

# Bangladesh Sociological Studies

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Dhaka

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**Editorial**

Bangladesh is an underdeveloped country where sociology is also an underdeveloped discipline although the first one is not the exclusive cause of, or entailed, the second one. Therefore, development of Bangladesh is not a precondition for development of sociology itself rather development of sociology - for many reasons, is necessary for the development of the country. Sociological knowledge itself cannot play the decisive role of developing the society itself as the sociologist does not have any secret art or tactics for that, but can significantly contribute to find out certain ways and means to propel the country towards development.

In Bangladesh, sociologists are often regarded for their potentials rather than their accentuated achievements, which is partly because the society is a traditional one where ascriptive role is still pre-dominant in almost every sphere of life and where even a professional counts prestige more important than self-contribution to the society. Despite that an emerging trend of transition in the society from tradition to modernity is evident in almost all spheres of life where concomitant variation is also observed in many sectors of the society. Thus sociologists, although once enjoyed a full privilege without pursuing any significant intellectual work, have a reason in coming days to apprehend that they will not enjoy such privileges unabatedly without changing their present trend of marginal accomplishment. With the growing demand for social researches and to keep pace with the demand of the new millennium - the sociologists have to undertake researches in many fields including the fields where needs for applied research are burgeoning day by day. Therefore, the present state of sociologists would not allow the professionals to remain inactive in coming years. And to meet the challenges of the new millennium or post modern society, there should be opportunity for publications of research findings as without that the inspiration for sociologists would not remain strong here, and moreover it will be despairing for them as without that their findings will perish.

Intellectual pursuits without having scope of publication(s) cannot be sustained in a society for an indefinite period, which perhaps also entail a poor performance of the sociologists of the country in addition to causing other major or minor limitations. The present initiative is, therefore, to create an opportunity for and to remove the entrenched disadvantages of the sociologists - disadvantages they have been, as they were facing over the last five decades.

It is not a matter of complacency to have scope for publications of articles prepared on different aspects of social researches, perhaps, it is also equally important to adhere to pursuing high quality research to gradually compete with the changing world, where many other countries have superseded us in respect of number and quality of social researches. Therefore, time has come to wake up and propel social researches with all enthusiasm to cover the lost decades and for that matter to add to the vehicle of the same. I am confident that the trained sociologists of the country are fully aware of the fact and are ready to face the challenges that are ahead of them.

I, therefore, would like to urge upon the sociologists of the country to come up with a mission to undertake social researches here in Bangladesh with paramount quality and increased quantity. Everybody's will and zeal can together bring the success much faster than what one alone can pursue. And time for pursuing anything important for greater social cause never runs out.

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Articles for publication in the journal should be printed, double-spaced on one side of A4 size paper with enough margins at both side.

An article should not be more than 10,000 words except review articles and short notes. Review articles should not be more than 5000 words and short notes should not be more than 3000 words.

The author-date method of referencing minus the comma should be adopted within the text, e.g. (Karim 1978). The page number(s) should be separated by a colon (Karim 1978:3) and inclusive page numbers by a hyphen (Karim 1989: 3-14). When citing more than one author, entries should be chronological with works of different authors separated by a semi-colon (Khan 1965; Karim 1978).

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Use single quotation marks while quoting sentences or a single word/phrase, and double quotation marks for use within single quotes. Quotations of more than 50 words should be separated from the text and indented.

Use universal 's' and British rather than American spellings (colour, not color).

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## Urbanization in Bangladesh: A Socio-historical Analysis

Omar Faruque\*

*This paper analyzes the salient features of urbanization in the Third world as manifested under the global capitalist system. Following a world system perspective this paper argues that the nature of urbanization in Bangladesh is very much consistent with such features of Third World urbanization.*

### 1. Introduction

Urbanization is presently a developing world phenomenon. This can be justified as the highest rates of urbanization are to be found in the less developed countries, while little urbanization is occurring in the already highly urbanized developed world. Karl Marx once described modern history as the 'urbanization of the countryside' (cited in Gilbert and Gugler, 1992:16). It is particularly accurate for the most parts of the Third World. Some scholars on urbanization argue that without the intrusion of industrial capitalism and imperialism some Third World societies would still lack major cities (ibid). In major parts of Asia and Africa urban development happened due to the superimposition of capitalism on essentially rural societies. World system theorists on urbanization claim that urbanization and capitalism are interrelated (Smith and Timberlake, 1993; Feagin and Smith, 1987; Timberlake, 1985; Edel, 1981; Roberts, 1978).

Against this backdrop this paper has a specific purpose. It looks at the characteristics of Third World urbanization and then assesses urbanization in Bangladesh from a socio-historical perspective. The secondary sources of data have been utilized to establish the linkages between urbanization and global capitalism in a peripheral country like Bangladesh. The introductory paragraph suggests the ideological theme of the paper.

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\* Lecturer, Department of Sociology, University of Dhaka. E-mail: omarsoc@yahoo.com. The author is grateful to Dr. Mahbub Uddin Ahmed, Professor of Sociology, University of Dhaka for providing insightful ideas in preparing this paper.

This paper is organized in four sections. After the introduction the second section describes the pertinent features of urbanization in the Third World countries. Here the main approach is the world system perspective. In my view one can best illustrate the nature of urbanization in the Third World countries by using the well-built arguments of world system thesis as propounded by I. Wallerstein (1974, 1980) and later applied to urban analysis by the above-mentioned scholars of urbanization. Section 3 critically analyses the process of urbanization in Bangladesh under the domination of global capitalist system, which through its in-built mechanism exploits the peripheral countries. This is specially the case in the urban development of a country. Finally section 4 concludes the paper.

## 2. Historical Development of Third World Urbanization

It was mentioned earlier that colonialism is the major social factor that induced the urban development in the most parts of the Third World. The European expansion from the 16<sup>th</sup> century onwards has radically transformed the urban structure (both physical and social) in the Third World. Therefore, the functions and forms of contemporary Third World cities cannot be understood without a consideration of this process. This is best illustrated in Hoselitz's argument as he has pointed out, "the cities of contemporary underdeveloped countries are hybrid institutions, formed in part as a response to a indigenously developing division of social labor and in part as a response to the impacts made upon less advanced countries by their integration into the world economy" (Hoselitz, 1953:204).

Manuel Castells, one of the leading Marxist urban analysts, has made an attempt to establish the linkages between urban development in the Third World countries and its incorporation into the global economy (Castells, 1977). For him, the dominant social formations of the Third World have emerged in response to colonial and capitalist development. A similar process has clearly affected urban forms that have led to Castells' invention of the term 'dependent urbanization'. David Harvey, another Marxist urban analyst, has pointed out the same nature of urban development in the Third world countries in his epoch-making works. The dependent nature of Third World urbanization is clearly evident in Harvey's statement that "global metropolitanism is embedded in the circulation patterns of a global economy.... different city forms are contained within that economy" (Harvey, 1973:232). Castells has defined dependent urbanization in the following way: "an urban population

unrelated to the productive level of the system, an absence of a direct relation between industrial employment and urbanization, but a link between industrial production and urban growth, a strong imbalance in the urban network in favor of one predominating area, increasing acceleration of the process of urbanization, a lack of jobs and services for the new urban masses and consequently, a reinforcement of the ecological segregation of the social classes and a polarization of the system of stratification as far as consumption is concerned" (Castells, 1977:57). For McGee (1971), Third World countries display a form of urban 'underdevelopment' that has been called '*Pseudo-urbanization*', where city growth is not synonymous with urbanization in the western sense.

The urban centers of the Third World therefore represent a form of capitalist development, which is dependent upon the dominant external power of the developed world. Manufacturing industry remains relatively underdeveloped, while an overblown service sector becomes the basic of the 'modern' urban economy. The development of service sector is considered as the major feature of postindustrial society, as coined by Daniel Bell (1973). It is very interesting to note that Bangladesh is experiencing the over development of service sector without experiencing the mature stage of industrialization. The end product, therefore, is urbanization without industrialization. Many Third World countries, therefore, appear over urbanized: they appear to support a much larger urban population than what either their level of industrialization, or their provision of infrastructure would warrant. The Third World shanty town has thus become a potent symbol of this distorted form of development (Worseley, 1992:245).

### Urban Primacy in the Third World

Castells (1977:49-63) has argued that several traits characterize the Third World's contemporary urbanization. These are as follows:

- The extreme dominance of one city within national urban networks (i.e. primate city);
- The accelerated population growth of cities;
- An inflated service sector;
- The increasing segregation of social classes; and
- A widening gap between the living standards of rich and poor.

Among these characteristics the most important aspect is that of urban primacy. Urban primacy has been equated with underdevelopment, either as an associated or as a causal factor. That is, the primate city has been viewed by some urban analyst as 'parasitic' with respect to economic growth (Hoselitz, 1955). Frank (1969) further elaborates it and argues that these large primate cities operate like 'suction pumps' through which resources are expropriated from the periphery and passed 'upwards' to the core, developed world. Again, foreign investments in industry and service oriented field may exacerbate primacy by contributing to the 'city lights' effect, attracting migrants from rural areas and other smaller towns. Roberts (1978:47) maintains that the degree of primacy in different Latin American countries is directly linked to the extent of their incorporation within the world economy. Multinational corporations are directly involved in creating urban primacy in Third World countries. MNCs' production is for re-export to the core, it tends not to develop the backward linkages throughout a country that would lessen primacy by contributing to the growth of other cities (Timberlake, 1985:51).

Smith (1985) summarizes the reasons why primacy may exist in developing countries in a succinct way. The reasons are: (i) primacy is associated with colonialism and arises because empires tend to be controlled through key cities. Primacy is thus a function of colonial control. (ii) Primate cities are seen as the major outlets for the products generated in dependent export economies. (iii) Primacy may be created from within by the collapse or decline of the rural economy. Local industry and trade are often destroyed by export dependence, thus undermining the economic base of provincial centers. In this case, the largest city grows at the expense of the smallest. (iv) Primacy may be a social consequence of the transition of an economy from subsistence to capitalist production. Such a change typically transforms class and labor relationships and in particular leads to a reduction in the amount of labor, which is required in agriculture. Those who are no longer needed in farming tend to concentrate on the major cities where there are possibilities of jobs in service activities, or opportunities for income generation within the informal sector.

Johnson (1970) has provided an influential explanation for why primacy might promote underdevelopment in a country. He notes that primate urban systems, by definition, lack enough small cities to service the rural population and enough medium cities to connect regional systems to the national economy. As a result economic linkages between places become monopolistic rather than interlocking and competitive. The primate city

monopolizes its hinterland and grows at the hinterland's expense, becoming a control centre rather than a service centre. Finally rural areas and smaller towns suffer from lack of access to urban functions in proportion to their distance from the primate city. In this way primacy causes regional inequities as well as greater rural-urban inequities.

### Globalization, Employment and the Third World City

Today large areas of the world are integrated into a single economy through the process of globalization. It was recently observed by the urban analysts that Third World cities are moving rapidly from the stage of developing economy to post-industrial relations that is, skipping many of the features of industrialization that inform the experience of western developed nations (Roberts, 1991). Large cities in the Third World, like their First World counterparts, are experiencing shifts to a service oriented employment and control centers of capital investment. As a result of new employment opportunities created for professional workers, there is a growing wage differential between well-paid and working poor residents.

The employment characteristics of Third World countries provide one of the principal distinguishing features between urbanization in the First and Third World. In the former, urban development was accompanied by a pronounced shift from agricultural to manufacturing occupations with a subsequent increase in tertiary employment. But this is not the case of the Third World. Castells (1977) has argued that urbanization in the Third World is not the result of industrialization *per se* but of the process of industrialization in advanced capitalist countries. As a result urbanization in the Third World is accompanied by increased unemployment. And the most striking feature of dependent urbanization of Bangladesh is found in urban underemployment and the development of informal sector of employment. Mehmet (1978) has explained this largely in terms of local elites pushing dependent development for their own benefits. He argues that economic planning in Third World countries is intended to maximize investment returns rather than expand or generate employment incomes. In addition to increasing the degree of absolute and relative poverty, this policy also results in reduced employment opportunities. Thus an enlarged underemployment within informal sector of urban economy has created a class of *proto-proletariat*, most conducive to accumulation of capital (McGee, 1976).



In a recent study Ahmed (1999) examined the direction of urban growth, especially the stagnation in employment sector in Bangladesh since the impact of globalization is more pronounced in this domain. He concludes that a primate city like Dhaka contains millions of *proto-proletariat* work outside the industrial productive relationship. The garment sector increases industrial output for export only. It does not increase the level of industrialization or transform the underclass into a class. They remain as *proto-proletariat* because their destiny under globalization is dictated by the dependent nature of urbanization.

Over-urbanization, another characteristic of the Third World urbanization, is necessarily intimately related to the enormous growth of the urban informal sector in the Third World. The world system theorists analyze this sector in terms of its general relation to low-wage labor in the periphery and to capital accumulation in the core. The low wages in the periphery are an important source of profit for core-based transnational corporations. The ultimate result of such over development of informal sector is polarization of the urban population between a 'modern' relatively affluent section and an underemployed *lumpen* proletariat (Roberts, 1978). Therefore new inventiveness, which is required in order to survive in such a society, is developed. Networks of kin and neighbors devise complex strategies of survival.

### 3. Urbanization in Bangladesh

The above analysis clearly indicates that urbanization in the Third World countries is shaped by the world capitalist system. The nature of urbanization in Bangladesh is the manifestation of the world capitalist system. Urban primacy, over urbanization and the development of informal sector in Bangladesh is the result of its incorporation into the world capitalist system. An attempt has been made in the following section to present a socio-historical analysis of the nature of urbanization in Bangladesh.

The urban history of Bangladesh is related to the complex net of relationship of this sub continent. Generally, the urban history of this country can be divided into two stages: a) Pre-colonial era and b) Colonial & Post-colonial era.

#### a. Pre-colonial era

Before 1971, the urban history of this country is related to its political history. This is because during the pre-colonial period the urban development in Bangladesh was determined by its relationship with state and especially with its military organization (Weber, 1950:321-22). The main feature of this state was large-scale agricultural production, which was dependent upon irrigation system. This was the case of India and some other parts of the Orient. That is why central bureaucracy (Weber, 1958) and despotic state (Wittfogel, 1957) emerged in this region. State, for its own interest, controlled the class formation of this society and thus prevented the growth and development of city — the heart center of merchant class. Marx categorized (1962:363) this type of society as Asiatic Mode of Production.

The urban social stratification of this country prevented the development of bourgeoisie class and independent, autonomous city administration like the West (Pirenne, 1948:46). More specifically, caste, tribe and kinship based urban stratification was the major constraints to the development of rational bourgeoisie (Weber, 1958). The development of rationalism was a far cry because of the predominance of caste and magic in this society, which was also reluctant to the emergence of city life style (Weber, 1958). There was no civil society because of the hegemonic role of the state and thus the city became the center of priest, king and military. City emerged here because of the three main reasons—religious, military and administrative (Gadgil, 1924).

Sir Henry Maine (1872), who made a detailed study of the Indian village community, says, "Doubtless most of the Indian towns grew out of the villages or originally clusters of villages, but the most famous of all grew out of camps. ... Nearly all the movable capital or the Empire or kingdom was at once swept away to its temporary center, which became the exclusive seat of skilled manufacture and decorative art. Every man who claimed to belong to the higher class of artificers took his loom or tools and followed in the train of the king". That is why another character of city in this country was 'Consumer City'. Some traditional artisan classes such as the goldsmith (Swarnaker), conch-shell bangle-makers (Shankhari), perfume manufacturers (gandha-banik), originally settled in Pandua, which was the capital of Bengal in the early part of Muslim rule (in the Sultan period). In the later part of the Muslim rule (in the Mughal period) the capital of Bengal shifted to Dhaka and these artisan classes migrated *enmasse* to the new capital to get the patronage of the court,

noblemen and the like for the survival of their industries. Again when the capital was shifted from Dhaka to Murshidabad, Dhaka turned into a village and Murshidabad, emerged as a large city (Ahmed, 1948). "Murshidabad ... is as extensive, populous and rich as the city of London, with this difference that there were individuals in the first possessing infinitely greater property than in the last city." (Clive Quoted in Hill, 1905).

### b. Colonial & Post-colonial era

The modern trend of urbanization in Bangladesh had begun from the British colonial period. Colonial capitalism is the major factor for the emergence of towns, cities and ports in Bangladesh. The vested interest of colonial capitalism has created urbanization and strayed urbanization (in Dhaka city) in Bangladesh (Ahmed, 1997:37).

From the British postcolonial period to the present time, the only feature of urbanization in Bangladesh is westernization (ibid, 36). After the integration with world capitalist system, trade and industry play more important role in urban development than other factors. The hegemonic role of state is continually decreasing while the power of new capitalist class is increasing. This new capitalist class has emerged from trade and industry, which is going to be expanded with the incorporation into the world capitalist system.

There is another aspect of westernization: neo-imperialist domination. In this process, the core countries of the world economy have influenced the social, economic, political and cultural institution of peripheral countries. This means that the institutional change in the peripheral cities has occurred for the necessity of the core cities. Although their locations are in two different hemispheres, the two cities have originated from the same source: capitalist economy. The redistribution of this capitalist economy controls the internal and international migration of labor. This, in turn, regulates the process of urbanization.

Table 1 gives the rank order of 10 largest cities of Bangladesh between 1901 and 1991, which clearly shows the rise and fall of urban centers of Bangladesh. Except for Dhaka and Chittagong, which ranked 1 and 2 respectively throughout the said period, other eight cities registered change in their relative rank position. Obviously, British colonial history including internal colonialism of India and Pakistan can explain the

situation very well. The ups and downs of these cities can be analyzed in terms of the penetration of world capitalism in Bangladesh. Furthermore, other factors like export-dependency, rural collapse, segmented labor market and the rise of informal economic sector, chain migration from rural areas and quest for profit by the comprador class created by the global capitalism in the secondary circuit of capital, can also best explain the contemporary urban experience of Bangladesh (Ahmed, 1996).

Table 1. Ten largest ranked urban centers of Bangladesh. 1901-1991.

Sl. No.	City	1901	1911	1921	1931	1941	1951	1961	1971	1981	1991
01	Dhaka	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
02	Chittagong	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
03	Serajgonj	3	3	5	4	6	-	10	-	-	-
04	Rajshahi	4	4	8	7	7	8	7	6	4	4
05	Brahmanbaria	5	6	9	9	9	9	-	-	-	-
06	Comilla	6	7	4	5	5	5	8	8	6	9
07	Barisal	7	8	3	3	3	3	5	10	7	6
08	Pabna	8	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
09	Jamalpur	9	9	10	10	-	-	-	-	-	-
10	Madaripur	10	-	6	8	-	-	-	-	-	-
11	Nawabgonj	-	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
12	Mymensingh	-	10	7	6	4	6	9	5	5	10
13	Chandpur	-	-	-	-	8	-	-	-	-	-
14	Rangpur	-	-	-	-	10	-	-	-	8	5
15	Saidpur	-	-	-	-	-	4	6	7	-	-
16	Khulna	-	-	-	-	-	7	4	3	3	3
17	Dinajpur	-	-	-	-	-	10	-	-	10	-
18	Narayanganj	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	4	-	-
19	Jessore	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	9	9	7
20	Sylhet	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	8

Source: Ahmed 1996.

Another main feature of urbanization in Bangladesh is slow growth rate of urban population. Column 5 in table 2 shows that the urban population of Bangladesh during 1891-1921 was only 2 per cent. Overcoming this slow rate in 1931 the urban population raised 1 per cent and continued to 1941. During the partition of Indian sub-continent in 1947, a large number of people migrated which contributed to 1 per cent increase in urban population. This statistics proved the role of Bangladesh as a 'rural hinterland' in the world capitalist market.

Table 2. Urban Growth Rate and the Rate of Urbanization in Bangladesh, 1891-1991 (Total population in thousand)

Census year	Total population	Exponential growth rate	Total urban population	Per cent of urban population	Urban exponential growth rate	Rate of urbanization
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1891	24668	-	537	2.18	-	-
1901	26273	0.63	629	2.39	1.58	1.51
1911	28517	0.68	628	2.20	-0.02	1.03
1921	30868	0.79	716	2.32	1.31	0.66
1931	36609	1.73	1126	3.07	4.53	1.62
1941	39785	0.81	1345	3.38	1.78	1.20
1951	41932	0.53	1820	4.34	3.02	4.70
1961	50541	1.93	2641	5.19	3.72	0.93
1974	71478	2.62	6272	8.77	6.65	1.54
1981	87120	2.62	6272	8.77	6.65	1.54
1991	106315	1.99	20872	19.63	4.56	1.29

Source: Ahmed 1996.

The historical data presented in table 2 shows the growth of urbanization in Bangladesh, from 2 per cent in 1891 to 20 per cent in 1991, an increase of only 18 per cent in a century. This over largely rural character of our society is also related to colonialism and neo-colonialism, which Bangladesh has experienced for centuries. It is interesting to note that when the per cent of urban population is compared with the urban growth rate, we get a better picture: for the last century, there has been only 3 per cent growth. Such a low urban growth rate is also consistent with dependent economy. What intrigues us most is the historical fluctuation in the urban growth rate, for example, the period between 1974 and 1981 showed the highest growth rate (10.66), whereas the decade of 1911 to 1921 indicated a lowest growth rate (1.31), which preceded by a slight decline in the earlier decade.

Rate of urbanization, another measure of urbanization, presents a slightly different picture. There has been, in reality, no increase in the rate of urbanization for the last century. From a rate of 1.51 during the decade between 1891 and 1901, it has declined to a rate of 1.29 during 1981 to 1991 intercensal period, a slight decline of 0.22 per cent over 100 years. However, the internal variation is quite fascinating: the decade between 1901 and 1911 showed a marked decline in the rate of urbanization (-1.03), the period from 1911 to 1921 witnessed the lowest rate of urbanization (0.66), whereas the period covering the partition of India, 1941 to 1951 registered highest rate to urbanization (4.70).

Post independence era indicates an increase in the urban growth. In 1974 the first Bangladesh census shows that 9 per cent of total population are living in urban areas. It took 60 years in the pre-liberation period (1891-1951) to register an increase of two times in the per centage of urban population (from 2.18 per cent to 4.34 per cent), while in post independence period it took 23 years (1951-1974) to register an increase of more than two times (from 4.34 per cent to 8.77 per cent). Then after 17 years (1974-1991) the per centage rate of urban population raised to 20 from 9. These statistics indicate the rapid increase of urban population in the recent period. Although this rate is lower than that of other countries of the world, this change is capable of bringing about social change in Bangladesh. And this is possible through the penetration of foreign capital, in other words, through the redistribution of class structure of Bangladesh (Ahmed, 1997:41). A large number of labour are exported to other countries for this redistribution of class structure, which is another feature of world capitalist system. The penetration of petro-dollar creates rural-urban migration and the demand of rural labor creates the necessity to declare the rural centers as 'pourashava', which, in turn, is redefined as town. In 1974 Dhaka was the only metropolitan city in Bangladesh, in 1981 three other towns, Chittagong, Khulna, and Rajshahi are reclassified as metropolitan city. Table 3 shows that for the expansion of comprador class, especially lumpen bourgeoisie and labor who earned petro-dollar, government declared 95 places as 'pourashava' in 1991 census. In that census urban areas were classified into four categories such as town, city, metropolis and mega city. As such, there are 72 towns, 20 cities, 2 metropolises and 1 mega city in Bangladesh.

Table 3. Classification and numbers of *Pourashava*, Bangladesh in 1991.

Class	Town	City	Metropolis	Mega city	Total
1	18	17	1	1	37
2	34	2	1	-	37
3	16	1	-	-	17
4	4	-	-	-	4
<b>Total</b>	<b>72</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>95</b>

Source: Ahmed 1997.

Mega city is another general characteristic of Third World urbanization. Urban sociology and demography describe this pattern by using the concept 'primate city' (Jefferson, 1939). Before 1947 Kolkata, Mumbai, and Madras were considered as primate city in Indian subcontinent. Primate city can statistically be measured by standard primacy index

(Walter, 1985:79). By using this index the primacy of 10 largest cities of Bangladesh according to 1991 census is measured. The index value is 0.0854, which is bigger than that of Mexico City for which the primacy index is 0.056 (Walter, 1985:80). This indicates the high tendency of migration to Dhaka City.

Table 4. Urban population in Bangladesh, 1991

Sl. No.	City	Urban population
1.	Dhaka	6537308
2.	Chittagong	2342662
3.	Khulna	966096
4.	Rajshahi	560013
5.	Narayangonj	288008
6.	Rangpur	220849
7.	Barisal	180014
8.	Jessore	176398
9.	Comilla	164509
10.	Mymensingh	138662
<b>Total</b>		<b>11574519</b>

Source: Census of Bangladesh, 1991 (various reports).

From the table 4 it is apparently seen that in 1991, 55 per cent of the total urban population lives in 10 largest cities in Bangladesh and 31 per cent live in Dhaka City (mega city), whereas only 11 per cent of total urban population lives in the second largest city, Chittagong. This clearly indicates the primate pattern of Dhaka City, i. e. a characteristic of the Third World urbanization.

#### 4. Concluding Remarks

This paper described and analyzed the salient features of urbanization in the Third World countries, which are considered to be the effects of their integration into the global capitalist economy in which there is a dependant- dominant relationship between the highly developed countries and the developing peripheral countries of the Third World. The present pattern of urban development in the Third World countries is being created to fulfill the demands of the industrialized countries to maximize their accumulation of capital. Urban crisis, manifested in various forms such as housing crisis, urban crimes, infrastructural problems, is the effect of distorted nature of urbanization in Bangladesh. We can identify the major issues of Third World urbanization as over urbanization, urban primacy and over development of informal sector.

Furthermore, over urbanization, by creating the primate pattern of urban growth, misallocates a huge amount of labor, which finds its expression in full time but nationally unproductive labor in at least three activities: a) domestics, b) prostitutes and c) scavengers. The combined effect of all these can best be termed by using the phrase of Frank 'the development of underdevelopment'. The nature of urbanization in Bangladesh is highly consistent with such features of Third World urbanization. This pattern testifies that Bangladesh urbanization is linked with global capitalism and that it is a dependent urbanization initiated by the world metropolis and strengthened by the local comprador classes created by the world economy.

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