HIS year's Calcutta Book

L considerable interest in

other presentation pro-

of the 'theme country' reflect

well known architectural de-

signs of the given country. The

Minar, the Lalbagh fort, the

Shat Gambuj Mosque and the

her paternal side!

TITIES are the places where

dwell, work and interact.

In doing so, they come in

conflict as well as make

alliances with each other.

Cities also form settings for

power and politics of a given

nation state, and contribute to

its material prosperity and

cultural continuity. A focus on

city is a necessity while 'city bi-

as is now an outdated myth. At

a global level, more people have

now been living in cities (i.e.

wide range of urban centres)

than rural areas but quite often

in the midst of a wide range of

problems, especially in devel-

(risking gross generalisation)

can either be a cumulative re-

sult of dwellers' initiatives

spanning many centuries, or

planned intervention at a given

space and time, and/or a vary-

ing degree of their combination.

Among them, the event of plan-

ning a city from scratch has al-

ways offered an attractive op-

portunity to the person in

power to project and implement

his/her 'vision' of the future so-

ciety. There cannot be more

truth in this observation than

what we have witnessed in the

post-colonial South Asia, as

manifested by the new capitals

of India, Pakistan and

Bangladesh. The vision under-

lying the raison d'etre can be

quite inspiring. For example,

"Let this be a new town

[Chandigarh] symbolic of the

freedom of India, unfettered by

the traditions of the past ... an

expression of the nation's faith

in the future" (Nehru, 1950). To

go in parallel with Nehru, I will

only deviate from my objective

if I attempt to write the archi-

tectural legacy left behind by

the 'Basic Democracy' - the vi-

sion put into practice by the

Nehru, just before the next mil-

lennium, the alleged vision in

Dhaka seems to take a naive

pragmatic route. Our Prime

Minister told us: "Our planned

future cities will include wider

roads affording shades of green

trees on both sides, open spaces

and parks for passing leisure

and for entertainment, well

planned drainage system and

artificial lakes" (The Daily

Star, 6.10.98). She also referred

to many other aspects including

sions, it appears that an in-

built spatial determinism

drives the mindset of our lead-

ers and decision-makers at the

pinnacles. Rational choice

In the aforementioned vi-

homes for the homeless.

Almost half a century after

Aiyubi regime.

The production of cities

oping countries.

people stay en masse to

Fair has generated

# ===F0CUS====

# 1999 Calcutta Book Fair

The city has more savoire-faire than most other Indian cities. Yet one was sadly disappointed by what one experienced at the book fair. The pandal where the fair was inaugurated with the Bangladesh Prime Minister as the Chief Guest looked pathetic, its décor and other arrangements resembling the annual prize distribution pandal of a district school.

this country. This new-found interest has nothing to do with the excellence of the fair, which, according to Chief Minister Jyoti Basu of West Bengal, is the best and the biggest held in India each year, migrants' or 'what is wrong and which, in any case draws a with paying the neighbour a casteady stream of book lovers sual visit?, had indeed a Mujibfrom this country. The reasons ian ring. I remember an occafor this unusual interest are sion at the Ottawa Commontwo-fold. First, Bangladesh is wealth Heads of Government the "Theme Country" of this Meeting in 1973, when President Gowon of Nigeria, meeting year's fair and second, Prime minister Sheikh Hasina was Mujib at a reception for the first the chief guest at the inauguratime, asked him an inapproprition of the fair - the first forate question rather earnestly. eign head of government to He wanted to know as to why have been so. Sheikh Mujib had "broken up The idea of having a "Theme Pakistan, which united, would country" at the fair has been

have been a strong country". pursued for the last two years. There was an embarrassed and Britain and France have silence all around. The enjoyed this privilege. What Bangladesh leader was the first this essentially means is that to break it and in a mock-serithe "Theme Country" is awarded ous vein asked Gowon a counter-question. He said, "Mr prominence both in terms of the location of its official stalls President, indeed a united Pakas well as in the discussion and istan would have been strong, a united Asia perhaps stronger grammes. The fair entrance and one World the strongest. gates and the official pavilion But, can you have any of those?" Sheikh Mujib had the ability of deflecting direct questions that he did not wish to answer, and entrance gates this year were one saw signs in Calcutta that replicas of the Ekushey Shahid he might have passed some of it on to the daughter! The city of Calcutta was

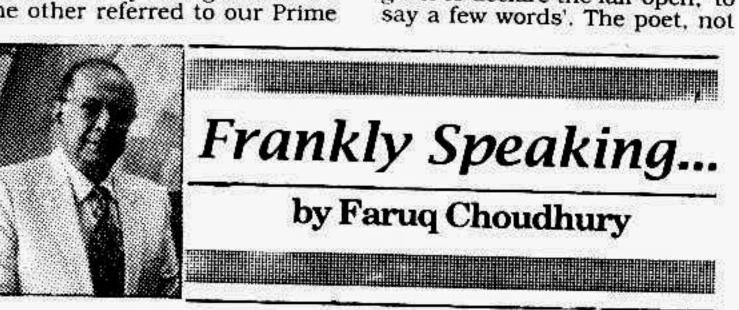
like. The Bangladesh official founded much later than pavilion, situated at the centre Dhaka. But, for a variety of reaof the fair ground was impressons, over the past three centuries or so, it has built up a A prime minister, even on comparatively uninterrupted an informal visit abroad, has to tradition. As a result, it has carry her (read 'his' for lesser grown steadily over the years, gendre equal countries!) baggage not only in size, but also in of bilateral and regional probmaturity. It is basically a genlems, as did Sheikh Hasina, in erous city with liberal tradibetween the numerous cultural sorties, both inside and outside galee. Indian and cosmopoli-Calcutta. The cultural aspects of tan. The city has more savoireher visit must have been pleafaire than most other Indian surable and she took in her cities. Yet one was sadly disapstride the sterner side of her pointed by what one experivisit, like facing questions on enced at the book fair. The panthe so-called 'illegal immigradal where the fair was inaugution' and the utter lack of rated with the Bangladesh progress on her own pet subject Prime Minister as the Chief of 'trade imbalance' between the Guest looked pathetic, its décor two countries. She did so with and other arrangements resemremarkable ease and aplomb bling the annual prize distribuand with a sense of humour that tion pandal of a district school. could indeed be hereditary from In the worlds of 'Anandabazar Patrika', the premier Bengali Remarks like 'hopefully you newspaper of Calcutta, 'not even all do not take us as illegal imschool children would agree to

have their Saraswati Puja there'. 'Where were the banners on Indo-Bangladesh friendship?' thundered the newspaper, under a news item entitled, - 'the metropolis hangs its head in shame'.

It was not just poor physical arrangements but also a display of poor mentality that irked one. The organisation that is responsible for holding this annual event is called 'The Publishers and Book sellers Guild'. At this year's inauguration ceremony of the fair, on two occasions, two of the organisers, one undeterred by the ignorance of the other referred to our Prime

eign Minister Abdus Samad Azad to speak. Caught unawares, the foreign minister, who is not exactly known for the brevity of his speeches, walked up to the microphone and made, what must have been the briefest speech of his long political career. He basically said that he had nothing to add to what the prime minister had stated and wished everyone well!

Not to be undone, the organiser in his ignorant zeal, this time asked poet Shamsur Rahman, who was sitting near his gavel to declare the fair open, 'to



Minister as 'Chief Minister', an appellation reserved in India for provincial heads of government. Many in the pandal hissed disapprovingly, but neither of the two gentleman came forward to apologise, displaying a schoolboyish mentality of hiding under their mistakes. Not only that. It seemed that neither of these two gentleman, with unhindered access to the microphone, had any idea about an appropriate programme sequence. One does not have to possess too much of a common sense to know that the Guest of Honour is the last substantive speaker at any function. But these gentlemen displayed that their ignorance was not limited to appellations

After Sheikh Hasina had concluded her well drafted and well delivered speech that drew spontaneous applause from the invited guests, one of the organisers saw it fit to request For-

quite knowing what to do, made a brief but brilliant speech in the course of which he seemed to be rebutting what one of the organisers, in a never-ending display of his ignorance, had earlier stated in his introductory remarks. He had said that 'the two Bengals were bound by inseparable bonds', thereby dismissing, one felt, in one ignorant blurt, the evolution of this nation's history. The poet, interalia, pointed out that 'in spite of our many commonalities, we are different'. This difference, he hastened to add should not stand in the way of our friendship. However, for reasons for which we cannot of course blame these two organisers, this statement of the poet

One did of course have more cheerful experiences at the fair. I should like to recall one. Sauntering at the fair one afternoon with Shafi Ahmed, a teacher of the Jahangirnagar

was not picked up by the press!

University, one came across a meeting of an organisation called 'Pakistan-India People's Forum for Peace and Security'. A Pakistani participant at the meeting had charged that in the West Bengal schools, singing of 'Vande Mataram' had been made compulsory and that would hurt Muslim sensitivity. To this, Ms Malini Bhattacharya an Indian MP from West Bengal got up and said that, indeed was not the case. The song, she said, had considerable literary value and that from that point of view only, it could have been included in the curriculum. There could however, she affirmed, be no question of making its singing compulsory. Ms Tahira Abdullah, a visit-

ing Pakistani artiste then got up and lighted a 'friendship candle' and there was applause and bonhomie all around. To complete the picture, a few feet away, at a location of the fair, euphemistically known as the mont marte', Bangladeshi painters were painting away. completely oblivious of the 'vande mataram' controversy next door. It was a pretty sight to behold, that super-imposed on the larger canvas of the subcontinent, would transform the quality of our existence.

Visiting the Calcutta fair, given the quality and excellence of Indian publications, can be, as one was to find out, an expensive venture. Mercifully one's temptations of acquiring books are tempered by the considerations of excess baggage of an air-traveller. However, come next year, with direct passenger buses plying between Dhaka and Calcutta, this inhibition may substantially diminish.

A sad sight at the fair was the location of the stalls of the private Bangladeshi publishing houses. Most of those were situated at a secluded fair corner, far from the gaze and attention of the visitors. This did not facilitate business and rendered their participation somewhat

pointless. Someone must be accountable for this serious lapse to someone, for our side could not indeed be forced to accept this very skewed allotment of stalls, But then in this country accountability of public servants these days seems to be a far cry.

Something else about the fair has left a bad taste in the mouth. It is the treatment or rather the lack of it, experienced by our official delegation of writers and intellectuals. happened to have travelled with some of them by plane to Calcutta. Standing in the immigration queue at the Calcutta airport I had the unpleasant experience of watching them left to their own devices by those, whose responsibility it should have been to receive them and to extend at least the minimum of courtesies due to a delegation of considerable literary eminence. Our writers and intellectuals have expressed their bewilderment at the fact that hardly any of their West Bengal counterparts attended the scheduled seminars and discussion meetings. Many were aghast at the thin Indian attendance at our Deputy High Commissioner's dinner, in honour of the Bangladesh Culture Minister.

The West Bengal writers and intellectuals, for reasons best known to them, were, I am told, chary of extending even the minimum of hospitality to their visiting counterparts. The little that one has seen of the friendly interactions between them in Dhaka, makes it all the more strange and painful Could this be the result of a lack of appropriate and timely coordination among the fair organisers, the West Bengal government, the Indian Foreign Office and the members of the West Bengal literary world? From what little one has seen of the failures and limitations of some of the fair organisers, one cannot at all discount that possibility. The task may well have been simply too much for the organisers of this years fair. who were clearly inept and unable to appreciate the significance, not only of Bangladesh's participation but also of the presence there of our prime minister.

SLUMS IN DHAKA CITY, 1968

SLUM AND SQUATTER SETTLEMENTS OF 10 OR MORE MOUSEHOLDS)

### Another Round of Hartal?

Dr A H Jaffor Ullah writes from New Orleans

The news of an impending hartal in Bangladesh came as no surprise. Why should one be surprised? The winter months are great times for hartal and political confrontations in the urban jungles of Bangladesh. This year's winter is no different, at least in the eyes of Bangladesh's opposition politicians of all colours.

Time and again, we have written articles demonizing hartal. Unfortunately, all our words have fallen into deaf ears of Bangladesh's politicians. Sometimes I wonder whether they or their advisors even read one line of what is being written on hartal, never mind the whole write-up!

Bangladesh's politicians have penchant for calling hartal. We all know that. Even the present Prime Minister of the country is no exception in this regard. Her party had claimed all along that they had "genuine" reason for calling hartals in the dog days of early and mid-nineties. However, the Awami League had taught a lesson that had left an indelible mark in the hearts and minds of professional politicians of all shades and spectra. This well-learnt lesson must be haunting the present Prime Minister as the opposition gathers momentum to oust her from power.

The politicians in Bangladesh are renowned for being irrational. One look at our brief history will attest to my assertion. Like their predecessors, the present-day politicians also show their irrational exuberance when it comes to give a clarion call for hartal. Let us examine the present situation in Bangladesh. The main opposition party, the BNP, is rather sore because it had lost a popular election - a fair one - in mid 1996. The main opposition leader is very bitter about losing the election and giving up the prime ministership in 1996. She did not even give a concession speech ever since she lost that election. The members of parliament from her party had abstained from joining the National Assembly most of the time and now after losing a crucial election recently she is calling for

the resignation of the Chief Election Commissioner (CEC). To my knowledge no documentation was presented by the opposition party to substantiate the claim that the CEC sided with the ruling party. It is customary in Bangladesh for the opposition to blame the CEC when they fail to win any election. And this time it was no different.

In reality, the opposition parties have a common agenda. They brazenly mention that agenda in the popular press. I have often read about it. These politicians are united to oust the present administration. Does the democracy allow such a thing? Why go through the election process if, the opposition would not honour the ver-

dict of the masses? The politicians of Bangladesh need some serious education. Democracy does not mean that the opposition can call hartal any time they want. Why don't we see hartal in any civilized nation? In each and every democratic nation there is such an institution called National Assembly. Is it too difficult for Bangladesh's opposition politicians to attend the National Assembly sessions? I thought Bangladesh has free press. Why don't the politicians use the free press to popularize their agenda?

The opposition politicians have to forgo the hartals for the sake of the country. They have to set precedence so that the present administration can complete the term. Let the main opposition recapture the power through legitimate means, i.e., winning the next general election. If they love to serve the nation, they might as well wait. The country is not in trouble. So, why rush?

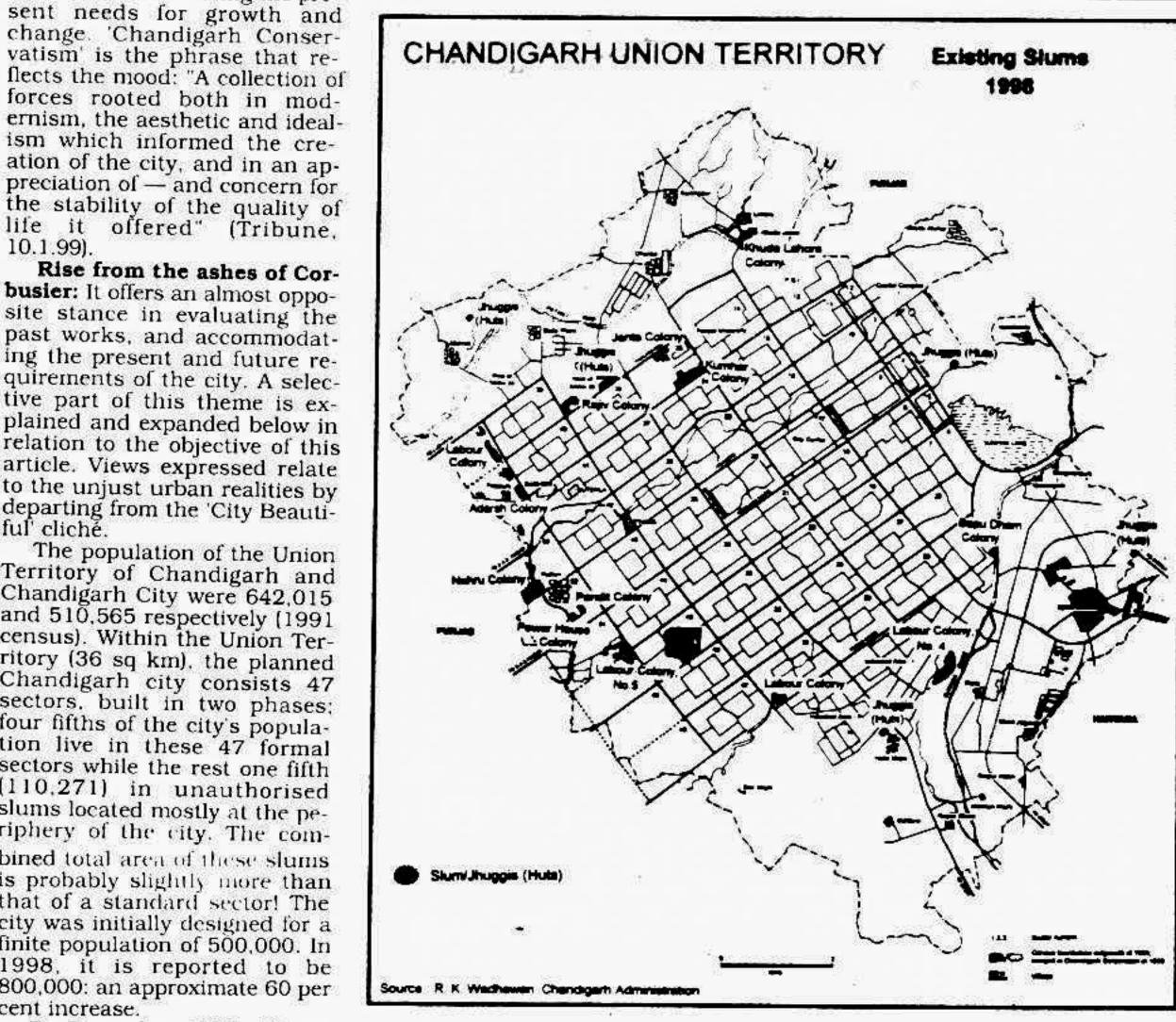
If the opposition can convince the masses that a new election is to the best interest of the nation then it is a different matter. But to terrorize the nation repeatedly through staging these hartals is a deadly game the politicians are playing for too long.

All sensible citizens should come forward and urge the politicians to stop this deadly

# Urbanism with a Human Face

by Dr Shayer Ghafur

Will all urban dwellers benefit by having access from the formal production of space? Will physical planning be enough to facilitate poor's achievement of a gainful living?



facts and forces of the society. the degree of education, the economic development, and the level of satisfaction of the needs and aspirations of its people. and, of course, the quality of governance would produce that intangible civic sense and civic pride that will sustain Chandigarh" (Tribune, 10.1.99). But re-

city in absence of social justice. To put things in just perspectives, a guest speaker from Singapore suggested, "The concept of urban development must include the content of social justice. There has been a substantial change in the city's culture of '60s and '90s. We ought to bring in more rationality in the original plan as per growing needs of Chandigarh" (CN 10.1.99). The message in between these lines is simple: Consider all people and their

Contents of this social justice go beyond giving poor access to space. They become extra-spatial. Calls to pursue an urbanism with social justice are not views in isolation. They gained support from none other than the President of India -"There is no city planning that can succeed in the face of the facts of our society, the habits of our people, lapses of our administration, and poverty and lack of education and healthcare of our people". Perhaps a bit of prophecy, but he made it clear — "Ultimately, it is the

way of life.

grettably, civic pride has been thought to emanate from the concrete walls of the Capitol Complex!

Speaking architecturally, the Capitol Complex is the jewel in the crown: Arguably Corbusier's genius at its best. Leaving aside its values and symbolic content, how public experience it? Surprisingly, there is a distinct lack of effort to consider the (uncultured) views of the native lesser mortals, who would not probably get the 'gate pass' even if he/she could manage to reach there. Whether in the Capitol or city streets, public spaces do not correspond to the (Indian) way of life. What they get is a sanitised environment with very little chance for voluntary participation or col-

lective involvement. A French academic observed with the main roads — "it is in between Alice in the Wonderland and Soviet Union". A few more similar citing would make the same point: public spaces do not inspire mutual interactions in the day-to-day situations — the alleged basic essence of a city. It reiterates the claim that Corbusier was a good architect but not so good urbanist.

Reflections on Dhaka

ship (e.g. Purbachal); · Densification of existing space (e.g. Dhanmondi R/A); Slum/squatter resettle-

According to 1995 findings, 54.9 per cent of all households in Dhaka are living in absolute poverty and 31.9 per cent are below hardcore poverty line. Another reveals, around 30 per cent (higher-income) urban dwellers occupy 80 per cent land in Dhaka. In this morbid context, how can we report the urban poor's state of access to and use of space? As one's access to space in a given new township (or 'model town'), and benefiting from densification is driven by his/her capacity to pay for the spaces produced i.e. exchange value, the poor are excluded directly from these forms of pro-

over spaces of a given locality

for living and/or working, but under constant threat of 'accidental fire', eviction and extor-

Lastly, the urban poor are excluded indirectly from the public resettlement programmes due to 'unwanted' circumstances of all sorts. For a post-eviction account of Sonargaon Hotel adjacent slum see DS, 18.10.98. If city is a contested domain, to have access to space produced through formal means, then we can fairly conclude that the poor have been progressively excluded; they are in a losing battle where money and access to power continue to win. Where do they live then? They either float in streets or live in unplanned settlements 'of a cheaper kind', speaking aesthetically, socially and en-

vironmentally of course. All the hue and cry concerning 'lake encroachment', 'faceless facades' and 'concrete jungles' are legitimate, but interestingly they come from, and for a smaller section of the remaining 45.1 percent 'non-poor' urban dwellers. Through rhetoric and practice, we are increasingly led to believe that an elitist perception of a 'regular', 'planned' urban development is our goal and future: the more foreign idea (e.g. 'Compact Townships'), more new projects

the better. But look around our city, we will realise that the formal production of space is partial, nothing but an illusion, to achieve a 'blue-print' urban development. Even production of Chandigarh is preceded by informal settlements to ac-

commodate the construction workers and they still exist - it is their only means for an affordable home. Though this goal to have a planned city has some merit in itself (especially for the blue-eyed citizens), but I contend that it also promotes social segregation to exclude majority urban dwellers in benefiting from the investments made in the production. consumption and management of urban space. This exclusion as a result of ongoing shameless commodification of urban space has been reinforced further by the following disturbing observations:

· Sale of khas land. Asymmetric land distribu-· Presence of corporate fi-

Institutional discrepancy.

In Dhaka, what we should understand by the concept 'planned urban development' from the point of 'who gets what' still appears to remain an open question. **Beyond City Dreadful** 

Corbusier's Chandigarh has only been partially successful in meeting the demands common to the contemporary India. But it is far from a lost case. To reflect on the relevance of the 'Idea of Chandigarh', Correa was thought-provocative - "A new nation has to try and invent... and ... Chandigarh is the right kind of mistake that Nehru made in the new India... The Corbusier experiment certainly opens the door to another landscape for the youngsters to visualise.'

In our journey to a desired landscape, we should have a number of views with us to make a vista as our guide. That vista will give us a window through which to vision for our future. Vision is neither a whim, nor it belongs to a person. Vision should reflect the aspiration of the majority to achieve collective well-being. We have now been living in an urban reality that is not benign. homogenous and evenly textured - it is segmented, it exploits as well as rejects a given majority for the material benefit of a few. Any vision for a new landscape cannot just ignore

this reality. It ought to build upon this reality to progressively lead towards eradicating its prevailing contradictions: Bridging the gap between the privileged and not-privileged. To air my view (please allow

me), it would have been most easy to align with, as suggested in the concluding session, "Don't ask what Chandigarh can do for you. Ask what you can do for Chandigarh". True this may be for those

'bungalow dwellers' and associates, conscious to live in a pickled Chandigarh with their large lawns, and no-man's-land along the main roads (and lakeview in Dhaka) unspoiled, this apt rhetoric needs to be qualified and accepted for Chandigarh. and especially for Dhaka. For we should not forget that Dhaka has already more than its fare share of Jagdish et al the urban poor. To ask them to do more is to bypass responsibility, a fallacy to say least, as they have already been doing the yeoman's job and eking out a livelihood from the city for the city. For an urbanism that put people first I believe, inversely, the issue now is what a given city can do for the urban

Following is a list of possible interventions to bring in social justice, to contribute to poor's day-to-day struggle for survival, and go beyond City Dreadful to make it humane: · Initiate a coordinated ef-

fort of Safety Nets programme: • Provide De facto Tenure to illegal dwellers: · Build Night Shelters for the

floating destitute; · Pursue Cross-Subsidy in major urban development pro-

ject to benefit the urban poor; · Ensure poor's Right to the City by creating Institutional Framework where poor can claim their entitlements;

 Design Urban and Dwelling Spaces responsive to poor's way

The author teaches at the Department of Architecture, BUET. This article is a speculative account of the writer's critical views based on a recent conference 'Celebrating Chandigarh: 50 Years of the Idea', 8-11 January 1999.

Now, instead of using trees,

storks build their nests on

church towers, telephone poles

or antennas. Of the 744 nests

registered in Madrid last year.

445 were built on human habi-

tation. And the nests were made

#### Garbage Addiction

COR thousands of years Spanish storks have been migrating to African countries like Senegal and Ethiopia from Europe. Now a third of Spain's 22,000 white storks prefer to stay back during the winters and feed on garbage dumps. This is a radical change in their habit, says ornithologist Ezequiel Martinez.

"In the last 15 years, storks have started cutting their migratory route shorter and shorter," says Martinez.

The reason for their change in behaviour lies in the urbanisation and gradual disappearance of traditional bird habitats such as forests and rivers.

of plastic, cloth and rubber. "Garbage dumps allow the birds to eat all year, so they no longer take the trouble of migrating.' says another ornithologist Juan Carlos de Moral. Storks are not the only birds

changing their migratory habits. Even black-headed gulls are leaving their natural seaside habitat for inland dumps, according to de Moral.

#### Garbage Power

▲ Japanese company has de-Aveloped a system that is capable of generating almost twice as much energy from compressed pellets of pulverised household waste as all other systems currently available.

The Electric Power Development (EPD) company of Japan says its experimental power plant in Kitakyushu has a generating efficiency of over 35 per cent.

CSE/Down To Earth Features

to report from Chandigarh to

reflect on Dhaka.

seems to flow from the 'index finger' (of a person in position) by showing what, where, and for whom to build. As index finger prevails, especially in Dhaka, the act of planning/designing a city or its parts, and subsequent implementation has either been falsely accepted as a panacea, or exploited as a means to distribute patronage to allow gaining 'plots' during the successive regimes. When the act of planning/designing is abused for vested interests and conceptualised as an autonomous linear process, it then becomes legitimate to ask: Will all urban dwellers benefit by having access from the formal production of space? Will physical planning be enough to facilitate poor's achievement of a gainful living? These are my prompters

ing the present and future requirements of the city. A selective part of this theme is explained and expanded below in relation to the objective of this article. Views expressed relate to the unjust urban realities by departing from the 'City Beautiful' cliché. The population of the Union Territory of Chandigarh and

Corbusier is dead. Long live

Corbusier: It concerns faithful

believers' loyalty to understand

and preserve the works of Cor-

busier et al. A summation of ar-

guments, suggestions, and ac-

tions to perpetuate the 'City

Beautiful' in addressing the pre-

change. 'Chandigarh Conser-

vatism' is the phrase that re-

forces rooted both in mod-

ernism, the aesthetic and ideal-

ism which informed the cre-

ation of the city, and in an ap-

preciation of - and concern for

life it offered" (Tribune,

busier: It offers an almost oppo-

site stance in evaluating the

past works, and accommodat-

Rise from the ashes of Cor-

10.1.99).

Chandigarh City were 642,015 and 510,565 respectively (1991 census). Within the Union Territory (36 sq km), the planned Chandigarh city consists 47 sectors, built in two phases; four fifths of the city's population live in these 47 formal sectors while the rest one fifth (110,271) in unauthorised slums located mostly at the periphery of the city. The combined total area of these slums is probably slightly more than that of a standard sector! The city was initially designed for a finite population of 500,000. In 1998, it is reported to be 800,000: an approximate 60 per

cent increase. By December 1998, 60 per cent of the city household stock is in the 'private sector', consisting both the owner-constructed (20,424) and Chandigarh Housing Board constructed semi-subsidised dwelling units (40,544) sold to different income groups. 46 per cent of all semi-subsidised units were built to resettle lower income groups living in the unauthorised slums, mainly at the periphery. Rest of the 40 per cent 'public sector' dwelling stock consists government and institutional dwelling units for staff accommodation (Krishan, 1999). From these facts a few observations can be made for

Chandigarh: Government initiatives are instrumental in the production of space.

• (City) Space is produced as a commodity: it has exchange value and use value. City space is mainly pro-duced for, and consumed by the

elite and hierarchical middle class. The lower income groups are forced out to live in the periphery.

In addition to housing, Jagdish et al become de-enfranchised in many ways - economically, socially, and not to mention politically. One social activist noted, referring to the rag-pickers, "Most of them would like to change over to better occupation but for the absence of any choices. In this profession, they are shunned by society and are looked down upon. The public is also scared to come in contact with them, as they are feared to be carriers

of various types of infections. They live in jhuggis, most in clusters in Sectors 21, 34, 19 and Ram Darbar" (CN, 11.1.99). Chandigarh gave a cold face to the socio-economically weaker section of the society as there was no provision for them in the master plan. But the reality belies the official intention: 39.6 per cent of the population of Chandigarh has settled in the city via a non-planned route. Those who fail to do so, remain as illegal aliens in their own

that the long distance between the Secretariat and the High Court, brought an element of isolation instead of interaction among people. "A person walk-ing at the Capitol in Paris will not feel tired as one does here," he teased politely, "This is because the 700 metres looked fine on sketch but too much on implementation." At a city level, Charles Correa, an acsectors having no interactions

Under unique circumstances, production of space by public initiatives takes place in three generic areas common to both Chandigarh and Dhaka. They are: · Production of new town-

ment (e.g. Dutta Para).

duction of space. However, they benefit indirectly from the use value by using public and left-