is adorned for the rich, they welcome the upper class people, where the poor has no access. In fact, some of them viewed that they do not have any necessity to go to shopping malls or restaurants or fashion houses, these things do not belong to them. The publicly accessed Gulshan Avenue road has also become difficult for the poor to move, as at day there are long lines of vehicles throughout this road. However, police might charge them of wandering at night. Therefore, only a few spaces are considered as their space, these are the field and car parking of Gulshan Avneue.

6.2 Findings of Motijheel area

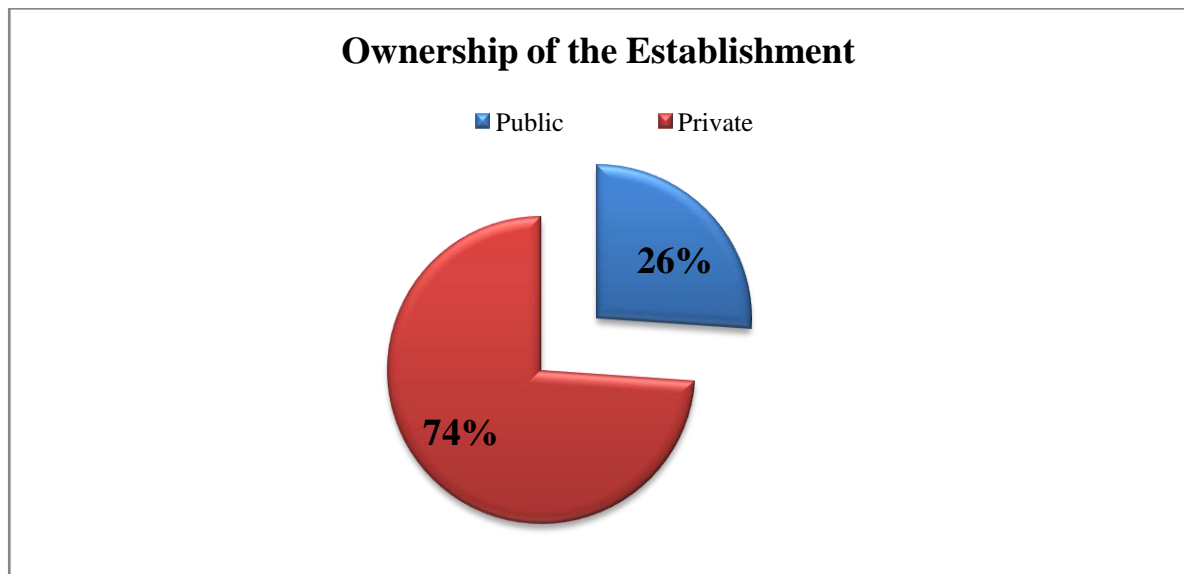
To understand the transition of urban space as well as to depict present urban spatial arrangement of Motijheel area, a way from Purana Paltan circle towards Shapla Chattar (circle) has taken into account. This way comprises two roads as such Topkhana road (from Purana Paltan circle to Dainik Bangla circle) and Motijheel road (straightening Dainik Bangla towards Shapla Chattar (circle)). This altogether drives a 1.3 kilometers straight line to sketch the study area. Quantitative data along with the support of observation has outlined in form of land use survey so that all the establishments of present time can be identified and thereby analyzed. Qualitative finding then has followed the quantitative one to disclose the process of urban redevelopment caused by neoliberal transformation.

6.2.1 Quantitative findings on Motijheel and Topkhana road

Firstly, the structures existing on either side of Motijheel area (Topkhana road and Motijheel road) has been gone under Land Use Survey through counting, mapping and listing. Through this location (Purana Paltan to Shapla Chattar (circle)), all entire 92 establishments or structures are found in two sides of these roads. These are then categorized in terms of ownership i.e. public or private property, nature of establishments on the basis of purpose of use e.g. commercial, residential, administrative and mixed buildings. After that the stories of these buildings are also taken into account. And at last, the feature of these establishments that means the sort of institutions taking place in these buildings are also reported the sound understanding of the study.

6.2.1.1 Ownership of the Establishment

The research explicates that about two third positions (74%) of land in this Motijheel arena is occupied by the private personnel depicted in the figure 6.6. This private sphere is mainly used for commercial and administrative purposes. On the contrary, government possesses a significant percentage (26%) of space in this area. Offices of many governmental departments are established in Motijheel.

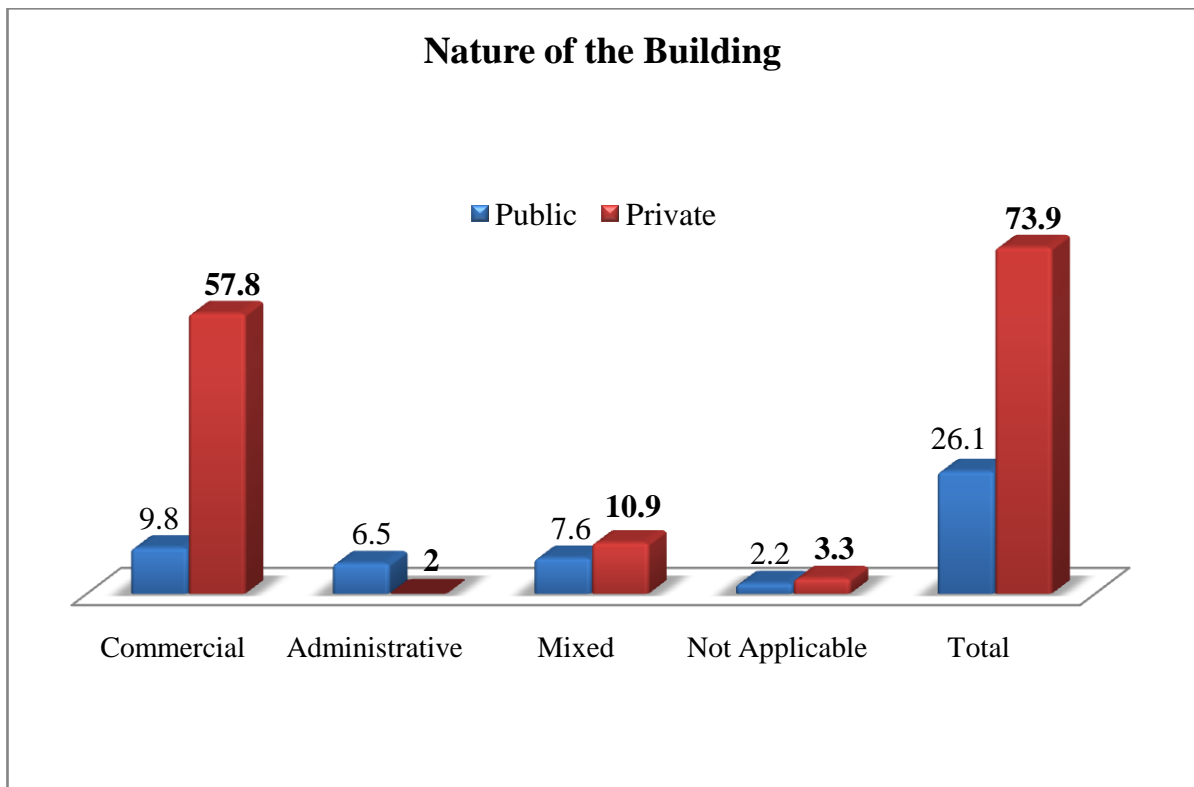
Figure-6.6: Ownership of the Establishment

Certainly, a lot of number of government owned building is observed in Motijheel area than other locations i.e. Gulshan or Dhanmondi of the study area. Most of them are utilized as the workplace of numerous government institutions.

6.2.1.2 Nature of Establishment

The figure-6.7 depicts the nature of buildings in respect of their functional purposes. It reveals that the maximum amount (70%) of space (in terms of buildings) is exercised for commercial practices. While a reporting quantity (7%) of land is utilized as administrative functioning. A 18% of the buildings of Motijheel area continues to serve mixed purposes i.e. commercial cum administrative practices. Another 5.43% (in number 5) is reported as not applicable since these are found as free space or construction site on rudimentary level in during field study.

In a rigorous observation, it is expressed that in Motijheel area there are an extensive proportion of institutions and organizations of continuing commercial operations. These are mainly banks, insurance companies, export import companies, café & restaurants, food joints for lower income group specialized markets like markets on jewelry or electronics items and small and medium scale enterprises as such business of carving, seal-pad manufacturing, carpet selling, translation & printing shops and shoe stores.

Figure-6.7: Nature of Building

Many government and private organizations have their administrative units in both sides of these important roads. Bangladesh House Building Corporations, Bangladesh Songbad Songtha-BSS (Bangladesh News Agency), Islamic Foundation, Motijheel Thana, Bangladesh Jute Department, National Sports Council are some significant governmental organizations. Of privatized institutions, office of Kasem Group, Elite House, Corporate house of Eastern Group etc. Moreover, several offices business and voluntary associations' take place in Motijheel road to run their administrative as well as organizational function as such Muktijodhha Command Council, Federation of Chamber and Commerce, Red Crescent Society.

Observation elucidates that many governmental space are mixed in nature. They position their ground floor to many showrooms and display center as such Azad Products showroom is housed at the ground floor of House Building Corporation. These offices often rent their upper floors to many banks or financial institutions like Jute Department spaces its 1st and 2nd floor to Shahjalal Islami Bank.

6.2.1.3 Nature of building in terms of ownership

To attain a quite understanding on commercial, administrative sites a segregated status between governmental and private sphere is intended to show in this section. This table-6.3

reveals that privatized companies and firms (58% in terms of building) own the premier proportion of commercial space where government keeps its one-fifth possession (10%). For administrative purposes, government uses its space much more (7%) than the private sectors (2%). However, in one arena both replicate a strong percentage of establishments. In spacing for mixed functioning in buildings, the private sector takes the leading role (11%), while the government occupied structures also show a constant reporting proportion (8%). Here, a meager amount of structures is mentioned as not applicable (5% in frequency 5 establishments), as these are either constructing or free spaces.

Table-6.3: Nature of the Building in terms of Ownership

Ownership of the Building	Nature of the Building in terms of Ownership				
	Commercial	Administrative	Mixed	Not Applicable	Total
Public	9.8	6.5	7.6	2.2	26.1
Private	57.8	2.0	10.9	3.3	73.9
Total	67.6	8.5	18.5	5.4	100

Primarily, spaces privately occupied are exercised as places of commercial operations from offices of banks and life insurance companies to tour & travel's companies and translation & printing centers. The government also runs some commercial activities like Baitul Mukarram Electronics Market. These Topkhana and Motijheel are two tremendously significant roads as contains several important government offices. Two pivotal private banks like Sonali and Janata Bank accommodate their head office at this location. Moreover, another two specialized banks namely Krishi Bank (Agricultural Bank) and Shrama bank (Labor Bank) also sit their main offices on the side of these roads. So, these buildings are utilized for administrative purposes along with providing financial services. However, a little proportion of privatized administrative buildings are found while investigation, chiefly to govern their all sister concern organizations, like Amin Mohammad Foundation or Eastern Group's office.

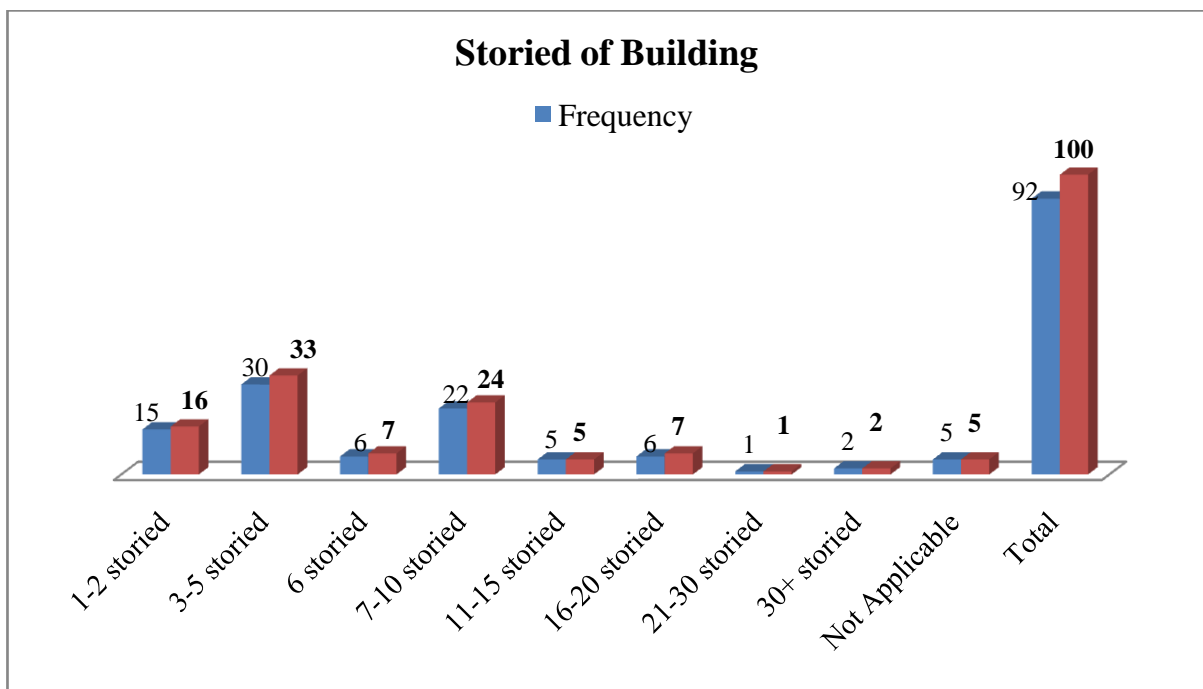
An interesting finding is observed on mixed types of buildings of Motijheel area. Both governmental as well as private space is used in form mixed format. In most of the cases, public administrative buildings space to commercial functions, as such to banks, life insurances, whereas, commercial private structures often space to administrative operations.

6.2.1.4 Status on storied of Buildings

The figure 6.8 sketches that highest amount of buildings (33%) belongs from 3-5 stories in Motijheel area. Here, almost one-fourth (24%) of total structures positions between 7 and 10 levels. This location is also observed a considerable number of small height buildings, as 16% of total buildings are either 1 or 2 stories in measurement. Only 15% buildings of this area is found with massive size, where 11 to 15 stories buildings possess 5%, 16-20 storied buildings occupy 7% and 20 storied above or skyscraper only 3% buildings are reported.

The majority amount of buildings is built in form of 3-5 stories. Mostly, private companies constructed these levels of buildings in Pakistan period or in newly liberated Bangladesh. As long as the years of independence move on the buildings of this area also rise up. A small number of high rises buildings are observed in the study area, which had been built for last fifteen years. An observation to be reported on the Motijheel area is that the highest building of the country is situated in this area.

Figure-6.8 Storied of Buildings



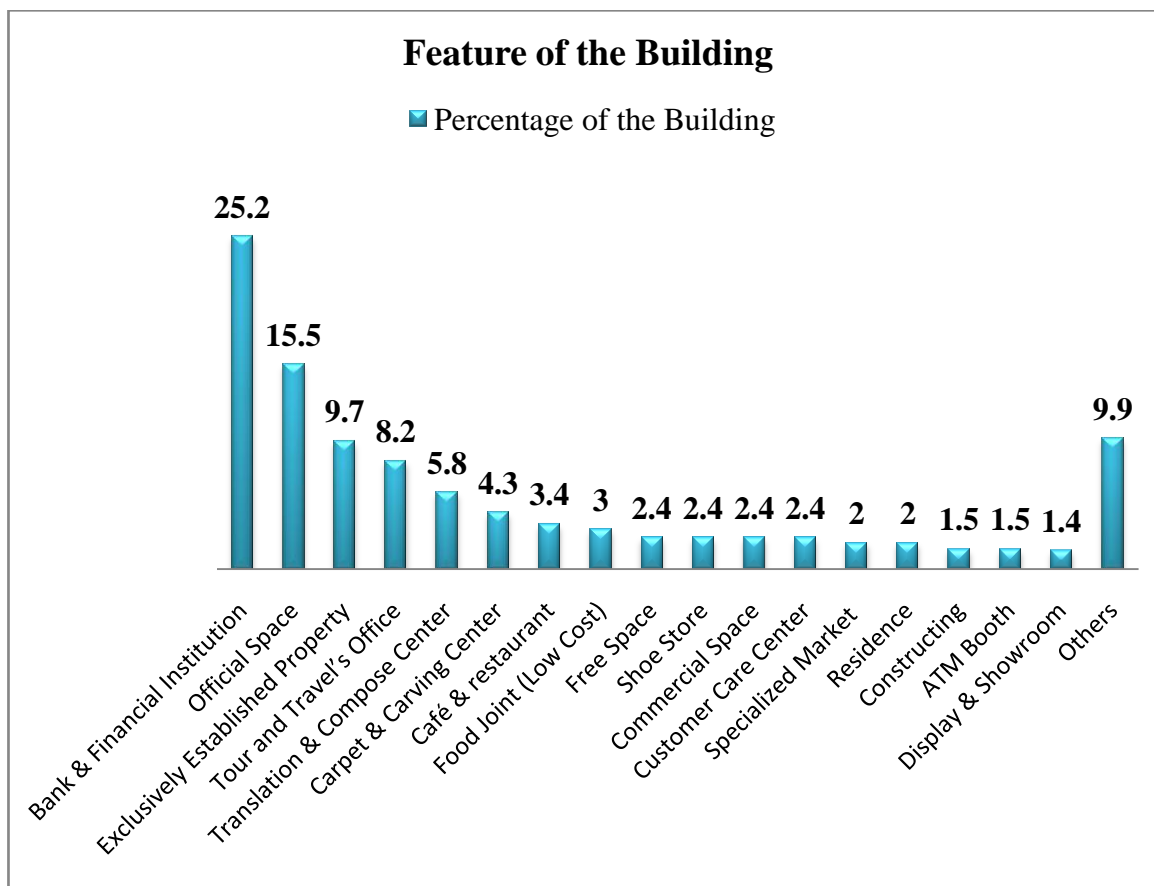
The “City Center” is a 40-storied, the highest structure or in truly sense, the skyscraper of Dhaka city is placed in the Motijheel road just opposite to Janata Bank, once the most top building of the city.

6.2.1.5 Feature of Building

This is the time to sketch the overview on the institutions taken place on the either sides of Topkhana and Motijheel road in the figure 6.9 with a view to have a clear understanding on the features of the establishments spacing in this area. A quarter proportion (25%) of buildings spaces to the banks and financial institutions. It constitutes the largest amount occupancy in terms of buildings. After banks and financial organizations, official places form the highest quantity (13%) of possession. In this area one out of every tenth (10%) building is counted as exclusive establishment. Moreover, a significant proportion of buildings (8%) is housed as the site for tour's and travel offices. However, a healthy amount (10%) of space is utilized as centers for translation & compose and carving & carpeting. More than 6% of the establishments is used as food zone. From the chart, 9.2% space is accessed for commercial purpose as shoe stores (2.4%), commercial space (2.4%), customer care center (2.4%) and specialized markets take place at this area. Yet, a very meager free space (2.4%) is found in this location, while a similar proportion (2.4%) is also investigated as constructing. However, a very small segment of buildings (2%) is used for residential purposes.

Motijheel since long is considered as one of the central business districts of the city. Hence, a large existence of banks and financial institutions i.e. life insurance companies from both public and private sectors is easily apprehended at this arena. Public banks like Janata and Sonali bank have their head offices and specialized public bank i.e. Krishi (Agricultural) Bank and Shrama (Labor) Bank have also position in this area. On the other hand, a number of private banks as such Uttara Bank have their main office in this location. Besides, almost all the privatized banks have their corporate sections in this area and obviously most of them are able to transect foreign currency and thereby foreign money exchangers like 'Moneygram, Money Express and Western Union services are existed there.

Moreover, to facilitate export import business a huge number of insurance companies offices are set up to open the Letter of Credit (LC) to this purpose. Nevertheless, offices of many government and private companies have also their positions here. The study observes that the Topkhana road accommodates a two or three specialized markets like Baitul Mukarram Jewelry Market, Baitul Mukarram Electronics Market and Mobile Market of Baitul View Tower.

Figure 6.9: Feature of Building

This Motijheel region is some kind widely exercised space of people of all walks of life from corporate personnel to small scale vendors. So, a wide array of food places is found to cater their necessities. There are first class restaurants like KFC or 'Café Jheel' for the upper segment of population, and also small size food joints and tiny food place for minute income population.

In observation, it is discharged that this area has a long tradition of business of carpeting and carving which have well existence even today. After the independence, this locality is exercised as a center of recruiting agencies of foreign countires. Hence, a large number of offices of tours and travel developed to manage way to move to abroad primarily in middle east. As a result, to translate the foreign work permits and visas a good amount of translation and printing centers flourish. However, the percentage of such recruiting agencies starts to decline for last one decade along with translation center, but still a significant number of such type businesses observed in this area. A little amount of residence is found in Topkahana road, these are basically old type of buildings spacing commercial centers in first two or three stories from the ground and use upper one or two floor as residence of the owners.

6.2.1.6 Exclusive Establishment

The table 6.4 shows that most of the exclusive establishment belongs to commercial properties (75%). And the remaining one-fourth (25%) is for administrative reasoning.

Table 6.4: Exclusive Establishment

Nature of Building	Percentage
Commercial (Bank and Financial Institution)	75
Administrative	25
Total	100

Banks with their head offices are chiefly utilize this exclusive property. While, in most cases, government offices use exclusive establishment to perform their sole functioning.

6.2.1.7 Ownership of Exclusive Establishment

As the table 6.5 explicates, most of the exclusive establishments (65%) are in governmental hand. However, the residual proportion (35%) rests upon the private companies.

Table- 6.5: Ownership of Exclusive Establishment

Ownership of Building	Percentage
Public	65
Private	35
Total	100

The highest number of exclusive establishment remains to government as several public banks and some departments of the government are housed in this area. Even, Janata Bank has its three exclusive establishments as such foreign exchange bank on Topkhana road, head office on Motijheel road and divisional office on Shapla circle. Furthermore, several important public offices like House Building Corporation, Jute Department and Health Engineering Department reside at that area.

For private occupancy, some private banks have their head offices and corporate at this location like Standard Bank and Uttara bank. Moreover, a handsome number of private corporatins like Kashem Group, Eastern Group are exclusively use their sites for commercial as well as administrative purposes.

6.2.1.8 Constructing Space

In the table 6.6, three buildings are reported as constructing space, where two buildings will be used for commercial purposes as shown in the project summery. Yet, one ongoing construction site's status cannot be revealed as it exists in a very elementary condition.

Table -6.6: Nature of Constructing Building

Nature of Constructing Building	Frequency	Percentage
Commercial	2	66.7
Not Applicable	1	33.3
Total	3	100

Among all these constructing buildings, none is found as governmental structure. All are being in private sphere.

6.2.1.9 Ownership of Official Space

In the table 6.7 The majority (56%) official space belongs to private houses to perform their own corporate functions or rent to other private entrepreneurs for conducting official purpose.

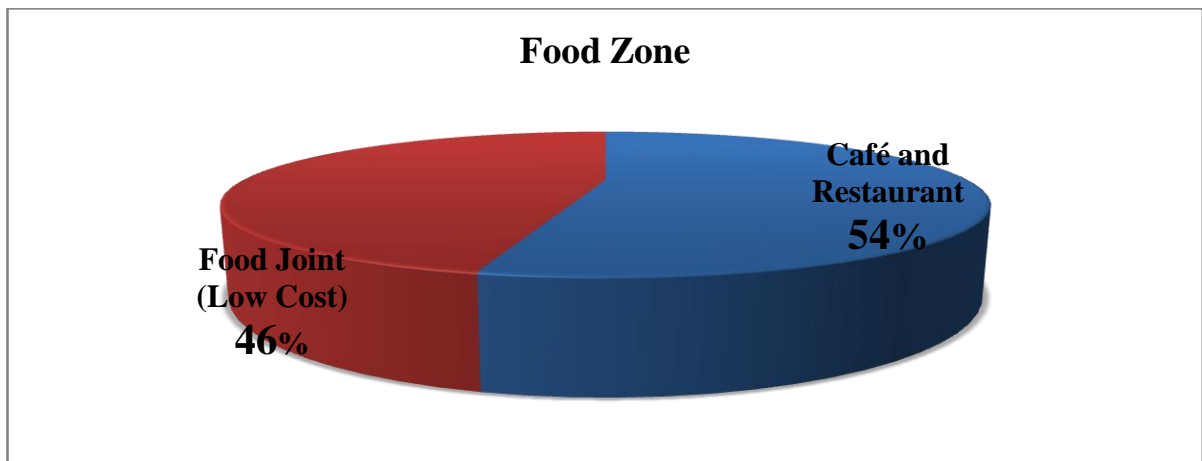
On the contrary, a handsome quantity (44%) of official space is used for government operations.

Table- 6.7: Ownership of Official Space

Ownership of Building	Percentage
Public	43.75
Private	56.25
Total	100

6.2.1.9 Food Zone

The figure 6.10 a healthy contrast is found between high or medium and low cost eatery as the chart depicts that café and restaurant constitutes just more than half (57%) of total food place. However, for lower middle and low economic sections a persistent number (46%) of canteen is found.

Figure- 6.10: Prevalence of Food Zone

In observation, it is revealed that multinational chain food shop like KFC, roof top restaurant like Bird's Eye Restaurant, Chinese restaurant and high-class air-conditioned restaurant are found in this area.

Besides, a noteworthy amount of food centers is available for the lower income background population. It ranges from street food centers to tiny food joints.

The map of Motijheel and Topkhana road is presented below on Map-6.2, in the very next page.

MAP OF MOTIJHEEL

6.2.2 Findings of Motijheel area based on qualitative information

In order to reveal changes of Motijheel-Topkhana roads in-depth interviews, observation in form of ‘complete observer’, informal discussions and are commenced. The respondents discuss on their history of workplace and residence, therefore, data roams around the greater Motijheel area basing on Topkhana and Motijheel roads.

6.2.2.1 Motijheel area, in early time

To have a sound understanding on Motijheel-Topkhana roads, the study areas are split on two roads, Topkhana road and Motijheel road.

From informal discussion and in-depth interviews it is explicated that, since long, the Topkhana road (Purana Paltan circle to Dainik Bangla circle) has found its existence in the last days of British reign. Through the expansion of Dhaka city from Nawabpur to Gulistan, Topkhana road was in track of emergence in the decline age of British ruling. The then time the Nawabs of Dhaka occupied many lands on the either side of this road. A 65 year old senior citizen and land owner of the Topkhana road (owner of the building where Photo Journalists’ Association office resides) states, *“These spaces were primarily owned by the Nawabs, with the passage of time of these lands got dispossessed, while they sold the rest of the lands”*

Then at the early time of Pakistan ruling, the Pakistani aristocrats increasingly liked to set their business along with residence in this area. The business of carpet trading and gun selling were introduced at that time. The House Building Finance Corporation, a 8-storied gigantic building was built in 1952. In informal discussion individuals aging more than 60, it is unveiled that in 1960s, the then Pakistani ruler Ayub Khan planned to drag a road from Governor’s House (present Bangabhaban) to Fakirapool through Purana Paltan beside House Building office. To deter this planning one of the leading businesspersons of that time Dhaka, Yahahia Bawani, also a resident of Purana Paltan established a masjid with adjacent market. It has a magnificent architectural beauty that it is modeled with cubic shape of Kabaah of Mecca with 99 feet resembling the 99 names of the almighty Allah. And this masjid is today’s Baitul Mukarram National Masjid. The Nawabs occupied lands were started to be sold and some were dispossessed during Pakistani ruling. New owners started to reside as well as doing business of carpet trading, carving nameplate and seal pads at that time. The then time on the circle of Topkhana road, there was only one multi-storied building namely the ‘Dainik Azad’ (later named on Dainik Bangla after independence) obviously a public one.

This 4-storied building is now used as the Shramo Karma Songosthan (Labor & Employment) Bank.

The Motijheel road began its story as an expanded version of Topkhana road. During British time, no detailed information on this road has been found. During the Pakistani reign, the East Pakistan business community needed a new commercial location to flourish commercial, primarily trading activities of East Pakistan centering this Motijheel area of Dhaka city. With a view to this, a number of private infrastructures along with public banks were set up to facilitate this formation of commercial area. In in-depth interview, a respondent, security guard of Lucky Chamber with more than 60 year old stated that, *“During the Pakistani ruling, it has been observing as a commercial site. Many public buildings were established at that time like today’s Bangladesh Bank was the then time’s State Bank of Pakistan, some other private infrastructures are also found of that time”*

These private spaces were chiefly used for trading like export-import business. A jahrirul Islam’s construction (locally named 16-storied) was the highest skyline before the independence, still situating at the circle of Dainik Bangla today. Moreover, a number of private infrastructures namely the Lucky Chamber 6-storied, the Sharif Manshion 8-storied and one of the most oldest buildings of this area is the Amin Court, a 8-storied building constructed in 1964. The then time these buildings were designed and constructed by the ‘Biharis’, as reported in informal discussions. These were mainly used for spacing trading units of the East Pakistan. Moreover, Public banks like the State Bank of Pakistan (Bangladesh Bank of Independent Bangladesh), the National Bank (Present day Sonali Bank) and Commercial Bank and Union Bank (today’s Janata Bank) situated at that time on this road.

6.2.2.2 Motijheel area after Independence

The Motijheel-Topkhana roads particularly, Topkhana road and Motijheel road has undergone a lot of change after independence. A good number of construction by both public and private sectors as such Comrade Moni Singh Bhaban (the 6-storied office of Communist Party), Bangladesh In-Land Waterways Department, Bangladesh Songbad Songstha (BSS) Office has been developed. The Baitul Mukarram has been declared as the national masjid, therefore, it along with its adjacent masjid has experienced expansion. Soon after independence, Baitul Mukarram Masjid market adorned with clothing and later in addition to clothing, clocks & watches and optics are also marketed at this place. The carpet and carving

business of Topkhana road has more flourished since it has the sole market in whole Bangladesh.

For Motijheel area, the scenario after independence has observed with much more transformation than Topkhana road as it has become the exclusive commercial center of the country. Those West Pakistani who had their land or property in occupancy had to either sell or forced to hand over to the Bangladeshis after the very end of the glorious Independence War of 1971. As a service holder working for more than 35 years in Motijheel road states, *“After the Independence War, either Pakistanis had sold their lands or forced to sell off their properties and went back to the destination”*

The trading business has faced lots of expansion. For export-import business, rice, pulse, onion, garlic and other daily needs like these are the chief items were imported from the other points of the world. After independence, this import-export has been much more widened evolving this Motijheel road. To continue the process Letter of Credit (LC) is also needed to pursue, the presence of banks mostly in private hand has also increased in this area. The Uttara Bank was the first private bank of the country, later followed by Pubali Bank and other else. With the increase of export-import offices and banks, a good number of insurance companies have also begun to possess on the either side of the road. As insurance is a must for every export-import process, so insurance companies mostly in private sector has seen its boom. Another important business flourishes in the independent Bangladesh; this is manpower recruiting agency. This whole business was concentrated from the last edge of Topkhana road throughout the Motijheel road. They mainly accessed people to move to Middle East nations. In-depth interviews with individuals working more than 25 years at this location reveals that a number of translation centers developed because of manpower recruiting agencies. Usually, these visa of the Middle East countries arrived in the Arabic language, so these are needed to translate in Bangla or English language. As a result, a number of translation center flourished at this area. At first, 10-15 firms were seen to recruiting manpower, then it has observed a mushroom growth.

6.2.2.3 Motijheel area in 1990s

In the beginning of 1990s, not many buildings existed in Topkhana road. In the circle, a 3-storied privatized building named “Ibrahim Mansion” housing commercial space like restaurants at the ground floor, while residence on the upper two stories. The House Building Corporation also started accommodating commercial space as such Azad productions and

Ideal Productions card houses at the ground floor. Apart from this, the buildings of this road were mainly 1 or 2-storied where roadside space was exercised for business purposes including acceleration of traditional practices of carpet trading and carving manufacturing. A carpet trader, trading for two generations spacing at Topkhana road claims,

“In 1990s, things were almost similar to the early time...Not too many buildings found like today. Buildings beside the road was one or two storied in nature. Here business houses of rubber-stamp, carving and car”

Moreover, observation and in-depth interviews discloses that, Baitul Mukarram Masjid market shifted its space accommodating electronics and books from clothing. Furthermore, another new marketplace has developed in the free space of masjid, namely Baitul Mukarram Jewelry Market. This market was chiefly for jewelry ornaments, where activities like cosmetics, journey bags, homeopathic medicine stores and bakery shops also resided at that market. In the Dainik Bangla circle, there existed several food joints, as this place was considered as the main food zone Topkhana road.

Along with commercial space, Topkhana also accommodated some residential space as well. On this road, several one or two storied buildings were to space residence of owners at the top renting commercial place at the ground. On the inner street of the House Building Corporation, several residences of businessmen existed. An interesting point finds from informal discussion and in-depth interviews is that, this inner road also housed many poor at free spaces. In in-depth interviews, several long time employing persons claim that, in the blank plots of the House Building inner road, many lower income earners dwelt in. With mud at the ground and wall and roof with tin, these houses cost rent BDT 1000-1200 monthly. A salesman Shoe Store of Purna Paltan circle states, *“Many of us dwelt in inner side tin-shed houses in Paltan area”*

Along with this, there existed slum in Shegunbagicha neighborhood. In the culvert road of greater Fakirapool area, some squatters were found in the canal bank. Besides, due to the influx of in-migrants Dhaka has stated to overcrowded, therefore, in the beginning of last decade of the previous century a good number of shelter less people took shelter on this road at night. In front of National Sports Council office, House Building Corporation office and the opposite side of the national masjid was the destination of hundreds of destitute. Hence, in 1990s Topkhana road, there lived rich and poor in a close juxtaposition.

The existence of educational institutions is meagerly reported in this Motijheel area. Informal discussions with young community and in-depth interviews with long time living and working individuals disclose that no schools and colleges found in these 1.3 kilometers roads of Topkhana road (550 meter) and Motijheel road (750 meter). The schools and colleges belonging nearby areas of these roads are Little Jewels Infantry School through the House Building road, Paltan Girls' College, Narinda School, Ganabhaban Government School etc reported by the respondents.

The Motijheel area, in 1990s was enjoying as the chief commercial site of the city. The export-import business, manpower recruiting business were on full swing. Several new forms of business as such travel agencies office were deployed in addition to manpower recruiting business in the beginning of 1990s. Business of buying houses of Readymade Garment (RMG) industries has seen its beginning in the mid 1990s. In the early 1990s, there were several high-rising buildings in Motijheel road. The head office of Janata Bank, a 24-storied building and the head office of Uttara Bank (17-storied), the first private bank of the country were built during 1980s under the ruling of General Ershad. Moreover, a number of corporate houses were developed to perform their official activities. The building of Kashem Group and Elite House were constructed to contain their sister concern industries in each building respectively.

In this Motijheel road, there existed some food joints beside of Janata Bank head office. Senior citizens with in-depth interviews claim that there were two or three food joints in thatched roof houses for low-income people.

The street hawking was on the very rudimentary level in the starting point of the study time (1990). A very small number of hawkers hawked in Topkhana and Motijheel road. They used to sell fruits, cosmetics, clothing etc.

In-depth interviews with young persons residing in this area for more than 25 years, it is unveiled that in first half of 1990s, there remained several spaces used by the young groups as playing field. There were free spaces in Fakrapool, culvert road and Wari area. These free spaces were under both public and private sector.

The urban utility services like electricity and water have had their connection and supply in the 1990s. The then time, water was supplied through 6 inch pipe. However, the gas connection has not established at the beginning of the study time.

The local inhabitants of this area state that, there were several canals in Motijheel area in early 1990s. In the culvert road, there existed a long canal, beside of which squatter settlers resided. Information on swamp found in just inner road of Motijheel road. A vast amount of swamp existed in the 1980s. General Ershad (1982-1990) in his ruling has handed over much of these swamplands for the formation of some sports club. In the south of the Bangladesh Bank, there flowed a large canal, which had the primary responsibility to carry out rainwater of this Motijheel area from these swamplands through this canal to Gopibag and eventually to Buriganga River.

6.2.2.3 The transformation of Motijheel area

From in-depth interviews, informal discussions it is depicted that this Motijheel area has undergone a constant change for last 20 years. This process has been starting since 1995, while accelerated by the year 2005.

In Topkhana road, changes have been evolved in two ways. Firstly, in Pakistani occupied lands of which most of them were free or 1-2 storied buildings has gone under construction. From discussion with neighborhood residents, it is revealed that a leading corporate house, Rangs Group bought a land almost in the Paltan circle from an individual who purchased the land from a Pakistani after the end of the Independence War. At the beginning, they set up a car showroom named Rangs Auto at that space in 1995. Then they built the Rangs Tower (9-storied) on this land by 2010. The second sort of change occurred through the purchase of land from the landowners. An example of such type of renewal is the Baitul View Tower, a 20-storied skyscraper, modern sign of development on the Topkhana road was 2-storied building in 1990s. The developer of the Baitul View Tower purchased the land from the owner with a lucrative amount of money and eventually built such a high-rise building, which has been standing for last 2-3 years. Of the large-scale multi-storied buildings, the first one established early 2000s. The Surma Tower was developed in a private land, which was a carpet house in 1990s. The construction of Surma Tower started in 1998 and opened in the first half of new century. These buildings were created to space increasing number of bank and financial institutions, commercial spaces and official purposes of private companies.

The transformation of Motijheel road was followed by several processes. Firstly, a good number of governmental buildings have been constructed in last 15-20 years. The head office of Bangladesh Krishi (Agricultural) Bank a 10-storied building, the Bangladesh Development Bank (BDBL) office, a 8-storied one, the office of Health Engineering office a

4-storied building were built by the state to perform administrative functions. Secondly, a noteworthy number of private infrastructures have set up its own exclusive establishments in this road, as such the head office of AB Bank a 2- storied building, the corporate office of Islami Bank (5-storied building) and the corporate office of the Uttara Bank, a 4-storied one. Another significant type of infrastructure has flourished during 1995 to 2010, these are the buildings of several voluntary as well as business associations. The Sylhet Bhaban a regional association has developed a large building of 7-stories accommodating banks, translation centers and other commercial spaces along its organizational place. The Dhaka Chamber and Commerce Industry building is one of the leading spaces for the business community of the city (8-storied). This has also found its existence in last 15 years. Another significant association businesspersons of the country is the Federation of Bangladesh Chamber and Commerce Industry (FBCCI) office, which is also situated at the core of the city Motijheel road. It is a huge 10-storied building placing IFIC Bank at the ground, FBCCI's official performances for rest of the floors. Moreover, Red Crescent Office has had its placement in this road. Besides, other infrastructural arrangements have remained to continue spatial practices of trade and business. The fourth type is that in this Motijheel road, the buildings built during Pakistan period some of them have still finds to continue spacing commercial activities by handover the ownership as discussed before.

In the Motijheel road, the export-import business has shown a significant type of change. The boom of readymade garment industries has added a new dimension in the increase of export-import trading in the beginning of new century. Besides, the manpower recruiting has seen a sharp decrease at this road. With interviews it is unleashed that, since it is a business based on network establishment, so soon the employees working the mid-position of recruiting agency has resigned from the job and starts to setup his own recruiting business. In this way, the recruiting business gets split and shifted from Motijheel road to DIT Avenue (locally DIT extension road). While tour and travel business has experienced a steady growth at the first half of new decade of the 21st century. Yet soon it seems decline as the monopoly business of this area has spread to several pockets areas of the city like Uttara, Banani etc. As the recruiting agencies has gone to decay, therefore the translation centers once solely dependent on visa processing has changed the concentration with the composing and printing. With the development of desktop computer in early 2000, these centers has adopted these techniques and started doing computerized compose and printing, tracing the end of traditional type writer.

The change has also marked in food places. The thatched roof food joints of the Motijheel road get the lease from the B.N.P government in early 90s. Hence, they established food restaurants with greater facilities for the office employees of alongside buildings. Moreover, some other restaurants have also developed Motijheel as well as Topkhana road.

The government has developed the condition of urban utilities at this area. In the reign of the Awami League government, the gas connection first introduced at Topkhana nad Motijheel road. The water line has also widened from 6-inch pipe to 12-inch pipe so the offices set up at this area can have better access to water. Moreover, this Topkhana and Motijheel road were expanded at that time.

The playgrounds marked by the young personnel get filled by the privatized as well as government authorities. In Fakirapool area, many commercial buildings have been set as reported in the in-depth interviews. For Culvert road, government has handed over its free space to build several governmental institutions and organizations. The presently situated Bangladesh Football Federation (BFF) House, was once a familiar playing spot for the inhabitants of this greater Motijheel area that government handed over to BFF for last 15 years. Moreover, in only remaining public free space, at just the backside of Motijheel road has recently established Motijheel Thana for last 6 years. In the Wari region, many residential as well as commercial constructions have been taken place in last 20- years.

The infrastructure not only grabs the play grounds but the canals as well. The canal of culvert road has been filled with large-scale structure of buildings. Moreover, the swamplands to the inner Motijheel road have become filled with the infrastructures of different sports clubs. Only what exists is the canal at the south of the Bangladesh Bank. However, it gets very squeezed than 1990s.

As for last 20 years, the renewal of the Motijheel has been going on, therefore, the housing of the poor in this neighborhood areas gets extincted. In the inner road of House Building, there developed many residential accommodation displacing the poor ones. The same thing happens in in culvert road, here when the canal has been filled, this time these squatters were also evicted at time. In the Shegunabgicha area, many government offices like the Anti Corruption Commission office has been established expelling the poor people. The number of shelter less people residing on the road has got reduced, because both police and private police impede these destitute to sleep on road at night.

Since it is a central business district of Dhaka city, this Motijheel area has acquainted with the concept of guard deployment. The security for the buildings, guards were deployed long before. However, what new observed by the employees and the inhabitants of this area is the emergence of security guard companies. Since 2005 and onwards, many corporate offices like banks and insurance offices have recruited these private police or guards employed by privatized companies. Moreover, the monitoring and surveillance of police has found increased by the persons exercising this spaces for a long period. They found the establishment of Motijheel in 6-year back a remarkable incident a through this establishment the vigilance and monitoring has been strengthened than before.

Another significant shift marked for last 20 years in this Motijheel area is the massive expansion of informal sector. The senior informal laborers in informal discussions reveal that, due to the lack of employment at village many young people come to the city Dhaka. But here, attaining a jobs is also much more difficult. Therefore, to find way for subsistence, these young men have sit in the Topkahana and Motijheel roads, with informal services. With a very small capital, they can initiate this small business. This informal business ranges from cap and perfume to clothing and shoes and from electronics items to fruit selling. A huge number of people have been in this type of economy for last 20 years.

6.3.2.4 Motijheel area; Today

In-depth interviews, informal discussions and observation in form of complete observer is drawn to depict the current scenario of Motijheel area.

In the very beginning observation from Topkahana road finds that, this road present time spaces many banks and financial institutions. A healthy proportion of private banks like Bank Asia, Islami Bank are situated in this road, along with several insurance offices as such Met Life Insurance Company also have their position in this road. Moreover, new buildings have placed their floors for commercial as well as official purposes. For instance, the Baitul View Tower a 20-storied building as early mentioned, has shopping malls in first 5-stories along with specialized mobile market, next 15-stories are for commercial and official space, where Islami Life Insurance, Sun Life Insurance, IFAD Autos and fabulous roof top restaurant are placed. Another high rise building Surma Tower also accommodates Bangladesh Commerce Bank, Jamuna Bank, Padma Life Insurance and some other commercial spaces. These newly structured buildings space 5500-5400 square feet per floor. Moreover, a significant number of

customer care centers are also found this renewed Topkhana road as such Robi Customer Care at Rangs Tower and Airtel Customer Care Center at Dainik Bangla circle.

Along with corporate wave in profession, food places of Topkhana road get a taste of neoliberal consumer culture. There exists international food chain shop KFC to high-class, air-conditioned restaurants like Khana Basmoti. However, a significant number of food joints remain for the lower income population working in this area.

For Motijheel road, not very much change occurs in terms of building construction. However, the highest ever sky scrapper of the country ever “The City Center” has been situated at that road. It is a 37-storey edifice along with enormous official and commercial space in every floor. In each floor, approximately 10700 square feet space has been provided dividing 2675 square feet in each block respectively. Offices like Grameenphone customer care and Orion group’s office placed in this building. Another modern building adding additional feather to the urban re fabrication of Motijheel road is WW Tower. It is a 15-storied building housing Mutual Trust bank corporate office, Novo Air office and many more commercial and official spaces.

In last 10 years, a handsome amount of restaurant developed in the Motijheel road. On the contrary, for low-income earners there are informal eateries in this road as well.

For the commercial action, the Motijheel area has experienced changes as observed by the researcher. In informal discussion and observation, it is unraveled that export-import business of daily necessities like rice, pulse, onion is maintained in this market. Yet, the manufacturing garments and other new forms of export-import business losing its appeal to this area. Informal discussion and in-depth interviews discloses that due to huge traffic jam the foreign buyers are reluctant to move to Motijheel, as a result, local businessmen of the country make them sit in some pocket areas of the city as such Uttara, Banani and Gulshan. They arrange meetings and finalize deals at these newly developed locations. After finalizing the deal, from L.C opening to insurance processing all works are done in Motijheel area.

In this Motijheel-Topkhana road, there found new corporate class employees, from both gender male and female. However, presently, in the Motijheel road new for informal economy is found, it temporary market sitting just before the closing period of office hour. Therefore, people getting out from office usually purchase their regular required items alike vegetables, poultry, fish and so on. Other types of informal economy continue their performance. These pity informal workers has to pay extortion fee to the police authority

through intermediary, so that they can have the minimum access to continue business and thereby subsistence. Despite, police at times runs eviction against these workers, as a result these workers has to quit running business until they again get permission from police signaling through intermediariy.

Due to the scarcity of living place in this area, the poor are forced to move to peripheral urban pockets. In-depth interviews with long term workers of this area reveal that, people once lived I this area are now shifted to fringe of the city like Demra, Kanchpur, Tongi, Ashuliya and Chittagong road.

Moreover, out of the constructing sites, no one is found as a residential building. It means that, this area has no longer in planning of the developers to create any housing apartment or space.

6.3 Findings of Dhanmondi area

With a view to unveiling the nature of urban renewal of Dhaka city, the third and final attempt is drawn on Dhanmondi area which is a renowned posh residential are as pointed in former chapter. Therefore, to understand the transformation of this area along with current settings the Satmasjid road is taken into consideration. From BGB gate to straight Mohammadpur BRTA bus stand, this long 2.8 kilometers is selected for study location. This is the longest road or unit of this study area as well as one of the longest roads of the city. Hence, this road has been divided into two parts for the facilitation of the study conduct. The first portion ranges from BGB gate to the end of Dhanmondi road. 16 (in front of Bangladesh Eye Hospital) to understand the transition of sole Dhanmondi area. It takes the proportion about 1.8 kilometers of road. While another portion of 1 kilometer consists of Bangladesh Eye Hospital to Mohammadpur BRTA bus depot to find out the transformation of alongside Lalmatia region. Quantitative data along with the support of observation has outlined in form of land use survey so that all the establishments of present time can be identified and thereby analyzed. Qualitative finding then has followed the quantitative one to disclose the process of urban redevelopment caused by neoliberal transformation.

6.3.1 Quantitative findings on Dhanmondi Satmasjid road

At the beginning, all the establishments placing on both side of Satmasjid road are contemplating for counting, mapping and listing. All total 137 infrastructure or establishments are calculated on the either side of the road. These are then categorized in terms of ownership i.e. public or private property, nature of establishments based on purpose

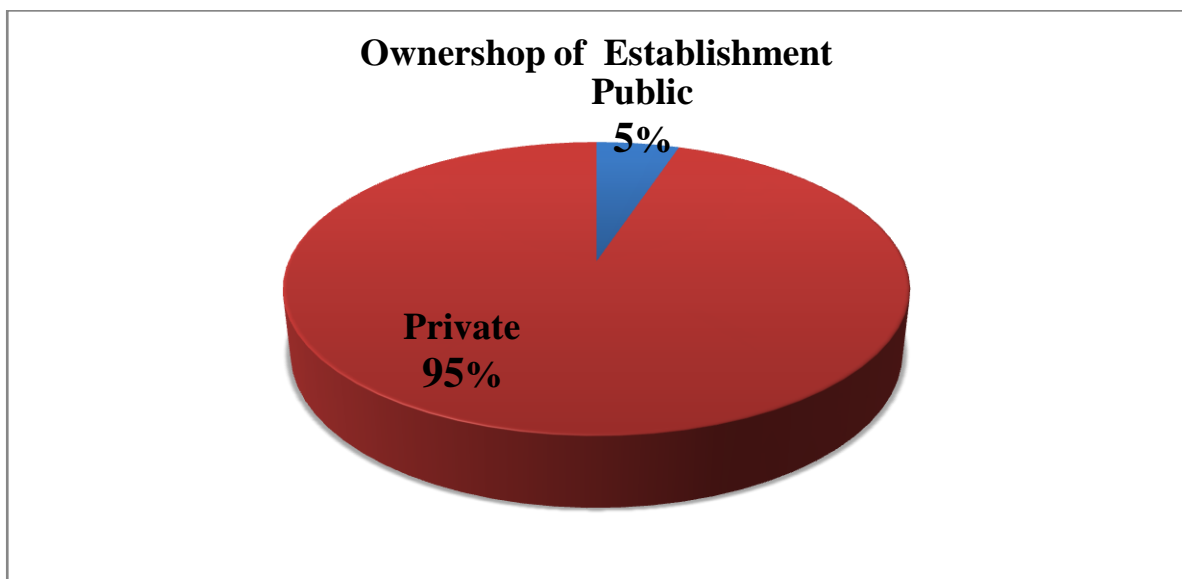
of use e.g. commercial, residential, administrative and mixed buildings. Then the stories of these buildings are also taken for consideration. And finally, the feature of these structures that means the sort of institutions taking place in these buildings are also reported for the quite acquaintance of the study.

6.3.1.1 Ownership of the establishment

From the figure 6.11, it is quite visible that the overwhelming space (95%) around Satmasjid road is under private occupancy. All the set up set in this location are primarily on the private ownership. On the contrary, a very scanty portion of space (5%) is used either as government space or as open public space.

Throughout this long straight line Satmasjid road, there found private establishments in all around. Residence, financial organizations, commercial centers, educational institutions, health care houses all are rests in private hands. What remains in public or governmental sector is the Dhanmondi Lake, Idgah Masjid, Rab-2 office and several educational institutions.

Figure- 6.11: Ownership of the establishment



6.3.1.2 Nature of the Establishments

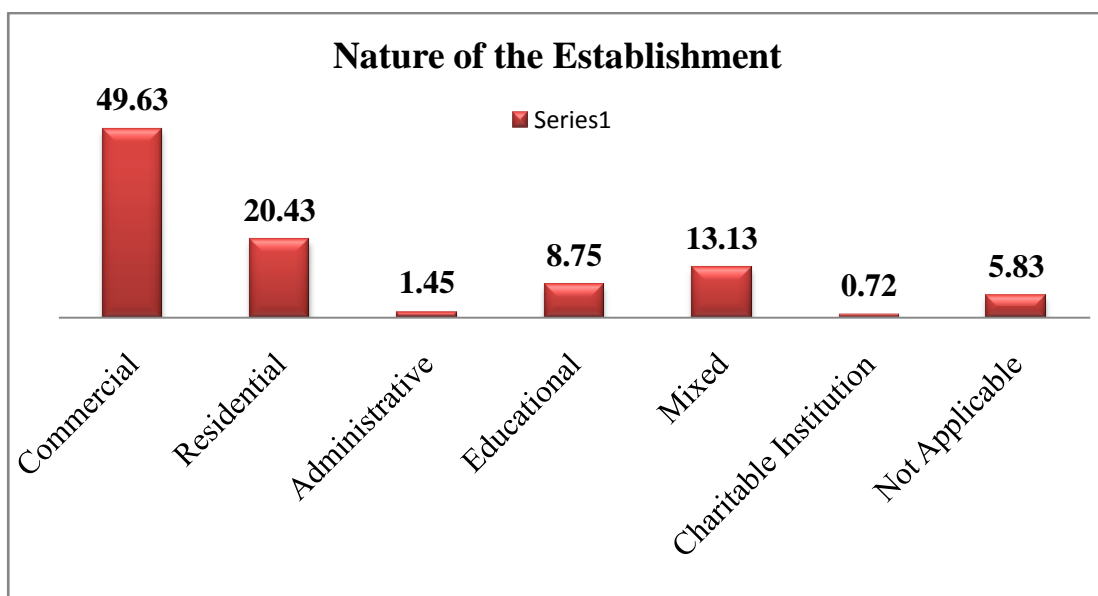
About half of the space (in terms of buildings) of Dhanmondi area uses commercial purposes (50%) as illustrated in figure 6.12. Here the second highest position (20%) belongs to residence basing on the purpose of functions. A significant proportion of buildings (13%) of this location is used for mixed purpose. This chart also illustrates an interesting finding claiming that about one in every tenth building (9%) spaces educational institutions. In this

area, a very small proportion (1.45%) of administrative buildings observe. However, a reporting percentage (6) of space is as not applicable since these are found as free or constructing space while investigation.

In the Satmasjid road, a wide array of institutions for commercial purposes is observed. It ranges from banks to shopping malls and health care centers to café and restaurants. This area in general is viewed as a show down of commercial performances.

Moreover, in this locality a high prevalence of residential space is also found. This could be duplex or triplex type of structure or 6-storied to 12-storied of residential apartments.

Figure- 6.12: Nature of the Establishments



The Dhanmondi and Lalmatia areas, through Satmasjid road shows a vast amalgamation of mixed type of buildings. It is really quite difficult to categorize or define the mixed buildings in a general boundary. Often it is found that a same space is accommodating banks, offices and residence. Another building discloses mingles of educational institution with café and restaurants. However, two categories of mixed buildings can be more or less observed. The first one reveals that, it houses residences on the upper half and for the lower half it places offices or commercial organizations. For example- “Kunjai” a building, just opposite to Abacus Restaurant, is a mixed building of 6 stories where lower half accommodates a salon, health care center, a branch of Shahjalal Islami Bank and Prime Bank and upper half spaces only residential apartments. Another sort of mixed building is observed in which educational institutions or more specifically, private universities reside in the top floors, while floors to ground rests restaurants or even health care centers. An interesting edifice is found just before

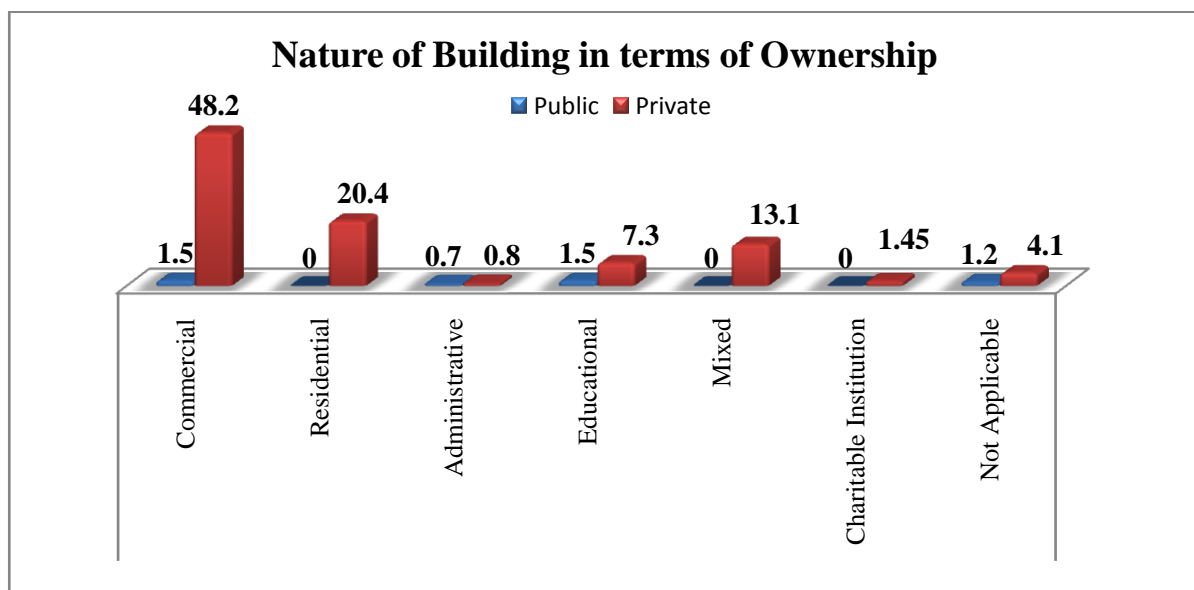
to Dhanmondi 9/A road, where upper 3-sfloors belong to “Stamford University”- a private university and 2nd, 3rd and half of ground floor place a private hospital named “Eden Multi Care Hospital” and for remaining half there exist several show rooms. It seems that of these establishments are situated to cater commercial performances.

6.3.1.3 Nature of Building in terms of Ownership

In this figure 6.13 a comparative specification of spatial set up between public or governmental and private establishments are posed. It shows that, there is almost nothing remains in government side. A large scale of commercial space (48.2) rests upon private personnel, where a very meager proportion (1.5%) holds by the government. A northworthy finding discloses that private sector occupies all 20% of residential space. While a little educational institution remains (2%), as private educational institutions constitute a large amount, almost four times (7%) in respect to the public ones.

By meaning governmental commercial space, there are two branches of public banks as such Rupali Bank exclusively set to perform this aforesaid function. A governmental law enforcing agency, RAB-2 camp is established to run its administrative duty. Moreover, this small protion of public institutions are mainly specialized government colleges like the Graphics Art College, Mohammadpur Physical College etc. on the contrary, a heathy number of private educational centers like private Bangla medium or English medium schools, English Medium Colleges, ACCA, GRE or IELTS centers and several campuses of private universities.

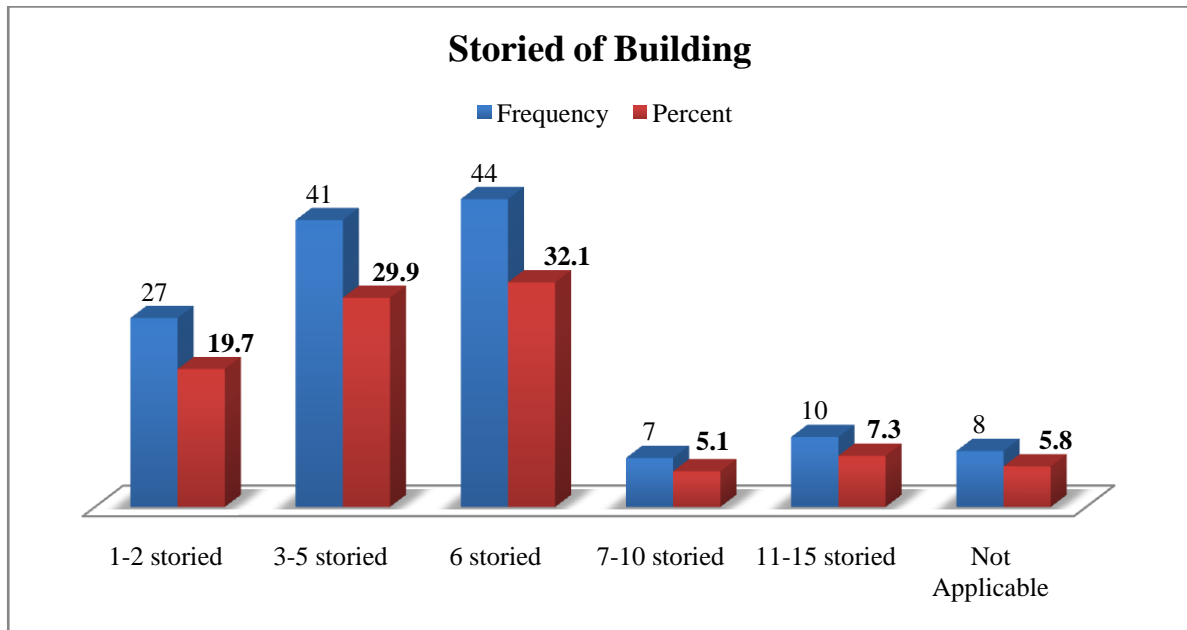
Figure-6.13: Nature of Building in terms of Ownership



6.3.1.4 Status on storied of Buildings

This graphical presentation 6.14 illustrates that the highest proportion (32.1%) of building is 6-storied. In this Satmasjid road, about half of the buildings (49.6%) are below 6-stories. Out of this, 1-2 storied buildings constitute 19.7% and 3-5 level constructions combine 29.9% of total buildings separately.

Figure- 6.14 Status on storied of Buildings



However, in this road no building is found more than 15-storied, where 7.3% of buildings are reported to belong between 11 & 15 stories.

Observation expatiates that whether the constructions are residential or commercial or mixed in types, major size of buildings is 6-storied. These 6-stories infrastructures primarily place residential apartments, private universities, health care centers like diagnostic centers or as mixed commercial cum residential sites.

Moreover, the 1-2 storied buildings are chiefly the exclusively established residential properties, while a little number of corporate sections of private banks are found there. The 3-5 stories constructions are exercised either residential or mixed space of commercial cum educational or health care set up. However, a large number of 7-10 storey height buildings mainly provide space to commercial cum educational or official space. However, as much as the height goes up, the more the propensity of using the stories as commercial or official purposes, like 11-15 storied edifices place for commercial as well as official purposes.

6.3.1.5 Feature of Building

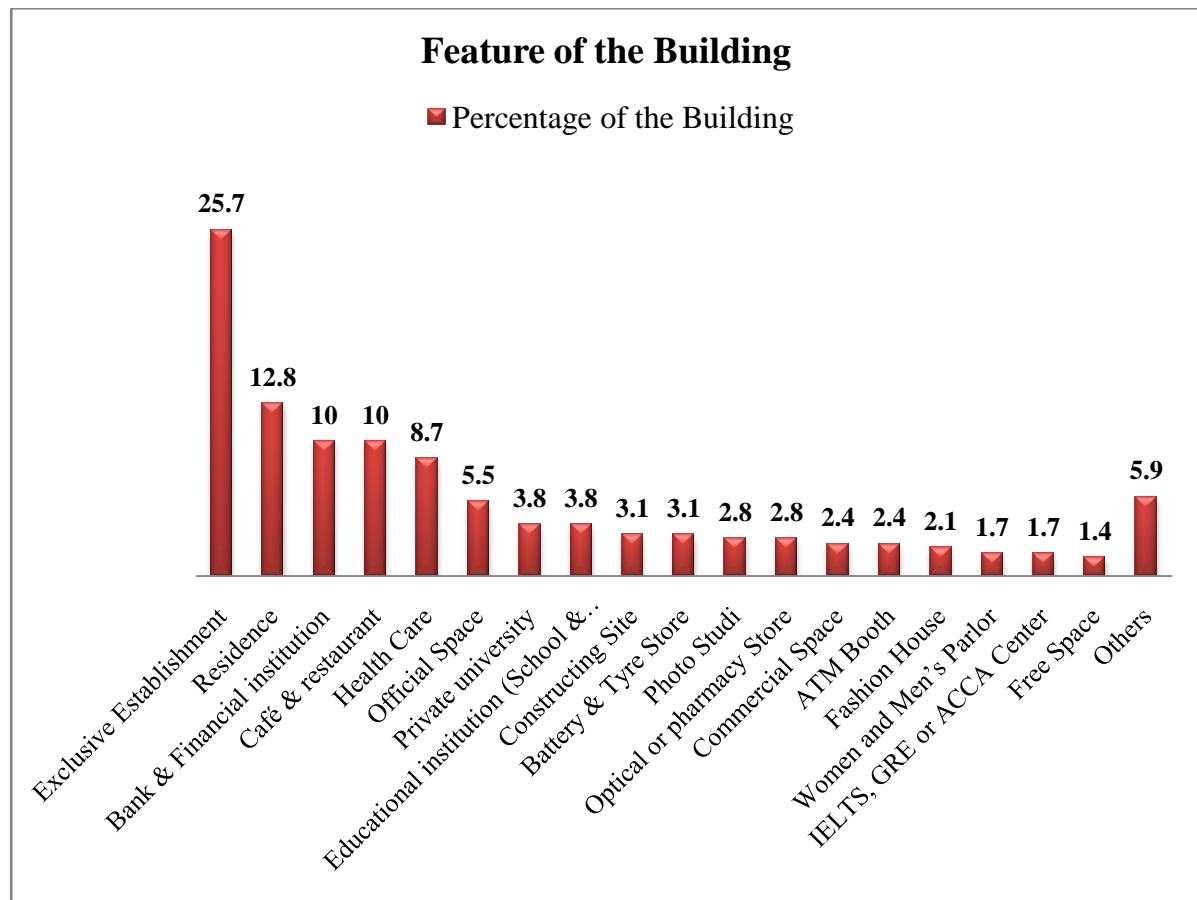
The figure 6.15 elucidates the maximum number (26%) of the buildings belongs to exclusive establishments. The residential construction constitutes 13% of the total space. Bank and financial companies occupies 10% space of the Satmasjid road. Another 10% position is placed for café and restaurants. Health care centers as such hospitals, clinic, diagnostic centers and space for bunch of doctors' chambers form about 9% of total buildings. Almost one out of every tenth building (9%) of this area situates an educational institution like private school, college, universities or proficiency developing centers. In division, private university forms 3.8%, where other school and college (Bangla and English medium) adds another 3.8% of space, in final different proficiency development centers as such TOEFL, IELTS, GRE or ACCA preparation or coaching centers hold 1.7% place in terms of buildings. About 6% of the either side of Satmasjid road is accessed for official purposes.

In this area, a reporting proportion (3.1%) of structure is exposed as constructing sites. Another 3.1% place is found for establishing battery and tyre shops. Further commonly utilizing space in this area are optical or pharmacy store (2.8%), commercial space (2.4%) Fashion house (2.1%) and women's parlor (1.7%). However, a very scanty area 1.4% remains as free space. A significant quantity (6%) of space is reported as others.

The exclusive establishments comprise mostly residences, some health care centers, private universities and public administrative sites. The residential space are residential apartments or mixed buildings housing residential flats. Almost all private banks have their local branches in area, while the number of public bank is so meager in respect to private ones. The study observes Dhanmondi Satmasjid area as a location of eating place of upper class as, a lot of Chinese restaurants such as XINXIAN, 4 SEASONS, multinational chain food outlets like KFC, Pizza Hut, American Burger and renowned national restaurants as such 'Korai Gosto', Star Kebab and 'Baburchi'. Yet not a single low cost food joint like snacks store or local restaurant are not observed.

A huge number of private universities take place at this road. Universities like ULAB, Stamford University, Northern University, Asia Pacific University, State University, United International University have one or some of them have like multiple number of campuses at this road. Furthermore, significant amount of schools and colleges are house in this road. Kakoli High School, European international School, Academia International school are some of them. However, this road also spaces a prominent singing learning center 'Chhayanat'.

Figure -6.15: Feature of Building



Besides, a large number of health care centers are established in this area. Ibn Sina, Medinova, Japan-Bangladesh Friendship Hospital and some specialized hospitals like Bangladesh Eye Care Hospital and Vision Eye Care Center are some reputed one.

6.3.1.6 Exclusive establishment

As the table-6.8 shows, more than half (53%) of the exclusive establishment belongs to commercial functions. Another about quarter percent (22) of space is exercised for residential purposes. Educational institutes hold 20% of total exclusive establishments. For administrative operations, only 2% space is exclusively used. Another reporting 1.7% (in frequency 2) exclusive property is found for charitable functioning.

Table- 6.8: Exclusive Establishment

Nature of Building	Percentage
Commercial (Health Care Institution, Bank restaurants)	52.5
Residential	22
Educational (private university)	20.3
Administrative	3.4
Charitable establishment	1.7
Total	100

Health care center like City Hospital, Ibn Sina, Medinova, Bangladesh eye Hospital constitute exclusive establishments. Many duplex or triplex structure houses are found bearing a trait of spacing the people with posh lifestyle. Moreover, a good number of educational institutions primarily private universities like ULAB, United International Universty, State University are observed with exclusive establishment. For public institutions, Mohammadpur Physical College, Grpahic Arts College are in form of exclusive set up. However, 2 charitble institutions are found in this Satmasjid area and both of them are used to provide low or free cost treatment.

6.3.1.7 Constructing Space

As found in table- 6.9, in total nine ongoing constructing sites are viewed in the study area Satmasjid road. Of them, overwhelming seven infrastructures (78%) are building with view to placing commercial spaces. While two structures (22%) purpose of construction cannot be disclosed and thereby reported as not applicable.

Table- 6.9: Constructing Space

Nature of Constructing Building	Frequency	Percentage
Commercial	7	77.8
Not Applicable	2	22.2
Total	9	100

The map of Dhanmondi Satmasjid road is presented below on Map-6.3, in the very next page.

MAP OF SATMASJID ROAD

6.3.2 Findings of Dhanmondi area based on qualitative information

In sequence of Gulshan and Motijheel, the change as well as contemporary spatial set up of Satmasjid Road of Dhanmondi area has been sketched with in-depth interviews, informal discussions and observation in form of complete observer. The respondents in form of either residential or working place history narrate the pictography of transformation of Dhanmondi area considering the Satmasjid road as the strand point.

To provide the complete scenario of this 2.8 kilometers of Satmasjid road, it is portioned in to two parts. Here, part one ranges from BGB no. 4 gate to the circle of Bangladesh Eye Hospital. This 1.8 kilometers road is studied to cover Dhanmondi Residential Area. While, from the end of Dhanmondi 16 no. road another 1 kilometer towards Mohammadpur BRTA bus depot is examined to understand the change of Lalmatia area and particularly to wrap the Satmasjid road.

6.3.2.1 Satmasjid road in early time

6.3.2.1.1 Dhanmondi area of Satmasjid road

With in-depth interviews and informal discussions with aged persons of the locality, it is unveiled that the tracing of Dhanmondi residential area finds in the beginning of 1950s. The Dhanmondi Residential Area (DRA) was the first residential space, which was planned to house the higher section of the society. The whole area was planned as residential; therefore, the whole location was split into plots. Many respondents claim that, these plots were rectangular in shape. This Dhanmondi residential area was covered by two roads. These are Mirpur road and Satmasjid road. In Pakistan period, the Satmasjid road was named as ‘Sat Gombuj road’. This Sat Gombuj or Sat Masjid road is on the verge of Dhanmondi area from the west side. A little number of plots remains crossing this Satmasjid road.

In the Pakistan period, there existed few buildings in this Dhanmondi area on either side of the Satmasjid road. These were mainly 2 or 3 storied duplex or triplex houses. Mainly house owners resided there. In front of these houses homestead gardening was also popular during that time. Moreover, there were also many spaces remained free.

6.3.2.1.1 Lalmatia area of Satmasjid road

One interesting information revealed from the discussions with the long term residents is that before independence, the Satmasjid road stretched up to Dhanmondi road no. 27 (today’s

road no. 16). Yet three governmental educational institutions of present Lalmatia area were placed at before independence as reported by the respondents.

6.3.2.2 The Satmasjid Road after independence

6.3.2.2.1 Dhanmondi area of Satmasjid road

After independence the scenario of the Satmasjid road along with Dhanmondi residential area have seen some transition. Many houses started to be built on the free plots or spaces. Other than that, no commercial institution found in the first decade of the independence, where only one educational institution was established namely ‘Kakoli High School’ just after independence in 1972. One of the leading sports club of the country, ‘Abahani Krirachokro (Sporting Club)’ was established at that time (1972). The Dhanmondi Lake had also found its existence at time. In 1980s, the situation was more or less same. The residential set up was almost same in this decade as remembered by the residents. Besides, what added to this is the establishment of a private medical hospital namely Ibn Sina Hospital situating at today’s Dhanmondi road no. 15/A.

6.3.2.2.1 Lalmatia area of Satmasjid road

After independence, the Satmasjid road started to extend along with the expansion of Lalmatia area. At that time, there were many free spaces in roadside plots. In 1980s, very small numbers of houses were established in the opposite side of governmental institutions and near Mohammadpur bus depot.

6.3.2.3 Satmasjid road in 1990s

6.3.2.3.1 Dhanmondi area of Satmasjid road

From BGB gate to the end of Dhanmondi road no. 16 (road no. 27 on that time) has not much changed in early 90s. As disclosed in in-depth interviews and informal discussions, on that time, there were duplex or triplex houses in most of the plots. The elite class of the society used these spaces as their residence. Some plots on the roadside remained vacant. A senior citizen aged 60+ states, *“Many people had the establishments on their own plots. Houses like ours, were mostly two storied in type. Many of us liked to have gardening in front of the house, in fact it signified aristocracy”*

The inhabitants also claim that this Satmasjid road also housed people with low income. ‘Idgah Masjid’ and its adjacent free space was used as an abode of 80-100 slum dwelling families. Furthermore, in Satmasjid roadside of Sankar and in inner roads of Sankar area,

poor people formed squatters with bamboo and tins. At that time, they did not need to pay any rental payment. Nevertheless, almost hundreds of people who were either destitute or newly in-migrants slept on roads, bus stop and lakeside areas of Satmasjid road.

Moreover, except residences, some educational and commercial institutions as such hospitals and diagnostic centers also started to build from that point of time. Medinova Diagnostic center, a private health care system was established in the beginning of 1990s. The Ibn Sina hospital also continued to its service. That means at the beginning of closing decade of the last century the residential distinctiveness of the Dhanamondi Residential Area continued.

For shopping and marketing purposes, the inhabitants had to move to either New Market and Elephant road or Jigatola and Sukrabad Bazar, as these were the market places standing in the neighborhood of Dhanmondi in Satmasjid road. For eatery, the inhabitants used to go to these market locations, since there was no set up of any food place or restaurants in the beginning of 1990s. A housewife aged 45 claims that, *“On that time there was no traffic congestion. So, New Market or Mohammadpur Bazar was so near to us”*

As the only space for recreation and leisure activities, the Abahani field and the Dhanmondi Lake are observed. The elderly dwellers of this location opine that, in early 90s, the entry point of Dhanmondi Lake to the west to Satmasjid road was open, and particularly, there was no strong boundary on the road side to separate the road from this Lake. The almost got to dead in the beginning of the study time. the Abahani field was open for all early time. local young boys used to play in this large at any time of the day, except the match day- the days when cricket matches were held at thi ground.

In the starting point of study time (1990), commercial spaces as such health care centers (hospitals and diagnostic centers) found, though small in number. The respondents either in working place or residential history mention that, in this time, medical institutions started concentrated in this road.

The situation of educational institutions also very low in number. Some private schools began to flourish in early 90s. many of them were English medumdiium schools.

In quest of wetlands or canals, the respondents living more than 20 year contend that, there was an existence of a canal named ‘Modhubazar Khal’ just three back from Satmasjid road. This canal stretched from Modhubazar to Rayerbazar area.

The Urban utilities that mean, electricity, water and gas supply were available in this Dhanmondi location along with Satmasjid road and its nearby areas, before independece.

6.3.2.3.2 Lalmatia area of Satmasjid road

For Lalmatia area, the housing pattern was as same as dhanmondi, most of the houses were two or three storied in structure. The residents belonging the nearby Satmasjid area state that as an entended part of Dhanmondi area, Satmasjid adjacent plots started to follow the housing structure and architectural pattern plan of 80s Dhanmondi Residential Area.

Besides, the inhabitants of this location had to go to Mohammadpur Bazar and often Rayerbazar for shopping and marketing, as there was no market place placed at that area. No food zone was remembered by the respondents living nearby Satmasjid road of Lalmatia area in the beginning of 1990s.

Apart from three governmental institutions as such Government Commercial Institute, Graphic Art College and Mohammadpur Physical College, no public or private educational institution was noticed by the respondents.

The Urban utilities like electricity connection, water provision and gas supply were available with Dhanmondi since the beginning of the study time.

6.3.2.4 The Transformation of Satmasjid Road

Data from in-depth interviews and informal discussions are drawn to depict the transition of Satmasjid road accompanied by Dhanmondi and Lalmatia area.

6.3.2.4.1 Dhanmondi area of Satmasjid road

The residents of Dhanmondi area of alongside Satmasjid road notice that for last 20 years this road has been changing. Its housing pattern has followed several phases of change. At the beginning, real estate companies have managed the land from the owners with the sharing of flats with liquid cash. Initially, 6-storied apartments with two units of flats started to be built in Satmasjid roadside plots, where one-third of share handed over to the landowners, which later turned into 50-50 possession from 10 years back. Of the newly built flats real estate development companies used to sell all of their flats and from the landowner side, they also sold some flats owned from the land developing companies. ‘Abul Monem Akikunnesa’ is a 6-storied structure spacing solely residence. With emergence of new century, the Dhanmondi area along with Satmasjid road has experienced a new sort of change in its spatial practices. Its residential nature started to yield position to commercial functions, which was just to kick off in 1990s. A new type of building structure has ushered this change. It is a 6-storey in structure where upper half has been spaced for residential purposes and half from the ground

has been considered for spacing commercial activities as such placing grocery shops to fashion houses and private school to universities. This type of buildings was named as mixed building that has brought the second phase of change. In building this mixed buildings, the developer companies adopted 50-50 possession approach in most of the cases, where for every structure each party (property owner and developer) will get the equal as revealed in informal discussions with local inhabitants. A building namely “Sha Sha Bari” near Japan-Bangladesh Friendship Hospital is a perfect example of mixed buildings, where show room of home appliance, ‘Hi-Fashion Gallery’ and food court ‘Bread & Butter’ are situated in first 3 floors, while the next 3 floors are spaced to residence in form of 2 unit flats. There also some other building that has been observed as 6-storied sole commercial building i.e. ‘Barakat Haven’ is an exemplary one. As mentioned in quantitative findings, most of the buildings range upto 6 stories, while for last 5-6 years high rising sky touching edifices have been establishing in this locality on the either side of Satmasjid road. This type of buildings constitutes the final phase of change. This building ranges from 10-15 stories. These are mainly used as sole commercial location, while some also space commercial cum residential arrangement as well.

The change sprang since 1995 and onwards, has swept the poor from living in inner roads and streets side areas. The ‘Eidgah Masjid’ has been considered as architectural site, therefore, government authority has evicted them from that spot more than 10years ago, and its adjacent free space has been evacuated at that time and soon after has gone under construction. The destitute sleeping on roads also found deterrence to continue living by the rigorous monitoring of private guards and vigilance of police. As a result, the poor has to move peripheral areas of Dhaka city.

The most striking change the Satmasjid road has experienced in last 20 year is the transition from roadside residential place to roadside commercial place. At rudimentary level, of 6-stories mixed building first half from the ground has started to be used as commercial places like privatized banks, fashion houses, hospitals, female beauty parlors and so on. Then this position entrenches while the land developers companies has made a residential plot to a commercial space of 6-storey. Often a mixed commercial building house an educational as well as a hospital in a same building. This has spaced same activities as mention above. Moreover, a significant number of shopping malls has established in last 15 years. As the respondents mention in in-depth interviews and informal discussion, this has started with Anam Rang Plaza, followed by Shankar Palza and Keri Plaza in this Satmasjid road. A

Businessman living in Dhanmondi for more than twenty years opines, *“The real estate development began many years back, from last of 90s, while shifting of residential plot to a semi-commercial nature starts from 2000 and onwards...It was the beginning of destruction of beauty and peace of Dhanmondi”*

In addition to shopping malls and markets, a huge number of café and restaurants has been set up for last two decades. From international chain food shops like KFC and Pizza Hut to renowned food courts of the city as such ‘Korai Gosto’ Star Kebab, Olympia are have their possession in this road. An interesting thing is observed that, most of these restaurants are situated at the next door of educational institutions. Moreover, a significant number of Chinese restaurants from ‘XiaMin’ to ‘Jing Ling’ are also found in this road. This Satmasjid road also has also housed a number of convention centers for the arrangements programs of these increasingly rising population of Dhanmondi Residential Area and its neighborhoods.

The change of Satmasjid road has occurred in such way, it seems that someone has taken a large project to demolish the residential nature of the Dhanmondi area. Because, along with aforesaid spatialization of private insititutions, a large number private educational institutions has taken place in this Satmasjid road for last 20 years. ‘Mapple Leaf International School’ was the first one, along with Samarat International Sachol and European International School has also established on the either side of this road. Not only English medium private schools, but a healthy number of private universities have also had their main as well as faculty buildings at this road since 2000 and onwards. The University of Liberal Arts (ULAB), United International University, State University have their main campuses on this Satmasjid road. These university buildings are mainly exclusive establishments. Other universities like Northern University, Asia Pacific University has their faculties in many floors of the buildings in this road.

Medical care centers like hospitals, diagnostic centers, buildings solely used as doctor’s consultancy centers have shown a dramatic increase in last two decades. During 90s a small number privatized hospitals accompanied by diagnostic centers and doctors’ consultancy centers were seen by the inhabitant. After 20 years, the inhabitants have seen a mushroom growth of these health care centers. From Ibn Sina Hospital, Japan-Bangladesh Friendship Hospital, Eden Multi Care Clinic and some specialized hospitals like Bangladesh Eye Hospital and Vision Eye Care Center.

As revealed from in-depth interviews and informal discussions, the Abhani field has become restricted to the club players. While, the Dhanmondi Lake which was almost dead in the early 90s, has gone under renovation under the ruling of Awami League during 1996-2001 period. The lake has made in such a way so that it can absorb the rainwater of Dhanmondi area.

The wetlands of nearby Satmasjid road, has been filled with large structures of buildings. The ‘Modhubazar Khal’ has extinct.

Another shift of change is marked by the respondents in in-formal discussion that the prevalence of security guard has added a new dimension to change of this area. Many of privatized companies hire guards with colorful uniforms. These guards have been set position in front of buildings like banks, commercial spaces, fashion houses, hospital, food courts. Moreover, housing societies like Dhanmondi Housing Society and Lalmatia Housing Society have formed own security guards to protect their housing areas.

6.3.2.4.2 Lalmaita area of Satmasjid road

The housing pattern of Lalmatia region has started to change by 2000. At first some 6-storied residential apartments were built by the developers in this location following the principles of Dhanmondi area, as it has already mentioned that, Lalmatia of nearby Satmasjid road, has followed the changing pattern of Dhanmondi Residential Area. ‘Basic Rose’, just opposite to Rab-2 camp, is an example of that type of building.

The Lalmatia adjoined Satmasjid road has also accommodated some food joints, which are not as costly as that ones set up in Dhanmondi area. Other than this, some commercial institutions like private banks i.e. Bank Asia, tyre shops and a convention center have been mentioned by the long time dwellers and workers using this space for last 20 years or more.

Many educational institutions like Academia International School, School of Development Alternative (SODA) and University of Development Alternatives (UODA) have developed at the backside of Lalmaita Housing Sociey, facing Satmasjid road in front in last 15 years. However, the three governmental institutions have remained same.

Not only educational institutions, some health care centers have also flourished as an extended part of Dhanmondi area. The City Hospital and a specialized hospital like Al-Noor Eye Hospital are pointed by the respondents.

Following Dhanmondi Housing Society, the Lalmatia Housing Society has established private security guards to protect their residential area. What excess they have done is that, for last 4-5 years as remembered by the respondents, the Housing Society has established gate to restrict their space than else other. Moreover, Rab-2 camp of office has been established within last 5 year.

6.3.2.5 Satmasjid road; Today

6.3.2.5.1 Dhanmondi area of Satmasjid road

The Satmasjid road almost bounding the Dhanmondi Residential Area, the first planned residential area of the city, has lost its aroma as an residential area. Now it has become a jostle of building accommodating all that can be put together in this single space. With observation in form of complete observer, in-depth interviews and informal discussions the present scenario of the Satmasjid road has been portrayed.

The Satmasjid road as a residential area has shifted from duplex architectural structure to 3 bed, kitchen, dining, living rigid structure, but obviously spacious flat houses. With informal discussions with local residents it is found not all people living in nearby this road are flat owners, a significant of them are renters as well. However, tough shrinking in number, a healthy number of duplex villa still found in this location than other parts of the city i.e. Gulshan Avenue.

Neoliberal economy with commercialization of space has made the Satmasjid road as a hunk of commercial area combining all amenities of commerce and business. At most all names of privatized banks of the country are housed in this road now. Some of them namely, Trust Bank, Bank Asia, Brac Bank have their branch offices in form of exclusive establishment. Besides, many other commercial spaces and official firms have also their possession in this road. A senior citizen of this area living since pre-independent period shows discontent, *“Once here lived sophisticated people, now those who have money have possession in this area. On top of that, hospitals and shopping malls has made this land even more uncomfortable to live”*

The poor people has experienced a shift of living arrangement from center to hinterlands. Poor income earners after being evicted from this area have set up houses in Basila slum of Mohammadpur (though it has experienced eviction, a very few households exist), Pool Par, Rayer Bazar, Julmat’s slum (Rayer Bazar), low lands of BGB Section and Kamrangirchar slum.

The nature of consumer culture can be well understood, if anyone walks at least 1.8 kilometers from south to north of Satmasjid road. An overwhelming number of restaurants and café are there to cater the youth- school to university section of population and corporate office going population. Moreover, the inhabitants of this road and nearby areas as affluent people of the society have accommodation near to this road. Not only restaurants, but fashion houses and women beauty parlor have added an addition to the consumer practice of neoliberal Dhaka.

With the passage of time, along with the English medium school, private universities, a significant number GRE, IELTS, ACCA and students' visa processing centers are established in this road. That means all sorts of privatized arrangements of educational flourish are situated in this Satmasjid road.

The most significant situation is now found examining the mixed buildings. At times buildings are observed as residential cum commercial structure, often educational cum commercial building is found. A building namely Eden Multicare Clinic is found, it is a 6-storied building where first two floor is used as clinic, whereas, the upper 3 stories are used for Northern University.

Hospitals, diagnostic center and doctor's chambers have added another feather of fading face residential status of Dhanmondi area. Due to this type of institutions many people visit this road distant place, which extended crowd of people and vehicle at this road.

6.3.2.5.2 Lalmatia area of Satmasjid road

In Lalmatia area, on the side of Satmasjid road some gates are made by the housing community. These gates remain close from 10 pm to the dawn. Some young salesmen and neoliberal service workers claim in in formal discussion that due the the closure of the gate, they have to roam a long way go from Satmasjid road to Asad Gate circle. Moreover, as it has become almost a restricted area with private security guards informal labor like poultry seller, beggars are often impeded to go to Lalmatia Housing area.

The present condition of Abahani field is that, the club authority has made 12 feet wall around the field to make it as a restricted one. Moreover, to get space for its cricket academy students it has restricted of local boys playing in the evening, these boys had to cover the game the practice starts.

CHAPTER SEVEN

Discussion

In this section, the study aims at to seek the linkage between the data collected from the field with the theoretical framework postulated for the study. Then, the collected data is to be set on this framework with a view to checking the theoretical construction. In sum, the data relating with theory and assessing with other contemporary work, are presented in such a way, in order to satisfy the research objectives and questions proposed for the study.

7.1 Right to the City

David Harvey in his paper “*The Right to the City*” (2008) posits that the right to the city is parallel to the growth of urbanization under capitalism. Because, for Harvey, the meaning of the right to the city is the right to hold the command over the urban space, which rests upon the corporate capitalist as well as political elite to shape and reshape the urban space and thereby accentuate capital under neoliberal policies.

7.1.1 Urban Inequality; The politics of occupancy and displacement from land

The impact of urbanization under capitalism with a view to establishing right to the city starts with urban inequality. Harvey (2008) views that capitalism permits surplus savings to access to surplus housing demand. Hence, it allows a few people to afford to skyscraper houses. Whereas, majority of the population who are not able to bear such sky rocking costs of living have to leave that distinctive spaces.

7.1.1.1 The occupancy of houses by the higher-class people

In the quantitative study findings, it is revealed that, of three study areas, the residential nature of Gulshan and Dhanmondi still remains. The qualitative evaluation interprets that in these houses, the higher section of the society does belong. Mainly the history of Gulshan and Dhanmondi is the history of Aristocrat class and their living in duplex or triplex houses. Yet, as qualitative finding shows that, twenty years back, there existed some spaces, either free private or other more specifically canal side public places. Here the poorer segment of population dwelt in. But with the passage of time to accommodate the increasing number of high income individuals, these areas have turned themselves from duplex to multi-storied and in recent times sky touching buildings. Moreover, the free spaces of privatized land have also experienced such changes. The real estate development companies construct these buildings.

As a result, the new corporate class individuals get the opportunity of residing these areas by purchasing flats of high rising apartments with high cost. Harvey (2008) therefore argues that, these high-income people afford these spaces through surplus savings and consequently, access to surplus housing demands.

7.1.1.2 The displacement of poor people

The continual possessing of urban center like Gulshan and Dhanmondi (encompassing Gulshan Avenue and Satmasjid road) by the upper class of society has pushed the lower income class to shift to urban fringes and suburb. The Land Use Survey in quantitative study expresses that, at present, there subsists no space exercised by the under privileged people in either Gulshan Avenue or Dhanmondi Satmasjid road, though the situation was also same in early time. Yet, information gathered from in-depth interviews and informal discussions unveils that, poor people used to live in the alleyways of these roads in form of establishing slums or settling squatters. For instance, for Dhanmondi area, there existed slum near to Idgah Masjid, inner road of Shankar area and for Gulshan Avenue inner roads and lakeside area paved spaces for the poor people. But with the change of time and increase of use of land, the concentration of buildings have filled the free plots or places. As a result, this pity poor has to move to urban pocket location. As such those who lived around Dhamondi Satmasjid road, now has shifted their living place to Basila, Rayer Bazar, lowland of BGB section and even Kamrangirchar slum. Furthermore, people once set up squatters in Gushan Avenue nearby areas, has moved to Korail, Notun Bazar and Badda. This shifting of living place of the poor reflects Harvey's connotation that poor are forced to push from metropolitan to semi-periphery under the neoliberal project of capital accumulation as claimed in "The Right to the City" (2008). However, these places occupied by the poor populace often in form of establishing slum or living in slum like situation are devoid of basic amenities to lead a standard life. It is viewed by Hossain (2013) as 'Hyper- Slumization'. He argues that the urban services like electricity, water and gas supply are irregular in these areas. Moreover, basic needs as such access to health care and education are also very limited in these new urban peripheries.

7.1.2 Consumersim; Life as commodity

Harvey (2008) expresses that consumerism has molded the dwellers of the city, along with their city life into commodity. Shopping malls, fast food restaurants and artisanal market spaces are the manifestation of consumerism. The quantitative data on all three study locations Gulshan Avenue, Motijheel and Topkhana road and Dhanmondi Satmasjid road

reveals the high concentration of fast food restaurants. These restaurants are in form of international chain food shops like Pizza Hut and KFC. Through this, newly growing consumer class gets the taste of ‘cultural homogenization’- absorption or transformation of local culture by the dominant outside culture (Appadurai, 1996). It, on the other hand, facilitates ‘cultural imperialism’- the creation and continuation of unequal relationship between dominant and dominated culture (Schiller 1975). Moreover, top ranking national food centers as such Fakruddin Biryani, Korai Gosto, Boomer’s cafe are also have their existence at these spaces. Moreover, presence of shopping mall is a common one among all of these study areas. More than three shopping malls prevail in each of these respective roads. For example, Navana Tower, RM Center, Rupayan Center in Gulshan, Baitul View, Baitul Mukarram Market in Motijheel and Topkhana road and Anam Rangs Plaza, Shankar Plaza and Keri Plaza in Gulshan are some significant ones belonging in the study areas. These shopping malls are adorned with glossy colorful glasses, flourished with all modern facilities to carry out flexible and comfortable shopping as such escalator, air-conditioned environment and the most important of all, these shopping malls house all high quality luxurious and expensive products for leading extravagant life. Furthermore, a good number of fashion houses have also found in Gulshan and Dhanmondi road, like Cat’s Eye, Hi-Fashion Furniture Gallery and for Motijheel, mobile phone show rooms, as a supplement to other two sites. From qualitative findings, it is unraveled that, the corporate class people who have their offices in these areas are the main visitors of these spaces. For business dealings, or to take lunch or dinner from office, this class exercises these restaurants. Moreover, shopping malls and exclusive fashion houses are also used by this population after closing of office hour. In addition, the residents of these locations are also a major client for enjoying such neoliberal consumer services. Harvey (2008) argues in this situation that, the consumerism in nature of shopping malls, food shops, artisanal market places and others are the neoliberal projects deployed to absorb surplus values and products and even labor.

7.1.3 Privatization of public sector

Neoliberal economic policies favor the privatization of public sphere varying from handover of public land to security provision to private sector.

7.1.3.1 Private policing

The qualitative findings in each study location sketches that, in early 1990s (the starting point of study time), the existence of private security guard was so meager in number. They were

just deployed as security guard in some houses in aristocratic locations like Gulshan and Dhanmondi. Moreover, a few private offices in Motijheel area had employed security guards for the protection of the buildings. However, the public offices have been accommodating fixed term security guard or watchman since long time. Yet, for last two decades, the situation has been started to change. Now many private companies have implied security guards. At present, privatized security company has become a common scenario for Dhaka, where a person or party hires security from the security companies. This number of privatized security providing companies has increased many times for last 20 years. Nowadays, most of the private corporation takes security services for their commercial and official sites from these privatized security companies. Shopping malls, restaurant and fashion houses are dependent on these privatized companies as well. Moreover, some top ranking private companies have their own body of guards for ensuring the security in office premise. The in-depth interviews aiming to seek answer to the enforcement of these privatized security authorities find that, for the protection of the property as manifest function and to impede poor people to enter or exercise these spots as latent function are the reasons for establishing security guards in the private spaces. Furthermore, housing communities of many high living areas as such Gulshan, Dhanmondi and Lalamatia, the owners of the houses form housing society. This society either forms security guards or hires security from these security companies. These security guards therefore, maintain the security of the housing area by restricting the public to access to this area. This supports the Teresa Caldeira's concept of "Fortified Enclave" (1996) where it means as, privatized, enclosed and monitored spaces for residence, consumption, leisure and work to fulfill the ultimate goal of neoliberal policy, the protection of individual property right as postulated by Harvey (2005).

7.2 Accumulation by Dispossession

Harvey introduces another concept "Accumulation by Dispossession" for agglomerating capital under neoliberal scheme. This is a process applied by entrepreneurs and corporate class to achieve wealth through new forms of techniques and thereby aggregate social inequality. There are several features, through which the 'accumulation by dispossession' evolves.

7.2.1. Commodification and privatization of land

The first one to expand this accumulation by dispossession is the commodification and privatization of land and property.

7.2.1.1 Commodification of land and property

The findings of the quantitative study discloses that almost all of the land of Gulshan and Dhanmondi area (encompassing both Gulshan Avenue and Satmasjid road) are in the hand of private sector, which was also remained same in twenty years back (starting point of study frame) or since the beginning of location development as information attained through qualitative understanding. What changes in last twenty years is the shift of land from single to multiple form of uses.

These two aforesaid mentioned areas were set up as the residential areas since its beginning in 1950s & 1960s. In each area, the plot size was about 20 katha. After the independence and even in early 1990s most of the spaces or plots of these locations had been used for residential purposes, for Marx viewpoint, it resembles the continuation of 'Use Value'- a single family used to occupy a single plot for residential purpose nothing else. However, the scenario started to change since 1995-2000 and onwards. These lands have arisen to alter into residential apartments, mixed uses as residential cum commercial functions and buildings for commercial operations. It facilitates the shift from the 'use value' to 'exchange value'. A significant number of multi-storied residential flats, mixed functioning buildings and commercial spaces take place in position of once residential plots as found in qualitative analysis. Quantitative data shows that 6-storey large size residential apartments, shopping malls or commercial space plus residential arrangements and high rising buildings built to house commercial operations are the example of today's new spatial arrangement of Gulshan and Dhanmondi area. For Motijheel area (around Motijheel and Topkhana road), some public lands have leased to the private corporations for about a century long contract. The City Center, the highest building ever in the country stands on the public leased land (for 99 years); the City Corporation (city authority) leased this land to the Orion Group in between 2001-2006. It shows the privatization of public land. Moreover, numerous governmental buildings have been spacing private companies offices, display or showroom outlets in their office buildings for last 20 years. The transformation of these three areas clearly and firmly indicates a shift towards commodification of land and property of both private and public sphere. Therefore, in this section, the study finding extends Harvey's postulation of privatization and commodification of public property and land as he argues in the paper, "Neoliberalism as a Creative Destruction" (2007). This study explicates that commodification of land can even be practiced in private lands as well.

7.2.2 Privatization

Harvey (2007) claims that in order to signify privatization, neoliberalism with its policies and projects promotes private initiative in place of public services and social welfare arena. In this regard, sectors like housing, health care, education are gradually starting to carry out by the private companies.

7.2.2.1 Housing

Housing is one of the prime needs of human being. So to accommodate people in houses, private real estate companies have undertaken major projects to house the huge increasing number of population in different parts of the country. Among the study areas, findings reveal that in Gulshan and Dhanmondi, private housing companies have been continuing a massive reshaping or restructuring of land use for last twenty years. They have built and still constructing multi-storied residential apartments, some of them are in skyscraper height. The traditional duplex and triplex buildings with long veranda and greenery space in front of the house compound have been transformed into gigantic residential flats with robotic square-foot calculation of flat size and monotonous composition of 3-bed, kitchen, dining, living structure in each flat. Besides, a very few private housing projects have provided some fashionable architectural designing with projecting provision of green rooftop gardening to other facilities like swimming pool, gymnasium, recreational centers within the apartment, with extensively high price of living cost. Qualitative analysis with observation and in-depth interviews on these locations unveil that the owners of these apartments are mainly corporate class population working in private banks, multi-national companies, international non-governmental organizations other private spheres of the Dhaka city. While another significant proportion is the remittance earners' group. They with their overseas capital buy luxurious flats and thereby become regal member of these aristocratic areas. However, the government has a large body of RAJUK (city authority), House Building Finance Corporation (finance on houses) and Housing Department. But none of them has any attention to this massive alteration of land in Gulshan and Hanmondi areas for last two decades. No government-initiated housing project is observed in these areas, except a government housing quarter for the government high official employees. However, in very recent time, RAJUK, on November 22, has made a plan to construct a 10-storey building with 27 flats, having flat size more than 2000 square feet each on road no. 115 and plot no. 32 in Gulshan residential area nearby Gulshan Avenue. Keeling's (1999) supports this study in the regard that, in Argentina,

the restructuring of housing market has solely been rested upon privatized companies after the intrusion of neoliberalism.

7.2.2.2 Health Care

Health care is a pre-requisite to mankind as well as a distinctive feature of area development. In Dhaka city, health care system has tremendously flourished in recent decades. Along with this, Gulshan and Dhanmondi area come in track of discussion.

The land use survey underpins that in Dhanmondi and Lalmatia area on the either side of Satmasjid road, a significant number of health care centers has developed. Almost all of these development come with the hand of private corporations. The Ibn Sina medical Hospital was the first private hospital situated at Dhanmondi Satmasjid road. Then Japan-Bangladesh Friendship Hospital at Shankar and City Hospital at edge of Lalmatia have set up in the first decade of this new century. Moreover, some specialized hospitals like Bangladesh Eye Hospital and Vison Eye Care are established within last five years. Besides, Gulshan has also spaced one of the most sophisticated and expensive hospitals of the country ‘United Hospital’ and private medical college hospital namely ‘Sahabuddin Medical College’. Both of these are run under privatized companies.

Observation as well as in-depth interviews explicates that high-income earners all around the city visit to these health care centers to receive complicated, exclusive and high-class medical service.

7.2.2.3 Educational institution

Along with privatization of housing and health care facilities, educational institutions have followed the trace of privatization. In Dhanmondi Satmasjid road, a significant number of private educational institutions (schools and colleges) have developed in past two decades. These are mainly English medium schools, flourish as a means consumer culture has become an automatic choice for higher middle class and higher class residents of this and other nearby areas of the city, as revealed from qualitative information. For instance, Mapple Leaf School, Academia International School, European International School AND Master Mind International School are the classy ones to follow international academic syllabus. And in nearby Gulshan Avenue, Turkish International School, Green Dale International Schools are the educational institutions enabled with all the above stated facilities.

In the line of private schools, there comes educational consultancy and student visa processing farms. In both Gushan and Dhanmondi area, on the both side of Gulshan Avenue

and Dhanmondi Satmasjid road respectively, there belong a healthy number of student visa processing and abroad education consulting centers. Therefore, after achieving ‘O’ & ‘A’ level degree, these students of higher middle and upper class families get the opportunity to grab these offers to leave to foreign countries.

On top of the earlier mentioned educational institutions, a huge growth of higher education institutions as such universities and medical colleges have found in Dhanmondi and Gulshan area, undoubtedly in private sphere. Dhanmondi Satmasjid road distinctively has become an avenue of private universities, this single road spaces more than six private universities i.e. University of Liberal Arts, State university, Northern University along with their numerous campuses. Besides, though, there is no private university in roadside Gulshan Avenue, yet, a private medical college e.g. Shahabuddin Medical College prevails its activities in the residential area of Gulshan.

7.2.2.4 Café and Restaurant

Motijheel, Dhanmondi and Gulshan area accompanied by their study locations have experienced wide arraying existence of restaurants and cafes. People live and exercise these spaces use these highly expensive food centers. These restaurants are developed in private sectors patronization. For last ten years these have experienced a mushroom growth.

7.2.2.5 Shopping Mall or market places

All the study areas possess accelerating numbers of shopping malls of which most of them are developed in last twenty years. These shopping malls are established by the privatized companies. Though, the space of Baitula Mukarram Jewelry Market belongs to public land, yet its market spaces are handed over to the entrepreneurs and businessmen for a lease of about hundred years. However, among these study areas of Gulshan, Dhanmondi and Motijheel only two market places are owned by the public sector, these are Gulshan-2 D.N.C.C market and Baitula Mukarram electronics market.

The above discussed findings in the realm of privatization have opened options of accumulating profit for the corporate capitalists and elites and eventually execute neoliberal agenda as contended in the theory of Harvey (2007). Khaled Adham’s (2005) argument also states that, transformation of market economy produces privatized spaces in public domain as a consequence of neoliberal economic restructuring.

7.2.3 Dispossession

The story of Dhaka for recent decades is the story building and rebuilding of urban structures and edifices to facilitate economic or commercial functioning and in this way, to make the neoliberal process and project successful.

The Gulshan, Dhanmondi and Motijheel have renewed themselves through redevelopment of many areas that were possessed by the poor or lower income population of the society in early 90s. They used to live there either establishing slums or settling squatters. In lakeside of Gulshan area, the poor population had to live in squatters, while in Shankar and Idgah Masjid area of Dhanmondi these disadvantaged populace set up slums. The situation for Motijheel area is also same, here impoverished section personnel built slums in culvert road of Fakirapool. Yet, to make large-scale transformation, these poor population has been dispossessed from the lands they occupied.

In Gulshan area, in order to construct Gulshan Link Bridge, the low income people occupying the either side of the lake have been evicted. As revealed in in-depth interviews, the security guards of Gulshan Society along with police have evicted the squatter settlers from the lakeside places. It was done to construct the linking bridge so that upper class people living and exercising this space can access to it. Moreover, as the land price raised high due to construction of lake, the poor had to be evicted to occupy some unused land occupied by these poor as well as make the beautification of the city.

For Dhanmondi area, government by law enforcing agency i.e. police has dispossessed the slum dwellers residing at the Idgah Masjid and nearby areas. While, Shankar and inner road of Shankar road people dwelling in private land were displaced with bulldozer by landowners with the presence of police. Now, in these dispossessed spaces, there exists high-rise buildings with luxurious apartments and official and commercial spaces of private companies and non-governmental organizations.

In Motijheel area, the scenario of dispossession evolved in a slightly different way. Poor people mainly occupied in public lands. When governmental respective departments started to establish buildings in these spaces, they displaced these people from the land without any rehabilitation measure. Moreover, some private buildings are set up by filling the wetlands and canal, as they get leased from the government and consequently, dispossessed people from these places. These spaces now house the high rising commercial buildings in the Motijheel and Topkhana road nearby areas.

Harvey (2007) asserts that dispossession as a weapon to aggregate resources or capital resulting in social inequality. And through this dispossession of the poor population from their possessed land has positioned a key factor for the renewal and re fabrication of urban spaces of Dhaka city encompassing the study location.

7.2.4 Commodification of labor

The qualitative findings construes that, under the project of neoliberal economy, the poor section has been exposed to new forms of employment. Day laborers in construction sites, security guards in private security companies, cleaners in privatized cleaning farms, sales clerk in fashion houses and market places and waiters or servers in restaurants. In the study areas, observation explicates an explicit proportion of population working in these spaces. Many in-migrant people are engaged in these activities. But the thing is that, these are mainly low-paid jobs with excessive working hour. And significant thing is that, these jobs are either daily or contractual in nature. As a result, these people often get fired from the workfare without any early notice. It reflects David Harvey's notion of commodification of labor as a feature of accumulation by dispossession.

7.2.5 Repression of the right of commons

The renovation of urban space of Dhaka city encompassing the study areas expatiates that urban spaces have been transformed into shopping malls, restaurants & café, commercial & official sites and residential apartments. Among them, shopping malls and restaurants are closed public space in formation. That means, people of all walks of life have the equal access to use these spaces. But in real, observation discloses that mass people are excluded from utilizing these spaces. It is some extent a reciprocal performance.

The renewed or newly developed shopping malls are adorned with all luxurious items to lead a dazzling life. These market places enable modern facilities in their premises. One of them is the settling of security guards in the entrance gate. Some in-depth interviews unveil that, these security guards are deployed to hinder poor people from accessing these spaces. The situation is also same for restaurants and fashion houses. Here one of major the roles of security guards are to deter the entrance the underprivileged section of the society in these places. Moreover, these security guards are responsible to keep the passage or footpath of their spaces free from poor and destitute. After collecting information on the study locations, it is found that guards often provide barriers to stay the poor people like beegars and destitute ot sllep at night in the footpaths in front of their respective houses. By this way, destitute are

now evicted from the main roads as such Gulshan Avenue, Dhanmondi Satmasjid and Motijheel and Topkhana road of Dhaka city.

Besides, the poor finds no necessities to move to these luxurious shopping malls, exclusive fashion houses and expensive restaurants. Most of them contend that, with their very meager income this poor population cannot enjoy these lavish and extravagant facilities and services from these places. As a result, they have excluded themselves accessing these spaces.

Harvey (2006) in his study argues that the poor are not capable to use specific public space i.e. café as this belongs to selective ones and more importantly beyond their capacity to afford this space to exercise. The findings of this study also reveal the same.

7.3 Role of Nation State

Harvey (2005) synthesizes the role of a contemporary neoliberal state is to favor the individual property rights, along with free market and trade and eventually promotes individual liberty. In order to accomplish these tasks, the neoliberal state has to formulate institutional frameworks to pass out neoliberal policies, deregulate in monitoring private companies so that these ones can flourish the neoliberal projects and set up of strong police force to back up the private corporations to this neoliberal mission (Harvey 2005).

7.3.1 Formulation of institutional framework

The capital development authority of the country, RAJUK is the guardian for the development of Dhaka city. Dhanmondi and Gulshan are selected as residential area since pre-independence period after amending the 'Town Improvement Act-1953'. However, these areas experience changes in land use by the policies formulated by the state in the last decade.

The plots of Gulshan Avenue and Dhanmondi Residential Area have gone through a revised building rule, where residential plots are permitted for commercial functioning with a renovation fee of 25% of existing land use (RAJUK 2000). It has transformed the residential duplex structure of Gulshan and Dhanmondi to 6-storey residential apartments at preliminary level. Later the Building construction Act-2006 declares that the plots of Gulshan and Dhanmondi have been declared as commercial where maximum 14-storey buildings (150 square feet high) buildings are allowed to be built in. In very recent time, in 2013, the government (RAJUK) has increased the conversion rate of land use from residential to commercial and residential to non-residential purposes 7 times higher, where the height is

secondary. For instance, now for converting a residential plot to a commercial one, the developing company has to cost BDT. 50,000,00, which was BDT. 800,000 in ten years back. This is how, the real estate companies get the permission to establish high rise sky scrapers with commercial functioning in Dhanmondi, Gulshan and even in Motijheel area.

7.3.2 Set up of police

For last two decades, the number of police and police stations has increased in Dhaka city. For instance, the Motijheel Thana (police station) situating at the center of central business district Motijheel road was established in last 5 years. Moreover, the infrastructures i.e. buildings and resources e.g. patrol vans and manpower of Dhanmondi Thana and Gulshan Thana have increased as well. As a consequence, the monitoring and surveillance of these police is found at the pinnacle at present time.

As all the study areas (Gulshan, Motijheel and Dhanmondi) are the major business centers of the city, there exists a significant number of banks, commercial centers like shopping malls and restaurants (residence of higher class in Dhanmondi and Gulshan). Moreover, higher class population along with a good number of foreigners also exercise these spaces. Therefore, the task of police is to provide protection to these structures as well as individuals. In doing these activities, police often evicts slum dwellers having set up in these areas to evacuate the spaces. They also impede destitute to sleep at night roadside or in front of the footpath. Furthermore, Police also engages in evicting the street vendors in order to clean footpath and thereby accelerate city beautification. To do these activities of eviction, police often arrests the poor people and confiscates their resources e.g. business utilities and housing materials. The activities of police in Dhaka city reminds the argument of Loic Wacquant (2009) that, to implement the neoliberal policies, state has to exercise its penal apparatus i.e. incarceration to punish the poor.

7.3.3 Deregulation in monitoring private sector

The urban services of Dhaka city particularly, in the study locations, as such housing, education institutions, health care centers all, market and food places all are running under private sector. These spheres are expanding in an expound growth. The establishments and the services provided by the private sector are centered around a minor section of population in terms of size. They are the higher income group of the society. As a result, these modern privatized urban service centers exclude the majority, lower income population. Here, the

state instead of monitoring the private practices of urban services follows a deregulatory role or an overlooking view.

The housing prices set by the real estate companies are not followed any monitoring by the state. The slum dwellers are continuously evicted from the urban space including the study location. These are ignored by the state. In short, the state plays a deregulatory role in expanding private sectors and thereby dazzles neoliberal assignments.

The finding of the study perfectly matches the role of the city authority with Harvey's (2005) role of neoliberal state.

As found in Harvey's writing (2005, 2008), to continue or retain the neoliberal policies and projects, a conventional neoliberal state has to promote 'Good Business Environment' and facilitate 'Restoration of Class Power'. From the study findings on Dhaka city, the activities of the state is discussed below-

7.3.4 Good business environment

In order to create a 'good business environment', the city authority has preferred the commercial or moneymaking activities to the betterment of the masses and environmental preservation.

In study locations of Gulshan, Dhanmondi and Motijheel, the city authorities promotes 'accumulation by dispossession' with its different forms as above mentioned. The land and property of Gulshan, Dhanmondi and Motijheel get commodified. Privatization spreads in all urban services like housing, health care and education. To make these lands utilized for flourish of privatization, poor people are disposed from each study area. Moreover, commodification of labor works as a conducive factor to promote this 'good business environment'. And in last, through the repression of rights of commons, the mass people remain restricted while using urban spaces (both public and private) and consequently good business environment sustains.

The filling of canal in culvert road, Fakirapool area and leasing it to private companies, the extinct of 'Modhubazar Khal (lake)' and in place establishment of private buildings in Dhanmondi areas and the shrinkage of Gulshan Lake by the private real estate companies, construes the surrender of conservation of environment to the accomplishment of neoliberal projects.

7.3.5 Restoration of class

To store and restore of the class, is a common phenomena in Dhaka city. The city authority with a classy style is playing this role of ordering of class.

With starting from urban inequality, housing in the posh areas like Gulshan and Dhanmondi bears a class status, and thereby the poor are forced to move to semi-urban periphery of Basila, Kamrangirchar and Demra. Moreover, with development of consumer culture, like exercising fast food centers and using of exclusive brand attires, the higher income population gets connected with the modernized world as well as resembling ordering and reordering own class position. And lastly, with the transformation of public sector to privatized i.e. private policing (security guards), the class position of the masses often faces under questioned.

7.4 Neoliberalism as a creative destruction; in form of urbanization under capitalism

In this study, here an initiative has made to connect two distinctive concepts of Harvey in a single frame. These are ‘neoliberalism as a creative destruction’ (2007) and ‘urbanization under capitalism’ (2008).

Harvey (2008) states that, capitalists produce surplus to get surplus value. They invest this surplus value to acquire more production. This continuous reinvestment results in the expansion of surplus production at a compound rate. In this way, capital is accumulated and disbursed in a few hands in urban space.

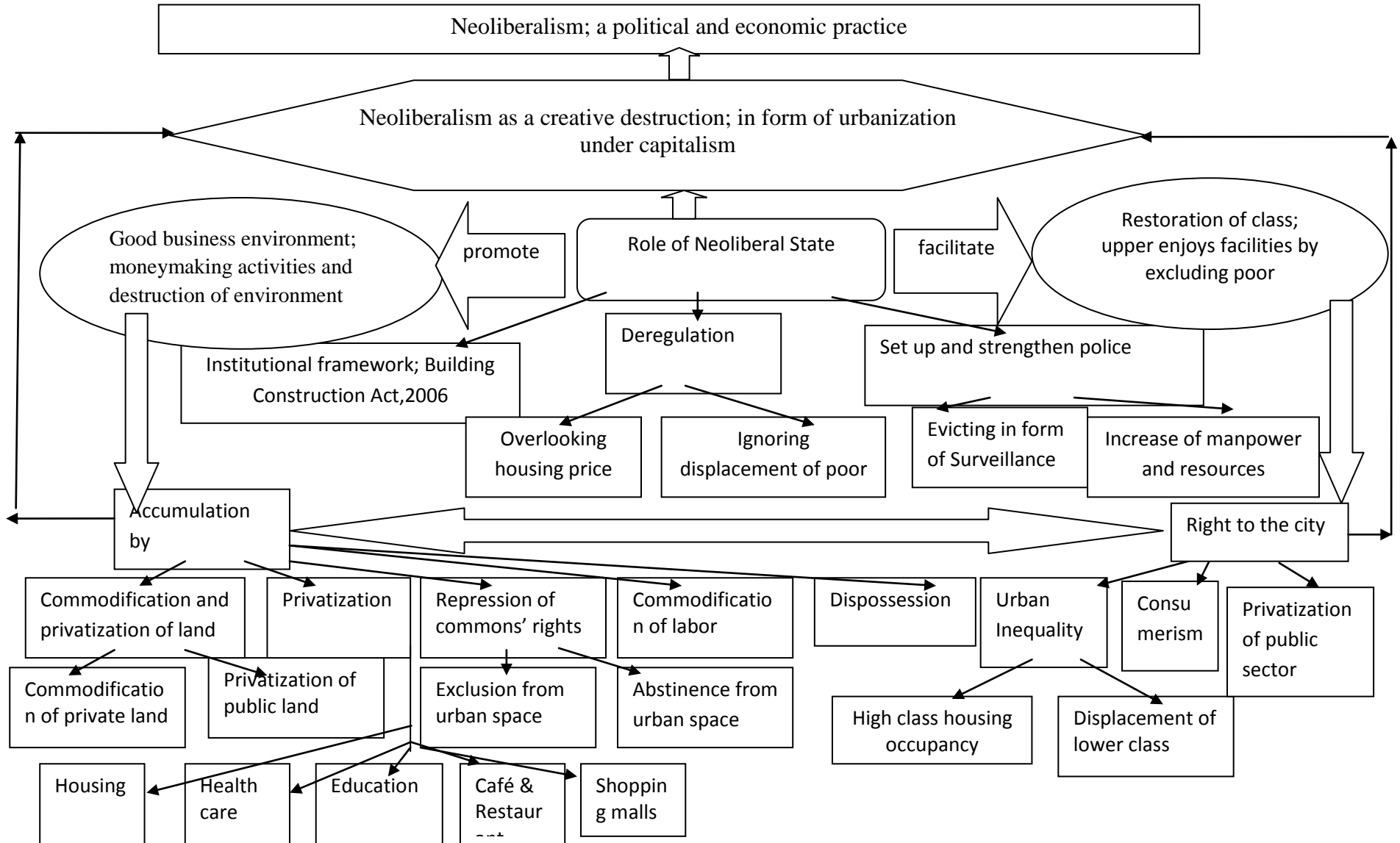
To create these new spheres of investment and reinvestment of the surplus production, this corporate capitalist class applies a process to attain wealth through new forms of techniques by dispossessing the disadvantaged section of the society and thereby accentuate social disparity (Harvey 2007).

All these are done to fulfill neoliberal project. Therefore, neoliberalism emerges as creative destruction in form of urbanization under capitalism.

7.5 Neoliberalism; a political and economic practice

Neoliberalism with the above mentioned arguments tends to emerge as a political economic practices favoring institutional framework for liberating individual entrepreneurial freedom and skill with a view to attaining human prosperity and consequently promotes free market and strong private property rights, where task of the state is to set up all necessary settings as well as formulate policies and schemes for facilitating these practices.

Diagram-8.1 : Synthesis of Theoretical Framework



CHAPTER EIGHT

Summary and Conclusion

8.1 Summary of the study

The city and city life have been commodified and privatized for creating a good business environment reinforced by transnational agenda and backed by the destructive role of neoliberal state. The present study has pinpointed the redevelopment of the city produced by rapid privatization and commercialization of land. In order to explore this reality of the city, there is a blend of three areas of study- Gulshan, Dhanmondi and Motijheel. Dhanmondi and Gulshan have started their journey in the city of Dhaka as affluent private residential area in 1960s. This was the history of aristocratic duplex or triplex residence owned by national bourgeoisie. Poor people also used to reside in the squatter or slum in a close juxtaposition of the aristocratic zones in 1990s. The poor people of Dhanmondi used to live in slum or slum-like situation sometimes as rental and sometimes like refugees. In Gulshan and Motijheel the poor segment of the population lived beside the lakeside or canal side. The poor people were to live in slum or squatter and still are living in the same disadvantaged situations. They have been experienced with eviction by the state backed by neoliberal concern with money and power. The significant and the only change in poor people's settlement is that their disadvantaged habitation has been separated from the affluent habitation and thrown to semi-periphery. The distinction between upper society and lower society is absolutely a gift of neoliberal trap. Unlike Dhanmondi and Gulshan, Motijheel has been developing as a commercial zone in the city since the 1950s. But unfortunately trap of neoliberalism has commercialized the privatized land of Dhanmondi and Gulshan and privatized the public land of Motijheel. The aristocratic residential Gulshan has achieved a status of new commercial city with the development of headquarters of public offices, multinational companies and international government organizations in recent times. In this way, Gulshan has taken over the autocratic position of Motijheel as the prime commercial zone of the city. However, Motijheel has not totally lost its status as the business zone as it is still the central zone of commercial planning and administration of the city. The sky scrapers of this area clearly indicate Motijheel's commercial role in the city. Furthermore, eye-catching shopping malls, aristocratic cafes and restaurants, dazzling markets have concentrated in Dhanmondi, Gulshan and Motijheel. Thus the city of Dhaka has become the center of civilization where culture, finance and infrastructure concentrate and the poor are

dispossessed from the center to make the city beautiful and lucrative. Therefore, the history of Dhaka's urbanization has become a history of commercialization and privatization, urban inequality and creative dispossession.

8.2 Conclusion

Urbanization is absolutely a class phenomenon and the right to the city is a right to class society. The modern Dhaka has become the center for commerce, culture and consumerism. It has not given any room for slum or squatter in the center of the city and therefore, has thrown the poor people living in slum or slum like situation to the semi-periphery. Thus the poor people have become segregated from the amenities of the central city. The agenda of dispossessing the poor segment of the population is forced by the neoliberal state and supported by neoliberalism. This is exactly the way through which the present study reiterates Harvey's right to the city. The state has refreshed the city's lakeside, canal side, inner road or footpaths by evicting the poor from these places. To implement the beautification project in the city, it has separated the upper society from lower society. Simultaneously, the private land of the national bourgeoisie has been transformed into commercialized space for the sake of cultural and infrastructural development of the city to maximize the profits for the transnational elites. Through the privatization of public land with creative dispossession and commercialization of private residential land symbolize urban inequality for purely a capitalist concern. It replicates the interaction between national bourgeoisie and transnational agenda, the segregation of slum from the skyscrapers. Thus the modern state provides the institutional framework for restoring class and creating good business environment for implementing the neoliberal agenda by making its own land privatized and commodified.

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Appendix-1**Data Sheet of Land Use Survey**

Sl.	Name of the establishment	Ownership	Nature of	Structure	Feature of the building	Remarks
1						
2						
3						
4						
5						
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Appendix-2

Guideline for In-depth Interview and Informal Discussion

Name of Study area:

Date:

1. General section

1.1 For how many years are you living or working in this area?

1.2 How was the condition/situation of this area when you have first come to this place?

Probe:

- Free space or plot
- Public land
- Private land/ property
- Recreational spot for the inhabitants (Park, playground)
- Public or private infrastructure (Building or tin-shed establishment)
- Shopping and marketing place
- Eatery or Food zone
- Wetland or swamp
- Urban utility service (water, gas, electricity)
- Educational institution
- Health care facilities

2. Urban Transformation

2.1 What sorts of changes/ transformation have you been experiencing for last 20-25 years (since 1990)?

Probe:

- Track the change in 20, 15, 10 and 5 years
- Free space or plot
- Public land
- Private land/ property
- Recreational spot for the inhabitants (Park, playground)
- Public or private infrastructure (Building or tin-shed establishment)
- Shopping and marketing place
- Eatery or Food zone
- Wetland or swamp
- Urban utility service (water, gas, electricity)
- Educational institution

- Health care facilities

2.2 In which sector, have the changes been taken place, public or private?

2.3 In which period of time, have the change occurred in an accelerated pace?

Probe:

- Whether in last 8-10 years or in last 5 year

2.4 . In which sphere have these transformation taken place?

2.5 . How have these transition occurred?

Probe:

- Dispossession
- Displacement of poor
- Forced by the state
- Fill up of wetlands or free space
- Governments land leasing or occupying by the private sector
- Forced occupying of individual's land
- Police back up to evacuate the land

2.6. Now what is the scenario of your area?

Probe:

- Type and structure of the infrastructure
- Who exercise these spaces/ infrastructure

2.7 Which type (public or private) of infrastructure are more prevalent to this location?

2.8 In your eyes, how do you signify/ view this change?

3. Urban Transformation in Private sector

3.1. In which sector (public or private) have these changes taken place mostly for last 20 years?

Probe:

- Particularly for last 15, 10, 5 years
- Eatery or food zone
- Recreational spot for the inhabitants (Park, playground)
- Shopping and marketing place
- Educational institution
- Health care facilities

3.2 Please identify the features of these structures

Probe:

- How many storeys
- For which purposes these spaces are used i.e. bank, commercial space, office of private companies

3.3 What type of above mentioned spaces are placed in these buildings?

3.4 Please identify what sort of transformation have been occurred in the spheres mentioned below

- Eatery or food zone
- Recreational spot for the inhabitants (Park, playground)
- Shopping and marketing place
- Educational institution
- Health care facilities

3.5 What do you think that, why these types of infrastructures have been set up in this area?

Probe:

- Surplus capital
- Investment
- State's supportive role to flourish these type of private initiative

4. Access to privatized space

4.1. Which segment of population do usually access to these newly developed spaces and/or services?

Probe:

- Places like- food zone, recreational place, shopping and market place, education, health care
- Social status of the people accessed
- Economic position of the accessed

4.2 Where do these people dwell in?

4.3 To what extent lower/disadvantaged section of population exercises these spaces?

Probe:

- Places like- food zone, recreational place, shopping and market place, education, health care
- How often they visit

4.4 What is the thinking or viewpoint of lower class people regarding these newly developed spaces?

4.5 Where does this lower section of population resides/ Where the people working in low paid jobs in this area reside?

4.6. Please make the distinction of participation of lower income people to this space (area) between 1990 and 2014.

Probe:

- Whether new form of spatial arrangements provide the opportunity of extensive use of upper class people cornering the poor

- Increase of cost of living and accessing resources these newly developed spaces

5. Surveillance of privatized space

5.1. How is the security measure in these newly flourished structures?

Probe:

- Private police
- State agent i.e. deploying Ansar
- How strict they are

5.2 What do you think, that what are the reasons behind implementing high security service?

5.3 How do the state agency (police) play role in providing security to these buildings/structures?

Probe:

- Role of Police force
- Role of Fire service

5.4 What do the masses think regarding this security provision?

6. Role of State

6.1 What is the role of the state behind these new spatial arrangements?

Probe:

- Force to displace people
- Policy to set up private infrastructure
- Handover of formerly state owned space
- Policy to create conducive business i.e. tax free, tax subsidy
- Demolishing the environment
- Suppression of right of commons

7. Right to the space

7.1 Do you think that this private buildings are the manifestation of monopoly power of the elite?

7.2 Whether the entrance of poor is restricted to these newly developed space?

7.3 Do you think that, these infrastructures are the representation of class polarization?

7.4 What are problems poor usually faces while these new buildings are to be established?

Probe:

- Displacement
- Lack of working opportunity

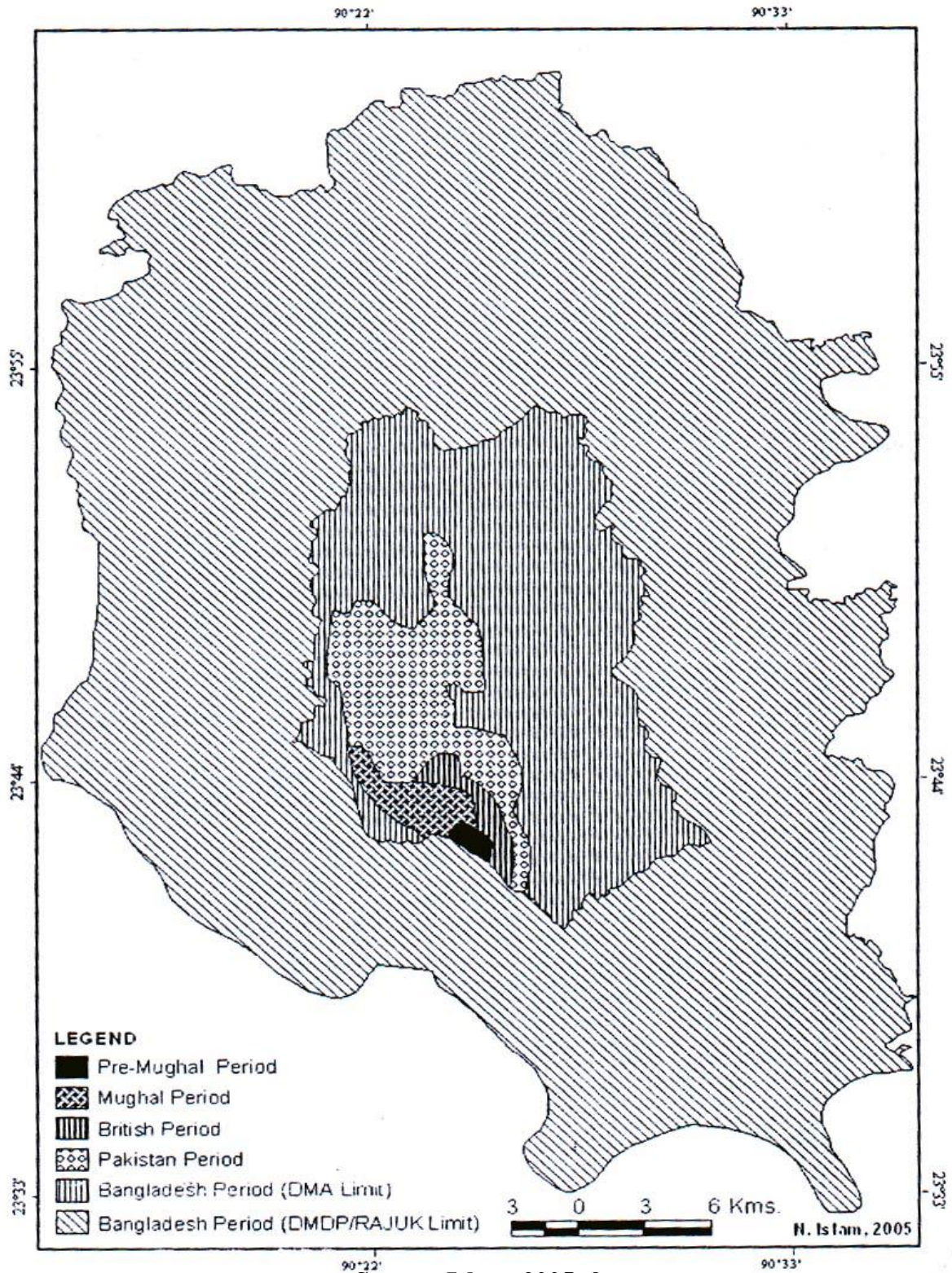
7.5 Whether in this area any projects have been taken for the disadvantaged/poor section of population?

7.6 Please mention, whose right in this space are now dominant?

Appendix-3

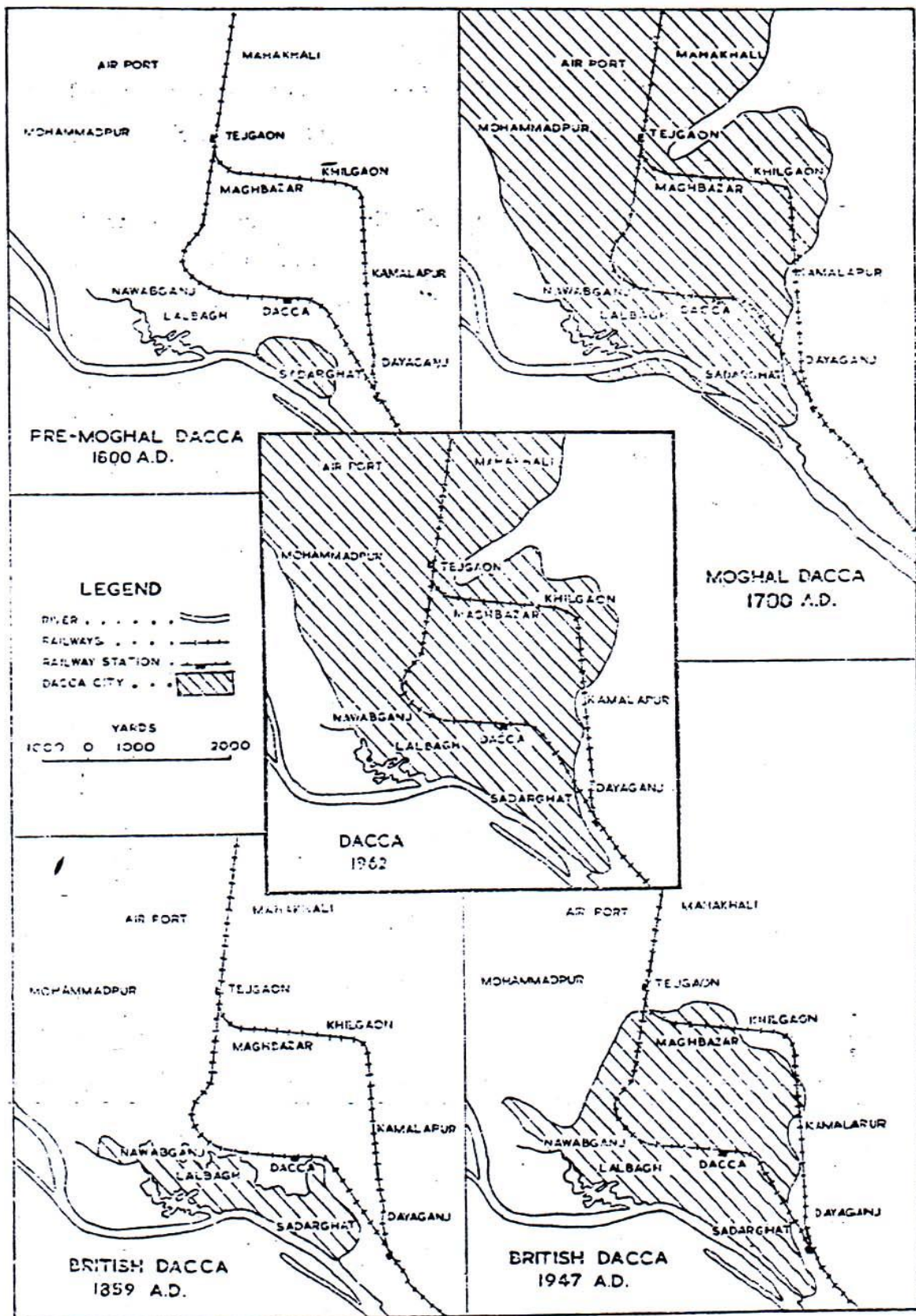
Maps on Evolution of Dhaka City

Map-1: Spatial Evolution of Dhaka over the periods



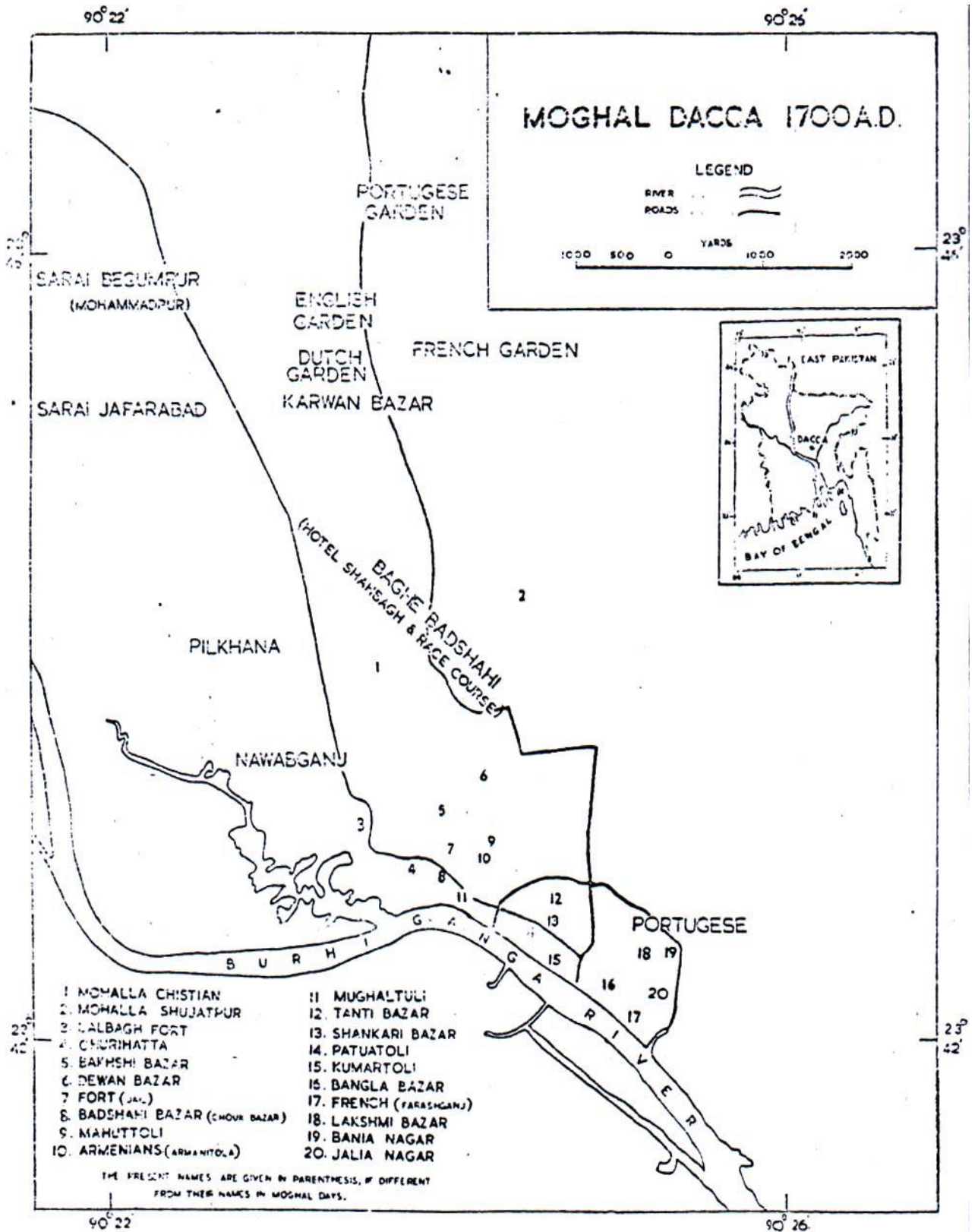
Source: Islam, 2005: 9

Map-2: Dhaka 1600-1962



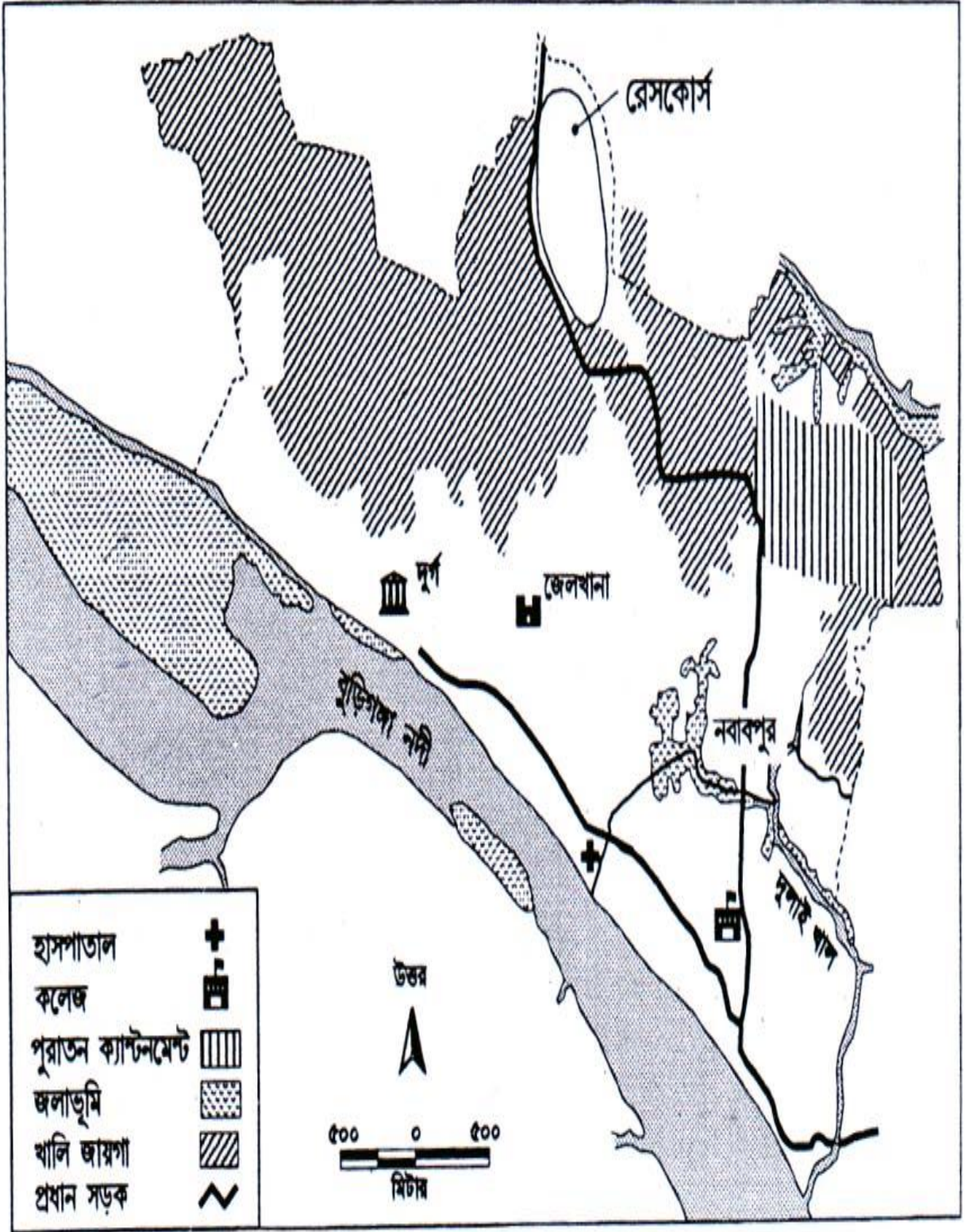
Source: Atiqullah and Khan, 1981: 3

Map-3: Mughal Dhaka



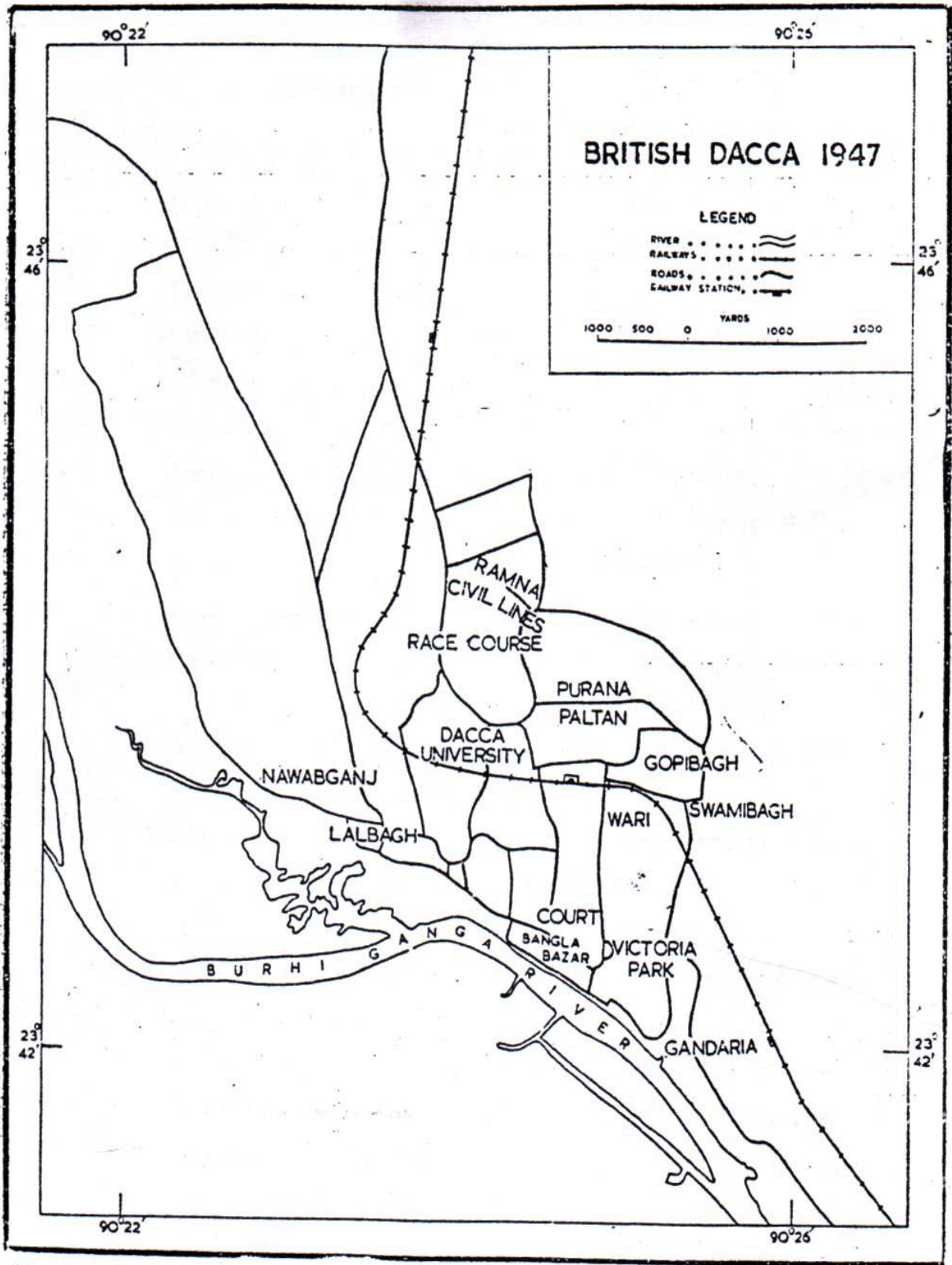
Source: Atiqullah and Khan, 1981: 5

Map-4: Dhaka under East-India Company Period



Source: Ahmed, 2001: 156

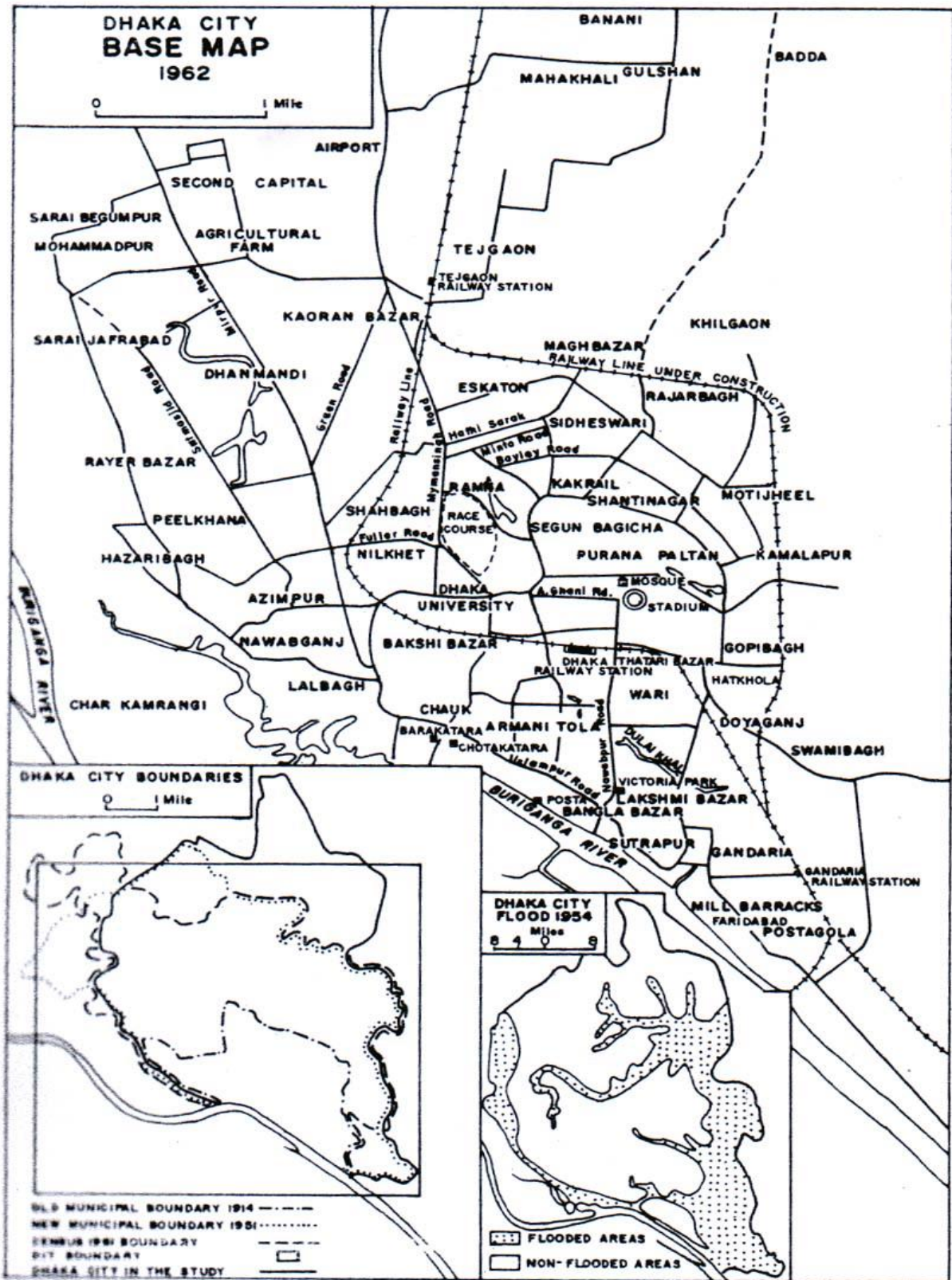
Map 5: British Dhaka



Map 3. British Dacca : 1947

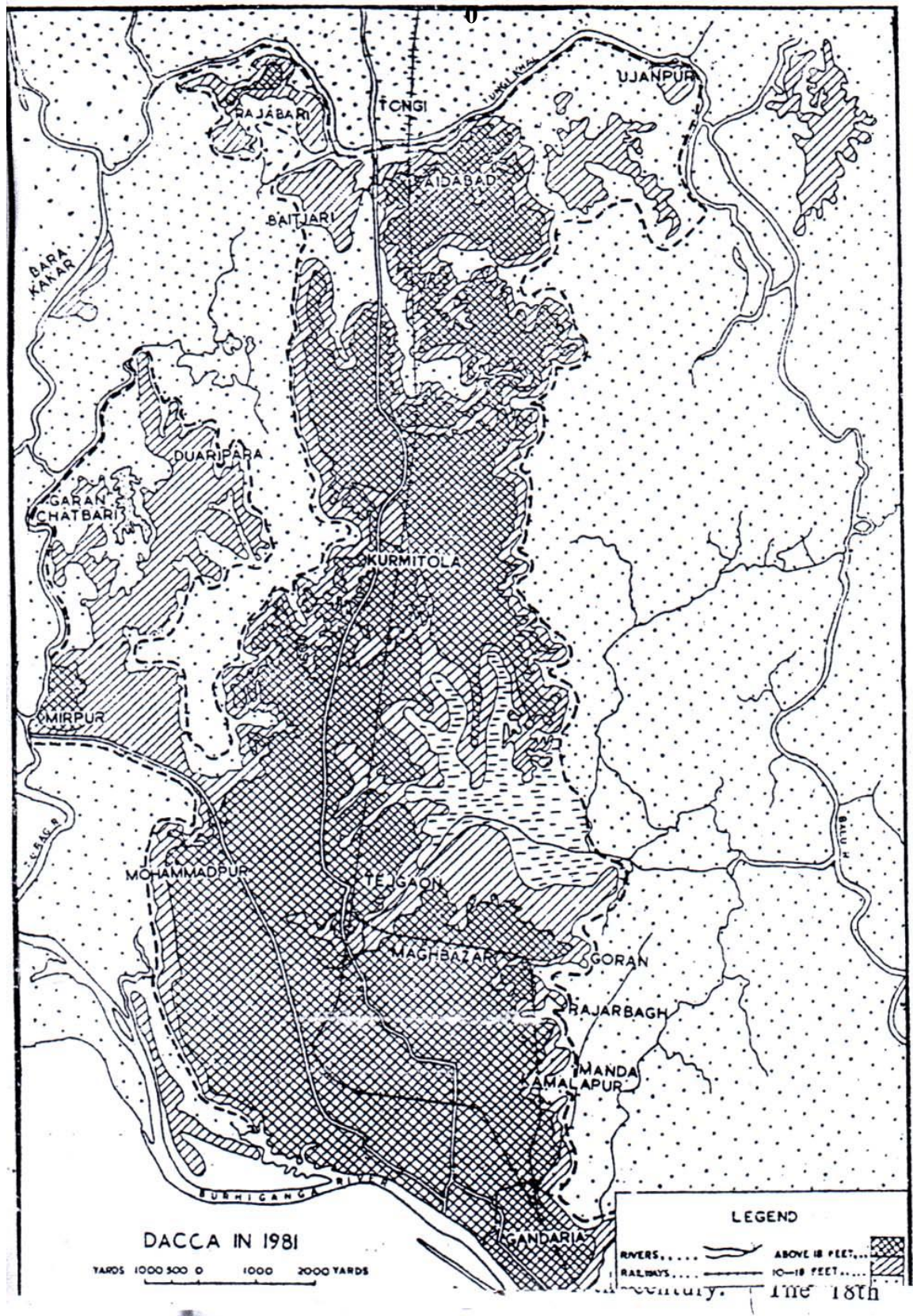
Source: Atiqulah and Khan, 1981: 9

Map-6: Dhaka in Pakistan Period



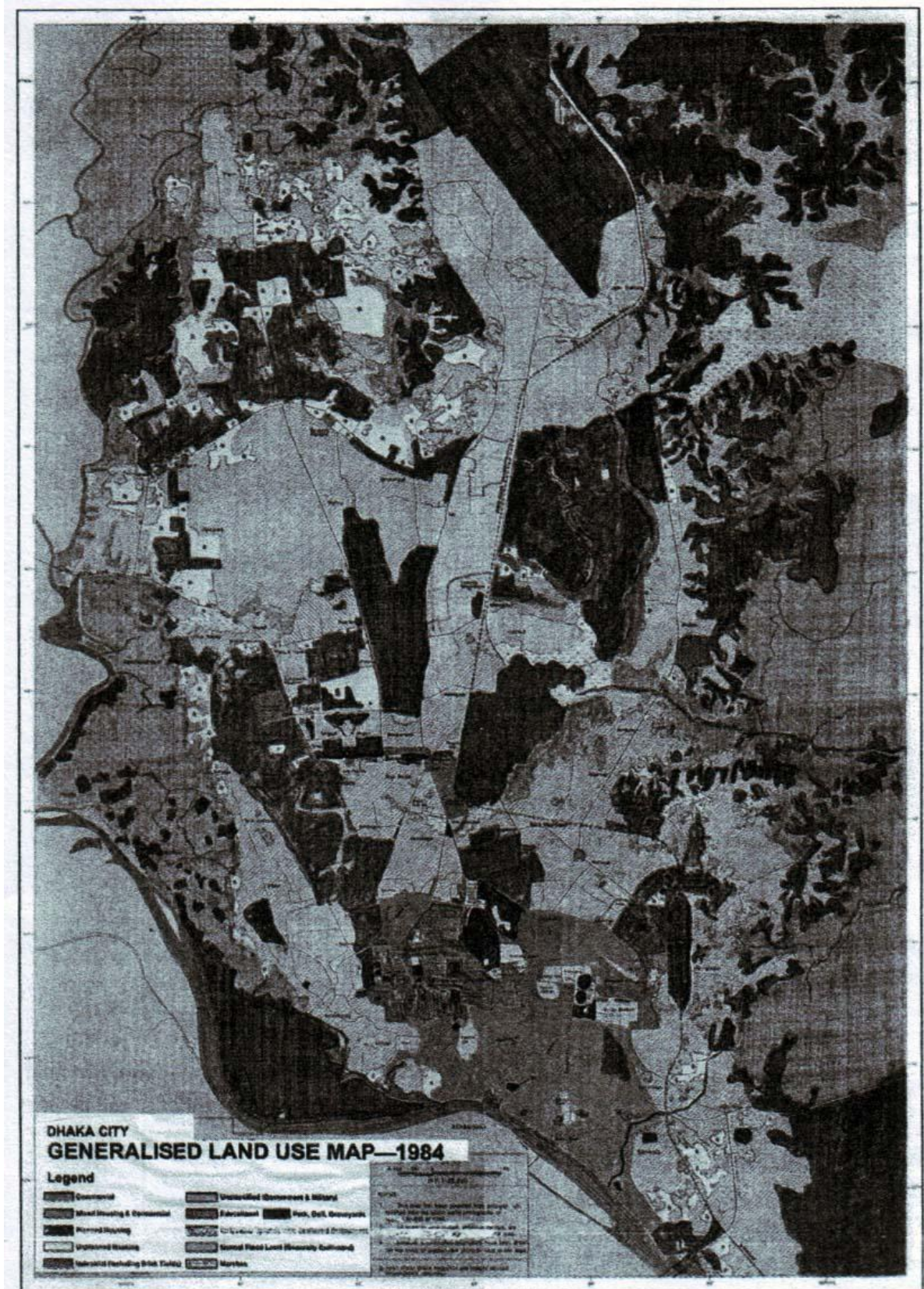
Source: Islam, 1996: 3

Map-7: Dhaka in 1881



Source: Source: Atiqulah and Khan, 1981: 35

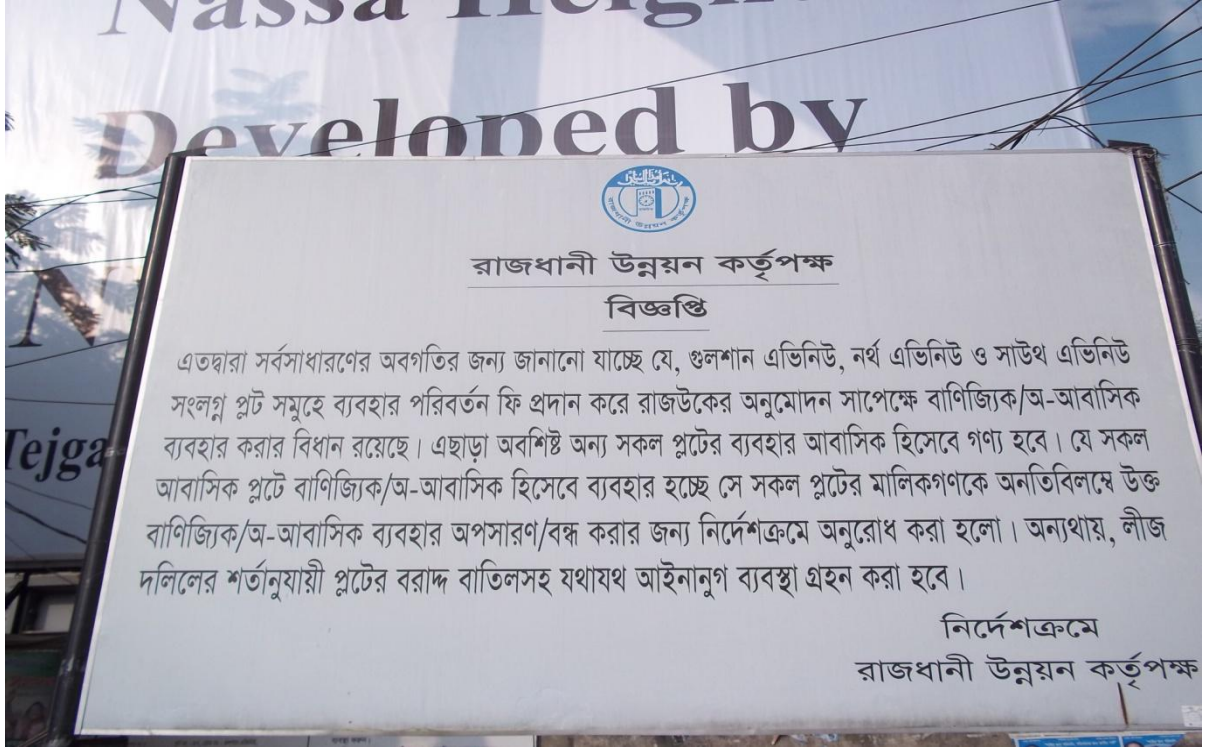
Map-8: Dhaka City Generalized Land Use Map 1984



Source: Islam and Shafi, 2010: 77

Appendix-4
Photographs on the redevelopment of Dhaka tracing the privation of space
under neoliberalism

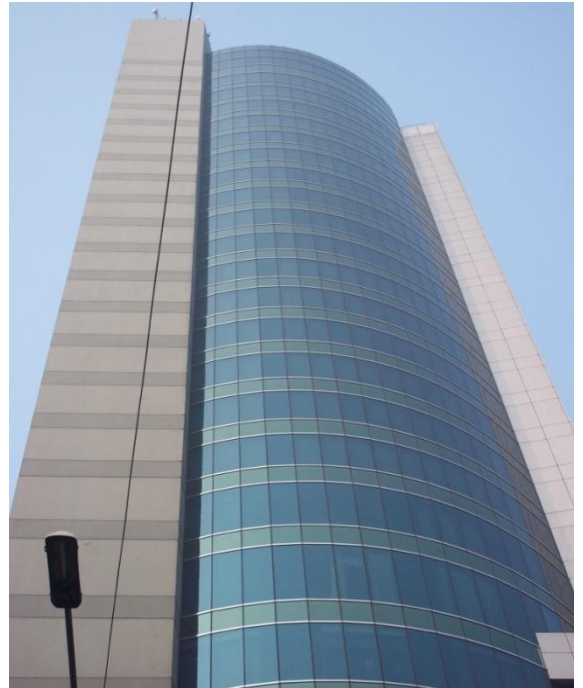
Gulshan area



1. Private establishments; Privatized World



1.1 Shoppers World



1.2 Hotel Westin

2. Commercial space;



2.1 Land View Tower



2.2 Corporate office of IFIC Bank

3. Mixed Building



3.1 Navana Tower; Perfect example of mixed



3.2 'Kumudini' residential cum commercial

4. Residential Space;



4.1 A Duplex Residence



4.2 A Typical Apartment; Charukunj

5. Sky scraper buildings



5.1 Uday Tower; 20-Storey



5.2 Silver Tower; 25-Storey

6. Consumer culture; a way of life



6.1 International Food Centers



6.2 Shopping mall- men & women parlor



6.3 Topkapi; An Exclusive Restaurant



6.4 Dhaka Republic; Duplex Fashion House

7. Exclusive establishment



7.1 Head Office of Standard Chartered Bank

7.2 MTB Bank Gulshan office

8. Constructing space



8.1 Constructing 'Zero Space'

8.2 Constructing 'City Scope'

9. Public space



9.1 Gulshan Central Masjid



9.2 Rajuk Central Park, former Wonder Land



9.3 D.N.C.C Market



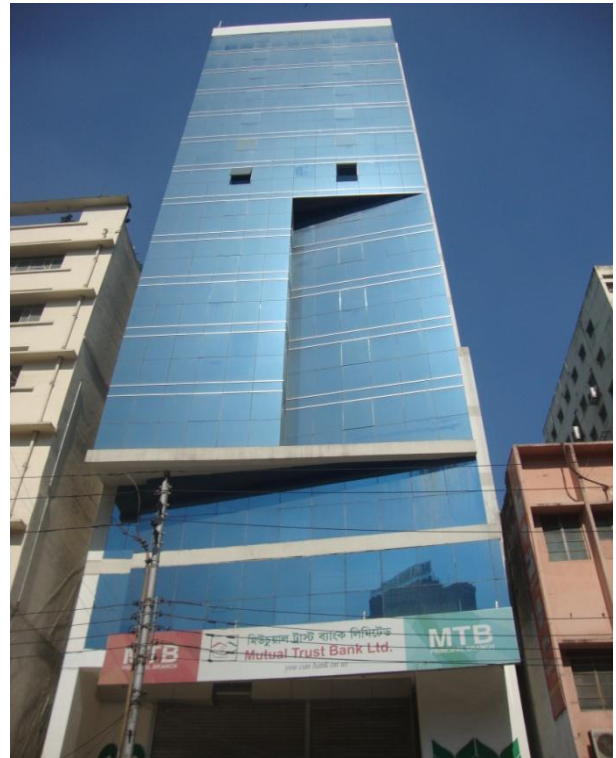
9.4 The Gulshan Avenue

Motijheel area

1.Private establishments;



1.1 Surma Tower



1.2 WW Tower

2. Commercial Space



2.1A commercial space in Dainik Bangla circle



2.2 Islami Bank; Motijheel Branch

3. Sky Touching Building



3.1 City Center-40 storey; Country's Highest

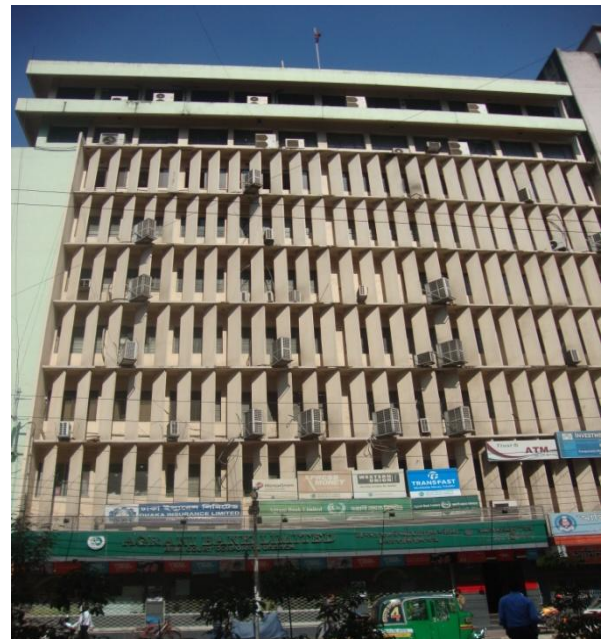


3.2 Baitul View Center; 20-storey

4. Feature of Building



4.1 House Building; An Administrative



4.2 Amin Court; A commercial, estd. In 1964



4.3 Food Center



4.4 Food Joint

5. Exclusive establishments



5.1 Janata Bank



5.2 Uttara Bank

6. Informal Economy



6.1 Topkhana Roadside



6.2 Motijheel Road side



6.3 Topkhana Roadside

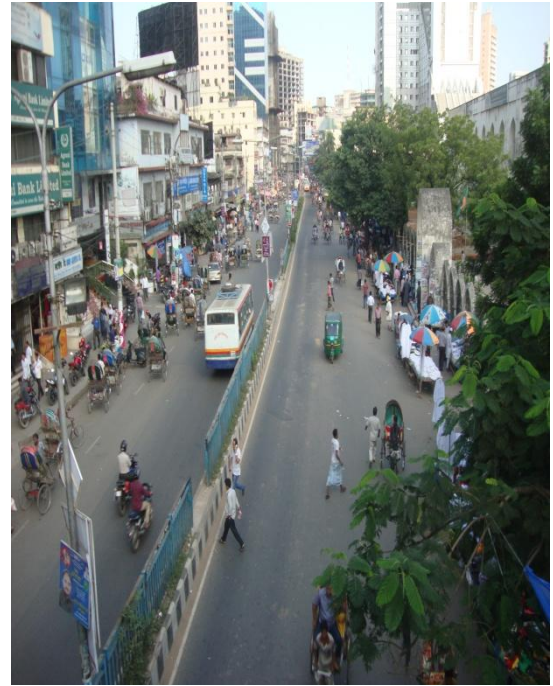


6.4 Motijheel Roadside

7. Public Space



7.1 Baitul Mukarram National Masjid



7.2 Topkhana road towards Motijheel

8. Shift of Structure of Building from Past to Present



8.1 Lucky Chamber estd. in 1960s



8.2 City Center estd. in 2010s

Dhanmondi area

1.Private establishments



1.1 A Building jostling everything



1.2 An Apartment in Lalmatia

2. Commercial space



2.1 Commercial space Dhanmondi



2.2 Dhanmondi Satmasjid road

3. Residential space



3.1 Typical residential triplex



3.2 Typical apartment

4. Mixed space



4.1 'Sha Sha' Bari-residential cum commercial



4.2 University & Hospital; same building

5. Feature of Building



5.1 ULAB in Exclusive Building



5.2 Northern University in mixed building



5.3 Specialized Bangladesh Eye Hospital



5.4 Ibn Sina Hospital



5.5 Japan-Bangladesh Friendship Hospital



5.6 Medinova Diagnostic center



5.6 Shopping mall; Anam Rangs plaza



5.7 Exclusive Fashion House



5.8 Food Center



5.9 Multi-National Food Center;KFC

6. Exclusive Establishments



6.1 Bank Asia with Exclusive set up



6.2 Chayanat

7. Constructing Space



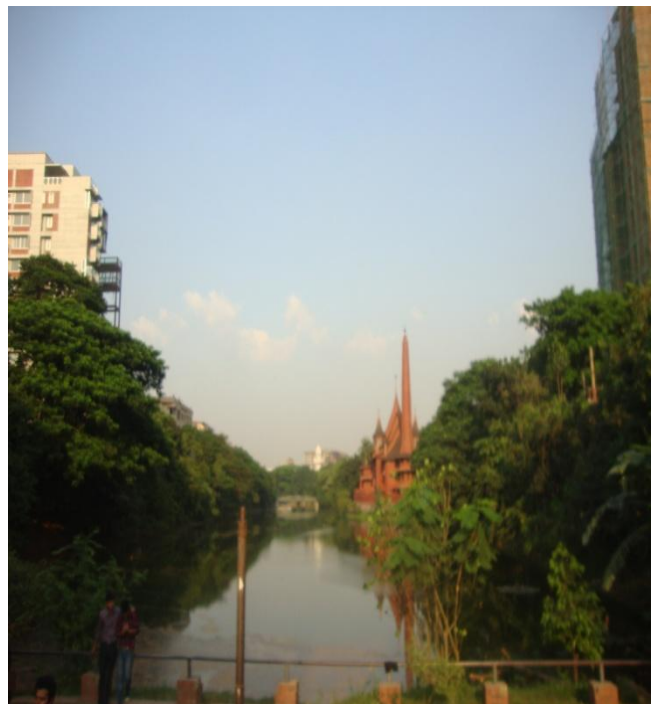
7.1 A Constructing space in Dhanmondi

7.2 In Lalmatia, a Constructing space

8. Public Space



8.1 Idgah Masjid of Dhanmondi



8.2 Dhanmondi Lake