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Urban Development Staff

REPORT OF A SURVEY OF URBAN DEVELOPMENT

IN INDIA AND TURKEY

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## I.

### INTRODUCTION

During 1971 the Urban Development Staff of the Bureau for Technical Assistance (TA/UDS) selected and visited sixteen developing countries. These visits comprised one step in the process of developing a set of options and recommendations for Agency consideration in determining a policy on urban development. Countries in each geographical region were visited by the two-man TA/UDS staff; among others, India and Turkey in the then Near East and South Asia region in October and November 1971. Circumstances did not permit planned visits to two other countries in the region.

The visit in each country consisted of five days of consultations with urban specialists and other knowledgeable people in the capital city and one other principal city: Ankara and Istanbul, Turkey; and New Delhi and Bombay, India. They included government officials at the national and local levels, university professors, members of private consulting firms and research centers, and staff members of the USAID Mission and other international organizations in each country. A list of their names is at the end of this report. The length of each visit and the size of the countries, especially India, did not permit an exposure in depth or breadth. However, it is hoped that the range of considered opinion helped to minimize these shortcomings.

Three questions were the focus of these visits and consultations and responses to them are the basic contents of this report.

The questions were: (1) How are urban development and urban problems perceived? (2) What approaches are being used to address them? By whom? With what resources? (3) Is there a role for external assistance?

Brief visits in two countries of so diversified a region do not provide a sufficient basis for drawing conclusions or making observations which are regional in nature or by implication. This report, therefore, summarizes some of the aspects of urban development which are important in both countries and points out some of the significant differences. In this introduction, some background information is given on each country, noting especially important characteristics and factors of urban growth and development.

#### Urbanization in Turkey

Turkey has a population of approximately 35.25 million, which is growing at an annual rate of 2.5%. The growth rates vary from 5% in the urban areas to 1.5% in rural Turkey. There also are disparities in the birth rates between the rural and urban areas and East and West Turkey; a 50% differential in each case.

In the eastern and southern regions of Turkey, there are 5-6 million people who are ethnically different from the rest of the population. These regions also are the least developed and urbanized. Special efforts have been made in recent years to encourage development in these areas.

Industrialization and urbanization began seriously in Turkey about 1950 and at the same time new approaches were being made in agriculture. The urban population in 1970 was approximately 39% of the total, and is growing at an annual rate of 4.2%. Each of two cities, Istanbul and Ankara, has more than one million population; 2.5 million and 1.25 million, respectively. While Istanbul's growth rate has been 2.3%, Ankara had a 33% increase from 1965-1970. Izmir, the third principal city, is located in the southwest, and has a population in excess of 750,000. It was a village before 1920. There are also approximately ten cities in the 100,000-500,000 population range and 25 in the 20,000-100,000 range. The last class of cities is growing faster than the largest cities.

Istanbul is the financial and industrial center of Turkey. In contrast to other cities, it has a slower growth rate (2.3%), reportedly as a result of a low birth rate and a high rate of migration. The rate of increase in squatter population has leveled off.

Ankara, the capital city, is about one-half the size of Istanbul. It is also a much younger city; about fifty years old. Having had a two-fold expansion since 1953, it has a growth rate of 6.8% and is expected to have a population of 4 million by 1990. Ankara, as the center of a government which is highly centralized, is dominated by government offices and the headquarters of banks.

Izmir is Turkey's third largest city, and is the center for agriculture and tourism. It also has a growing industrial sector.

It was reported that there is a great internal market system in Turkey. One consequence of it is that, within a generation, an urban practice becomes a rural practice.

Migration in Turkey occurs in two forms. About 500,000 Turks have migrated to European and other countries. Many of them return when they have acquired a "nest egg" or in order to retire. Other people migrate from rural areas directly to Turkey's principal cities. They go with the intention of staying. Many have money from the sale of land, etc. and often a marketable skill. They usually settle with family or home village people, who may have jobs waiting for the migrants.

The migrants live in squatter settlements for the most part. In fact, it was estimated that 65% of Ankara's and 48% of Istanbul's population live in these settlements (gecekondus). Many are located on government land on the periphery of the cities. The houses are generally substantial, unlike many squatter dwellings elsewhere; only about 20%-25% are estimated to be shacks in Ankara, for example. They do lack infrastructural services, however. A kind of self-government is found in these settlements which, while not an importation of the village elder system, nevertheless, is quite strong and effective.

The old cities in Turkey were planned; of course, not along modern lines. Around 1930, city planning began again and was influenced greatly by the Russians. Since 1950 Master Plans have been developed or revised in the major cities. The attitude of the military, currently (and often in the past) in control of the government, reportedly has

been shaped by the problems. That is, the problems of urban growth have seemed to be too large and too costly to be addressed seriously.

It was estimated that the several government efforts meet only about 2%-5% of the housing need. The government is more active in providing infrastructural services. By contrast 50% of the industry in Turkey is owned by state economic enterprises. Public corporations are given credit and tax exemptions and easier access to foreign and domestic capital, especially if they are prepared to work in the less developed regions of the country.

This is national government activity, of course; local and municipal government lack both the power and the finance to do very much.

This, indeed, is a critical situation. Whereas most of the revenue goes to central government, most of the services are provided by local government.

#### Urbanization in India

The 544.6 million <sup>people</sup> of India live mainly in villages, 570,000 of them. There are also 2600-2700 urban centers and about 2,000 "viable rural centers." The situation is quite different from that in Turkey. The annual growth rates are nearly the same: 2.4% for India and 2.5% for Turkey. However, most of the growth in India is occurring in cities of more than 1 million population. There are nine of these cities with a population of 25.1 million; they have increased 25%. In Turkey, the fastest growth is in the cities in the 20,000-100,000 size-class.

The administrative cities in India are growing the fastest, not only in terms of population, but also in terms of industrial development. Of the total number of cities, there are nearly 200 in the 50,000-100,000 size-class and 135 in the 100,000-1 million size-class. It is a multiple-city nation. The urban population is estimated to be 18.8% of the total (39% in Turkey) and is growing at an annual rate of 2.9% (4.2% in Turkey).

Calcutta is the largest and probably the best known of India's cities. It is reported that 75% of its more than 7 million people live in slums or squatter settlements. Some suggest that Calcutta already may be beyond hope. It is "just plain problems", said one observer. Others state that the problem there is not a lack of money, even though it costs Rs.25,000/=( \$ 3,570 ) to build a one-room tenement, but a lack of political will and administrative methods to get things done. When it was noted that Calcutta's population growth is beginning to level off, one respondent suggested quite seriously that the "maximum point of copelessness" may have been reached.

On the opposite side of the subcontinent from Calcutta is Bombay, India's second largest city and financial capital. Its population of 5.1 million is growing at an annual rate of 2.2%. About 3 million people live on the small 26 square mile island; in fact, two-thirds live in the bottom 50% of the island. The Municipality of Bombay is 170 square miles in size. The development of the suburbs has been linear; that is, north along the railway line and the Bombay-Poona highway. Now a New Bombay, a twin city, is being planned on the

mainland, and is expected to have a population of 2 million in a 120-square mile area. Bombay was described as having "wealth, political stability, a future orientation, and an absorptive capacity."

India's capital city is Delhi-New Delhi, an example of an earlier "twinning" effort. It has a population of 3.1 million and a growth rate of 3.0%. Approximately 25% of the people are squatters or pavement dwellers. Within the walled old city (Delhi) rents are fixed, so there have been no improvements and no new housing for years. In fact, 75% of the walled city was declared a slum in the 1950's. A planned approach to New Delhi began after World War I when a Persian architect laid out the central circus and business area. The Delhi Master Plan was developed in 1959-60, the first comprehensive government plan. It has been implemented since 1962, and now the intention is to review and update it.

The principal city in the south is Madras. About one-half the size of Bombay, it has a population of 2.6 million and a growth rate of 2.2% (as does Bombay). Contrary to slum rehabilitation, which is stated policy in other cities and is being implemented, there is a Slum Clearance Board in Madras. Officials there believe that slum rehabilitation encourages more slums.

Looking at India as a whole, in terms of levels of urbanization, industrialization, and entrepreneurship, one respondent indicated the following order (from most to least): Bombay and Maharashtra State,

Ahmedabad and Gujarat State, Calcutta and West Bengal State, and Chandigarh and Punjab State. The Green Revolution has come to the Punjab, but there still is little urbanization.

The metropolitan economy dominates. On the one hand, 60% of the capital turnover in 25 cities was generated in Bombay(36%) and Calcutta (24%). One-third of the tax income came from Bombay and 90% of the total tax income came from the seven largest cities. On the other hand, there is no tax on agricultural income, which accounts for 70% of India's GNP.

A recent study of migration indicates that the decision to migrate to the city from rural India is a joint family decision, not an individual one. The rate of rural-urban migration reportedly is 4%. Important factors are geographic region, language, and caste. Educational and other facilities, job opportunities, and savings possibilities are principal reasons for migration. The key variable is economic opportunity, although more amenities in the rural sector would slow the tide of migration. The study showed also that the migrant who comes from the farthest distance usually is better educated than the migrant from nearby. Different kinds of industry bring different kinds of migrants. It was pointed out that migration is a practice of long standing in India. There is high mobility despite poor transportation; roads are not considered to be a significant factor.

There is as yet no government policy towards a dispersal of population.

There are financial and other incentives to encourage new town and

small industries development. Rural electrification is continuing. However, rural agitation slows the pace of acquiring scarce land in the interior on which to shift or to develop industries.

India's Five-Year Plans are described as being "all economic with an emphasis on capital outlays." There has been no integration of economics and physical planning. The concern, it was stated, has been for totals ("aggregate terms"), not for how the money is spent. In the Fourth Five-Year Plan 2,175 crores (\$ 3.05b) in the private sector have been allocated for housing and urban development activities and 242 crores (\$338.8m) in the public sector for investment in infrastructure. There is some encouragement that housing is beginning to be viewed as production.

It was emphasized that greater discipline and more controls are needed in developing countries. These controls, however, tend to impede economic development. Thus, the frequent conclusion is, "Let's develop first; we can plan later."

From the standpoint of the slum dweller or squatter, a "sense of deprivation from the disparity in the provision of services for survival" often becomes a sense of desperation. Housing is a universal manifestation. Even when a new or better house is obtained, the low-income person may rent it rather than live in it; it then becomes a paying proposition for him to continue to live in a slum.

The less fortunate become the much-publicized Calcutta agitators, for example, 60-70% of whom come from slums, according to a recent study. Or they pitch their tents for the duration on or near the construction site of employment. When the mayor seeks to evict them, the squatter-workers march to the home of the Prime Minister, who dismisses the mayor. There are many observers who believe that the political power in the cities is shifting from the middle-class professional and service groups to the working class.

The population pressure in India may not be as severe as was expected. Several people commented that the population growth predictions of Kingsley Davis and his colleagues for 1970 were correct only for Hyderabad. Other cities grew at a rate generally lower than the lowest estimates. Calcutta was the exception; its growth exceeded even the highest estimates.

The demographic situation is nonetheless serious. As was pointed out, an increase of 160 million people--which would mean a total population of 700 million instead of the predicted 850 million--would require the equivalent of 320 new towns, each with a population of 500,000. That is, ten new towns each year for 32 years.

These short profiles provide a framework within which to consider further the respondents' replies to and observations about the perceptions and problems, approaches and resources, and external assistance roles in urban development.

II.

PERCEPTIONS AND PROBLEMS

The consultation visits were not highly structured, either in terms of format and expectations or in terms of the length of each visit and the order in which people were seen. As many people were consulted as was possible within the time constraints. Some of the people were known personally or by reputation. Other names were added by USAID Mission or U.S. Mission people. Still others were suggested in the course of the visits.

One of the kinds of information which was sought was to learn how local people, given the varying levels and degrees of involvement, perceive and define urban development and the problems of rapid urban growth. During the visits in Turkey and India, the perceptions and definitions revealed a concern for attitudes, policies and approaches as well as deficiencies in services and resources.

Migration

In neither country was there much discussion of natural increase as a contributing factor. While it was not ignored, the greater emphasis by far was placed on rural-urban migration. A few studies exist or are under-way in both countries which seek to know more about the causative and

other factors of migration. There are more myths than empirically-based conclusions.

Migration in Turkey is believed to be voluntary and permanent. It is expected to increase if land reform is successful and most certainly if the curbs on the growing of poppies succeed. One respondent suggested that one might see "village for sale" signs in the poppy-growing areas, where a small plot (1/10 dunum or acres) of poppies will support a family of five. The choice of policies, between absorption of the migrants into the urban centers and controlling or stopping their flow, will leave an awesome task.

There is some evidence that migration in India is an old phenomenon, is a family decision, and is not necessarily permanent. A serious problem is the unreality of migrants' expectations. They seem not to be based on economic realities or on assessment of the marketability of their skills, if any. Much more needs to be known about migration if it is to be dealt with effectively.

#### Employment

A closely related subject, of course, is employment. As was mentioned earlier, many rural-urban migrants in Turkey have a marketable skill and have a job waiting for them on arrival. Nevertheless, the unemployment rate is 8%, a figure which many people discount as being too low.

The problem of caste, which is related to various trades and occupations, makes worse an already difficult employment situation in India. A typical immigrant who is fifteen or sixteen years of age is neither accepted nor rejected. He has no marketable skills, and the problem, as several respondents stated, is how to make such an immigrant needed--anywhere. There are, of course, other types of unemployed, many of whom are university-trained, who also do not seem to be needed. Many respondents commented that, if there were employment, housing conditions would be among the first to be improved.

#### Housing

Housing, in fact, was cited as a critical problem in both countries. The need in Ankara, for example, is for 20,000 units a year. There are plans, but finance is lacking. While squatter settlements contain more than one-half of Ankara's population, the situation was reported to be much worse, in terms of the lack of services, in the area of the Citadel. Government programs meet 5% or less of the need. It is estimated that "25% of the GDP is devoted to housing and urbanism."

The Federal Reserve Bank in India considers housing as consumption, not production, and gives it a low priority. There are many political pronouncements and specific lobby efforts for housing, but there are few

programs; in fact, politicians are notorious for contravening planning efforts, it was stated. Only eight of India's seventeen states have housing boards or similar bodies. Rent is controlled at the level of the 1940s and prices are five times greater, so there is little maintenance and improvement. Both slums and squatter settlements, therefore, continue to grow and urban living conditions are said to be worse than those in rural areas. The weather in many ways is congenial to their creation, as is the lack of political will to deal with the situation. There is talk of slum rehabilitation, but this approach is rejected (in Madras) or has been used only recently and in a limited way (in Bombay). While people continue to cling to the two-room house, a standard which the then Prime Minister Nehru set in the 1950s, planned hutments reportedly would be a more realistic goal.

Not all of the respondents who commented believe that the squatter settlements pose a housing problem. In Turkey, for example, they were called variously political, social and/or cultural organisms which resulted from individual adaptations more than from group action. The problem, therefore, was how to deal with social change and not encourage illegal action at the same time. The proposed rehabilitation approach in India indicates a similar line of thinking, recognizing that a radical change in these slums and squatter settlements is not possible.

Infrastructural Services

The shortage of water and the lack of water and sewerage facilities and services are serious in both countries. The Government of India has been discussing its water problems with the World Bank Group. A feasibility study by a U.S. firm for a sewerage system for Ankara has not been implemented.

The lack of infrastructural development in both countries is, in part, a function of weak local government whose power and financial resources do not permit it to provide the kind of services for which it is responsible. Most of the revenue goes to national government, even though, as in India, most of the tax income is generated by a few large cities.

This underlies also the transportation problem in both countries. Transportation usually has not been included in city planning in Turkey. Roads are lacking, buses are congested, and shared taxis (dolmus) help to strangle city traffic.

The linear development of Bombay along the railway and the highway to Poona has helped to make transportation a most limiting factor. Many people commute fifty to sixty miles each way to work in Bombay and help to create the nightmare which is the traffic situation day and night.

### Urban Sprawl

In addition to the lack of financial and other resources at the local level to deal with the lack of infrastructural facilities and services, a part of the problem is the urban sprawl in both countries. Poor land use control is characteristic. Such planning as has been done has been of limited areas; for example, some industrial areas but not residential areas in India. There is no rationale in the allocation of urban investment.

The practice of squatting has increased the tendency to urban sprawl. Most of the vacant land has been on the periphery of the cities and in the more inaccessible areas. Ankara's gecekondus (squatter settlements) are an excellent example of how scattered are these settlements. How difficult and costly it will be either to provide the needed water, sewerage, road and other services to these settlements or to relocate the squatters!

### Pollution

It is interesting to note that the popular subject of pollution was mentioned only in passing. Exhaust fumes, especially from buses, and water pollution were labeled as the "usual" kinds of pollution. "New" kinds of pollution are noise and suffocation; both of them are believed to be the results of a higher density of population in urban centers.

Deficiencies in Government Resources

A common deficiency in dealing with the urban situation in Turkey and India is the inadequacy of local government. In neither country has it the authority or the resources to tackle the problems and provide the needed services. A multiplicity of jurisdictions was cited as one of the bottlenecks in India; in Turkey, the overcentralization of administration. There is little or no local taxing power in either country; most of the revenues go to national government. Local government must depend on grants-in-aid and other subventions, which may or may not be related to priority needs as they are defined locally. The existing political and administrative systems, it was observed, are incapacitated to anticipate and to address critical urban problems. While urban problems are defined as local problems, resources are not made available in sufficient amounts to deal with them at that level.

The lack of data, which was mentioned earlier in a discussion of migration, is not confined to that subject matter area. Research efforts in urban development, generally speaking, have been specific and short-term, lacking in continuity in Turkey and India. It was noted in India, for example, that a data base is lacking because the Government of India is characterized as being more "results" conscious than "understanding" conscious. There is a basic impatience everywhere on the part of

politicians and administrators with research and data gathering activities.

The lack of finance was stressed in Turkey. At the municipal level, money is lacking to do planning and to provide infrastructural services. When there is money, planning is given second priority. In addition to the lack of a local tax base, there are low per capita income and the lack of a capital market. The financial situation reportedly is critical.

In India the focus is more on city size. The question is asked if there is a "break" in city size beyond which the standard municipal government machinery can no longer function adequately. Baroda in Gujarat State was cited as an example. Its population is approaching 500,000, and it has been able to absorb reasonably well its fast growth. However, as it moves into another size-class and acquires more of an industrial complex on the periphery, will Baroda's government machinery still be able to provide sufficient services? Is 500,000 the break point?

In both countries there is a dearth of skilled manpower, especially at the local level. The private sector offers competition with which the low salaries in government cannot cope. One official mentioned his experience of trying to recruit Indians who are living and working overseas.

He interviewed forty, recruited seven, and hired one. Many who are trained are too academic and too constrained by disciplinary strictness or purity to want to be involved or to be usable. Others have the requisite training but their professional competence is poor. There also are gaps; urban economists and urban sociologists were mentioned in both countries, as was senior expertise in engineering and transportation and planning. At the same time it was noted that trained personnel is being lost by both countries to international agencies and to other countries, including the U.S.A. and United Kingdom. It was urged that the question of the ability to absorb skilled manpower, however much needed, should not be ignored.

The lack of implementation was stressed in both countries, in addition to the lack of financial and technical resources. Some respondents noted the lack of concepts and tools "to project and implement urban development over time and space." Others mentioned a lack of political maturity (particularly at the local level) and organization with which to mobilize even existing resources. This stems partly from the lack of policy priorities to which to relate resource allocations. Permission and grants come in bits and pieces, a practice which reflects more negative control than a positive approach to development.

Coordination, both vertical and horizontal, was recommended by many respondents. Vertical coordination is needed among various levels and jurisdictions of government and among planners, decision-makers, and administrators. For example, it was pointed out that many plans exist in Istanbul and Calcutta which are not being implemented primarily because of a lack of coordination. Those who mentioned horizontal coordination referred to the need for communication and coordination between government and the universities and industry. In neither country are the universities more than marginally involved. The construction industry has not been tapped significantly in either country to help tackle the housing problem.

Some respondents felt that there are too many disciplines and too many ideas in urban development to be coordinated and implemented. What they recommended was more selectivity.

#### Other Resource Deficiencies

Four other kinds of problems of urban development were cited during the visits: land, standards, universities, and foreign aid. Land pressure was referred to in India; land ownership, in Turkey; land use, in both countries. The shortage of land is experienced in the urban and rural sectors of India. Instead of housing, the problems in rural India were said to be a land shortage and the lack of infrastructure.

In urban India, land is available, but it is costly and, except in the largest cities, generally without infrastructural facilities. It was explained that the only land which is available in Delhi is through the Delhi Development Authority (DDA). Since 1970, DDA has conducted a lottery every two or three months and an auction oftener. In addition, there are special quota reserves for civil servants and officers.

Stressing the importance of land ownership, one respondent said, "The ownership of urban land is 50% of the way to urban development. However", he added, "use is not a divine right!" Poor land use has been commented upon already in the sections on urban sprawl, implementation, and coordination. Land is a vital resource which requires more effective allocation and utilization.

The use of inappropriate standards was defined as a problem in both countries. In Turkey the problem manifested itself in two ways: in plans and codes which are based on Western concepts and in the inability of architects and builders to build according to people's desires. The plans and codes are designed to assure a finished house, a completed process. In Turkey much of the construction is of so-called "developing" houses, ones which are completed and brought up to standard over time. On the other hand, Turkish architects and builders reflect what allegedly is a "Turkish bureaucratic attitude of dictating,

not consulting." Thus, social housing, which by definition is supposed to be less costly than economic housing, costs about the same in Turkey.

The problem with standards in India is similar. Former Prime Minister Nehru's two-room "ideal" has been mentioned already. In addition, the notion persists that every family must have 100 square feet of living space, despite the fact that it exceeds the country's paying capacity and ability even to approach the tremendous need for housing. As one respondent said, "They were more realistic in Hong Kong. They aimed only for 35 square feet per family!"

One of the existing and little used resources in Turkey and India are the universities. The situation may be a little more favorable in Turkey. There reportedly is "much going and coming" between the State Planning Office and some of the institutions; at least, on the part of some academicians. Two factions among academicians were described: those who are "watching and waiting" and those who seek to control.

In India the little use of the many university resources by the Government of India apparently stems from a mistrust of academicians by the Indian Administration Service (successor to the venerable Indian Civil Service). They have been accused of being "narrowly theoretical," an accusation with which some in the ranks would concur. Several academic respondents agreed that many of their interests and pursuits

were not very relevant or applicable to the immediate needs of India. Government respondents, on the other hand, cited examples of trying to involve university students in some urban development activities. The students were not supervised and did not produce satisfactory work; consequently, no further efforts have been made along these lines.

Two problems with foreign aid were mentioned briefly. One problem relates partially to that of standards, which was discussed earlier. Donors have been described as having too narrow a definition of housing, one with unrealistic perceptions of the need and unrealistic standards in terms of the ability to meet them.

Restrictions on the use of counterpart funds<sup>\*</sup> are a reflection of the Federal Reserve Bank of India's position on housing; namely, that housing is a non-productive activity and is, therefore, on the wrong side of the development equation. With this point of view, it is felt that it would be inflationary to use counterpart funds to help meet the critical housing shortage; that is, to invest in social overhead. Any modification of this position, towards defining housing in productive as well as consumptive terms, might make available needed financial assistance from this source.

#### Attitudes, Policies, and Approaches

Most of the respondents would not deny the delineation of the problems above. The weighting and interpretation of them would vary,

of course. Many did emphasize, however, the symptomatic nature of these problems. Nearer to the heart of the problems, some respondents insisted, are the attitudes, policies, and approaches of the decision-makers (politicians and administrators) and professional urban specialists.

Several respondents focussed on the attitudes, motivations, and behavior of these key people. There were frequent references to examples of inaction in the face of crisis situations. For example, the "impossibility" of Calcutta. Good plans have been made to deal with some of the acute problems of rapid urbanization there. However, none of them has been supported or implemented seriously enough to have had much effect. What has been lacking is a genuine will, both political and administrative. The problem, it was stated, is not with the technical part of planning; it is a problem of judgment and motivation.

In Turkey the lack of sufficient motivation is attributed partially to a lack of knowledge and understanding. It was reported that there was "more slogan than substance" in some pronouncements on housing and other urban problems. There are, for example, no criteria for deciding where to intervene, with what support, and for what purpose. The costs, economic, political, and social, are not considered. There is no national urban policy.

The only evidence of an urban development policy in India is the rather prominent mention of housing in the Fourth Five-Year Plan.

One respondent observed that little or no budget had been provided to implement these provisions. Another saw the coupling of urban development with housing as a constraint on the former. Since housing is defined as a non-productive activity at the top levels of government, urban development is likely to receive similar treatment.

That this is the situation, in fact, may be seen in some of the approaches which have been taken. They have become a part of the problem. Town planning in India reportedly is equated with architecture. It is based on past experience; it is not future-oriented. Respondents complained about the lack of imagination, the failure to "design a system of services which are supportable over time."

Others felt that the cities have been getting attention at the expense of the urbanization process. So little is known about it. Nor has there been any investigation of the costs and benefits of industrial development to urban development. For example, the private sector has taken advantage of the existing infrastructure along the Bombay-Poona Road for uncontrolled industrial development. What have been the urban costs and benefits? Regional costs and benefits? How do they compare? Or again, how much are problems increased by the

Government's continuing to grant licenses for new industry in Bombay and Calcutta?

The national priorities in Turkey do not include housing. They are concerned primarily with highways (particularly to mountain villages), water, electricity, sewerage, and village schools. Of course, water and sewerage programs should aid the cities, too.

In terms of regional priorities, electricity is the focus in the West; schools, highways, and sanitation in the East; and highways and electricity in the South. These amenities will help in the development of some of the regional towns; that is, those in the 20,000-100,000 size-class which are growing the fastest.

#### Conclusion

As several respondents observed, there are many myths and much fiction about urban development; e.g., urbanization is bad, rural-urban migration can be stopped, etc. Meanwhile, both processes continue, as do the problems which are associated with them, often with the aid of government policies and action or lack of same.

These, then, are the perceptions and definitions of urban development and urban development problems as they were presented during the visits to India and Turkey. What is being done about them, by whom, and with what resources are the contents of the next section of this report.

### III. APPROACHES AND RESOURCES

Many approaches are being used to address the problems of urban growth in India and Turkey. They have engaged a wide range of resources, both public and private. It was possible, during the short visits, to become acquainted first-hand with a number of these approaches and resources. However, what is reported here reflects much more than that; at the same time, the report does not pretend to be comprehensive.

Most of the approaches which have been used are common to both countries. This is true also of the resources which have been employed. In terms of approaches which have been proposed, many more suggestions were made in India. Only two proposed approaches were made in India as well as Turkey. The approaches, which have been or are being used, are divided into six categories: planning, institutions, sectors, new communities, research and training, and others.

#### Planning Approaches

Planning for urban development has been interdisciplinary for ten years in India; the approach has been used only in the past few years in Turkey. This kind of an approach is important also as an example to the rest of the country. The notion is held widely in India and Turkey that change and development begins in the metropolitan areas. As one respondent observed, "If you can satisfy the metropolitan areas, you can satisfy India."

Very little treatment of urban development is contained in the National Five-Year Development Plans. National and regional priorities in Turkey are infrastructural development, some of which will aid urban areas. India's current and previous Plans have been concerned with aggregates at the macro-level, particularly finance resources and productivity, planning,

Nor is there much of a focus on urbanization in regional plans and programs in India. Mention was made of some regional water and irrigation projects in Bihar and Mysore States, for example. The strong notion of regional development in Turkey is related to the desire to achieve more balanced growth by stimulating development in the south and especially in the east. It includes the idea of trying to develop countermagnets to the largest cities, that is, to encourage the growth of cities in the 20,000 - 100,000 size-class. Regional planning, in fact, preceded the development of the current National Development Plan. Done along sectoral lines, the regional planning efforts have been confined primarily to studies. Incentives, such as tax breaks, special amortization, exceptions to corporate income laws, have been given to industry. Professional salaries have been supplemented. The beginnings of regional universities, starting with agricultural and engineering schools, are further evidence of regional development.

Master Plans exist in the principal cities of both countries. Most of them currently are being reviewed and revised. Master Plans have been prepared for Indian cities, as well as for Istanbul and Izmir (1965) and Ankara (1969) in Turkey. The Delhi Master Plan, prepared in 1959-1960, was the first comprehensive government plan. A statutory body, the Delhi Development Authority (DDA), was created to implement it. In addition to managing a revolving fund (which began with 5 crores or \$7 million and now amounts to 100 crores or \$140 million) for buying, developing, and selling land on the basis of 99-year leases, DDA also has housing schemes, helps with the location of industry, and is concerned with transportation. Land development is regarded to be a slow process, largely because of DDA's "city beautiful" approach. The excessive demand for land is handled by lottery,

which is accessible only to those who have made prior deposits of money.

### Institutions

The Delhi Development Authority is one of a number of special authorities which have been created in India and Turkey to deal with aspects of urban development. Most of them are creations of national government. One of the newest in India is the Housing and Urban Development Corporation (HUDCO). A "child" of the Ministry of Works, HUDCO is independent by law and has been given a broad mandate to organize the housing sector. It is a national organization which expects to have local units. It has paid up capital from the Government of India (reportedly a revolving fund of \$280 million, 75% which comes from FL 480 - generated local currency) and money from the Life Insurance Corporation of India. In addition to making loans to states, HUDCO will be concerned with building factories, clearing slums, developing composite schemes (of offices, income plots, and housing), helping to design prototype houses using existing ideas, and coordinating and improving building methods and materials. The emphasis is to be on middle- and upper - income (or economics) housing, although there will be some social housing.

Special authorities have been created also to deal with rural-urban linkages. There is the National Capital Region around Delhi, an "irrational" area of 8,000 square miles which "does and does not include Delhi;" the "huge, floundering area" in Orissa and other States known as the Southeastern Resource Region; Calcutta Metropolitan Planning Organization which seeks to establish some rational relationships between Calcutta and the rest of Bengal; and a central organization around Madras to which fourteen districts in eight agro-regions are related. These special authorities have produced

descriptive studies but no political planning. The tendency, according to one respondent, is towards a deliberative approach, and with little attention to the urban side.

A somewhat different special authority is the City and Industrial Development Corporation of Maharashtra (CIDCO), a company in the public sector which was created by Maharashtra State two years ago. Its purpose is to develop a New Bombay, eastward on the mainland, in order to relieve the pressure on Old Bombay, especially Bombay Island and the northward uncontrolled sprawl. Studies and other activities are underway towards the creation of a city of two million people on 120 square miles of land over a period of twenty years. CIDCO is a result of five years of work by a group of interested citizens, who were aided informally by an urban specialist from the Ford Foundation.

Special authorities exist also in Turkey. Emlak Bankasi is the real estate or property and credit bank. It makes housing loans to low-income people. With a down payment of Lira 10,000 - 12,000 (\$714-\$857), a person can obtain a Lira 40,000 (\$2,857), twenty-year mortgage. Emlak Bankasi is a provincial bank which provides credit facilities at the municipal and village levels.

In addition the social security system makes loans to cooperatives. After working a specified length of time, a group of seven people can form a cooperative, buy land, and get a loan of 90% of the estimated cost of the building. The government provides the infrastructural facilities. This resource is used by civil servants (typists, drivers, etc.), as well as industry and the private sector.

Both governments have regular departments which are concerned with urban problems. At the national level in Turkey is the Ministry of Reconstruction and Settlement which is the principal organization for urbanization policy. Its responsibilities include the prevention of squatter settlements (gecekondu), the relocation of squatters, low-cost housing, land development, and the restoration of historical areas. The budget of Lira 200 million (\$14.3 million) is used principally for public utilities. The State Planning Organization is in this Ministry.

In 1967 the National Security Council in Turkey initiated the Metropolitan Planning Bureau (MPB) to develop a twenty-year plan and make projections and proposals for the future of Ankara, Istanbul, and Izmir. A super-agency which is situated above the existing and weaker city planning departments in each city, MPB also enjoys a bigger budget. The plan for Istanbul has been completed, and the ones for Ankara and Izmir are underway. For example, a core staff of twelve people (architects, engineers, planners, and one economist) is responsible for the Ankara plan. Approximately 80,000 - 100,000 parcels of land have been included in the land use study; each parcel is on a card. The economic studies include a survey of 20,000 shops and also 1,000 factories (with a minimum of ten employees and a capital flow of Lira 1 million, or \$71,430). Social research is using a 4% sample of 7,000 families, which has been tested out at 90% accuracy. A 4% sample is used also for the transportation studies. There are, in addition, hydrological, archaeological, and morphological studies to be made.

The relationship between MPB and the municipal planning departments is not clear. It was cited as an example of the governments tendency to "dictate to, not consult, the people."

In addition to special development authorities and city planning departments, the principal national government institution in India is the Ministry of Health, Family Planning, Works, Housing, and Urban Development. Headed by a Chief Minister, this organization has two Ministers of State, one of whom is responsible for Works, Housing, and Urban Development. There are Joint Directors for Housing and Urban Development and there is a Town and Country Planning Organization (TCPO) which serves as a technical consultant to the Ministry. An attempt is being made to establish a counterpart TCPO in each state, using the persuasion of federal grants. Specific grants are given to priority areas. Housing is one element, but not the entire picture. Slum rehabilitation is proposed by the Ministry. It is recognized that this will require structural changes horizontally and vertically. Whatever is done will necessitate having to move people, an official noted.

TCPO is the central advisory body on urban and regional planning in India. Composed of six divisions, it has a multidisciplinary staff of 350 people. It provides advisory services to the States, as well as the Ministry, and staffing services to the special regional organizations which were described earlier. The staff is engaged in urban, regional, economic, design, social, industrial, physical, and landscape planning and research.

### Regional Approaches

Many of the efforts to address the problems of rapid urban growth are by sectors; i.e., housing, water, sewerage, etc. Some of the approaches to housing have been discussed already; for example, the credit banks in Turkey and HUDCO in India. The respondents estimated that the government programs meet only about 5% or less of the housing need in Turkey. Housing is primarily in the private sector there.

A law has existed in India since the early 1950s which requires an industry to agree to provide housing for 33% of its workers in order to obtain an industrial license. Related to this effort are social housing schemes for industrial workers for which there are matching grants. Cooperative housing societies also are aided by government. There are large-scale efforts to provide land on easy terms and loans to families.

The Life Insurance Corporation of India makes loans to middle- and upper-income groups for developing individual houses, trusts, and luxury apartments. At the other end of the economic scale are the government's slum improvement or rehabilitation efforts. For example, the Calcutta Metropolitan Development Authority's Bustee Improvement Scheme is concerned with water, schools, and pavement, but not shops. This is a politically explosive issue, and authorities stress improvement, not clearance.

It was interesting to learn that people prefer the Calcutta bustee (squatter or slum hutment) to the highrise flats in Bombay. Flats are considered too hot, too expensive, and too congested for the typically large families. Another interesting observation was the importance of

timing as a key to implementation. "Integrating the time frame of the planner and that of the politician" was used as an example. The planner should stress the slum conditions near an election, especially if doing something about them conflicts with a politician's other interests.

One of the basic problems in addressing the critical housing need in India is that housing is seen only in consumptive terms, not for its productive and employment potential. This fact was stressed by many respondents.

The problem of squatter settlements has been mentioned in other parts of this report. As the foregoing indicates, squatter settlements are seen officially as slums in India. Delhi reportedly has done more for the squatter than any other municipality. Although governmental policy stresses slum rehabilitation, not clearance, very little has been done to implement it. It was stated earlier that Madras has a Slum Clearance Board, while slum rehabilitation is a recent effort in Bombay which is confined to public land. In Delhi the site and services approach has been used. Known also as the open plot approach, it provides for the demarcation of lots, roads, latrines, and drainage, and the people build their own houses. Before 1962, the plots were larger than they are today and were let more on a hire-purchase basis. Nor were the lots available only to the poor. Since 1962, all the plots have been government-owned and low rents are charged. It was alleged that the principal characteristics of the Landlord Board have been poor management and corruption.

The official policy in Turkey since 1967 has been that squatter settlements (gecekondus) cannot be torn down. It apparently is not even

feasible to consider the regularization of the land on which they are located. They are a fait accompli, and the government is trying to provide the infrastructural services, in order to keep them from becoming slums. As was stated earlier, one of the constraints is the scattering of these settlements often in inaccessible areas. A number of respondents gave increased income (alias employment) as the solution to the squatter problem in Turkey.

The emphasis on infrastructural development in Turkey has been mentioned several times. This is the focus of most of the national and regional priorities. Some of the 10,000 villages in the new Five-Year Development Plan should be among the beneficiaries. Included are water, sewerage, roads, schools, and electricity. Because of the lack of power and finance on the part of local government in Turkey, most of these efforts are financed by national government. Grants-in-aid also are given to local and municipal governments by the Ministry of Interior, which is responsible for reviewing their budgets.

There are national water supply schemes in India, which benefit urban centers also. Specific grants are made through State governments to local bodies. In addition, there are some matching grants.

These examples are indicative of some of the sectoral approaches which have been and are being used to deal with urban problems.

#### New Communities

New towns and new settlements are efforts in the urban and rural sectors to address problems of population, migration, urbanization, development -- in a word, problems of modernization and change. These approaches have been used in India and Turkey, and probably will be

One of the world's well-known new towns is Chandigarh, India. The French architect-planner, Le Corbusier, had a great deal to do with it. The respondents who mentioned it were neutral or negative in their comments. One respondent suggested that Indians and others should learn from what was done there. There were criticisms of the site. Simla, which is nearby, has been the "summer capital." It might have been chosen, some suggested, had it not been for a powerful Cabinet Minister who had large land holdings in Chandigarh. Several respondents mentioned the cost of developing this new town. The severest criticism was over the alleged lack of cultural adaptation. Local people reportedly had suggested two-story brick buildings. The principal planner decided on nine-story cement buildings which were constructed. The people in Chandigarh are said to complain that no longer is there a place to sit and sun.

Some of the more recent new towns in India have been related to particular industrial developments. There is a new town south of Calcutta which is being developed by the Port Authority. The current population of 60,000 is expected eventually to be 300,000. Korba, an aluminum plant town, is under the auspices of the India Oil Company. Barauni is a company town of the Fertilizer Corporation of India. One of the problems of these new towns, it was pointed out, is that they are not related to their "hinterlands." Ancillary industries and services are not considered in the planning of these towns.

In Turkey new towns are developed on the periphery of existing cities on land which is annexed. Really satellite towns, they require more infrastructural services but produce no more income for the "parent" city. However, new construction occurs in the suburban areas, because

urban renewal is not possible in Turkey. Condensation proceedings reportedly take years and are costly. Ankara's peripheral development was cited as a good example of this approach.

In the rural areas of Turkey settlement schemes have been developed for nearly fifty years. These efforts are being continued and strengthened. Among other things, they may be seen as another approach or solution to the squatter problem in the urban areas. In Turkey's Third Five-Year Plan, 1973-1977, nearly 10,000 villages are to be served, in order to control migration to the cities, settle new areas, and make people more productive and comfortable. More than 1,700 villages are targeted for investment services and more than 8,000 are designated to receive technical assistance and research (e.g., pre-investment studies, etc.).

A resettlement law was passed in 1970 in order to compensate and provide for people whose land has been expropriated; for those from isolated villages who are moved nearer public services; for those who are removed from unproductive areas; for the nearly 8,000 gypsies in the south and west who are being forced to settle by their young people and by economic and social conditions; and in order to achieve larger village agglomerations. From 1923 to 1962, the settlement schemes were primarily for immigrants. During that time 242,000 families (1.2 million people) from Bulgaria, Rumania, Turkestan, and Yugoslavia were assisted; the first 50,000 families were given land, houses, animals, tractors, and credit. Today an immigrant must have a sponsor.

In the Department of Land Settlement in the Ministry of Rural Affairs, there is a Planning and Research Section and a Technical Section. As a result of pre-investment, physical, social and cultural studies since 1965

By the Planning and Research Section, 72 National arrangements or plans for village settlements, houses, and farm buildings have been produced. The Technical Section, in addition to assisting with these plans, have developed city plans and investment projects which are sent to the State Planning Organization for approval and grants or loans (Lira 25,000 or \$1785 for houses, 2½%, 25 years, and a 5-year grace period).

More is needed than financial aid, however. This will explain the earlier reference to technical assistance for more than 8,000 villages in the forthcoming Plan. The technical aid is to upgrade and improve housing. In 36,000 villages (approximately 72,000 settlements), research results indicate, 45,000 houses are built annually without help or subsidy or technical assistance. The people simply copy the old houses. Technical assistance will make a demonstration effort to modernize and improve on the traditional house and traditional building methods, preserving the highly labor-intensive aspects.

Thus, the combination of more job opportunities and more amenities, it is hoped, will encourage more people to stay in the new settlements and modernized villages. This, of course, is a principal raison d'etre of the program.

#### Research and Training

It is recognized in Turkey, as elsewhere, that very little really is known about rural-urban migrants: who they are, where they come from, why they migrate, how they adjust, etc. There is much speculation, and some myths or standard conclusions prevail.

One would expect to obtain more reliable information in a migration study which is being financed by the Ministry of Finance and a small A.I.D. grant. It is a study of migratory flows between a central Anatolian farming village and Ankara. Among the questions for which answers are sought is the level of wage differential at which a person will be encouraged to migrate.

One aspect of migration which is not receiving sufficient attention is the "push" from the urban areas. One respondent in India said that the traditional push-pull analysis is of limited use in this regard. Migrants reportedly are being pushed from urban areas because they have become pools of marginal workers, the poor, the landless, and the unskilled. Even an expanding service sector, which several respondents emphasized is not economic growth, has not been able to absorb these workers. In addition, there are social and political conflicts and other problems which encourage people to leave.

Studies of migration are also being made at the International Institute for Population Studies (IIPS), a UNICEF regional institution near Bombay. From 1956 to 1968, it was the National Centre for Demographic Research and Training. When it became a regional facility, population policy and ecology were added to demography, and service was added research and training.

In addition to migration studies, IIPS does research on the census, family planning, mortality, and fertility, and population policy and urbanization. No research has been started on ecology. Among other things, computer simulation is used heavily. Training programs include a one-year certificate and a two-year diploma in population studies and

a M.D. program in cooperation with the University of Bombay. The service component is comprised of a library on demography, an annotated bibliography for the region, and a data bank which is in process. The latter already has census and survey data on demography and population, and will include economic and social data later.

This Institute has received A.I.D. assistance since 1968 in the form of staff support, equipment, teaching aids, and library materials.

The only institution in India which is doing research on environmental matters is the Central Public Health Engineering Institute at Nagpur.

There are a number of other training facilities in India. The universities, as was noted in the section on problems, have not been very involved in assisting with the problems of urban growth. The University of Bombay, with a full array of departments which are relevant to various aspects of these problems, reportedly has been more interested in academic and theoretical pursuits. Mention was made of a sociological survey, which was made in 1950 and was not published until 1954, as an example of the University's interest and involvement.

The Tata Institute of Social Sciences near Bombay is another well-known training facility for social workers and those in related professions. Criminal and behavioral studies have been made, but the research was described as being "essentially descriptive."

Another institution in the Bombay area is NITIE (National Institute of Training in Industrial Engineering). It was begun in 1962 by ILO and was nationalized ("Indianized") in 1969. With 29 professors in a staff of 160, NITIE devotes its resources to training (60%), a management

consulting services (20%), and research and conferences (20%). NITIE is concerned with the application of management science to the improvement of productivity and the decision-making process. As NITIE's director sees it, the problem is one of attitude and behavior.

Eight or nine courses are given concurrently, each with a maximum of 24 people. They vary in length from three or four days to ten weeks. There are courses in engineering, accounting, statistics, public relations, and organizational behavior. A two-year Master of Science degree program in industrial engineering began in July 1971, and an urban and regional planning course is to begin shortly. Consultation is offered to individuals or organizations in marketing, finance, and production. Applied research is done on contract; A.I.D. and the India Planning Commission have been among the clients. Conferences are one-to three-day affairs on a variety of topics; in August 1971 a conference was held on systems technology in urban affairs.

NITIE is funded by a grant from the Government of India and from consulting and course fees. The latter amount to Rs. 400/= (\$56) per person per week.

Delhi University offers many research and training resources. The Department of Geography, School of Social Work, School of Economics, and Institute of Economic Growth are some of the constituent units which are involved in varying degrees. For example, the Department of Geography is concerned with the processes of metropolitanization (in cities of 250,000 population and over) and commercialization (in cities of 50,000 - 250,000 population). The School of Social Work has thirty projects in community

received in town and quarter construction in cooperation with the Government of India.

The School of Planning was created in 1955 by the Ministry of Education. It was combined in 1959 with the School of Architecture which began in 1942, and the School of Planning and Architecture was established as an independent organization. It offers a one-year diploma course in housing for housing administrators and an integrated two-year graduate planning program. The integrated course has a common core for the first year with a concentration in urban and regional planning, housing and community planning, or traffic and transportation planning. The School trains the town planning manpower for national state governments. About 60% of the students are government-sponsored and 40% are funded from private sources.

Other courses at the School include two-year graduate program in landscape architecture and a six-week in-service training program for housing managers. A one-year diploma program in housing management is being considered, as well as a new two-year graduate program in urban design. There is a nucleus of an Environmental Research Center at the School. The School of Planning and Architecture has an enrollment of 450 students and graduates 125 each year.

In Turkey there are a number of training resources. It was estimated that there are about a dozen people who are teaching "urban development" subjects in the universities. At the University of Ankara there is a Chair in Urban Development and an Institute of Town and Country Planning. At Middle East Technical University (METU), just outside of Ankara, there is a Department of City and Regional Planning, "the only

planning school in Turkey. It graduates 30 - 40 students annually.

By contrast there are many architectural schools, some with four-year programs and others with five-year programs in "higher architecture." One is located in the Technical University of Istanbul.

#### Other Resources

Various other resources are available in India and Turkey including also private resources. In Turkey, for instance, individual architects take on projects for small cities. These plans must be approved by the appropriate national ministries.

One of the more substantial resources is the Turkish Municipal Association. It is a scientific association with a small staff, a budget of Lira 1 million (\$71,430), and a membership of 1400 municipalities. The Association makes studies and does research in personnel management and accounting, trains municipal officials, publishes manuals, handbooks, and books, and engages in lobbying for municipal reforms. The training is provided in seminars of 2-3 days duration and in two- and three-week courses.

Seminars and conferences are used also in India as a way of helping people to keep abreast of developments and to exchange ideas. For example, two such meetings were held shortly after the visit. A conference on the "Problems of Urbanization" was held in Bombay on November 27-29, 1971, at the Tata Institute of Social Sciences. In December 1971, a two-week Seminar on Urban-Rural Interaction was held which involved twelve British and fifteen Indian geographers. Sponsored jointly by the Institute of British Geographers, the Indian Council of Social Sciences, and the Department of Geography of the Delhi University, the seminar focussed on some of the more of the more limited empirical work which has been done to date.

Almost synonymous with urban development in India is the Ford Foundation's substantial and ongoing involvement in Calcutta, and more especially the Calcutta Metropolitan Planning Organization. So many people one meets are so-called "Calcutta alumni" that it seems to be as important a criterion in urban development today as a prison term was for African leaders in the drive for self-government and independence! It was the Foundation's ten-year experience in Calcutta that was a key factor in the decision to undertake the recently completed year-long International Urbanization Survey, as a means of helping the Foundation to reassess its role in urban development.

The Foundation continues to be involved in other ways in urban India. There is a Pilot Research Projects and Growth Centers Program which grew out the earlier community development program. It is concerned with market towns and the development of rural service centers. What hierarchy of functions is required and what linkages are needed to bring needed services to India's 570,000 villages? A village is too small to support the services, a block (100 villages and 100,000 population), an artificial administrative creation, is too small for comprehensive planning and too large to do without it, it was stated.

As an "in house" exercise, a group of Ford Foundation staff members in India is looking at the process of urbanization, seeking to go beyond the slums and squatter settlements and to understand "the ferment, the total socio-economic change, the process of modernization which also are involved." This is a multidisciplinary group.

The involvement of the large Life Insurance Corporation of India has been referred to in the discussion of housing above. This company is very

active in financing housing and other developments primarily for middle- and upper-income groups. There are no big property developers or large building contractors in India; there are only individual commercial firms which are involved, in addition to government agencies.

The Center for the Study of Developing Societies is engaged in various studies of social tensions and other problem areas in cities and in developing profiles of cities. Focusing on the "how" and "why" of changing civic culture, the Center concerns itself with two types of urban centers: administrative centers with hinterlands and industrial centers without hinterlands (as noted in the discussion of new towns). The so-called service type, the Center staff believes, may be a part of either of the other two.

An autonomous, registered society, the Center is seven years old, has an interdisciplinary staff of fifteen and an academic governing board, and is funded by a grant from the Ministry of Education and from fees for research and study projects. The work is futuristic and policy-oriented, anticipatory rather than fire-fighting. The Center staff fears that it might be taken too seriously. As they put it, "Status is involved in intellect as well as intuition!"

A new Institute of Urban Affairs is being started in Delhi. It is separate from the university. By refining existing data, the Institute hopes to do urban development in tandem with urban redevelopment and to integrate spatial, resource, and finance planning. The idea is that an Indian team of specialists will have a top foreign expert as its leader.

Approach Proposals

Of the many suggestions of approaches which should be employed, there were only two which were made in Turkey and in India: coordination of urban development efforts and integration into national planning, and decentralization of responsibility and implementation at the local level.

These proposals are not as contradictory as they may appear. The lack of coordination, both vertically and horizontally, was discussed earlier. One reason for this problem is the lack of a national urban development policy in both countries. Planned urbanization requires such a policy if it is to realize its potential. It requires also an understanding of a national system of cities and an urban hierarchy, or nesting of functions. For in planned urbanization, it was stressed, the relationships are more than linear, they are quadratic.

At the same time, as coordination and integration are being achieved at the national level and vertically along the hierarchical line, it was stated that a local planning focus also is needed. A clear definition is essential, in order to distinguish national requirements from local responsibilities. If urban issues are to be solved, then it was stressed that responsibility must be decentralized, in order to provide a local focus and stimulus.

Concern was expressed that the growth pole approach would fail unless it were integrated with the social and political aspirations of the local people. The experience of the community development program in India was cited as something to be avoided. The staffing pattern allegedly was too uniform and was not adaptable to village needs. The villagers, therefore, saw little change in the facilities and services which were

available. A similar notion was raised somewhat differently by another respondent. He said that CIP and per capita incomes need the addition of "social" satisfactions from the immediate environment and perceived potential for the future."

Proposals were made for other approaches to planning. A rather startling one was that bureaucratic planners should be dismissed! They were accused in Turkey of being an interest group themselves, whose dispensing of approvals, fees, and permits raised by 20% - 30% the cost of housing. An Indian respondent urged that Master Plans and zoning codes be reviewed and revised more frequently. Several others felt that it was dangerous to tie urban development to housing. The Housing Minister is usually weak and not very influential, they reckoned, and urban development suffers as a consequence. A separate Ministry of Urban Affairs was recommended.

A number of respondents felt that much more emphasis should be given to the multidimensional and experimental nature of effective planning for urban development. Several different approaches were suggested. One respondent, who accused planners of "using theory to explain but not to do planning," argued that "theory is useless unless it produces empirical advice." He recommended a "three-dimensional" approach to urban planning: economic, urban, and spatial.

Some respondents urged that, in addition to normal urban development efforts, a "three-phased" approach be made. Information gathering and the organization and analysis of data would occur in the first phase. In the second phase there would be experimentation, which would be "operational, purposeful, and translatable," and a commitment to back

process. A large-scale implementation effort "without compromise" would curtail the third phase.

Others felt that two approaches to urban planning in India should be made simultaneously. One is a "crisis" approach which provides infrastructural facilities and services on a least-cost basis with existing resources. This would permit more realistic standards to be achieved, it was felt, and an improvement in services. Meanwhile, long-term investments would go into improving public transport; e.g., developing subways in lieu of widening roads. Concurrently a "production planning" approach would facilitate the building of new towns related to industry. Housing for production workers, being production-oriented, would overcome the constraint of its being seen as an economic burden, it was explained. One respondent put it succinctly in the phrase, "redevelopment along with development;" by that he meant "deadend the pain but keep the vitality." The criterion, it was noted, is that further deterioration is arrested if redevelopment really is functional. Unless this occurs, new investment promotes more deterioration, and Calcutta in the decade of the 1960's was cited as an example.

A professional urbanologist in Turkey advised that rapid urban growth is a new phenomenon which is being experienced. It requires a new understanding and a new approach, including a reformulation of the problem and "an internally developed solution." He stated that a new planning concept is needed in developing countries, "maybe cybernetics." Instead of the "strict control" type of planning, it should be able to control the "limited amount of tools and resources in order to get the maximum multiplier effect." Experimentation is needed; the "tradeoffs"

must be identified and studied; plans, and programming must be integrated; and more than a physical design is required, he added.

Other respondents suggested two ideas which require testing. One is the ability of small towns to be "sponges;" that is, absorbing and releasing rural-urban migrants as needed. A "confrontation" approach is the other. Rather than the extensive "commission" approach, study teams would make quick appraisals in order to acquire awareness and perception. In this way most of the time and resources could be devoted to doing something about urban problems rather than studying them.

#### Resources

Paramount among the many resources which are available and, in many cases are being well used, are the respondents, whose names are listed separately. A knowledgeable resource, they were generous with their time and information.

For ease of reference, the institutional resources, which have been referred to in the foregoing discussion, often more than once, are listed below by country and by type.

#### Institutional Resources for Urban and Regional Development in India

##### I. Governmental

Ministry of Health, Family Planning, Works, Housing, and Urban  
Development

Town and Country Planning Organization (TCPO)

National Capital Region

Southeastern Resource Region

Other regional organizations

State and municipal planning departments

National Planning Commission

National Committee on Human Environment

II. Educational

Uttar Pradesh University

School of Economics

Department of Geography

Institute of Economic Growth

School of Social Work

National Institute of Training in Industrial Engineering (NITIE)

School of Planning and Architecture

Environmental Research Center

Tata Institute of Social Sciences

University of Bombay

Central Public Health Engineering Institute (Nagpur)

III. Other

Calcutta Metropolitan Planning Organization (CMPO)

City and Industrial Development Corporation of Maharashtra (CIDCO)

Delhi Development Authority (DDA)

Housing and Urban Development Corporation (HUDCO)

Center for the Study of Developing Societies

Institute of Urban Affairs

Life Insurance Corporation of India (LIC)

IV. External Assistance

U.S. Agency for International Development (AID)

Ford Foundation

UN ESCAPE International Institute for Population Studies (IIPS)

Institutional Resources in Urban  
and Regional Development in Turkey

I. Governmental

Ministry of Finance  
Ministry of Interior  
Ministry of Reconstruction and Settlement  
    State Planning Organization  
Ministry of Rural Affairs  
    Department of Land Settlement  
Municipal planning departments

II. Educational

Middle East Technical University (METU)  
    Department of City and Regional Planning  
Technical University of Istanbul  
    School of Architecture  
University of Ankara  
    Chair in Urban Development  
    Institute of Town and Country Planning

III. Other

Metropolitan Planning Bureau  
National and provincial property and credit banks  
Turkish Municipal Association

IV. External Assistance

U.S. Agency for International Development (A.I.D.)

#### IV. CONCLUSIONS

The third area of inquiry during the visits was the possible role for external assistance in helping India and Turkey as they seek to address the problems of rapid urban growth. Although the discussion of problems, approaches, and resources (above) had been suggestive of ways in which external assistance might be applied, a more direct consideration of the matter was required.

In addition to general observations, the respondents offered many suggestions which have been summarized under four headings: loans and credits, research, training, and manpower.

#### General Observations

There is an increasing resistance to external aid in India. A "rising indigenous focus and fervor" has produced a kind of "selective isolationism." Strict rules are being applied; if it is needed, the Government of India will not cut off existing aid. Whatever inputs are made must be designed carefully. One major donor, for example, is using what is available, and is making few, if any, replacements or additions in personnel.

Strong objection was expressed over tied aid. The question was asked rhetorically by several respondents, "Whose purpose is served by it?"

Even though the visit antedated by a week or more the latest fighting between India and Pakistan, it was quite evident that Americans were not very popular. The comparative, "less popular", was the favored expression. One respondent observed that U.S. assistance is so prolific and visible that it is easier to criticize it. He added that, by contrast, Russian aid is more symbolic. Other respondents complained that Americans see too good of studies. A respondent who has had considerable experience with American aid advised a change in the "usual American aid approach."

He described it as being "people, institutions, and ideas," and suggested the reverse, "begin with the ideas," he said, "then find the institutions, and finally the people." The "usual" way, he added, makes "American stooges" out of the people.

This resistance to external aid and to American aid in particular was not evident in Turkey. One observation, which was not clarified, may have been indicative of some criticism of aid, depending on which system was meant. The statement: "because of the protection which is inherent in the system, external assistance may disappear."

#### Loans and Grants

Except for one Indian respondent who advised against any money, "because it never gets to the people," external aid loans and grants were suggested for financing pilot and demonstration and experimental projects, the purchase of infrastructural equipment and construction materials, and for institution building.

Pilot Projects. In Turkey, it was felt that pilot projects are needed at the municipal and local levels which can show how to plan and how to implement the plans. There was some indication that such assistance would be used more effectively if it given through other than government channels.

Indian respondents expressed the need to experiment with different standards. Mention was made of another approach to education. Instead of building a school building, which will cost a minimum of Rs. 100,000/=( $\$14,300$ ), build two rooms (for a library and for storing equipment), teach under shade trees, put additional money into raising the status and quality of teachers, and have a holiday during the monsoons.

Another area for experimentation is what is needed for a habitable urban environment. The goal would be a system of services within the constraints of

United States which is susceptible over time; that is, a minimum standard for water, sewerage, etc. which could lessen impurities to health and productivity. One respondent reported that a cheaper sewerage system (than the flush toilet) has been developed at the Central Public Health Institute at Nagpur. It has been laboratory tested and now needs to be demonstrated. This is a kind of risk which external assistance can take easier than the Government of India, it was explained.

Equipment and Materials. Respondents in both countries suggested capital assistance for purchasing equipment and construction materials and for capital development projects. Construction steel was reported to be in short supply in Turkey. Respondents in Turkey suggested also the creation of equipment pools (graders, trucks, ditchers, etc.) for the municipalities. Water development, railway and highway development, and housing were among the capital development projects mentioned in both countries.

Several respondents in India recommended what one of them called "spiraling action" projects (alias multiplier projects). Applying modern technology now on a commercial basis to garbage disposal will meet a critical need and will provide a useful by-product, energy. Another example which was given was the building of mechanized shelters (industrialized houses). Where the equipment and technology provided, the skills could be developed in India. With shelter costing less, the demand would grow and would make this a profitable venture, it was suggested.

Institution Building. The foregoing might be considered a form of institution building. The more traditional type also was recommended as a role for external assistance. However, it was only financial assistance which was sought; in several instances it was made explicit that technical assistance was not needed. Strengthening the existing research and training institutions, helping the new Institute of

Urban Affairs Council, with a subsidiary, providing working assistance to the regional Regional Documentation Center for Housing, Building, and Planning (currently a national center), and making possible the nascent Environmental Research Center in the School of Planning and Architecture were specified. Equipment and travel grants were mentioned particularly as ways of aiding training institutions.

#### Research

Several kinds of assistance to research were outlined, in addition to what has been mentioned already. In both countries senior research expertise was a felt need. In both countries much was made of the specification that the expatriate be a member, not the leader, of a local research team. An Indian respondent observed that the presence of expatriates on the team insures greater receptivity on the part of the government of the results.

Another role for external assistance is in providing fellowships and grants which would improve the quality of preparation and give continuity to research work. Expansion of research libraries is another way of strengthening local research.

Exploring new areas, ones which would be of particular concern to urban development, was recommended by many respondents. Assistance would make research possible in the following, among others:

- (a) old towns, in order to learn from tradition how to build houses more satisfactorily;
- (b) new towns, in order to discover why some are more successful than others, what kind of a hinterland is needed, etc.;

- (c) The requirements for receiving local develop-  
ment when industry is located in the hinterland.  
The experience has been that raw materials  
and consumer goods are imported, the products  
are exported, prices rise on the local market,  
inflation sets in, and the few get richer  
and the rest get poorer;
- (d) the function of urbanization in economic  
development. What are the options to  
size and distribution patterns? What is  
the relationship between technology and urban-  
ization? Why and how does urbanization occur  
without increased economic activity? Etc.; and
- (e) How to make use of the harajans (untouchables)  
in urban India. They are not outcasts in the  
cities, only in villages.

#### Training

Several kinds of training needs could be addressed significantly by external assistance in both countries. Suggestions were made about domestic and overseas training.

Domestic: There reportedly is a need for more systematic training of municipal and local government officials, both administrative and technical, in India and Turkey. Emphasis should be placed on helping them to acquire a perception of the municipality as a whole and an ability to deal with everyday and real life problems effectively.

For the more professional reader, it was suggested that the training should include cost-effective programs. In systematic training, it was noted that it should be ongoing; on-the-job, in-service, special courses, etc.

One of the ways of reinforcing the training and helping with manpower development is through conferences and seminars. They also can help to develop the art of dealing with problems in a multi-disciplinary manner. Mention was made in India of Kanpur. It was a declining city when A.I.D. sponsored a regional planning conference there. Thereafter, the India Institute of Technology was established there with A.I.D. assistance. Today Kanpur reportedly is alive!

Information sharing is another approach to training. Books and other publications were mentioned in India as possible kinds of assistance. In Turkey the desire is to go beyond that and, especially, to get external help in establishing "lateral links and channels ;" i.e., communications between developing countries for the sharing of experience.

Overseas. Tours are another form of assistance which makes possible the exchange of experience and other learning opportunities. Tours are useful in helping administrators and legislators develop awareness and understanding. Some of the subject-matter areas on which these tours might focus are environment, regional development, transportation systems, municipal finance, etc. It was suggested that these tours could be financed from counterpart funds. The groups should visit contrasting <sup>be</sup> places and should/mixed; that is, legislators and administrators in the same tour groups.

Following several tours there should be a seminar for the teams to share experiences and to focus more specifically on the relevance of Hong Kong to Caracas, or Singapore's experience to Bombay, etc.

It was advised that there would be great benefit in having such tours of India cities, too.

Travel grants have been mentioned already. Fellowships for training overseas and travel grants were recommended for senior officials and faculty members in both countries. It was made explicit in India that this approach was better than the sending of technical assistance advisors to India.

#### Manpower

Nevertheless, in India as well as Turkey, particular kinds of manpower needs were seen as being met by external aid. Two kinds of manpower deficiencies were in both countries.

Senior Expertise. The respondents in Turkey expressed a need for senior expertise in policy planning; that is, someone who can help develop a framework for urban development policy and planning in Turkey. Similar assistance is needed in India in the analysis of policies and programs. What is needed is "top drawer talent" which is knowledgeable and can inspire local professionals at the national and municipal levels.

Implementation Specialists. A serious problem in both countries is the inability to implement plans and projects. In India, it was felt that technical expertise is the missing link, and external aid was looked to for senior technical advisors and operational on-site research as the plan is being implemented. Assistance with local training is a longer-term solution.

External aid is needed in Turkey to help in the development of alternative solutions and planning inputs and their consideration at all political levels. In addition, external assistance can be useful in developing the mechanism which will move plans and projects from the decision-making to the implementation stage in a more timely and rational manner.

Training Specialists. While certain responsibilities are specified by agencies, technical advice is needed. The respondents in Turkey felt that this kind of external assistance was needed. One kind of training specialist is one who can fill an operational position; that is, shore up a subject-matter area. Another kind is one who can assist with curriculum development, particularly with multi-disciplinary graduate-level programs in planning.

Evaluation Specialists. Technical expertise is needed to develop and to install the kinds of organizational and program techniques which can monitor and evaluate a city's performance. It was felt that external aid might be a source of this kind of assistance. This need to monitor and evaluate was hinted at in some of the kinds of research assistance which were described earlier.

Building and Material Specialists: It was surprising that one kind of technical expert whose services are needed and requested in India is one who is knowledgeable about cheaper building methods and materials. There apparently still is too much reliance on the employment of alien construction methods and imported materials, both of which are costly. No doubt, a modification in standards, among other things, would be involved in such an exercise and would require close collaboration with local people.

Other Specialists. It was stressed in the discussion of problems that both countries lack urban economists, urban sociologists, and senior-level specialists in engineering, planning, and transportation. This deficiency exists even though both countries are exporting specialists in many fields which are related to urban development. This appears to be a worldwide phenomenon. What is sought apparently, is expertise considerably above the pedestrian level which has been seasoned by relevant experience in breadth and depth. That kind of expertise is in short supply, and the demand for it grows.

## V. CONCLUSIONS

This has been a report of visits to Turkey and India in October and November, 1971. Each visit continued for five days. The purpose of the visits was to learn local perceptions and definitions of urban development and the critical problems of rapid urban growth; to discover what was being done about them, by whom, and with what resources; and to determine if there were a significant and appropriate role for external assistance.

There has been no attempt in the foregoing to present a regional picture of urban development for the Near East and South Asia. Nor has this been a comparative study of urban development in India and Turkey, although some contrasts have been indicated.

The report has attempted to reflect the range and significance of the opinions from the survey, which was confined in each country to the capital city and one other important city. An overview of urbanization in Turkey and India was contained in the introduction.

Neither country has a national urban development policy. The perception of urban development, generally speaking, is in terms of rural-urban migration and the problems which result from the additional demands on limited urban resources. Employment, housing, and infrastructural services do not exist for many migrants or are in very short supply. Urban sprawl compounds the difficulty of getting services to these and other people.

Certain deficiencies in government resources were discussed, beginning with the inadequacy of local government. Deficiencies in other resources also were presented.

The bulk of the report has been concerned with the approaches and resources which are being used to deal with many of the problems. Planning and sectoral approaches, new forms, central authorities, research and training, and a variety of institutions have been employed. In addition, other approaches were proposed. A list of resources, by country and by type, concluded this section of the report. It was possible in the report to indicate some of the efforts being made; it was not possible to be comprehensive.

The range, quality, and potential of the resources, both individual and institutional, were impressive. In both countries existing resources, especially the universities and similar organization, are underinvolved and underutilized in circumstances in which they could help make a difference. Traditional antagonisms, many kinds of fears, inefficiency, aloofness, and unhappy past experience are among the controlling factors. Nevertheless, from the point of view of current efforts or potential resources, the situations in Turkey and India are not without promise.

In suggesting ways in which external assistance might play a useful role, the respondents mentioned loans and grants, research, training, and manpower. Few of the notions were much different from those which were offered in other countries.

The magnitude of the problems in Turkey, with approximately 6% of India's population, cannot compare with the latter's, even though growth rates are nearly the same. It is clear in both countries that existing institutions and services cannot cope, although it is quite clear that more could be done with existing resources if there were better planning and coordination.

Many respondents advised a combination of national coordination and integration and decentralized implementation and responsibility. They felt that this approach would address many of the problems which were discussed. Other interesting ideas emerged from a consideration of the approach proposals.

Definitely, determining how to do this part of public works no easy answer, and some work is being done as a result of the survey. Some possible points of interaction were suggested which require further analysis and, possibly, action.

APPENDIX I

People Visited in 1976  
New Delhi, India

I. Governmental

Ministry of Health, Family Planning, Works Housing,  
and Urban Development

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The Honorable Mr. Gujral  
Minister of State for Works, Housing, and Urban Development

Mr. P.C. Mathew  
Secretary for Works, Housing, and Urban Development

Mr. Perabhai Rao  
Chairman of Town and Country Planning Organization

Mr. H. Rahman  
Architect

Mr. I.R. Khurana  
Economist, Town and Country Planning Organization

Messrs. Dyal and Sharma  
Associates, Town and Country Planning Organization

National Planning Commission

Mr. P.C. Khanna  
Chief of Urban Development

Mr. S.S.B. Radaghyan  
Chief of Housing

National Committee on Human Environment

Mr. Pitambar Pant  
Chairman

II. Educational

Delhi University

School of Economics

Department of Human Geography

Dr. V.L.S. Prakash Rao  
Chairman

Dr. B. Ramchandran  
Professor

APPENDIX I (continued)

Indian Statistical Institute

Institute of Economic Growth

Dr. Ashish Bose  
Sociologist-Demographer

Professor P. B. Desai  
Economist-Demographer

School of Social Work

Professor S. N. Ramdas  
Dean

Dr. K. D. Gangrade  
Head, Department of Field Work

Professor S. H. Pathak  
Professor B. S. Kumaran  
Professor A. P. S. Lamba  
Miss R. Sen, Lecturer

National Institute of Training in Industrial Engineering (NITIE)

Professor N. S. Ramaswamy  
Director

Professor R. C. Nigam (Computer Science)  
Professor S. N. Ramachandran (Industrial Management)  
Professor R. K. Chowdhury (Transportation)  
Professor Y. Satyamurthy

School of Planning and Architecture

Professor T. J. Manickam  
Director

Professor Bijit Chosh  
Head, Department of Town Planning

University of Bombay

Department of Economics

Professor P. R. Brahmananda

APPENDIX I (continued)

III. Other

City and Industrial Development Corporation  
of Maharashtra (CIDCO)

Mr. J.B. deSouza  
Managing Director

Delhi Development Authority (DDA)

Mr. Jagmohan  
Deputy Director

Health and Urban Development Corporation (HUDCO)

Mr. Vinod V. Parikh  
Managing Director

Mr. Salvam  
Engineer

Center for the Study of Developing Societies

Dr. Ashish Nandini  
Dr. D.L. Sheth

Institute of Urban Affairs

Mr. B. Chatterjee

IV. External Assistance

Ford Foundation

Mr. C. Preston Andrade  
Urban Planning Advisor

Mr. Reuben Simmons  
Agricultural Credit Advisor

UN ESCAPE International Institute for Population Studies (IIPS)

Mr. S.N. Agarwal  
Director

Mrs. Vatsala Harain  
Miss Sumiti Khirsagar

Consulate General of the USA, Bombay

Mr. John G. Fenos  
Economic-Commercial Officer

Mr. E.A. Sivaraman  
Economic Specialist

(OFFICIALS (continued))

INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE (I.I.I.)

Dr. Howard Houghton  
Director

Dr. Clarence Gulick  
Assistant Director for Development Policy

Dr. Alvin Rosenhan  
Assistant Director for Population and Family Planning

Mr. Gordon Evans  
Director, Program Office

Mr. Richard Basch  
Mr. Robert Beckman  
Program Officers

Mr. Jerry Bannister  
Syracuse University Maxwell Intern

APPENDIX III

People Visited in Turkey  
October 20-22, 1971.

Ministry of Finance

I. Governmental

Mr. Turhan Kivenc  
General Director of the Budget

Ministry of Rural Affairs

Mr. Huseyn Yegin  
General Director of Land Settlement

Municipality of Ankara

The Honorable Ekrem R. Balius  
Mayor

Mr. Sahir Kozikoglu  
Deputy Mayor

Mr. Erhan Kip  
Protocol Officer

Mr. Ali Tuncsav  
Head, Department of Urbanism and Slums

Middle East Technical University (METU)

II. Educational

Department of City and Regional Planning

Dr. Ilhan Tekeli  
Professor of Planning

Technical University of Istanbul

School of Architecture

Professor Kemal A. Aru  
Dean

Professor Gunduz Ozdes  
Professor of City Planning

Dr. H. Ibrahim Sanli

Appendix II (continued)

Faculty of Law

Faculty of Law

Dr. Rusen Keles

III. Other

Metropolitan Planning Bureau

Master Plan of Ankara Office

Mr. Haluk Alatan  
Director

Turkish Municipal Association

The Honorable Isret Sezgin, M.P.  
President

Dr. Furi Tortop  
Executive Director

IV. External Assistance

USAID Mission to Turkey (A.I.D.)

Mr. Joseph Toner  
Director

Mr. Kenneth Kauffman  
Deputy Director

Miss Marjorie Belcher  
Assistant Director for Technical Assistance

Mr. Fritz Moennighoff, Director

Mr. Jon Baughman

Mr. Yilmaz Saracoglu, Engineer  
Capital Development Division

Mr. John Cooper  
Director, Public Administration Division

Mr. Charles Gurney  
Population Officer

Dr. Duncan R. Miller  
Assistant Program Economist, Economic Planning Division

Mr. William Bacon  
International Intern

Mrs. Iris Kapil  
Dr. Hassan Chavouza