Placemaking through Transformation and Adaptation within Informal Settlements: A Case of Ershadnagar Resettlement Camp

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Ershadnagar Resettlement Camp is an existing peri-urban informal settlement located at Tongi, Dhaka which has undergone a transformation process in the past 43 years. Dhaka - the most densely populated city of the world, has always been under extreme pressure to accommodate its ever-increasing number of slum dwellers. This almost 100-acre Ershadnagar resettlement camp had been a government initiative to house the evicted illegal slum dwellers as a part of 'Dhaka Clean' project in 1975. From inner Dhaka city, the evicted homeless population was relocated to the vacant land of this resettlement camp without any amenities or shelter provision. Since then, the camp dwellers have gradually developed themselves into a community with helps from government and non-government organisations. Yet major parts of this settlement still suffer from tenure insecurity, dilapidated housing conditions, lack of formal supply of basic infrastructure and services. Therefore, it can be considered as a slum except for some small parts that discretely achieved better living conditions. Although, the word 'slum' has derogatory notions attached to it, this paper discusses how the camp area has gained the attributes of a 'place' through the transformation and adaptation process of 'Placemaking' despite being a slum. Here, both the informal struggles of people and formal organisational initiatives are equally valid. Through the theoretical lens of place and Placemaking, this paper highlights qualitative data regarding the socio-cultural complexity of slums rather than statistical data. From field survey, interviews of inhabitants and development workers and available secondary data; the Placemaking process has been investigated both at the community and household level. While the process of 'Placemaking' is observed, the lack of tenure has been identified as a negative catalyst in the process.

Keywords: *Placemaking, Slum, Ershadnagar Resettlement Camp, Informal Settlement, Transformation*

INTRODUCTION

'In the eyes of the well-to-do citizen, the squatter struggling to shelter his family is an anti-social element. From any other point of view, his endeavour is as marvellous, intuitive and socially positive as a bird building a nest.' (Correa, 1989)

Bangladesh, a South-Asian developing country is facing overwhelming challenges with its ever-increasing number of slum dwellers which has multiplied four times in the last 17 years. (BBS, 2014) In this context, improvement of the living condition of slums and housing for low-income people has been a major topic of academic interest in architecture discipline. From previous examples of development projects, it is seen that when slums are considered only as a 'physical entity' that needs to be improved ignoring their complex social and spatial construct; the outcome fails to serve the target population. On this note, this paper investigates a 43-year-old slum- Ershadnagar Resettlement Camp under the analytic lens of 'slum as place' and its transformation process as 'Placemaking'. This camp was a government initiative to house the evicted illegal slum dwellers as part of the 'Dhaka Clean' project in 1975 but no shelter or facilities except

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land had been provided. From 1975 to 2018, the camp dwellers have gradually constructed and extended their houses with discrete help from the government and non-government organisations.

This paper first discusses the ideas of 'place' to establish the notion of 'place' or 'placelessness' in the context of the slum. The ubiquity of 'space' becomes 'place' with three attributes: location, locale and sense of place. Location refers to the 'where' of place. Locale refers to the material setting (houses, roads etc.) for social relations and sense of place means the personal and emotional attachment people have to a place (Agnew, 1987). From humanistic geography and other philosophical views, the paper will discuss different approaches of perceiving 'place'. In phenomenological approach, place is seen in its relation to humans, how people construct their own place (Cresswell, 2004). In this approach 'home' plays a vital role in the construction of places as this is the most profound form of attachment of people to a place (Relph, 1976). In the 'social constructivist' approach, place is seen in a conflicting power relation; while another strand of this theory views place as a dynamic process (Hardoy and Satterthwaite, 1989).

Drawing relevant ideas from these approaches, the paper brings the Ershadnagar slum under critical observation. The location, locale and sense of place that the dwellers have with this slum give Ershadnagar the attributes of place. Being situated on government land, Ershadnagar has a consistent land-use than other slums, but the absence of legal rights on land creates mobility and uncertainty which leads to a sense of 'placelessness'. The transformation of Ershadnagar into a slum community by the efforts of people and discrete help from government and NGO's is viewed here under the notion of 'Placemaking '. Placemaking takes into account both these formal (government and organisational initiative) and informal (activities of people) actions in the construction of place. The transformation of their houses (from shanty to pucca house) has been analysed as house is considered fundamental form of place in the phenomenological approach.

The objective of this paper is to view Ershadnagar slum from the perspective of 'place' and its construction process as 'Placemaking '. As an outcome of the study, this paper sheds light on the catalysts which make this settlement a 'place.'

METHODOLOGY

This qualitative study is based on both primary and secondary data. Primary data has been collected through field surveys, observations and interviews taken in 2014 and 2015 by the authors. The Field survey was conducted in the area and in sample houses of 30 families who live in the camp. Though a long time has passed, yet twenty two (22) of the thirty (30) interviewed families had at least one elderly member who has been living there since the foundation followed by generations of people who grew up there. Interview of non-government organisations such as Tongi Development Project (TDP), Terre Des Homes (TDH) officials gave further detail perspectives. The primary data has been used to give a holistic account of the transformation process of the slum, cross-checked by secondary resources available. The field survey data has been interpreted into plans and 3d visualization of the houses along with photographs to give proper idea of the physical transformation. Secondary data sources (books, research papers, essays and articles, dissertations, newspaper articles, and government census reports) have been used to establish the contextual background of the study and theoretical outline of the paper based on 'place' and 'place-making' in the context of slum. The overview of the total area has been given but detail inspection was not within the scope.

LITERATURE REVIEW

According to the definition of Habitat III Issue Papers 2015, informal settlements have some common characteristics such as lack of tenure security with modalities ranging from squatting to informal renting of houses, lack of basic service and urban infrastructure, lack of compliance with current planning or building regulations and the locations are frequently in environmentally or geographically hazardous areas.

Habitat III describes slum as the most deprived and excluded form of informal settlements. It also states poverty and the accumulation of dilapidated housing as common features of slums. The slum dwellers are often exposed to eviction, disease and violence (Habitat III Issue Papers, 2015). Based on these characteristics, majority part of the informal settlement at Ershadnagar falls under the definition of slum apart from some discrete households that achieved better living conditions through individual efforts. (Islam and Adnan 2016)

Architecture has the capacity to directly improve the poor condition of informal settlements. But focusing strictly on physical condition may create multiple problems. Slum upgrading projects are often desired by middle class and eventually become unavailable to the targeted poor. (Huchzermeyer, 2008)

Tipple and Ameen (1999) recognises any user-initiated extension and alteration made to the basic form of buildings or neighbourhood for various reasons as transformation. Although according to popular assumptions by policymakers and government officials, these extensions are considered to have negative impact on living standards and often policies are there to stop such alterations; yet Tipple and Ameen concluded that such transformation makes the place 'better' in many aspects.

Apart from statistical and physical data analysis, very few research has looked into the positive spirit of such transformations within slum. Away from the derogatory notion attached with alterations within slums, this paper looks into this transformation process of slums through the theories of 'place' and 'Placemaking '.

Slum as a 'Place'

The definition of 'slum' varies from country to country and it carries a derogative stigma with it. Generally, a slum has the following six characteristics: temporary structure type, high population density, government/ private ownership or vacant/ abandoned land, poor water supply and sanitation, inadequate lighting and road facilities, very low socio-economic status of dwellers.(BBS, 2014)

The word 'place' has got a multidimensional meaning. Cresswell describes 'place' as a meaningful site with a combination of location, locale and sense of place. He defines 'location' as a definite point in space with specific coordinates and measurable distances from other locations. He associates 'locale' with the material setting for social relations or the visual outlook of the place which is constituted of buildings, streets, parks, and other visible and tangible aspects. 'Sense of place' holds a more intangible notion associated with feelings and emotions that are evoked by a specific place (Cresswell, 2009).

When the word 'place' is related to slums, it poses a peculiar prompt as both the words Place and slum are inherently problematic terms (Fortin, 2010). Seeing the slums as the place of their own right and part of the city means accepting that they are complex places in which spatial, social, cultural, political and economic activities take place just like other ordinary places of the city. Instead of marginalising, informality should be considered as dynamic tension or social process and it is suggested that a place-based approach may be best suited to understand the processes that construct urban informal settlements (Lombard, 2009). In order to do so, this paper discusses two approaches of defining place.

The first one is the phenomenological approach that perceives place as 'rich and complicated interplay of people and the environment' rather than facts and figures (Cresswell, 2004). In this approach, Relph (1976) states that home is the utmost form of attachment to a particular setting or environment. He also claims that in comparison with this attachment, all other relationships with places have partial or negligible significance.

The second approach is the social constructivist approach which views places within the complex networks of power relations. Another stem of this approach perceives place as a dynamic process that is never complete. In the global south, the percentage of new urban housing constructed by residents themselves is as high as 90 percent. Therefore, here the idea of place as a process where the material

setting of place is a product of the activities of its users is very much relevant. (Hardoy and Satterthwaite, 1989)

These strands of geographic approaches to place are brought together in 'Placemaking'. The idea of 'placemaking' has its origin in urban design and more recently being used to emphasise the social and physical construction of places by people. While defining the idea of Placemaking , Cresswell (2004) identifies a range of day-to-day user activities as Placemaking such as redecoration by homeowners, addition of buildings and formal activities such as neighbourhood organisation making people tidy their lawns, government's new legislation for public building etc. Therefore Placemaking recognises both kind of activities categorized as either formal (such as planning by the state) and informal (such as land invasion by settlers) and validates them equally. The individual Placemaking activities of one resident is as important as those of city council. (Lombard, 2009)

David T. Fortin questioned the delineation of slum as 'place' saying that the slum can be metaphorically compared to a 'ship' or 'vessel' for social mobility. Referring to the responses of residents of Kibera slum in Nigeria, he points to the fact that the dwellers will be keen to move to any distant location if better housing and job opportunity are provided. This situation of mobility is more arguably linked with the notions of 'non-place' or 'placelessness' rather than place.

Norberg-Shultz asserts that dwelling demands a concrete place which for slum dwellers means a right to be in that place without the fear of eviction and uprooting. This draws the much-debated topic of whether the slums dwellers should be given ownership of their property as instances exist that they are tempted to turn newly gained property assets into short term capital (Fortin, 2010). A project sponsored by CARE (Co-operation of American Relief Everywhere) in rural areas supplied very high standard of material for low-income house upgrading. Cinva Ram Block walls and corrugated metal sheet roof were given to thatched-roof house owner. He took the house piece by piece, sold it to the open market and brought himself thatched roof house, a pair of oxen and a plough. (Khan, 1985).

It is still a matter of question whether it was the fault of unconditional tenure or improper choice of housing material for that scheme.

Drawing from the social constructivist approach (Hardoy and Satterthwaite, 1989) of perceiving place, this paper looks at the dynamics of Ershadnagar as 'place as process'. The transformation is seen as 'Placemaking' where both organisational and individual attempts are equally validated (Lombard, 2009; Cresswell, 2004). The present situation of the slum is investigated under place attributes: location, locale, and sense of place(Cresswell, 2009). According to the phenomenological approach, home is the most fundamental means of place attachment of the inhabitants (Relph, 1976). Within the scope of the study, the adaptive nature and incremental growth of home have been closely observed by analysing the changes in the area and the physical form of the houses.

PLACE AS A PROCESS: TRANSFORMATION OF ERSHADNAGAR RESETTLEMENT CAMP THROUGH PLACEMAKING

Through the concepts of 'place as a process' and 'Placemaking' approach, an account of the transformation of the Ershadnagar resettlement camp is presented here.

Project Initiation in 1975

After the liberation war in 1971, a huge rural to urban migration occurred in Bangladesh. Centre for Urban Studies (CUS) conducted a survey that counts 1,73,000 such floating squatter and slum-dwellers of Dhaka in 1975. An eviction project intended to 'Clean Dhaka' relocated the illegal slum dwellers and floating people in three resettlement camps which are (a) Dattapara in Tongi, (b) Chanpara in Demra, and (c) Bhashantek in Mirpur. The project was initiated by Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman. The resettlement capacity was nearly 70,000 people and the rest 1,00,000 stayed back in the city (CUS, 1977). After establishment, the camp was called 'Mujib Nagar' or 'Dattapara Resettlement Camp' which changed its name twice later at the wish of the then ruling political parties.

Initial Condition of Dattapara Resettlement Camp

The Dattapara resettlement project with a land area of 101 acres intended to resettle 5000 squatter families. At first, the area was just fallow agricultural land. The settlers did not have any housing provision. They started to build their own shelter with plastic sheets, thatch and bamboo structure. Some of them carried the portable parts of their evicted house (CI sheet, bamboo mat etc.) from Dhaka and used those to rebuild the shelter. At that time, people became jobless as industries and mills were inadequate in that region. The density of house and population around the camp was low. (Mahmud, 2001) Some of them went back to Dhaka, leaving their families here and came back occasionally with money from the city. The inhabitants struggled in inhuman conditions. An epidemic broke out. A number of people left the camp which enabled others to grab a little more land for their houses. The NGO, TDH- Netherlands (Terres Des Hommes) has been working to help the people of the camp from the very beginning (Source: Open-ended interview of the inhabitants and NGO workers by authors in 2015). The camp was named 'Zia Colony' informally by the then government stakeholders during the reign of President Ziaur Rahman.

Provision of Housing

The houses were initially built in a self-help policy. The government could provide nothing but land. With the death of project initiator Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, the connection with government became weak. Later TDH (Terres De Homes) and the Salvation Army House Building Programs provided housing materials to build 9 foot by 18-foot bamboo frame and matting huts. Each hut could accommodate 10 people. In 1979, 100 houses were destroyed in storm. The agencies helped to reconstruct them in collaboration with inhabitants (Mahmud, 2001).

In 1985, the first government housing initiative came into being. Former President H.M. Ershad involved National Housing Authority to construct 3444 semi-pucca (brick wall, tin shaded) houses on 600 sft plot (20'x30'). The project involved minimum water supply facility,

sanitation, roads,and communication. So far the project completed 1016 houses in 30 acres of land. The name of the camp was then gazetted to be Ershadnagar. The rest remains unplanned. The project is not yet complete and a few issues such as the absence of titles of the right of land, understanding the gap between service providers and dwellers are held responsible for the non-completion of the project (Haque, 2007)

Present Situation

With gradual northwards expansion of Dhaka, Ershadnagar became a part of the peri-urban industrial concentration with an increased job opportunity in the ready-made garment factories and other industries. With employment opportunity came economic stability and surplus capital for the betterment of their living conditions. According to the population census 2011, around 33,346 people live in Ershadnagar with an average household density of 4.10 person.

Table 1: Population in Ershadnagar Resettlement Camp

Parameter	2001	2011
Total Population	25,788	33,346
Population (Male)	12,997	16,324
Population (Female)	12,791	17,022
Total Household	6,302	8,145
Average Household	--------	4.10

Source: Population census, Dattapara, Ershadnagar (BBS, 2011)

The occupation is mostly garment workers, industrial labours, transport labours and day-labours. No legal document of their tenure has been provided. Though they are trying to improve their living conditions gradually, but due to lack of tenure, they live in uncertainty with fear of eviction. (Haque, 2007) The table below shows the tenure condition. Here, 65.8% people live in the house or land given by government.

Government's initiative to provide land and later attempts to provide house and infrastructural amenities during different political reign have been one side of formal organisational help. The other side is the Non-Government Organisation's who have provided
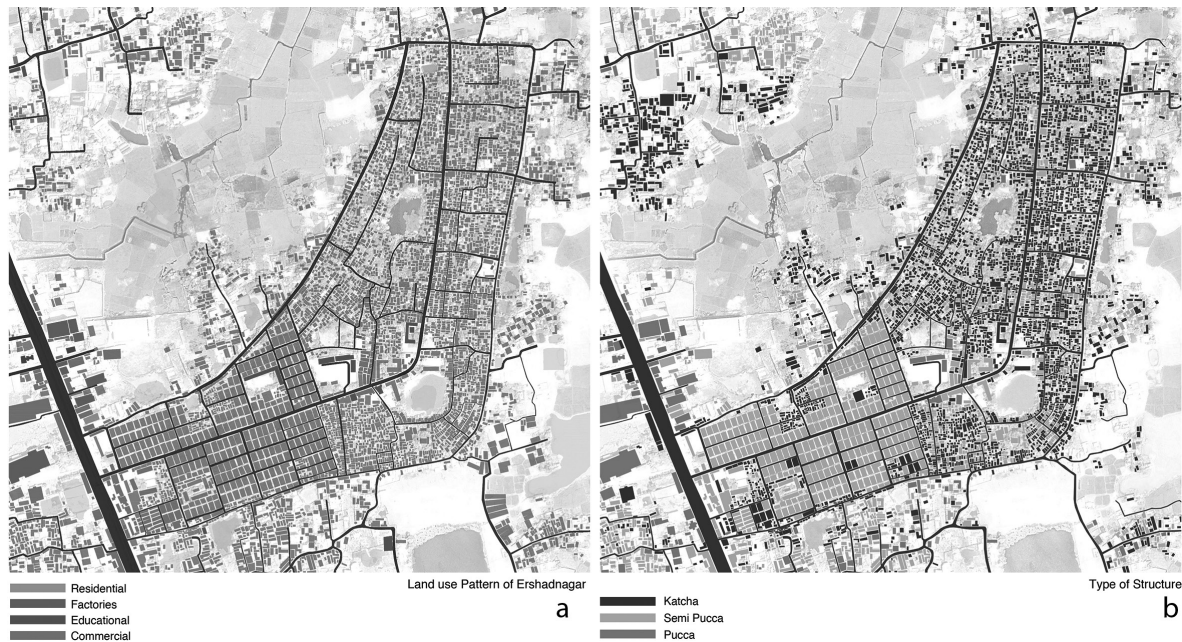
Residential
Factories
Educational
Commercial

Land use Pattern of Ershadnagar

a

Katcha
Semi Pucca
Pucca

Type of Structure

b

Figure 01: (a) Land use Pattern and (b) Types of Structure. / Source: RAJUK Data 2008, Illustration: Sara Ahmed

Table 2: Tenancy in Ershadnagar Resettlement Camp

Tenancy	Percentage
House Owned (Tenant)	65.80
House Rented	33.60
Rent Free	0.70

Source: Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics, 2011 (Social Statistics)

significant help in not only improving the physical condition of the settlement but also promoted healthcare, education,and training for the employment opportunity. Among the government and non-government initiatives, there remain uncountable stories of struggle and resilience of the inhabitants themselves who are constantly trying to improve their individual lives bit by bit. The incremental transformation of individual household level is described later in the paper.

ERSHADNAGAR AS PLACE: LOCATION, LOCALE AND SENSE OF PLACE

To look at the Ershadnagar settlement as place, Agnew's place attributes-*location*, *locale* and *sense of place*-mentioned beforehand have been used to evaluate the overall situation. (Agnew, 1987) With the

geographical location and the locale or material setting of roads, houses, school, market, mosque etc.; a sense of place has generated within the physical boundary of Ershadnagar. But the sense of attachment comes in its fullest form when we view the relationship of the inhabitants with their households. Therefore, case studies involving their 'home' or incremental growth at household level have been presented here to shed light on the gradual process of rooting or creating place attachment.

Location of the Resettlement Camp

Ershadnagar is situated in Dattapara, Tongi, and Gazipur district. It is within the ward no 49 of Gazipur City Corporation. On the northern outskirts of Dhaka, it falls just beside the Dhaka-Mymensingh highway and thus has well-connected bus routes to the city.

Locale of the Resettlement Camp

The resettlement camp is bounded by an embankment road. This area features two distinct road morphologies. The sectors near the main highway came under the government development scheme and have grid roads. The area is divided into 8 blocks; only 3 blocks went through government schemes. The roads are more
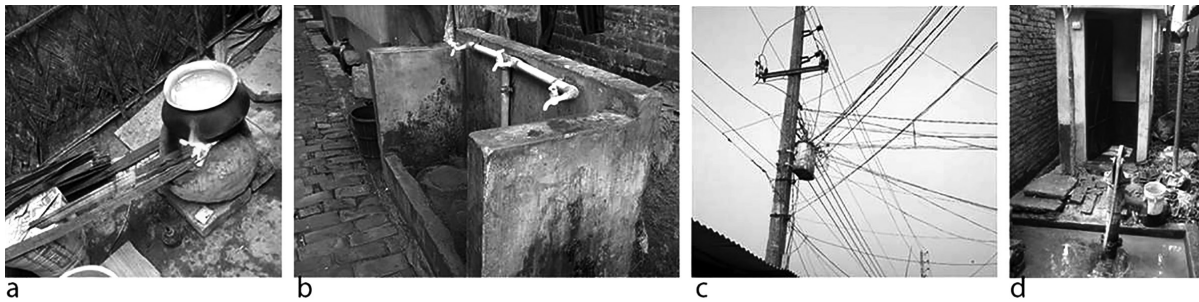
Figure 02: (a) Mud stove used, no gas connection (b) Community tap, water from submersible pump (c) Electricity line available (d) Tube well and toilet provided by NGO and Govt./Source: Author

organic when one moves away from the highway towards the back. This zone did not come under road infrastructure planning and visible contrast between road systems from front to back is observed in GIS data. GIS data shows that almost half of the houses are semi-pucca especially the part that was built by the government and the rest is mostly katcha. But from field survey in 2015, a number of emerging pucca houses have been seen.

Table 3: Housing Structures in Ershadnagar Resettlement Camp

Housing Structure	In percentage
Shanty House (Jhupri)	0.20
Katcha	39.30
Semi-Pucca	59.90
Pucca	0.70

Source: Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics, 2011 (Social Statistics)

Main roads are 20' wide and sub roads are 10'. Field survey shows much narrower winding roads ranging from 5' -10'. Open drains along roads are the main drainage system. Sanitary toilets were built with the help of some Non-government organisations. But, there is lack of sanitary toilets in unplanned portion of the settlement.

Very little green spaces are seen within houses due to lack of space. The school grounds are the only open spaces except for one Children Park in dilapidated condition. Mosques, bazaars (two market area named 'Baro (big) bazaar' and 'Chhoto (small) bazaar', a graveyard, schools are serving the community.

No proper provision of public open space is available

Figure 03: Neighbourhood Meeting Spaces- (a) Bazaar, (b) School Field, and (c) Mosque (Source: Authors)

Figure 04: Public Urban Spaces- (a) Children Park, and (b) Nilachol Lake Side/Source: Authors

there. Children mostly play in streets and school playgrounds. For roaming, people go to a nearby open space called 'Nilachol Dighir Par' which is an open field beside the water body within walking distance. But this land is owned by private developers and access to
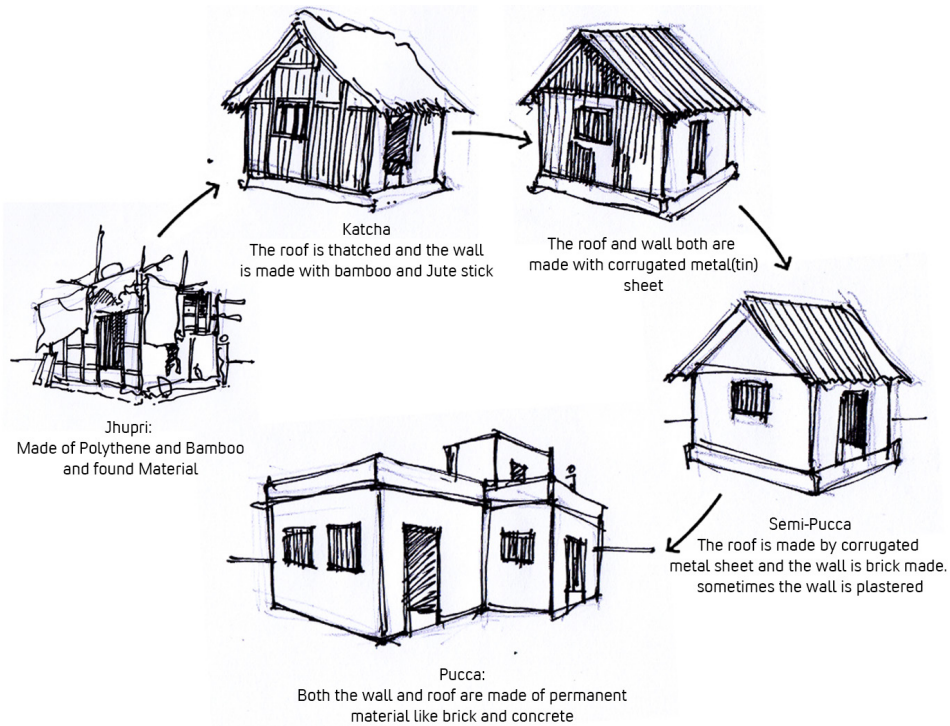
Figure 05: Transformation of houses with economic betterment / Source: Author

mass people can be denied anytime.

Sense of Place

Sense of place refers to the idea of attachment between people and place. Unlike privately owned slums that the inhabitants rent temporarily or illegal urban informal settlements; Ershadnagar is situated on government-provided land. This gives the inhabitants a feeling of ownership of their house and neighbourhood which lessened the placelessness up to a certain level compared to other slums. The schools, bazaars, mosques, graveyard etc. have created an incrementally grown self-sustained neighbourhood community.

But the most important attachment that people have is their own houses. The adaptation and customisation of their home is the most powerful root that attaches them to this place. As they never had legal ownership of their land, the threats of eviction have always been there which eventually decreased with time. The primary inhabitants were the floating population of the city, therefore missing any link to their rural home that can be re-established after 45 years which makes Ershadnagar the only home they have known.

HOUSES IN ERSHADNAGAR: INCREMENTAL GROWTH, ADAPTATION AND ASPIRATIONS

From the homeless condition, people have gradually developed their houses. From the polythene and bamboo frame '*Jhupri*'(shanty House), they built katcha houses of mud, bamboo mat, thatched roof with relief material and self-support. Now brick and corrugated sheet roofing semi-pucca houses are seen widely as well as some Pucca brick and concrete houses. The addition of an extra storey, extensions, shops etc. has created many variations of houses. This customisation of households is the most primary level of attachment that they create. The incremental growth of their houses and adaptations resulted in many different architectural outputs to suit their spatial needs. The eventual aspirations lead towards a pucca house- a symbol of permanence and durability which eliminates the derogatory notion attached with a temporary slum house and elevates their social standard.
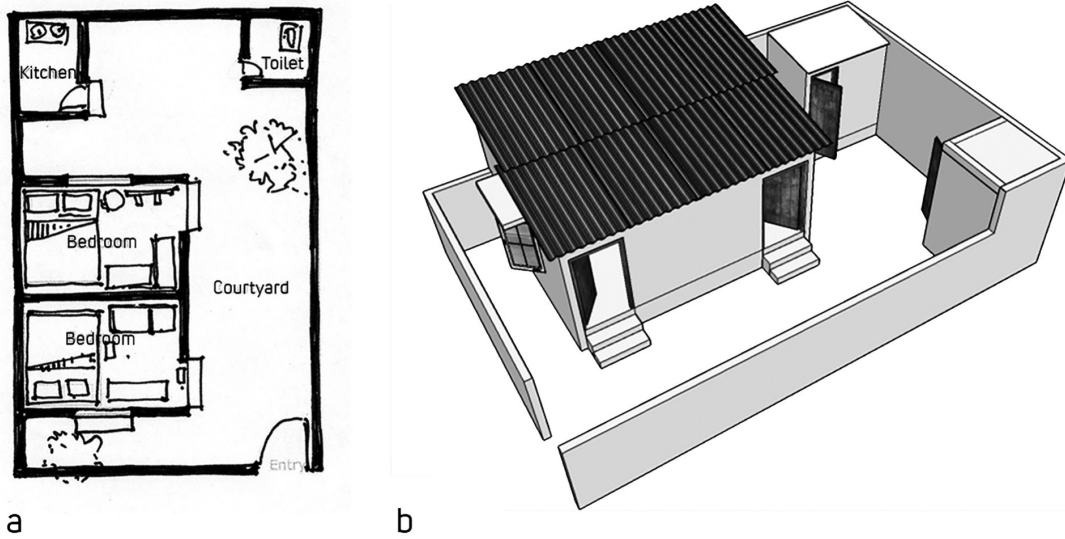
Figure 06: (a) Plan of the government scheme house consists 2 bedrooms, a kitchen, a toilet and courtyard. (b) 3d Model of the scheme of a single unit

Houses Built Under Government Scheme, 1985 (Case Study 1)

This initiative was taken during the reign of former president HM Ershad but could be completed in only 30-acre land. These plots are 20'x30' in size (600 square feet) consisting two bedrooms in a row. A kitchen and a toilet are placed within an L shaped courtyard. Some of these houses are still unchanged such as this case study house 01. The house was inherited by the inhabitants from their parents. Currently a brother and a sister are living in the two bedrooms with their own families.

The houses are adjacent to each other and four of them together form a cluster adjoined by toilets and kitchens keeping the service zone of houses together. With these given houses, belongingness was created which led them to improvise each house.
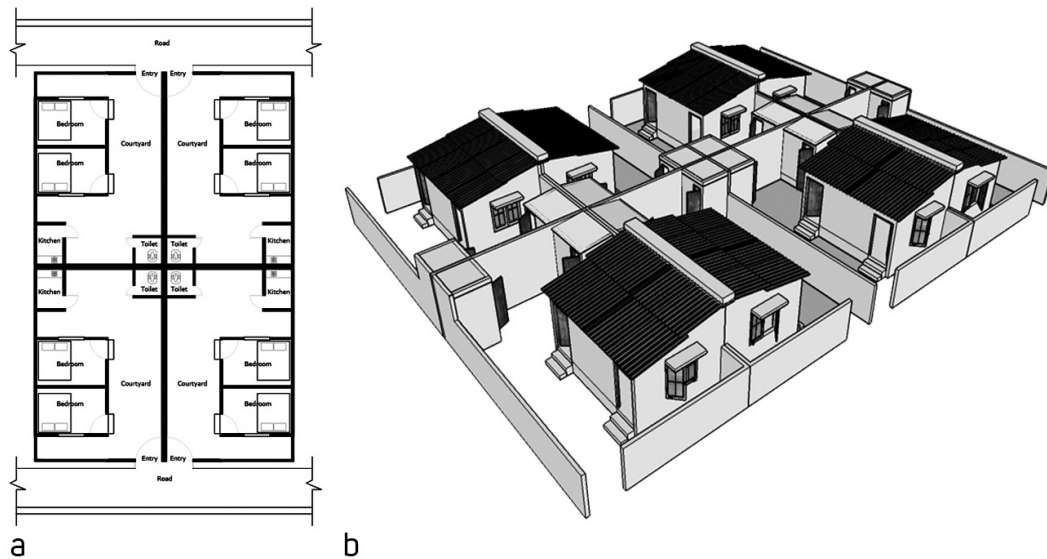

Figure 07: (a) Plan of a cluster of 4 houses sharing partition wall, connected by service core; (b) 3D model of cluster of 4 houses / Source: Authors

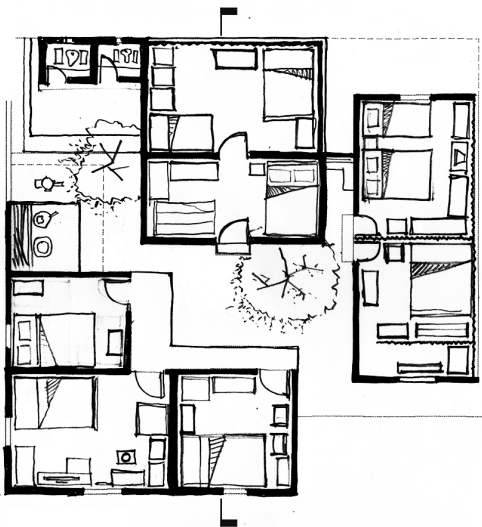Government Scheme, Case study 01 | a. Case study 02 | b. Case study 03 | c. Case study 04

Figure 08: The basic Plan of the government scheme with courtyard and (a) Plan of Case Study 02, where rooms are added keeping smaller court (b) Plan of Case Study 03, where the whole open area has been constructed (c) Plan of case Study 04, where two plans are merged and a large court has been created / Source: Authors

Incremental Growth of Government Built Houses (Case Study 2, 3 and 4)

The customisation and adaptations were done by the inhabitants to best suit their need has been analysed in the following case studies.

section through the court and living spaces

Figure 09: Plan and section of a spontaneously developed Semi-pucca House / Illustration: Shakib Ahmed Lam, Mumtaheena Rifat

Case Study 02:

This house belongs to Mr. Abdul Kader who moved to this area with his parents in 1975 and now lives there with his wife and children. The plan of the house here was adapted to make room for more indoor space. The kitchen and toilet have been relocated to add two more bedrooms. Now the toilet is adjacent to the entry and the kitchen is located in a semi-outdoor veranda adjacent to the newly added bedrooms. A piece of open to sky space still remains with cement finished flooring. A planter box is placed there for vegetation purposes. The house is painted green and the owner has tried his best to add aesthetic value through paint and plaster.

Case Study 03:

This House has taken up almost all the open space for extension. Replacing the toilet and kitchen, two more bedrooms and semi-outdoor living space has been added. Cooking is done in the only little open space.

Case Study 04:

This house poses a unique situation where two owners have integrated their plots omitting the wall in between. One family consists of an extended family comprising of a mother and her two sons with their families.
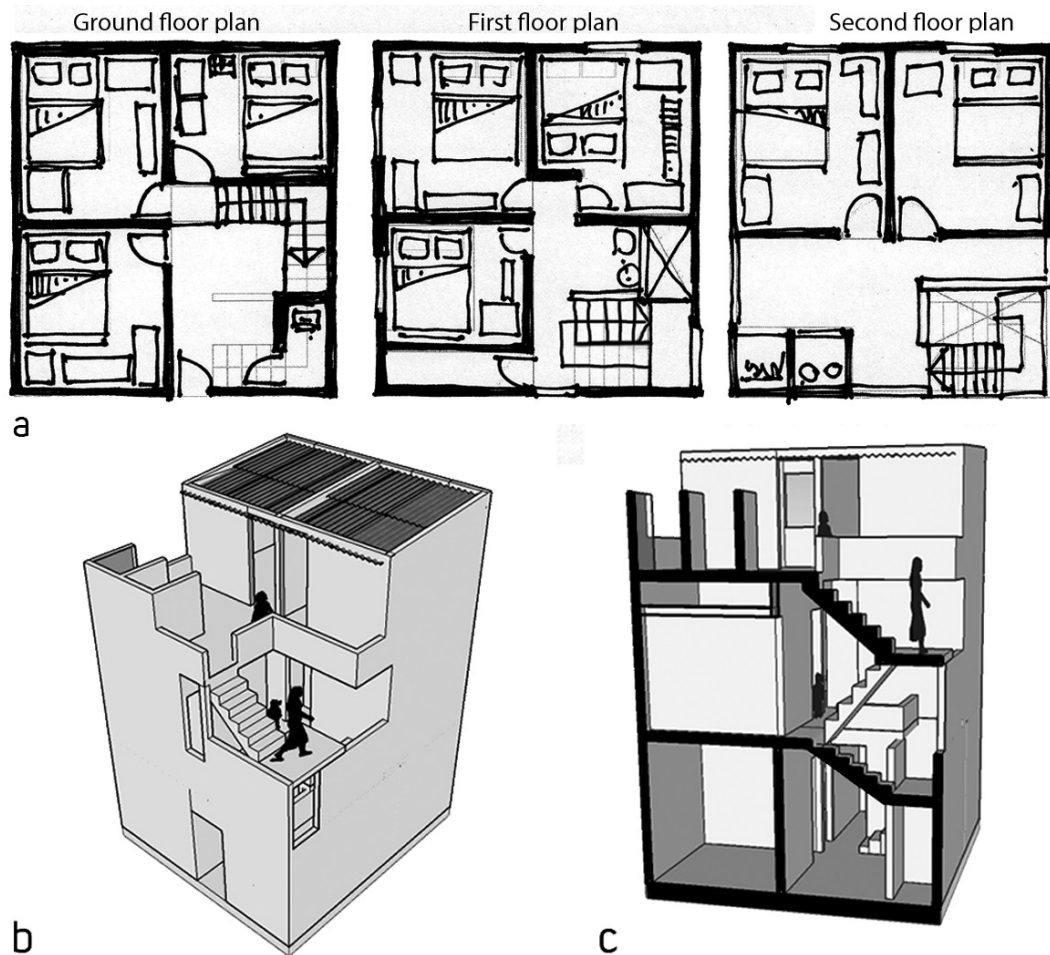
Figure 10: (a) Plan of a spontaneously developed 3 storied building within a small plot, (b) 3d view of the model and (c) Section of the innovative stairs to utilize spaces / Source: Authors

The other family is a nuclear family with two unmarried children. This plot merging allowed them to enjoy a larger open courtyard. Both families have added an extra bedroom replacing the original kitchen. The new kitchen is a semi-outdoor space in the courtyard. The original toilets of the two plots were adjacent to each other and now integrated into one toilet. The tube well zone works as bath. This is a good example of plot merging and its benefits.

Spontaneously Developed Semi Pucca House:

Case Study 05:

This house is a unique one with rooms arranged around a courtyard. This house falls in the unplanned zone of Ershadnagar and no government scheme house is seen here.

Six families live around the courtyard in six rooms. Some of the families are part of the owner's extended family and some have rented a room. The owner's bedroom has a semi-outdoor extension which acts as veranda by day and turns into a sleeping space at night. Two toilets and a shared kitchen serve all the families. This service part is zoned in a backward corner of the court and separated from main living zone.

Spontaneously Developed Pucca Houses Indicating the Aspiration of the Dweller (Case Study 06)

Case Study 06:

Case study 06 is a 3 storied Pucca building. The house is rented to people who gave loans to the owner to build the house. They will not pay any rent until the loans are covered.

The ground floor contains 3 bedrooms and a toilet. The first floor contains three rooms, a toilet and an open slot beside the stair used as kitchen. The second floor has two rooms and a small rooftop space with two slots serving as kitchen. The plan of the house is not proper; sometimes the stair steps are too high to reduce space for stairs. Yet it shows their aspiration to live in permanent buildings and innovative ways of
 finance management.

CONCLUSION

When the transformation of this resettlement camp is viewed under the theoretical ideas of 'place' and 'Placemaking '; it recognises the day-to-day activities of people along with formal organisational initiatives in construction of a place. This analytic approach enables us to look at the dynamics of slum as an inherent part of the city without marginalizing it with a disparaging stigma. From the analysis, what made Ershadnagar into a place to its inhabitants is observed. Although the settlers used to be floating people before coming here, the initial provision of land could not serve much as long as job opportunity and economic stability was absent. With increasing job opportunities in nearby areas and transport facilities connecting them to the city, the number of people leaving Ershadnagar decreased. While NGOs tried to improve the livability of the area by providing construction material for houses, health facilities, water and sanitation, education etc. supports; the government discretely tried to plan certain areas with road network and housing provision. Thus with the government provided location, a material setting or development of 'locale' is ongoing. In the neighbourhood level- the school, mosques, bazaars and the very little

open spaces that are available serve in creating a collective sense of place. House plays a pivotal role in the Placemaking process as this is the fundamental root that creates place attachment. The adaptation and incremental growth of their houses are relative to their economic condition. To maintain status quo or to get rid of the derogative notion attached to impermanent houses, they aspire to live in pucca buildings. The adaptive design solution, as well as innovative financial management, is also seen in this regard. Antithetical to this need for stability and permanence, there remains the question of tenure. Lack of legal land ownership impedes development and investments by the inhabitants. Although the outcome of handing over legal ownership is a much-debated topic in issues regarding informal settlement, yet it is evident that lack of tenure is definitely hindering the 'people and place' as well as the 'city and place' interactions in the case of Ershadnagar. Lack of tenure creates transience which is more related to notions of non-place or placelessness. Within the limitation of this paper, the right approach regarding tenure issues cannot be determined yet this could lead to further research including the voice of inhabitants, policy makers and other stakeholders. Whether fully giving ownership to property improves or deteriorates the situation could be debated, but it cannot be denied that a certain level of stability, control and ownership is required for positive transformation.

Therefore the analysis of changes in physical condition states that improved living conditions, employment and economic opportunity and rightful dwelling integrates slums as 'place' within the city while threat of eviction, lack of tenure, hindrance to economic growth and poor living condition adds to the transience and instability. If physical planning and policy making can go above statistical data and adopt Placemaking approach where people and planning can go hand in hand, development initiatives could be more humane and closer to facts. The government initiative of assigning a collective land area to the floating people and later the development of housing scheme, initiative by NGO's all added to beneficial outcomes along with the individual effort of the dwellers. Yet, the lack of any legal ownership

deviates it from becoming a home that is feasible for tangible investments by the dwellers.

This research instigates the scope of looking at informal settlements in Bangladesh through the lens of 'place' and ' Placemaking' which will enable us to develop a comprehensive idea. As the study area has focused only the physical transformation process in randomly selected households of the Resettlement camp, the detail inspection, description and overview is limited within the capacity. The socio-political catalysts involved in these transformations were not included which can be brought in further study.

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