

# **Housing and Land Rights**

The Camp-Dwelling Urdu-Speaking  
Community in Bangladesh

Hannah Sholder

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Refugee and Migratory Movements Research Unit

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### ABBREVIATIONS AND DEFINITIONS

AYGUSC	Association of the Young Generation of Urdu-Speaking Community
CRO	Central Relief Organization (name of one Bihari Camp)
CUS	Centre for Urban Studies
DCC	Dhaka City Corporation
ICRC	International Committee of the Red Cross
NDBUS	<i>Nagar Daridra Basteebashir Unnayan Sangstha</i> (slum dwellers association)
RMMRU	Refugee and Migratory Movements Research Unit
SPGRC	Stranded Pakistani's General Repatriation Committee
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UPPR	Urban Partnerships for Poverty Reduction (a project of UNDP)
URBIS	The Urban Capacity Laboratory Programme (a project of NDBUS)
USPYRM	Urdu-Speaking People's Youth Rehabilitation Movement

**Bihari:** The title "Bihari" is an ethnic slur applied to members of the Urdu-speaking community since many of the older members of this community migrated from the Indian state of Bihar to East Pakistan (Bangladesh) during Partition in 1947. It should be noted, however, that other members of this community came from states such as Orissa, West Bengal, Uttar Pradesh, and Assam.

**Bihari Camps:** The "Bihari Camps" or "Camps" refer to the segregated slums in which members of Bangladesh's Urdu-speaking linguistic minority live. They were originally constructed by the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) after Bangladesh's War of Independence in 1971, as temporary camps for this internally displaced community. At present, there are 116 recognized Bihari Camps in Bangladesh.

**Mohajir:** Mohajir means *emigrant* in Arabic and was first used in reference to Prophet Mohammad's journey from Mecca to Medina. This title has been applied to many Muslim communities which have been either forced into exile or uprooted due to socio-political pressures. In this report, "Mohajir" refers to Muslims who migrated from India to Pakistan during the partition of British India in 1947.

**Stranded Pakistani:** This title was given to the Urdu-speaking community after Bangladesh's War of Independence in 1971. During the War, many members of this community sided with West Pakistan, and after losing the War they opted for repatriation to what is currently known as Pakistan rather than staying in the newly formed nation of Bangladesh, former East Pakistan. While waiting for repatriation, they were interned in camps. Many never made it to Pakistan, however, and were stranded in the camps. As a result, those who were left behind were labeled as "Stranded Pakistanis".

**Urdu-speaking Community:** This is currently the preferred title of the community because it identifies its members as a linguistic minority in Bangladesh, rather than an ethnic minority of "Biharis" which is not entirely accurate, or as "Stranded Pakistanis" which is a political slur and no longer applicable.

**Young Generation:** In this report, the "Young Generation" refers to members of the Urdu-speaking community who were born in Bangladesh after the War of Independence in 1971. According to the Constitution of Bangladesh, it is their birth-right to be Bangladeshi citizens; however, they have largely been denied the benefits of citizenship as a result of being born in the Camps. In May, 2008, members of the Young Generation brought their case before the Dhaka High Court and thereby restored their voting rights in Bangladesh. In contrast to the "Young Generation", the term "Old Generation" is used in this report to refer to members of this community who were born before the War of Independence in 1971, who for the most part did not grow up in the Camps.

**Kutcha:** Kutcha Refers to structures made from semi-durable materials such as bamboo, plywood, thatch, and corrugated iron sheets. Kutcha structures have relatively weak foundations and are considered to be only semi-permanent.

**Pucca:** Pucca Refers to structures that are made from materials such as brick or cement, which are therefore sturdy and considered relatively permanent.

**Semi-Pucca:** Semi-Pucca Refers to structures made from a mix of materials, usually cement floors and brick walls but a roof made of thatch or corrugated iron sheets.

Note: the words "Kutcha" and "Pucca" are Urdu transliterations. In Bangla they would be "Kacha" and "Paka" respectively.

## SECTION ONE INTRODUCTION

This study on the housing and land rights situation of the Camp-dwelling Urdu-speaking community was carried out as a Fulbright research project supported by the US Department of State.<sup>1</sup> The research was conducted over the course of nine months, from December, 2009 through August, 2010, and included meetings with stakeholders in the community's affairs as well as in-depth interviews with the residents of two Camps based in Mohammadpur, Dhaka.

The purpose of this study was to investigate the present day living situation in the Camps, 38 years after the Camps were first constructed by the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) and 2 years after the Dhaka High Court made its landmark judgment that restored the community's voter rights in Bangladesh.

The primary research questions were:

- 1) How has the High Court judgment affected the community's housing and land rights situation? Has it led to improvements in their living conditions and social integration, or has it made them more vulnerable to eviction and social isolation?
- 2) How can the community be further rehabilitated and integrated into Bangladeshi society, and in what ways can stakeholders support this process?

The Findings of the study are presented in this report with the intent of informing the general public as well as specific stakeholders about the community's progress towards full rehabilitation and integration into Bangladeshi society. Additionally, it is hoped that the *Recommendations*

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<sup>1</sup> The views presented in this report represent the author's own and not those of the Fulbright Programme.

presented in Chapter 3 will serve as guidance to those who are invested in improving this community's living conditions.

### Methods

In order to answer the primary research questions, statistical data was gathered on the current living conditions in the Bihari Camps through the administration of surveys in two Camps based in Mohammadpur, Dhaka. One large and one small Camp were selected because of the variation in their size and structure, with hopes of identifying a range in living conditions and to also determine if there are any common experiences in the lifestyle of the residents, independent of camp size and structure. The interviews in these Camps were conducted in Urdu by Hannah Sholder, with translation assistance by Mohammad Siddique in CRO Camp and Mohammad Hasan Ashrafi in Geneva Camp.

In all of Bangladesh there are 116 Bihari Camps, and in Dhaka city alone there are 32 (26 in Mirpur and 6 in Mohammadpur). Geneva Camp in Mohammadpur is the largest, with a population of approximately 25,000 people, and was selected for surveying because of its large size and historic significance. It was one of the first Camps established by the ICRC in 1972 and has developed over the past 38 years into a thriving neighbourhood with a large bustling *bazaar* (market) and dozens of small businesses and shops filling its main arteries. Geneva Camp sprawls over roughly 235,000 square feet of land and is divided into nine residential sectors. For this survey, five houses were randomly selected from each of the nine sectors and interviews were conducted with the identified heads of the selected households. In total, 45 interviews were conducted in Geneva Camp.

The second Camp selected for surveying was the Central Relief Organization (CRO) Camp in Mohammadpur. While Geneva Camp is the largest of the Bihari Camps, CRO is one of the smallest, with a population of 282 people. Its structure also differs from Geneva Camp in that CRO Camp is contained within a single three-storey *bhavan* (mansion). Due to the Camp's small size, interviews were conducted with each of the 60 families who reside there.

Collectively, the two surveys give an illustration of contemporary life in the Camps. The interview questionnaire included questions about household size, family income, occupation, education level, as well as

feelings about rehabilitation and Bangladeshi citizenship.<sup>2</sup> In addition to the surveys, this report was informed by field visits to all of the Mohammadpur-based Camps, as well as Rahmat Camp in Mirpur. Also, secondary sources including books, films and newspaper articles were reviewed to gain background information about the Urdu-speaking community. Interviews with local community leaders, local youth, non-governmental organization (NGO) activists, academics, politicians, and other key stakeholders were also conducted during the period of December, 2009 through August, 2010.

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<sup>2</sup> The full interview questionnaire can be found in Appendix 1.

## SECTION TWO

### BACKGROUND OF THE CAMP-DWELLING URDU-SPEAKING COMMUNITY'S HOUSING AND LAND RIGHTS SITUATION

This section of the report expounds upon the background information needed to understand why the Urdu-speaking Community continues to live in segregated slums (or Camps) after 38 years, and why the Camp residents still remain socially isolated. Their communal story began in 1947, when British India was partitioned into the independent nations of Pakistan and India.

#### 1947-1970

In 1947 British India was partitioned into the independent nations of Pakistan and India. The partition was made along religious lines. Pakistan was designated as the new religious homeland for Muslims, while India became the religious homeland for the Hindu population. Millions of Hindus living in the newly designated Pakistani territories migrated to India, while Muslims living in India crossed over into the new state of Pakistan.

Pakistan was further divided into an eastern territory and a western territory. The majority of Muslims living in the eastern Indian states of Bihar, West Bengal, Orissa, Uttar Pradesh, and Assam migrated to East Pakistan because of its proximity. As émigrés they were given the title of *Mohajir*, conferring respect in their new homeland because this title was first used in reference to Prophet Mohammad's journey from Mecca to Medina.

In the years following Partition, about 500,000 Mohajirs immigrated to East Pakistan. The Mohajir community in East Pakistan gained a distinct advantage in their new homeland when Mohammad Ali Jinnah,

Pakistan's first Governor General, announced that Urdu would be the country's national language, in which all governmental affairs would be conducted. As Urdu was the mother-tongue of the majority of Mohajirs, they were able to obtain jobs within the government more readily, while the local Bangla-speaking Bengali Muslim population was at a disadvantage. Exemplifying the effects of linguistic advantage, members of the Mohajir community became prominent figures in the army, and occupied 21% of government jobs even though they only accounted for 3% of the population (Cohen, 2004, p. 215).

### **1971-1993**

During Bangladesh's War of Independence from West Pakistan in 1971, many members of the Mohajir community in East Pakistan sided with the Pakistani army because they benefited from the policies of the central Pakistani government. In addition, a major part of the independence movement was centred on language, especially the native population's affinity for the Bengali language, which the Urdu-speaking Mohajirs did not share. When it became clear that the Pakistani army and its supporters were going to lose the war and that East Pakistan was going to become the independent nation of Bangladesh, the majority of the Mohajir community opted for repatriation to West Pakistan because they were viewed as traitors and no longer safe in their homes. Being labeled as traitors or "Pakistani collaborators", they were forcibly evicted from their houses and stripped of their land, houses, jobs, and citizenship rights.

In search of safety as they awaited repatriation, members of the community settled in temporary refugee camps constructed across the country by the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC). Over the next two decades several rounds of negotiations took place between Bangladesh and Pakistan to facilitate the repatriation of the Camp inmates, who numbered close to 300,000. The most successful pact between the countries was signed on August 28, 1973. It was agreed that Bengali prisoners of war held in Pakistan would be returned to Bangladesh, while the "Stranded Pakistanis" in Bangladesh would be repatriated to Pakistan.

While this pact was fairly successful, it did not enable all of the Stranded Pakistanis to be repatriated. In fact, when the deal came to a close, approximately 140,000 members of this community were still stranded in the Camps. With nowhere else to go, and hoping for another chance of

repatriation, they remained in the Camps even after the ICRC withdrew its support in December, 1973. Administration of the Camps was transferred to the Bangladeshi government's Ministry of Relief and Rehabilitation. In 1975 the Ministry provided the Camps with electricity and water connections for the first time. These utilities were provided without charge. Similarly, for many years wheat and rice were provided by the World Food Programme and distributed among the Camp population by the Relief Ministry. Also, as the situation was deemed to be temporary, rent for their living accommodations was never collected. Other than the provision of electricity and water and food, however, few other improvements in the Camp infrastructure and living accommodations were made over the next decade, because many of the residents maintained the hope of repatriation to Pakistan, and therefore did not want to invest resources in a place they still thought of as temporary.

Their lingering hopes for repatriation were largely shattered on January 10, 1993, when another pact was signed between Bangladesh and Pakistan, but was broken after a mere 235 people were repatriated to Pakistan ("Bangladesh State", n.d.). While this failed deal signaled an end to the "Pakistan dream" for the older generation, it signaled the beginning of a new struggle for the Young Generation, who were born and grew up in the Camps.

### **1994-2000**

This period was one of transition for the Camp-dwelling community as they began to realize that Pakistan was no longer a viable option and that Bangladesh was their future. Members of the Young Generation were in fact citizens of Bangladesh by their constitutional birth right. They were treated as pariahs by the Bengali population, however, and faced discrimination when applying for admission to schools or jobs in the formal sector. In addition, the lack of an official or "permanent" address and any form of documentation proving their Bangladeshi identity caused further complications outside the Camps for members of the Young Generation.

As a result, many who grew up in the Camps remained socially isolated as well as under-educated, and were employed mainly in the informal sector. For the most part they found work in the traditional Sari embroidering industry that dominated the Camp economy, or as barbers and butchers, which were considered "unclean" professions reserved for socially outcast groups.

The feelings of exclusion and rejection felt by the youth growing up during this time period can be illustrated through a personal narrative:

*I am Mohammad Rezaul Haque. I was born in Bangladesh in Geneva Camp in 1992. I have completed my school life here, and I am still passing my university days. Although I have lived my whole life in Geneva Camp, I have never submitted this address anywhere. If I submit this address I cannot get myself into any college or university. If they see this address they will just avoid my documents amidst the other applications. Even if a teacher selected me out of his humanity, all the students would hate me. They would call me names such as Bihari or Maura, which are unbearable words to me.* (personal communication, April 2010)

### 2001-2010

In 2001, a group of ten highly motivated youths from Geneva Camp's Association for the Young Generation of Urdu-Speaking Community (AYGUSC), who were frustrated by their situation, brought a petition before the High Court demanding that their birth-right to be voters of Bangladesh be recognized. The High Court responded to their petition by granting these individuals voting rights (Rahman, 2003). While this ruling was only applicable to these ten youths, a similar petition was made in May, 2007, by members of the Urdu-Speaking People's Youth Rehabilitation Movement (USPYRM) on behalf of all members of the Young Generation. The High Court responded to their petition on May 18, 2008, by restoring the voting rights of all members of the Young Generation of Urdu speakers living in the Camps, as per their constitutional birth-rights as citizens of Bangladesh ("Citizenship", 2008). This groundbreaking ruling and the subsequent voter registration and identity card distribution have secured one of the most fundamental rights for this community as citizens of Bangladesh. It has also opened up the doors to education and employment opportunities in the formal sector for the tens of thousands of youths and young adults living in Camps across the country.

While having many positive effects, the High Court ruling has also exhumed some sensitive issues, such as the community's right to remain on the Camp properties, some of which are owned by the government and others of which are owned by private landowners. As a result of the High Court ruling, this community is no longer considered "internally

displaced", which was the reason they have been allowed to remain on the Camp lands since 1971.

Since 2008, the question as to whether the High Court ruling has made this community more vulnerable to eviction, or if it has increased their security and enabled them to improve their living conditions, remains unanswered. This question and many others will be addressed in the following chapters of this report.

### SECTION THREE

## FINDINGS ON THE PRESENT CAMP SITUATION

Before being able to assess whether the High Court ruling has had a positive or negative effect on this community's living situation, it is imperative to understand what the Camps are like today, 2 years after the High Court ruling and 38 years after they were first constructed. In addition, before answering the main research questions posed in this report, it is necessary to know how the Camp dwellers themselves view the High Court ruling and its effects on their lives.

In order to appraise the present living situation in the Camps and to gain an understanding of the Camp residents' opinions on issues such as rehabilitation and integration into Bangladeshi society, two surveys were conducted. One survey was conducted in Geneva Camp, the largest of the Bihari Camps, and at the centre of much of their economic and political activities. The other survey was carried out in CRO Camp, one of the smallest Camps in Dhaka, with a population of only 282 people. The data from these surveys will be discussed and compared in sections 2.2 and 2.3, while section 2.1 gives an overview of general trends and changes in the Camp environment over the past 38 years. This discussion of trends and changes is informed by direct observation in the six Mohammadpur-based Camps and Rahmat Camp in Mirpur, as well as interviews with Camp leaders and secondary sources.

### General Camp Statistics and Trends

#### *Population and Household Characteristics*

In all of Bangladesh there are 116 recognized Bihari Camps. Major concentrations are in the Mirpur and Mohammadpur regions of Dhaka, as well as in Rangpur, Syedpur, Khulna, and Chittagong.<sup>3</sup> The total

<sup>3</sup> For a listing of all of the camps and their populations, please refer to Appendix 2.

population of the Camps today is estimated to be 160,000 but current numbers are unknown, as the last comprehensive survey was carried out in 2006 by the NGO Al-Falah Bangladesh. The percentage of the population that is 38 years or younger (considered Young Generation) is roughly 80%. The largest of the Camps is Geneva Camp in Mohammadpur Dhaka, with a population of approximately 25,000 while the smallest is the TPP Colony Camp in Chittagong, with a population of 105 residents.

While the Camp populations have continued to remain largely segregated, some have seen an influx of Bengali migrants from rural areas. An example of this is the situation in Town Hall Camp in Mohammadpur Dhaka, where an estimated 30% of the population is now Bengali. Despite the increase in population through migration and high birth rates, the area of the Camp lands has not increased, which has led to a situation of severe overcrowding. Residents have coped with the shortage of space by building upward (second and third stories) instead of outward. In addition, many have built space-saving devices, such as shelving for their belongings at ceiling level and skylights for ventilation, as there is little space between the houses for standard windows.



Figure 2.1: Major concentrations of Bihari Camps in Bangladesh

Despite these adaptive measures, the average house size still only hovers slightly above the original 8'x10' structures that were built with the help of the ICRC in 1972, because a majority of the families cannot afford any

major renovations to increase the square footage of their houses, such as the construction of a second storey. Another major development in housing design during the past 38 years has been the renovation of



Figure 2.2: House in Geneva Camp with Camp typical skylight and ceiling-level shelving

*kutcha* dwellings into semi-*pucca* or fully *pucca* structures. A majority of the dwellings built in 1972 for the temporary housing of this community were *kutcha* structures made of bamboo, plywood, thatch, or corrugated iron sheets. They remained in a *kutcha* state for much of the past 38 years as many of the residents felt uncertain about their future in Bangladesh. When the last pact regarding their repatriation to Pakistan fell through in 1993, however, it became clear to many members of the community who were hoping for repatriation to Pakistan that Bangladesh would be their permanent place of residence. After this time, many families began to renovate their homes in order to make them sturdier and more permanent. These renovations were largely made one wall at a time, as financial resources became available, leaving many of the houses today in a semi-*pucca* state.

It is important to highlight the fact that the 116 Camps vary greatly in size and structure. For example, the facades of the six Camps in Mohammadpur, Dhaka are quite disparate. CRO Camp's 60 individual



Figure 2.3: Three storey building in Geneva

residential units were carved out within one three-storey building, while the residential units in Town Hall Camp were built inside the old "Town



Figure 2.4: Geneva Camp in the 1970s ©UNHCR

Hall" market complex. Geneva Camp, Market Camp and Community Centre Camp are spread out over small sections of land, where families built their own one and two storey houses. Those living in Staff Quarter Camp took over the apartments inside three residential buildings

constructed in the 1950s for government employees. These distinctions have influenced the extent of the transition from *kutchha* to *pucca* dwellings, which has in large part depended upon the original structure of each Camp.

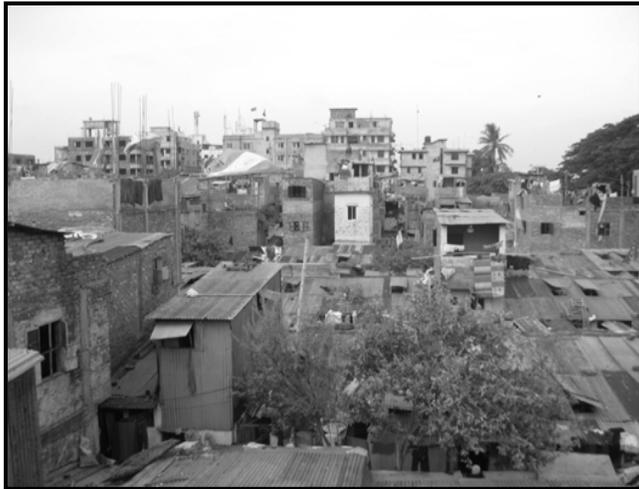


Figure 2.5: Geneva Camp in 2010



Figure 2.6: House with TV, refrigerator and showcase

Regardless of Camp size and structure, families in all of the Camps have begun to invest their financial resources in their homes by purchasing

appliances such as TVs, refrigerators, IPS generators, and expensive dishware displayed in showcases. These items have become increasingly common household possessions, and have improved the quality of life in the Camps.

*Camp Infrastructure*

While variations in the size and structure of the Camps are significant, one thing they all have in common is the fact that their public infrastructure systems are rapidly deteriorating. Of primary concern are the communal water and sewage lines, toilets, trash disposal sites, bathing areas, and footpaths. These systems have been put under immense pressure as the population in the Camps has continued to increase, while public infrastructure has received minimal maintenance or upgrading. Only in times of crisis, for instance in the aftermath of heavy monsoon rains, has the Camp leadership taken steps to repair damaged infrastructure such as flooded footpaths or toilets. Due to the lack of habitual maintenance, some of the systems have become so overburdened that they are now unusable. For instance, Stranded Pakistani General Repatriation Committee (SPGRC) leader Zabbar Khan remarked that of the 265 communal toilets in Geneva Camp about 50% are out of order (personal communication, June 2010).



Figure 2.7: Flooding of footpath in Rahmat Camp © Khalid Hussain

*Legal Status*

The infrastructure problems described above are not unlike those in Bengali slums in Bangladesh, but there is one fundamental difference

between the Bihari Camps and Bengali slums. Given that the Camps were originally created to house the internally displaced “Stranded Pakistanis”, it was decided that no rent would be collected from the residents of the Camps and that the government of Bangladesh would provide them with free electricity. Although intended to be temporary, this situation has continued for 38 years. To this day there is still no rent collection or payment for the use of electricity.<sup>4</sup>

Following the May, 2008 High Court ruling, however, many have begun to fear that these privileges will be discontinued and that the residents may even be evicted from the Camp lands. The majority of the Camp lands are now owned by the government of Bangladesh. It has been rumored that in some cases the government may attempt to reclaim the land, as it no longer houses an internally displaced population (Parveen, 2008).

As a way to further examine the eviction issue and other questions regarding the community’s rehabilitation and integration into Bangladeshi society, surveys were carried out in CRO Camp and Geneva Camp in Mohammadpur, Dhaka. The data collected from the two surveys (totaling 105 household interviews) provides an in-depth look at the lives of the Camp-dwellers and their opinions regarding rehabilitation and integration in Bangladesh. After considering the following Findings, the main research questions posed in this report can be answered.

### Central Relief Organization (CRO Camp)

#### *Population and Household Statistics*

CRO Camp is located across from Town Hall in Mohammadpur. It houses 282 people in its three stories, plus its rooftop. Of this population, 79.43% is considered part of the Young Generation (38 years old or younger). The *bhavan* used to be the private residence of a wealthy member of the Urdu-speaking community. During Bangladesh’s War of Independence, the owner abandoned the property and fled to Pakistan. The empty house then became a safe-haven for members of the Urdu-speaking community, while they awaited repatriation to Pakistan. After the War,

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4 Although the Camp residents do not pay the government any charge for electricity, they do pay some money to the Camp leaders to secure power.

the abandoned property became the legal possession of the government, although the occupants were allowed to continue living there. Since that time, its interior has largely been destroyed, as each of the 60 families who occupied it after the War carved out their own residence. A few remnants of its past façade still exist, however, such as the large shelves in what used to be a food pantry, but now houses a family of five.

The average family size in CRO Camp is 4.84 people, while the average size of the house they occupy is 1.38 rooms with a total area of 13x9 feet. Because the individual residential units were built within a pre-existing building, they take a semi-pucca form, with pucca floors and ceilings made of the original cement, and self-constructed kutcha interior dividing walls made of plywood and thatch. A variation of this semi-pucca form is found in the construction of the seven residences built on the rooftop. Because these houses have more exposure to elements such as wind and rain, they have been built with brick walls and tin roofs, with interior plywood lining for extra water resistance.



Figure 2.8: CRO Camp ©Mohin Khan

#### *Camp Infrastructure*

CRO Camp contains four public toilets, two assigned for women and two for men. On average each toilet is used by 70 people, although two

families have private toilets, which eases the demand slightly. There is no water connection to the toilets so the residents must bring buckets of water with them, collected from the main water pump on the ground floor.

There are two water pumps in the whole building. The main pump is located in the front of the building and the other is on the side of the building, in a closed-off area used by the women for bathing and clothes-washing purposes. The main tap in the front of the building is used for the collection of water for cooking and drinking, and as the men’s bathing area. The water comes from a Water and Sewage Authority (WASA) city line and is subject to being shut off for part of the day, especially during the dry season. The water coming from the pumps contains a high level of iron and other heavy metals. Most of the residents use a fine mesh filter to remove large particles from the water when pumping it, and they then boil it.

Unlike most of the other Camps, CRO Camp has a gas connection, because it served as a private residence before the War. While the residents do not pay any rent, or water or electricity bills, they do pay Taka 450 a month for their individual gas connections. The money is collected each month by the Camp leader and paid to Titas Gas Company. Due to the high expense, many families prefer to share one connection, and as many as four families use one 2-burner stove. Making use of the gas connection, 61.82% of CRO Camp families boil their drinking water.

Similar to the toilet situation, there is no water connection in the kitchens, requiring the residents to remove in small buckets any waste water created while cooking. The buckets are left on the landings of the main stairwell and removed daily by a community-hired sweeper. There is a large concrete dustbin in the entrance to the Camp, where trash is collected and when full disposed of by the sweeper. Each family in CRO Camp contributes Taka 70 a month to pay for the sweeper’s services.

Despite the community’s efforts to keep their building clean, the foundation of the building has not been well maintained and it is breaking apart in many critical areas, such as the main stairwell and exterior walls. In addition, some of the concrete ceilings inside individual households have large cracks running through them, and in some cases the ceilings have completely disintegrated.



Figure 2.9: Disintegrating ceiling in CRO Camp residence

*Employment*

The monthly income of the 60 families living in CRO Camp ranges from Taka 0 to Taka 13,000.<sup>5</sup> Average income levels per month can be broken down as follows:

Table 2.1: CRO Camp Average Income Levels

Category	<Tk. 3,000 Extreme Poor	Tk. 3,000- 7,999 Poor	Tk. 8,000-11,999 Lower-Middle Income Group	Tk. 12,000+ <sup>6</sup> Middle Income Group	Total
Number of families	8 <i>13.33%</i>	38 <i>63.33%</i>	11 <i>18.34%</i>	3 <i>5.00%</i>	60 <i>100.00%</i>

From the *extreme poor* category, two families reported being unemployed, marking the unemployment level in this Camp at 3.33%. While the level of unemployment may be low, *under-employment* is quite high. Many of the men work only part-time jobs, while the women who work have varying levels of employment, depending on the number of patrons.

5 In August 2010 the exchange rate of US dollars to Bangladeshi taka was approximately 1:69.

6 This income rubric is used by URBIS in their study on “Low Cost Housing Design for the Urban Poor” (2010, p.13).

The most common occupations for women working outside the home are (a) Arabic teacher and (b) tailor. It should be noted though that only 5% of the women in CRO Camp work outside the home. Yet, 40% have handicraft and tailoring skills. Due to their social and physical isolation in this small Camp, however, women are unable to gain access to the mainstream market to sell their handicraft products.

The most common occupations for men in CRO Camp are (a) butcher, (b) barber, (c) driver (chauffeur), (d) security guard, and (e) salesman. The occupations of butcher and barber are the most common occupations for the men in this community.

*Education*

In Table 2.2, education levels are compared between members of the Old Generation and Young Generation, as well as between the men and women of CRO Camp.

Drawing on the data in the table, it is apparent that the Young Generation has achieved higher levels of education than the Old Generation. While no members of the Old Generation reported attaining any education beyond SSC, 9.09% of the Young Generation in CRO Camp has been able to study in higher secondary school or university. The low levels of education amongst the Old Generation may be in part due to there being less educational opportunities during the time of their youth, as well as potential disruptions in their studies caused by events such as Partition, and the mass migration and civic disarray that followed. However, their children, the Young Generation, had even more limited educational opportunities, as a result of the social stigma and physical limitations of living in the Camps. Without a “proper address” or a national identity card, many members of the Young Generation were legally barred from schools. In order to gain admission to schools, many used non-camp addresses or relied on the kindness of particular teachers. Therefore, it is remarkable that ten members of the Young Generation in CRO Camp have been able to attain a Higher Secondary School Certificate (HSC), and that three of these youths are now studying at the university level.

Table 2.2: CRO Camp Education Statistics

Category	No Education	< class 8	≥ class 8	≥ class 10 (SSC)	class 12 (HSC)	> class 12 (university)	Total
<b>Old Generation (39+)</b>	<b>23</b> <i>46.00%</i>	<b>15</b> <i>30.00%</i>	<b>5</b> <i>10.00%</i>	<b>7</b> <i>14.00%</i>	<b>0</b> <i>0.00%</i>	<b>0</b> <i>0.00%</i>	<b>50</b> <i>100.00%</i>
Men	7 <i>25.93%</i>	9 <i>33.33%</i>	4 <i>14.81%</i>	7 <i>25.93%</i>	0 <i>0.00%</i>	0 <i>0.00%</i>	27 <i>100.00%</i>
Women	16 <i>69.57%</i>	6 <i>26.08%</i>	1 <i>4.35%</i>	0 <i>0.00%</i>	0 <i>0.00%</i>	0 <i>0.00%</i>	23 <i>100.00%</i>
<b>Young Generation<sup>7</sup> (18-38)</b>	<b>11</b> <i>10.00%</i>	<b>47</b> <i>42.73%</i>	<b>29</b> <i>26.36%</i>	<b>13</b> <i>11.82%</i>	<b>7</b> <i>6.36%</i>	<b>3</b> <i>2.73%</i>	<b>110</b> <i>100.00%</i>
Men	7 <i>11.86%</i>	18 <i>30.52%</i>	21 <i>35.59%</i>	7 <i>11.86%</i>	4 <i>6.78%</i>	2 <i>3.39%</i>	59 <i>100.00%</i>
Women	4 <i>7.84%</i>	29 <i>56.87%</i>	8 <i>15.69%</i>	6 <i>11.76%</i>	3 <i>5.88%</i>	1 <i>1.96%</i>	51 <i>100.00%</i>
<b>Total</b>	<b>34</b> <i>21.25%</i>	<b>62</b> <i>38.74%</i>	<b>34</b> <i>21.25%</i>	<b>20</b> <i>12.50%</i>	<b>7</b> <i>4.38%</i>	<b>3</b> <i>1.88%</i>	<b>160</b> <i>100.00%</i>

Note: SSC= secondary school certificate (given after class 10); HSC= higher secondary school certificate (given after class 12)

While more men than women from both the Young and Old Generations have studied past class 8, the percentages of young men and women who have achieved higher levels of education (SSC+) are roughly equal. While this statistic suggests that the men and women from this Camp are now receiving equal higher educational opportunities, it fails to

7 The “Young Generation” refers to anyone born in the Camps after the War of Independence in 1971, but for assessing levels of educational attainment, only those who have completed their studies (those who are 18 years or older) are included in Table 2.2 and 2.4.

recognize that more women than men are still being pulled out of school early (before completing class 8), to help with household chores and work.

To put these findings into a wider context, they can be assessed in terms of literacy rates. While *literacy* generally means the ability to read and write, its definition varies in specifics depending on the country and context. The definition used by the Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics in the 2008 Literacy Assessment Survey is:

Literacy is the ability to read, understand, interpret, communicate and compute in verbal and written forms in varying contexts. It involves a continuum of learning that enables individuals to develop their potentials and knowledge base and to participate fully in community affairs and wider social and development context (p.4).

Although this definition does not give specific measures of literacy in terms of educational diplomas, it can be reasoned that the skills gained in the first 8 years of school enable one to “read, understand, interpret, communicate and compute in verbal and written forms”. Thus literacy will be defined as passing Class 8 or higher in this assessment.<sup>8</sup> In this case, the literacy rate for the Old Generation in CRO Camp is 24% and the literacy rate for the Young Generation is 47.27%. This shows a 23.27% increase in literacy within this community between the Young and Old Generations. If broken down by gender, 35.29% of women belonging to the Young Generation are now literate, while only 04.35% from the Old Generation are literate. Likewise, 57.63% of men from the Young Generation in CRO Camp are literate, compared to 40.74% from the Old Generation. This data shows that the Young Generation has surpassed the literacy rates of the Old Generation, despite the barriers placed on them due to their “camp address” and lack of any national identity card.

There is perhaps an even more significant increase in levels of literacy and educational achievement between the Young Generation (as represented in Table 2.2) and those who are currently of school-going age. Although the statistical data needed to verify this trend is not

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<sup>8</sup> One may argue that those who completed up to Class 6 or 7 could also be considered literate, but to err on the side of caution this report uses Class 8 as the literacy benchmark.

available, because the children have largely not completed their studies yet, other measures support it. For example, almost all of the children over the age 6 living in CRO Camp have attended some schooling thus far, making the percentage of those with “no education” negligible. In addition, those as young as 10 and 12 are already surpassing the levels of education of their parents. Take for instance the family of Mohammad Murtaza:

*58 year old Mohammad Murtaza studied until class 5 and now works as a gate keeper at a local cinema hall. His wife, 45 year old Hosna Bano, studied until class 3 and is a housewife. Their four children have already surpassed or attained their same levels of education with Farzana Parvin (21) finishing class 5, Rizwana Parveen (17) passing SSC, Mohammad Hossain (14) studying in class 8, and Ali Hossain (12) studying in class 5.*

It was also observed that in CRO Camp the majority of children are receiving private tutoring after school, in subjects such as mathematics, reading, English, and Islamic studies. This new push for achieving higher levels of education amongst the current school-going generation coincides with the timing of the distribution of national identity cards amongst members of the Urdu-Speaking Community. In fact, this education push may be a possible *outcome* of having the identity cards, because they have enabled the Camp-dwelling youth to more easily register for school.

#### *Legal Status*

Since the High Court ruling in 2008, which restored the voting rights of the Urdu-speaking community, a majority of the Camp residents have applied for and received national identity cards. This process was administered by the interim government in 2008, before the election in which the Awami League and its allies were voted into office. Before the election, the whole voter’s list was amended. In the process, nearly 150,000 members of the Urdu-speaking community were registered as voters and in most cases were given national identity cards (“Citizenship”, 2008).

In CRO Camp, 98.33% of the community members over 18 received the national identity cards in time to vote in the December 2008 election. Only one person over 18 does not have such a card, and this is due to old age and an illness causing immobility. While having a national identity

card is now a quotidian part of the residents' existence, few have any other form of documentation affirming their Bangladeshi identity.



Figure 2.10 : CRO Camp resident with passport

Although the possession of national identity cards has greatly enhanced their ability to work and study in Bangladesh, many still feel that their residence in Bangladesh is precarious. As a result of living in Camps they do not have a "proper address", which hinders their ability to apply for some jobs and for passports (Abrar, Redclift, 2007, p.2). Despite these difficulties, 13 people in CRO Camp have managed to obtain Bangladeshi passports. Yet even with these documents, the social integration of this community into Bangladeshi society is impeded by the significant social stigmas attached to this community's identity. These issues will be explored in the next section by analysing the opinions of various Camp dwellers.

#### *Views on Rehabilitation and Integration*

Out of the 60 families living in CRO Camp, 98.33% reported that they are Bangladeshi, and that they have no desire to go to Pakistan. This figure signifies a considerable change in opinion from the early 1990s when the majority of the Camp-dwelling members of this community still wanted to go to Pakistan. Yet, 66% of the families residing in CRO Camp are part

of "divided families" in that some of their relatives were repatriated to Pakistan during the earlier drives and have settled there. Given that very few members of the Camp-dwelling Urdu-speaking community have passports, they are unable to visit their relatives in Pakistan or be reunited with them.

*Such is the case of Saira Bonno, age 53, who lives alone in a small closet (4'x6') at the top of the main staircase in CRO Camp. She was the sole interviewee from CRO Camp who responded that she wanted to go to Pakistan, in order to be reunited with her daughter, who was taken there by a relative during one of the repatriation deals. Saira Bonno now lives alone. As her occupation, she carries water from the main pump on the ground floor to the houses of 13 residents on the three floors, earning Taka 500 a month. She sleeps on the concrete floor and as has three saris and a few pots and pans as her only possessions.*



Figure 2.11: Saira Bonno

Out of the 98.33% who view themselves as Bangladeshi, 75% would like to live outside the Camp. Most would like the government of Bangladesh to initiate this rehabilitation outside the Camp, but feel that it is unlikely. Their most frequent and consistent complaints about Camp life and reasons for wanting to move outside the Camp include the lack of personal space and the condition of the toilets (too few and without water connection). In addition, one of the main complaints from the women was about having to carry water for cooking to their homes in

buckets. This task is not only time consuming, but also is back-breaking for the people who live on the second and third floors of the building.

Those who wish to live outside the Camp typically envision their new residence to be a single-family apartment, with two bedrooms and a private kitchen and bathroom. However, none of the Camp residents are able to make this vision a reality, as the cost of such an apartment is equal to or greater than their incomes, while their current residences are rent free. In addition, the social stigma of being “Bihari” has caused complications for those who have tried to find housing outside the Camp.

The life story of Mohammad Jubair (age 60) resonates with these views on Camp life:

*Jubair would like to live outside the Camp because “camp life is not a life”. He and his family do not earn enough income to support the rent of an apartment outside the Camp, however, so they make do with their 10x8 foot room on the second floor of CRO Camp. To give them more privacy, Jubair recently built a partition out of plywood between their house and the neighbouring one, and hopes to turn this into a brick partition wall when enough money has been saved to buy the bricks. Jubair migrated with his parents from Bihar to East Pakistan after riots in 1965. They moved to Mymensingh and he began work in a jute mill. After the War in 1971, however, he was stripped of his property in Mymensingh and fled to Dhaka, where he ended up in CRO Camp. Presently Jubair is retired, although he worked earlier to support the education of his two sons. Raja (25) finished HSC and now works as a graphic designer while Jahid (21) passed SSC and found work as a sign board artist.*

Many of the opinions of the CRO Camp residents regarding rehabilitation and integration are echoed by the responses of the Geneva Camp residents. There are some vital differences in their living conditions, however, which affect their opinions regarding these issues. Therefore, the data collected from the survey conducted in Geneva Camp will be presented separately in section 2.3 and then compared and contrasted with the findings from CRO Camp.

## Geneva Camp

### *Population and Household Characteristics*

Geneva Camp, located in Mohammadpur, Dhaka, is the largest of the 116 Bihari Camps in Bangladesh. Geneva Camp is spread over 235,000 square feet of land and has nine residential sectors, as well as a large market running parallel to the interior side of Blocks A and B (see Camp map below). Geneva Camp also contains two large mosques and numerous small shrines, as well as two schools and a medical clinic run by the community-based NGO Al-Falah Bangladesh.



Figure 2.12: Geneva Camp

The land on which Geneva Camp is built is owned by the Liaquat Housing Society. It is one of the few Camps where the land is still privately owned. The vast majority of the Camp lands are now owned by the government, as the Camps were either constructed on public lands or on the private property of members of the Urdu-speaking community, which were abandoned after the War (such as CRO Camp). Although Geneva Camp is located on private property, no rent is paid to the Liaquat Housing Society, as the community was considered internally displaced until the Dhaka High Court made its definitive decision in 2008.

The Camp’s total population is estimated by Camp officials to be 25,000 individuals, or 5,000 families. The percentage of the population that is considered part of the Young Generation is 84.76%. The average family size in Geneva Camp, as measured through this survey, is 5.98 people. The average house size is 1.62 rooms with an area of 14x12 feet. The average house size is larger than that in CRO Camp primarily because the residents in Geneva Camp have the ability to build second or third stories

on their houses. Out of the 45 households interviewed, 17.78% were multi-storied.

While the majority of houses started out as *kutcha* constructions in 1972, they have evolved into predominately semi-*pucca* structures with at least two walls made of brick and a floor made of concrete. Presently only

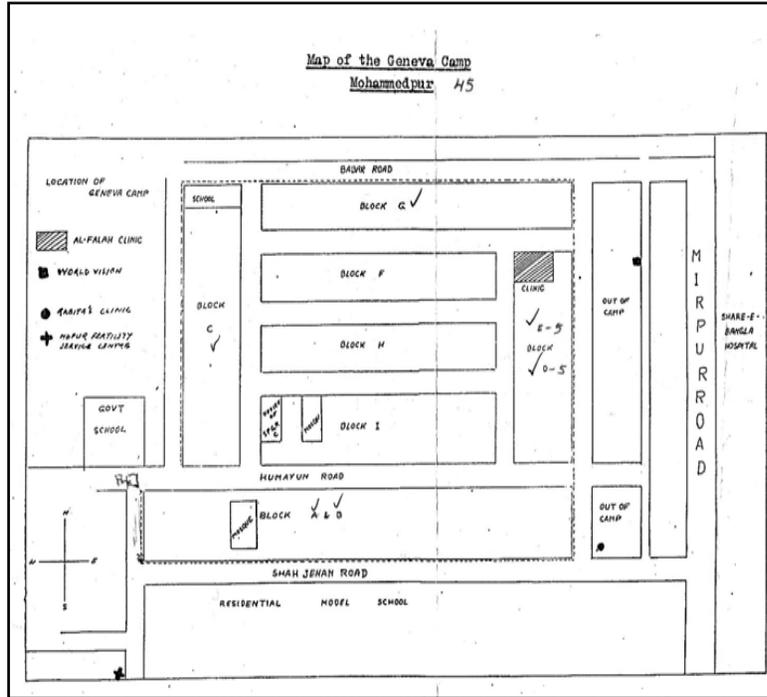


Figure 2.13: Map of Geneva Camp's nine sectors ©Al-Falah Bangladesh

6.67% of the houses are made completely of *kutcha* materials, while 71.11% are now considered semi-*pucca* structures and 22.22% are fully *pucca*.

Unlike CRO Camp, some residents in Geneva Camp pay rent to live in their houses. However, the rent is not paid to the government or any housing authority, but to other Camp residents who have capitalized on

their property by subletting it.<sup>9</sup> Most often the houses are rented to families which have expanded in size, and prefer to rent a second house inside the Camp rather than outside. Out of the 45 families interviewed in this survey, 24.44% live in rented houses. The rents paid per month range from Taka 1,000 to Taka 2,000, depending on the size of the accommodation. The typical monthly rent of an 8x8 foot residence was Taka 1,200.

*Camp Infrastructure*

The number of public toilets in Geneva Camp is 265. They are located in 6 of the 9 sectors.<sup>10</sup> On average each toilet is used by 100 people, but nearly 50% are out of order, so the average number of people using each toilet is closer to 200. A growing trend in Geneva Camp is for families to build their own private toilets, but due to the cramped living conditions few have the space to do this inside their homes.

Likewise, families prefer to have their own water pumps due to the long lines and overuse of public ones, yet because of the same space constraints few have had the ability to do so. As for the public water pumps, there is at least one in each sector of Geneva Camp with some of the larger sectors having two. The public pumps are not only used for water collection but also for bathing and clothes washing, which adds to the areas' congestion. Drinking water is carried from the pumps to individual homes in metal or plastic buckets and then stored in large drums near the stove or under the bed. The water gathered from the public taps in each sector is free of charge.

Unlike CRO Camp, the houses in Geneva Camp do not have any gas connection, which makes the boiling of drinking water impractical, as the kerosene needed to boil water is expensive and only available in small ½ liter cans for Taka 28. Most families go through one can of kerosene each day just cooking food, and do not feel it is worth their money to purchase a second can daily for boiling water. The 13.33% of families who do boil their water tend to use wood as fuel, which is cheaper (3 kg of wood for Taka 25), instead of kerosene.

9 The "owners" of the rented houses typically live outside the Camp now, or in some cases live in the second storey of the building or in another location in the Camp.

10 There are no toilets in Blocks F, H, and I.

Garbage disposal in Geneva Camp takes many forms. Waste water created while cooking is typically dumped directly into the alleyways or into the infrequent above-ground drains, while solid-food waste is disposed of in intermittently available trash bins or in informal piles. The City Corporation removes garbage from Geneva Camp on a weekly basis from two large trash bins located on the periphery of the Camp.

Electricity is free of charge in Geneva Camp, but its actual availability depends on the resources of the supplying company. During the summer months, the hours of electricity outage often outweigh the number of hours it is available. In one exceptional case in June, 2005, the electricity connection was completely shut off in Geneva Camp and 65 other Camps for 7 days. This outage led to immense suffering by the Camp residents and became a nationally infamous crisis after the residents took to the streets in protest (“Electricity”, 2005).

*Employment*

The monthly income of the 45 families interviewed in Geneva Camp range from Taka 2,000 to Taka 15,000.<sup>11</sup> Average income levels per month can be broken down as follows:

Table 2.3: Geneva Camp Average Income Levels

	< Tk. 3,000 Extreme Poor	Tk. 3,000- 7,999 Poor	Tk. 8,000- 11,999 Lower- Middle Income Group	Tk. 12,000+ Middle Income Group	Total
Number of families	3 6.67%	23 51.11%	10 22.22%	9 20.00%	45 100.00%

In this survey, no households reported being unemployed and just 6.67% of households fall within the *extreme poor* range. Like the majority of CRO Camp residents, 51.11% of Geneva Camp residents earn between Taka 3,000 and Taka 7,999 a month. With an income in this range,

11 In August 2010 the exchange rate of US dollars to Bangladeshi taka was approximately 1:69.

families are able to buy basic food for the month and provide minimal school fees for their children, but not much else.

Compared to CRO Camp, a greater percentage of families in Geneva Camp have achieved middle-income status. This achievement may be in part due to the fact that many women in Geneva Camp are employed and earn a second source of income for their families. To be exact, 51.11% of the women in the Geneva Camp survey hold jobs. The main occupation of these women is *gorir kaaj* (the handicraft embroidery of saris and other clothing items). While many women in CRO Camp have these handicraft skills, very few are able to earn an income with it, whereas the convenient location of Geneva Camp has enabled women there to use these skills to earn an income. In addition to living in the community’s economic hub, the average house size in Geneva Camp is slightly larger than that in CRO Camp and can accommodate the large looms used in the embroidery process, making it possible for more women to work from their homes in this trade.

While the *gorir kaaj* is the most popular occupation for women, it is also a common occupation of the Camp men. The following are the most frequently cited jobs for men:

Shop keeper or produce seller (22.73%), barber (20.45%), sari embroidery *gorir kaaj* (18.18%), butcher (11.36%), rickshaw puller (9.09%), other (18.19%).



Figure 2.14: Woman embroidering a sari in her house

Education

Table 2.4 compares education levels between members of the Old Generation and Young Generation, as well as between the men and women of Geneva Camp.

Table 2.4: Geneva Camp Education Statistics

Category	No Education	< class 8	≥ class 8	≥ class 10 (SSC)	class 12 (HSC)	> class 12 (university)	Total %
<b>Old Generation</b> (39+)	<b>24</b> <b>52.18%</b>	<b>15</b> <b>34.79%</b>	<b>3</b> <b>6.52%</b>	<b>1</b> <b>2.17%</b>	<b>1</b> <b>2.17%</b>	<b>1</b> <b>2.17%</b>	<b>45</b> <b>100.00</b>
Men	9 47.37%	5 26.32%	2 10.53%	1 5.26%	1 5.26%	1 5.26%	19 100.00
Women	15 57.69%	10 38.46%	1 3.85%	0 0.00%	0 0.00%	0 0.00%	26 100.00
<b>Young Generation</b> (18-38)	<b>30</b> <b>26.09%</b>	<b>46</b> <b>40.00%</b>	<b>20</b> <b>17.39%</b>	<b>9</b> <b>7.83%</b>	<b>2</b> <b>1.74%</b>	<b>8</b> <b>6.96%</b>	<b>115</b> <b>100.00</b>
Men	18 29.03%	20 32.27%	12 19.35%	6 9.68%	1 1.61%	5 8.06%	62 100.00
Women	12 22.64%	26 49.06%	8 15.09%	3 5.66%	1 1.89%	3 5.66%	53 100.00
<b>Total</b>	<b>54</b> <b>33.75%</b>	<b>62</b> <b>38.74%</b>	<b>22</b> <b>13.75%</b>	<b>10</b> <b>6.25%</b>	<b>3</b> <b>1.88%</b>	<b>9</b> <b>5.63%</b>	<b>160</b> <b>100.00</b>

Note: SSC= secondary school certificate (given after class 10); HSC= higher secondary school certificate (given after class 12)

Similar to the education trends in CRO Camp, the percentage of Young Generation with “no education” is significantly less than that of the Old Generation. Likewise, there is an increase in the percentage of Young Generation who have passed their SSC and HSC exams compared to the Old Generation, despite the barriers they faced as a result of their Camp address, lack of national identity cards, and social stigma of being labeled as “Biharis”. It should be noted, however, that the members of the Young Generation who have achieved the highest levels of education (university) largely come from the same couple of families. Nonetheless,

it is remarkable that individuals living in the difficult Camp conditions are able to study for their BA, MBA and LLB.

Analysing this data in terms of literacy rates, there is an increase in percentage of literate individuals (in accordance with the definition adopted by the Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics and the measures used in this report) between the Old Generation and Young Generation, from 13.33% to 33.91%. However, when compared to CRO Camp, the rate of *illiteracy* amongst the Young Generation is higher in Geneva Camp, with 66.09% of its youth being illiterate versus 52.73% in CRO Camp. One cause of the higher illiteracy rates in Geneva Camp may be because this Camp is at the centre of much of the community’s economic activity, including the sari embroidering industry, which tends to draw its workforce from the uneducated and young sections of society. Many of the youth living in this Camp may therefore have chosen, or been forced to choose, employment over education in order to help provide income for their families.

Compared to the 2008 national urban literacy average of 56.90%, the Camp dwelling population is still far behind, with an

average literacy rate of 33.75%.<sup>12</sup> However, when compared to the national urban literacy rate of the “poorest” section of the population, 36%, they are achieving similarly low levels of literacy (“Bangladesh Literacy”, 2008, p. xiii).<sup>13</sup> This result signifies that both Camp dwellers and other slum dwellers are at a disadvantage in terms of gaining access to education as a result of living in informal settlements without proper addresses, which are mandatory for school admissions. The Camp residents face an additional obstacle, however, in that they have the social stigma of being “Bihari”.

12 33.75% is the average literacy rate of the Young and Old Generations from both CRO Camp and Geneva Camp.

13 It should be kept in mind that the measures used to assess literacy in the Bangladesh Literacy Assessment Survey (2008) vary from the measure used in this report (class 8 or higher). For example, the 2008 Assessment uses questions such as the following to assess literacy:

- 1) Read the following paragraph: “Ali is a farmer. He is very happy. He has two cows, two bulls, two goats and a sheep. He loves them and takes care.” (translated from Bangla)
- 2) Add 227+129+138, Divide 715/ 11 (“Literacy Assessment Survey”, 2008, p.67-68) Therefore the comparison of literacy rates may not be entirely accurate.

### *Legal Status*

In this survey of Geneva Camp, it was found that 73.33% of the residents now have national identity cards. While all of the residents over 18 reported applying for a national identity card, 26.67% are still waiting to receive theirs. Although this was not an issue in CRO Camp, it is a significant problem for those residing in Geneva Camp and possibly other Camps in Bangladesh.

While the 2008 High Court ruling has led to the effective distribution of national identity cards amongst the Camp dwelling population, very few have any other form of documentation that affirms their Bangladeshi identity. For example, only 6.67% of the residents have passports. An explanation for this low percentage of passport holders is that the Camp address prevents their applications from being accepted. Those who have successfully applied for a passport have had to use a non-Camp address, such as that of a relative living outside the Camps.

### *Views on Rehabilitation and Integration*

The vast majority of Geneva Camp residents today feel that Bangladesh is their homeland. When asked whether they, "wish to live in Bangladesh or in any other country such as Pakistan or India", 97.78% responded that they wish to live in Bangladesh. While members of the Old Generation responded to this question by saying things like, "what will I do in Pakistan, Bangladesh is (now) my home", members of the Young Generation were adamant about stating that Bangladesh is their country and that they are Bangladeshi citizens.

Such are the sentiments of Noyon, a 20-year old youth from Geneva Camp who said "I love this country very much. My best sentence is 'The name of our country is Bangladesh and I am a people of Bangladesh.'" (Personal communication, March 18<sup>th</sup> 2010)

Although the majority of the respondents were resolute in terms of stating their national identity as being Bangladeshi, 66.67% are still part of "divided families", with some of their relatives living in Pakistan. Therefore, the desire to at least visit Pakistan is very much alive, especially for members of the Old Generation, who were separated from their brothers and sisters during earlier repatriation drives.

Of those who view Bangladesh as their homeland, 62.22% now wish to live outside of the Camp, because Geneva Camp is extremely overcrowded, and lacks basic facilities and infrastructure. Common complaints include the difficulties of collecting water from the public water pumps, the unsanitary condition of the toilets, the fact that there are too few toilets for the population, the struggle to pay rent, the lack of privacy, and the regular flooding of footpaths and low lying houses with sewage water during monsoon season.

Whether they wish to continue living in the Camp or settle outside, the majority of Camp dwellers share a common vision for their rehabilitation, including single-family apartments with a private bath, kitchen, and facilities such as running water, a gas connection, and electricity. This vision is consistent with the United Nation's declaration on the rights to adequate housing. The 2003 UN Habitat Agenda states that:

Adequate shelter means more than a roof over one's head. It also means adequate privacy; adequate space; physical accessibility; adequate security; adequate basic infrastructure, such as water-supply, sanitation, and waste-management facilities; suitable environmental quality and health-related factors; and adequate and accessible location with regard to work and basic facilities: all of which should be available at an affordable cost (article 60).

It also states that, "Within the overall context of an enabling approach, Governments should take appropriate action in order to promote, protect and ensure the full and progressive realization of the right to adequate housing" (article 61). Although many Camp residents believe that the Bangladeshi government should be held responsible for facilitating their rehabilitation, most also acknowledged that such action is unlikely, and that self-rehabilitation and integration through their own efforts is the only way forward. A plan for implementing their visions for rehabilitation and integration will be explored in the *Conclusions and Recommendations* Chapter of this report.

## SECTION FOUR

### CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Based on the foregoing findings, we can now address the main research questions posed in this report:

- 1) How has the High Court judgment affected the community's housing and land rights situation? Has it led to improvements in their living conditions and social integration, or has it made them more vulnerable to eviction and social isolation?
- 2) How can the community be further rehabilitated and integrated into Bangladeshi society, and in what ways can stakeholders support this process?

Question 1 will be addressed in the section on *Impact of the High Court Judgment* while various approaches to question 2 will be explored in the section on *Options for Further Rehabilitation and Integration*.

#### Impact of the High Court Judgment

##### *Social Integration*

The High Court judgment has had a clear and positive impact on the community's social integration into Bangladeshi society, as the distribution of national identity cards has enabled thousands of youths to gain access to schools and employment outside of the Camps. However, there is still much progress to be made in terms of improving the community's access to education and employment opportunities. As expressed in the *Findings*, many of the Camp-dwelling youth are still not achieving high levels of education. This is primarily due to the economic needs of their families, which cause them to quit school after only a few years of study, to help bring in income for their families. It is recommended that the youth be given the opportunity to apply for

scholarships, which will support their higher studies and take the pressure off of their parents to provide tuition fees.

Similarly, although the attainment of national identity cards has enabled many Camp-dwelling youth and young adults to gain access to employment opportunities that they would have otherwise been denied, some are still facing barriers when searching for employment outside the Camps due to the effects of lingering prejudice. To this point, it should be noted that the card holder's address is listed on the identity card. Those living in Camps such as Geneva Camp have no "proper address" to list, and must therefore write Geneva Camp. When potential employers see this address it signifies that the applicant is a Bihari, which may lead some to reject the application. Perhaps one way to address this issue would be for the Camps to be given proper postal addresses. This could happen as part of a formal land transfer to the community, which will be discussed in the next sub-section.

##### *Living Conditions*

Improvements in the Camp inhabitants' living conditions have largely hinged on their feelings of residential security. Residential security is what enables one to have the confidence to invest time and resources into improving one's home environment. In both CRO and Geneva Camp, we have seen that families are now investing financial resources into their homes by building more durable walls and ceilings, as well as purchasing household items such as refrigerators, TVs, and expensive showcase dishware, which signify the permanency of the structures.

Yet, many residents are still outwardly expressing their fear of eviction as a result of the High Court ruling, which has removed their former label of being an "internally displaced" people, the basis for which they were allowed to remain on the Camp lands (which belong to the Government as well as private owners) for the past 38 years. Both in the interviews conducted for this report and in newspaper articles, Camp dwellers are expressing concern over the possibility of eviction. In a *Daily Star* report, Camp resident Neaz Ahmed remarks "My family had everything before the War. We had a home and land here in Dhaka. But I will probably end up in a slum if we lose shelter at the Geneva Camp" (Parveen, 2008). It can be argued, however, that their actions speak louder than words. Through their investments in their homes, they have shown that they feel some sense of place and security in the Camps. Otherwise, they would not have been willing to make these investments in the first place.

In addition, it should be mentioned that their worries about eviction can be allayed by several factors. First, members of this community now have the legal right to vote in Bangladesh, which should give them an added sense of security because they can form a formidable vote bloc if needed, and use this as a political bargaining tool to secure their rights to remain on the Camp lands. This political bargaining strategy to secure land and housing rights in exchange for votes has been used by various squatter communities successfully in the past.<sup>14</sup> Another factor which makes the possibility of an eviction or demolition unlikely is that over the last 38 years many significant structures, such as mosques, schools and medical clinics, have been established in the Camps. The presence of these structures would make the demolition process not only hard, but very controversial, and would be met by international opprobrium.

In order to address this issue once and for all, and to expedite the rehabilitation and integration process of the Camp residents, it is recommended that the Camp lands be formally transferred to the community in the form of a 99-year land lease. This action would not only be an appropriate next step in the wake of the May, 2008 High Court ruling, but it would also confirm the residents' rights as citizens to own property in Bangladesh.

In conclusion, the High Court ruling has had a positive effect on the social integration of the Urdu-speaking Community into Bangladeshi society, enabling them to gain access to more educational and job opportunities through the possession of national identity cards. Similarly, the ruling has confirmed the community's right to vote in Bangladesh, which is a fundamental aspect of citizenship. Despite rumors of eviction following the High Court ruling, the essential voting rights produced by the Court ruling have given the Camp residents a sense of security, as demonstrated by the investments in their homes, which have in turn improved their living conditions. Yet, even with these positive improvements in their living conditions, there are still major obstacles to

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<sup>14</sup> For example, in 1972 800 colonies in Delhi were legalized by the ruling Congress Party, and 5 years later, 567 more colonies were legalized in exchange for votes (Biswas, 2010). This has also been an effective practice used by squatter communities in Mumbai and Calcutta, India.

overcome in terms of transforming the Camps into the kinds of residential environments envisioned by the inhabitants.

### Options for Further Rehabilitation and Integration

The answer to the second question posed in this report, about further rehabilitation and integration efforts and how they can be supported, can take many forms. In fact, the Dhaka City Corporation has even submitted its own plan for the full rehabilitation of this community in Bangladesh. Whether it would actually benefit the community if carried out remains a serious concern.

On March 4, 2010, it was publicized that the Dhaka City Corporation (DCC) intends to "build multistoried modern apartments for (the Camp dwellers) at the Geneva Camp in the city's Mohammadpur area" ("Government to Build", 2010). The cost of construction will be Tk. 1259.62 crore, paid for by the DCC.<sup>15</sup> The plan is for a total of 45 buildings to be constructed on the land of Geneva and Town Hall Camp, with each building accommodating 126 families (a total of 5,670 families). LGRD Minister Syed Ashraf Islam and Deputy Jahangir Kabir Nanak are in support of the project, which will provide each family with a 575 square-foot apartment including two bedrooms, one toilet, a common space, and a kitchen.

While this may seem like an ideal plan, many questions remain unanswered, including how construction will be financed and rents determined. Even if the DCC has the 1259.62 crore taka needed for this project, how are the residents expected to pay the monthly rent for such apartments after they are built? Given that residents currently pay no rent in the Camps and identify the price of accommodation as the main reason they cannot live outside the Camps, how then might they be expected to pay for these apartments? Also, where will the Camp residents be relocated during construction? At this point, the proposal seems to lack transparency given that such basic questions regarding the project remain unanswered.

Regardless of the motives of the DCC, this may not be the most effective plan for the rehabilitation of this community. It has been shown repeatedly that large "top-down" government run housing projects are

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<sup>15</sup> A *crore* is a unit in the Indian numbering system equal to ten million (10,000,000).

relatively unsuccessful in meeting the needs of the community they are targeting. This has been seen in India, in the failed efforts by city corporations in Mumbai and Calcutta to relocate slum dwellers into high rise apartments, and even in the United States, with failed public housing projects such as Cabrini Green in Chicago.

Instead of supporting top-down rehabilitation projects, bottom-up community-led projects have been shown to be more successful. There are even projects in Bangladesh which attest to the benefits of community-led rehabilitation initiatives, such as the work of the Urban Partnerships for Poverty Reduction (UPPR) project in urban slums around the country.<sup>16</sup> These programmes are successful because they are led by the community members themselves, and address their actual needs, and not the needs that the government or any other agencies identify.

For example, the construction of high-rise apartments may not actually fit the needs of the Camp dwellers, as many of them own goats and other animals as part of their trades. These animals cannot be accommodated in high rises, but they could be accommodated in low-rise houses. Organizations such as the Centre for Urban Studies and NDBUS have begun to work with slum-dwelling communities in Dhaka to develop ideas for such housing projects. These ideas have been presented in their recent publication "Low Cost Housing Design for the Urban Poor" (2010), and include innovative designs to improve the housing and infrastructure of three Dhaka-based slum settlements in Korail, Rayer Bazar, and Kalshi.

Ideally, the Bihari Camps could be integrated into already existing slum-rehabilitation programmes. However, the programmes may have to be tailored to fit the unique situation of the inhabitants as a linguistically segregated community. For instance, integration problems resulting from enduring prejudices against this community would have to be taken into account when working to develop their capacities for long-

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<sup>16</sup> The UPPR project of UNDP is active in 30 cities across Bangladesh. They work with urban poor communities to support skill development by sponsoring vocational training and facilitating apprenticeships in participating enterprises, link poor urban business owners with banks and micro-finance institutions to facilitate access to finance, and organize the communities to improve their communal infrastructure and housing situation.

term rehabilitation. Both a short-term and long-term rehabilitation and integration plan for the Camp-dwelling Urdu-speaking community will now be outlined.

#### *Short Term Rehabilitation and Integration Plan*

In terms of facilitating rehabilitation and integration in the short-term, a two pronged approach is needed. On the one hand, there should be an emphasis on self-rehabilitation through education, as it is the most reliable and long-lasting way for the community to work its way out of poverty. On the other hand, basic foundational and infrastructural support should be provided in the short term by stakeholders, including community based organizations NGOs, government agencies, and international organizations such as the United Nations.

With regard to self-rehabilitation through education, increased access to education will enable youth from the Camps to earn the higher degrees (HSC, BA, MA, etc) that are critical when applying for high-skill and high-paying jobs. With higher degrees they will not only have access to more opportunities in the job market, but they can potentially earn the incomes needed to rent accommodations outside the Camps, if so desired, or to build their own houses inside the Camps to meet their families' needs.

In order to set this process in motion, scholarships are needed for the Camp youth, so that they can continue on to higher studies. As we have seen, many of the youth complete up to Class 7 or 8, and then drop out to help provide an income for their families. With the provision of scholarships a new path for their future could open up, and instead of turning to *gorir kaaj* or other low-paying work, they could pursue higher paying and higher skilled jobs that would benefit their families more in the long-run.

While improvements in access to education may help this community rehabilitate itself, support from stakeholders to provide basic infrastructure in the Camps would be complimentary and beneficial to the plan of self-rehabilitation through education. For example, young girls in the Camps are still being pulled out of school, before receiving their Secondary School Certificates, to help their mothers with household work. They are made to stand in the long lines at the water pump and carry water back to their houses in buckets. This tedious and time consuming task could be eliminated by the construction of more water

pumps in the Camps, and in this way perhaps improve the educational opportunities for these young girls. In this and many other ways, the improvement of basic infrastructure would greatly enhance the quality of life in the Camps, and should be addressed in the immediate future.

*Long Term Rehabilitation and Integration Plan*

With regard to long term rehabilitation and integration, a two pronged approach would again be appropriate. On the one hand, many of the Camp residents stated that they would like to live outside the Camps in the future. Efforts should be made to support community members in their search for affordable housing outside the Camps. Particular attention should be paid to combating lingering prejudice against the community, which has been a major obstacle to finding accommodation outside the Camps in the past.

The other approach to long term rehabilitation and integration would be to transform the Camps from segregated slums into vibrant ethnic neighborhoods. The first step in this approach would be to transfer the title of the land to the community from the private owners or the government. This transfer would then enable a series of intensive initiatives to improve the civic infrastructure, including gas connections, roads, footpaths, and the construction of more schools, markets, and medical clinics. The presence of these facilities would encourage the unrestricted flow of people in and out of the neighborhoods.

In addition, innovative housing designs could be developed to maximize use of the small space in which they have to perform all of their daily activities. For example, instead of continuing to build 1-storey houses or precarious 2-storey individual houses, a larger 4-storey house could be built on the plots of 8 families, who would then be accommodated in the structure. Building upwards (vertically) instead of outwards (horizontally) would save on space, and the land saved in this process could be developed for economic activities such as the construction of a small factory or shop. Alternatively, the surplus land could be used for the construction of courtyards or places for their children to play, which are currently lacking in the Camps. Additionally, these 4-storey houses could be built in accordance with standard building codes which would help them withstand natural disasters, such as earthquakes and floods, which are common in the region. Also, the houses could be built out of environmentally-friendly materials which have been adapted to fit the climate.

There are endless possibilities for the development of the Camps into flourishing ethnic neighborhoods. It is of utmost importance that these efforts be led by the community members themselves, in order to build their own capacities and ensure that these efforts are in the best interests of the community rather than in service of another agenda. Nevertheless, room should certainly be made for collaboration between the community and international agencies and donors, local government, NGOs, and CBOs, as cross-sector partnerships have the potential to produce innovative results. In addition, a special emphasis should be put on including women, as they tend to be excluded from such major decision making processes.

In order to develop these ideas further, a formal Long Term Rehabilitation and Integration plan should be developed for the Camps through a collaborative effort made by the Camp leaders and residents, academics, politicians, and organizations with slum-rehabilitation experience. This plan would provide a detailed vision of how the Camps can be transformed from segregated slums to vibrant ethnic neighborhoods.

## APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1 : Survey Questionnaire  
Bihari Camp Housing Survey

1. Camp name			
2. Household Number			
3. Head of Household's Name <i>ghar ka guardian kaun hai?</i>			
4. <i>Number of people sleeping (eating) in that household Kitne admi yaha rehte hain?</i>			
5. Name	Age <i>umar kitna hai?</i>	Occupation and Income <i>kya kam karte hain? phul-pati ka kam (for women)</i>	Education Level <i>kaha class tak par rehe hain? / kaun class me hai?</i>
		Total Income:	
7 When did they come to this camp? <i>App kab yaha ate the? Were they/ their children born in the camp? Aap kaha paida hue?</i>			
8. Do they have any savings? <i>Aap kya paisa jama karte hain?</i>			
9 <i>Have you made any recent repairs to their house? (roof, kitchen, new furniture) Aap kya ghar ka koi hissa banaya hai?</i>			
10. If you had the money what would you fix next? <i>Agar aap ke pas paisa hogia tab aap ghar ka kaun sa hissa banaenge?</i>			
11. Do they prefer living in the camp or living outside? <i>Aap kya camp me ya camp ke bahar rehne chahte hain?</i>			
12. What are the biggest problems they face living in the camp now? <i>Aap kya samajte hain camp me rehne sab se bara masla kya hai?</i>			
13. Have they ever tried to apply for a passport? <i>Kya aap passport ke lie koshish kya tha? Koi samasya aap ke lie kyonki camp address hai?</i>			
14. Did they get a voter's ID card? <i>Voter ID card hai?</i>			
15. Do they wish to live in Bangladesh? (or Pakistan or another country) <i>Kya aap Bangladesh me rehna chate hain?</i>			
16. What do they think about the gov's efforts to rehabilitate them? Do you they know about their recent plans?			
17. Do their relatives also live in the camps in Bangladesh? <i>Aap ka rishtedar camp me rehte hain ya camp ke bahar ya Pakistan me?</i>			
18. Did they own any property or business in Bangladesh before the War? If so, what happened to it after the War? <i>Pakistan time me, aap ka apna ghar ka karobar tha? Aur, abhi kya hua?</i>			

19. Do they boil their drinking water?	Yes/ no
20. Where is their kitchen?	In main dwelling room/ separate room/ common kitchen / attached with another family
21. What type of fuel do they use for cooking?	Natural gas/ kerosene/ wood/ straw/ animal dung/ propane gas
22. Number of rooms in house	
23. Approximate size of house	
24. Where does everyone sleep	Bed/ floor / roof
25. Main material for floor	Concrete/ dirt/ wood / brick/ tiles/ plastic mat
26. Main material for walls	Concrete/ dirt/ wood/ brick/ tin sheet/ bamboo
27. Main material for roof	Tin sheet/ plastic sheets/ thatch/ concrete
28. Observation of dwelling space. Significant furniture items, windows, etc.	

**APPENDIX 2 : Table of All Camps**  
**Al-Falah Bangladesh: Urdu-speaking/ Bihari Settlements in**  
**Bangladesh**

**Dhaka Division**

No	Name of settlement	Location/ Address	Population	Area of Settlements	Number of Bathrooms	Number of Latrines	Number of Schools
1	Geneva Camp	Ward # 45, Babar Road, Mohammadpur, Dhaka	18000	235000 sqf	38	76	1
2	Shah Jahan Road Camp (CRO)	Ward # 44, 14/27, Shah Jahan Road, Mohammadpur, Dhaka	385	8400 sqf	1	4	nil
3	Market Camp	Ward # 42, Taj Mahal Road, Mohammadpur, Dhaka	3680	42000 sqf	3	2	nil
4	Community Centre Camp	Ward # 42, Taj Mahal Road, Mohammadpur, Dhaka	1484	22000 sqf	2	2	nil
5	Staff Quarter Camp	Ward # 42, # 30, 31 & 32, Staff Quarter, Zohori Mohalla, Mohammadpur, Dhaka	1100	19000 sqf	nil	1	nil
6	Town Hall Relief Camp	Ward # 44, Asad Avenue, Mohammadpur, Dhaka	3115	38000 sqf	2	2	1
7	Talab Camp	Ward # 3, Section # 10, Mirpur, Dhaka	500	42000 sqf	individual	1	nil
8	Tejgaon Relief Camp	Ward # 3, WAPDA Building, Section # 10, Mirpur, Dhaka	3250	57000 sqf	individual	1	nil
9	Shaheed Millat Camp	Road # 6, 7 & 8, Block A, Section # 10, Mirpur, Dhaka	950	18000 sqf	individual	3	nil
10	Madrasah Camp	Ward # 3, Block A, Section # 10, Mirpur, Dhaka	500	10000 sqf	individual	nil	nil
11	Muslim Camp	Ward # 3, Block A, Section # 10, Mirpur, Dhaka	2500	45000 sqf	individual	4	nil
12	Non-Local Relief Camp	Ward # 3, Road # 13, 14, 15, 16 & 17, Block C, Section # 11, Mirpur, Dhaka	800	15000 sqf	individual	20	nil
13	MCC Camp	Ward # 3, Avenue 5, Block C, Section 11, Mirpur, Dhaka	2250	40000 sqf	individual	2	nil
14	Mirpur Shaheen School Camp	Ward # 3, Road # 13, Avenue 5, Block C, Section # 11, Mirpur, Dhaka	1750	33000 sqf	individual	2	nil
15	Al-Falah Relief Camp	Ward # 3, Avenue 5, Block C, Section # 11, Mirpur, Dhaka	600	8000 sqf	individual	10	nil
16	Irani Camp	Ward # 3, Road # 16, Avenue 3, Block B, Section # 11, Mirpur, Dhaka	750	16000 sqf	individual	1	nil
17	Millat School Camp	Ward # 3, Block B, Section # 11, Mirpur, Dhaka	3000	55000 sqf	individual	2	1

18	Football Ground Camp	Ward # 3, Road # 10, Block C, Section # 11, Mirpur, Dhaka	2250	41000 sqf	individual	1	nil
19	Heed Society Camp	Avenue 1, Section 11, Mirpur	2250	40000 sqf	individual	1	nil
20.	Post Office Camp	Ward # 3, Road # 10, Block C, Mirpur Bazar, Section # 11, Mirpur, Dhaka	625	15000 sqf	individual	1	nil
21.	Millat Camp	Ward # 3, Main Road, Block D, Section # 11, Mirpur, Dhaka	1500	29000 sqf	individual	nil	nil
22.	Talab Camp	Ward # 3, Block B, Near Jame Masjid, Section # 11, Mirpur, Dhaka	1250	25000 sqf	individual	2	nil
23.	CONCERN/ WAPDA Building Camp	Ward # 3, Kalshi Road, Block B, Section # 11, Mirpur, Dhaka	3250	57000 sqf	individual	400	1
24.	Rahmat Camp	Ward # 3, Road # 7, Block B, Section # 11, Mirpur, Dhaka	3250	57000 sqf	individual	40	nil
25.	Mirpur BC (ADC Camp)	Ward # 3, Avenue 1 & 3, Block A, Section # 11, Mirpur, Dhaka	615	21000 sqf	2	2	nil
26.	Kurmitola Relief Camp	Ward # 8, Block E, Section # 12, Mirpur, Dhaka	8000	133000 sqf	individual	4	1
27.	Irani Relief Camp # 2	Ward # 8, Block E, Near Kalshi Road, Section # 12, Mirpur, Dhaka	500	10000 sqf	individual	2	nil
28.	Medical Camp	Ward # 8, Block C, Section # 12, Mirpur, Dhaka	1000	20000 sqf	individual	nil	1
29.	School Camp	Ward # 8, Block D, Kala Pani, Near Eid Gah Maidan, Section # 12, Mirpur, Dhaka	1250	25000 sqf	individual	3	nil
30.	Maura Para Camp	Road # 5, Block C, D & E, Near Kalshi Road, Section # 12, Mirpur, Dhaka	2250	40000 sqf	individual	2	nil
31.	Adamjee Nagar Camp	Adamjee New EPZ, PS Siddherganj, Narayanganj	6500	114000 sqf	individual	9	nil
32.	Rally Bagan Camp	Rally Bagan, Kumodini Trust, Narayanganj	315	6500 sqf	individual	1	nil
33.	David Bagan Camp	Kumodini Trust, Narayanganj	325	7000 sqf	individual	1	nil
34.	Dewan Ganj Railway Colony Camp	Dewan Ganj Railway Colony, Dewan Ganj Bazar, Dist. Jamalpur	1000	20500 sqf	individual	individual	nil
35.	Jamalpur Bihari Camp	Dhakaya Patti Bazar, Bokoltola, Jamalpur	250	30000 sqf	individual	individual	nil
36.	Patgodam Camp	Ward # 10, Kalibari Road, Mymensingh	7500	17000 sqf	2	3	nil
37.	TIPA Khola Gowal Chamat Camp	TIPA Khola Gowal Chamat, Faridpur	675	80000 sqf	individual	individual	nil
38.	Kalipatti New Colony Camp	New Colony, College Road, Rajbari	730	88000 sqf	individual	individual	nil

**Khulna Division**

No	Name of settlement	Location/ Address	Population	Area of Settlements	Number of Bathrooms	Number of Latrines	Number of Schools
39.	Matom Danga Colony Camp # 2	Jahanabad, Matom Danga, Colony # 2, PS Khan Jahan Ali, Khulna	1036	24309 sqm	10	10	1
40.	Camp # 8	Ward # 10, New Colony, Khalispur, Khulna	109	1512 sqm	4	nil	nil

41.	Baitul Falah Camp	Ward # 12, Old Colony, Khalispur, Khulna	197	1829 sq m	4	4	nil
42.	Camp # 7	Ward # 12, Old Colony, Khalispur, Khulna	617	12272 sq m	10	10	nil
43.	Camp # 3	Ward # 12, Old Colony, Khalispur, Khulna	664	3894 sq m	12	12	nil
44.	Camp # 1	Ward # 12, Old Colony, Khalispur, Khulna	494	8469 sq m	16	16	nil
45.	West Banandi Para, Kathaltola Camp	Ward # 1, Colony # 2, West Banandi Para, Kathaltola, Jessore	174	912 sq m	8	8	nil

## Chittagong Division

No	Name of settlement	Location/ Address	Population	Area of Settlements	Number of Bathrooms	Number of Latrines	Number of Schools
46.	Sardar Bahadur School Camp	Ward # 13, Pahartali, PO & PS Khulshi, Chittagong	2598	62400 sqf	1	20	1
47.	Segun Bagan Camp	Ward # 13, Pahartali, PO & PS Khulshi, Chittagong	1155	48604 sqf	individual	individual	nil
48.	Diesel Colony Camp	Ward # 13, Pahartali, PO & PS Khulshi, Chittagong	236	5026 sqf	individual	individual	nil
49.	New Jhawtala Colony Camp	Ward # 13, Pahartali, PO & PS Khulshi, Chittagong	105	2604 sqf	individual	individual	nil
50.	Jhawtala Colony Camp	Ward # 13, Pahartali, PO & PS Khulshi, Chittagong	997	21684 sqf	individual	7	nil
51.	TPP Colony Camp	Ward # 13, Pahartali, PO & PS Khulshi, Chittagong	105	5443 sqf	Individual	Individual	nil
52.	Wireless Colony Camp	Ward # 13, Pahartali, PO & PS Khulshi, Chittagong	3134	117672 sqf	individual	individual	nil
53.	XEN Colony Camp	Ward # 13, Pahartali, PO & PS Khulshi, Chittagong	116	3260 sqf	individual	individual	nil
54.	Islamia School Camp	Ward # 13, Pahartali, PO & PS Khulshi, Chittagong	577	12264 sqf	individual	12	nil
55.	Sardar Bahadur Nagar Camp	Ward # 13, Pahartali, PO & PS Khulshi, Chittagong	472	16272 sqf	individual	individual	nil
56.	Khulshi Colony Camp	Ward # 13, Pahartali, PO & PS Khulshi, Chittagong	787	187450 sqf	individual	individual	nil
57.	Hali Shahar Non-Local Camp	Ward # 26, PO & PS Hali Shahar, Chittagong	997	111900 sqf	3	6	1
58.	Sher Shah Non-Local Camp	Ward # 7, PO Amin Jute Mills, PS Bayazid Bostami, Chittagong	265	52500 sqf	individual	individual	nil
59.	Raufabad Non-Local Camp	Ward # 7, PO Amin Jute Mills, PS Bayazid Bostami, Chittagong	1837	448500 sqf	individual	individual	nil

60.	Feroz Shah Non-Local Camp	Ward # 9, West Feroz Shah, PS Khulshi, Chittagong	1077	247500 sqf	2	4	nil
61.	Hamzarbagh Non-Local Camp	Ward # 7, West Shola Shahar, PO Amin Jute Mills, PS Panchsila, Chittagong	315	45000 sqf	individual	individual	nil
62.	Shuluk Bahar Non-Local Camp	Ward # 8, Shuluk Bahar, PO Chawk Bazar, PS Panchsalia, Chittagong	178	2880 sqf	individual	individual	nil

## Rajshahi Division

No	Name of settlement	Location/ Address	Population	Area of Settlements	Number of Bathrooms	Number of Latrines	Number of Schools
63.	Khair Bari Camp	Ward # 11, Khair Bari, Rangpur	760	13500 sqf	----	----	nil
64.	Babu Para Camp	Ward # 12, Babu Para, Rangpur	760	13500 sqf	----	----	nil
65.	Muslim Para Railway Camp	Ward # 11, Muslim Para, Rangpur	1050	18000 sqf	----	----	nil
66.	Ispahani Camp # 3	Ward # 11, Robsonganj, Alam Nagar, Rangpur	2620	46960 sqf	3	20	1
67.	Ispahani Camp # 2	RDCC Tajhat Road, Alam Nagar, Rangpur	1400	25350 sqf	6	20	nil
68.	New Relief Camp	Ward # 11, Robsonganj, Rangpur	780	13500 sqf	4	12	nil
69.	Sulphate Camp	Ward # 11, Muslim Para, Rangpur	750	13500 sqf	3	12	nil
70.	Kalam Godown	Ward # 11, Station Road, Rangpur	175	3150 sqf	individual	4	nil
71.	Alam Nagar Colony Camp (Colony A)	Ward # 12, Alam Nagar Colony, Rangpur	210	3260 sqf	----	8	nil
72.	Alam Nagar Colony Camp (Colony B)	Ward # 12, Alam Nagar Colony, Rangpur	210	3280 sqf	1	8	nil
73.	Alam Nagar Colony Camp (Colony C)	Ward # 12, Alam Nagar Colony, Rangpur	210	3250 sqf	1	8	nil
74.	Murgi Farm Camp	Ward # 11, Murgi Farm, Rangpur	263	4850 sqf	4	----	nil
75.	Railway Farm Camp	Ward # 11, Railway Colony, Rangpur	847	9500 sqf	105	105	nil
76.	Machhua Patti Camp	Ward # 11, Machhua Patti, Rangpur	165	2000 sqf	22	22	nil
77.	Latif Pur Colony Camp (Zone A)	Ward # 11, Latif Pur Colony, Bogra	550	8800 sqf	22	22	nil
78.	Latif Pur Colony Camp (Zone B)	Ward # 12, Latif Pur Colony, Chawk Farid, Bogra	850	13600 sqf	2	4	nil
79.	Chawk Lokman Malti Nagar Camp (Zone C)	Ward # 13, Chawk Lokman Malti Nagar, Bogra	1450	24600 sqf	250	250	nil
80.	Latif Pur Colony (Zone D)	Ward # 11, Latif Pur Colony, Bogra	880	13800 sqf	110	6	nil

81.	Latif Pur Colony (Zone E)	Ward # 12, Latif Pur Colony, Bogra	560	9200 sqf	92	92	nil
82.	Latif Pur Colony (Zone F)	Ward # 12, Latif Pur Colony, Bogra	490	6500 sqf	66	---	nil
83.	Sherpur Shantahar	Sherpur Shantahar, Bogra	160	2600 sqf	26	26	nil
84.	Fateh Mohammadpur School Camp (Zone A)	Ward # 5, Railway Colony, Ishwardi, Pabna	850	14000 sqf	160	160	nil
85.	Fateh Mohammadpur School Camp (Zone B)	Ward # 5, Railway Colony, Ishwardi, Pabna	650	12000 sqf	135	135	nil
86.	Fateh Mohammadpur School Camp (Zone C)	Ward # 5, Loco Colony, Ishwardi, Pabna	1960	26000 sqf	300	300	nil
87.	Fateh Mohammadpur School Camp (Zone D)	Ward # 5, Loco Colony, Ishwardi, Pabna	1550	22500 sqf	265	265	nil
88.	Siroil Colony Camp (Railway area)	Ward # 19, Station Road, Near Railway Station, Ishwardi, Pabna	2700	42000 sqf	500	500	nil
89.	Sagor Para Camp (Old town area)	Shah Makhdoom Road, Rajshahi	1600	900 decimal	280	280	nil
90.	Munshi Para Camp	Ward # 11, Munshi Para, Gaibandha	520	85000 sqf	4	4	nil
91.	David Cong Para Camp	Ward # 11, Munshi Para, Gaibandha	250	45000 sqf	5	---	nil
92.	Railway Colony	Ward # 11, Railway Colony, Gaibandha	220	4000 sqf	40	40	nil
93.	Bridge Road Colony Camp	Ward # 11, Bridge Road, Gaibandha	135	13500 sqf	26	26	nil
94.	Mohri Para Camp	Ward # 11, Mohri Para, Gaibandha	260	4400 sqf	44	---	nil
95.	Cinema Hall Camp	Ward # 2, Golahat, Syedpur, Nilphamari	915	8056 sqf	6	30	nil
96.	Golahat Camp	Ward # 2, Golahat, Syedpur, Nilphamari	2750	23634 sqf	7	12	nil
97.	Islam Bag Camp	Ward # 3, Islam Bag, Syedpur, Nilphamari	200	1620 sqf	individual	3	nil
98.	Burma Shell Camp	Ward # 3, Atiar Colony, Syedpur, Nilphamari	285	2909 sqf	3	4	nil
99.	Rasul Pur Camp	Ward # 3, Rasul Pur, Syedpur, Nilphamari	330	6810 sqf	2	3	nil
100.	Balu Race Camp	Ward # 4, Near Thana, Atiar Colony, Syedpur, Nilphamari	430	6262 sqf	3	12	nil
101.	Godown Camp # 5	Ward # 6, Rangpur Road, Syedpur, Nilphamari	260	1417 sqf	1	2	nil
102.	Chamra Godown Camp	Ward # 6, Rangpur Road, Syedpur, Nilphamari	2400	42558 sqf	3	17	nil
103.	Mustafa Godown Camp	Ward # 6, Rangpur Road, Syedpur, Nilphamari	160	800 sqf	2	2	nil

104.	Godown Camp # 7	Ward # 6, Rangpur Road, Syedpur, Nilphamari	230	1499 sqf	1	10	nil
105.	Muslim Para Camp	Ward # 6, Muslim Para, Syedpur, Nilphamari	564	2963 sqf	2	29	nil
106.	Bangali Nijpara Camp	Ward # 7, Bangali Para (Azad Khan Godown), Syedpur, Nilphamari	184	2400 sqf	individual	26	nil
107.	Out House Camp	Ward # 7, Officers Colony, Syedpur, Nilphamari	1060	4521 sqf	individual	individual	nil
108.	Hati Khana Camp	Ward # 8, Cantonment Road, Syedpur, Nilphamari	3100	28800 sqf	3	18	nil
109.	Railway Mess Camp	Ward # 9, Cantonment Road, Syedpur, Nilphamari	270	1250 sqf	2	2	nil
	Dharmasala Camp	Ward # 11, Naya Bazar, Syedpur, Nilphamari	340	3617 sqf	individual	4	nil
110.	Durga Mill Camp	Ward # 11, Bichali Hat Road, Syedpur, Nilphamari	1200	14602 sqf	3	16	nil
111.	Kuli Para Camp	Ward # 11, New Babu Para, Syedpur, Nilphamari	435	4480 sqf	individual	individual	nil
112.	Shaheed Ajmal Camp	Ward # 12, Zahurul Haque Road, Syedpur, Nilphamari	380	17748 sqf	2	2	nil
113.	Bansbari Camp	Ward # 13 & 14, Bansbari, Syedpur, Nilphamari	1080	21960 sqf	4	10	nil
114.	Mistry Para Camp	Ward # 15, Mistry Para, Syedpur, Nilphamari	384	4096 sqf	1	12	nil
115.	American Camp	Ward # 15, Mistry Para, Syedpur, Nilphamari	435	4480 sqf	individual	individual	nil

Approximate population: 151,368

Total number of settlements: 116

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