CHAPTER 1
1. INTRODUCTION:

PROCESS AND PATTERN OF URBANISATION

Urbanisation is a current issue throughout the world particularly in the developing countries. In fact, it is acclaimed as the instrument of economic development and socio-cultural changes. It is a fact that the level of urbanisation is usually associated with the degree of modernisation or, process of industrialisation, while Breese (1966:7) opines that if industrialisation can be said to have been the first great and continuing revolution in recent times, then certainly urbanisation is the next one. Further, he adds that urbanisation seems invariably to accompany the development of new countries.

Patterns of human settlements are complex, but they are heavily dependent on initial conditions, level of economic development over different phases of modernisation and growth and interaction of socio-economic forces. In contrast to western urbanisation, the developing countries have a dramatic and rapid urban growth, coupled with high population growth and disproportionate scale of economies. Higher rates of population growth and declining availability of agricultural land at low levels of rural income have increased population pressures in urban centres and absolute population movement towards them. At
the same time, widespread diffusion of modern transport and communications encourage population movement aided by the considerably cheap transportation facilities and costs (Swamy, 1987). However, the urban change and spatial urban expansion through varied process of urbanisation have been major concerns and appraisals in developing countries. Process and pattern in urbanisation vary from region to region or country to country. Differences may arise due to historical factors like colonisation, or attainment of independence or emergence of a nation.

Breese (1966:34) notes that many cities are the result of externally oriented forces which led to economic development but few of them could be due to internally induced forces. However, there may have been, and may continue to be, factors which substantially affect not only the existing but also the potential rate of urbanisation.

In addition, urbanisation in newly developing countries was affected by forces outside these countries, e.g. the impact of World War I and particularly World War II. Urbanisation of certain countries involved in the war, almost invariably reveals evidence of the conflicts which led to floods of refugees moving towards the large cities, and of the relationship of military staging and supply centres to the development of the cities themselves. The related impetus to manufacturing, commerce, and administrative development associated with the war was also influential (Breese:1966:36).

Regarding rate of urbanisation in contrast to
developing countries, it is far more greater in developing countries and some countries show very high profile. This rate of urbanisation in the Third World is unique and problematic (Mulchansingh, 1987). "What is perhaps unique about this urbanisation in the Third World is that much of it is not exclusively or even mainly the consequences of industrialisation as was the case in most industrialised countries during the 19th and early part of the 20th century. Nor is it a consequence of rising agricultural productivity leading to the release of labour from agriculture" (Drakakis Smith, 1987). Everybody is disillusioned with the 'gemein Schaft' (rural society) and choose to be or and pushed into the 'gesell Schaft' (urban industrial society). Besides other factors, the continuous growth of urban areas with centralised functions and different sorts of amenities has caused decay of rural society and gravityless life in rural areas.

Regarding the role and impact of urbanisation on regional economic development, Mandal and Peters, (eds.) (1982:1) aver that urbanisation is a component of regional economic development, as urban centres provide, inter-alia, variety of centralized services for the surrounding zone of influence, e.g., marketing for agricultural surplus, products of cottage industries, including the supply of fertilizers, engineering goods, pumping set, medicines and specialised skills in a wide variety of situations which are necessary for regional development.

Urbanisation usually brings with it regional
prosperity as the provision of infrastructure facilities stimulates the development of locally available resources, increasing regional income and employment levels. Thus, it provides new economic opportunities through providing employment in industries, including the provision of several other infrastructure facilities, e.g., electricity, irrigation, provision of higher education, health services, transport and communication lines and better opportunity of employment in urban areas. Besides, urban area also provides an arena for new political activities of urban, state and national levels, marketing of produce, diversification of occupations, commercialization of agriculture and changes in consumption pattern. Ultimately, change of economic condition is linked to the process of urbanisation. For example, forest to agriculture, agriculture to manufacturing-oriented production centre and centres of exchange of goods. (Mandal and Peters eds. 1982. 2-3.)

It is quite logical that, developmental activities cannot be dispersed horizontally throughout the region. "So the optimum location of development inputs and of services should be at specific places from which their benefits can filter down to the surrounding settlement" (Rao, 1989).

In each regional context, the focal points are primarily centres of economic and social activities. Henceforth, through natural process of urbanisation and government
initiative, "the transformation of rural service centres in both time and space, due to concentration of commercial, transportation and professional services, give rise to the development of urban centres..... The growth of urban centres also leads to changes in infrastructure, which in turn further affect regional development, industrialisation, transportation linkages, population distribution, and the entire rural urban continuum. At the same time, the dynamics of regional economies, population growth, increasing employment in the tertiary sector, and the continuation of these processes for longer period of time and over increasing dimensions of space, are signs of regional development. Thus urbanisation is a polarisation technique which has been adopted for regional development" (Mandal & Peters eds. 1982:2).

Most of the developing countries experience, invariably disproportionate metropolitan growth or growth of primate city, which is basically an outcome of the forces of centralisation. It, eventually causes disparity in regional development as well as other urban centres which constitute the backbone of a country offering all sorts of services to their respective region.

As such, the problems and prospects arising from the resultant effect of urbanisation are to be judged and considered through major policy issues. In this context Ramachandran (1987) advocates that "at the outset, it is necessary to clarify the differences between urbanisation policy, and urban policy. Urbanisation policies relate to the problems
of city size distribution, spacing of urban centres, and the problems generated by rural-urban migration. Urban policy, on the other hand, focuses on the internal problems of cities and towns as well as the rural-urban fringe zone. They have to deal with urban problems, such as housing, water supply and sewerage and the physical planning of the city and its environs. Both urbanisation as well as urban policies ought to be based on the historical experiences of each country and no universal approaches can be meaningfully outlined.

According to Mohit and Choguill (1987): "Decentralised urbanisation policy has, in recent years, become increasingly popular as a tool to achieve regional development in a number of Third World nations. One reason for the shift in emphasis away from centralised urban growth policies, which was often associated with growth centre promotion and import-substitution policies, was that centralised settlements often resulted in primacy, with the associated problems of overcrowding, congestion, poor housing and infrastructure and in general, environmental deterioration."

A similar view for promotion of growth centres was expressed by other geographers like Rondenelli (1983) "during the late 1970s many governments in the developing countries sought ways to strengthen the economies and to promote the growth of secondary cities, many of which are historic settlements and traditional centres of trade, transportation, administration and cultural activities. Development of this
category of cities was viewed as a method to stimulate the economies of surrounding rural areas, to slow migration to the largest urban areas......and to spread the benefits of economic growth to lagging and depressed regions. The increased interest in secondary cities was due in part to dissatisfaction with the extreme polarisation in settlement systems in many developing countries and in part to the recognition that successful rural development requires both urban-based markets, for agricultural goods, and access by rural residents large enough to provide them with a variety of services and facilities such as manufactured goods, farm input, and off-farm employment. Strategies for the development of secondary cities are also a response to the failure of economic growth policies during the 1950s and 1960s that sought to transplant modern, large scale, export oriented capital-intensive industries in a few regional centres. The programmes initiated in the 1970s sought to strengthen the net-work of secondary cities by building on the existent economic base and by reinforcing the dynamics of development in intermediate sized urban centres."

The degree of urbanisation in a country can be appraised from the study of urban centres, and trend and pattern of urban growth. Regarding these, a suitable explanation outlined by Breese (1966:106-108) can be stated in a summarised form as: certain background consideration must be kept in mind with reference to urban areas in newly developing countries. These cities experienced the greatest part
of their growth up to very recent times in a situation where they were subjected either to no controls or to controls less rigid. In other words, most of the urban centres have grown without zoning ordinances, subdivision regulations, building height controls or limits, and effective control over coverage of sites. Here haphazard growth is a common phenomena. There has been considerable unauthorised "squatter" settlement. Everywhere there is evidence of substantial influence of site characteristics on the growth pattern. In western urbanisation, individuals seeking urban residence have had a choice of cities in which to locate, and thus urbanisation has been spread over a variety of sizes of places. In newly developing countries, the trek to the city may of necessity have been limited to one city, or only a few, thus focusing the burden of urbanisation on a limited number of places and accentuating problems that otherwise could have been shared by many. Similarly the rate of growth in most western urban areas has been much more gradual as compared with developing countries followed by rapid growth of population. The growth pattern of many urban areas in developing countries have been influenced by their skipping certain "stages" that were common to much of western urbanisation. For example, most of these centres skipped the trolley-car stage, with all its implications for relatively compact development along major transport lines; the almost total absence of rapid mass transit facilities has also affected population distribution patterns.

Over and above," the rapidly growing urban area does
not just happen. It takes the form it presently has, has had in the past, and will have in the future, because of the operation of certain processes that permeate its growth.... The operation of 'ecological processes can be observed in the development of every urban area.' (Breese, 1966: 108).

So different components of ecological processes as concentration, centralisation, decentralisation, segregation, invasion, succession and routinisation are to be thoroughly studied.
Bangladesh, A thickly populated and a newly developing country has predominantly a rural-based economy. Though the country is undergoing rapid urbanisation, yet it is one of the least urbanised countries in the world. Nevertheless, a tradition of urbanisation dates back to more than 2000 years. Its urbanisation in the modern sense is essentially the product of colonial rule and Post-Independence development. In fact, the long period of colonial dependence has left deep imprints on the organisation of economic space. Elahi (1972) has rightly explained the growth of towns in Bangladesh in the following manner: the towns became the centres of colonial economy and administration rather than a result of socio-economic development through an internal process of evolution of the origin itself, as manifested in their patterns of function and growth that bears the character as 'Parasitic' urban centres rather than 'generative'.

The view put forth by Reddy (1991) holds good for urbanisation in general for the subcontinent which covers Bangladesh also: "the present urban system of India is the result of the grafting of the Post-Independence pattern on the colonial urban system. A long colonial rule has crippled the traditional economy and distorted the earlier traditional settlement pattern." Referring to the studies made by Raza (1980), Habeeb (1979), Alam (1978) and Rao (1983), he further
advocates that "the super structure of the urban system of India rests on a weak economic fabric characterised by an anaemic agricultural economy, a feeble industrial base and an export oriented economic structure of the metropolitan port cities like Calcutta, Bombay and Madras. Most of the urban settlements have a substantial primary sector, a weak secondary and a hypertrophied tertiary sector".

In Bangladesh, it is observed that two major political changes i.e. the Partition (1947) and the Liberation (1971) accelerated the process of urbanisation.

Urban Growth and Growth of Population:

In general, growth of urban population is dependent on factors like:

1. Natural increase of population,
2. Influx from rural areas, or urban to urban areas,
3. Changes in urban boundary, and
4. Changes in the definition of urban areas,

It is evident that before Partition urban population grew mainly due to natural increase rather than other factors stated above. Table 1.1 show the growth of urban population of Bangladesh. The annual growth rate varied from 1.39% to 3.75% within the periods 1901 to 1961. But suddenly it rose to 6.62% and 10.97% within the periods of 1961-74 and 1974-81 respectively. From the table, the decadal breakdown of urban population shows that the growth of urban population was almost stable for a long period (1891-1951) with little variation in some decades. Comparatively large scale migration
added to the increase of urban population during the period 1961-74 (8.78%). Within a short time, it crossed all the previous levels and stood at 15.54%. In 1981, inflow and declaration of new areas as 'urban' resulted in significant increase of urban population.

In Bangladesh, there are four administrative divisions, also known politically as Northern Region (Rajshahi Division), Southern Region (Khulna Division), Central Region (Dhaka Division) and Eastern Region (Chittagong Division). Bogra district is in the Northern Region.

Table 1.1 Intercensal Growth Rate of Urban Population of Bangladesh, 1901-1981

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Census year</th>
<th>% of total population</th>
<th>Average annual growth rate (Exponential)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1901</td>
<td>2.43</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>2.55</td>
<td>1.39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921</td>
<td>2.64</td>
<td>0.85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1931</td>
<td>3.02</td>
<td>2.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1941</td>
<td>3.66</td>
<td>3.59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1951</td>
<td>4.33</td>
<td>1.69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>5.19</td>
<td>3.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1974</td>
<td>8.78</td>
<td>6.62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>15.54</td>
<td>10.97</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1.2 Percentage Distribution and Rates of Growth of Urban Population by Regions of Bangladesh.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Regions</th>
<th>Central</th>
<th>Eastern</th>
<th>Southern</th>
<th>Northern</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Census year</td>
<td>% of urban pop.</td>
<td>% of Regional growth exponential</td>
<td>% of urban pop.</td>
<td>% of Regional growth exponential</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1901</td>
<td>37.50</td>
<td>3.15</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>27.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>38.10</td>
<td>3.25</td>
<td>1.56</td>
<td>29.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921</td>
<td>39.00</td>
<td>3.40</td>
<td>1.07</td>
<td>26.60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1931</td>
<td>36.60</td>
<td>3.66</td>
<td>1.39</td>
<td>29.40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1941</td>
<td>36.20</td>
<td>4.36</td>
<td>3.59</td>
<td>28.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1951</td>
<td>35.70</td>
<td>5.15</td>
<td>1.42</td>
<td>27.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>40.60</td>
<td>7.01</td>
<td>4.99</td>
<td>24.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1974</td>
<td>46.20</td>
<td>13.60</td>
<td>7.90</td>
<td>22.40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>39.66</td>
<td>20.00</td>
<td>8.84</td>
<td>25.62</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Data compiled and computed

Source: Chaudhury (1980:15), and Report on Urban Area, 1987:14
There is a great variation of urban population from region to region. Table 1.2 shows that in 1981, the Central Region accounts for 39.66% of the total urban population of Bangladesh followed by Eastern Region (25.62%), Southern Region (18.61%) and Northern Region (only 16.11%).

The high proportion of population in major metropolitan centres has changed the whole scenario of distribution pattern. Table 1.3 highlights that the four metropolitan cities constitute 42.37% of the total urban population. Amongst them, capital city Dhaka, Port city Chittagong and Khulna (adjacent to mangla port) constitute 26.15%, 10.50% and 4.71% respectively. Whereas Rajshashi in the Northen Region has only 1.30%.

In agreement with Sdasyuk (1976), it can be said that the national urban system of Bangladesh is also dominated by the above said three metropolitan cities (excluding Rajshashi). In practice, they together form into a triangular national metropolitan grid with many branch networks embracing and interconnecting most of the cities and towns of the lower
According to Chaudhury (1980:29-31), the regional differentials in levels of urbanisation and in the rate of urban growth tend to be related to regional variations in economic development. Northern Region is the least developed part of Bangladesh. Here only 15% of the economically active persons are engaged in non-agricultural activities whereas there are 27% in Central Region, 25% in Eastern Region and 23% in Southern Region. Northern Region is far behind than others in terms of number of industries in public sector, per capita power consumption, literacy rate etc.

In the Northern Region, the level of urbanisation varies from district to district. Broadly speaking, the factors are: industrialisation, availability of natural resources, physiographic condition, social linkage and awareness of the people, transport and communication system, literacy etc. Again, in Northern Region it is generally observed that
the people have nostalgia for their homes, have unique social bondage, are fatalistic, indolent and follow traditional way of livelihood and market oriented economy etc. This character affected the flow of migration. Another factor for not drawing immigrants into the towns is a self-centred nature of the urbanites.

In comparison to other districts of Northern Region, Bogra district has the lowest percentage of urban population to the total population. The reasons are, the people of Bogra district are forward, enterprising and developed socially and economically. With the development of agriculture and opportunities of occupation in agriculture, spread of agro-based industries in rural areas people desire not to move to the towns. In Bogra district, per capita GDP, Per capita value added from agriculture, literacy rate etc. are higher than other districts. Therefore, there has been slow growth of urban population from early days. But in the recent years it has increased due to change in attitudes of people and involvement in secondary and tertiary activities in urban centres.
Table 1.4: Percentage and Rates of growth of Urban population by Districts, 1891-1981.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Districts</th>
<th>Percentage of Urban Population of the Total</th>
<th>Compound Growth Rates</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bogra</td>
<td>1.35</td>
<td>1.29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dinajpur</td>
<td>1.37</td>
<td>0.83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pabna</td>
<td>2.86</td>
<td>2.88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rajshahi</td>
<td>2.53</td>
<td>N.A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rangpur</td>
<td>0.67</td>
<td>1.35</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Data compiled and computed.


Table 1.4 shows the percentage of urban population as well as compound growth rate of urban population of selected five districts. Growth rate is calculated for all the five districts for a comparative idea. Of all the districts, Rangpur shows continually a high growth for the period 1974-81 which is 15.31%. Push factor due to poverty and flood hazard in the rural areas are responsible for the higher growth of population. Pabna district with poor geographical location and agricultural background shows a gradual and low increase in urban population. For the region as a whole, the high growth during 1974-81 may be attributed to the Liberation and the development following it.
Urban-Rural Relations and Decentralisation of Urbanisation

Migration:

Migration is the major component in urban population growth. Different factors are responsible for migration in different areas. Some of the basic factors may be highlighted. In terms of 'pull' and 'push' factors the following few lines may be quoted from Chaudhury (1980:34):

1. The migrants, originate from mainly two distinct economic classes—the poorest and the richest families of the rural community;

2. The migrants originating from the rich families have higher education and they tend to move to urban areas; travel a long distance; belong to different professions; have highest income and remit more money to their rural kin. But in the case of poor people, migrants are mostly illiterate and they tend to move to small urban areas; travel short distance; engage in low-paid urban jobs as day labourers; and remit a small amount of money to their rural kin; and

3. The villages that are characterised by land scarcity; skewed distribution of land and/or high proportion of agricultural labourers, are likely to induce a high rate of out-migration.

Regarding the 'push' and 'pull' factors Reddy (1991) advocates that push factors play a major role especially at the times of scarcities and disasters, while pull factors assume importance when the tempo of developmental economic activities is high.
Rural Urban Disparity:

Islam and Hossein (1976) focus that the urban growth is a lack of integration with rural areas. With 110 urban centres (excluding Upazilas), there is one such centre for every 793 villages. As a result, it has been pointed out that as much as 50% of the country is not served by urban centres. The deficiency is partly offset by the existence of 5,000 periodic markets or 'hats'. Most of them provide very few urban services other than retail trade functions.

However, the extent of this spatial isolation of rural areas has differences in income, wages and the terms of trade between rural and urban areas and has resulted in the transference of whatever small surplus which may exist in urban areas.

For these purposes, to minimise the urban rural disparities or to provide more urban facilities to rural areas, the national policy emphasises decentralisation of urbanisation.

Decentralisation of Urbanisation:

Recently in a number of Third World countries, decentralised urbanisation strategy increasingly gaining popularity of which Bangladesh is also one. In this case, development of secondary cities or lower level urban centres are in the strategy of decentralisation of urbanisation. It is argued that primate cities slow down the growth of smaller towns and that they have a parasitic effect upon the
economy. With the decentralisation strategy, the development of these towns could help in diffusing urbanisation leading to a more equitable spread of development through the integration of urban and rural economies.

Recently, in 1982/83, by government proclamation, the lower level administrative units (thana headquarters) have been upgraded as 'Upazilas. It has been long felt that, rural development should take place through proper management and planning by equitable distribution of wealth and resource mobilisation, people's participation, administrative accessibility etc. to remove the regional inequality and disparities. No doubt, Upazila system has brought some positive indications regarding development. Zaman (1983) points out that the prime aim of the programme is to introduce a system of development administration in rural areas where the local people would avail enormous scope of effective participation and thereby further the cause of rural development. Islam and Nazem (1986) advocate that the resultant effect of the strategy supposed to ensure the development of Upazila centres as focal points of administrative, industrial, commercial and cultural activities so that the common people in rural areas have easy access to necessary services.

Rangaswamy and Hossain (1988) observe that the Upazilas have attracted people to settle down in the Upazilas through different socio-economic activities. Most of the Upazilas are
well connected with nearby towns accessible to the surrounding rural areas by feeder roads. With the spread of electricity and pucca road facilities rural areas are undergoing changes to become centre of secondary and tertiary activities.

Further they point out that considering Upazila as growth centre and the upcoming rural settlements as centre of secondary and tertiary activities, it may not be refuted that permanent migration towards important towns and cities will diminish and which is a fact. In contrast, the commuters have been increasing in number taking advantage of the developed road network.

Some Other Considerations:

Different models and theories on spatial structure of regions developed in the western countries to some extent can be applied to Bangladesh. Besides other theories the concept of 'growth foci' (Perroux 1955) is increasingly gaining importance throughout the world. In Bangladesh context, Choguill (1976) explains it as the most promising policy to stimulate agricultural development and regional growth within this framework, in the long run would be to establish a limited number of agriculturally based growth centres (one in each district) rather than many. Thana Level would be the marketing and collection centres which would in turn be linked to the villages and farms which constitute the production areas.

The larger market regions that would result would stabilise the potential effects of unfavourable weather
conditions in any one part of the hinterland upon employment at
the centre. This would also allow for the exploitation of
economies of scale by processors due to their higher levels
of production. The agriculturally based growth centre should not
be at the lowest end of a hierarchy of central places, but
somewhere in the middle.

It seems to be more acceptable and distinctly clarified
approach on broad regional context proposed by Zaman (1987 : 135),
for the Northern Region. It also may be considered as
an example for all the regions of Bangladesh. He considers:

(1) One growth pole in the Northern Region,
(2) Growth centres at district centres level,
(3) Growth points at the Thana/Upazila level, and
(4) Rural growth centres at the union council level.

However inspite of having some limitations (e.g. polarisation effect) the 'Growth foci' concept has wide
application as a strategy for development of backward areas like Bangladesh.
THE STUDY AREA:

Bogra is an old district town belonging to Rajshahi Division, also known as Northern Region (Ganga-Brahmaputra Doab). Most of the urban centres of Bangladesh emerged during the British period as administrative centres. Likewise, Bogra was founded as an administrative district headquarter in 1881.

The period of Post Independence (after 1947) was followed by increasing tempo of industrial, commercial and social activities but since the Post Liberation period, a new thrust has been overwhelmingly exerted upon these activities.

Bogra is a town with an area of 14.76 sq.km. (5.70 sq.m.) and a population size of only 94,496 (1982/83) in the rich agricultural region and densely populated area of Northern Region, its favourable site and situation, its centrality in the Northern Region, its socio-economically developed umland, its excellent communication system, and establishment of cantonment etc. all contribute to making it the "Heart of the Northern Region."

Like other urban centres in Bangladesh and other developing countries which were under colonial regime, the basic structural organisation of Bogra dates back to the British time. But striking changes are evident from the recent trend in urbanisation. The present Bogra town, which is almost compact, is the product of interplay of historical, social,
economic and physical factors. In this study, an attempt has been made to analyse these factors which have greatly influenced on its growth, structure and regional relationship.

It is worth mentioning that historical and physical factors determine the geographical features of the town; the culture provides the frame work; the socio-economic conditions or realities give an indication of the rate of development of Bogra in relation to the Northern Region.

As such, the growth pattern of Bogra can be distinguished in three periods: British, Pakistan and Bangladesh.

The British regime was characterised by slow rate of urbanisation, tardy development of road transportation and means of communication, low rate of literacy, absence of industries and few employment generating services in urban areas, restricted interaction of urban and rural people, balanced man-land ratio and self sufficient economy.

Such a situation was true of all urban centres in Bangladesh including Bogra. People trickled down in few numbers towards Bogra particularly in the fringe area. Social segregation on the basis of religion and castes, income and occupation was pronounced. The supremacy of Hindus in educational and cultural fields, commerce and service sectors was outstanding. Majority of houses in Bogra were interspersed with few buildings of the elite and the Government.
In true sense, urban expansion was limited. Most of the localities around the town centre grew up unplanned and was characterised by compactness. The packed nature of built-up area is prevalent even today. The business nuclei founded during the British days have continued to flourish, thrive and expand to such an extent that there has not been much scope for other centres to come up and compete with them specially with those in the Central Business Area (CBA).

On the other hand, the Post Partition period (1947) brought a new change in thought and actions in the country. The level of urbanisation began to rise followed by some sorts of development in agriculture, industries, transport and communication, social activities, urban-rural interaction and international relations. New production technology, imported goods, change of taste of people etc. contributed to a greater development in the field of commerce.

Therefore, Post Partition period brought in some remarkable social and economic changes. The active and enterprising people of Bogra contributed to the prosperity of industrial commercial activities.

Ribbon development with new government establishment and massive structures, new pucca roads and appearance of pucca residential buildings were some of the major morphological changes in the town. The town drew in more and more people from the rural areas.
Bilateral movement of people between India and East Pakistan (now Bangladesh) brought about a notable change in the social and demographic structure of population.

Finally the Post Liberation period experienced a spring action in all walks of development in man and materials. The rapid development of metalled road network with increase in road traffic made Bogra a vital node by offering unique accessibility to the entire Northern Region and other parts of Bangladesh.

The establishment of different types of national and multinational firms, public and private enterprises as local, zonal or regional headquarters, different types of educational and social institutions, various financial institution and accelerated industrial-commercial activities greatly contribute towards the development process. Thus the pace at which urbanisation is taking place explains the attractional pull towards Bogra.

Above all, Bogra's importance was greatly achieved by industrial development during the Pakistan period, when it occupied fourth place in the country and first position in the Northern Region as an industrial centre. It retains its fame even today. During the Liberation period some important industries were subjected to extensive damage. The Post Liberation period was not congenial for the growth of certain type of industries and several constraints were imposed upon them due to the regressive industrial policy. However,
it took some time to recover and now there seems to be no turning back.

In fact, all the urban centres of Bangladesh perform some common activities, but some of them like Bogra specialised in certain functions spatially industry. It is true that industries cannot be dispersed all over the region, but should concentrate at focal points ensuring optimum economies of scale which would induce further industrialisation and associated development activities.

In the light of the above, it may be said that Bogra has all the infrastructures to be the centre for development. Bogra can satisfy the need and function of a growth pole in the Northern Region, and thus decentralise the concentration and pressure from Dhaka.

The growth of a centre depends upon the reciprocal relationship between it and the surrounding area. The city exerts powerful influence on the social and economic structure of the territory around it. This influence is expressed in the types of rural land use and farm economy, in the nature of urban land uses and in the social and economic structure of the villages and towns affected.

By empirical study, the intensity and extent of interaction or influence over the region caused by a centre can be evaluated, and thus, the domination of an urban centre can be determined. In this respect, Bogra being a vital node,
its growing industrial, commercial, social, administrative and transport functions strongly exerts influences over the surrounding area and to a lesser extent also on the distant areas. Inevitably private entrepreneurs and public bodies, for the establishment of enterprises, turn towards Bogra as a prospective urban centre in the Northern Region. However, all these factors undoubtedly project Bogra as a future regional centre in the Northern Region.
2. OBJECTIVES AND METHODOLOGY:

OBJECTIVES

Does Bogra possess all the attributes required to be a 'Regional Centre'? Does it have the needed infrastructures and potentialities for development? These are questions raised in the study. In order to give a satisfactory explanation to the above queries, the work on Bogra had to be achieved through several analysis and syntheses of its space, spatial uses, functions, its position in a rural milieu, which are imbied in the essence of any geographical study. Several types of inquiry were pursued with definite objectives in mind. They are:

- To understand the growth and changing land use pattern by analysing the process and trend in urbanisation,

- To appraise the potentiality of future growth and development of the town.

- To examine the position of Bogra district headquarter as well as Bogra district region in comparison with other four old district headquarters and district regions.

- To measure the extent and degree of Bogra's influence on its surrounding regions.

- To examine the validity of our study of Bogra as a Regional Centre in the Northern Region.

- To suggest the developmental policies for a more balanced and integrated spatial organisation.
METHODOLOGY:

Primary and secondary data have been incorporated in this study which is concerned with all the important aspects of urban growth and development, and regional relationship such as physical, historical, economic and socio-cultural. For this purpose, the investigator collected a variety of relevant data, namely documental records, and maps from different organisations/departments.

In order to achieve the specified objectives (stated above), data on land use, socio-economic aspects and others were collected through field work.

Random sampling method was used for gathering data regarding commercial establishments. The selected information was collected from the purposively sampled industries, banks, agricultural farms, and other enterprises and social groups etc.

Intensive fieldwork was carried out personally in order to delimit the zone of influence of Bogra. To measure the intensity and spatial variation of interaction, six-villages and two-Upazilas were purposively selected and questionnaires were given and survey of selected places was done. In the selected villages all the required information were collected from every household.

Various methods of data analysis (e.g. percentage, growth rate, composite index, Basic/Nonbasic ratio, gravity model) were used in computing raw data in relevant cases. This was later supported, wherever necessary by suitable cartographic representations.
3. SURVEY OF LITERATURE

In Bangladesh, several works on urban areas and problems related to urbanisation have been carried on, but a compound urban study pertaining to specific urban areas or urban system are few in number. Major research work has been produced by the Department of Geography, Sociology, Economics under different Universities, Master of Urban and Regional Planning (MURP) under Bangladesh University of Engineering and Technology, Institute of Bangladesh Studies (Rajshahi University), Centre for Urban Studies and Geographical Society of Bangladesh (Dhaka University), National Institute of Local Government and Bangladesh Institute of Development Studies.

The actual foundation to urban studies was laid only after 1950. In the history of urban research Geographical Society of Bangladesh has played an important role since its birth. Series of research papers have been published dealing with general aspects of urbanisation, regional urban pattern, urban regional relationship, segregation of social class, commercial structure of CBD, city structure and morphology, overall growth process and internal structure, industrialization, urban land value, urban fringe etc., in context to particular urban centre. However, these studies give also contemporary urban features and nature and process of urbanisation that some way or the other help the study of Bogra town and its region.
The main contributors of the society are:

Patel (1957); The Urban Pattern in East Pakistan;

Johnson (1957) 'Site and Urban Region of Chittagong;


Majid (1966) ' City Centre of Dhaka'; Khan and Salehuddin (1967); ' City Centre of Chittagong'; Farooque (1968); ' Some Aspects of the Urban Geography of Cox's Bazar.


The Centre for Urban Studies has carried out many Research Project mainly on bigger cities, apart from these some general studies have been done. However, some of the worth mentioning are Squatters in Bangladesh Cities: A Survey of Urban Squatters in Dhaka, Chittagong and Khulna' (1976); 'Reading habitats in Dhaka city' (1977); 'Study of an Inner-City Slum in Dhaka' (1978); Urban Housing and Shelter Process for Seven Cities & Towns' (1980); Migration Analysis and
Demographic Projection for Dhaka Metropolitan Area' (1980); Population & Migration Analysis for Khulna Master Plan Area (1980); 'Rural-Urban Migration' (1981). Another important contribution is 'Urbanisation in Bangladesh' by Chaudhury (1980). Where he highlights the analysis of the national and regional pattern of urbanisation, component of urban growth and consequences of urbanisation.

Multidisciplinary research work is carried by the National Institute of Local Government in which urban oriented research occupies an important place. Among the studies, some of them are worth mentioning: Baqui (1974) 'A study of Narayanganj Paurashava'; Islam (1980) 'Planning Problem in Dhaka city'; Nazem (1982) 'Urban Housing Process: Some Consideration of its Legitimacy and Planning Aspects'; Ahmed (1983); 'A study of Patuakhali Paurashava'; Ahmed and Khutun (1980), 'Dhaka Metropolitan Area and its Planning'; Hamid (1987); 'Town Planning: Its Importance in the Upazila Context'; Khan (1987); 'Urban Land Use: A case study of Lotchanopur'; Hamid (1988); 'Town Development Problems in Bangladesh with Special Reference to Dhaka City.' Apart from these, number of articles on 'Upazila System' referring to problems and prospects, decentralisation or urbanisation, people's participation in developmental activities etc. are also published.

MURP is the only institute for urban and regional planning in Bangladesh which has played an important part in urban research in context to planning. Ahmed (1971) in his
study of 'Morphology of District Towns of East Pakistan' gives a comparative view of urban structure of Bangladesh in relation to the West. Moreover, Bogra and Comilla towns are taken as case studies and planning measures are suggested. Other contributors are Hasnain (1972), growing Urban Centres in Bangladesh: A Social Economic and Planning Anatomy', Sahnidul (1972)' Planning of Shopping Centre for Greater Dhaka: Mahmood (1972), Planning City Region: Case of Dhaka; Rahman (1974)' A Study on Typology of Urban Land Use and Structure of Faridpur Town'; Haque (1977) makes an extensive study on Keraniganj suburban area of Dhaka where he analyses site and situation, strong linkage with Dhaka city and future trend of development and proposes necessary planning measures to modernise the urban centre. Other important studies conducted by Alam (1979)' proposed for integrated Development Planning for Dhaka Metropolitan Area; Saha (1977), Inter-Urban Central Places: Centrality Study of Market Centres as a Planning Tool; Shirin (1974), A Study of Housing Situation in Mymensingh: A case study; Ally (1980)' has studied different aspects of urban recreational needs for residential neighbourhood.

Chowdhary (1982) studies Hajshani SMA with regard to planning for future development. Her study investigates the trend of urbanisation in the light of social and economic aspects; analyses the potentiality of future growth and development and formulates policies and development proposals towards the achievement of a more balanced and integrated
spatial development.

Apart from these, some Ph.D. and M.Phil. dissertations on urban fields are carried out by I & S. Islam (1977) studies on Establishment and Growth of Industrial Complex in Bogra where he gives a historical account and emphasis on economic aspects of industrial development, present industrial position and makes an inquiry into the constraints and potentiality for development in future.

Sharifuzzaman (1989) has worked on 'Micro Regional Transport Study ' the Case of Sirajganj Thana in Fauna district. Concentrating on Sirajganj town he has brought out the areal pattern of transport, the role of rural transport in the economic development, impact of geography upon means, model characteristics of the transport system, geographical shift in the transport structure etc.

Mohit and Chaguill (1987) have studied on Small and Medium Sized Towns in the Development Policy of Bangladesh. They have shown the importance of decentralisation of urbanisation, nature of intermediate urbanisation, socio-economic condition and spatial integration. They emphasise the need of policy formulation to strengthen development of lower and small sized urban centres.

Another important study on 'Regional Planning of a 'Less developed Country : A strategy or Development for the Backward Northwest Region of Bangladesh,' by Zaman
(1987) brings greater importance in the practical field of regional development. It is interesting to note that in his study, Bogra has been identified as a future Potential 'growth pole' in the region.

Indian geographers have carried out extensive and numerous work on urban areas. Since it is not possible to enumerate all the studies carried out, a few well known researches are mentioned.

Contribution to urban research from Banaras is enormous and of quality. R.L. Singh's (1955), *Banaras: A Study in Urban Geography* is a valuable documentation on the city which he has dealt with from all aspects. In his several papers he has analysed the morphology evolution, growth and functions of different towns of U.P. and Bihar. His another major work is worth mentioning i.e. 'Bangalore: An Urban Survey' in the year 1964. Other important contributors are U.Singh (1962), Allahabad: A Study in Urban Geography, H.H. Singh (1965), Kanpur: A Study in Urban Geography. Other distinguished geographers on this field are A.S. Jauhari, K.N. Singh, H.H.Singh, K.K.Dube, A. Romesh, P.S. Iwwari, B.P. Rao, O.P.Singh, U.Singh and J.Singh. The recent work of Pushpa Singh (1986) on 'Ghaziabad: A Study in Urban Geography' owes its rapid growth to the site and situation despite its proximity to Delhi.

M. Alam (1985) in his study of Hyderabad-Secunderabad, discuss various aspects of urban functions and city region relationship. He examines their structure and growth pattern within the general framework of certain theories of urban growth and morphology where he found out a new scheme that does not certify western model. M.Butta (1977) studies various aspects of industrialisation in Jamshedpur city and city structure representing its own system of growth unlike the western model. Rao (1981) in Warangal study examines spatial growth aspects in historical perspective. Special emphasis on social aspects is given to analyse the urban
structure. Singh (1980) studies Shillong in context to land use planning through different urban functions and process of growth. Studies regarding urban rural relationship. Borah's (1985) work on neighbouring areas of Bauhati is of great academic value. This work not only involved in delimiting umland boundaries and describing their physical and socio-economic characteristics but satisfactorily deals with the pattern of urban-rural gradient relationship and impact on surrounding region.

Works on urban rural fringe pertinent to our study are: Gopi's (1978) Process of Urban Fringe Development: A Model. He has studied Uppal, a fringe settlement of metropolitan Hyderabad, to understand the process of suburban development under the impact of metropolitan expansion. Mukharjee (1987) has carried out extensive work on the fringe of Calcutta.