ORGANIC AND PLANNED NEIGHBOURHOODS OF DHAKA

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Abstract

The objective of this paper is to search for the social spaces of the inhabitants within the planned and organic neighbourhoods of Dhaka. Dhaka, the capital of Bangladesh has gone through a massive physical development in the last few decades and has faced changes and adjustments in its growth pattern due to socio-cultural, geo-climatical, technological and economic influences. The city with a high density due to the growth rate and migrating population from all over the country has a huge demand for housing and physical infrastructure. Beside the existing organic development, planned residential areas are dominating the market to serve this growing need. Both these types of neighbourhoods are the grounds of for the inhabitants' lifecycle being nourished. The characters of these spaces vary in organic and planned residential area in terms of physical form and also in extent of activities and social interaction taking place in them. It is often speculated that the social needs of the inhabitants of these two types of neighbourhoods are not equally fulfilled and thus study is needed to dig deep into this matter. This paper is a reflection of a long time observation of the author and further research interest into this matter generates the need to identify the gap through this paper. This study tries to search for the spaces and the extent of interaction in the planned and organic neighbourhood and investigate the consistencies and variances within them through a comparative study between an organically grown and a planned neighbourhood in Dhaka.

Keywords: Social Spaces, Hierarchy of Spaces, Neighbourhood, Activities, Social Interaction

Introduction

Social space of an individual refers to one's network ties with other individuals, association in groups at local, community and national level, connections with places, settings and neighbourhoods and above all connection between the culture and orientation. Social space of a person can be physical as well as non-physical, and one of the primary settings for this is neighbourhood. Neighbourhood is merely not a physical unit but also socio-spatial schema and

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becomes highly supportive by sharing rules, non-verbal communication, organization of time and space, meaning of communication etc. Though the nature and significance of neighbourhood is changing along with globalization and cross-cultural variations, the importance of neighbourhood cannot be neglected (Lee 1968, Rapoport 2002) as the face to face interactions and encounters within the neighbourhood builds up the structure and core of a society. With the change of time, some character of the social network are observed to be changing whereas some are constant, both the changes and the constancy plays an important role in shaping up the social relations (Forrest and Kearns 2001) and are important to understand the changes in the spatial character and the social spaces of the inhabitants. Dhaka, like many other cities have gone through a process of changes and adjustments witnessing imprints of socio-cultural, geo-climatical, technological and economic influences in its growth pattern. Two distinctive types of spatial formation of neighbourhood are seen in the pattern of Dhaka; the organically grown parts and the planned ones. The historic older part of Dhaka has an organic form in its growth pattern with narrow, winding and intricate network of street. The planned neighbourhoods are laid out in grid iron pattern; plots with designated amenities and facilities. In between these two types, another type is seen, which regardless of their spatial formation, has an organic pattern. The planned areas are identified to be more convenient in terms of wide street, housing standards, community facilities, open space and amenities. On the contrary, organic neighbourhoods often lack facilities inevitable for neighbourhood design, like wide streets, footpath, playfield, shopping complexes in walking distances etc. and informal shops and vendors generally provide the support. If observed carefully, the planned areas designed in the western/universal concept following a typical module of perfect neighbourhood often seems to be not working as expected (Khan 2008) and with the course of time are encouraging organic growths to support the local needs. Though the planned neighbourhoods are more articulated, they are often blamed for not serving the social needs of the people as much as the organic ones. This makes a case for studying the social spaces within these spatial types to have a picture of the scenario.

Based on author's long time observation, understanding and interest in future research, this paper is a primary initiative to identify the gap. The objective of this paper is to identify the Social spaces within the neighbourhood based on variety of activities and extent of social interaction taking place. The paper through a comparative study between planned and organic neighbourhood will firstly identify the hierarchy of space needed by inhabitants and search for the consistencies and variance in both situations along with activities taking part in them which eventually will represent the extent of social interaction leading to the social spaces. Followed by a theoretical part based on established theories and analysis made by different authors, an empirical part based on field survey in the local context was done.

Literature Background:

Neighbourhood is a spatial concept defined by the interaction of groups of people within a given area and is connected to the development and uses of spaces within a given environment. Neighbourhood is thought to be capable in generating communal relations as its small scale size provides option for efficient control maintaining social benefit. Being the connection between residences and the city (Francis et al. 2012) the social space within the neighbourhood acts to be the interface between home and city and a part of the greater system having an explicit mechanism. Among many other characteristics, the extent of engagements among the inhabitants in terms of activities taking place and extent of social interaction are important. Besides the housing units, neighbourhood also incorporates others functions both necessary and optional termed as extended housing units (Brower 1996). This extended part is shared between

the inhabitants, turns up to be the interacting points. Streets, sideways, corner shops, parks and open spaces become those extended part that helps in generating social network (Kallus and Yone 2000) and makes neighbourhood convenient urban area and an evident territory. Similar to the need of space within the home-private and urban-public scenario, the neighbourhood environment can also provide the space of hierarchy (Chermayeff and Alexander, 1963). A person needs four types of spaces to fulfil his social needs; (a) spaces for private use, within home, (b) spaces for intimate contact, the door steps or front yards, (c) neighbourhood spaces, spaces within the neighbourhood like street and corners, and (d) principal urban space (Correa, 1989). Neighbourhood is socially defined as 'a natural pedagogic unit reflecting the larger units of human culture, potentially giving children their first insights into human interaction, acting, basic behaviour and the conditions for love, friendship and trust' (Nelischer, 1997). Leyden (2003) suggests that the design of neighbourhoods affects social capital and thus physical and mental health.

Study of social interactions within the neighbourhood is important to understand the sense of community and belonging within the neighbourhood (Kim and Kaplan, 2004). Social interaction is defined as formal and informal social opportunity in which residents attend the quality of their relationships (Giddens 2006). The pattern of Social Interaction changes its form with the changes in urban house form due to changing culture, technology and power (King 1980). Functional distance affects the space of interaction, proximity to others, opportunity for contact, and social interaction patterns (Abu-Ghazzeh 1999). Opportunity for contact, proximity and appropriate space affects the type and extent of social interaction (Fischer et al. 1977).

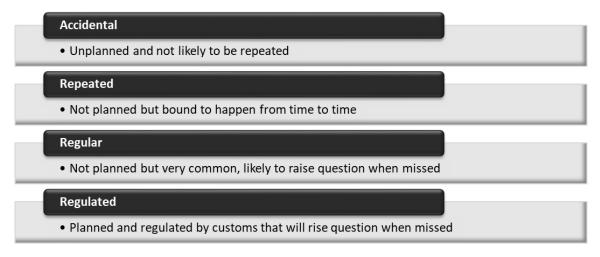


Figure 01: Form of Social Interaction (Heatherton et al, 1990)

People in a society share a common way of life as a result of interacting on a regular, continuous basis because they have acquired a pattern of behaviour on which all, more or less, agree and thus social interaction becomes a fundamental concept of society formation (Ian 1980). Social interaction involves both focused and unfocused exchanges. In focused interaction, each person communicates as much by facial expression and gesture as by the words actually exchanged. Frequent face-to-face contacts makes neighbours significant sources of everyday assistance regardless of the weakness or strength of their bonds. Proximity of residents is also important in a neighborhood as availability for help will exist in emergency conditions (Gans, 1967). When residents have accessibility and good orientation, the setting encourages their meeting, greeting, and chatting. Social interaction being crucial for an individual's wellbeing, has gained attention in the last decades in the urban policies as these deals the problems regarding to social segregation,

exclusion, quality of life in the urban areas (Forrest and Kearns 2001; Van Kempen and Bolt 2009). To understand the social networks, the space related to the social interaction is important. The spatial choice of activities thus becomes important to study.

Social space can be referred to the social relationships, the spaces of physical and emotional activities taking place and the multifaceted emotional and symbolic networks to spaces and people through the time (Wiles et al. 2009). While some scholars describes social space to be a collective perception of a homogeneous social group space (Buttimer 1969), some have referred social space to be the web of relationships of individuals integrated to space. Social space is an invisible set of relationships which tends to retranslate itself, in a more or less direct manner, into physical space in the form of a definite distributional arrangement of agents and properties (Bourdieu 1996). Social space does not only pay attention to many types of entities, like geography, social settings, affiliations, social relationships, and the distribution of cultural resources, but also captures the most important observable constituents of social space, including network ties among individuals, memberships of individuals in groups at local, community and national levels, links among people, places, settings and neighbourhoods, and connections between people and cultural values and orientations. Indeed, a number of social theorists have made similar claims (Pattison & Robins 2004). Pattison and Robbins (2004) identifies five major trends seen in the social theorists regarding what social space is: (a) Social space as geographical space, individuals belonging to a geographical location, (b) Social space as a multidimensional space corresponding to various social, psychological and even regional attributes, such as gender, class, ethnicity [e.g., Blau, 1977] and residential area, (c) Social space as a network, in which individuals are nodes, connected by various forms of interpersonal ties, represented as nondirected or directed edges in the network. (d) - Social space as patterns of overlapping affiliations, (e) Social space in sociocultural terms.

The social spaces of people and its relation with the neighborhood have changed overtime. Historically, the neighbourhoods were the only place for both business and residences and thus were the places with high degree of social networks. The social spaces of the residents were mostly bounded within the neighbourhood. Two major causes behind the changes are the shift to industrial cities and shift to media and virtual societies. Separate workplace and residences are the outcome of industrial cities resulting in migration of people and lesser time within the neighbourhood eventually leading to social space outside the neighbourhood. A similar effect is observed after the emergence of virtual societies and electronic public places which has effected on the social spaces of the people. Despite the changes, the need for face-to-face interactions and non-virtual communities which can be provided by the neighbourhood cannot be denied as these modify and form the social structure of a person.

Social relations and social network can help define urban neighbourhood and even larger unit, explain the use of urban space and settings. Lifestyle, leading to activities (activity itself, how and where carried out, combining way to the system and its meaning) that explain the diversity of environment and hence links to understanding of the social space of a person. The analysis of these activities linked through lifestyle and values to culture is critical and explain the characteristics of neighbourhood. Gehl (1987) in his book "Life between buildings" has acknowledged everything that occurs in the public space, starting from sitting, chatting, walking, cycling, running, standing and playing as public life and that these encourages social contacts (Gehl 2006). The changes in the social life has been observed since the era of rapid urban growth, dependency on automobile, large scale designing and overly rationalized, specialized process. The negligence of human dimensions due to a car dominated city was always criticized by him. According to Gehl (1968), activities can be defined into two types; Necessary and Optional. He defines the activities people perform on foot and for the neighbourhood level they are quite

applicable. The activities are determined by the movement they are done; walking, standing and sitting. The essential activities like transit, walking to jobs, standing for greeting others or doing something, sitting for a break between a works etc. are defined as the necessary activities. On the other hand, activities not essential yet important like strolling, window shopping, enjoying time, eat or drink something, read, chatting etc. are the optional activities.

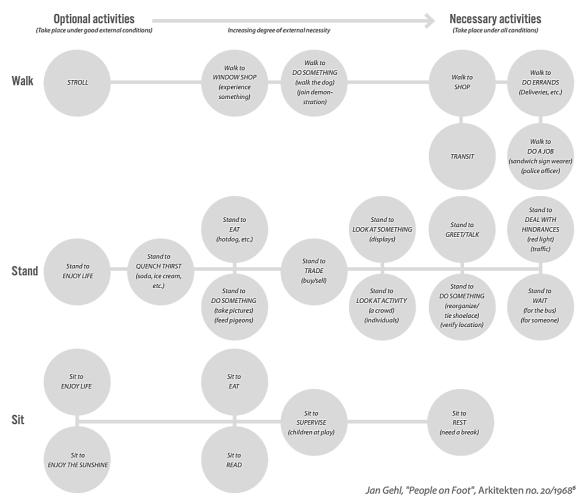


Figure 02: Variety of Activities (Source: Gehl and Svarre 2013)

Contextual Background: Neighbourhoods in Dhaka and importance of study

Dhaka has witnessed major changes in technological advancement, transportation, communication, building construction sectors in its lifespan with a reflection on the physical growth of the city. The political considerations have always played an important role in the growth of Dhaka (Ahsan 1991). One of the major and oldest cities has grown from a small trading centre to a large metropolis.

Dhaka in its lifespan has experienced changes in the morphological development from the pre-Mughal era to present Dhaka. Organic growth has been the inherent pattern from the beginning which still is seen in the present in the areas which are not formally planned. The indigenous part of Dhaka has its origin dating back to the Pre Mughal Hindu period and Mughal period. The low rise neighbourhoods in Old Dhaka grew in a complex, webby and Winding Street while the major roads were parallel to the Buriganga River. Pedestrian and non-motorized vehicle being the main mode of transport made these narrow streets acceptable with wide turning and comparatively larger nodes for ease of horse cart and rickshaws. These neighbourhoods generally developed along the market squares or chawks (Khan 1983) which were the hub of both commercial and recreational activities. Besides the market places, other important landmarks are the mosques, which played an important role in both the social and spatial development in Old Dhaka. During the British rule, Dhaka experienced major transformation and the introduction of planned layouts is seen along the edge of the then organic city. Despite these developments, the other parts of the city kept growing in an organic pattern. One good example of this is the first planned residential are Wari, which eventually merged with the surrounding organic growth despite its grid layout. After the British period, Dhaka as the Administrative center for East Pakistan, Dhaka began to see the planning decisions reflecting in its growth with new designated residential, industrial and commercial areas. New Residential Planned Neighbourhoods were laid out in different areas. The organic area kept developing side by side in its own pace.

After the Independence as Bangladesh, Dhaka as the capital became the hub of development. Dhaka kept developing towards the north a result of high population growth and physical topography due to the surrounding rivers. The city with a density of 1521 person per kilometre (BBS 2016) is growing in a high rate creating a huge demand for housing and physical infrastructure. Several new satellite towns, residential areas were laid out and many more are on their way. Besides these planned developments, the filled up areas and land owned by private ownership keeps developing in a spontaneous manner. These neighbourhoods often follow the similar intricate street patterns while having a blend of traditional and modern look (Nilufar 2004).

With the course of time, the inner part of the indigenous city witnessed newer constructions along with wider roads where possible. To accommodate the growing needs, the low rising neighbourhood is accommodating taller buildings in recent time. The planned area grew in a grid-iron pattern following a master-plan with designated plots for residences, community facilities, open space and amenities. These neighbourhood generally have facilities inevitable for neighbourhood design, like wide streets, footpath, playfield, shopping complexes in walking distances etc., with designed in the western/universal concept following a typical module of perfect neighbourhood. Many of these perfect neighbourhoods are seen to be not working as expected and turning into mixed used and unplanned state to serve the local needs (Khan 2008). Small shops, hawkers, temporary food stalls, vans etc. various types of informal solutions are seen to be growing to support the daily needs. The organic areas in the newer part of Dhaka kept on growing in its own pace.

Methodology

Qualitative method was chosen where naturalistic approach seeks to understand phenomena in their context-specific settings (Patton, 2002). A thorough survey of the existing literature was done to determine the key concept, current status and debates of the issues along with an indepth knowledge of the context. Three neighbourhoods were chosen based on their formation. The Older part of Dhaka has its own indigenous character and has grown organically with ages. Comparatively newer part, Khilgaon and Bashabo has a mix character with both planned and organic growth. And Uttara, being one of the newer planned areas, have its own distinctive character. Observations of the present scenario along with interviews were done to get some thorough information which can be compared to get a clear picture.

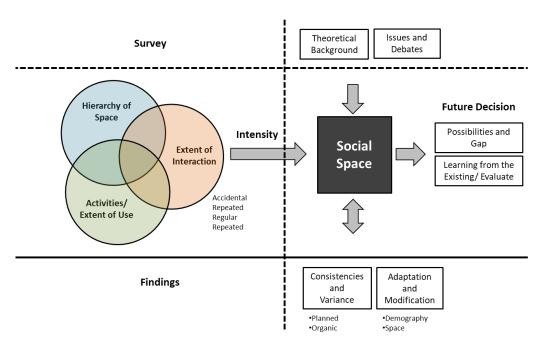


Figure 03: Study method

Neighbourhoods in Dhaka: Spaces, Activities and Extent of Social Interaction

As explained in the earlier section, this paper tries to find out the social spaces of the inhabitants within the neighbourhood. For the survey three areas were selected from the three prevailing patterns; Part of Old Dhaka from the indigenous part, Khilgaon and Bashabo from the organic new Dhaka, and Uttara from the newer planned residential area. The section will discuss each neighbourhood bases on the three set criteria; hierarchy of space, activities taking part within them and the extent of interaction among the inhabitants.



Figure 04: The selected neighbourhoods (Source: Google Maps)

For the analysis of the neighbourhoods, firstly the Spaces within the neighbourhood are identified according to their availability and categorized into three types: Areas of close contact, Neighbourhood meeting places and Principal urban space. Within those spaces, varieties of activities taking part are identified based on the necessary ones and optional ones. And based on the activities and types of interaction taking place the extents of interactions are identified. The intensity of the activities and social interaction thus reflects to the social space of the inhabitants.

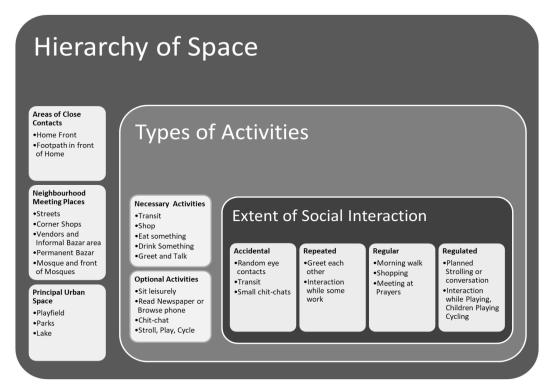


Figure 05: Criteria and Attributes of Analysis

Indigenous Organic Neighbourhoods:

The Indigenous Organic neighbourhood, "Old Dhaka" has the most compact development amongst the three. And the growth being confined within a certain area, the options of communal spaces are also limited. The narrow streets with slightly larger nodes and seldom an open field or park are the stage to hold all the variety of people and activities within the neighbourhood.



Figure 06: Narrow roads and wide nodes with active ground level (Source: Author)

Hierarchy of Space:

Having a scarcity of space, the street and the house fronts become the most functional space. Three types of street fronts are seen in older part of Dhaka; fully commercial, mixed used with ground floor dedicated to commercial activities and fully residential. Majority of the buildings having a mixed used ground floor keeps the street level busy with variety of people from different walks of life. The doorstep or the immediate ground acts as the space for intimate contact as

sometimes people are seen to be interacting with people while being busy with their regular chores. Old Dhaka is famous for the mosques (almost one in every street) and people of the neighbourhood go to the mosque for saying their prayers five times a day. Often hawkers and temporary shops are seen to be setting their goods in front of the mosque. The Mosques and these shops act as the neighbourhood spaces for the inhabitants. Besides mosques, restaurants and tea stalls in the street level and corner nodes are the other important component. These shops are never empty and serve the inhabitants from breakfast to dinner acting as the neighbourhood space. Old Dhaka has very few parks or open fields still these few open spaces acts as the lungs for the highly dense area. People of different age are seen to be gathering here. These open spaces acts as the principal urban space.

Activities:

The streets of old Dhaka with dominating pedestrian and non-motorized vehicles holds both necessary and optional activities. People move through the streets and nodes for transit and shopping is the most common scenario in this neighbourhood. Small chitchat in between shopping or buying and eating food is very common among the inhabitants. Having a space scarcity and lack of regular water supply in the neighbourhood results in people gathering in front of the corner water sources to fill their water vessels or taking bath. As mentioned earlier, the streets, door steps, nodes, corners, even open space in the Old Dhaka experiences optional activities even more than that of the necessary ones. People of almost all ages are seen to be have some leisure time to spare to sit and talk, only sit and see people doing their works, chatting and even reading newspaper. Young children are seen to be cycling around despite of the overcrowded busy streets. The streets which are comparatively less crowded are seen to be acting as the playground for young boys or children practicing their cricket, badminton or football. The open playfield holds various groups of different aged people performing various activities, from chatting, playing, walking etc.

Extent of Social Interaction:

Being the oldest neighbourhood, the inhabitants here are residing for two or three generations and thus have known each other for a long time. Even if someone is newer in the neighbourhood, one will get to know his neighbours in small time because of the close proximity of living and meeting regular for different chores. The extents of social interaction among the inhabitants are thus more. Accidental and Repeated interactions are quite normal here and interactions in regular level and regulated are a part of the regular life of the neighbourhood.



Boys chatting on the doorstep



Man reading Newspaper



Corner water collection point



Young boys playing on street

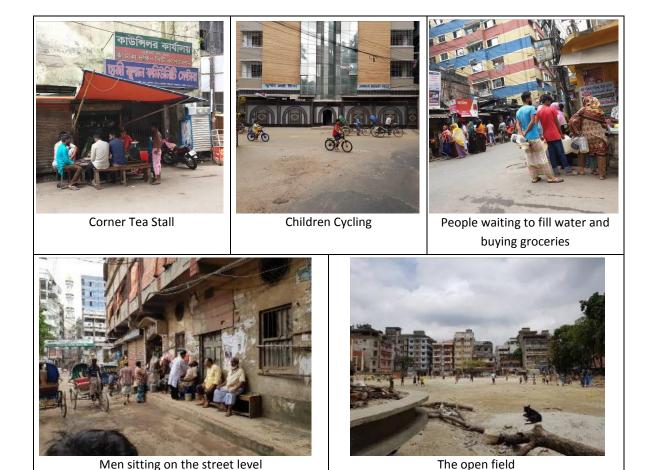


Figure 07: Social Spaces in the Old Dhaka (Source: Author)

Newer Organic Neighbourhoods:

Two neighbourhoods, not a part of the indigenous one yet has an organic character are Khilgaon and Bashabo. Part of these neighbourhoods have a grid iron street pattern with wide street where as part of them have grown spontaneously with streets as narrow for a car to enter. The areas have designated area for market place yet the neighbourhood have a mixed used pattern within it. The internal roads are mostly residential buildings with boundary walls and gates whereas buildings on the comparatively wider roads are mixed used with shops in the ground floor. These areas have play fields which are in a dilapidated condition and in sufficient to serve







Figure 08: Streets of New Organic Neighbourhood (Source: Author)

Hierarchy of Space:

Like the old Dhaka, the streets, the corner shops and the street side vendors are the neighbourhood space for the inhabitants of this neighbourhood. People are sometimes seen sitting on the footpath in front of the residences or corners. Young people and children sometimes gather on the dead end road for playing. The secondary roads being completely residential and having boundary walls excludes the sight on the roads leaving them only for transit. In this neighbourhood, intimate space for contact is not very elaborate and often missing, whereas the corner tea stalls, dead end roads, Mosques, shopping carts and vendors become the neighbourhood place. The principal urban places are the open fields and the market areas.

Activities:

This neighbourhood having wider streets besides pedestrian and non-motorized vehicles, motorized vehicles are also seen here though not in high frequency. Necessary activities like transit, shopping etc. are common besides the optional activities. Older people and women are seen to be having their morning walk on the streets and often having a breakfast or a snack in the corner restaurants and tea stalls. Younger boys mostly gather near the corner tea stalls or buildings which have shops on the ground level and sit and talk there. Sometimes they are seen playing on the road. Children are seen playing on the road and cycling on them. Sometimes young children are seen to be walking on the roads along with their guardians.

Extent of Social Interaction:

These neighbourhoods are newer than old Dhaka but also are quite old and often people tend to know each other for a long time. This gives an option of social interaction more than just accidental or repeated one. Regular interaction and Regulated interaction both are also common in these neighbourhoods.



Mixed use with shops



children cycling in the street



infant walking with his father



Playing on the road



Child cycling while a group of boys playing cricket



Men sitting while a group of people taking photos



Children playing on the foot path infront of building



Men chatting on the street



Young boys strolling

Figure 09: Social Spaces in the New Organic Dhaka (Source: Author)

Planned Neighbourhoods:

Uttara is a planned residential area laid out in the 90s following a master plan with defined orthogonal street network. The area has residential plots along with designated plots for basic amenities and facilities. Uttara is a large area, which again is divided in to smaller neighbourhoods and each neighbourhood is designed sufficiently with all the amenities, shopping centres, playgrounds for children and parks. The different neighbourhoods are connected with a lake which acts as a heart for not only people of the neighbourhood but also the adjacent city areas. Most of the buildings are six storey heights and are residential and are bounded with walls. The buildings on the primary roads are commercial or mixed use and are connected to the streets. Though all the facilities are provided within the neighbourhood, quite a large number of mobile shop carts, vendors, shops on streets are seen to support the daily need. Many residential buildings are seen to be converting in to restaurants, offices, salons or boutique shops and thus invites crown from all over the city.







Figure 10: Streets of Planned Neighbourhood (Source: Author)

Hierarchy of Space:

The neighbourhood is mostly based on car as the primary mode of transport and the distance from residence to other amenities is sometimes far from the residences. Again, this neighbourhood has a dominance of real estate apartments which creates a heterogeneous group within the neighbourhood and often the social spaces of these inhabitants are not within the neighbourhood, rather are outside. Besides sometimes children playing or cycling on the street

or young boys gathering on the corner tea stalls or women shopping from the carts, the neighbourhood space and the intimate contact spaces are absent or one might say underused. The parks are more popular among children as playing place and the older male and female members for walk. The lakefront is more popular among people outside the neighbourhood.

Activities:

Necessary activities are more commonly seen on the streets and the corner nodes. Other than the parks, the open areas within the neighbourhoods are seldom seen to be used for any optional activity. The plenty of restaurants and café in the neighbourhood are the most popular hangout place for the young group of population.

Extent of Social Interaction:

As discussed earlier in this section, the neighbourhood being a newer one is not as connected as the earlier two. Accidental and repeated interactions amongst the neighbours are quite common here but regular or regulated ones are not as much as the earlier. Connections are seen among the children going to the same school or the older people going to the same mosque. These connections often grow among women going for a walk in the park. But compared to the size of the neighbourhood, this number is not prominent. In fact, often rival groups are seen forming among the young boys, which results in unwanted fights which are often fatal.



Ground floor of the buildings are disconnected due to boundary walls



Roaming Library on the streets



People from office gathered on street



Parks are popular among the elders too



Children in the Park



Men reading Newspapers



Figure 11: Social Spaces in Planned Neighbourhood (Source: Author)

Findings and Summary

Jacobs (1961) has suggested three purposes that are needed to be aimed to have an effective neighbourhood; lively and interesting streets which are continuous and a network through the commercial area and to use parks and open spaces to form the web of street fabric. The more the connected and well-knit these webs are, the closer the community of the neighbourhood will grow.

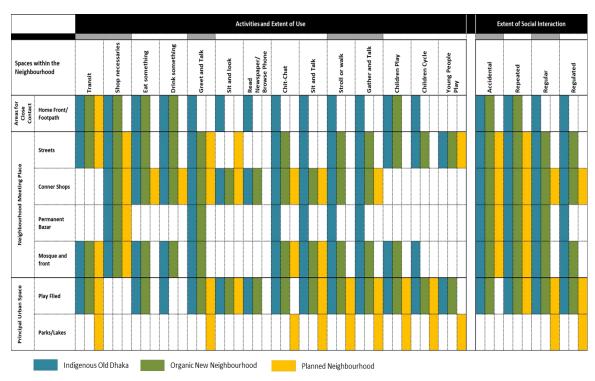


Figure 12: Extent of Activities and Social Interaction

Amongst the three, the indigenous Old Dhaka offers more active and connected neighbourhood. Though Old Dhaka is the most congested one, it offers the wide layers of activity spaces to the inhabitants. The same street and the street front becomes the life of the neighbourhood. Uttara on the other hand, despite of having designated planned plots for different functions fail to

generate enough activities and bind the inhabitants together. The streets being dominated by motorized vehicle often loses the pedestrian character and the scale. Interesting findings is that the newer organically grown neighbourhoods make a balance in providing enough space for the confortable growth of the neighbourhood, and again sufficient social relations. Similarly, the intensity of social interaction is much higher in the old Dhaka than the newer ones.



Figure 13: Intensity of space used as social space within the neighbourhoods

It is reflected from the study that, the a large share of social space of the inhabitants of the old Dhaka is within the neighbourhood, in the streets and the nodes one probable reason is their business or working area being there. Whereas, the social space of the inhabitants of the new organic area too to a certain extent remains within the neighbourhood and neighbourhood as a physical decision provides a good amount choice to explore those options. On a contrary, social space of the inhabitants of the planned neighbourhood, Uttara is not bounded with the neighbourhood, rather is somewhere outside in the city.

Conclusion

The neighbourhood concept is changing with time. Physical neighbourhood concept is being compensated by the social media and global connectivity. The city is growing and the need for new planned neighbourhoods cannot be denied. But the organic old neighbourhoods have their own beauty and own social character. Each has its own prospects and its own limitations. The study of the present and the past is thus needed to plan the future. This study reflects that the indigenous and the organic neighbourhoods have their social spaces in the streets and within the neighbourhood. It cannot be overlooked that many other problems like congestion, crowd, and safety issues are inherited within. On the other hand though the planned areas though have enough designated spaces, often does not serve social needs. Some reasons that can be identified are the age of the neighbourhood and duration of people living within them. Neighbourhoods that have families living in them for generations are seemed to be more socially active. The ownership of the buildings is another factor. The owners seem to be more connected than that of the tenants. The demography of the inhabitants also reflects on the social spaces. The physical character of the neighbourhood, the density, street size, building heights etc. also have an impact. Yet there can be reasons inherited and on the front that needs to be investigated. There is surely an option of studying from the both about what can be done from learning from both the past and the present. This study is a beginning to the future study and will be further elaborated.

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