

**Corruption in Plan Permission Process in RAJUK:
A Study of Violations and Proposals**



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Report

**Corruption in Plan Permission Process in RAJUK: A Study of
Violations and Proposals¹**

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Summary of the Report

As per the Town Improvement Act 1953 (TI Act 1953) Rajdhani Unnayan Kartipakkhya (RAJUK) is the legitimate authority to prepare land use plan and take care of plan implementation, control the development and manage the growth of Dhaka city. The main goal was ensuring a planned development; promoting healthy urban environment, reducing congestion and crowd, preventing development of conflicting-land use etc. above all, ensuring the sustainable development of Dhaka city. *Did RAJUK able to encounter its problems or meet the aims and goals stated earlier?* Failure in the development control process made Dhaka an unplanned, overcrowded, polluted mega city. Along with some other reasons, inappropriate planning permission process and corruption in the whole system are hindering the planned development of Dhaka city. Impact of this corruption is severe but sometimes intangible in nature, one can't calculate in terms of money. For instance deprivation of community facilities, sufferings in congestion, living in pollution etc all are the resultants of bad planning practice and corruption in the planning process which cannot be easily converted in the monetary form. *How can we calculate their impact?*

Corruption starts in the planning permission stage and it finish in the construction stage. Nevertheless, corruption in issuing land use clearance and building permission by RAJUK in a single year can give us a picture of irregularities. In every year 7,000 to 8,000 people get the planning permission for construction residential and commercial building in Dhaka City. Not a single planning permission application move itself without any persuasion. This process gets the momentum either by bribe or the influential person. The unnecessary harassment or time killing or missing of specific files or put objections on files are most common practice dealing the Authorized Sections of RAJUK. To avoid the hassle and get the permission easily the applicants deploy the *dalal*¹ or agent in this process. In the implementation and monitoring stage, due to corruption people can manage the RAJUK officials for their deviations from the approved plan. Every case is associated with huge illegal money transaction and at the end of the year this account will must be amazing in figure.

Background

At present RAJUK has following legal machineries to control the land use and growth of the city. They are; i) Dhaka Metropolitan Development Plan (DMDP) 1995, comprise of Structure plan, Urban Area Plan and Detailed Area Plan, ii) Town Improvement Act 1953, iii) Building Construction Rules 1996, iv) Private Residential Land Development Rules 2004, v) Wet Land Conservation Act 2002 and vi) Recently approved Mohanagar Imarat Nirman Bidhimala 2006 (Building Construction Rules 2006)

These machineries were not exercised properly by RAJUK to control and manage the development of the city, though sometimes it is argued in favor of insufficient legal support. Rather, they deviated from their master plan in many cases. At the same time for the lack of law enforcement and strong monitoring, people also violated the plans during the construction of their building and structures. On the other hand, RAJUK is not sufficiently equipped with institutional capacity to foresee the consequences issuing randomly the plan-permissions of construction to the plot owning individual/company. As a result, as we know all, Dhaka experienced haphazard-unplanned urbanization and eventually it turned unmanageable population size and at the end of day an unmanageable

¹ Self employed person who work for taking the planning permission for the applicant in illegal framework of RAJUK

city. Along with some other reasons, corruption and unethical practice in the *plan permission*, starting from *land use clearance*² to building permission, of RAJUK miserably obstructed the planned development of the city.

Before constructing any building in a plot by a plot owner, he/she needs to apply for a land use clearance to check its conformity with the master plan's land use proposals. If the applied land use confirms the master plan's proposal, the plot owner gets the land use-clearance certificate and apply for the planning-permission for constructing building with detail plan and design of the site and building. This process is same for residential, commercial and industrial plot. Getting a *land use-clearance* certificate and building-permission is not that much easy. Both the processes are much more complicated and lengthy for a plot owner as the whole process is associated with corruption and bribe. Every stage of both processes needs to offer undue money for approval. No one can think of getting plan-permission without bribe even though every requirement is fulfilled correctly.

This Study reviewed the process of planning permission and identified the points of corruption in the whole planning permission. This study also tried to evaluate the institutional capacity and transparency of the process and provide policy guidelines to develop an easy and effective mechanism of issuing land use clearance and building permission which will be effective for implementing the city plan.

Planning permission for Dhaka City

RAJUK is the legitimate public issuing approval of any building construction. This agency was entrusted with the job of preparing plan for Dhaka city, ensuring development as per the prepared plan and controlling the future development. Before any sort of construction a land owner need to take the '*land use clearance*' from RAJUK. Processing of planning permission involves two stages:

- Land Use Clearance
- Building Permission

Land use Clearance

Generally planned residential areas of RAJUK like; Gulshan, Banani, Uttara, Dhanmondi and other private housing areas that already have the approval of RAJUK for developing as residential area are not subject to take the '*land use clearance*' from RAJUK, Because they are already been approved as residential area for whole project. For other areas taking the land use clearance is must before submitting plans for construction. Generally land use clearances are of two types:

- **Type 1:** Direct land use permission can be given if the proposed criteria of land use in certain area matches to the criteria and standards set by the Master plan for that area
- **Type 2:** However, for any kind of deviation or mismatch to the Master plan the application have to be proceeding through the TI Act 75(I)/(II).

Land use clearance is the step to check if the proposed use of land confirm with the prepared plan by RAJUK. Ideally this clearance assures planners that land will be used as

² It is the land use clearance or planning clearance certificate which is issued to the land owner if the proposed use of land confirms the proposal of master plan. It is the way practiced in Bangladesh for ensuring the construction according to the plan.

per the plan of the city. RAJUK control all the development activities of Dhaka City under the provisions of Town Improvement Acts, Building Construction Rules and Land Use Regulations within the area under its jurisdiction. Any use of land or any type of construction needs approval or clearance from RAJUK and Authorized Sections are responsible for issuing those land use clearances. From the field survey it was found that plan permission process is so complex, lengthy and harassing that people rarely take the normal procedure of plan-permission rather they prefer to go through a deal with the illegal agents by giving them extra money.

Performance Evaluation of Land Use clearance

In black and white, it should take more or less 3 weeks to get a land use order by a plot owner/ applicant. But from the field survey it was found that file does not move without persuasion or deal. Field survey and interviews of planners suggest that negligence in duties, intention to forgo some specific cases, poor inspection and reporting and political influence made Authorized Section a fearsome part of the organization. In case of some critical issues, clients or developers somehow manage the authority for land use clearances for particular areas where development is restricted for specific purpose. Peoples claimed that the files/plans are not approved properly and sites are not inspected as per given parameters. The unnecessary harassment or time killing or missing of specific files or put objections on files are most common practice dealing the Authorized Sections. The overall performance of this section is not up to the mark as mentioned by the clients.

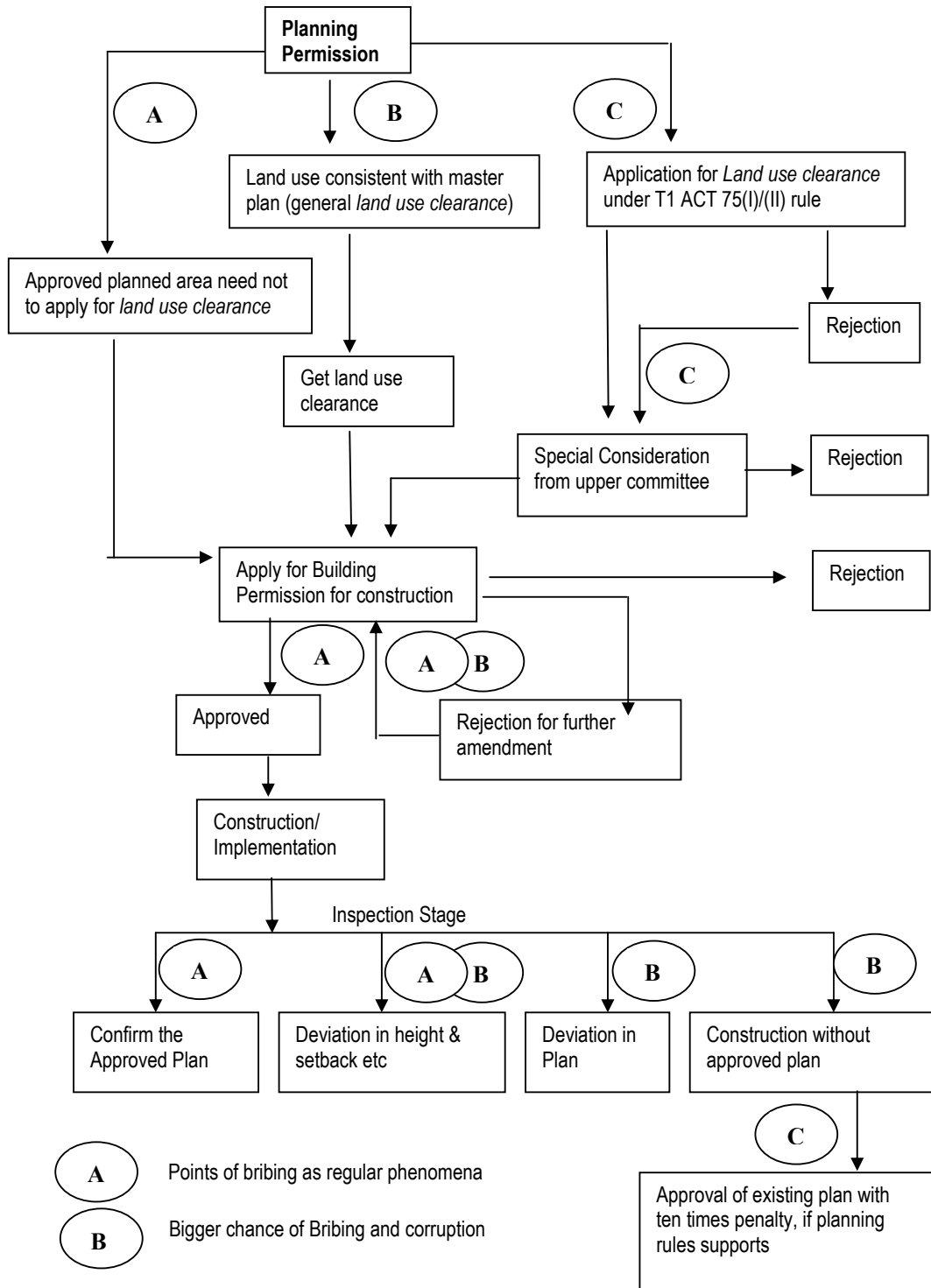
Building Permission

Building approval is the step where applicant apply fulfilling the requirements like detail plans, sections, elevation etc of the proposed building as per the Building construction rules. For applying a building permission of residential building/residential cum commercial building more than 6 storied heights RAJUK demands prior clearance certificates are required from the following organizations DoE, DESA, WASA, TITAS Gas, DMP Traffic, DCC, Civil Aviation Authority Bangladesh.

Performance Evaluation of Building Approval Process

After a series of checks and clarifications the application is referred to the Building Construction Committee for approval or rejection. The provisions of Act clearly defined that the plans should be forwarded for clearance or approval within 45 days and if, any objection made in the plan must be notified within 30 days after submission for approval. Misuse of power and Act also shown by the Authority as claimed by the clients create unnecessary harassment and delay. In fact the process sometimes take more time as specified in the Act and in many cases it takes years to get the approval. Without pursuing the file/case file does not go forward. As a result, to avoid the harassment, unnecessary delay, bypassing the planning laws, bypassing the shortcomings of the plot people tend to take some other means for plan permission. RAJUK's Authorized Sections are carrying out and dealing the process of development control and responsible for issuing land use clearance or approval for building plans under the provision of TI Act. From a survey on client and the dalal of plan permission it was that to avoid unnecessary delay 53%, to avoid harassment 22%, to avoid spending time running after it 7%, to avoid the complex process of plan approval 13% and for others reasons 5% people deploy dalal in the planning permission. One Important thing is missing in the Survey Result that is applicant go to the Dalal to suppress the weak part of his plot.

Points of Corruption in Landuse Clearance and Building Permission



Planning Deviation

Planning permissions given by RAJUK were in many cases didn't confirm the plans that is proposed in Dhaka Metropolitan Development Plan (DMDP). Under this plan package RAJUK prepared 3 tier plans namely; Strategic Plan, Structure Plan and Urban Area Plan. 4th tier is detailed area plan, most important plan for implementation decision, which is under preparation. Private developers and land owners took that chance of not preparing the detailed area plan and violated the land use proposals laid down in the structure plan and urban area plan. Deviation or the violation of plans has been found in different stages of plan in different ways. Land developers are violating by land filling and proposals of structure plan by land filling in the low land areas of Dhaka city. Real estate companies, public agencies and powerful individuals are violating the planning rules and standards of the plans. In the micro level individual plot owners violating the plans of building by constructing building deviating from the plan they approved from RAJUK.

- Micro Level: deviation individual plot/ building
- Intermediate stage: deviation in area plan
- Macro level: deviation in the proposals of structure plan

Micro Level: deviation individual plot/ building

Deviation in Residential Building

Severe problems of plan violation has found in the construction phase of residential building in Dhaka city. Land owner take the 'building approval' from RAJUK by submitting as per the requirements of the BC Rules 1996. But they start to deviate from the approved plan from RAJUK while constructing the building. Condition would not be so acute if plot owners maintained the plan and rules they promised in the approved plan. BC Rules 1996 provided rules in the 12 aspects of constructing of a building. In those considerations only few buildings of Dhaka city has constructed as per the Plan. But most serious types of plan violations are:

- a. Not maintaining the distance of building from adjacent road
- b. Not maintaining height of building as per the plan
- c. Not maintaining setback rules of building and
- d. Changing the land use of the building

Table 1: Setback rules violation and deviation from the plan

Sl No	Thana	Locations of Buildings	Violation of Rules		
			Building Height	Road encroachment	Setback Rules
1	Khilgaon	Khilgaon & Taltola	48%	84%	96%
2	Mohammadpur	Lalmatia & Samoli	60%	88%	92%
3	Mirpur	Mirpur & Kollanpur	68%	92%	100%
4	Kotowali	Bangsal & Tantibazar	68%	96%	100%
5	Sabujbag	Mugdapara	78%	96%	100%
6	Ramna	Kalabagan & Kathalbagan	78%	96%	100%
7	Badda	Nikunja - 2	52%	92%	96%
8	Gulshan	Gulshan & Banani	16%	44%	78%
9	Uttara	Uttara	24%	56%	84%

Source: Field Survey 2006

A random field survey was conducted to make an evaluation on implementation of Building Construction Rules in the Dhaka city in the 13 areas of Dhaka city and found a very significant but not unexpected result of plan violation. Survey was conducted on random sampling basis in different areas of the city both on planned and unplanned areas.

Due to the corruption and weak monitoring, RAJUK absolutely failed to control the violation of building construction rules which resulted congested and unhealthy city. Table 4.7 reveals buildings are mostly constructed by encroaching the adjacent roads, almost every building violated the setback rules of 'Building Construction Rules 1996'. Considering the setback rules, in Khilgaon & Taltola area plan violation is 96%, in Lalmatia & Samoli area 92%, Mirpur & Kollanpur area 96%, Bangsal & Tantibazar area 100%, in Sabujbag & Mugdapara 100%, Nikunja(2) 96%, Gulshan & Banani 78% and Uttara 84%

Deviation in Commercial Buildings

From the result of survey it was found that even in the Uttara Model Town 86.66% Markets and the Commercial buildings don't have the parking space as specified in their approved plan from RAJUK (23 sqm parking for every 100sqm market floor area or 200sqm commercial floor area). Surely other part of the city situation is worse than Uttara. Most of the markets are using their basement for renting shops. So that users of that commercial buildings and markets park their cars on street and occupying road, reducing carriageway of road and resulting traffic jam. Question is 'did the town planners/building inspectors of RAJUK supplied notice them or filed any case in the court?'

Corruption and Financial Matters

Micro level plan deviation starts from the very beginning of plan permission. From the field survey and interview with the applicants and the *dalal* it was found that

- i) for a 3-4 katha plot a plot owner need to spent minimum 15000 – 30,000 extra money as bribe beside the regular fees of RAJUK. For bigger plot this amount is more.
- ii) For 3-4 katha plot under TI act section 75, a general plot owner need to spent at least 30000 to 50000 TK extra as bribe.
- iii) In a very conservative estimation, in a year only for planning permission 20 to 25 crore money is transected as bribe
- iv) During plan permission RAJUK seek structural design of buildings, people submit it as fulfilling the requirement. But in most of the cases that is not followed in the construction phase. RAJUK's field inspector merely inspect that site, even they come for inspection they are managed by money
- v) Corruption found in every stages of planning permission to implementation stage.

Land Use Change

Land use change is a very good business for the RAJUK officials. Sometimes they argue that they are authorized to change the land use of its plan according to local demand. The authorization of commercial land use or, non-residential building on a residential plot varies from place to place. It depends on the type of land use of the adjacent area. If there is a government gazette for such change it is permitted at once. Otherwise, it has to be done by the town Improvement Act.

But in the field level it is seemed that this land use change is done for the following reasons:

- under a mutual understanding of RAJUK officials and the plot owners
- sometimes pressure from the powerful persons of the state

- For instance, a 5 katha residential plot has the market price of 1 crore TK (20 lac/ Katha). Under a favorable situation that plot owner spent 5 lac Taka as ‘land use change fees’ and 5 lac TK as bribe. After spending 10 lac TK, they change the land use of that plot and market price of that plot become minimum 2 crore Taka. Both plot owner and RAJUK officials are happy with the financial benefits

Dhaka Metropolitan Building Construction Rules 2006

The Building Construction Rule (BCR)-2006 was framed through intensive 3-years effort of professional bodies, experts and civil society members in consultation with Government, after examination of building control tools in various countries, and with specific consideration of land supply, population density and resource constraints of Bangladesh.

Provisions of Building Constructions

BCR 2006 was formulated considering the various factors of urban area. Provisions were formulated considering the type of building use, road width, concentration of vehicular movement, population density, parking demand, utility services and fire annihilation. There also other rules which are need to follow in building construction such as, plot consolidation, building height, parking provision, footpath, and basement.

Few very significant steps were taken in the BCR 2006:

- Introduction of FAR which eliminates the building height limit but permits total floor space as per the plot and its adjacent situation. The Building Construction Rule (BCR)-2006 replaces the constraints of the previous rules, which encouraged its evasion and abuse, and brings significant incentives and benefits to all. Provisions of mandatory open space (or, maximum land utilization 50 to 65% of total plot area), setback, ground coverage, Floor Area Ratio (FAR) etc can provide significant social and environmental benefits to the residents.
- Obligation of professionals like; Urban Planner, Architects, Structural Engineer, Mechanical Engineer, Electrical Engineer, Geo-technical Engineer, Site supervisor, Plumbing Engineer will definitely encourage professionalism.
- Phase wise monitoring system and introduction of occupancy certificate will ensure the quality of building and prevent the plan violation
- ‘One Window Service Cell³’ will ensure smoother approval of building permission through one window service, within a fixed time, through the consent of the stakeholders which would be a transparent mechanism to approve the plans, thus eliminating harassment and abuse of power by authority,
- Introduction of ‘Urban Development Committee⁴’ will ensure the planned development of the city.

Great Challenges to implement BCR 2006

- RAJUK failed implement the Building Construction Rules 1996 which one was easier and straight forward rules to implement. It is very unrealistic and optimistic to implement BCR 2006 without rearrangement of institutional capacity of

³ A committee for considering the ‘development permit’ of the applicant which is composed of members from professional institutes like; BIP, IEB, REHAB, Stake holders like; DCC, UDD, WASA, DESA, DITS, T&T, Fire Service, DoE, Police, Civil aviation, KPIDC, TITAS, Law ministry, Private organization working on handicap

⁴ Composite of Government nominated Officials, President/ Vice-president/ General Secretary of professional bodies, representatives from civil society, University professor, etc

RAJUK which was the major constraint of successful implementation of BCR 1996.

- From the findings of this report it was found that more than 90% buildings of Dhaka city violated the rules of BCR 1996 where there was a mandatory limitation of buildings height. But in the BCR 2006, FAR was introduced and mandatory height limit is eliminated. It would be great challenge if RAJUK fail to monitor strictly the building construction gross density would increase which is against the spirit of planning and BCR 2006

Intermediate stage: deviation in area plan

Plan and planning decisions were violated by in the both planned areas and spontaneously developed areas of Dhaka city. Mostly corruption and socio-political pressure were responsible for this plan deviation. With the help of 2 case studies it would be explained in the next.

Case 1: Deviation from Original Plan: Dhanmondi R/A

Case 2: Japan Garden City

Land use change is violation of local plan or the plan of the city. It is commonly found to change the land use with or without the permission of the authority. Without the amendment of the plan of the city, changing of land use is crime. Even in the planned areas of the city have been found the cases of land use change; more specifically commercialization of residential plots.

Case 1: Deviation from Original Plan: Dhanmondi R/A

Dhanmondi was planned as site and services scheme for the high and higher middle-income groups during early fifties. It was planned as a nice-quiet-pure residential area. Presently it became an area complicated inter mixture of educational institutions, offices, multi storied apartment residences, medical facilities, large scale shopping malls and small scale commercial enterprises. It is an awful fact that Dhanmondi has lost much of its residential character due to rapid change in its land use structure. In the original plan project area was subdivided into 1000 nos. of plots, ranging from 15 decimal to 33 decimal and building height limit was three storey, later on plots were subdivided and existing number of plots are 1544; Plot size: 5 katha to 1 bigha; accommodated more population and increased density more than it was planned for, a scenic and peaceful residential area became chaos, congested and an ugly commercial hub

Plan was violated not only from the individual level but also by the public agencies. Original plans of planned residential areas were deviated by the public authorities in the name of plan revision. Plans were violated in the following ways:

- Converting the landuse characteristics of whole/partially of the plot
- Permitting the height of buildings
- Subdividing the plots
- Changing the amount of landuse of the area

It was the result of mutual corruption and interest of both owner's part and public authority part. Much more urgency was from the plot owner's part because after land use conversion land value would increase three to four times than that of the value of a residential plot. Owners of the plots spent 15% of fees for land use conversion but they have to spend huge money as bribe for getting the permission. From the field level it is seemed that this land use change is done for the following reasons:

- under a mutual understanding of RAJUK officials and the plot owners
- sometimes pressure from the powerful persons of the state

Case 2: A Case Study of Japan Garden City

Japan garden city is private high rise apartment housing complex of total land measuring approximately 9.78 acres at 24/A Tajmahal Road (Ring Road), Block 'c', Mohammadpur, Dhaka. As this private company claims in their brochure that only 43% of the area used as residential and commercial purpose and the rest 57% for beautifying the environment with a host of recreational facilities. In reality it's a congested horrifying high rise residential complex of 16 storied 27 buildings in monumental scale.

This complex constructed 1803 flats for residential use and an ancillary service building of hospital, commercial and other services. Company estimated this complex will generate about 2490 number of cars in this area. Flats will generate more than 9000 population and ancillary services will generate more 1000 population totaling 10,000 population in an area of 9.78 acre of land. Gross density will be around 1020 person per acre which is more than 3 times of the UNCHS standard⁵.

The master plan of the area shows a playground, lake, garden and fountain at centre of the project area. Field survey found that, this place is nothing but the circulation area of traffic movement. Excepting one play field in front of the school there is no other open spaces for 10, 000 population. Question is: can only one school play ground of 1.25 acres is enough for 10,000 population and at least 1803 children of the community. (if it is assumed that the each family would have one child). 27 high rise buildings of 16 storied each constructed very close to each other distance ranges from 8-10 ft. Buildings are constructed violating setback rules and violated the height restriction rules also. As a result the huge numbers of high-rise buildings will make the area into a *high-rise slum*.

Deviation in the Proposal of Structure Plan

DMDP structure plan preparation was completed in 1995 for Dhaka City. Quite often it is complained by the professionals that within the last 10 years the proposals of structure plan were violated by the private companies, individuals and even by the RAJUK authority. Perhaps most of the case are regarding the land filling in the low land and wet land that surrounded the Dhaka city and served the city as the flood retaining area and ground water recharge zone. But in last 10 years real estate companies and even RAJUK filled the wet land of Dhaka city and violated the proposals of Structure Plan.

Most of the low-lying land in eastern fringe, 124 square km area from Tongi Railway Bridge to Kanchpur Bridge, is now in the grip of private housing companies and individuals. Only 4 companies partially approved their housing areas before promulgation of 'Wet Land Protection Act 2000'. More than 20 developers are filling the low land areas of this part of the city and building housing areas ignoring 'flood retention pond' and 'flood flow zones' of DMDP proposed in the Structure plan of DMDP. Unless the government moves in immediately to demarcate the canals and flood retention ponds, the entire eastern fringe is set to be "an environmental nightmare" as soon as the embankment-cum-bypass is completed.

⁵ United Nations Centre for Housing and Settlement suggested 300 population per acre for a livable area.

The Government has framed the Natural Water Bodies, Open Space, Playground and Park Protection Law, 2000 to protect the natural water bodies, canals, rivers, depressed low-lying areas and open spaces within metropolitan areas of Bangladesh. It provides power to the concerned authorities to protect water bodies and avoid environmental hazards. It also indicates that the land use in the DMDP will be the documents for Dhaka Metropolitan Areas. The broad land use has been shown in the Structure Plan (Scale 1: 50,000) and Urban Area Plan (Scale 1: 25,000). But the detail level such as land use like, natural water bodies, canals, rivers, depressed low-lying areas area not yet been demarcated on the mouza map (Scale 1:3960). Presently, the DAPs are under preparation with the help of local consultants. Land developers are taking the opportunity of not preparation of DAPs by RAJUK. This process has been carried out by some greedy Private Land Developing Companies in collaboration with some dishonest officials of different public agencies including RAJUK and politicians who work for the illegal activities. It became urgent to execute of the government's decision regarding the DMDP 1995- 2015 and the Natural Water Body Protection Law, 2000.

All these the rivers and khals through the rivers are connected with the major river systems of the country and are responsible to drain out the rain water and flood water from the Dhaka city. According to CS (Cadastral Survey) map DC office (Land) identified that, the city has a total of 35 canals. But this number may exceed 44 as all of them could not be identified due to stagnant water. Due to unplanned, irrational and haphazard development, many of these natural canals are lost or in a position to be totally lost in the very near future. The main causes behind the disappearance of natural canals and wet land are haphazard development, irrational project implementation, canal bank encroachment by adjacent plot owners, disposing of waste into public water bodies etc.

Summary of Findings

Problems in Plan permission

Planning permission of building construction is lengthy, complicated for general applicant. Without the help of the *dalal* agent/ broker it is very tough to know the procedure of getting planning permission. To avoid harassment and delay people compel to take the help of *dalal* and by spending money everything become smooth so they take the option of corruption

Problems of Plan Implementation

i) For the shortage of building inspectors, negligence of their duties and above all their corruption, people take the chance of plan violation. ii) RAJUK failed to prepare the Detail Area Plan (Scale 1:3960) even after 12 years of preparation of Structure Plan which created an opportunity to violate some important proposals of DMDP (1995-2025) iii) Proposals of Structure Plan and Urban Area Plan of DMDP are violating in many cases and RAJUK failed to take action against the responsible person and land developing companies. iv) RAJUK failed to maintain and implement the planning standards of DMDP and the implement the planning rules.

Institutional Capacity

Planning permission process is operated in the traditional system. For land use clearance an application has to visit at 15 tables for the signature of concern person. An automation system can replace the whole system into just one desk job. Any one can know the proposed use of a piece of land in the master plan by submitting fees to the RAJUK

account. In the existing set up of RAJUK, only 10 Urban Planners are working for 120 million population in its jurisdiction area. They are working in plan preparation, implementation and development control. A particular ratio must be maintained in 'planner' and 'the people to serve' At least 120 town planners should be in the RAJUK so that 1 planner can serve 1 lac people. Organogram of RAJUK should be reviewed and duties and responsibilities should be reexamined. Right people with right qualification should work in the appropriate positions. Planner should be appointed in the key positions of RAJUK, for instance, Member (Planning), Director Town Planning, Director Plan Preparation, and Director Development Control etc. Planning and politics is not complementing each others norms in Bangladesh. Planning decision were subjective to power, politics and money

Proposals

Strategic Level Proposals

Strategic growth option: It is needed to implement 3 (among 8) options proposed as the *long term strategy* in the report of 'Strategic Growth Options – Dhaka 2016' (DMDP 1993. p-51), 3 priority options were: *Limiting Dhaka's growth, Developing new satellite city, Sub-regional dispersal*. A national urban strategy would direct or foster urban development in centres other than Dhaka. The Task Force on Urbanization (1991) also emphasized on growth and development of medium-sized cities, turning new district towns and other small towns into production centres attractive to rural out-migrants and limiting the growth of large metropolitan cities of Bangladesh. It will reduce the pressure of Dhaka city. A well planned public capital investment in the adjacent urban centres may instigate further population agglomeration in those centers and a *counter urbanization*⁶ may be started to ease the problems of big cities like Dhaka.

Local Level Proposals

Planning standards and planning laws should be enforced and practiced properly. RAJUK's planning permission process should be more simple and transparent. Adequate database, cross checking of data, frequent field supervision, provision of accountability, provision of strong penalty in case of default etc. should be regularized and compulsory.

Institutional Arrangement

RAJUK is a town planning institution and its 3 basic tasks are; Planning, Development and Control. Organogram of RAJUK should be reviewed and duties and responsibilities should be reexamined. Right people with right qualification should work in the appropriate positions. Planners should be appointed in the key positions of town planning and development control. RAJUK, for instance, Member (Planning), Director Town Planning, Director Plan Preparation, and Director Development Control etc.

Institutional Strengthening

RAJUK should recruit enough planning professionals in its regular set-up for increasing its institutional capacity. Comparing the other cities of the world and the Bangladesh context at least one Urban Planner should work for serving 1 lac population of Dhaka City. For the efficient management and development control, it is necessary to develop a strong GIS data base of each parcel of land, its land use, use of each floor of a building, number of people accommodating that building etc. Therefore, information will be on the hand of Urban Planner and he will exercise the Rules of the State as required. To provide

⁶ A process of population deconcentration. The counter urbanization was first widely appreciated in the USA in the early 1970's, where population statistics showed metropolitan areas, especially large metropolitan areas, losing population by net migration to non-metropolitan areas.

planning service to the 12 million population of Dhaka at least 120 Urban Planner should work in the whole RAJUK area. So that they can look after the plan and manage the growth of the city. Ward Commissioners in the DCC area, chairmen of concern pourashava and the Union Chairmen in the RAJUK area should be co-opt in the development control process.

Conclusion

Dhaka city is continuing the same growth trend even though it's decentralized planning proposals in various reports. In migration in Dhaka city is still high due to the lack of national urban policy. Besides its natural growth, Dhaka has to accommodate about 40% of the rural to urban migrants in every year. In the one hand demand pressure is high on the other hand lack of institutional capacity in RAJUK, corruption in planning permission lead over crowded and unplanned city. Lack of law enforcement and corruption in development control also contributed unplanned growth of the city. There is no other alternative than maintaining the planning standards and managing the city as per the plan to make the city habitable. Success of any law depends on its proper implementation.