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Urban Development Staff

FOCUS ON URBAN DEVELOPMENT: PERCEPTIONS, PROBLEMS, APPROACHES, AND NEEDS

A Potential Role for U.S. Foreign Assistance

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## CONTENTS

<b>INTRODUCTION.....</b>	<b>1 - 19</b>
Rate of Population Growth	1
Rate and Scale of Urban Growth	1
Urbanization in Developing Countries	2
Costs of Urbanization	3
Advantages of Urbanization	3
A Paradox: Recognition and Inaction	4
U.S. Domestic Urban Experience	5
Agency Preoccupation in Developing Countries	6
Signs of Change at Home and Abroad	8
"Urban" and "Urban Development"	10
Strategy of Urban Development Staff	11
Other Considerations	14
Organization of the Monograph	16
Notes	18
<b>PERCEPTIONS AND PROBLEMS OF URBAN DEVELOPMENT.....</b>	<b>20 - 98</b>
Critical Factors in the Urban Environment	22 - 39
Rapid Urban Growth	22
Attitudes, Perceptions, Outlook	26
Employment	27
Housing	30
Infrastructural Facilities and Services	34
Pollution	37
Problems of Perception and Leadership	40 - 45
Preoccupation with National Unity and Stability	41
The Communications Gap	41
Opportunism	42
Consumption Orientation	43
Anti-urban Bias	44
Problems of Planning for Urban Development	46 - 58
Physical Approach	47
Land Use Planning	48
Master Planning	49
Lack of Planning Skills	51
Holistic Conceptualization of Planning	52

<b>Coordination</b>	54
Urban Development Policy	55
Lack of Experience and Information	56
Regional Planning, Regional Development, Growth Poles, and Population Countermagnets	56
Legal Framework for Urban Planning and Development	57
<b>Problems of Individual, Institutional, and Other Support</b>	59 - 93
Manpower and Skills	59
Information and Data	65
Administrative Capacity	72
Institutions	79
Culturally Relevant Standards	83
Financial Resources	85
External Aid	89
Technology	91
<b>Problems: "Urban" and "Developmental"</b>	94 - 98
<b>APPLIED APPROACHES AND AVAILABLE RESOURCES FOR URBAN DEVELOPMENT .....</b>	99 - 165
<b>Sectoral Approaches</b>	100 - 112
Housing Activities	100
Building of Infrastructure	104
Squatter Settlements and Other Unplanned Communities	106
Satellite Towns or Cities	109
New Town Developments	110
<b>Planning Approaches</b>	113 - 131
Approaches at the National Level	114
Regional Planning	116
Growth Centers and Growth Poles	118
Area Development Planning	119
Urban Planning	120
Master Planning	120
Multidisciplinary Team Approach	122
Low-Cost Approaches	124
New Towns	125

Special Solutions	126
Enabling Legislation	129
Alien Solutions	130
<b>Governmental Resources</b>	<b>132 - 140</b>
National Government	132
Subnational Government	135
Municipal Government	136
Special Authorities	137
Coordination	138
<b>Nongovernmental Resources</b>	<b>141 - 159</b>
The Universities	141
Other Nongovernmental Institutions	149
Research	152
Seminars and Conferences	155
Other Donors	156
Bilateral Technical Assistance	158
<b>Suggested Approaches and Resources</b>	<b>160 - 165</b>
Urban Legislation	160
Structure	160
Planning	161
Research	164
Information	164
<b>SUGGESTED TYPES OF TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE FOR URBAN DEVELOPMENT .....</b>	<b>166 - 185</b>
General Suggestions	170
Data, Information, and Research	172
Manpower and Training	175
Tools and Techniques	180
Other Types	184
<b>SUMMARY OF THE FINDINGS .....</b>	<b>185 - 202</b>
Perceptions and Problems	187
Approaches and Resources	192
External Assistance	195
Conclusion	200

**SUGGESTED OPTIONS FOR AGENCY ACTION**

**RECOMMENDATIONS**

<b>APPENDICES .....</b>	<b>203 - 219</b>
<b>Population Residing in Big Cities by Selected Regions, 1920-1960</b>	<b>204</b>
<b>National and Urban Population Figures and Growth Rates for Selected Countries in Africa, East Asia, South Asia, and Latin America, 1950-1970</b>	<b>205</b>
<b>International Assistance for Urban Development in the Developing Countries by Selected Donors</b>	<b>209</b>
<b>Summary of Multilateral and Bilateral Assistance in International Programs for Housing, Building and Planning, Cross-classified by Donor and Recipient, 1968-1969</b>	<b>212</b>
<b>Maps Showing Location of Consultation Visits in the United States and Overseas, 1970-1971</b>	<b>215</b>

<b>SUGGESTED OPTIONS FOR AGENCY ACTION.....</b>	<b>203 - 209</b>
Zero Option	203
Minimal Option	204
Low Option	205
Medium Option	207
High Option	208
<b>URBAN GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT AS A COMPONENT OF AGENCY POLICY AND PROGRAMMING.....</b>	<b>210 - 227</b>
Recommendations	210
Points of Intervention	211
Specific Activities	213
Relationship to Agency Development Objectives	221
Relationship to Current "Urban Development" Efforts in the Agency	224
Relationship to "Urban Development" Efforts of Other Donors	226
<b>APPENDICES.....</b>	<b>228 - 251</b>
Population Residing in Big Cities by Selected Regions, 1920-1960	229
National and Urban Population Figures and Growth Rates for Selected Countries in Africa, East Asia, South Asia, and Latin America, 1950-1970	230
International Assistance for Urban Development in the Developing Countries by Selected Donors	234
Summary of Multilateral and Bilateral Assistance in International Programs for Housing, Building and Planning, Cross-classified by Donor and Recipient, 1968-1969	237

Linkages in Urban Development, a heuristic schema showing the interdependencies of factors in urban development	240
Maps Showing Location of Consultation Visits in the United States and Overseas, 1970-1971	247

## ABSTRACT

Urbanization in the developing countries is taking place at a faster rate than had been foreseen by development specialists. The process poses many questions concerning both the cost and potential of rapid urban growth and the relationship between urban and national development. Drawing on the responses of a wide range of experts and specialists, government officials, planners, and academicians, in both the advanced and developing nations, this monograph examines four basic concerns: What perceptions of urban development exist in the developing countries? What urban development problems have been identified? What approaches to urban development have been employed within the developing countries? And what, if any, would be a significant and appropriate role for external assistance to urban development in the developing countries?

Until recently urban development has received only sporadic attention at home. The laxity noted in domestic urban experience is mirrored in the efforts of foreign aid, with the result that assistance for urban development may be characterized to have been essentially piecemeal and ad hoc. Presently, there exist encouraging signs of change. The importance of urban development policy has been articulated within U.S. Government circles and by donor organizations — both at home and abroad. More importantly, some of the developing nations have incorporated urban development considerations into national plans. One concept gaining credence is that of urbanization as a vehicle for national development; cities are often perceived in terms of their effects upon the larger areas they serve.

The traditional view of urbanism is in terms of urban problems. There are many. This monograph presents a fourfold typology of urban problems encountered. Critical factors affecting the urban setting are identified as rapid growth, attitudinal disposition of the urban newcomer, employment, housing, infrastructural facilities and services, and pollution. A second area of concern deals with problems of perception and leadership as cultural-political and less tangible than those which affect the urban environment. Deficiencies in planning for and coordination of urban development are two areas which were the subject of widespread concern and attention within the developing countries. Finally, underutilization of institutional, individual, and other support was seen to inhibit the development of a number of important areas, including manpower skills, information and data, and administrative capacity. The discussion provides a distinction between urban problems per se and urban development problems articulated within the broader context of national development.

While the findings of the study point to numerous problem areas, also manifested is a series of approaches and available resources extant in the developing countries. Sectoral approaches focus upon building of housing and infrastructure and include several innovative concepts related to the development or improvement of human settlements. Such settlements may range from the shantytown to the satellite city or new town. Planning at all levels of government is receiving considerable attention. Traditional urban and master planning are now complemented by experiments with regional, growth pole, and multidisciplinary team analysis. Resources supporting such approaches were found in governmental bodies at all levels as well as in special authorities and nongovernmental institutions, most notably the universities of the developing countries, research institutes, and external donor organizations. Proposals to tap as yet unused resources pointed to possible initiatives in urban legislation, urban research, and information sharing.

The requirement for external assistance generally was recognized by officials and practitioners in the developing countries. However, some reservations were expressed. For the most part, objections to American foreign aid focused upon substantive concerns rather than upon its purpose or origins. Moreover, suggestions for various types of technical assistance relevant to urban development were characterized by their great selectivity and specificity. While the suggestions varied from country to country, pervasive concern was noted with regard to shortages in data, information, and skilled manpower. Technical assistance was perceived to have potential for developing and expanding research and training activities and for developing and applying methods for meeting infrastructure and housing needs.

A conceptual framework is presented for synthesizing and analyzing the findings of the study. Those problems bearing most heavily upon the living conditions and functioning of the urban environment are isolated. Nine input factors directly affecting the above problems are discussed in terms of their relationship to (1) the urban environment, (2) national urban development, and (3) each other. Numerous linkages may be perceived, and some priorities for points of intervention are suggested. Coordination of development approaches is stressed.

The concluding portions of the monograph set forth options and recommendations to assist the Agency in making a policy decision about urban development. They are based on the findings of the study and on conclusions from a series of consultations during which the study was reviewed.

## INTRODUCTION

This monograph represents the culmination of efforts by the Urban Development Staff (TA/UDS) to assist the Agency in making a policy decision on urban development. The central question is what role, if any, would be appropriate and significant for U.S. technical assistance in helping developing countries deal with the phenomenon of rapid urban growth.

This rapid growth is emerging as a significant issue in development. Global rates of urban population growth have been twice those of total population growth. During the past 50 years, the world's population has doubled while urban population has quadrupled, from 267 to 1010 million. The level of urbanization has risen from 14% in 1920 to 25% in 1960, and is estimated conservatively to reach 38% by the turn of the century.

The great bulk of this growth is taking place in the developing countries at a pace and on a scale which are unnerving.

Several characteristics are worthy of mention. First, urban growth rates for less developed countries have approached tripling their total population growth rates. This is particularly significant given the unprecedented overall rates of population growth in these countries -- namely, more than double the rates of the rest of the world.

While the urban growth rates of the less developed countries denote the pace of urbanization, scale is more easily perceived when simple factors of growth are examined. As part of the quadrupling of the world urban population during the last 50 years, the

developed regions increased their urban population by a factor of 2.75 (that is, from 198 to 546 million) while the less developed regions increased their urban population by a factor of 6.75 (that is, from 69 to 464 million). Illustrative of such massive growth are Latin America and Africa; both increased their urban population eight-fold. If current projections hold, the total population of the less developed regions from 1920-2000 will have quadrupled, while the urban population will have increased from 69 to 1436 million, or by a factor of twenty.

It appears that the more recent the urbanization trend, the faster the growth. An examination of big cities (500,000 inhabitants or more) grouped by recency of urbanization reveals that the less developed regions increased their big city population by nine times during the period 1920-1960, as compared to 0.6 times for Europe and 3.5 times in other more developed regions. Estimates for 1920-1980 indicate that the less developed and most recently urbanizing regions of the world will have increased their big city population by 23 times (from 14 to 322 million inhabitants).

Clearly it is the developing world which is bearing the major burden of urbanization. The developing regions, which contained 25% of the world's urban population in 1920, will encompass 51% by 1980 and 61% by the year 2000. The level of urbanization for the developing world, which reached only 17% in 1960, is expected to be 32% by the turn of the century. See further, statistical tables in the Appendix.

The developing countries started to urbanize from a small base and are urbanizing without the benefit of the backlog of resources which existed in the developed world during similar stages of urban growth and development. The process of urbanization occurs more rapidly in the developing countries and exerts a far greater stress upon the capabilities of these countries to deal with it.

Traditionally urbanization has been considered within the context of the problems and stresses which accompany it. There are many types of costs which may be associated with urban growth. The requirement for millions of new employment opportunities exacerbates an already difficult situation in the developing world. The industrialization process remains sluggish and capital-intensive, while the reservoirs of manpower offer skills difficult to market on the burgeoning urban scene. The aggregation of population within high-density areas produces recurrent and additive demands for food, shelter, services, infrastructure, and the administrative capacity to provide and distribute these necessities. There are social and psychological costs as well; environmental degradation is persistent; and there are mental strains associated with high-density urban living and movement.

The consideration of urban growth only in terms of its costs surely is myopic and ultimately unproductive. Considerable potential exists to be tapped. Advantages may be perceived as urbanization makes possible accessibility to markets, services, and information.

The urban environment is a vehicle for the rapid diffusion of knowledge, social standards, new life styles; learning and innovation characterize the urban scene. Nor does the diffusion stop at the borders of the urban center; the products of modernization are distributed also to its hinterlands. As the urban center acts as a vehicle for the diffusion of the products of modernization, so also it may facilitate the national integration of the often diverse tribal and other groupings, especially in newly independent countries. Finally, while the pace and scale of growth may appear to be the most tangibly frightening attributes of urbanization, these characteristics may point also to opportunities for economies of scale, the capability of supporting larger operations at lower cost per unit.

Three general characteristics of urbanization have been presented in the foregoing: that urbanization in the developing countries is far surpassing in speed and magnitude the counterpart trend in the developed world; that as an apparent concomitant of modernization, urbanization places numerous demands and strains upon development; and that there are manifest advantages, as well as costs, of urbanization.

The very nature, problems, and advantages of urbanization are so overt that they demand careful and considerable attention. The debilitating truth, however, is that they have received little, and that attention has been fragmented and spasmodic. Indeed, a peculiar paradox exists: on the one hand, the phenomenon of rapid

urban growth and its manifestations are recognized widely; on the other hand, inaction or piecemeal and convulsive action in a crisis atmosphere usually characterizes the response on the part of the Agency and others.

To a great extent, the domestic urban experience sheds some light on such a paradox. The U.S. has been slow to respond to the phenomenon of its own urban growth. It has done so significantly only in times of apparent crisis with the emergence of untoward problems. The early years of the Great Depression in the 1930's signalled perhaps the first substantial public concern for urban areas. Such active involvement came again during the 1960's as deprivation in urban areas became one target of the War on Poverty and later as unexpected riots brutalized the central cities.

Pervasive throughout the U.S. urban experience has been an anti-urban bias. It is a bias distilled through a peculiar history of frontier settlement, characterized by vague pieties of rural integrity and innocence, and perpetuated by state and national legislatures, reflective of their own rural origins.

Scholars too have been inclined towards myopia in their treatment of urbanization. With a few notable exceptions, social scientists have not anticipated the urban problems that now beset both the advanced and the developing countries. For example, in this country it took the major urban crises of the 1960's to prod economists into giving specific attention to urban development. The

first "provisional" text was published in 1965,<sup>2</sup> and only in recent years has the urban development issue appeared with any regularity and depth in the development literature.

Within this atmosphere U.S. urban initiatives have been inconsistent and sporadic. Despite the availability of tools and resources, there have been many poor and hesitant starts, and for each promising approach/<sup>there</sup> exist numerous instances of ineffective implementation (e.g., Urban Renewal and Model Cities). It is not at all surprising, then, that the tendency to devote minimal attention to the urban scene may be seen also within foreign assistance efforts.

Admittedly a host of unknowns exists with regard to domestic and external urban growth and development. There is a severe lack of exportable models. Nevertheless, the transfer of ad hoc approaches, shibboleths of all kinds (e.g., "bubbling cauldrons of unrest"), and basic anti-urbanism from domestic to external assistance has insured the piecemeal program development of the Agency in the urban development field.

For the most part, the Agency's previous efforts in urban development have been sectoral and ad hoc in nature. Initial emphasis in housing programs was upon materials, with the self-help concept emerging in the 1950's. Scattered urban projects punctuated foreign assistance efforts through the 1960's, mostly within the guise of sectoral considerations (e.g., transportation, health, industry). Since a manual order was approved in the Agency in 1966, the Bureau for Latin America has been most notable in initiating programs with a broader focus.

All in all, Agency experience in urban development comprises implementation and expansion of the Housing Investment Guaranty Loan program, other loans for housing and infrastructure, and training and technical assistance for urban planning and administration, institution building, development of low-cost housing materials and techniques, and occasional research projects. While something has been done under the auspices of foreign aid, consistency and commitment have been lacking on the part of both donor and recipient.

This suggests a second major contributing factor to the paradox mentioned above--namely, the pervasively rural interests and preoccupations of the leaders in developing countries. Even though their cities are growing rapidly, the overwhelming proportion of the population in these countries is rural. In a few countries a fifty-fifty rural-urban population ratio exists or is imminent; in most countries, however, the rural population still is 70% - 80% of the total.

The economy of these countries is based primarily in the rural sector in agriculture and agriculture-related pursuits. Equally significant, especially in newly independent countries, is the need to share more widely some of the so-called "fruits of independence." This usually is interpreted to mean extending to the rural areas some of the products of modernization which the urban sector already enjoyed.

Given the situation of an anti-urban bias, unknowns in urban growth and development, and tardiness of scholars in recognizing

the issues, it is not surprising that foreign aid has been directed primarily to the rural aspects of national development and that only sporadic attention has been given to problems in the urban sector.

There have been signs of change however. In 1965, the U.S. Urban Development Committee of the International Cooperation Year made a number of recommendations to the President concerning international urban problems. They were, in part, the basis for establishing the United Nations Center for Housing, Building, and Planning and formulating at that time some urban development policy guidelines for this Agency. In addition, other organizations, such as the Inter-American Development Bank, the Organization of American States, the Peace Corps, and the Ford Foundation have perceived rapid urbanization in the developing countries as an area requiring special emphasis and effort in assistance policies.

During the past two years, international donor agencies have been rethinking their previous efforts in urban development, seeking out new directions, and assessing both the problems and the resources for solving them. Examples of this are the policy reviews underway at the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and the Ford Foundation, not to mention this Agency.

The emergence of other problem areas, such as the population explosion and the environment which have had their most tangible impact upon urban centers, has reinforced an urban focus. According to the last two State of the Union Addresses, for example, the United

States is purportedly readjusting its national priorities to meet such challenges.

Even more important is the movement in the developing countries to establish their own urban priorities and policy requirements. The amount of action varies from country to country and is a function of the level of urbanization in the country, among other things. For example, one can find more of these activities in countries of Latin America, where the level of urbanization is 43%, than in countries of Africa, which is only 17% urbanized. There is evidence that the developing countries are willing to integrate urban strategies into national plans. References to urban problems and strategies have been noted for the first time in the latest five-year development plans of a number of countries.

Interest at the national level is being spurred as it becomes clear that the traditional emphasis on rural development programs alone does not constitute an adequate approach. These programs do affect the urban sector. The Green Revolution has forced marginally employed agricultural workers off the land and into the cities in some cases. Farm-to-market roads and the continuing development of national transportation arteries make cities more accessible to the potential rural-urban migrants, although they were developed for other purposes. These and other developments of the past decade have induced new perceptions of urbanization.

The foundations of this new awareness are shaky. The positive role of urbanization in national development is questioned in many

quarters. A clearer understanding of this concept is needed. Urban problems too will have to be defined with an operational bias so that the linkages are clear between problems and possible approaches to them.

Much of the definitional problem is due to a lack of understanding of the difference between "urban" and "urban development." As perceived throughout this study, urban and city are almost synonymous. "Urban" refers to the characteristics of a place which is a city, a large agglomeration of people densely settled. Urban problems are problems characteristic of and occurring in such an agglomeration.

Urban development is a more complex term. It is a twofold concept encompassing the development of the city itself and the role of the city in regional and national development. Development of the city not only improves the living conditions of its residents, but it also increases the developmental impact of the city on its hinterland (region or nation, as the case may be). The better the city is organized and prepared to carry out its developmental role, the greater its impact will be. To the extent the city bogs down in its vital functions or its developmental potential is impaired, its impact will be lessened.

Underlying this concept is the city as a producer of outputs for development and modernization. The critical mass of the city enables it to produce these outputs (generally at increasing levels with larger city size). The city's linkages with its hinterland,

with other sectors of the economy, and with the other systems of the nation (including other cities) are responsible for the influence it exerts beyond its own boundaries.<sup>3</sup> The magnitude of the city's influence depends on many factors; most important are size, functions, level (or conditions) of development, and nature and extent of linkages. These factors, in turn, are subject to control and direction by national goals, level of commitment, and available resources.

Accommodation and management of urbanization have become important issues in development. Urbanization is linked with modernization and development, although there is much about the process that is not known. It has been an historical and irreversible human socialization process. It is a serious developmental issue because it is occurring so rapidly in developing countries. This was not anticipated, even by professional demographers. Consequently, there has been little preparation to accommodate the process and exploit its developmental attributes.

The strategy of TA/UDS has been one of continued, open-minded inquiry into urbanization in the developing countries. It has been a learning and sharing process which has entailed exposure to many academic disciplines, practitioners' perceptions, and urban operations at home and abroad in advanced and developing nations. On the basis of this extensive investigation, the Urban Development Staff submits some practical options and recommendations

as a basis for Agency consideration of an urban development policy. These may serve as guidelines for a possible role for Agency technical assistance in urban development.

An exploratory period preceded the development of a specific strategy for the study. It included a range of activities which have continued throughout the study--namely, an analysis of past and present AID activities in the urban field, a survey of and liaison with other international donor agencies, and collection, review and categorization of pertinent literature.<sup>4</sup>

Concurrently a five-step process was developed leading to the findings, conclusions, and recommendations of this report. Step one was an effort by TA/UDS Staff to define the critical issues and problems of rapid urban growth faced by the developing countries. A paper was prepared in December 1970 outlining basic controversies and practical problems associated with urban growth and development.<sup>5</sup>

The second step was begun in January 1971 and continued into March. During this period the initial staff paper was reviewed first within the Agency and by a group of special graduate students from overseas who were studying urban development at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Subsequently, it was reviewed by 70 urban affairs specialists in this country who have had relevant international experience.

The 70 specialists were organized into a series of seven multi-disciplinary panels. Each panel met for a one-day session, and the specialists participated without remuneration. Included

among the participants were professors from 32 universities, officials from 4 government agencies and 3 international organizations, professionals from 5 private organizations and 5 consulting firms, and three individual consultants.

Disciplines represented on the seven panel groups included anthropology, architecture, city planning, civil engineering, demography, ecology, economics, geography, history, housing, law, physics, political science, public administration, sociology, transportation planning, and urban and regional planning. It should be emphasized that the multi-disciplinary nature of the panels addressing urban development was extremely well received. A summary report of the seven sessions<sup>6</sup> and other TA/UDS reports<sup>7</sup> were sent to all panelists; many of them have continued to make useful individual contributions to this analysis.

The third step consisted of visits to aid donor organizations in more advanced countries. The purpose of the visits was to learn about their programs for assisting with urban problems in developing countries. Contact was established with official government bodies, universities, private organizations, and multilateral and international agencies in Canada, Japan, the United Kingdom, France, Switzerland, Belgium the Netherlands, and Greece (the Athens Center of Ekistics and the Ford Foundation International Survey Team).<sup>8</sup>

In May 1971, the fourth, and perhaps most significant, step was begun: a series of visits to developing countries in all regions. These visits continued until December 1971. Sixteen countries were

visited, as follows: Ethiopia, Ivory Coast, Kenya, Liberia, Morocco, and Nigeria in Africa; Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore, Thailand, and South Vietnam in Southeast Asia; India and Turkey in Near East and South Asia; and Brazil, Colombia, and Panama in Latin America. A wide range of specialists, government officials, and practitioners was consulted in each country. Country mission officials also provided invaluable assistance and consultation. The consultation visits were designed to determine (1) local perceptions of urban development and urban growth problems; (2) the ways in which such problems are being addressed, by whom, and with what resources; and (3) what might be an appropriate and useful role for U.S. foreign assistance. Country and regional reports have been prepared on these visits.<sup>9</sup>

The fifth step has involved sorting, sifting, and pondering the wealth of accumulated information and experience and developing a final report. The term developing is appropriate in that this step involved a review of preliminary drafts of the report within the Bureau for Technical Assistance, by an Agency ad hoc multi-disciplinary panel, by a workshop of outside consultants, and by a workshop involving AID/W and selected field personnel from all regions. Following these reviews TA/UDS Staff prepared the options and recommendations which comprise the final sections of the report.

The Urban Development Staff is composed of two professional officers and a secretary. The smallness of TA/UDS has facilitated close coordination and cooperation throughout the study as well as

considerable interaction among the professional disciplines of the staff. In addition, TA/UDS has been fortunate to have had the part-time services of one graduate student and four undergraduate students under various intern arrangements over different stages of the study. All were from academic programs complementary to the substance of the study, such that their participation has enriched the study's multi-disciplinary aspects and resulted in contributions that have been invaluable to its progress.<sup>4</sup>

In many ways the timing of the study has been fortuitous. Since TA/UDS became operational in September 1970, the Agency has been on the brink of reorganization, in response to a lack of Congressional support for foreign aid and to a changing foreign assistance environment in the developing nations. This has reinforced the flexible mandate given to TA/UDS to seek the innovative, avoid the usual, and do the necessary in carrying out its task force-like assignment. Now that the Agency has begun an internal reorganization, it is clear that the new thrust which is more people-oriented and focuses on more thorough planning of program strategies, is complementary to the concerns and approach of TA/UDS in this study. The Agency's search for new and better approaches overall has made more relevant this analysis of urban development, an area that calls for new initiatives.

The Agency's move towards greater quality in its technical assistance efforts is consistent with an attitude TA/UDS found to be pervasive in the countries visited during the study--namely, much

more selectivity in requests for outside technical assistance. For example, excellence and relevant experience in advisors and consultants were stressed repeatedly. This is a departure from past perceptions of technical assistance.

Another happy coincidence in the timing of this study is that it parallels similar but complementary efforts by the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (World Bank), Ford Foundation, and the Organization of American States to determine their possible further involvement in addressing problems of urban development. The cooperation and exchange of views and papers have been mutually enriching and should lead to complementary policy and program developments in this field. Final reports of the World Bank and the Ford Foundation are being reviewed concurrently with the review of this report.

This monograph contains seven sections. In addition to the introduction, the sections are concerned with the major problems of urban development, approaches and resources which are being used to address these problems, suggested kinds of technical assistance which might be appropriate, conclusions from the findings, and options and recommendations for a policy determination by the Agency.

The monograph attempts to reflect primarily the wealth of helpful, knowledgeable, and thoughtful perceptions, ideas, and suggestions which were shared with the TA/UDS Staff during the survey. The content is not confined to these sources, although they have been relied on heavily.

None of the respondents, of course, is responsible for what is included in this monograph. The selection and interpretations are solely the responsibility of the TA/UDS Staff.

To attempt to name those who were so kind and generous along the way would run the risk of omitting someone special. They and the TA/UDS Staff know who they are. They know already of the esteem in which they are held and of the desire of the TA/UDS Staff that the amicable and productive relationship may continue.

NOTES

- 1 Throughout this report a population agglomeration of 20,000 and more is used as the definition of an urban place. National census definitions of an urban place are diverse, ranging from agglomerations of 1,000 or more to any community having certain administrative and public services. The United Nations and other organizations are in agreement that a settlement of 20,000 people begins to approach that critical mass necessary for the support of basic urban activities, particularly in the traditional societies of most developing nations. It lends itself to international comparison, and is being used increasingly in official and academic literature. See further, population charts in the Appendix.
- 2 Wilbur R. Thompson, A PREFACE TO URBAN ECONOMICS (Baltimore, Md.: The John Hopkins Press for Resources for the Future, 1965).
- 3 The interaction between a city and its rural hinterland offers an example of these developmental linkages. The city depends on agricultural products from the rural areas for its existence. At the same time, the city expands the cash markets of the agricultural sector, creating inducements for agricultural specialization and modernization. The city is also a source of manufactured and processed products, including agricultural inputs, such as fertilizers, pesticides, and implements. The constant two-way migration of people and capital between the city and its hinterland generates ideas and economic opportunities which are beneficial to the development and modernization of both.
- 4 See further, the following TA/UDS papers:  
  
Stephen W. Cooley, "A.I.D. Technical Assistance for Urban Development: A Study of Agency Experience, 1949 - 1970," June 1971. 33 p.  
  
Michael Baum, Charles Gurian and William R. Sweeney, Jr., "Urban Information Resource File," December 1971. 6 p.  
  
Stephen W. Cooley, "International Organizations Urban Development," January 1972. 21 p.  
  
James Miller, "Urban Information Resource File (Revised)," April 1972.
- 5 See further, "Towards A Definition of Urban Development Policy," December 10, 1970. 37 p.
- 6 See further, "Preliminary Report of the Results of Consultation on Identifying Critical Urban Development Problems," April 29, 1971. 5 p.

- 7 For example, see "Interim Report," July 7, 1971. 3 p.
- 8 See further, "Preliminary Report on Visits to Donor Countries and Organizations in Europe," June 3, 1971. 11 p.
- 9 For example, see "Report of a Survey of Urban Development in Latin America: Brazil, Colombia, and Panama," July 7, 1971. 7 p.

PERCEPTIONS AND PROBLEMS OF URBAN DEVELOPMENT

It is not surprising that a consideration of urban development should begin with a discussion of some of the major problems. Nearly everyone starts here; many become so discouraged that they go no further, concluding that the urban situation is irredeemable. As was mentioned earlier, urban problems have not been amenable to the sporadic and disjointed approaches which have been employed in the United States and elsewhere. Frustration and discouragement have given way quickly to disillusionment and a cessation of effort.

The following delineation of urban problems is an attempt to present their characteristics as they are perceived and manifested in developing countries, particularly in those countries which were visited during the survey. The purpose is not to make deeper the proverbial "bottomless pit." On the contrary. It is hoped that some "handles" may be seen, and that succeeding sections of the report will reveal illustrations of how they have been grasped and ways in which urban problems might be approached more effectively.

The wealth of information which has been a result of the consultations and field visits mentioned in the introduction was not readily digested or summarized. Four major categories were developed after considerable reflection and discussion. These are:

critical factors in the urban environment; problems of perception and leadership; problems of planning; and problems of individual, institutional, and other support. A final section addresses the distinction between "urban" and "developmental" problems.

Common themes are stressed in this presentation. Examples are given to be illustrative rather than inclusive. While strict measures of priority or severity do not appear in this chapter, the inclusion of problems does suggest some judgement of their significance in the urban situations of which they are a part.

### Critical Factors in the Urban Environment

Rapid urban growth appears to be inevitable; there is very little evidence to the contrary. In this sense, at least, rapid urban growth is a critical factor. Within the context of such growth the factors of housing, employment, infrastructural facilities and services, and pollution also are critical either by their presence or absence. These are rather common "problems" for observers of the urban scene. Less familiar are factors related to attitudes, perceptions, and outlook.

### Rapid Urban Growth

The phenomenon of rapid urban growth is much on the minds of planners, administrators, educators, and politicians in the developing nations and in agencies and institutions elsewhere which are concerned with the problems of development. In the developing nations the problem was expressed frequently in terms of rapid migration to the larger cities and the consequent strains placed on housing, infrastructure, services, land and space, and the job market.

There is much conjecture about the reasons for this rural-urban migration; some of it has been repeated so often that it begins to be taken as fact. However, little is known empirically. The small and growing amount of research on migration indicates that educational and employment opportunities, real or imagined,

are principal reasons. Related to employment opportunities, of course, is the urban wage differential. It is a combination of the lack of these opportunities in rural areas on the one hand and their apparent or hoped for availability in urban areas on the other hand which prompts many rural people to become migrants to urban centers.

It is interesting that high rates of natural population increase in the cities were not identified very often as a significant factor in rapid urban growth. In fact, they are. The cessation of all rural-urban migration tomorrow would still leave the developing countries with an urban growth problem of substantial proportions for decades to come. It is true that the tide of migration to the cities since World War II has created both the current pressure on resources and the very large urban population base of many cities, the latter insuring their rapid growth even without migration. It is the cumulative effect, therefore, of more than two decades during which time most major cities have tripled in size, at least, and there has been a general scarcity of developmental resources. There is general recognition also that the developing countries are still in the early stages of the urbanization process.

A situation has been created which may be described best as urban dualism. It is characterized by those with and those without. The spread of services is very uneven; large portions of

the urban population, sometimes the majority, are without basic infrastructure and services. This situation is exacerbated by the sprawling nature of these cities where the new migrants most often locate on the fringes of the city in the familiar bustees of India, favelas of Brazil, barriadas of Colombia, gecekondus of Turkey, bidonvilles of Morocco, and similar areas in other countries. To reach these far-flung, sometimes illegal, and often precariously situated (e.g., on a steep hillside or a river-bank) communities with urban services ~~of all kinds~~ is a challenge of major political, financial and technical proportions. Very little progress has been made.

Pressures on land and space and on the job market are natural outgrowths of this situation. Because of these pressures, many subsist with the most meager of housing and living accommodations and the ranks of the unemployed and the marginally employed continue to swell.

While some planners and administrators decry the squalid conditions which rapid urban growth often induces, others hail it as the only means of rapidly assimilating masses of people into the modernizing sector. With few exceptions, however, the common ground is a recognition that urbanization and modernization feed on one another and that rapid urbanization is the only alternative in a developing situation.

There seemed to be a widespread and genuine desire to gain control over the urbanization process; that is, to provide some relief to major pressure points. This was manifested frequently in expressed desire or determination to restrict population growth in the primate and megalopolitan size cities. The reasons given were: uncontrolled urban sprawl, traffic congestion, pollution, unemployment, crime, proliferation of squatter communities, inability to provide services and, in general, a fear that living standards could be depressed by further uncontrolled growth. Far less frequently mentioned were diseconomies of scale and the primate city as a parasite, notions that have been the center of controversy in the literature and which recent empirical studies are challenging seriously.

In many instances these fears and desires have been translated into some kind of policy action or debate, though often token in nature. These policies, some of them still in the discussion stage, usually take the form of urban decentralization through investment incentive programs, growth pole strategies, regional development schemes, rural village subsidies, and the like. For example, in Indonesia rapid urban growth of a major city has been challenged frontally. The city of Djakarta issues the required residency permit to new in-migrants only upon certification of lodging and employment. The new arrival must deposit with the

city government for six months the equivalent of return fare to point of origin. It is claimed that this policy, initiated in late 1970, has cut migration by as much as 50%.

While in general nothing has succeeded yet in stemming the migration tide in developing countries, the Djakarta experience indicates both recognition of the problem and the will to seek solutions.

#### Attitudes, Perceptions, Outlook

A factor of modernization since World War II has been the transistor radio. It has been a conduit for the wider spread of ideas, even in relatively remote areas. More recently independence in many countries and the activities and events leading to it also have changed people's attitudes and broadened their outlook. These changes have been in the levels of expectation and the range of concerns and considerations of people. In fact, these changed attitudes and expectations are considered to be critical to the motivations which prompt rural-urban migration.

The changes affect not only whether or not demands are made but also the nature and target of the demands. In addition to the increased demand for essential infrastructural services, there are new demands by new kinds of people in urban areas. New-comers to urban life often lack marketable skills as well as the know-how to function in an urban milieu. This latter situation, referred to as a serious problem in Africa, was described as a

function of a lack of the tradition of town living. People do not know how to cope with the alienation, loss of identity, and the requirements of the urban environment. Family and friends help newcomers to become oriented and cushion them against some of the severest psychological adjustments. They are less effective, except on a temporary basis, in helping with the problem of unemployment and housing, for example, especially when the newcomers lack marketable skills.

Nevertheless, however wrong rural-urban migrants may have been in estimating their educational and employment opportunities in the urban centers, and regardless of their urban living situation, they generally feel relatively better off. They are not likely to return to live in rural areas, and are not easily persuaded that their fortunes may be found in other than an urban environment.

### Employment

Although official unemployment rates varied widely from country to country and city to city, the urban unemployment situation was regarded as a serious problem everywhere. Only in Vietnam was there talk of near full employment, and even there, considerable apprehension was voiced over the net effect on unemployment of U.S. military disengagement. In Africa official

urban unemployment figures ranged between 8% and 15%, and extreme rural unemployment was regarded as an equally serious problem. Urban rates were similar elsewhere, except that there were pockets of even higher unemployment levels (e.g., Cali, Colombia, 18%). There is some question about the cultural relevance of existing measures of unemployment. This was stressed, for example, in Morocco and Nigeria.

Elsewhere it was suggested that official unemployment figures are less important than the ubiquitous signs of marginality or underemployment such as excessive numbers of pedicab drivers and street vendors. However, not all reports are negative. Some families have one or more members employed in the marginal sector and by combining resources are able to make some headway. By these and other devices families in the marginal sector are able gradually to be integrated into the socio-economic mainstream.

The lack of marketable skills was cited as a causal factor in the substantial volume of unemployment. The migrants from the rural areas and small towns are usually young and inexperienced and find themselves in a situation where they are not needed. However, the problem extends in many places to the college educated as well as the rural or small town peasant. In India, Thailand (Bangkok), and some Latin American countries, unemployment among the university trained is a critical and potentially

volatile problem. Whether skilled or unskilled, the hardest hit are the younger age groups (e.g., the 18 to 30 years olds). These constitute the bulk of new migrants and new college graduates. For them unemployment rates are much higher than the average so far discussed. Moreover, there will continue to be an excess of labor in this high unemployment age bracket given the very high percentage of population in the 0 - 15 age groups in both urban and rural areas.

It is a moot point whether the problem is really lack of skills or lack of opportunity or some combination thereof. The need obviously is for a range of solutions. A number of approaches are under consideration, from massive investment in housing and construction (actually attempted with some success in Brazil during the 1960's) to greater exploitation of opportunities in the tertiary or service sector (about which it was claimed entirely too little is known). In Latin America it was suggested that there were enormous distortions and imperfections in the urban labor market which cause much more stickiness, dislocation, misallocation and unemployment than necessary, even under existing economic conditions. In Africa and in Indonesia education was singled out as a contributing factor in unemployment. That is, the educational institutions are not turning out individuals who are equipped to function productively in a modern

urban environment. It was suggested that the educational focus should be on adapting curriculum more to national realities and manpower needs.

Unemployment was not singled out as a problem simply because of its dramatic proportions in most large cities. Rather, there was widespread awareness of its importance as the key to many other urban problems. Many respondents commented that one result of increased employment is that people use some of their earnings to improve their housing conditions. This has been corroborated by empirical evidence.

### Housing

The housing problem traditionally has been equated with the urban problem and in this context it has been described extensively in the literature. Although respondents frequently expressed a desire for a more balanced approach, concern for housing continues to dominate other urban development considerations. Even in Singapore, where the backbone in the demand for housing apparently was broken in 1964, housing remains a principal interest. Elsewhere various estimates are given of the housing shortage; all are well beyond the ability of any of the countries to begin to relieve significantly! No nation, however wealthy, has been able to achieve the oft-stated goal of decent housing for every family. Nonetheless it remains politically appealing,

economically desirable, and socially necessary.

Basically urban housing is a problem of scarcity which results in overcrowding, exorbitant rents, squatting and slums, among other things. From the standpoint of the slum dweller or squatter, housing is a universal manifestation of a "sense of deprivation from the disparity in the provision of services for survival," as one respondent observed. It also has become a politically explosive issue in many countries.

Efforts to deal with the housing problem continue to be grossly inadequate, piecemeal, and essentially narrowly sectoral. Politicians have offered rhetoric in Africa and political pronouncements and specific lobbying efforts in India, for example, but these activities have resulted in few housing programs. In fact, politicians reportedly have been notorious for using political interference to contravene planning efforts. The available limited resources often are allocated to senior civil servants and other influential interest group members. Similar conditions prevail in other countries.

In most countries there are limited programs of low-cost housing which usually do not reach the bulk of the low-income population. There are those who feel that this is a hopeless task in any case and, therefore, should not be considered a goal. The site and services approach is being used more widely to address the housing needs of low-income urban dwellers. Land costs and building standards are among some of the constraints to this approach, and in some countries plots and/or houses are being let on a rental basis rather than for purchase.

The squatter settlement has become the ubiquitous answer of low-income urban dwellers to the housing shortage in developing countries. Squatters are estimated to comprise from 10% to 30% of the population in principal cities in Africa, as much as 25% - 33% of the population of Metropolitan Kuala Lumpur, up to 65% in Turkey's principal cities, and reportedly 75% of Calcutta's population. Squatter settlements exist also in Latin American cities; these are the famous favelas of Brazil, barriadas of Peru, barrios of Colombia, and so forth.

Government policies and programs are directed increasingly toward the rehabilitation and upgrading of these settlements rather than their demolition or removal. That is to say, squatter settlements are seen as providing opportunities as well as problems. In Turkey, for example, they are called variously political, social, or cultural organisms which resulted from individual adaptations more than from group action. In a number of countries stepwise housing improvements by squatters are seen as a positive factor; among other things, they are manifestations of the squatters' improved economic situation. The problem, therefore, is how to deal constructively with these aberrations and not encourage illegal action at the same time. The rehabilitation approach suggests a similar line of thinking and in India and other countries it is being used also in slums. Nevertheless, some officials still equate squatter settlements with slums and insist that their removal is the only viable solution.

It is hoped that the site and services approach will offer an acceptable alternative in some countries. It can be used not only as a means of upgrading existing settlements, but also as a possible way of anticipating and thereby avoiding some of the worst features of squatter "invasions." Other countries are relying on regional development and rural settlement programs to entice some squatters away from the crowded cities and to deter others from migrating there in the first place.

There is still a principal interest in housing among the donors. Through various loan programs and other financial assistance, they build or make it possible to build housing for middle- and upper-income people. A number still seek to develop low-cost housing, as well as housing for people with low incomes. Some focus on training and research in building skills and techniques, including the use of local methods and materials and the application and adaptation of modern technology. The amelioration of conditions in squatter settlements, slums, and shantytowns claims the attention of several donors. Other donors confine themselves to land preparation and the building of infrastructure, and build no houses.

Because these various attempts to deal with the critical housing shortage are not part of national urban development policy and are not linked with related development efforts, they will continue to be primarily reactive, if, indeed, they treat the core of the problem at all. They will increase the already massive burden on

existing facilities and services, and their full developmental potential will not be realized. Meanwhile, housing will remain in short supply and a critical factor in the urban environment.

### Infrastructural Facilities and Services

The most frequently articulated and most heavily emphasized problem faced by municipalities in developing countries is the tremendous strain placed on urban infrastructure by the unprecedented rates of urban population increase and concomitant increase in other urban activities (e.g., manufacturing). While cities have been doubling and tripling in size over the past twenty years, facilities and services have expanded far too slowly to meet the need for more water and sewer systems, drainage systems, transportation, electricity, garbage collection, and recreational facilities. For example, in Cali, Colombia, where urban population has been growing at a rate of 6.5% for many years, it was reported that 70% of the city's population has access to <sup>only</sup> 30% of its services and infrastructure.

This situation, described elsewhere as urban dualism, is not unique. Nor is it confined to the larger cities. In many countries now more advanced in their urbanization process (such as Malaysia, Turkey, and a host of Latin American countries), the smaller cities also lack the resources to meet the needs of their new population for services and infrastructure.

Inadequacies with regard to water, sewerage, and drainage seemed to be uppermost in the minds of officials and planners. On the other hand, based on the few studies available on public preferences, the residents in unserved or under-served areas seemed to be more concerned with electricity, paved roads, and educational facilities. Some observers have concluded that amenities, such as electricity and paved roads are highly symbolic of the new mode of life for which people came to the city. Educational opportunity beyond primary school is in a similar category. All are manifestations of the difference between rural or small town life and city life.

Nonetheless, city officials and planners often have good and just reasons for their preoccupation with water, sewers, and drainage. All are interrelated systems having a direct effect on the health of the city and — in the case of drainage — the stability of its terrain. The problem becomes serious with the rapid proliferation of the marginal and unserved communities that have come to be synonymous with urban sprawl in the developing countries. These communities must have the basics to survive. Therefore, the development of illegal and unplanned sewerage and drainage ditches or access roads and alleyways is a threat to the health of the immediate community and to the safety and structure of the existing official water, drainage, and road systems serving the established sectors of the city. A good deal of illegal tapping of electrical and water systems also takes place adding to the shortage and interruption of services to vital components of the city, such as medical facilities and industries.

There are a number of constraints to providing infrastructural facilities and services. First, the cities have access only to the most meager of financial resources. This is due both to a concentration of most taxing power with the central government and to low national priority (viz., budget support) to urban development. The second constraint is a lack of capacity to plan infrastructural services for vast areas in a systematic fashion. Related to this is a general lack of coordination between government departments and between levels of government with respect to provision and servicing of urban infrastructure. (Both of these deficiencies will be discussed further in later sections.) Finally, there is the technical problem. As a city sprawls, it becomes increasingly difficult and expensive to provide services to the far-flung perimeters. Unplanned urban settlement often spreads into areas such as marshlands, riverbanks, and steep hills, which are virtually inaccessible to normal infrastructural services.

The need for innovations in infrastructural design consistent with existing conditions is apparent. Locational control of human settlement and more realistic application of land use planning are also badly needed. While the volume of urban growth cannot be controlled completely, there is widespread concern that some control be exercised at least over its direction and location in a given urban area or region.

### Pollution

The matter of pollution does not have a very high priority in many developing countries. There is no doubt that pollution exists and is recognized. However, when it was mentioned, it was usually incidentally.

In one such instance, mention was made of water and air (exhaust fumes) pollution as the "usual" kinds. What are "new" forms, as a result of urban congestion, are noise and suffocation pollution, the latter apparently from space heaters.

The very substantial efforts which have gone into preparations for the forthcoming U.N. Conference on the Human Environment in Stockholm in June 1972 have not generated a great deal of interest in the countries visited. A kind of "ho hum" reaction was expressed. Concern for the environment was seen as something which developed countries could afford. Once more developed, the developing countries would be able to join the concerned group.

The point of view expressed at a recent conference on urban development and the environment are instructive in this regard. The conference was sponsored by the Organization of American States (OAS) and its Pan American Health Organization (PAHO) in October 1971. Three schools of thought were articulated by Latin American participants, as follows:

1. Rapid industrialization and urbanization are the only way to provide opportunities for the multitude

of "have nots" in the developing countries if they are to participate in and enjoy the benefits of the modern sector. The experience of the advanced countries indicates that there are certain costs associated with this model of development, one of which is certainly pollution of the environment. To employ expensive technology to control this pollution would increase costs and prices and put the benefits of modernization still further beyond the reach of the poor. Therefore, the only reasonable course of action is industrialization and urbanization at full speed, pollution notwithstanding.

2. Pollution is one of the costs of rapid industrialization and urbanization; this is a given. The question is one of degree. The level of industrialization and urbanization of the developing countries is nowhere near that of the advanced nations. There is neither real cause for alarm nor excessive expenditures in controlling pollution during the early stages of modernization and development. Therefore, the appropriate course of action for most of the developing countries (depending on level of development) is to monitor conscientiously the development of environment-preserving and restoring technologies in the

advanced countries and to adopt the most effective of these technologies wholesale when levels of pollution reach a point which require direct action. Meanwhile, modernize without constraint.

3. Pollution of the environment is a problem deserving attention and action by the developing countries. They have an opportunity to avoid the environmental consequences of modernization suffered by the most advanced countries. However, this can be accomplished without incurring the costs associated with expensive anti-pollution technology. At least 60% of pollution can be controlled by resorting to thoughtful rational planning for location of industries, human settlements, and so forth. This no-cost or low-cost approach to pollution control is the course that should be pursued by the developing countries.

Needless to say, the third school of thought has much to recommend it. Hopefully, it will gain credibility among the "environmentally concerned" advanced countries and the developing countries.

An opportunity was seen by one respondent. He was bold enough to suggest that the developed countries' great interest in environment might be exploited to deal with problems in which developing countries are interested. Urbanization, it was noted, might be the critical link.

Problems of Perception and Leadership

One of the principal determinants of the nature and degree of response to rapid urban growth is the level of urbanization in a country. It has been only in recent years, as the constraints of a colonialism were weakened and ultimately eliminated, that urbanization began seriously in much of Africa. Consequently, governmental and other efforts to deal with urban problems are newer and fewer in African countries, for example, than in the countries of Latin America, where the level of urbanization is more than two times greater (17% urbanized in Africa and 43% in Latin America).

A number of other factors which are also generic to development have contributed to the basis on which urban development matters have been considered. How urban development has been perceived by policy makers and administrators has influenced greatly the approaches which have been used. What has been done to address the problems of urban development has been affected by the nature of a country's leadership in terms of the role and the style in which leadership has been exercised.

### Preoccupation with National Unity and Stability

Instability has been a primary characteristic of national and local government in many developing countries. The need to foster a sense of nationhood among the many different communities which exist in most developing countries continues to be a preoccupation of the national leaders. The cleavages are many: rural-urban, inner city-outer city dwellers, old timers-newcomers, elite-masses, etc. In many places these dichotomies have been exacerbated by further divisions along ethnic, racial, geographic, and economic lines. The basic problem, in a word, is between the "haves" and the "have nots", the "ins and the "outs". Dealing with it, in order to maintain national stability and even to remain in office, has required as much of the leaders' attention as the problems of development.

### The Communications Gap

A lack of trust and communication exists between the various dichotomous groups, especially between the ruling elite and the masses. Some respondents in Africa referred to a vacuum caused by the new form of leadership which is not based on the more traditional criteria of age and family. Others felt the condition to be a result of uneasiness on the part of leaders, a discomfort brought on by the magnitude of their new responsibilities, the difficulty of coping with them, and the need to be accessible.

The communications gap, according to many respondents, has meant that the ruling elite who represent the "haves" of the dichotomy are so privileged that they are unaware of the nature and degree of the shortages in housing, water, transportation, recreation facilities, and other services which are experienced by the "have nots" in the urban centers. The lack of knowledge and understanding provides an insufficient basis for the kind of judgment and motivation which can lead to relevant planning, programming, and mobilization to meet the needs.

#### Opportunism

Opportunism is also an important characteristic of leadership, if only because of the possible short-lived tenure of people in these roles. The distraction of other interests and the ongoing concern for locating a better position are manifestations of this opportunism. Genuine commitment to policies and programs is difficult to achieve, and its absence also hinders implementation and follow-through.

This may be at the root of what was described in India as a lack of a genuine will, both political and administrative, needed to support and implement plans and programs. Slogans tend to replace substance, and pronouncements are surrogates for programs in housing and urban development. As was noted

in Turkey, for example, there are no criteria for deciding where to intervene, with what support, and for what purpose.

Opportunism also may encourage an ad hoc approach to urban problems. A sector-cum-project perception may be as much as can be expected in the short run. At the same time, this approach may lead to disjointed and inconsequential efforts when the not infrequent government crises and bureaucratic turnovers occur, as in Latin America. Having no deeper roots, these projects tend to be lost in the wake of the departing officials whose projects they were.

Another kind of opportunistic behavior is a function of the nature of the administrative structure in many of these countries. In the highly centralized form of government which often exists, the leadership is encumbered with a whole range of responsibilities. Fighting the brush fires of day-to-day administration, dealing with problems of epidemic proportions, and meeting crises of all kinds require quick responses. Little time is left for reflection and planning, relating the responses to one another, or to understanding the fuller consequences of these actions.

#### Consumption Orientation

The governing elite are characterized as being consumption-, not development-oriented. While this was labeled a "colonial

hangover " in some parts of the world, the attitude seems to exist also in countries which have been independent for more than one hundred years.

This attitude affects the leaders' understanding of urbanization as well as development. They reportedly do not appreciate how intricate an instrument is a city or how complex is the process of urbanization. They are aware of the city as a producer of goods but fail to understand that the city produces services also. The more difficult task of understanding the process of urbanization and its role in national development is almost totally ignored.

It is not surprising, therefore, that the leaders have tended to perpetuate a consumptive-parasitic approach to cities, an approach which imposes values and standards which are alien and strain the resource capacity of the economies and the people. Control, not development, becomes a major goal, and this discourages an awareness of the developmental linkages between cities and their hinterlands and the nations of which they are part.

#### Anti-urban Bias

It was noted that an anti-urban bias pervades the thinking of many leaders. "Keeping them down on the farm" is still held seriously by many as being a viable answer to rapid urban

growth. It is reflected in the national development plans of many countries which emphasize rural development. Aside from the fact that there have been very few successes with "keeping them down on the farm," this approach gives insufficient recognition to the vital relationships between urban and rural development and urban and national development.

For example, it was reported in India that 90% of the total tax income comes from the seven largest cities, and one-third of it from Bombay alone. The domination of the metropolitan economy is manifested further by the fact that 60% of the capital turnover in 25 cities was generated in Bombay (36%) and Calcutta (24%). At the same time, 70% of India's GNP is derived from agricultural income on which there is no tax.

An anti-urban bias makes it difficult to minimize the rural-urban dichotomy and to adopt a horizontal rather than a sectoral approach to development.

Problems of Planning for Urban Development

It would have been most unexpected had planning for urban development not emerged strongly as a critical problem area during the course of the survey. Indeed, deficiencies in the policy and planning aspects of urban development were perceived by many as the critical problems of urban development. However, one must be cautious in labeling planning per se as a bottleneck. Considering planning in the narrow sense of the term, it is only an intermediate step between the development of policies, goals and strategies and the implementation of programs. Nothing is more sterile than a plan on the shelf. Millions of dollars have been invested in urban plans which have gone totally unheeded for a variety of reasons and which eventually have lapsed into obsolescence -- if they were not obsolete before they were published. Examples abound in the developing countries.

Accordingly, it is important to understand that the term of planning has a holistic connotation. It incorporates urban development policy framework at the national, regional and local levels, planning capacity at these levels, and coordination of policy, planning, and plan implementation.

This study has indicated that weaknesses persist at all points on this continuum. They range from serious shortages of skills at the local, metropolitan, and provincial levels to lack of experience, information, policy, and coordination at the national level. Underlying all of these, as noted in an earlier section, is a general conceptual misunderstanding of urban planning and urban development.

The physical approach has dominated urban planning in the countries visited; the professionals tend to be primarily engineers and architects. This approach deals very superficially with the economic, social, legal, environmental, political, and institutional aspects of urban development. It usually fails to encompass the developmental interaction between city and hinterland and the linkages between cities.

The physical approach also lends itself to the kind of ad hoc and static master planning which has proved to be so unsuccessful in the developing countries. The approach too often has been narrowly sectoral or project oriented (e.g., a master plan for sewerage, transportation, or a specific housing project) without regard to impact on or relationship to other elements of the urban system. This is true of most forms of capital investment projects. Experts have pointed out that

capital investment has a significant impact on the nature, scope, and pattern of urban development. However, this is not widely understood or appreciated. Much greater attention is needed to avoid compounding errors of land use and location. Considerable damage has been done already in the areas of locational diseconomies, social disharmonies, and environmental pollution.

Poor land use and land use planning are part of this same syndrome in most cities of the developing countries. There is rather haphazard location of industries, housing, transport arteries, and other community facilities which land use planning could avoid. The long commuting distances of many African workers is an example. In Nigeria it was estimated that 70% of those who work on Lagos Island and Apapa have to live elsewhere. This is a costly inconvenience caused by misguided industrial, commercial, and administrative location. Similarly, in India, 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 a nightmarish traffic situation day and night. In Turkey, transportation normally is not included in city planning. This omission has created a situation in which roads are insufficient and all modes of transport are congested. The requirement is

for far greater attention to the most practical use of scarce urban land to facilitate the functioning of the community.

Master planning, as practised in the countries surveyed, has a particularly unimpressive record. There seemed to be a consensus among many of those interviewed that traditional master planning, being costly, time consuming, static, and frequently done by expatriates, is not the appropriate approach in a developmental context. Many of the capital cities have had a master plan at one time or another and either have never adopted it or have adopted but never implemented it. In many cases these plans were prepared by foreign companies at high cost but with little or no participation of local planners. One reason the plans are not implemented is that they are too elaborate, too sophisticated, and do not reflect local realities, whether economic, political, bureaucratic, or cultural. They are often obsolete before they are ever published. For example, the master plan for Kuala Lumpur was begun in 1965 on the basis of 1964 data. It was completed in 1969 and published in 1970. A master plan for Bangkok was completed 20 years ago and updated 10 years later under a USAID supported contract. The plan has never been accepted or implemented. A planning

study of Lagos (the Koenigsberger report) was prepared in 1961-62 but was not received with favor by the Nigerian Government and was subsequently shelved—repeated efforts to implement it have failed. Other countries in Africa and Asia have been using plans prepared by governments during the colonial period. They are almost totally irrelevant to today's situation.

Respondents also talked about the many studies ("studied to death" was used frequently) which have been done; these studies usually have provided no guidelines for action and have been considered long and inconclusive.

Outside the capital cities, very few of the other urban areas in the countries surveyed have master plans produced in the post World War II era. There are exceptions; most notably in Brazil, Colombia, Nigeria, Morocco, Turkey and India. However, the planning process is neither well understood nor appreciated at the local level. Most of the plans which exist were done either by outside contractors (domestic and foreign) or by central government planning agencies on a "one shot" or ad hoc basis. There is little developmental basis for the plans, nor is there the capacity to use them effectively. Nonetheless, there is a mystique, an aura of prestige associated with the existence of a master plan. For example, in Indonesia a new Inter-Indonesian Municipalities Organization has stimulated

an unforeseen and unprecedented demand for master plans on the part of local mayors. There is reportedly little reason for central government planners to believe that this new awareness is based on much more than the prestige value of having a plan. Few are speaking in terms of a planning process, developmental goals, or implementation. Similarly, countries of Africa and Latin America have produced some monumental master plans with little more than symbolic or prestige value.

Lack of planning skills at the level of the province and municipality emerged as a common weakness. In most countries visited, a central government agency was responsible for developing or assisting in the development of city plans. However, these agencies were not set up to cope with the rapid urbanization of recent years, and they are not equipped to deal with urban planning in a national or provincial development context. In Indonesia, provincial planning units were very weak; only a few of the major cities had planning units at all and these were usually headed by a civil engineer rather than a trained planner. This pattern was not uncommon, but even more frequently there were no planners at all outside of the capital city. Those few planners who are proficient are generally employed at the

national level and have all the work they can possibly handle. The planning process has not been institutionalized at the local level. There was somewhat more planning activity at the local level in the more developed of the Latin American countries than elsewhere.

A commonly voiced frustration of planners at the national level was their inability to transmit rudimentary skills to the operating agencies at the lower levels of government. This, they said, requires the development of intermediate technologies suitable to local conditions. Sophisticated approaches will not do under these conditions.

Just one of the ramifications of the lack of planning skills and capacity at the local levels is the inability to allocate resources for local development effectively. When funds become available at the level of the city there is little developmental basis for allocation to specific projects. Hence, even scarce resources are often invested unwisely or even counter-productively in terms of the future growth and development of the city and its hinterland.

Throughout all phases of this study, frequent references were made to the need for more participation of a broad range of disciplines in urban planning and for a more holistic conceptualization of planning for urban development. Change in the traditional physical and narrowly sectoral approach

to urban planning and development has been slow. This is not just a reflection of the state of the art in developing countries; it is also symptomatic of the very slow, relatively recent, and still incomplete rounding out of the planning field in Western countries. Economists, lawyers, social planners, political scientists, ecologists, and other non-physical scientists are becoming increasingly important in the planning and development of cities and localities in the more advanced countries.

In the developing countries, even though there is an emerging awareness of the need for a multi-faceted approach, there are still obstacles to developing such an approach. There is a shortage of social scientists and experts in related disciplines. Growth of the social sciences has trailed that of other fields such as architecture, engineering, and the humanities. There are many more lucrative job opportunities for people with training in these fields than in urban development. The problem is typified by the attempts of the Indonesian Department of Public Works to round out its professional urban and regional planning staff with economists, sociologists, and demographers. The supply of Indonesians with this training is still sufficiently limited such that higher paying opportunities outside of government are more

attractive. The Department has not been able to attract these people despite persistent efforts. One of the reasons social science has been slow to focus on urban problems in these countries is the fact that governments have not taken the initiative to provide a focus; moreover, the opportunity cost of a government career is often great.

Still another problem lies in the predominantly physical and narrowly sectoral orientation of planning curricula and faculties of the universities. There are signs that some breakthroughs are being made. Limited integration of social sciences into the planning curriculum is taking place in Colombia, Indonesia, India, Turkey, and Kenya. The need to do so is beginning to gain recognition elsewhere.

Coordination of urban development is crucial. The components of a city are diverse and involve nearly the whole gamut of government activities and services, including planning and budgeting, transportation, water, sewerage, power, housing, construction, health, education, etc. In most of the countries these services tend to be the responsibility of various separate agencies of the central government. This separate departmental responsibility, at least one level of government removed from the municipality, creates a serious problem of coordination. Many urban development planners and administrators at the central level are aware of this problem and see some form of

governmental focal point for urban development as a partial solution. Some countries are making gestures in this direction. Examples are found in Kenya, Ivory Coast, Nigeria, Morocco, Vietnam and Malaysia. Many Latin American countries already have some nominal central authority for housing and urban development. The problem there is that housing, being the more tangible and more politically attractive of the two activities, inevitably predominates while only token consideration is given to urban planning and development.

The need for a national urban development policy was articulated in most of the countries visited. Few have a stated urban policy, and most National Development Plans contain little or no mention of urban problems and provide few meaningful guidelines. This lack of a national policy has meant a lack of urban planning in some countries. The tendency has been to do economic development planning of a macro, sectoral nature without related spatial and urban planning considerations. Many ~~respondents~~ felt that clear government commitment and policy direction are needed before many of the basic problems can be solved. Enactment of new urban development planning legislation, establishment of coordinating mechanisms, allocation of resources to manpower development programs, getting cities on a developmental footing, and integration of rural and urban development

are areas in which urban development will have to receive official blessing as a national priority before significant progress can be made. There is reason to believe that recent actions in a number of countries are leading to more significant policies in the near future. However, there is still deep frustration voiced over the painfully slow recognition of urban development priorities on the part of politicians and other top policy makers.

At the national level, skilled planners identified their own major weakness as the lack of experience and information. They find themselves with a dearth of information on techniques and approaches being applied elsewhere in the world. They expressed a desire to avoid mistakes made in other countries and to profit from favorable experiences. They generally felt a need for more information on urbanization in their own country through operationally oriented research and data collection. Finally, there was the problem of lack of personal experience in identifying and deciding upon alternative policies, approaches or strategies. Urban development as a field of concentration in these countries was new enough that only very limited practical experience and "judgment factor" have been generated.

Examples of this lack of experience and information among planners at the national level may be found in the area of regional planning, regional development, growth poles, and population counter magnets. These are some of the concepts

being implemented or contemplated in a number of countries to gain some control over urban growth patterns and to help accelerate national socio-economic and political integration. The experience with these concepts has been limited and relatively recent so that planners and policy makers find themselves operating somewhat in the dark in their attempts to plan or implement them. There is still a good deal of confusion and controversy surrounding these spatial approaches to development; these efforts are considered to be necessary and there appears to be a predisposition to experiment with them. Nonetheless, they represent an area in which the information gap is severe, both in terms of local information for planning and evaluation and cross-national information for comparison.

Underlying the planning process is the legal framework for urban planning and development. This was identified as a major constraint. Few of the countries visited have a meaningful statute, including the requirement for planning, that indicates the requirement for or the legal status of urban plans or defines their role in regional or national development plans.

Related to this is the lack of a modern definition of a legal municipality. Different levels of government are given different legal statuses, as well as different privileges and responsibilities. The situation persists largely because

present statutes and codes regarding municipalities reflect a colonial heritage. In many cases, guides for urban planning are appallingly obsolete colonial laws and codes. Municipalities are defined in terms of their colonial administrative functions and not in terms of modern developmental needs. This is particularly serious in Africa and Asia. In Latin America, vestiges of colonial-like attitudes still persist culturally in many quarters; the "conquistador" or "hacienda" syndrome manifests itself in the great economic and political influence of a handful of important families in each country.

Problems of Individual, Institutional, and Other Support

A discussion of rapid urbanization in terms of both consequent problems and the potential advantages necessitates a consideration of the resources which are required to confront the problems and support the advantages. Several kinds of resources have been mentioned in passing and others have been implied.

There are qualitative and quantitative deficiencies in existing urban development resources. Necessary manpower and skills are in short supply. Data are lacking. The required administrative capacity and financial support are insufficient. There are difficulties also with the application of standards, external aid, and technology. These are some of the major problems of individual, institutional, and other support for urban development which were revealed by the survey.

Manpower and Skills

The lack of skill and expertise at the national and sub-national levels was one of the problems which was mentioned frequently. Reference was made not only to a lack of planning skills, but also to deficiencies in organizational, administrative, and implementing skills and resources.

The manpower shortage is more acute in some countries than in others. There are a few developing countries which are exporters <sup>of</sup> trained manpower. India, for example, exports certain kinds of urban expertise and, at the same time, is in need of other urban specialists. In most countries, however, there are chronic vacancies at many levels.

Positions at the top level usually are filled by qualified local people who invariably have been trained overseas. (Sometimes these positions are filled by political appointees — e.g., in Latin America — who may or may not be qualified.) Their training seldom includes an interdisciplinary approach; the traditional courses in architecture and town planning have been taken most frequently. These senior officials are handicapped by a lack of experience, both in depth and breadth, and by the political and administrative pressures which draw heavily on their time and energy. Their effectiveness is limited also by a lack of qualified subordinate staff — or any staff at all. It is to their credit that they are as effective and productive as they have been!

The recruitment and retention of skilled manpower, especially a subnational levels, are very difficult. In addition to the overall shortages of trained personnel in urban development, the private sector offers competition with which the low salaries in government cannot cope, especially at the local level (that

is, outside the capital or principal cities). Recruitment and retention are made more difficult as a result of overseas training. A chronic problem is getting people to return home after they have completed their training. One official mentioned his experience of trying to recruit Indians who continued to live and work overseas after professional training there. He interviewed forty, recruited seven, and hired one. Another problem is the difficulty of relating foreign training and skills to local conditions and problems. Seldom are the people trained to deal with problems in an atmosphere of scarce resources with the attendant lack of sophisticated equipment and readily accessible supporting services. Others have too academic an approach and are too constrained by disciplinary strictness or purity to want to become involved or to be usable. Cultural constraints increase the frustrations. The result is often a sense of hopelessness which culminates in skilled manpower being misused or recruited by private or foreign firms, or in re-emigration. On the other hand, overseas training is so highly valued in some countries that it is given more recognition than local training. This serves as a hindrance to further development of local institutions to produce the needed manpower. At the same time, in the short run, it detracts from the job opportunities and professional resources available to existing trained manpower.

This situation is exacerbated by the continued presence of a large number of expatriate urban specialists in operational and advisory positions. There continues to be heavy reliance on expatriates in some countries, particularly in Africa. While their numbers vary from country to country, their roles usually are critical ones in the various aspects of urban development. They serve as technical advisors to departmental heads who may have professional training but who often lack professional and/or administrative experience. They fill key administrative and technical positions for which there are no qualified nationals. They are found at the national level and even more frequently in positions at the subnational and local levels to which nationals are not attracted easily. Such dependence relieves the urgency of the situation and tends to mask the nature and size of the need. It does not encourage host government officials and others to make the hard decisions and take the necessary steps toward a longer-range, development-oriented solution.

Nevertheless, there is a dearth of skilled manpower and there are critical gaps. Senior expertise — that is, the seasoned professional with relevant experience in developing countries — is a major shortage worldwide. Urban economists, urban lawyers, and urban sociologists were mentioned frequently as much needed specialists.

The need for other specialists varies from country to country (and sometimes within a country). For example, middle-level architects, planners, and economists are needed in some African and Asian countries but not in others. Some countries are producing a sufficient supply of draftsmen, surveyors, and other technicians, while other countries are almost totally lacking in this kind of manpower.

Three other aspects of manpower were considered. The first — the transmitting of necessary skills — is a serious problem which manifests itself in several ways. In Ivory Coast, for example, mention was made of the difficulty of training illiterate laborers for work in various development projects. In Indonesia, Malaysia, and Vietnam, concern was expressed about the difficulty of transmitting rudimentary planning skills to local officials. Not only are the institutional supports lacking, but also the technology. Sophisticated concepts and techniques of planning must be simplified for application by para-professionals and other less highly trained personnel to conditions which often are wanting in data, equipment, and other resources.

A similar approach is needed with regard to employing and developing research skills under the same circumstances. Rather than a "hand wringing" lament over the lack of basic data,

methods are needed to develop that kind of information, using the available manpower and other resources. Surprising amounts of information exist if other than traditional approaches are used to obtain it. Innovative efforts are needed especially at the subnational and municipal levels where there is the greatest shortage of skilled manpower and other resources.

Related to the foregoing and to the dearth of skilled manpower generally are the educational systems in many developing countries. These systems produce young people who are not prepared to meet the prevailing manpower requirements, except in a limited fashion. They prepare people for universities, at which very few are likely to matriculate. The majority does not have skills which are marketable in the magnetic urban centers.

To modify the curriculum significantly to make school leavers more potentially useful would meet the resistance of parents and students as well as the objections of political leaders and decision-makers, who view any deviation from what has been as lowering the quality of education. In this regard, the route which has been taken by the successful students who have gone before is a powerful example and constraint.

Another important consideration is the ability to absorb skilled manpower, however much needed. This is overlooked frequently and can result in the misuse of valuable resources.

Examples were cited of situations in which professional assistance was not employed although such assistance was needed. In other instances, the failure to provide administrative, technical, political, and/or institutional support made inoperative or ineffective available skilled manpower. The problems applied to the use of nationals who are part of the establishment, as well as expatriates, some of whom are made available through external aid channels.

#### Information and Data

Among experts, planners, and administrators in this country and abroad, there was near unanimity on the need for more and better information and data. This general deficiency was expressed in at least three ways: poor and insufficient data; lack of information on local conditions; and a need to know what approaches and techniques are being tried elsewhere (and with what degree of success). Invariably these three aspects of the problem came up in every country visited.

Data deficiency is obviously a problem common to many aspects of development. Urban planning and development is (or should be) a voracious consumer of information; hence, data weaknesses can and do pose a significant constraint at the national and local levels. It is noteworthy, however, that lack of data was of

greater concern to foreign advisors, technicians, consultants, and scholars than to national officials with whom this problem was discussed. While some of these latter officials were apologetic about the poor state of data, still more expressed a sense of impatience with the perennial handwringing by foreigners over the need for better data as a precondition for substantive analysis. It was felt that there is available a substantial reservoir of untapped or underutilized information. More attention needs to be focused on ways and means of exploiting systematically the existing data resources now and creating the basis for better and more comprehensive data. Much of the problem is tied up with the legal problems discussed in an earlier section and with the need for national policy or guidelines. For example, these problems would have to be solved before more detailed information on urban development could be included in a national census questionnaire. The problem is related also to the need for intermediate technologies in planning and development, technologies that do not require the complex data base common to urban planning methodologies applied in the more advanced countries.

Another facet of the problem is standardization of basic data within and between countries. As noted earlier, national census definitions of a minimum requirement for an urban place

range between 500 and 20,000 population. Comparative cross-national urban research and analysis are extremely difficult and often misleading or inconclusive without some minimum standard definition of what constitutes an urban place. This is more of an international than a national problem and applies equally to advanced and developing countries.

The need for more information on the local situation and the need for more and better research are nearly synonymous, although they were not always mentioned in exactly the same context. Almost everywhere there was recognition of a rapidly changing urban picture and a need to learn more about the present situation to improve development prospects. Recent research in Colombia, for example, has indicated that there has been a dramatic shift in the way migrants initially locate in the major cities. Similar research is underway elsewhere.

However, here again the field is not wide open. There was clear skepticism of past research approaches in which studies were done frequently for their own sake, particularly those in which foreign scholars had a part. Some problems or geographic areas reportedly have been "studied to death." Moreover, all too frequently research done by foreign scholars is not channelled back to the subject country in a usable form, if at all. It was argued that not enough research is carried out by local researchers. More short-term research, related to specific problems and policy questions, was advised. This was not meant to denigrate some of

the very useful research done by foreign scholars and which, in many instances, has filled a research vacuum; rather, it was to suggest changing needs and priorities.

One of the critical problems in this area is identification of what needs to be studied. In other words, the following question might be asked: For any given country, region, or city situation, what is an appropriate action oriented, solution seeking research agenda and what are the priorities? It was suggested that more often than not the policy level people who should be making these determinations are too wrapped up in day-to-day operational or epidemic type problems to focus on these more endemic problems of urban development. These people less frequently lack the experience or professional skills to design (or direct the design of) a problem oriented research program.

Two additional and related problems in this area of information and research are the shortage of social scientists and lawyers in urban development and deficiencies in research methodology and analysis. The former problem has been discussed already. Suffice it to say that shortage of these kinds of skills in urban development influence the nature, quality, and quantity of research being done. For example, it limits severely the capacity and the propensity for multi-disciplinary research into urban problems.

On the latter problem, it was noted that due to lack of experience with research, there often is difficulty in interpreting research results in terms of policy implications. The judgment factor in application of research methodology is often in short supply.

The final aspect of the data information gap has been mentioned in other places in this report -- namely, the need for information on approaches and techniques being tried elsewhere. Respondents repeatedly expressed the need for some kind of mechanism by which they could benefit from others' experiences in addressing similar problems of rapid urban growth. They do not want to reinvent the wheel, to repeat mistakes, or to engage in other activities needlessly and unproductively.

The urban development field is new enough that no one country has acquired much experience, particularly among the developing countries. For that reason, many programs are attempted on a trial and error basis. It is felt that more information on global experience will reduce costly mistakes and increase policy options. This is particularly so of experiences in developing countries. Linkages with other developing countries were regarded as being equally or more important than linkages with developed countries in terms of relevant case studies and exportable models. In many instances in which urban planners, administrators, and scholars are attempting to promote more national attention to

urban development, case studies of experiences in other developing countries are regarded as valuable support for their arguments.

The range of subjects which requires further research and analysis is almost endless. The following list is representative of those topics most frequently noted:

- a. The dynamics of urbanization. Patterns are continually changing in ways that impinge on policy and programs. Migration, migrants, and integration of squatter settlements and marginal groups are critical areas.
- b. Manpower supply and demand and other factors that affect employment and unemployment. Suggested areas are the role of the tertiary sector, the development of labor-intensive industrial and construction technologies, and urban labor market analysis.
- c. Urban finance. Comparative studies and case studies are particularly relevant in this bottleneck area.
- d. Primacy and economies and diseconomies of scale. Economic, environmental, political and social benefits and costs of large scale agglomeration require further study. Analysis of various cost curves by city size should be expanded.

- e. Growth poles, growth centers, countermagnets, and regional analysis. These concepts enter into the planning and thinking of a number of countries, even though there is very little conventional wisdom to apply. For example, there is still relatively little known about growth centers, their internal working, their economic and social impact and, in fact, what actually constitutes a growth center. There is considerable need for applied research in this area.
- f. Industrial location and impact of infrastructure. This is related to (e) above. Moreover, the effective use of industrial and capital investments in the urban development process remains a vastly unexploited tool in urban development. This is another area in which selected applied research can render great service.
- g. Urban hierarchies, diffusion, and the regional and national system of cities. This complex area is already the subject of considerable international research. There is need not only to continue these efforts, but also to consolidate findings and conclusions and to relate them to local, regional and national policies.
- h. The functions of cities in regional development. This very practical problem is at the heart of much urban-

regional planning and development now under consideration in developing countries.

- i. The urban decision process. This includes the whole gamut of problems in metropolitan administration, planning, and national urban policy.
- j. Case studies and cross-national comparisons of innovative approaches to urban and regional development. Examples include tax incentives for location, specific investment, use of infrastructure as investment incentive, and sites and services in squatter housing development.

#### Administrative Capacity

Some problems in urban development are more constraining than others. Unfortunately, these stickier problems are often endemic to developing countries. They affect the whole range of activities involved in national development. The experience of this study indicated that weakness in administrative capacity is without question a serious bottleneck problem of the kind just described. Opinions of experts in the developed and less developed countries in support of this notion are corroborated by the preliminary empirical results of a long-term SEADAG

research project investigating the role of cities in national development. This study describes administrative capacity as the intervening variable, that which circumscribes the role of the city in national development.

Administrative capacity itself is constrained or limited by a variety of factors which vary from one country to another with respect to degree of importance. However, it is possible to identify a handful of these factors which registered importantly in almost all of the developing countries. These are: structure of government, cultural constraints, coordination, bureaucratic turnover, low government salary levels, and managerial and administrative skills. A common thread runs through all of these, particularly as they apply to urban development.

Government structure and colonial carryover have to be spoken in the same breath, for one of the most significant carryovers from colonial times is government structure. By this is meant the strong centralization of administration. There tends to be a preoccupation in many countries with control, rather than development, of the various subnational regions. This was particularly true in Africa where this attitude was labeled by one respondent as a "colonial hangover"; perhaps

a more apt term than the one chosen above. The difficulty caused by this approach to government is compounded when it applied to the cities — a condition prevalent in Africa, Asia and even parts of Latin America. Under these circumstances, a city is viewed as an administrative rather than a developmental vehicle. Its dominant function is one of administration over a region and a conduit for centralization. The concepts of role of the city in development and the development of the city have not been internalized either by national leaders at the central level or by local leaders at the level of the municipality. Continuing to view the function of cities in a neo-colonial framework perpetuates the lopsided view of the city as a net consumer of national resources rather than a net producer of goods and services and a crucible for modernization and change. To quote an Indonesian respondent, "We have got to get our cities on a developmental footing."

This high degree of centralization has other more subtle side effects. To paraphrase a Latin American respondent, it inhibits local development on the one hand, and on the other causes policy level people in provincial and national government to be preoccupied with epidemic type problems. There is little attention given to more endemic problems which should be considered at this level and solutions to which require planning

and action over time. In these circumstances there also is a tendency for leadership to be preoccupied with administrative control rather than to be developed-oriented.

The nature of urban development is such that coordination becomes a difficult problem of both administration and planning. Due to a combination of centralization of authority, obsolete legal codes governing urban planning, lack of clear definition of horizontal and vertical (e.g., central, provincial, municipal) departmental jurisdictions, and the absence of a national urban development policy, there is confusion over just who is responsible for what in the administration of a municipality. Even in those instances where the municipality is given greater responsibility for its own administration, such as in some of the Latin American countries, the lack of appreciation of planning and a rapid turnover of government officials frustrate coordination efforts. It is said that many existing plans go without implementation for want of coordination which involves also communication and cooperation between government, industries and universities.

There are exceptions to all of these general conditions. For example, cooperation between government and universities in some places is quite good; (e.g., Indonesia, Chile and Brazil). It was apparent that many urban planners and administrators at

the central and local level are aware of the coordination problem and often see some form of government focal point for urban development as a partial solution. Specific steps are being taken in this direction in Morocco, Kenya, Nigeria, Malaysia, Indonesia, and Panama. Elsewhere, there is serious discussion of the problem.

Bureaucratic turnover is a fly in the ointment coordination as noted. But its implications go far beyond that. Frequent turnover of government personnel impedes program continuity and frustrates both professional development and in-depth analysis of critical or endemic problems of development. In Latin America the problem is particularly acute and was identified there as a cultural-political problem. Instability at national and local levels of government abounds and affects technicians and professionals as well as politicians. When departmental or political leadership changes, employees down the line are forced to resign. Consequently, professional people have difficulty getting at problems in any depth and providing continuity to programs. There is a tendency also for new leadership either to discontinue old programs and start anew or to infuse its own personality into existing programs and plans, adding another element of discontinuity to programs and approaches.

In Africa the problem of bureautic turnover was described as opportunism. The problem was mentioned in Asia but seemed far less difficult than in Latin America or Africa. These conditions are improving gradually as countries become more development minded.

The problem of low government salary levels is an "old saw" in discussions of development. It is particularly bothersome in urban development, because at the level of the municipality salaries tend to be even lower than at the central level. Extensive moonlighting, if possible, becomes an imperative. For example, the Director of the Tax Department of Djakarta is responsible for 300 employees and receives the equivalent of only \$40 per month. Low salaries also make it difficult to attract specialized personnel at any level. At the national level in Indonesia, the Department of Public Works and Power has been unable to recruit economists, sociologists, and demographers for its urban and regional planning unit because of the abundance of more lucrative opportunities in the private sector. Special pilot programs involving work incentives and/or higher pay scales (e.g., the program of the Department of Finance in Indonesia) deserve close observation and evaluation.

Most of the problems discussed above bear directly on the shortage of administrative and management skills. However,

colonial carryover, low pay scales, and cultural constraints are often the most binding. For example, in Africa it was pointed out that there is no tradition of management there. Some Africans allegedly equate management with control, see it as a colonial concept and reject it. Thus, management positions have a low status and many continue to be filled by foreigners.

More pragmatically, lack of management is manifested in the red tape delays, the political influence and interference, and in the lack of systematic follow-up and operational control. This is true in most of the countries surveyed.

In India a different and very useful question is being raised with respect to administration and management. The question turns on whether or not there is a city size beyond which the standard municipal government machinery no longer can 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, there is speculation as to whether or not the existing form of government machinery will still be able to provide sufficient services.

All of these problems impinging on administrative capacity are problems of development; they often become magnified in an urban context. They vary considerably from one country to another,

depending on level of development, nature of colonial heritage, and cultural inclinations. The discussion above is an attempt to generalize a common but complex problem. The reader is urged to refer to the TA/UDS regional and country reports for a more place specific analysis of these problems.

### Institutions

A framework is needed within which policy can be implemented, skills can be applied, information can be used, and administrative capacity can be exercised for the furtherance of activities dealing with the problems and promises of rapid urban growth. A common problem in the countries visited is the absence of a rational institutional structure for urban development. Instead of focus, one finds a lack of policy and a scatteration of activities and responsibilities.

The diffusion is more horizontal than vertical, although there are some serious jurisdictional problems between and among municipal, state and federal or national governments (e.g., in Lagos, Nigeria). At any one of these levels of government, there are several different departments which are responsible for housing, land, public works, and other services with no real coordinating mechanism. If a planning unit exists, it is usually without authority over other departments, and very often it cannot require compliance with an existing Master Plan.

So it is that examples are given of housing which has been built by one unit of government which is without services which are the responsibilities of other units. In Thailand, for example, housing for several thousand was built without provision of schools for the children or public transport to employment opportunities.

There is also the problem of over-centralization. Most of the resources and authority are retained by the national or central government. Subnational and municipal governments usually are held responsible for providing basic public services and must rely on subventions and other grants from central government to meet those responsibilities. In the absence of a well-conceived and implemented policy or plan, these allocations are made in a manner which is more indicative of control than of development. They come in dribbles and are poorly timed. As was noted above, little priority is given to municipal government. There is a lack of understanding of the role of the city in development and in the functioning of the nation, especially if that city is a primate city and also the national capital.

Another kind of institutional problem is the consequences of combining housing and urban development in one agency or organization. The experience has been that housing has dominated, not only because it is more tangible and do-able, but also because

urban development continues to lack specificity of definition and focus. The unfortunate or unproductive encounters which many politicians and administrators have had with plans and planners have not enlisted the kind of policy and budgetary support which are sorely needed. The planning process and the process of urbanization are not understood sufficiently; in fact, as was noted earlier, planning is suspect in some places and the intricacies of the urban mechanism are not understood, generally speaking. Housing, therefore, while often comparatively weak among other portfolios, usually is stronger than urban development. When they are in the same portfolio, there is no contest; housing dominates almost without exception.

The most ubiquitous institution is the university. All of the countries visited have one; some have several. Few of them provide any training in comprehensive planning; several programs are only one or two years old and still are very weak. Some training is provided for architects and engineers. There is very little training in the relevant social sciences. For the most part professional education for urban development personnel is obtained overseas with the attendant problems of relevance and the potential loss of valuable trained personnel, as discussed earlier.

There is a stalemate between universities and governments. (One African respondent called it "undeclared warfare.") Government officials accuse professors of being too theoretical and other worldly (e.g., in India). For their part, academicians eschew political interference and a possible impairment of academic freedom. There are exceptions, of course, and there are increasing communication and mutuality of interests in a number of countries (e.g., Indonesia, Thailand, and Kenya). The mistrust of older civil servants and the fears of older academicians are giving way to the younger men and women who are able to relate on more pragmatic terms. Nevertheless, the resources of the universities — and they are very substantial in some countries — are not beginning to be tapped to the degree that they are needed and can make a significant contribution.

A few very impressive private firms exist in some of the countries visited. Most of them are peripherally involved in some of the more critical problems of urban development in their countries. In some instances they are expatriate firms which have nationals on their staff.

Voluntary associations exist in some of the countries. As indicated earlier, they serve an important though limited function in helping to orient newcomers to urban areas. Few of them are

national in scope or are organized on a scale larger than extended family, clan, or village of origin. The regional urban committees of the All Africa Conference of Churches and the urban work of some national church councils in Africa are notable exceptions.

The lack of a policy focus and institutional framework for urban development is a common weakness in many developing countries. Where institutions exist, they are weak and uncoordinated. There are also problems of jurisdiction, in terms of departmental responsibilities as well as overlapping governmental authorities. While few institutions exist outside of government in most of these countries, their resources are not being used effectively to help meet the growing need. This is especially true of the university resources.

#### Culturally Relevant Standards

Several references have been made already to difficulties with the standards and definitions which are used in developing countries. Respondents in several of the countries visited pointed to some of the resulting problems.

A basic problem is one of definition. Questions were raised about the definitions which are used for the unemployment indices which have been developed within a Western context. For example, it was pointed out in Morocco and Nigeria that what may appear to

the uninformed to be unemployment in their cultures may, in fact, be contributing to a family's income. There continues to be dissatisfaction with the statistics on housing deficits, not only with the measures which are used but also with the final results. What is a housing unit, it is agreed, must be defined culturally.

Another problem is the application of standards. In many developing countries alien standards of construction, housing and zoning, many dating from colonial days, continue to be applied by city and town planning officials. Generally speaking, they are supported deliberately by politicians and administrators who want no "deterioration" in the appearance of their cities or invasions of the exclusive neighborhoods. Whereas city plans and codes are designed to assure a finished house, much construction is of so-called developing houses, units which are completed and brought up to standard levels over time.

Here again the distinction is made between control and development; that is, between standards which maintain the status quo and standards which are required for development and a dynamically changing situation.

The inappropriateness of alien standards approaches its zenith when minimum standards are developed in these countries. They usually are based on some "ideal" which cannot be realized

in the foreseeable future. Examples were cited in Kenya and India, among others. In the chapter on housing in Kenya's Five-Year National Development Plan, the cost of a minimum standard house is more than five times the average annual earnings of those for whom it is intended. In India former Prime Minister Nehru's two-room "ideal" persists, despite the fact that it exceeds the country paying capacity and ability even to approach the tremendous need for housing. The earlier standards, now modified, which were adopted in Hongkong and Singapore were not considered ideal, but they were realistic. (Recent reference in the United States to the fact that housing construction targets set in the Truman Administration have yet to be achieved is quite sobering in this regard.)

#### Financial Resources

The shortage of financial resources in cities is a universal phenomenon. In the developing countries it is particularly acute, due to the combination of very scarce financial resources overall and the tremendous needs being generated in the cities by unprecedented growth of urban population and urban-based activities. Major portions of the population of the larger and more rapidly growing cities are without standard public services such as paved

streets, sewers, water, and electricity. Industries too are without adequate infrastructure.

While conditions are bad in the large capital cities, they are even worse in cities of less political importance. For instance, the city of Fortaleza (population 800,000) in the Northeast of Brazil reportedly is without public sewers. These conditions result in large part from the lack of capital resources. Bangkok, for example, is ten times the size of Tel Aviv and yet has only one-third of its budget.

A critical factor in financing urban development is the high degree of centralization of municipal finance found in the great majority of developing countries. In Indonesia, for example, 98.4% of all national and local government revenues are collected by the central government. In Panama the cities are prohibited by the constitution from collecting their own revenues. At the same time, 90% of India's national tax revenues comes from its seven largest cities. The central government controls all or most of the revenue-generating resources in the country, including the cities. Variations on these patterns are widespread.

Another factor in urban development financing is the general dearth of financial resources in the developing countries. The demands are so numerous on what does exist that difficult

choices have to be made; one sector or program seemingly is financed to the neglect of another. Consequently, the allocation of financial resources to cities, however, limited, may be at the expense of rural areas. This kind of situation usually is exacerbated by inefficient allocation of available resources (e.g., the tendency to concentrate development money in capital cities) as well as by failure to make use of possible revenue sources.

While most of the conventional and most lucrative resources are controlled by central governments, exploration of heretofore untapped resources is, nonetheless, a vastly unexploited area in most countries. Real estate taxes, income taxes, and charges for urban services are examples. In some cases, however, unconventional sources of revenue have been exploited successfully by local authorities.

Djakarta, for example, derives more than 20% of its revenues from gambling taxes. Other cities in Indonesia have taxed similar activities with varied success. Religious and political resistance to the promotion of gambling operations in the interest of revenue generation has been encountered. Nor are the obstacles to new revenue sources solely political. Taxation of less controversial sources such as real estate encounters technical and administrative problems. In Tegucigalpa, Honduras,

for example, proper delineation and recording of property and subsequent naming and numbering of streets and lots proved to be a precondition to tax calculation and accurate mailing of tax notices.

Extreme centralization of control over municipal revenue sources is not ipso facto bad. If the central governments were to give some degree of priority to the cities in their allocation of resources for development, the financial problems of the cities would not be so severe. However, this is not going to happen until more progress is made in the areas of perception, leadership, and government structure discussed above, which can result in greater attention being given to the role of cities in national development.

A lack of planning and the lack of a development orientation in many cities point to the financial management aspects of resource allocation as still another facet of the urban finance problem. Under the present circumstances, even the meager financial resources which are transferred to the cities often are spent poorly. Scarce resources frequently are invested in projects meant to emulate some prestigious aspect of the capital city but having little developmental payoff. In the absence of a national development policy or plan with which local needs and planning may be rationalized, and without the requisite local institutional framework, administrative capacity, and skilled manpower, financial

resources cannot be expected to be allocated efficiently and effectively.

### External Aid

External aid (not solely for urban development) is seen as a mixed blessing in many developing countries. While external aid has provided needed resources, its availability and use also have produced or enhanced problems. The heavy dependence on expatriate personnel, approaches, techniques, and other resources has been cited several times. A number of respondents felt that this dependence has made it possible for leaders to ignore self-reliance and to cover over administrative, planning, and other deficiencies. They argued that until external aid is reduced drastically, genuine development and rational planning are not possible.

A second problem of external aid is a country's ability to digest it. This concerns both the quality and relevance of the assistance which has been given. As was noted in examples from Nigeria, Morocco, Thailand, and Brazil planning recommendations could not be implemented because they were too sophisticated, required too many resources, or were inappropriate in other ways. The examples included those planning efforts which were paid for by the developing countries.

Another dimension of this problem has been the quality and/or relevance of the performance of foreign aid technicians and advisors. There have been well qualified people with considerable experience elsewhere, whose lack of experience in developing countries has limited severely their effectiveness in such a setting. Inexperience also has marred the contribution of the foreign aid technician or advisor who was a Ph.D. candidate and concurrently was doing research for his dissertation. Other foreign aid experts have confined themselves solely to the technical and design aspects of their assignments, not wanting to be involved in the decision-making and implementing steps. There were manifestations of this problem in Indonesia, Ivory Coast, and Kenya.

A third problem of external assistance has been the team approach. There were complaints that a team of specialists often descend upon a country only to conduct studies in isolation. The specialists have not worked along with, involved, nor trained local people. Rather, it has been a case of the team's "doing its own thing" as it were. There was universal criticism of this approach, so much so that it has tempered subsequent requests for external aid.

The strongest criticism was leveled at "tied" foreign assistance. This problem was mentioned earlier in the discussion of other problems of urban development. Examples were given of

constraints on the purchase of goods and services which have permitted few employment and other benefits to accrue locally. "Tied" aid has resulted also in the imposition of alien standards in the form of narrow definitions, inappropriate institutional arrangements, and unrealistic performance requirements.

The results of the survey support the notion that there is a significant role for external technical assistance in addressing the problems of rapid urban growth. A few of the difficulties have been described above which must be considered in using it. In a succeeding section of this report are some ideas about the nature of this kind of technical assistance and how it might be made more effective.

### Technology

The growing body of scientific knowledge and technological innovations is attractive to all who seek to address the complex problems of rapid urban growth. While it offers many resources, there are problems of application to specific developing country situations. The respondents cited ~~three~~ kinds of problems with the use of technology in addressing the consequences of urbanization and development: the problems of selection in making available scientific knowledge and technology; the problem of monitoring existing efforts and learning from them; and the problem of developing the intermediate technologies and skills which are required.

The proverbial use of a ball bat to kill a fly was the kind of problem which was mentioned most frequently. Much of the technology which has been made available is so advanced and sophisticated as to be well in excess of the need in many developing countries. The need exists to simplify planning and research techniques and procedures for use by less well-trained personnel. It may be that the ineffectiveness of communicating these potential resources may be the problem rather than anything inherent in the technology.

A contrary point of view suggests the present application on a commercial basis of advanced technology in developing countries in order to meet quickly some of the more critical needs of urban living (e.g., the housing deficit and waste disposal). According to this line of argument, there also would be important by-products. Mechanized shelter at lower cost would increase the demand and, thereby, employment. Modern waste disposal techniques would provide a cheap form of energy. This kind of application of technology, it was urged, would produce "spiraling action" projects. Lack of investment capital and skilled manpower was noted as a constraint.

Nevertheless, new modes of analysis and programming techniques are beginning to be employed. For instance, growth pole analysis and development have begun to be used in Brazil, Kenya, Malaysia,

and Vietnam, among other places. In Brazil also some initial effort is being made to use the market mechanism (pricing system) as an allocative tool. It is essential that these experiences are monitored and adapted appropriately for wider use.

There are serious gaps, too, in the kinds of technology which are available. One Indian respondent described it well when he said that there seems to be nothing between the pit latrine and the flush toilet in terms of sewerage and waste disposal. Pit latrines no longer are acceptable in most urban centers, and flush toilets are too expensive for the majority. While the need for intermediate technology is not confined to this field, there seems to be little research and development at this level which can make possible incremental improvements in the urban environment commensurate with an urban community's ability to pay.

Problems: "Urban" and "Developmental"

A perpetual dilemma in urban development is differentiating between what is essentially an "urban problem" and what is a "developmental problem." One school of thought would define as urban a problem which manifests itself in an urban setting; thus, urban education, urban unemployment, urban housing, urban planning, urban management, etc.

Another school of thought urges a more causal approach; that is, a search for a point of intervention which is at a more fundamental level of the problem. The problems discussed in the foregoing sections would be considered problems of national development rather than problems of rapid urbanization, rapid urban growth, or urban development. This second school defines development as a multidimensional process encompassing cultural, economic, political, social, and other factors. Development occurs on various levels within a national context: national, provincial, district, metropolitan, municipal, town, village, local; rural, peri-urban, urban; and so forth.

It is possible to make such a distinction, although the schools of thoughts are not mutually exclusive or clear-cut. There is overlap between problems of overall national development and problems of urban development — sometimes substantial overlap. For example, lack of perception and understanding on the

part of leaders, lack of specific skills, lack of coordination, planning weaknesses, rapid bureaucratic turnover, and poor project integration and management are some of the problems which are common to all aspects of development.

Nevertheless, the distinction is useful. It provides recognition of a sector and a phenomenon which have tended to be ignored. When not ignored, the problems in the urban sector often are avoided as being too complex and resource-absorbing. The distinction also provides a sharper focus which can reduce the complexity of problems and make it easier to know how to address them.

The distinction between "urban" and "developmental" problems heightens an awareness of the multifaceted relationships between the processes of urbanization and development. These are essential relationships which need to be understood better if they are to be appropriated for problem-solving. They can suggest the points of intervention in these processes from which one can deal effectively with critical problems.

Urban unemployment is an example of a problem which characterizes the importance and difficulty of the distinction and the many relationships between the processes of urbanization and development. Defining it as an urban problem, for example, may not put it within

range of solution for the structure and rate of growth of the urban economy may be incapable of providing sufficient or appropriate employment.

Defining urban unemployment as a developmental problem may lead to rural development and other policies and programs which are designed to "keep them down on the farm" in rural centers, or in the smaller towns. The potential migrants have not been kept down on the farm; no country has succeeded in reducing substantially the flow of migrants to cities; and there is little hope of getting those to return to rural areas who have migrated already. Such policies and programs can obscure, for example, the potential for seeking solutions through efforts in urban areas aimed at specific target groups of unemployed.

Urban unemployment, therefore, is both an urban problem and a developmental problem. Its solution requires "development" programs directed at altering the distribution of population and allocating resources to employment generating activities. It requires also "urban" programs aimed at structural urban unemployment and at specific groups of unemployed.

For many who migrate, the urban squalor and marginal employment are relatively better conditions, even though urban systems may be strained and scarce resources misused. On the one hand marginal employment and substandard housing may be potent points of departure

in the economic integration and upward mobility of rural-urban migrants. Economic and social planners, on the other hand, may question or reject these activities as being counterproductive to national development.

Seeking ways of expanding job opportunities, ameliorating these conditions, relieving the strain on facilities and services, and making better use of resources at the urban place have resulted in site and service schemes, among other approaches, in a number of countries. Elsewhere a rehabilitative—rather than bulldozer—approach to squatter settlements and slums is being used increasingly. At times these local improvement efforts have been constrained by the lack of national urban development policies, resources allocations, and needed legal reform. At other times the constraint has been a lack of local administrative, technical, or other capacity to make use of available national resources.

The important point is that the larger picture must be comprehended with all of its complexity and linkages. Problems, therefore, should be defined within the context of overall national development. In this sense they can be called "developmental" problems.

However, it is not always possible to deal effectively with problems within this context. There are attributes peculiar to the urban setting which impinge on problems and contribute to their

solution. The strategic points of intervention, geographically and administratively, may be the municipality, the metropolitan area, or other urban place. In this sense they can be labelled "urban" problems.

Which label is used is dependent on the setting in which a problem occurs and the extent to which attributes of that setting influence significantly the problem and possible solutions to it. Other determinants are the administrative and geographical level on which the chain of causality can be affected and a problem dealt with effectively and efficiently. In whatever sector and at whatever level a problem is addressed, the approach should be within the context of national development.

APPLIED APPROACHES AND AVAILABLE RESOURCES FOR URBAN DEVELOPMENT

From the foregoing one might conclude this is a report of problems. They are only a part of the story, however. Equally as imposing are some of the resources being applied to these problems. The needs are sufficiently pressing that much constructive work is underway in the developing countries and elsewhere, despite a general sluggishness on the part of many governments and international aid agencies in addressing urban problems in a developmental framework. Many innovative approaches are being tried and standard mechanisms are being successfully applied, sometimes in imaginative ways.

Some of the approaches and resources have been mentioned already in the "problems" section above. Needless to say, it was impossible to become acquainted with the full range of activities and resources during the course of the survey. Those which are reported here are only indicative. For a more complete sampling the reader is referred to the country and regional reports. A few people are responsible for many of the positive results in urban development in these countries. Mention should be made of a handful of well qualified, perceptive, dedicated, and hard working professionals who were found in most of the countries visited. They also are some of the most vital resources for future activities.

### Sectoral Approaches

Because urban problems have been perceived sector by sector, sectoral approaches represent a major portion of the experience of dealing with them. The bulk of the available resources have been absorbed in this manner on housing, water, drainage, sewerage, and other facilities since these physical needs have been the most visible and tangible.

Efforts in the Housing sector have continued to lag well behind the increasing need. One result has been the growth of slums in central cities as overcrowding, excessive use, and little maintenance have combined to hasten the deterioration of the existing supply of housing. Another result has been the growth of spontaneous, self-help housing in areas commonly referred to as squatter settlements. Some of these settlements are located on the periphery of existing cities and are, indeed, satellite towns. Other satellite towns are planned in the suburbs and exurbs of cities as so-called bedroom communities. More legitimate and self-contained and generally of a higher physical standard than squatter settlements, these satellite towns nevertheless are dependent heavily on the principal city for their continued existence. Less dependent planned communities are the new towns, some of which are pioneering efforts in regions of a country which are being developed, often around an agribusiness or industry.

Housing continues to be a sector of principal concern in all of the countries visited and primarily an activity in the private

sector. Housing finance has been concentrated on meeting the needs of middle- and upper-income people. For example, the Life Insurance Corporation of India makes loans for developing individual houses, trusts and luxury apartments for these income groups. Elsewhere loans are available to the more affluent from national housing corporations, building and loan societies, and commercial and development banks. While these kinds of resources exist in most countries, they usually are not available to the masses, who cannot meet the conditions precedent. Thus, the majority of the people are not served by the more traditional private sources.

Housing has dominated whatever efforts local and national governments have made to deal with the problems of rapid urban growth. In addition to projects in urban areas, governments have had rural housing programs, particularly settlement and resettlement schemes. These programs, many of which have been aided by external assistance grants and loans, range from the ameliorative and incremental efforts in central city, to aided self-help efforts on the outer edges of satellite towns in the metropolitan area, to new towns elsewhere in the country.

A major emphasis of the government's programs has been on low-cost housing and more recently on low-income housing. For example, of the \$ 10 million for low-cost housing in Kenya's current Five-Year Plan (1970-1974), \$6.6 million have been allocated for site and service schemes (\$2.1 million) and core housing (\$4.5 million).

However, the average annual earnings of an urban laborer are well below the cost of a site with services (a shower and a toilet) and are less than 20% of the cost of Kenya's minimum standard of a two-room house for a family. A similar situation has occurred in Thailand; the rents there are too much for the average worker's income.

The more articulated demand for housing by people with higher incomes (for example, by those who can afford the three-room and four-room houses, for which the other \$3.4 million have been allocated in Kenya's Plan), the official desire to maintain standards, and the comparative ease of dealing with this level of need are some of the factors which have skewed government housing programs toward "low-cost" housing for middle-income and sometimes upper-income people.

The experience in Bangkok is instructive here. It was discovered that 70% of the houses which were built under hire-purchase schemes for middle-income people were sold to wealthy people. The houses were attractive enough to meet their needs, and it has proved to be nearly impossible to control occupancy when incomes do not have to be reported. Nevertheless, more of these hire-purchase schemes are being planned.

Efforts of governments have been grossly inadequate and piecemeal. With an annual population growth rate of 7.6% during the decade of 1960-1970 in Abidjan, for example, the government reportedly was building low-cost housing units at the rate of 5,000 annually in 1971 and 1972. Malaysia's first Five-Year Plan provided for \$10 million for 3,000 housing units. By the Third

Plan (1966-1970), the figures were \$100 million and 22,500 units. At the same time, Kuala Lumpur was growing rapidly to the current rate of 7.5% per year, and the housing shortage was growing, too. The estimated housing need in Bangkok, with an annual growth rate of 5.2%, is 100,000 units per year. During the fifteen years of building housing, the Housing Bureau of the Department of Public Welfare has created more slums, according to one senior official. Shoddy construction and incompetent management were cited as the principal reasons.

The exception has been in Singapore where the Housing and Development Board constructed 140,000 units from 1960 to 1970 and plans to build 100,000 more units by 1975. Financed by long-term government loans to the Board, the terms are 7.75% interest for 60 years. In addition, the government has subsidized the operating costs of these public housing units: \$3.5 million in 1970; \$7 million in 1971; and an estimated \$10 million in 1972. Nevertheless, housing still is considered to be a critical problem in Singapore.

The site and services approach is being used in many countries as a way of helping to meet the housing needs of low-income urban dwellers. The approach varies from country to country, usually involving some combination of a legally acquired and demarcated site and varying amounts of water, drainage, ~~sewerage~~, electrical, and street/road services. Core housing and/or a roof loan scheme sometimes are included.

In Morocco, land and some simple services are provided by the government and the settler is expected to pay for them in three years. He builds his own house with technical assistance from the government. In Ivory Coast the settler is expected to build on his plot within a year.

Land costs and the cost of meeting minimum building standards have been major deterrents to this approach in Nigeria and Kenya. As a result, a new site and services scheme in Mombasa, Kenya's second largest city and principal seaport, will be on a rental basis.

A national government policy in India of rehabilitating and improving slums and squatter settlements is being implemented in varying degrees. The Calcutta Bustee Improvement Scheme is underway. In Bombay a more limited effort is confined to public land, while in Madras there is a Slum Clearance Board and official opposition to the national policy. Another Government of India effort is the recent creation of the Housing and Urban Development Corporation (HUDCO) with a broad mandate to organize the housing sector.

One of the ways in which external assistance has been used to address the housing problem in these countries is for land preparation and the building of infrastructure. Several donors confine themselves to these activities and build no houses. Infrastructural development is the focus of most of the national and regional priorities in Turkey. Grants-in-aid are given to local and municipal government by the Ministry of Interior. Master plans for

various infrastructural services have been developed in recent years for Bangkok but none has been implemented. A new traffic plan is now being developed by a West German team; it is to have a short-term (December 1971) phase and long-term (December 1973) phase.

It was significant that complainants about the growing traffic problem in all of the African countries visited never defined it in the larger concept of transportation needs which hardly were discussed at all. A new bridge and flyover were opened in Lagos during the visit to Nigeria. They will make it easier for more automobiles and buses to reach Downtown Lagos. In Nairobi plans were announced for additional access highways, and only one respondent complained about the priority given to roads over the provision of other services. By contrast, transportation was the second most frequently mentioned problem in Singapore, and a proposed mass transit system was making headlines at the time of the field visit. A very perceptive observation about congestion was made by a respondent in Kuala Lumpur, who said that the transportation problem is being defined wrongly. The congestion is a result of having designed roads for travel patterns and modes in other countries, rather than for Malaysia's mixture of cars, cycles, and pushcarts on the same road.

Water, sewerage, and drainage also were seldom mentioned in the African countries visited, perhaps because they are seen as being the concern of capital rather than technical assistance. However, a UNDP/WHO Master Sewerage System Project in Ibadan, Nigeria, was visited and discussed. This project is attempting

to demonstrate the feasibility of a sewerage system. It must be related to an existing water system which was developed a few years ago with insufficient attention to distribution and drainage. It must overcome the constraints of serious overcrowding, traditional compounds, and the lack of roads and other access routes in the inner city. One approach has been the development of comfort stations, which are aided self-help bath-toilet-washing facilities for individual traditional Yoruba rulers (obas) and their extended families. The approach is a rare example of using other than a standard approach to providing water and ~~sewerage~~ facilities and services.

In Malaysia, the colonial inheritance of reportedly good water and sanitary facilities in Kuala Lumpur continues to be sufficient. On the other hand, a new sewerage system is being constructed in Singapore, the need for it having been compounded by the construction of so many highrise buildings. National water supply schemes in India provide special and matching grants through state governments to local bodies. Many of them are given to municipalities and other urban centers and are related to carrying out the government's policy of slum improvement and rehabilitation.

Human ingenuity and inventiveness have been remarkable resources as people have sought to meet the housing shortage by creating squatter and other unplanned communities. Some studies

indicate that the relatively low standards extant in these communities may generate positive results by providing a transitional conduit or bridgehead for people seeking to become integrated step by step into the modern urban sector. Gradual economic, social, and physical integration of whole communities into the urban mainstream can and does take place in this way. The step-wise improvement of housing cited earlier is one manifestation. A major challenge for the developing nations and those who would assist is to help insure and accelerate this assimilation process.

Increasingly government policies and programs reflect an acceptance of squatter settlements and shantytowns for the significant self-help housing efforts they are and the positive force they can be, and manifest a desire to improve and incorporate them, rather than to ignore or destroy them. In these ameliorative efforts, developing countries are receiving assistance from a number of donors. Examples are Dutch aid in refurbishing Las Calinos, a squatter settlement in Colombia, and UN World Food Program assistance for renovating bidonvilles in Morocco.

Mention has been made already of India's official policy of slum rehabilitation. (The term, slum, is used for slums, shantytowns, and squatter settlements in India.) The Government of Turkey has gone further. Since 1967 it has been illegal to tear down squatter settlements (gecekondus), whose inhabitants are from 48% to 65% of the population in Istanbul and Ankara. Thus,

the approach necessarily has been to try to provide for much-needed infrastructural development, as was noted earlier. By contrast, squatters are being relocated in low-cost apartments in Kuala Lumpur where they comprise from 25% to 33% of the total metropolitan population. It was reported that 5,000 families were relocated in 1969-1970, and it is hoped that 7,000 more families can be housed in 1971-1975. The rate may be accelerated by the creation in November 1971 of the Urban Development Authority in the Office of the Prime Minister.

Some of the most enlightened and far-reaching efforts have been made in Central and South America. The survey visit to Panama, for example, provided exposure to San Miguelito, a squatter settlement which has developed over time into a recognized, self-governing community. One can see in San Miguelito housing which reflects not only the recency of the owner's arrival but also his economic condition; the range is from shanties to well-appointed, substantial, permanent homes with the necessary amenities.

Squatter settlements, however, are not yet legitimate everywhere. They still are ignored or are given grudging and limited official recognition. In Nairobi, Kenya, it reportedly took a cholera scare in June 1971 to make possible the provision of water and latrines in Mathari Valley, Nairobi's largest squatter settlement with a population in excess of 60,000. The ameliorative

efforts of voluntary organizations (the National Christian Council of Kenya, the World Council of Churches, the Peace Corps) have been frustrated by the lack of official recognition that the settlement exists and the lack of support for tackling the problems in a more developmental way. Benign neglect, or worse still, police raids or bulldozing are approaches which still are being used.

Satellite towns or cities to existing large cities comprise another approach. Examples may be found around Rio de Janeiro and Sao Paulo in Brazil. Some satellites have prospered more than others; further study is needed to delineate the factors of success. A similar approach is used in Turkey where new towns are developed on annexed land on the periphery of existing cities. This approach has been employed because urban renewal reportedly is nearly impossible. Condemnation proceedings apparently take years and are costly.

Ikeja, in the metropolitan area outside Lagos Municipality in Nigeria, has grown from an agricultural community of 52,000 people in 1952 to an industrial satellite town of 900,000 in 1971. The Ikeja Area Planning Authority (IAPA) serves as the housing, planning, and development authority for Lagos State Government. Industrial development has absorbed 1,000 acres and there are more than 140 firms on the waiting list. Land costs and land values have increased so much that a \$1400 house in 1965

cost \$4200 in 1971. Among other things, IAPA has a \$7 million budget in 1971 for constructing housing for 350 families (2,000 people) on three income levels (from laborers and messengers up). Because it cannot meet the demand, IAPA plans to contract for industrialized building methods in order to construct 2,000 houses per year.

Petaling Jaya, Malaysia, is a new town which is about seventeen miles from Kuala Lumpur. Although substantially self-contained, it nevertheless is a satellite town and a bedroom community for Kuala Lumpur. It was developed by the Selangor Development Corporation, a special development authority for the State of Selangor. Despite the original intention of housing a community of mixed incomes, Petaling Jaya has become essentially a middle- and upper-income settlement.

A deliberate twinning is being attempted in the development of new Bombay, a city of two million on the mainland east of Old Bombay, by CIDCO, the City and Industrial Development Corporation of Maharashtra, a special authority of the State of Maharashtra.

In addition, there have been new town developments the locations of which do not permit a symbiotic relationship with existing cities. Brasilia and Chandigarh are famous examples. In the State of Parana in Southern Brazil, 158 new towns have been created in slightly more than a decade. Aratu is a totally planned, privately developed, new industrial urban settlement in Northeast

Brazil. Similar new town developments focused on an industry or a number of industries as the basic raison d'etre are appearing increasingly in India. The new town approach is being used to settle and develop areas of Morocco, Turkey, Ivory Coast, and Malaysia as part of rural development and overall national development programs in these countries.

There is much to commend traditional sectoral approaches, if only that something has been and is being tried. They reveal creativity and imagination and have produced some rather substantial results.

Two other characteristics of these efforts are their physical focus and their tendency to be ad hoc and uncoordinated. One cannot deny that some also have been expensive and essentially cosmetic. The intangibles of political will, culture, social organizations, and motivation have been more controlling in many situations than either the tangibles or financial and technical resources. Investment in housing without the needed infrastructural facilities and services, site developments which have not been chosen later by industrialists or other developers, and roads which have gone nowhere are familiar examples.

Other important linkages which sectoral approaches have missed are those which exist between housing and employment and between housing and social functioning of people. In Djakarta, Indonesia, it was discovered that Kampong (urban village) housing could not be eliminated from the downtown area without eliminating also certain kinds of employment. A similar experience in Lagos, Nigeria, was described in Peter Marris

tain kinds of employment. A similar experience in Lagos, Nigeria, was described in Peter Marris' Family and Social Change in an African City.<sup>\*</sup> A concern for sectoral linkages extends also to the need to consider carefully the relationships between satellite and "parent" city, new towns and existing cities, and among the cities within a given subnational area and the nation as a whole.

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\* A study of rehousing in Lagos (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1961). 180 p.

### Planning Approaches

It will be recalled from the previous section that planning, a critical aspect of urban development, is an area in which past experience has been disappointing. As dismal as the picture might appear, however, encouraging developments are taking place.

Most of the important new developments in the planning field are taking place at the national and regional levels. This is to be expected as these are the levels at which most of the skilled manpower is located and at which some of the critical bottlenecks that constrain improvement of planning at the local level persist.

Planning at the level of the municipality is by no means a new concept and over the years it has developed traditions and patterns which are in many ways as counterproductive as they are rigid and out of step with the times. The field is dominated by an essentially physical approach at a time when people are the problem. It leans toward a piecemeal or narrowly sectoral-cum-project approach at a time when the sensitivity of interactions between sectors is recognized and cited as causal to many urban and environmental ills. Only in isolated instances has metropolitan planning incorporated the economic, social, political, cultural, and physical aspects of urban growth and development. Rarer still are metropolitan plans having a significant impact on program implementation. Perhaps the most outstanding examples are the many new towns which have come very much into vogue in recent years.

Approaches at the National Level. National development plans traditionally have given only token or no attention to urban development. To the extent that the urban considerations have been incorporated, the focus has been primarily on housing and expressed in terms of a housing sector. Indeed, in Singapore and Brazil substantial gains have been made towards solving housing difficulties through this mode of national sectoral planning. The essence of the problem with this approach is captured in a quote from an April 1972 speech in Detroit, Michigan, by the Secretary of the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, George Romney, "We will not solve this [urban] crisis if we pretend that it is just a housing crisis ... Deep social changes are at work that have little if anything to do with housing."

For this reason, those few instances in which national planning for urban development has gone beyond this narrow approach are conspicuous and groundbreaking. These range from a national infrastructural development priority in Turkey (which will aid urban development more by accident than by design) to a plan for all-out restructuring of society through urbanization and urban development in Malaysia. In the mid-range there are Brazil's long-standing pre-occupation with national political, social, and economic integration of a vast country and Colombia's urban sectoral program aimed at reducing population flow to major cities and at stimulating development on a regional basis.

Brazil's programs have never congealed into a national whole; nevertheless, in the past decade they have produced such massive separate endeavors as transferrring the national capital from coastal Rio de Janeiro to the interior new town Brasilia, development of well over 100 new towns in the south, promotion of a large-scale growth pole development program through infrastructure and investment incentives to stimulate development of the Northeast and help stem its rapid outmigration, and currently construction of a trans-Amazonian highway to open up that region and stimulate strategic urban growth centers along the route.

Colombia is attempting a more orchestrated and comprehensive program nationally (including research, capital investment, manpower development, and legal-administrative reform) specifically to foster the development of intermediate sized cities as counter magnets to the four major population centers of Bogota, Medellin, Cali, and Baranquilla. Some of this will apply to these major cities as well to assist in their development.

Malaysia's program is outlined comprehensively in its new Five-Year National Development Plan. The Plan places priority on urban development and rural-urban migration as a tool for achieving its goal of restructuring society to meet the larger needs and to bring more Malays into the economic mainstream. It is a dramatic attempt to promote fundamental societal changes quickly. To help coordinate and implement the urbanization features of the new plan an Urban Development Authority was created in the Office of the Prime Minister.

Other units in the Prime Minister's Office also will be actively engaged in plan implementation. Both the overall strategy and the concentration of coordinating and implementing authority for urban development at such a high level are unprecedented.

Most of these national level programs have not been evaluated or (with the exception of Brasilia) examined in any depth as case studies. As relatively scarce resources in a major problem area (lack of national commitment to or understanding of urban development), they should not be overlooked.

Regional Planning. If one new conceptual approach emerged with greatest frequency this would have to be regional planning and development. It appears as a new ingredient in many national development plans (e.g., those of Brazil, Colombia, Chile, Ivory Coast, Morocco, Kenya, Nigeria, Turkey, India, Thailand, and Korea), and it is under serious discussion in other countries (such as Panama, Vietnam, Indonesia, and Pakistan). It is a concept which some of the more advanced nations have pioneered in, including France, Japan, Israel, and some of the socialist countries. The United States too has contributed significantly to development of theory and methodology, if not to application.

However, in spite of (or perhaps because of) all of this attention and application, regional planning is a rubric meaning many things to many people. This is exemplified by the fact that much of the action in regional planning and development is tentative

and experimental in nature. In a number of countries regional planning has been applied in piecemeal fashion in attempts to encourage development of backward regions, such as Brazil's Northeast and Thailand's North. Similarly, the strong notion of regional development in Turkey is related to a 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 to 100,000 size class. Incentives such as tax breaks, special amortization, and exceptions to corporate income laws have been given to industry. Professional salaries have been supplemented and embryonic regional universities begun. In fact, regional planning of this kind preceded the development of the current National Development Plan in Turkey.

Only recently has regional planning and development come to be more openly regarded as a tool to add spatial dimensions to national development plans and programs.

For example, some respondents saw regional planning as an answer to the mounting criticisms of national planning in the aggregate and of concentration of power and resources. It was seen as a means not only to respond more specifically to the needs of a particular region. In the appropriate framework it could carry a government towards some devolution of power and resources. Brazil, for example, has established four regional planning and development authorities between the national government and the state governments for all of the

major regions of the country (Northeast, Amazon, Center West, and South). Imposed on a highly centralized system of government this kind of mechanism could result in considerable decentralization, at least as far as key planning and developmental functions are concerned.

The concept of growth centers and growth poles in regional development is perhaps the most common application of regional planning today, and it has the greatest implications for urban development and urban development policies. The most specific example of this within a national regional planning framework is Colombia. For planning purposes the country has been split into four major geoeconomic regions, each one having one of the four major cities as a growth pole: Barranquilla for Atlantic Coast, Cali in Southwest, Medellin in North-West, and Bogota in Central. This is the framework in which Colombia's urban sector program (already discussed) and its agricultural sector program are being planned and implemented.

Kenya too has regional physical development plans incorporating a growth pole concept. These plans have been used in the preparation and implementation of Kenya's current National Development Plan.

Indonesian planners are grappling with more fundamental aspects of regional planning as it affects the development of cities—namely, defining the functions of economic regions, identifying growth poles within the regions, and assessing the real and potential role of these cities within each region or sub-region (area). Considerable study must precede specific planning for these growth centers or cities, their immediate hinterland, and the planning regions.

However, much of the conceptual work that has elevated the problem to its present level is quite advanced and sophisticated.

At a lesser level, very much akin to, and often a component of regional planning is the area development planning found in Ivory Coast, Kenya, Morocco, Malaysia, Indonesia, and elsewhere. More rural in its orientation, it focuses on specific projects or resettlement areas. The approach is essentially physical, concentrating on infrastructure. Frequently special development authorities or semi-public companies are established to help oversee the planning and development of the area.

An example of such a complex is the Bandama Valley Authority (AVB) in Ivory Coast. Similar to the TVA in the United States, it was set up to oversee development of a dam, a man-made lake, and related projects which will involve 720 square miles, 100 villages and settlements, and 70,000 people.

The physical plan for the Island (Province) of Bali is an example of area planning on a more comprehensive scale. Because the primary functions of Bali are already clear (namely, tourism and rice culture), the Indonesian government established a centrally assisted area planning unit in Denpasar which might serve as a model for the rest of the country. The physical plan for the island, including urban and rural areas, was completed in 1971.

Fortunately, the plethora of approaches and experiences indicated in the foregoing has not gone unnoticed. The United Nations Research Institute for Social Development is conducting a comprehensive world-

wide study of regional development approaches in the advanced and the developing countries. Considerable attention is being given to growth poles and growth centers in regional development. The U.N. study will produce a series of national case studies of regional planning and development, some of which have already been published. The study also will produce monographs on regional disaggregation of national policies and plans, information systems for regional development, regional sociology, and regional development experience by major global geographic regions.

Urban Planning. Planning at the municipal level has long been applied in one form or another in most developing countries. It has taken place within highly centralized national government structures, largely without benefit of national policy guidelines or budgetary priority and frequently under constraint of obsolete laws and codes. Examples of promising approaches to municipal planning are the more significant, given the generally unfavorable conditions in which they have occurred.

Master planning has been a popular approach to urban problems and development. The plans usually are regarded with great expectations, often not realized. Some of the problems with master planning have already been discussed in the section on planning problems. There are a number of ways, however, in which past experience and existing practices have been both productive and instructive.

Some master planning efforts have produced seemingly beneficial side effects. For example, the voluminous master plan for Sao Paulo, partially financed by AID and largely carried out by foreign contractors, reportedly stimulated the development of a strong metropolitan planning agency in Sao Paulo, even though the plan itself was not utilized seriously. Similarly, the famous Ford Foundation supported master plan for Calcutta has served as a training ground for many an urbanologist (a large proportion of whom has been non-Indian) and probably was directly responsible for the establishment of the Calcutta Metropolitan Planning Organization.

Some master plans have had a direct impact on urban development. A number of the major cities of India and Turkey have master plans which are currently being reviewed and revised and have been, in part, implemented. The Delhi Master Plan, prepared in 1959-1960, was the first comprehensive government plan and is noteworthy also for the Delhi Development Authority (DDA) set up 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. This is not an uncommon pattern for large cities in India and Turkey and may be found also in some of the very large cities of Latin America.

In some cases the development authorities, as creations of national governments, attempt to deal with rural-urban linkages. An example is the Calcutta Metropolitan Planning Organization which seeks to establish some rational relationship between Calcutta and the rest of Bengal.

Multidisciplinary approach. It is this concept of relationship — between city and hinterland, between city and city, and between sectors within city and hinterland — that has been lacking in most master plans. Only in isolated cases is this complex of relationships considered, in whole or in part, in the planning process. The Cali General Development Plan has many features which exemplify important aspects of the systems approach to planning. It is a multidisciplinary, cross-sectoral effort engaging the methodology of the social sciences as well as physical planning. The plan has a regional base and includes in its scope the nearby cities of Jamundi and Yumbo and the functional interaction among the three cities. These linkages were determined by origin and destination studies of the three-city area and by information from the regional plan of the province.

The plan is unusual in that it also reflects a degree of civic participation. Sample surveys were conducted in all of the barrios of the three cities to determine the residents' perceptions of local problems and needs. This information was used in development of the plan.

A team approach was employed throughout the plan period and planning professionals, supported by USAID, participated as members of the team. This limited approach to technical assistance in planning was given high marks by local officials.

At the time of the TA/UDS survey in Colombia in May 1972, the plan was about to be published and city officials were focusing on creation of implementation apparatus. However, shortly thereafter there was a turnover in planning department personnel stemming from a change in department leadership. The future of the plan remains in question — to illustrate an earlier point on bureaucratic turnover.

In Morocco, where there has been a rather long experience with urban planning, a new approach is being made in the Rabat-Sale Master Plan Office to overcome beaux-arts planning and the isolation of physical planners. Demographic, economic, political, social, and technical dimensions are being added to the physical planning exercise through the addition of small multidisciplinary staff on a pilot basis. By "finding the mechanism by which a city works and lives," this staff hopes to achieve a common focus with decision-makers and to help them plan for the short term (1975) and long term (1985). As such, the planners' role will be to raise questions, "sound the alarm," suggest solutions, but not to make decisions or to coordinate the actions which should follow.

The Nairobi Urban Study in Kenya is an approach conceived in somewhat the same vein. It is being conducted by a UNDP/IBRD led team consisting of a leader (who is a planner), an economist provided by the UNDP, employees from the Department of City Planning of Nairobi City Council, and members of a British consulting firm. Described as a "comprehensive, experimental, and pioneering effort," the Nairobi Urban Study will result in a set of options or alternative strategies rather than a master plan. These will be derived from thirty-year projections based on assumptions of stated and unplanned policy goals of the Government of Kenya. Short-term (1975), medium-term (1985), and long-term (2000) projections are to be made, taking into consideration capital and social costs. It is a three-year undertaking, the results of which will go to the World Bank.

Low-Cost Approaches. Aside from numerous other disadvantages, use of outside planning firms for municipal planning-usually bears a high cost factor. In Latin America, Asia, and Africa examples were to be found of attempts to exploit local resources for low-cost municipal planning. Two examples from Nigeria are clearly illustrative.

In Ibadan, under the leadership of a UNDP planning advisor to the state government, Polytechnical College students have done a series of studies which can provide the basis and the data for a development plan. Studies of 131 industries (and a 300-acre industrial estate has been designed), 151 primary and 42 secondary schools, markets, recreational and entertainment facilities have been completed; studies

of 63 medical facilities are in process; and studies of housing are pending. On a smaller scale, the city of Iwo in Western State now has a development plan completed in seven months by six Polytechnical College students directed by the same UNDP advisor. The plan gives priorities year by year with financial, regional, and other implications. Similar efforts were found in Panama, Turkey, and Indonesia and it was apparent that this approach is gaining some momentum elsewhere. It has the advantage of speed, simplicity, low cost and minimal bureaucratic and political baggage. It provides the benefits of practical training for budding urban specialists. Moreover, those efforts seemed to have the support of local politicians and officials.

Planning for new towns is another dimension of the planning world; there are numerous examples in the developing countries. These range from the massive endeavor required to establish the "new town" new capital of Brazil at interior Brasilia to the creation of new rural communities in connection the Bandama River Valley project in Ivory Coast. Somewhere in the mid-range is the new satellite town approach in which new towns are created on the periphery of major urban centers, either as bedroom communities, industrial complexes, or as combined industrial, commercial, and residential complexes.

This latter is perhaps the most prevalent of the new town approaches. An example is the industrial-urban complex of ARATU just outside

of Salvadore (population one million) in Brazil's Northeast. This project is a striking example of private and government developmental cooperation in which the private sector, development banks, and regional and provincial development authorities are collaborating. Located ten miles outside of Salvadore, ARATU is a well coordinated, integrated balance of heavy industry, light industry, commercial, residential, recreational, and natural areas. It has been planned and developed to create the most effective combination of these activities to complement one another. Moreover, the physical pattern of development has taken into account a broad range of environmental considerations. Pollution in all forms is to be minimized through rational location of all activities.

There are numerous other examples, such as the so-called African Rivera — a 9,000-acre urban development outside of Abidjan (Ivory Coast) which combines residential, light industry, and tourism functions — New Bombay (still in planning stages), and the satellite towns of Turkey and Southern Brazil.

Special Solutions. Beyond planning and implicit in it are a number of special or unusual approaches to urban development, such as tax and infrastructure incentives for location specific development, special enabling legislation for city development, and alien solutions like model cities, urban renewal. Examples of these approaches were found in all of the major areas visited.

Tax incentives are rapidly gaining in popularity as a locational tool. Examples were found in Brazil, Colombia, Turkey, Ivory Coast, Thailand, Indonesia and Malaysia. The tax and infrastructure incentive for commercial location at specific growth points in Northeast Brazil was cited earlier. More specifically, it was thought that, by allowing tax exemption on 50% of all profits invested in the Northeast, business investments would flow into designated growth centers. The government would encourage development further by creation of physical infrastructure. Because the goal was development of lagging areas presumed to have growth potential, the already burgeoning cities of Salvadore and Recife were excluded from the plan; the incentives did not apply in these two cities. It was found, however, that investments did not flow to the designated growth points throughout the region as planned. Instead they tended to cluster at the municipal boundaries of Recife and Salvadore. This is testimony to the effectiveness of tax incentives to locational decisions and also to the strong pull effects exerted on industry and commerce by major metropolitan centers.

An alternative approach is under consideration whereby concentric zones of increasing tax incentives would be established around Recife and Salvadore. It is hoped that this change will help achieve the objectives of the original policy; namely, the development of the lagging regions contributing so heavily to the

chronic out-migration of the Northeast.

Less common are tax and infrastructural schemes to influence location of activities within a given urban area. An interesting example was found in Djakarta, Indonesia. The municipal government has initiated an unusual incentive approach to urban development known as forward financing assistance. It is based on a subsidy paid to private project developers, up to the equivalent of the pre-assessed annual land tax (i.e., based on estimated land value after project completion) on the ~~property~~ to be developed. This formula is used to assist private developers in opening up and converting urban land to industrial or commercial use. It also helps to insure that capital is available for building during the prime construction season. The city ultimately gains because of the resulting increased economic activity and the higher land values (and hence tax base) created by bringing the land into more profitable usage.

Djakarta and other cities have also been successful in influencing industrial, commercial, and residential location by installation of basic physical infrastructure in specifically targeted areas. This approach has been referred to as "opening up urban land for development," a concept more commonly applied in a rural or hinterland context.

Enabling legislation for urban planning and development is a widely recognized need for which there are too few examples of specific corrective action. A particularly relevant example is the autonomous city scheme in Vietnam. It was found that the highly centralized but hierarchical form of government was constraining development of certain cities which, while not provincial capitals, were key cities nonetheless. These often were dominated by and subservient to the provincial capitals, with conflicts of interest arising over such issues as status in the province (resource allocation problem), tax administration, and designation of police commanders. The rural orientation of the provincial governments did not reflect the needs of these special cities. Hence, in 1966 the government gave these cities a special status as autonomous cities, similar to that of province (a Vietnamese province is closer in size to a county in the U.S.). This gives these cities more direct access to the highly centralized national government decision apparatus and to its resources. This action deals with a serious administrative problem; the danger is the possibility of deliberate non-cooperation or non-recognition of linkages between city and province.

Vietnam also recently (1971) passed a law institutionalizing the legal basis for urban planning, a further indication of heightened recognition of the significance of urban development in Vietnam.

This law superseded colonial urban planning laws dating back to 1928 and 1930. Under the new law provincial capitals and cities of over 10,000 population are required to develop basic plans for physical development of infrastructure. It provides also for the establishment of a Committee of Local Reconstruction for each of these cities. Implementation instructions are incorporated, covering most aspects of the new requirements. One is forced to conclude that while limited (purely physical) in approach, this new law is a significant breakthrough. However, it is too early to assess the impact of either of these Vietnamese innovations, particularly in view of the military situation there.

Legal changes directed at similar problems are under discussion or review elsewhere, but few new urban reform laws are actually on the books. Legal reform usually requires considerable political will.

Alien solutions to urban problems abound in developing countries. Examples are model cities programs, urban renewal, Western type urban freeways and circumferential highways, "city beautiful" planning approaches, and in one instance, an Opportunity Industrial Council program. However, while providing valuable lessons, experience with these approaches has not been wholly favorable. They are sometimes described as being too expensive (a criticism leveled by one respondent at the proposed Nairobi model cities program), not relevant (in Nigeria the urban renewal approach had to be abandoned after discovering that zoning standards have to be applied more flexibly in the

Nigerian context—especially in traditional towns), or excessive (for example, the massive concrete monuments to the passenger car in societies that have not yet been overwhelmed by the cult of the automobile). As they are revised worldwide by trial and error experience, borrowed solutions may become more efficacious.

Planning for urban development is beginning to be reflected in books and other publications originating in many developed and developing countries. The challenge is to utilize this inventory of instructive experiences to avoid repetition of past mistakes and to profit by and build on successful models.

Governmental Resources

It would be inappropriate and repetitious to discuss all of the various resources which were revealed in the survey. They are described and listed in the country and regional reports, and many have been referred to already in the earlier sections of this monograph, especially in the discussion of sectoral and planning approaches. It is important, however, to note more discretely some of the institutional and other resources, both governmental and nongovernmental.

National Government. Of the many National Development Plans which were made known during the survey, none gives the priority to urban development which is contained in Malaysia's Plan for 1971-1975. Other plans mention housing, infrastructure, or some particular sector, if anything. In Malaysia, however, urban development is seen as an instrument for achieving its goal of restructuring society.

An Urban Development Authority was created in the Office of the Prime Minister in November 1971 to help coordinate and implement the urban development features of the Five-Year Plan. Complementary units in the Prime Minister's Office include the Division of Regional Planning in the Economic Planning Unit (land clearance and settlement), the Center for Development Studies (begun in 1966 for research, seminars, and exchange of information), and the General Planning Unit (established recently and headed by a Senior Minister to "bird dog" the Plan).

All of the countries visited have a number of traditional (typical) ministries or departments which independently (and often on an

ad hoc basis) seek to deal with one or more aspects of urban development problems. Included are services provided to subnational bodies, including state, regional, and municipal governments.

As has been mentioned already, the urban development focus which has been set forth in this monograph usually is buried, either by being coupled with and therefore subordinated to housing, by being located deep in the administrative structure, or by being so diffused in the structure as not to have a central focus. In Kenya, for example, economic planning is in the Ministry of Finance and Planning; physical planning is in the Department of Town and Country Planning of the Ministry of Lands and Settlement; the Ministry of Home Affairs has jurisdiction over the budgets of municipal and local governments; there are Ministries of Health, Power and Works, Cooperatives and Social Services, and Housing; and there is a National Housing Corporation. All are responsible for some part of urban development in Kenya. The Turkish Government has three Ministries (Reconstruction and Settlement, Interior, and Rural Affairs) and a special bureau (Metropolitan Planning Bureau).

Housing and urban development and a large Town and Country Planning Department are in the portfolio of one of two Ministers of State in the conglomerate Ministry of Health, Family Planning, Works, Housing, and Urban Development in India. There is also a Joint Directorate for Housing and Urban Development in the National Planning Commission of India. In Brazil there is the very powerful and quite operationally independent National Housing Bank in the Ministry of Interior. The

Ministry also has a well-known Federal Service of Housing and Urbanism (SERFHAU), while in the Ministry of Planning there are the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (IBGE) and the Institute of Applied Socio-Economic Research (IPEA). These are some of the variations on the theme of diffusion and obscurity.

Singapore's "fiercely independent" Housing and Development Board (HDB), a statutory body in the Ministry of National Development, has dominated the country's urban development, perhaps as no single ministry or department has elsewhere. HDB has a Department of Urban Renewal, and the Ministry of National Development also has a less prominent Department of Planning. As a city state, Singapore is a special case; nonetheless it serves as an example of what can be accomplished when political will and administrative capacity converge.

The impressive development of Singapore during the last decade, which has been a result of HDB activities, has been largely physical in nature. The focus has been on housing, urban renewal, roads, and industrial estates. The approach frequently has been ad hoc, and the success has been qualified and criticized on several grounds; nevertheless, the "miracle" is impressive.

The Directorate of City and Regional Planning in the Department of Public Works and Energy of the Government of Indonesia has an even longer history of dealing with the problems of rapid urban growth. Established in 1946, the Directorate liaises with the National Planning Board and the provincial governments. It has conducted city planning projects in all 25 of the provincial capital cities and is

currently engaged in research leading to a national urban land policy and the formulation of a basic provision for city planning. Other interests include feasibility studies for the development of industrial estates, information systems for urban and regional planning, and the development of planning standards and physical planning laws and regulations.

Subnational Government. Little is known in depth about the varying degrees of activity below the national level in the countries visited. During the brief field visits there was limited opportunity to be exposed to these levels of government. The tendency was to concentrate on the national and municipal (or metropolitan) levels.

In India, for example, the states are quite powerful and controlling in many ways. Mention was made earlier of the creation of the special development corporation by the State of Maharashtra to guide the development of the new twin city of Bombay. State governments also are the conduits by which national government grants and other assistance reach the municipal and local levels. A somewhat similar pattern exists in Nigeria. Some of the urban planning efforts in Lagos State and Western State, for example, were cited earlier.

One of the means of strengthening state and local government in Malaysia is the creation of state and other development corporations. The development of new towns was reported earlier as a principal activity of the six-year old Selangor State Development Corporation, the state of which Kuala Lumpur is part. Housing is a major item in the programs of the other state development corporations, all of which are less than two years old.

State government participation in new town development and other urban and regional planning activities was noted also in Bahia State in northeastern Brazil, Parana State in southern Brazil, and in Bali and West Java States in Indonesia. Provision has been made for town and country planners at the provincial government level in Kenya. However, because of recruitment difficulties, only one had been posted at the time of the field visit.

Municipal Government. At the municipal or metropolitan level, there are many planning and/or housing and urban development departments. While some of them lack skilled manpower and other capabilities, others are quite substantial and competent resources--for example, the Delhi Development Authority and the Calcutta Metropolitan Planning Organization in India, the Municipal Planning Department in Sao Paulo, Brazil, the Department of City Planning of the Nairobi (Kenya) City Council, the Djakarta (Indonesia) Municipal Planning Board, and the Rabat-Sale' Master Plan Office in Morocco.

Some rather unusual, if not unique, approaches to urban development are being developed and applied at the municipal level. The creative approaches to revenue generation and urban finance by the Djakarta Municipal Government and Sao Paulo's computerized municipal employment service deserve further study and adaptation elsewhere. Even Djakarta's frontal attack on trying to stem the tide of in-migration merits watching. The massive undertaking of the Nairobi Urban Study, which is receiving UNDP and World Bank assistance, is a "first" in its aim of developing a set of options or alternative strategies for the short

term (1975) medium term (1985), and long term (2000). By "finding the mechanism by which a city works and lives," the Rabat-Sale' Master Plan Office hopes to achieve a common focus with decision-makers. Rationalizing relationships between Calcutta and the rest of Bengal State is being attempted by the Calcutta Metropolitan Planning Organization as it seeks to deal with rural-urban linkages.

Special Authorities. A variety of special authorities has been referred to above and in other sections of the monograph. It has been the primary approach of governments in developed and developing countries for tackling the challenges of subnational regional development. Examples abound, and there were one or more in each of the countries visited. In nearly every instance, these special authorities seek to incorporate several aspects of planning and to take a comprehensive or developmental approach to their regions.

Malaysia has gone this route, especially in seeking to open, settle, and develop new areas. The Federal Land Development Authority was organized fourteen years ago in the Ministry of Lands and Mines, and has been responsible for settling more than 300,000 acres with over 500 schemes involving nearly 200,000 people. While the physical aspects of development in these schemes were praised, it was noted that the human aspects had not been given sufficient attention.

If India's recent efforts to establish regional authorities are nascent, they can be contrasted with the more established ones in Brazil. The four regional development authorities in Brazil, SUDENE, SUDAM, SUDESUL, and SUDECO, have been mentioned already. They are

responsible for some of the most dramatic of Brazil's programs in urban and regional development.

A similar array of special authorities has been created recently in Ivory Coast to undertake regional development projects, ranging from the glamorous 9,000-acre African Riviera urban development project at the coast to the 720-square mile Bandama Valley regional development scheme in the interior. Related to these special authorities are a number of semi-public companies for equipment, bridge construction, building, and tourism, which have acronyms similar to their French "parent" organizations and are principal instruments of national development in Ivory Coast.

In Morocco rural housing development and settlement schemes have been designed to redirect nomadic people from pastoral to agricultural pursuits. Security, tribal boundaries, and agricultural (food) production have been the primary aims; housing and urban (or town) development have been used as means to those ends. These efforts have been concentrated recently in areas of economic potential--that is, near dam sites.

Coordination. Given this panoply of governmental ministries, departments, special authorities, and other resources at several administrative levels, it is understandable that there might be some overlap. The question arises about the degree of effective coordination which has been achieved.

The field survey found coordination to be a weak or missing element in all of the countries visited. At the same time this

deficiency was recognized by most of the respondents.

The Government of South Vietnam organized in 1970 a Central Pacification and Development Council at the level of the Prime Minister's Office (with provincial counterparts) to discuss and plan for critical problems of security and development. Under the circumstances security matters tend to dominate. The Urban Development Authority in Malaysia is in the Prime Minister's Office. Organized late in 1971, its raison d'etre is to help coordinate and implement the urban development aspects of the Third Five-Year Plan.

Examples of attempts to develop coordination at the municipal level are the Interministerial Committee on Metropolitan (read Bangkok) Planning in the Department of Town and Country Planning in Thailand's Ministry of Interior and the Saigon Metropolitan Government's Interministerial Committee on Saigon Planning. There was little evidence that either committee has been very effective.

The attempts which have been made in Africa to recognize, understand, and exploit the role of rural-urban linkages in national development can be viewed with guarded optimism. In Morocco a loi cadre was proposed late in 1971 to create a new Ministry of Planning and Regionalism, in which there would be territorial development, regional planning and development, and an attempt to coordinate provincial and national and rural and urban programs. It was reported that rural-urban linkages have been a conscious consideration of Kenya's Ministry of Finance and Planning since 1966, with major emphasis on income differentials, migration, and job creation. Pre-investment studies

at the macro level were planned and carried out jointly by the Government of Kenya and the World Bank. There is currently underway an effort to relate these studies to local needs.

Nongovernmental Resources

While the bulk of the action in urban development is governmental by nature, private or quasi-government organizations appear to be playing an increasingly important and sometimes a catalytic role. However, none has been exploited fully. For that matter, it was argued on several occasions in Latin America that in view of the high rate of bureaucratic turnover in government, resources should be concentrated on the private organizations if the goal is to develop and enhance a body of professional and technical expertise for urban development. This is not necessarily the position taken in this report, but it does represent an arresting response to a real problem.

The universities in the developing nations are an especially valuable resource in urban development. They are in a position to enrich almost every aspect of the field including research into critical problems, development of new approaches and concepts, planning, manpower development, filling critical skill gaps, and domestic and international information exchange. Depending on its size, capability and interests, the university can contribute significantly to the development of its local community, region, and nation. Indeed, in Indonesia and to a lesser extent Thailand, Malaysia, Panama, Colombia, Kenya, and Brazil the universities already are actively engaged in or actively pursuing a role in urban development programs.

However, universities in the developing countries either are not being exploited or are resisting exploitation as a resource in urban development. They are seriously underutilized and uncommitted. In Africa interplay between the universities and governments ranged from none at all in Ivory Coast to quite guarded in Nigeria to hopeful in Kenya. In India and Turkey there was a reluctance on the part of both the universities and government to cooperate actively with one another.

There was somewhat more hope in Latin America; in Brazil and Panama (a special case with only one major university) there were outward signs of at least limited cooperation. Elsewhere in Latin America universities have made definite contributions to urban development through participation in government programs. In Colombia there were signs of hot and cold spells in university-government relationships, largely keyed to politics.

In Asia involvement of universities in government affairs varied dramatically. For example, in Indonesia there is an active and fruitful interplay between government and academia, and cooperation is marginally good in Thailand. By contrast, in Malaysia and Vietnam there is a tradition of non-involvement in this regard which is only slowly and recently being overcome.

The high degree of university-government cooperation in Indonesia appears to be a function of a built-in cultural proclivity for cooperation (gotong rojong) and the fact that many Indonesians are keeping "a foot in both camps" because of the economic necessity for moonlighting. This latter attribute seems also to be one of the factors operating in Latin America. In other countries, e.g.,

Malaysia and Kenya, where cooperation is in a very early and balky stage, it appears that government and university are being thrown together out of sheer necessity -- that is, by the heavy demand for professional and technical inputs into government programs. On the other hand, factors that contribute to lack of interaction appear to be the tradition of academic non-involvement, fear of loss of academic integrity (heightened by the fact that most major universities in these countries are technically government entities), and politics.

Already there are numerous examples of direct university technical assistance in planning and urban and regional research. The University of Panama has developed a simple urban plan for the special city of San Miguelito on a voluntary basis as a planning department exercise. This approach is being applied elsewhere, e.g., the Ibadan and Iwo projects. In a more organized manner, the faculty and students of the Department of Urban and Regional Planning of the Institute of Technology at Bandung (ITB), Indonesia, offer professional planning services to local and national government entities on a profit; non-profit, or social service basis, depending on the resources of the client. Students of other faculties (e.g., social science) throughout the country also are involved occasionally in planning projects. Sometimes universities are involved in the initiation and implementation of actual urban programs. A good example is the School of Social Administration of Thailand's Thammasat University which is responsible for carrying out the first urban community development effort in Thailand.

A recent and very promising university initiative in urban development is the consortium approach. As observed in the field this takes one of two forms, either a direct consortium approach whereby several facilities cooperate on an equal basis to form an institute and/or curriculum, or a feeder approach in which one university develops linkages with and draws upon the resources of other universities and institutions. The former approach has been proposed by the Catholic University of Rio (PUC) in Brazil for the development of an Urban Studies Center involving relevant faculties of several universities in the region. This research and training consortium would undertake a multidisciplinary effort to create a degree program and a concerted system of research in the urban development field. It would explore systematically the national, regional, and local implications of urbanization and urban development in Brazil in accordance with research and training priorities established by the board of directors. The membership of the board would include the important government agencies with urban development responsibilities, the National Planning Agency, and relevant private institutions.

An example of the feeder or network approach is the proposed Urban Center of Living Program in Cali, Colombia, now approved by the National Planning Agency. It is a scheme for direct cooperation and mutual support between the University of the Valley (in Cali) and the Cali Municipal Planning Office. The objective is to build a multidisciplinary urban development capability within the

University, creating specializations where none now exists by drawing upon the resources of national and international institutions. The aim of the program is to develop the capacity to train personnel for and provide services to all levels of city government.

More traditional is the role of the university in training for urban development. Most of the countries visited had at least some form of planning faculty, often an offshoot of engineering or agriculture, and normally highly physical- or design-oriented. Examples of more well-rounded programs were far less common but in some instances highly imaginative. There was evidence too that public administration, economics, and sociology faculties are just beginning to recognize their potential contribution to urban development. The university output of local manpower for urban development is limited compared to the need; however, the quantity and quality of manpower produced varied greatly from country to country and region to region. More importantly, there appears to be a trend towards interdisciplinary, cross-sectoral approaches to training, even if progress is relatively slow and has not gone beyond the discussion stage in some countries.

Latin American institutions, well known for their physical, sectoral approach to urban development (i.e., architecture traditionally is a prestigious profession and there is consequently an abundance of architects in many countries), were equally impressive in their recognition of their need to diversify and, in

some cases, their attempts to do so. The examples of the multi-disciplinary consortium approaches in Colombia and Brazil have been cited already. It is noteworthy that the Brazil consortium was proposed by the PUC Department of Sociology.

Similarly, in Colombia a proposal has been drafted for the development of an Inter-Institutional Service for the Study of Urbanization in Colombia. It was proposed by the Division of Population Studies of the Colombian Association of Medical Faculties. In Panama urban law, urban economics, municipal administration, and comprehensive physical planning were referred to by the Chairman of the Urban Planning Department as the "decision set."

Regional planning also is gaining currency in the curricula of Latin American universities. The University Minas Gerais in Belo Horizonte, Brazil, has a strong program in regional planning and urban economics. There is an OAS-supported University Center for Regional Planning and Development in Lima, Peru, which services all Latin American countries by means of an annual nine-month program in regional development. There is serious academic interest in regional development in Chile also, manifested in a large program supporting case studies and conferences on the subject by the Latin American Institute for Economic and Social Planning in Santiago.

In India and Turkey there are a number of academic institutions which could be enlisted in training manpower for dealing with problems of urban development. Those of India tend to be more interested in academic and theoretical pursuits than in manpower development for

practical operations in the field. This is not to denigrate the training resources of India. Some of the institutional and university resources are actively engaged in training for urban development positions. For example, the well known Tata Institute of Social Sciences near Bombay trains social workers and those in related professions. The National Institute of Training in Industrial Engineering (NITIE) also near Bombay provides training programs in a variety of subject areas ranging in duration from three days to a two-year Master of Science Degree program in Industrial Engineering. Shortly, it will offer a course in urban and regional planning. Delhi University is another institution with departments focusing on problems of urban development, including the Department of Geography, the School of Economics, and the School of Social Work. The School of Planning and Architecture offers a one-year diploma course in housing for housing administrators and an integrated two-year graduate planning program which includes community, town, and regional planning.

Turkish universities appear to be better<sup>disposed</sup> to respond to urban manpower problems. It is 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 which graduates 30-40 students annually. There is an abundance of engineering and architectural schools.

In Africa fewer academic institutions are geared for training of urban development manpower than is the case in the other regions visited. Much of the training in this field is achieved through training abroad and on-the-job. An example of the latter is the combined lecture-practice approach applied in the Department of Town Planning of Polytechnical College in Ibadan, Nigeria. This practice, as noted earlier, has produced some creditable city plans at very low cost. Another interesting, innovative and reportedly mutually beneficial approach training along similar lines was reported in Nigeria. A group of twenty undergraduate and graduate students from Pratt Institute in New York spent one term in Nigeria with three faculty members. In addition to classroom work on culture, language, etc., the Pratt students were members of teams with Nigerian students who made case studies, architectural studies, aerial studies, and land use maps. They divided their stay between Ahmadu Bello University at Zaria and the Polytechnical College at Ibadan.

Development of local academic training facilities in urban development is still nascent. External donors are assisting with baccalaureate and master level degree programs at the Faculty of Architecture, Design and Development, University of Nairobi, Kenya. An Environmental Design curriculum was to have been initiated in November 1971 in the Faculty of Engineering, University of Lagos in Nigeria. Nonetheless, these two institutions and the Department of Geography of the University of Ibadan are, perhaps, the best equipped of the institutions encountered in Africa, in terms of dealing with

the problems of urban development.

In Southeast Asia, the degree of involvement with government seems to influence the strength of university resources in their training functions. Indonesia with very good and Thailand with fair university - government cooperation were in the forefront in this regard. Both have university programs leading to degrees in urban planning through the graduate level. These programs are multidisciplinary and integrate community, city and regional planning. Social science curricula and research dealing with urban development problems are also more advanced in these two countries than elsewhere in the region. By contrast, planning is an adjunct of the engineering programs in the universities of Vietnam and Malaysia and is highly construction oriented. The planning faculty at the University of Singapore is just two years old.

The best endowed institutions in the region in terms of training for urban development are: the Department of Planning and Fine Arts at ITB in Indonesia with its Division of Regional Planning and its Center for Regional and Urban Studies; and Thammasat University in Thailand with its Faculty of Economics (regional planning courses), School of Architecture (graduate program in physical planning), and School of Social Administration (city planning courses and urban research).

Other Nongovernmental Institutions. The needs in urban development have fostered a variety of interesting nongovernmental organizations concentrating either in whole or in part on urban problems.

They usually include a combination of activities or functions such as training, research, consultation, and information exchange, although some of these organizations prefer to specialize.

In several countries surveyed there were associations of municipalities, such as the Turkish Municipal Association and the Inter-Indonesian Municipalities Organization (BKS-AKSI). The former group is a scientific association with a small staff, a budget of Lira 1 million (\$71,430), and a membership of 1,400 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.

In some countries visited there is a National Institute of Administration which functions as a quasi-government organization under the auspices of a government ministry. Examples were found in Indonesia, Vietnam, and Thailand. These institutes tend to address problems of national and local government administration and touch municipal administration only marginally. However, a greater concentration on municipal administration problems in the future was indicated.

The Brazilian Institute of Municipal Administration (IBAM) is a private, non-profit public administration organization that does focus on problems of municipal government. As such, it is a unique institution with an international reputation. It was initiated in

1953 for the purpose of improving local government and urban services in Brazil and has since received considerable AID support. IBAM has conducted hundreds of studies, provided training for thousands of municipal administrators in Brazil and elsewhere, and has provided technical assistance to municipalities in the form of technical information and consultant services. In 1969 it established an Urban Research Center. Prior to that its National School of Urban Services was established <sup>providing</sup> both classroom and correspondence courses. A post graduate program, eventually to include the Ph.D. level, is in the planning stages. In addition, IBAM maintains a monthly newsletter and a bi-monthly journal which have wide circulation in Brazil and elsewhere in Latin America.

Another category of nongovernmental resources is the professional societies, somewhat similar to those in the United States in the urban field. These were not widespread, but there was talk in several countries of the need for professional societies to lend credibility locally to the urban field (for example, to build a planning or municipal management profession). An example of this kind of group is the Singapore Planning and Urban Research (SPUR) Group, a nongovernmental and sometimes maverick professional society.

In a class by themselves as a resource are the church councils and committees in Africa. The All Africa Council of Churches, a member of the World Council of Churches, has organized urban committees for Eastern, Western, and Southern Africa to emphasize the churches' role in urban affairs. Little is known about the work of these committees. However, the National Christian Council of Kenya has had an Urban Industrialization Project for

more than a decade. It has been concerned not only with the "humanization of industry" and communication between management and labor, but also with the workers' adjustment to urban life and the attendant problems. Increasingly this Project has had more to do with the urban poor; the estimate at the time of the field visit was 75% industrial problems and 25% problems of the urban poor. In addition, as was noted earlier, the Council has been involved heavily for many years in dealing with the monumental problems in Mathari Valley, Nairobi's largest squatter settlement.

Research. The intensity and variety of research on urban problems vary greatly from one country to another. Only in a very few countries does the existing body of research even approximate a rich resource (e.g., in Colombia, Brazil, and India). However, important urban research has been done in virtually every country surveyed. These bits and pieces have been done by institutions, universities, government agencies, individual scholars (both local and expatriate), consulting firms (both domestic and foreign), and by international organizations. Collectively, all of this information represents a substantial and almost totally unexploited resource.

In addition, over the past several years American, European, Japanese, and other scholars, foundations, and governmental agencies have begun to publish sizable volumes of research and writing on the problems of urban development in developing countries. A

number of very useful bibliographies have been developed and a modest quantity of books and monographs is now available.

The TA/UDS Urban Information Resource File contains a cross-section of various kinds of research and references in a number of languages. A great deal of the material has been annotated, cross-referenced, and systematized already. However, TA/UDS is dealing only with the proverbial tip of the iceberg. As was noted in an earlier section, the organization and distribution of information is an area of critical need and the volume of information, even in so relatively new a field as urban development, is impressive, to say the least.

Latin America, having the longest tradition of rapid urban growth, has been a fertile field for research. In Colombia considerable research has been done on migration patterns (particularly with respect to Bogota), factors in migration, cultural and social changes among migrants, economic mobility in cities by size class, quality of urban adjustment (e.g., social mobility), and population density patterns in Bogota.

Studies in Brazil have tended to be broader in scope and concerned with linkages between cities and their hinterland. Much of this research has been conducted by the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics which accounts for this particular focus. Examples included: the significance of administrative hierarchy for Brazilian cities; correlation between city growth and regionali-

zation; spread of innovations by cities; emergence of new socio-economic classes and technical groups within cities; origin and destination of migrants in Recife; and linkages within and between areas.

In addition, numerous studies of squatter communities have been done in these and other Latin American countries by both Latin American and North American scholars. In Panama, for example, a dissertation study by an American scholar indicated that housing was fifth on the squatter's priority list after food, health, education, and employment. In Lima, Peru, an American scholar has studied the economics of the barriadas and determined that the residents are not so poor as popularly believed. In Turkey and India research has been done on rural-urban migration (quite extensively in India). Also in India, research has been conducted on the process of metropolitanization (in cities of 50,000 - 250,000 population) and commercialization (in cities of 50,000 - 250,000 population), on crime and behavior patterns in cities, and on rural-urban fertility differentials.

Much less research has been done in Africa and Southeast Asia, although studies were underway in Thailand on squatter settlements and regional development and in Indonesia on the role of cities in regional and national development and on the status of recent migrants to Djakarta. Other studies have been undertaken on urban finance and urban population in Indonesia.

Respondents in Europe reported on a wide range of research on urban problems in developing countries. However, a great deal of European research has focused on building skills and techniques, including use of local methods and materials and application of modern technology. Despite few practical results, this seemingly overworked theme still is regarded as being important.

Seminars and conferences have been a popular means of sharing information in areas such as Latin America, Southeast Asia, and India and Turkey. Several landmark conferences and seminars have been held in Latin America and Asia and still are discussed and referenced. An example is the 1967 Pacific Conference on Urban Growth in Honolulu, an AID financed event. The Organization of American States (OAS) has used the conference and seminar techniques quite effectively and several respondents in Latin America cited the need for more regional conferences on urban development (particularly relevant for Latin America due to the common medium of Spanish).

However, in Africa conferences and seminars have been somewhat less popular. The principal complaint is that they are too academic. This complaint was registered also by some respondents in Africa and Asia about the prestigious Rehovot Conference on Urbanization and Development in Developing Countries which took place in Israel in August 1971.

National workshops on urban problems have been used, often with considerable success. Some of the national organizations already discussed, such as BKS-AKSI in Indonesia, IBAM and SERFHAU

in Brazil, have used the workshop/seminar medium effectively.

Other Donors. Only in recent years has the international aid agencies' attention been drawn to urban development. Hence, the contributions of external agencies in solving urban problems in developing countries have been occasional, scattered, and piecemeal. This is evident in the patterns observed in the field and from consulting with other donors during the course of this survey.

The United Nations Development Program (UNDP) has the greatest commitment in this area. In most countries visited there was a United Nations advisor or advisors to the local planning faculty, a master planning team, a regional planning field team, or some combination of these. Examples are the UNDP/IBRD Nairobi Urban Study by a multidisciplinary team, the regional planning-growth pole study in Northern Thailand, the long-range urban planning team in Singapore, and architectural design consultation with the Department of Planning and Fine Arts at ITB in Indonesia.

In addition, the United Nations is supporting regional training and research centers such as the U.N. Center for Regional Development at Chubu, Japan, the Latin American Institute for Economic and Social Planning in Santiago, Chile, and the major research project on regional development and growth poles by the United Nations Research Institute for Social Development in Geneva.

The IBRD is beginning to become more of an activist in this field. For example, an IBRD team is engaged in a major urban transport study in Bogota, Colombia; it is involved with the UNDP

in the regional planning project in Northern Thailand; it is making a loan to build a planned town for a sugar mill development up-country; and it has conducted a general and preliminary study of urbanization in Djakarta. However, the IBRD has yet to complete its internal analysis of a future role or policy in urban development, hence, its urban activities in the field remain limited in nature in contrast to its efforts in other fields.

The Ford Foundation, as already noted, is undergoing a similar internal study to define its future role in urban development. There is as yet little change in the Foundation's traditional and occasional involvement in this field -- namely, support to selected research projects, small pilot research projects, some institutional support (e.g., to IBAM and PUG in Brazil) and fellowships for training abroad. The one exception to this pattern is the Foundation's substantial ongoing involvement in the Calcutta Planning Project and the Calcutta Metropolitan Planning Organization. An additional and substantial multi-year grant was made in 1971.

One additional aspect of the Ford Foundation's role is the apparent interest of field staff in problems of urban development, perhaps stimulated by the Foundation's special International Urbanization Survey team. In any event, almost every Ford Office visited in the field had one or more staff members studying the process of urbanization or some aspect of it (e.g., law in Colombia, resource management and environmental problems in Thailand, and

finance in Indonesia). Hence, while a specific new policy is lacking, field interest is not.

The OAS has a relatively active program in Latin America in the urban field. Six regional urban development field teams are stationed permanently at various points throughout Latin America to service the region. The teams (composed primarily of planners, architects, lawyers, and economists) provide information to OAS in Washington, conduct surveys, and plan and implement OAS programs. The OAS has a threefold policy for technical assistance to urban development: promotion and development of national urban development strategies, assistance to local level metropolitan planning and administration, and overcoming bottlenecks in the construction industry, in that order of priority. Using their six regional field teams, the OAS is implementing this strategy through seminars and workshops, specific research, consultant services, training, and development of regional information centers (e.g., the new center in Bogota mentioned above). The OAS has a strong desire to collaborate with other donors in the urban development field.

Bilateral technical assistance is not of great consequence in urban development, with the exception of the United States in Latin America, Japan in Asia, and France and Great Britain in Africa. The United States is involved primarily in Housing Investment Guaranty and urban development loans (with a strong technical

assistance component) in Latin America. The Housing Investment Guaranty Loan program has begun to spread to other regions. The Peace Corps also has a substantial technical assistance involvement worldwide with more than 300 volunteers working in various aspects of municipal development.

Japan's current involvement is limited mainly to master plan development for specific urban infrastructure, (e.g., waterworks in Vietnam, Pakistan and Thailand, harbor surveys in Malaysia, Singapore, Pakistan, and Taiwan; an industrial complex in Surabaya, Indonesia; and a transportation survey in Iran). France and Great Britain are involved principally in town and regional planning in their former colonies.

Other countries involved in one or more projects are the Netherlands, Denmark, and Sweden (primarily housing research and training) and West Germany (city and regional planning and transportation studies).

This obviously incomplete inventory of nongovernmental resources indicates a favorable trend in resource development and use, increased research and publication, greater amounts of external assistance, and a substantial continuing need in the field of urban development. It is not a crowded arena.

Suggested Approaches and Resources

The very nature of the survey encouraged suggestions of what should be done. Suggestions tended to reflect the needs in a particular country although many were held in common in most of the countries visited. They were concerned with urban legislation, structure, planning, training, research, and information.

Urban legislation has been proposed or introduced formally in Colombia, Indonesia, Malaysia, Panama, and Thailand, among others. The passage of a city planning law is the aim in Thailand, while the Indonesians are seeking to define the city in developmental terms. The focus in Colombia and Panama is on reform: better urban land use and development and returning responsibilities to the municipalities, respectively. Innovation is sought in Malaysia in legislation which provides for planning across state boundaries. In every instance there are political, vested interest, and other obstacles to be overcome.

Structure. There were two proposals which dealt with structure. From many respondents came the suggestion to separate the housing and urban development functions in any organization or program. As was mentioned earlier, the experience almost invariably has been the domination by housing nearly to the point of excluding urban development whenever they have been in the same division, department, or ministry. The respondents did not wish to exclude housing as a factor in urban development; rather, they

wished to put it in better perspective in relation to other equally important factors.

A second and closely related proposal is the coordination and integration of the various aspects of urban development at and among different administrative and geographical levels. It was suggested that coordination and integration should be the focus at the national level. This did not mean centralization of authority and responsibilities. There should be sufficient authority at the national level to achieve the required coordination and integration; this should be combined with decentralization of responsibility and authority at the appropriate subnational levels in order to permit a more effective and efficient approach to urban problems.

Planning. It is understandable that most of the proposed approaches were concerned with planning. They ranged from the fairly straightforward and simple to the more complex. None of the approaches, however, can be implemented easily.

In the first category is the suggestion to review and revise master plans more frequently. Seen in more dynamic and conceptual terms, master plans would have this kind of monitoring mechanism built in. However, if master plans are seen as static, finished documents, then such periodic review and revision may be an inadequate approach to keeping them relevant and current.

There were many respondents who pointed to the heavy investment in capital and technical assistance projects, many of which impinge on urban development. There is little evidence that the implications for urban development have been considered in the planning, designing, or executing of these projects. Creating an awareness along these lines on the part of capital and technical assistance project planners was urged as an important approach.

As a means of overcoming too heavy a reliance on alien solutions and approaches, many of which are inappropriate in any event, a number of respondents advocated experimentation to create internally developed solutions which are more considerate of local conditions. For example, most planning encompasses a large administrative, geographical, or other area, and requires rather strict control over the tools and resources which are involved. Instead of using this approach, focus might be directed at achieving the maximum multiplier effect in a more limited area and experimenting with control over a more limited amount of tools and resources.

Other planning suggestions included the integration of economic, physical (spatial), and social planning, a national or regional approach (rather than town-by-town), and five-year operational plans with shorter-term aspects which are time-phased. The human approach to planning also was advocated, giving more

emphasis to the urban place as a social organism.

A somewhat different approach was proposed by several people, who would emphasize the multidimensional and experimental nature of effective planning for urban development. A three-phased approach was one such effort: gathering, organizing and analyzing data; operational, purposeful, and translatable experimentation; and implementation without compromise. Another multidimensional planning suggestion was a short-term crisis approach (to meet existing needs with existing resources) combined with a long-term production planning approach -- that is, redevelopment along with development.

Two other ideas are worthy of mention; both require testing. One is the ability of small towns to be "sponges"--that is, absorbing and releasing rural-urban migrants as needed. The other is to use study teams to make quick appraisals in order to acquire at least a superficial awareness and perception. Action programs would be started as a result of these findings while a more in-depth study is completed. This is called a confrontation approach, in contrast to the usual commission approach of long-term study before recommendations are made and anything is done.

The idea of incorporating a training component in every development project was advanced by a number of respondents. This was encouraged especially, but not exclusively, for external assistance projects, and was seen as providing a growing residual of local know-how and skill.

A more fundamental change was proposed in several countries -- namely, a reorganization of the nations' educational systems. This drastic step was viewed as being essential to rationalizing heavy expenditures on education with the nations' manpower and development needs and to producing marketable and usable skills.

Research proposals were surprisingly few. Perhaps this is a result of a problem which has been discussed -- the thin layer of professionally competent urban specialists in most developing countries. These specialists often are too over-burdened to be able to focus on ~~immediate~~ problems or to develop a framework for research priorities.

Support for research in policy areas was encouraged by several respondents who felt that policy was a much neglected aspect of urban development. Many respondents stressed support for research by developing country urban specialists in their own countries. Not only would this reduce the alleged "exploitation by ~~external~~ researchers," but also it would help local specialists to become involved in addressing local urban development problems. Having been trained overseas, generally speaking, local specialists can be assisted greatly by opportunities of this kind for reorientation and identification, as well as service.

Information. In all of the countries visited, there was an expressed need for more information on research, case studies, technological breakthroughs, and experience in urban development.

A number of proposals related to developing some kind of mechanism for a regular and effective exchange of this kind of information.

Two proposals from Latin America are indicative of the scope of what has been suggested. One proposal called for the creation of an inter-institutional service among academic, governmental, and private institutions. The aims: coordination, communication, and information. Another proposal would develop a research, training, technical assistance service, and information center, in order to relate the resources of a university to the needs of municipal government.

Some of these ideas are not yet official proposals. Others have been offered for discussion and action. Still others are being implemented in a number of countries. The dedication, thought, and creative effort on the part of a growing number of urbanologists in developing countries are hopeful signs for the future.

SUGGESTED TYPES OF TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE FOR URBAN DEVELOPMENT

The task force assignment of the Urban Development Staff was couched in terms of helping to develop a basis for a policy determination. Even though the mandate was a broad one, certain Agency constraints were clear from the outset. Assistance to urban development, if any, would be limited. The assistance should be targeted for appropriateness, significance, and impact. In addition, any assistance should support new, innovative, solution-seeking efforts.

The Urban Development Staff was aware also of certain resource constraints before undertaking the field survey and as a result of panel and other consultations in the United States. There were (and are) limitations also on U.S. training capabilities and capacities. On the other hand, certain U.S. resource capabilities were known. These were identified as special competence in research, policy development, systems analysis, training techniques, and management.

Given the breadth of the mandate and of urban development itself and the resource parameters, it was essential to specify the kinds of technical assistance which could fulfill the requirements. This, then, was the third area of questioning during the survey — that is, the role of external technical assistance in helping developing countries address the problems of rapid urban growth.

The survey represented a more diagnostic and less prescriptive approach than has been customary. The lack of substantial domestic success in urban development suggested that the approach include large amounts of caution and humility. In a more positive sense, the Urban Development Staff recognized a potential for mutuality in this field and sought consciously to enhance its realization.

The reactions were surprising and preponderantly positive. Not only is there a need for external aid, but also that need is recognized. In fact, there is a genuine interest in outside technical assistance to aid urban development efforts. Foreign aid and foreign aid personnel are still welcome in the countries visited; in some, to assist at very high levels of government. Nevertheless, the positive reactions did not cause the respondents to make excessive requests or suggestions. None of the respondents had a "shopping list." While there was genuine interest in foreign aid, most responses were distinguished by their great selectivity and specificity.

Some respondents, however, resisted the idea of foreign assistance for urban development. Theirs was a minority reaction. The most frequent objection was to tied aid, which was discussed earlier in the "problems" section. Mention was made of what one respondent described as "selective isolationism." This was manifested by respondents in several countries who reported that external advice no longer is desired.

The few objections to American aid focused on shortcomings in its approach and content, rather than on its purpose or origin. The alleged penchant for studies was criticized, as was the inappropriateness of oversophisticated advice and advisors who lacked relevant experience. Perhaps the strongest objection, in terms of conviction, not frequency, was that the American approach created "American stooges" of people. This was expressed most strongly in Turkey and India. The allegation was that in American aid people are sought first in recipient countries, then institutions, and finally ideas. The respondents felt that assistance officials should look for ideas first, then institutions, and finally people.

It is noteworthy that several respondents based their objection to foreign aid on the fact that it was seen as an "easy out" and a diversion for a country's leaders in facing the nation's critical issues and problems. Their conclusion was that there should be no aid unless certain fundamental corrective policies and measures had been taken by recipient governments. Respondents in India, Kenya, Nigeria, and Thailand felt strongly about this.

The nature of the inquiry into a role for external technical assistance -- indeed, the very posing of the question -- was seen as an encouraging sign by the respondents. Little skepticism was expressed. Most of the respondents were pleasantly surprised with the more diagnostic approach and were pleased that their opinions

were invited in advance of a policy or program decision. As a result they were responsive, generous, and extremely helpful. There was a general appreciation of professional competence in urban development in the United States. The respondents were aware of pitfalls and errors in past American foreign aid; they recognized also its significant contributions.

### General Suggestions

Three approaches to technical assistance should be avoided, according to the respondents—namely, the "crisis" approach, the "casual, one-project" approach, and "packaged deals." The crisis approach was felt to be counterproductive to urban development. A similar objection was made to the one-project approach. Lacking a more comprehensive framework or context, these approaches often failed to produce lasting results. A more holistic and interdisciplinary approach was urged. At the same time, packaged assistance programs especially of the institution-to-institution variety, were opposed. A closely monitored consortium was preferred.

Closely related to the foregoing is the matter of the team approach versus the individual approach in providing technical assistance. There was opposition to technical assistance teams which "descend" on a host country, do a creditable technical job, but fail to relate to or involve local people sufficiently for more lasting results. In such instances, a preference was stated for individual experts who would be members of local teams.

One difficulty is that of recruiting and assembling teams of specialists, who admittedly are in short supply. On the other hand there were reports that individual experts often felt isolated and sometimes misused. No one opinion prevailed, although strong preferences were noted on a country by country basis.

Some caution was expressed that comprehensive planning may be premature in a number of countries because of the financial and manpower shortages. While the concept was supported universally, it was the ability to implement it which was questioned. This situations, among others, prompted the suggestion in Africa, Latin America, and Southeast Asia that intermediate technologies be developed in order to achieve as comprehensive an approach as possible in circumstances of admitted limited resources.

Many respondents urged the Urban Development Staff to help the Agency look at the urban development implications of other A.I.D. programs. Capital assistance programs were mentioned most frequently in this regard.

Data, Information, and Research

The dearth of data and information and the lack of research for policy and planning purposes were noted in all of the countries visited. However, requests for technical assistance to overcome these deficiencies varied considerably by region and by country.

The countries in Southeast Asia expressed the most interest in external aid for data collection and use. Assistance was suggested for the following activities: analysis and use of existing data, development of new data sources and new data, and development of a data base for policy and planning.

A desire for books and publications was expressed in all of the countries visited. In several instances the need for this kind of information was stated in terms of creating a library of urban development materials. Equally universal was the suggestion to sponsor more conferences and seminars as important means of exchanging information and experience. The stress was as much on domestic gatherings in some countries as on international meetings. Related to this was the suggestion that external assistance help to facilitate communications between developing countries and within regions. The opinion was expressed that bilateral linkages and channels of communication often were stronger between developing and developed countries than between neighboring developing countries.

Another form of information which technical assistance could enhance is the preparation of case studies and comparative analyses. There is rich experience which should be shared within countries as well as among countries.

In addition to facilitating the foregoing, external assistance would be valuable in establishing a distribution and exchange mechanism for information. This mechanism would guarantee a better two-way flow between donor and recipient countries, as well as contribute to the sharing and exchange mentioned above.

Closely related to the role of external assistance in data collection and information exchange are the suggestions of ways in which it can enhance research in urban development. In a word, respondents requested assistance with basic, articulated, operational, policy- and problem-oriented, interdisciplinary research in urban development, including an analysis of the results. While there were a few specific requests for assistance with design and methodology, the bulk of the suggestions were related to support for local research and researchers and the mobilization of local research talent and skills. Fellowships, support grants, and supporting libraries were some of the specific types of assistance mentioned. Support for thesis or dissertation research "at home" by locals who are doing graduate work overseas was one of the most noteworthy suggestions.

Foreign senior research experts were seen to have a role in all of this as members, not leaders, of local research teams and endeavors.

Subject-matter areas in which respondents indicated further research is needed include the following (not in order of importance or frequency of suggestion): social-cultural studies, migration, and marginal groups; squatter settlements, old towns, and new towns; economics of urbanization, cost curves by city size, pricing system as a tool, impact of capital investment, and impact of leverage institutions; primacy in national development, urbanization in economic development, requisites for local urban development, policy issues, comparative studies, and labor-intensive technology and approaches.

### Manpower and Training

The frequent references to the dearth of skilled manpower in the earlier sections presaged a possible role for foreign aid in the provision of needed manpower and training. All of the countries visited share a need and a desire for external technical and professional expertise and experience. In every instance the stress was on excellence plus relevance (in terms of the qualifications of the foreign expert), on his working with local people, and on the foreign expert's becoming genuinely involved, rather than "doing his own thing" and confining himself to arm's length advice and report writing.

Various kinds of manpower assistance were suggested. Senior expertise of advisors and operators was requested in countries in every region: in policy (in Africa and Southeast Asia); in policy and program implementation (in Near East and South Asia); in training (in Africa and Near East and South Asia); and in the transfer of technology (in Latin America). Intermediate level specialists, in fields such as computer science, land use planning, and transportation, were desired as operators in some of the Latin American and Southeast Asian countries.

The greatest manpower shortage remains at the municipal and local levels. Foreign advisors and technicians apparently would be welcome as members of local teams (for example, in Brazil,

Colombia, Ivory Coast, Kenya, and Turkey in municipal administration and management, relevant technical fields, and monitoring and evaluating overall performance.) Volunteers under Peace Corps and other auspices have been used with mixed results as operators in technical and administrative areas at the local level in Kenya, Malaysia, Morocco, and Panama, among other places.

Other suggestions for ways of using foreign expertise are as follows: in teams rather than as individual advisors (in Latin America); as short-term advisors at the policy level (in Southeast Asia); as long-term operators to fill gaps in skills and to help plan, design, and implement a locally developed plan or program (in Africa and Southeast Asia).

Some of the subject-matter areas in which external manpower assistance is desired are as follows: architecture, landscape design, engineering, transportation, urban and regional planning, settlement and development schemes, urban economics, and urban sociology; also municipal administration and management, surveying, building methods and materials, training; and policy planning, program analysis, legislation, mobilization of savings, and urban community development.

Technical assistance was suggested for improving and developing and taking advantage of domestic and overseas training opportunities

and resources. Training needs and requests were ubiquitous and include training for local technicians and senior personnel as well as for legislators and administrators. On-site, on-the-job, in-service, technical, and professional training were mentioned; in Southeast Asia especially, the suggestions for training specified that it be academic and practical, specialized and multidisciplinary. While several kinds of technical assistance were mentioned in Africa and Southeast Asia, only scholarships and study and travel grants were stressed in Latin America and Near East and South Asia.

For the domestic scene, external assistance was desired for seminars (in Southeast Asia), tours (in Near East and South Asia), special courses (in Africa and Near East and South Asia), and local training institutions (in Latin America, Africa, Near East and South Asia).

The kinds of overseas training opportunities which were sought through external assistance were equally varied. They included: participation in ongoing projects and special research projects; study tours overseas with follow-up seminars "at home"; study in selected fields (e.g., urban social sciences, environmental management, metropolitan administration, and regional development). Were such opportunities made available, then several of the countries

in Southeast Asia, for example, would want replacements ad interim for key personnel who might be affected.

In Latin America the suggestion was made for foreign aid to facilitate visiting professors going in both directions between developing and developed countries. The need to strengthen U.S. training institutions, which was stressed during the series of consultations in the United States, was mentioned also by some respondents during the field visits.

The fields in which additional training could be assisted by external aid are as follows: urban law, urban economics, urban sociology, municipal finance, urban and regional planning, environmental management, transportation planning, and systems analysis.

### Tools and Techniques

A number of the suggestions for external assistance have been grouped under this rubric. They are concerned with planning, implementation, technology, and loans and grants. Generally speaking, these suggestions were made in only one or a few countries and often only in one region.

Some requests for assistance in planning were specific—for example, in land use analysis and planning (in Southeast Asia) and developing national urban strategies (in Latin America and Southeast Asia). Others were directed to improving the quality or focus of planning efforts, such as getting more flexibility in the planning and implementing process and looking at the urban development implications of capital and technical assistance projects.

Almost diametrically opposite suggestions for technical assistance were made in two regions. There was concern in Southeast Asia that financial, skilled manpower, or other constraints would prevent the undertaking of a comprehensive planning exercise. Consequently, several countries opted for assistance in making selective, strategic inputs rather than plans. On the other hand, respondents in Africa expressed a desire for aid to do comprehensive and integrated planning to include linkages between sectors, coordination of the various sectors, and a recognition of the role of urban development in national development.

External assistance frequently was requested for pilot projects. Such projects often were viewed as the means by which broad-gauged planning approaches might be introduced and tested. In countries of Africa, Near East and South Asia, and Southeast Asia interest in pilot projects was especially strong.

At a somewhat more basic level were suggestions in Africa and Southeast Asia for external aid to focus on improving and developing communication and planning linkages between administrative layers and among administrators, politicians, and professional and technical personnel. The implied needs exist also in countries in the other regions. A number of African respondents stressed the critical importance of foreign aid in helping decision-makers (political leaders and administrators) develop an awareness of the scope and severity of urban problems, the complexity of the process of urbanization, and the intricacies of the city as a system and as an organism. In a similar vein, respondents in Near East and South Asia and in Southeast Asia sought assistance to improve the decision-making process—more specifically, increasing the understanding of the assumptions, alternatives, tradeoffs, and planning inputs.

Somewhat more pragmatic was the request in Latin America and Southeast Asia for technical assistance in finding the doable and bankable projects in urban development.

Mention was made earlier of the need for the development, transfer, and adaptation of technology to deal with the problems of rapid urbanization, including alternatives to the automobile. The dearth of trained manpower at the local level is one aspect of the problem; another is the inability of the overextended trained personnel at the national level to stretch themselves to adapt planning skills and techniques to local conditions and resources. In order to meet this serious problem, it was felt that external assistance could help develop intermediate technologies for urban and regional planning which could be used more effectively at the local level.

Foreign aid was suggested for standardizing measures of urbanization and urban development, including the creation of non-economic measures. From Latin America came the notion of using external assistance to transfer technology via the private sector.

Another kind of tools and techniques is represented by loans and grants. There were several suggestions of how external assistance loans and grants could be applied; with two or three exceptions, they came from India. The exceptions were: loans and grants to be used as seed money for creating revolving loan funds

for housing and related infrastructure (in Africa), loans to state development corporations (in Southeast Asia), and grants and loans to purchase equipment and materials for infrastructural and capital development projects (in Turkey, as well as India).

Foreign aid loans and grants were sought also for the following kinds of projects: purchasing equipment and providing study grants for institutional development; demonstrating laboratory-tested technology; experimenting to develop affordable minimum standards of infrastructure, etc.; and developing "spiraling action" (multiplier) projects such as industrialized homes and modern garbage disposal systems.

### Other Types

A few suggestions for technical assistance, principally from African respondents, were concerned with housing and related infrastructure. Aid was sought for self-help approaches (e.g., site and services schemes, core housing, roof schemes), development and use of low-cost construction materials, small-scale industry to produce parts for home building, and industrialized building systems.

From Africa, Latin America, and Southeast Asia came variations on the idea of developing a multipurpose, multidisciplinary urban center. Such a facility could be used to meet the need for training, information, research, and service. An inter-institutional institute was proposed to Cali, Colombia, for relating university resources to municipal needs and problems. Another example was the proposed Institute of Urban Studies in Chulalongkorn University in Bangkok, Thailand, which was expected to follow the pattern of the existing Institute of Population Studies. In Nigeria, there was reluctance to have such an institute tied too closely either to a university or some branch of government. At the same time, it would need the sanction of a university for acceptance of its professional and technical competence and the recognition of governmental bodies, in order that its products and its efforts would be used. A workable compromise had not yet been found.

A substantial amount of external assistance for urban development is being received already in most of the countries visited and it is evident that more is needed. The respondents offered several suggestions about appropriate approaches and revealed what seemed to be a healthy balance between a recognition of the potential strengths and possible shortcomings of foreign assistance. They neither rejected it out of hand, nor embraced it wholesale.

SUMMARY OF THE FINDINGS

The Urban Development Staff of the Bureau for Technical Assistance (TA/UDS) was given a broad mandate in September 1970 to help determine what, if anything, the Agency can and should do to assist developing countries in addressing their problems of rapid urban growth. The mandate was a result of a number of factors, not the least of which were the population explosion, an increased concern for the environment, a growing recognition of the universal phenomenon of urban growth fostered greatly by the domestic urban crisis, widespread disenchantment with gross national product (GNP) as the key indicator of development, and the Agency's continuing search for ways of improving the quality of its technical assistance effort and selection of the required resources.

The Urban Development Staff has been able to carry out its assignment in a very favorable climate which was created by the new "key problem" exercise of the Bureau for Technical Assistance, the lack of inherited programs and projects, the absence of prescribed guidelines, and a small staff representing several relevant disciplines. In addition, the forces at work which helped the agency focus on urban development were influential elsewhere also, thus making possible a readiness, receptivity, and response on the part of those "out there" who were consulted.

Four questions have been at the heart of this inquiry into urbanization and rapid urban growth in developing countries. They are: How is urban development perceived? What are the problems of urban development? Who is doing what about those problems and with what resources? Is there a role for external assistance in helping to address those problems? Answers to these questions were provided by the more than 300 experts, administrators, and political leaders who were consulted in this country and overseas, visits to more than a score of countries in nearly all geographical regions, attendance at a number of major national, regional, and international conferences and seminars, and access to the literature.

The results of the inquiry and the analysis and review of the findings provide the basis for the options and recommendations in the final sections of this monograph.

### Perceptions and Problems

Role of the city in regional and national development. The notion that the city plays a positive and causal role in regional and national development was reinforced repeatedly during the various phases of the TA/UDS study. While espousal of this view was not unanimous, there clearly was a consensus.

There are ample examples of national and regional policies which harness the developmental powers of the city. In some countries (e.g., Malaysia, Colombia, and Israel) these policies are explicit. In others, they are more implicit such as the growth policies applied to Brazil's Northeast. Despite this positive evidence, the relationships between urban and national development often are misunderstood. This is an area requiring much more information at all levels -- most critically at leadership levels.

The focus of the inquiry was not the city per se. The concern was more with the functioning of the city and its linkages to overall national development. The city was seen as absorbing, organizing, and employing resources which improved conditions within the city and enhanced the city's developmental impact on its regional or national hinterland. The city was seen also as producing outputs for development and modernization as detailed on pages 10-11ff. in this monograph. Within this developmental context, certain problems, linkages, and points of intervention emerged.

There were two distinct, interacting categories of problems -- namely, problems of the condition and functioning of the urban environment and problems of the system of inputs for national urban development.

Of the first category of problems, the most fundamental was the ubiquitous problem of rapid urban growth which has causal linkages with other components of the urban system. For instance, both migration and natural population increase can be influenced by urban living conditions and programs for the decentralization of urban growth. At the same time rapid urban population growth can intensify the other problems of the urban environment. The most significant of these problems were identified as attitudes and perceptions of recent arrivals, employment, housing, infrastructural facilities and services, and pollution. (Interestingly, pollution was perceived for the most part in terms of physical environment rather than in the more comprehensive sense of the quality of life. Pollution is not the burning issue in developing countries that it has become in the more advanced countries.)

Most of these problems are acute, particularly in the larger cities. The problems have developed at such a rate and on such a scale that they are out of reach of existing resources and quick and easy short-run solutions. This is true especially of such problems as urban unemployment and the inadequacies in urban housing and infrastructure.

It is possible, however, to guide and influence developments in order to avoid making matters worse and to help overtake these problems in the long run. It is also possible to heighten the impact of cities on national development by such actions, particularly if leaders and urban specialists take cognizance of the linkages that exist.

This is at the heart of the second category of problems: problems of the system of inputs for national urban development. There are nine major inputs: (1) perception and leadership, (2) national urban development policy, (3) legal framework, (4) institutions, (5) manpower, (6) information (including research), (7) planning, (8) financial resources, and (9) administrative capacity. These inputs were not volunteered in a single interview or consultation. They emerged as an interlocking system of inputs from a series of discussions that ranged vertically and horizontally throughout the urban development complex of many countries.

These inputs emerged as problems for several reasons: they had internal weaknesses or inadequacies, they acted as constraints on one another, they were absent altogether, or they were not comprehended as a system with appropriate requirements for integration, coordination, and linkages. The system of inputs must be comprehended and consciously orchestrated through policies and programs for the complementary development of the urban and national environment.

The analysis of the findings revealed a hierarchy of linkages between inputs. Some of these resources are greater constraints within the system than others, creating bottlenecks in the urban development process. For example, perception and leadership, manpower, information, and institutions are critical determinants in most of the other inputs. Perception and leadership is the most serious of these bottlenecks, functioning as a critical determinant in six of the the remaining eight inputs and having a strong complementary role in the functioning of the other two. The greatest benefit to the whole system of inputs can be achieved by addressing weaknesses that persist within these serious bottleneck areas.

Some are enabling inputs which are heavily dependent on or constrained by the other inputs. Planning is the most conspicuous example. All of the eight other inputs enter directly into the planning equation. Other examples are financial resources, institutions, and administrative capacity.

The system of inputs which emerged from the series of consultations suggests that piecemeal or narrowly conceived approaches to urban development will be much less effective than approaches that reflect serious consideration of the system and its linkages and interdependencies. Another implication has to do with the hierarchy of relationships among inputs -- it is not merely a

case of everything being related to everything else. It is possible to assign a sequence of priorities in addressing the problems of urban development on the input side.

The third implication is that an indirect approach, requiring concentration on the system of inputs, is the most effective in dealing with the problems of the urban environment and its relationships to the national environment.

Finally, the existence of a system of national urban development underscores the importance of coordination and integration of developmental efforts.

### Approaches and Resources

Resources for Urban Development. The resources and approaches described in earlier sections articulate a range of alternatives which are being applied to the solution of problems of the urban environment and to the creation of an urban development system that links urban with national development. Nevertheless, for any given country they help define the mix and level of inputs in the urban development system and as such reveal possible points of intervention.

Among the traditional sectoral approaches there is evidence in isolated cases of increasing concern for linkages as between housing development and socio-economic functioning of people, between satellite city and parent city, and between new towns and existing cities. Regardless of their many shortcomings, traditional sectoral approaches have been highly instructive and in most countries provide the base on which more holistic approaches can develop.

Examples were found of planning approaches at the local, area, regional, and national levels which indicate how highly dependent planning is on the other inputs in the system. Particularly promising are multidisciplinary approaches to metropolitan, area, and regional planning in which the roles and functions of the cities in regional and national development are perceived. Complementing these are a variety of special and experimental solutions such as tax incentives and borrowed western approaches.

A progression of government approaches and resources can be described, the most comprehensive of which place considerable emphasis on integration and coordination of resources for urban development. At all levels of government -- city, area, regional, and national -- there are instances in which linkages in the urban development system are being seen, developed, or exploited. Rural-urban linkages are just one example.

Nongovernmental resources were found to play a critical and complementary role despite the very heavy responsibilities of government in urban development. It is a role which is grossly underexploited; there is room for much greater involvement.

Nongovernmental institutions such as universities, foundations, professional societies, and private institutions operate almost exclusively in addressing manpower and information deficiencies through a number of media. Manpower is developed through training of all kinds. Information is developed, organized, and disseminated through research, studies, publications, seminars, workshops, and conferences.

Nongovernmental organizations also play a vital technical assistance role, their most significant inputs being in the areas of manpower and information.

Manpower and information also typify the technical assistance inputs of external assistance agencies, all of which provide technical, research, and training services in urban development. The international organizations and to a lesser extent the bilateral

agencies and foundations sponsor seminars and conferences. More recently the United Nations and the Organization of American States (OAS) have initiated regional centers -- the UN Regional Development Center at Nagoya, Japan, and the OAS Inter-American Urban Development Information Service in Bogota, Colombia. (See further, the Appendix. )

With the exception of the OAS and its deliberate policy ~~frame~~ for urban development assistance, most of the external assistance efforts are piecemeal. Major aid donors have not yet enunciated coherent policies in this important area, although currently urban development policy analyses are underway in the IBRD and the Ford Foundation as well as in A.I.D.

### External Assistance

A significant effort to address the serious problems of urban development is underway in most of the countries visited. The survey revealed also the need and potential for doing more. The suggestions of how external assistance could help meet this challenge focused on the problem areas, bottlenecks, and constraints which had been delineated earlier. The conclusion was that external assistance should be directed toward manpower and training, and data, information, and research.

Two kinds of information are needed and at least on three levels. More adequate data and information are needed about the nature, scope, and complexity of the urban problems locally and nationally. Concurrently there is a need to know how others are dealing or have dealt with similar problems and to learn from their experience. Both kinds of information are required by policy and decision makers as well as administrators and technicians who are responsible for implementing policy decisions. Thus, external assistance which facilitates the collection and use of data, the development of an information exchange mechanism, and the preparation of case studies and comparative analyses would help to relieve the information constraint and overcome the perception and leadership bottleneck.

In addition, there is a need for more and better research in order to have a greater understanding of how the urban environment functions and what its role is in national development. While

foreign expertise in the form of senior advisors and intermediate level professionals and technicians is required, the findings stressed the importance of foreign specialists' being members of local teams, supporting local research efforts, mobilizing local research skills and other resources, and training local people.

The genuine involvement and commitment locally of foreign professional and technical specialists and their working with local people were also the major emphases in the suggestions about manpower and training. Equally important were excellence and relevant experience as criteria for selecting foreign specialists. The shortage of skilled manpower, critical at all levels and acute at the municipal and local levels of government, pointed to the need for external assistance to provide a range of manpower. This kind of assistance would help overcome not only the lack of such enabling components as planning and administrative capacity in the urban environment but also the need for experienced guidance and counsel in the development of policy, the drafting of legislation, and the creation of institutions, among others.

While the provision of manpower is an immediate and short-term approach to the need, the strengthening and development of training opportunities and capabilities are essential complementary efforts. Local training was emphasized but not to the exclusion of training overseas. A range of training was proposed -- on-site,

on-the-job, in-service, technical, and professional -- to meet the varied manpower requirements for urban development. There was insistence that training should be an explicit component of every project and especially of every external assistance project. The suggestions for training extended from domestic and foreign information tours and conferences for legislators and other policy makers through graduate professional training for senior administrators and technical staff to on-site training for illiterate, unskilled laborers with appropriate training for urban development personnel at intervening levels of responsibility.

The tools and techniques which external aid should enhance included help with formulating national strategies, developing better communication and coordination mechanisms between administrative levels, creating intermediate technology in planning and other essential fields for the use of less highly trained urban development personnel, and establishing national or regional multidisciplinary urban centers to provide information, training, research, and technical assistance services. Pilot projects were suggested as a means of helping to overcome the serious and universal problem of implementation.

The experience has been so mixed in the countries visited that there was no consensus or prevailing view as regards the team approach versus the individual approach to providing external assistance. This was true also of the appropriateness of assistance with comprehensive planning. While some countries sought it, others felt that this kind of assistance would be premature and

unfeasible under the circumstances. Opinion was nearly unanimous, however, that three approaches to external aid for urban development should be avoided: (1) the crisis-response approach because it is counterproductive, (2) the casual, one-project approach which tends to ignore the developmental linkages, and (3) packaged programs of the institution-to-institution variety because of the seemingly inevitable domination by the external institution.

One characteristic pervaded all of the suggestions for external assistance -- pragmatism. The concern was directed to the tasks at hand and how to carry them out more effectively. There was considerable awareness, especially on the part of those who have sought (often quite successfully) to deal with the complex problems of urban development, that no quick and ready-made solutions exist. Many of them also had had experience with external aid and were realistic about the nature and extent of its contributions. Consequently, their suggestions were directed toward defined problem areas, bottlenecks, and constraints including substantive research efforts. In this context external aid was viewed as contributing to existing efforts and making possible breakthroughs and other new approaches.

The nature and amount of future external assistance for urban development are being considered almost concurrently by several major aid donors, including the Agency for International Development. Decisions on policies and programs are pending. As was noted earlier, past and current efforts of the various donors have been and are piecemeal, sectoral, and inadequate. This characterization fits also the efforts of the United Nations, which has been

the most committed among the donors in this field. An exception would be the recent effort to use a more comprehensive approach to assistance for urban development by the Organization of American States (OAS). An important guideline to future programming would seem to be to seek complementarity with other aid donors.

### Conclusion

The survey has provided a better understanding of the perceptions and problems of urban development in developing countries, knowledge of existing approaches and resources some of which are being used to address those problems, and an awareness of the kind of external assistance which is needed and desired.

On the basis of the foregoing, the Urban Development Staff draws the following conclusions:

1. Urbanization is proceeding at unprecedented rates in the developing countries where it is regarded as being inevitable and a natural concomitant of modernization and development.
2. There are serious problems in the urban sector.
3. The problems are critical for two reasons at least:
  - a. they impair the living conditions in and the functioning of the urban environment, and
  - b. they impede the contribution of the urban environment to overall national development.
4. Urban problems may be placed in two basic categories: problems of the living condition and functioning of the urban environment and problems of the system of inputs for national urban development.
5. Urban problems are multidimensional with hierarchical and interdependent linkages that provide for an assessment of priorities.

6. A multifaceted and multidisciplinary effort, therefore, is required to address these problems. It should take into consideration the urban environment, the national environment of which it is a part, and the intervening linkages.
7. Much is being done already in developed and developing countries to deal with urban problems at the level of the urban environment and the national environment and concern is growing. However, little is being done to address the problems of linkages. What is being done is encouraging, hopeful, and instructive.
8. Many individual and institutional resources exist in developed and other countries that could be applied usefully to urban development problems. None is being exploited fully.
9. More help is needed and desired in order to improve and build on existing efforts, replicate successful approaches, and develop new approaches. There are specific points of intervention at which additional assistance can be applied on a priority basis.
10. The concurrent efforts by a number of international donor agencies to reassess existing efforts and develop suitable policies for addressing problems of urban development provide a rare opportunity for increased collaboration and complementarity in providing external assistance for urban development.

11. The state of the art of urban development is nascent worldwide. This makes possible ~~mutual~~ solution-seeking efforts to address similar problems in developing and more advanced countries. It also suggests the potential for innovative research and development efforts in close cooperation with other organizations operating in this field.

**SUGGESTED OPTIONS FOR AGENCY ACTION**

## RECOMMENDATIONS

## **APPENDICES**



SUGGESTED OPTIONS FOR AGENCY ACTION

Nearly thirty urban specialists in the United States were convened by the Urban Development Staff (TA/UDS) in June 1972 to review the TA/UDS monograph, FOCUS ON URBAN DEVELOPMENT..., in the incomplete form in which it had been issued in April 1972 -- that is, without the sections on options and recommendations. Based on their advice and conclusions, TA/UDS prepared the following options for Agency action in urban development.

Five options are outlined, ranging from zero option to high option, and the advantages, disadvantages, and possible program content of each option are indicated. It will be noted that each succeeding option incorporates the previous one(s).

Zero Option

This is in fact no option at all. AID already is involved in urban development. The past and present investments have had an impact on urban development. In the allocation of resources on a sector-by-sector basis, patterns and directions of future development often have been set unintentionally. By selecting this option, the Agency would have decided not to make a more focused and concerted effort to address the problems of rapid urban growth.

Advantages. This option requires no changes in current Agency programming. It does not stimulate additional demands from developing countries.

Disadvantages. This option provides little or no knowledge of the impact of Agency investments on urban development. It permits directions and patterns of development to be set which will be difficult and/or costly to change later. It fails to take an integrated approach to priority development problems. It ignores current thinking and efforts in developing countries and in other international assistance agencies.

Program Content. It would be business as usual in the Agency.

#### Minimal Option

A second level of activity would involve an assessment of AID experience, seeking to learn the effects on urban development of Agency programming and to develop or modify investment guidelines in keeping with the results of that assessment. TA/UDS would continue to provide the backstopping type of service to other units in AID by mobilizing and organizing the resources required. The choice of this option would maintain an internal focus with little or no outreach.

Advantages. This option recognizes the possibility of an impact of Agency programming on urban development and could lead to a better allocation of AID resources. It would limit demands on AID/W and USAIDs at a time of reorganization and retrenchment. This would be token recognition that more attention may need to be directed to current worldwide thinking about urban development, and would provide

a foot-in-the-door for possible inclusion of urban development considerations in AID programming.

Disadvantages. Because of a lack of AID commitment, this small effort would have little influence and probably would be ignored in Agency programming. Developmental opportunities would be missed because AID would be insensitive to new directions in the developing countries. Opportunities also would be lost for cooperation and collaboration with other donor agencies. The feedback of experience relevant to developmental and domestic concerns would be limited.

Program Content. Research to assess effects of Agency programming on urban development, backstopping service to units in AID and organization of resources to provide backstopping service would be the principal program activities.

#### Low Option

The low option commits the Agency to respond more significantly to the needs and opportunities in urban development. Revised investment guidelines would be adopted which would incorporate urban development considerations. U.S. experience in urban development would be catalogued for possible appropriate adaptation of suitable approaches in developing countries. Research into the state-of-the-art in intermediate technologies would seek to discover promising approaches and useful resources. Informal efforts would be made to begin to build a network of information among U.S. and international contacts, and opportunities to contribute to efforts of other donors which are consistent with Agency program emphases would be sought.

Advantages. The adoption of this option would add an outreach to the Agency's urban development program, permitting a broadening of the base of information and of the point of contact. It would help the Agency discover opportunities to meet such articulated needs as information diffusion -- e.g., the sharing of experience, adding to accumulated wisdom, building a basis for possible breakthroughs. Joining other donors in selected efforts would provide a low-cost, low-risk opportunity for the Agency to gain further knowledge and experience in this field.

Disadvantages. This option would require changes in AID programming and would make increased demands on resources (staff, etc.). It would generate increased anticipation of AID's response capability in urban development, and would expose the Agency to potential administrative and financial difficulties in developing collaborative efforts with other donors. This option also would fail to exploit fully opportunities for innovation since it would deal primarily in information and would not develop an institutional response capability in the U.S.A.

Program Content. In addition to the program content in the foregoing options, there would be research to catalogue U.S. experience in urban development which may be relevant for developing countries and a seminar to disseminate the results of the cataloguing research.

There also would be research to explore intermediate technologies and collaborative research projects with other international assistance agencies.

#### Medium Option

At this level of activity AID's commitment to urban development becomes highly visible. The revised investment guidelines are applied to and demonstrated in Agency programming, and opportunities are sought to disseminate and apply the results of the research into intermediate technologies. The Agency would help to create a network of information, research, and curriculum planning. This would include the establishment and/or strengthening of regionally-based international centers, as well as developing response capability in the U.S.A.

Advantages. This option would strengthen Agency participation in collaborative efforts and in the allocation of resources for urban development. Institutions in developing countries would be involved more extensively and substantively. This option would permit the institutionalizing of a network of resources for generating and sharing information and experience, and would permit also the building of that information and experience into domestic and international programming. Substantial additions would be made to the state-of-the-art, including also applied approaches and skills.

Disadvantages. The option would require AID to make a long-term commitment to urban development. It would increase the demands on central AID/W, regional bureau, and USAID mission resources -- i.e., staff, programming, finance, and other resources.

Program Content. A Bellagio-type conference to create a network of urban development resources would be added to the program content in the foregoing options. A workshop to develop a U.S.-based consortium of institutions for urban development and mini-grants for research also would be included.

#### High Option

This would represent the high level of Agency activity in urban development. The focus would be on assisting local effort to develop the capability of delivering a minimum level of services to the urban environment and national efforts to assess the impact of its investment and policies on urban development. Through the international urban development network and especially as an outreach of the regionally-based international centers, support would be given to local, national, and regional efforts to address urban problems by an expansion and mobilization of information, research, and manpower development activities.

Advantages. This option would strengthen the international network of resources, as well as national and local resources and response capability. It also would relate these resources in a more direct

manner to the urban problem in developing countries. The possibility of feedback to domestic institutions which are concerned with the problems of urban development would expand substantially.

Disadvantages. This option would increase the risk of misfiring by trying to do too much too soon. It would preclude the "debugging" and "shakedown" exercises which are available in a more evolutionary process of developing response capability. Heavier demands would be made on AID commitment and resources, and there would be the danger of overloading prematurely the network with too many resources and demands.

Program Content. More mini-grants for research would be provided to the program content in the foregoing options.

URBAN GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT AS A COMPONENT  
OF AGENCY POLICY AND PROGRAMMING

The foregoing exposition and analysis derive from a process in which the principal inputs have been judgments from developing countries, field missions, other donor agencies, and from leading experts in international urban development. The subsequent review of those assessments by nearly thirty urban specialists in June 1972 and by nearly forty representatives of A.I.D. field missions and relevant offices in headquarters in an Agency Urban Development Workshop in August 1972 refined and added operational perspective to the findings. The results of this deliberate process provide the basis for the following recommendations.

The Urban Development Staff (TA/UDS) recommends that the Agency

- (1) give official recognition to urban development as an integral part of national development and subsequent wide publication of such a policy decision;
- (2) adopt a policy to reflect this recognition and guide Agency programming ;
- (3) focus on three problem areas -- perception and leadership, information, and manpower -- in order to
  - (a) give direction to the implementation of the new policy on urban development and
  - (b) complement what the Agency, other donors, and the developing countries are doing already in this field;

- (4) examine current Agency efforts to bring them in line with the new policy and direction; and
- (5) commit sufficient resources to support efforts which are designed to improve Agency and developing country capability to exploit the developmental potential in the processes of urbanization and urban development.

#### Points of Intervention

Of nine underlying factors of urban development, three emerged as having the most influence, not only on the functioning of the urban environment, but also on the linkages in national development. They are: perception and leadership, manpower, and information.

According to the analysis, they create primary bottlenecks in and constrain the urban development process. Consequently, they have been selected as the critical points of intervention or targets for Agency action.

The most serious bottleneck is perception and leadership. This refers to perceptions and attitudes on the part of leaders and resource allocators at all levels in developing countries. It includes sensitivity to urban problems, awareness of the city as a complex subsystem within the national environment, understanding of the essential interactions between the city and its hinterland (metropolitan or region) and other cities, and a comprehension of the vital role of leadership in addressing the problems of urban development.

Manpower, the second problem area, refers to a cadre of skilled professionals and para-professionals in developing countries which understands the basis factors and linkages in urban development and the role of the several professions and disciplines (such as planning, law, administration, finance, and others).

The third problem area, information, is the substance from which other factors (especially the two factors mentioned above) derive much of their sustenance. It includes basic information on urban conditions, problems, and resources in developing countries, access to the literature (case studies and comparative analyses as well as conventional wisdom) and to the results of practical experience and technological breakthroughs, and the institutional capacity to use what is available and to produce and share additional data.

These points of intervention for Agency action were arrived at by a deliberate process of eliciting developing country needs and suggestions, analyzing that information, drawing tentative conclusions, and then testing those conclusions with international urban specialists and with urban specialists and others in the field missions and headquarters of the Agency.

In the specific activities outlined below, there is acceptance of the fact that concentration on these three factors necessarily requires long-term developmental activities. They must be complemented and sustained, however, by other activities which in the short run will address pressing operational problems.

The starting points are (1) an introspective analysis of relevant aspects of the Agency's own experience and (2) an analytical accounting of elements of the U.S. domestic urban experience having educative value for the Agency and other countries. The outreach element is geared largely to (3) development of an international network of resources and (4) encouraging innovative international collaboration. These aspects of the program will offer considerable "feedback" benefit to U.S. domestic programs.

Specific Activities

1. Analytical Accounting of U. S. Experience in Urban Development
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It is accepted that the United States must approach this field with humility and with few exportable models. Nevertheless, there is much in selected areas of U.S. experience that can be instructive in developing countries -- for example, urban renewal, model cities, costs and benefits of high-rise development, new towns, land use, civic participation, urban finance, environmental impact, waste disposal, water supply, and urban transport.

Information of this kind is in demand. It would provide an appropriate backdrop for an Agency thrust in urban development. It would be useful in confronting shibboleths widely held within the Agency (e.g., "The U.S. has nothing to offer in this area.") and in developing countries (e.g., "If it's Western, it should be emulated."). It would help those

who studied in the USA in prior years to catch up on experiences, revisions, and redirections in U.S. urban approaches and programs which were current during their study here. The results would be of value to the Agency and to U.S. institutions, could encourage other countries to share similar experience, and would provide A.I.D. with a quick and valuable contribution to an information network.

This project would involve an analytical accounting of the U.S. experience in specific areas, including a description of the approach, a discussion of its merits, faults, attendant circumstances, and present status, a consideration of possible applicability in developing countries, and bibliographic references. Work would be carried out under contract by an appropriate U.S. institution with possible professional consultative assistance where appropriate from selected developing countries. A workshop or seminar with participation from developing countries would be convened to disseminate the results directly. The results also would be made available through other channels.

The problem area, perception and leadership, would be addressed by this project by making available information of considerable importance and interest. In addition, the project would complement activities 2 and 3 below. Being a one-time investment, it represents an extremely low-risk undertaking for the Agency.

2. Formulation of Urban Development  
Guidelines for A.I.D. Investments.

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The past and present investments of A.I.D., both capital and technical, have had an impact on urban development. What that impact has been is not known empirically. Approaches to Agency programming have not always dealt adequately with externalities, nor has Agency and other experience been monitored and evaluated in this way.

In order to determine if appropriate sector analysis and project guidelines can be developed to take account of urban development considerations, it is proposed that this be a topic of an early A.I.D. Spring Review. In this forum the feasibility and scope of the project would become an Agency-wide exercise. This exercise would address initially the critical factors of perception and information; subsequently the manpower factor also would be addressed by this project.

3. Development Research on Practical  
and Adaptable Approaches to Land  
Use Analysis and Planning in Urban  
Development.

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This project is based on several considerations: (a) the need for information on and access to operationally significant intermediate approaches; (b) the need to produce short-run results which also would support long-term efforts; (c) the fact that land use is one of those critical processes at a very basic level of decision making and operation in urban development; and (d) the cross-sectoral impact of land use which can demonstrate, operate on, and increase perception of the linkages in urban development.

Sound application of land use analysis and planning can produce great benefits; lack of it can lead to substantial and sometimes irretrievable loss through locational errors. It is just coming of age in developed countries and it is grossly underused or misused in developing countries.

Land use analysis and planning can be a powerful tool in environmental control, migrant assimilation, area development, urban finance, urban growth patterns, economies of location, and income distribution. As a basic element in the planning process, it can lead to information critical to decision making. It can serve also as an intermediate planning device in medium-sized and small cities where planning skills often are at a minimum.

This project would contract for research and development work into practical, adaptable approaches to the application of land use analysis and programming in developing countries. Project workshops with other donors and LDC representatives would be used to share the results and help foster international collaboration in advancing the state-of-the-art. The research would be complementary to the formulation of urban development guidelines for A.I.D. investments and the analytical accounting of U.S. urban experience.

4. Consortium for International  
Urban Development.

It is proposed to make 211(d) grants to several institutions to create a consortium of expertise in the U.S.A. and develop a strong U.S. node in a network of resources in urban development.

A consortium would make available the variety of disciplines and approaches which are essential to effective urban development, greater program options for A.I.D. and other participant trainees in urban development, greater flexibility in U.S. technical assistance response capability (e.g., for sector analysis), and a greater number of ready-made linkages with institutions in developing countries. The consortium would have demonstration value as a pilot sub-network. It is felt that cooperation between institutions in urban development is potentially great because of the relatively nascent state-of-the art, the clear recognition of the need for multidisciplinary cross-sectoral approaches, and the small number of U.S. professionals focusing on urban development in developing countries (which already constitutes a kind of informal network).

The role of the consortium would be to conduct research related to areas of Agency focus in urban development, develop a capacity for technical backstopping (e.g., USAID mission needs), experiment with curriculum design in urban development with institutions in developing countries, provide training and guest teaching opportunities for professionals from developing countries, exchange students and professors

with these institutions, conduct workshops and seminars, and attempt consciously to foster an international network of information and other resources.

The consortium institutions would be required also to develop and administer a program of mini-grant research and backstopping directed primarily toward institutions and professionals of developing countries, including also candidates for advanced degrees who are studying in the U.S.A. and elsewhere. The purpose would be to help generate information needed for policy decisions in specific operational problem areas, maintain and reinforce student involvement in and commitment to their own countries, and develop a cadre of skilled professionals in developing countries.

This activity adds a continuing element of outreach to the three critical areas of concentration, perception and leadership, manpower, and information. It is related closely to the development of an international network of information and resources and the encouragement of innovative international collaboration in urban development (see further, project 6).

5. Fostering of Institutional  
Capacity in Developing  
Countries for Problem Solving  
in Urban Development.

As the A.I.D. effort gains momentum and outreach, it is proposed that a General Technical Support program be developed for specific urban development institutional capacity and network linkages. Grants to a limited number of institutions in developing countries would provide for

augmenting professional staff with needed disciplines and outside expertise, training fellowships for staff improvement, sponsorship of local, regional, and international conferences and workshops, research funding in critical areas, and equipment for research and information sharing.

These grants could be administered under a contractual arrangement with one or more of the consortium institutions, strengthening further the linkages in the network of resources.

The critical factors of perception and leadership, manpower development, and information would be served through this project. It would be related to the development of an international consultative mechanism for network development (see proposed project 6). Some donor organizations already have indicated an interest in such collaborative efforts and would be involved appropriately.

6. International Consultative  
Mechanism for Network Development.

Part of the rationale for the foregoing activities is to find ways of overcoming a principal constraint everywhere -- namely the lack of established channels for systematic development and exchange of experience, information, research, and curriculum planning in urban development.

The climate among donor organizations for specific and collaborative arrangements for network development is excellent. Most major donors are engaged concurrently in in-house urban development policy analyses; the IBRD and OAS already have made policy determinations. Last year informal efforts were made to coordinate urban development activities using the UN Centre for Housing, Building, and Planning as the clearing-house.

The rudiments of a network of donors exist. It is proposed that A.I.D. take an activist role among donor agencies, seeking to create a consultative mechanism for the joint development of an international network of resources.

\* \* \* \* \*

Substantial improvements can be achieved in urban development with a relatively modest Agency investment in a program which is keyed to critical points of intervention. The foregoing activities would require an increase in technical assistance expenditures. No new capital resources would be needed immediately. Some repackaging of capital assistance earmarked for urban areas would be in order eventually -- that is, along urban development sector lines and/or in terms of investment guidelines that might be developed.

Relationship to Agency Development Objectives

The policy directions, areas of concentration, and specific activities suggested above are consistent with overall Agency needs in urban development. They derive from a process in which the principal inputs have been judgments from developing countries and field missions, the expertise of more than thirty leading experts in international urban development, and the results of an Agency Urban Development Workshop involving nearly forty representatives of field missions and relevant AID/W offices.

Nor are the suggested policy and program guidelines for urban development at variance with Agency reforms and objectives. In the context of the major reforms which were announced by the Administrator in January 1972, the three major emphases in the Agency's current program are: focussing its resources on a limited group of priority development problems, undertaking improved programs of humanitarian assistance, and giving increased attention to the broader distribution of the benefits of development.

The first category includes human problems common to many less developed countries for which the U.S. has a comparative advantage, in terms of the resources required to address them effectively. What the U.S. can do must yield a predictable payoff and make a significant contribution. In this category are the problems of agriculture and food production with emphasis on human nutrition, population control, health care, low-cost education. The principal concern with humanitarian assistance in the second category is the improvement of the disaster

relief capability and cooperation with voluntary organizations. In the third category the focus is on the problem of employment creation in seeking a more equitable income distribution in developing countries.

Several approaches to programming assistance are emphasized in the announced reforms, the most important of which are:

- (a) a collaborative style of assistance which puts the developing country at the center of the program determination,
- (b) the location and use of new approaches, professional skills, innovative techniques, and the application of a growing body of knowledge and technology,
- (c) the broader participation of American private groups in the practical work of development,
- (d) the development of network of institutions for more effective research to yield better solutions to the priority development problems, and
- (e) encouragement of the creation of a broad international system for sharing development assistance responsibilities and for coordinating assistance efforts.

The distillation and analysis of the problems of rapid urban growth and development resulted in the definition of three problem areas of concentration and six specific activities to address them. These problem areas not only are priority development problems which are common to many less developed (and developed!) countries, but also are critical bottlenecks in the process of urban development. While resources are

limited for addressing these problems, nevertheless, the U.S. has a comparative advantage and a potential contribution which predictably can make a significant difference. Indeed, unless the urban aspects of development are considered, the effectiveness of dealing with the other priority development problems cited earlier will be impaired substantially.

Likewise in the third category, the problem of employment creation is related intricately to the urbanization process and its attendant problems. The rural-urban dichotomy in the traditional approaches to the employment problem must be overcome and a more holistic effort made. So it is that perception and leadership, manpower, and information can be seen for the critical factors they are in urban development and in the major emphases in the Agency's current program.

The proposed specific activities above have a very close identification with the new programming approaches which are part of the announced Agency reforms. A collaborative style has been used in the very formulation of the activities and is emphasized in the proposed steps of implementation. The location and use of a broader range of resources, including American private groups, have only to be continued and expanded from a substantial beginning during the TA/UDS study.

All of the specific activities are designed to contribute significantly to the development of a network of information, institutions, and other resources which can be used to seek solutions to

urban development problems. A broad international network is envisioned, and there have been already some encouraging attempts among donor organizations to find ways of sharing development assistance responsibilities and coordinating assistance efforts in urban development.

What is proposed for sharpening the Agency commitment to and focus on urban development is consistent with Agency need, and can assist the Agency in meeting its developmental objectives.

Relationship to Current "Urban Development" Efforts in the Agency

The primary objective of the recommended policy direction and of the specific activities proposed for its implementation is improvement of field mission programs and of AID/W support to them. Accordingly, an analysis was made of relationships between the focus on three key problem areas and the related specific activities on the one hand, and current mission, central, and regional office activities in urban development on the other. Relationships proved to be primarily supportive or complementary and only in a few cases of little or minimal benefit. This is not surprising given the active role these elements have had in formulating both policy and activities. Indeed, it is anticipated that they would play a major role in the implementation of both.

Principal requirements in programs sponsored by Missions and Regional Bureaus in urban development are timely access to qualified outside expertise, access to information on operational and state-of-the-art problems, knowledge of US and LDC institutions with expertise in these areas, and mechanisms for understanding the problems under consideration. There is also a need for the skills and approaches required for country analysis of urban development in a sectoral context. All of these factors are inherent in the policy, priorities, and activities being proposed.

Central Offices stand to benefit in these and other ways. For example, their operational and backstopping responsibilities will be strengthened by a concerted Agency policy in urban development and specific activities geared to operating on perception and leadership, manpower, and information as defined in this paper. Projects which examine the U.S. experience in urban development, Agency investments impacting on urban development, and land use approaches will be particularly valuable to the operational activities of the Office of Housing and the general backstopping responsibilities of the Office of Engineering. The Office of Population, heretofore not mentioned in this context, will be aided by those elements of the proposed program that would support study and promote recognition of the variety of consequences for urban centers of rapid population growth and migration and the spatial distribution of population.

The most telling effect of the proposed policy and activities, if implemented, would be to orchestrate and bring more focus to Agency activities in urban development.

Relationship to "Urban Development" Efforts of Other Donors

As the tables in the appendices indicate, many of the efforts of other donors have been in capital assistance projects. In technical assistance, the projects have been concentrated on planning and information including a limited amount of training and research activities.

Most aid donors have expressed strongly the need for additional assistance in and innovative approaches to the problem areas of perception and leadership, manpower, and information and the desirability of greater cooperation and coordination among donors. More specifically, the U.N. Center for Housing, Building, and Planning has expressed a desire to collaborate in research efforts. IBRD officials recognize the need for additional technical assistance to support their more capital assistance-oriented efforts in housing, land-use, and transportation. The OAS is seeking ways of using more creatively and effectively its resources for urban development, including its six regional field teams, in cooperation with other resources. Ford Foundation officials also have expressed a desire to combine the strengths of that organization with those of other aid agencies to advance the state-of-the-art and to strengthen and make more accessible the limited pool of expertise in urban development.

The situation is unusual. Not only have these agencies had experience in this field, but also all of them quite recently have taken a fresh look at what they should be doing to address more effectively the urban aspects of national development. It would seem that this combination of factors (experience, timing, and desire) provides a very special opportunity for a high degree of meaningful cooperation and coordination at the policy, program, and project levels.

1. Population Residing in Big Cities by Selected Regions, 1920-1960.
2. National and Urban Population Figures and Growth Rates for Selected Countries in Africa, East Asia, South Asia, and Latin America, 1950-1970.
3. International Assistance for Urban Development in the Developing Countries by Selected Donors.
4. Summary of Multilateral and Bilateral Assistance in International Programs for Housing, Building and Planning, Cross-classified by Donor and Recipient, 1968-1969.
5. Linkages in Urban Development, a heuristic schema showing the interdependencies of factors in urban development.
6. Maps Showing Location of Consultation Visits in the United States and Overseas, 1970-1971.

Population Residing in Big Cities (500,000 +) in the World  
and Three Selected Regions, 1920-1960

	(Millions)					Increase, 1920-1960	Percent Increase, 1920-1960
	<u>1920</u>	<u>1930</u>	<u>1940</u>	<u>1950</u>	<u>1960</u>		
World Total	106.6	143.3	181.1	228.2	353.6	247.0	231%
Europe	51.7	62.4	68.4	71.3	82.8	31.1	60%
Other more developed regions *	41.2	60.3	77.3	101.5	140.2	99.0	241%
Less Developed Regions	13.7	20.6	35.4	55.4	130.6	116.9	836%

\* Includes Japan, North America, Soviet Union, Temperate South America, Australia, and New Zealand.

Source: United Nations, Growth of the World's Urban and Rural Population, 1920-2000 (New York: United Nations, 1969).

Compilation by Stephen Cooley.

**National and Urban Population (in Millions) and Growth Rates (Percent)  
for Selected Countries in AFRICA, 1950 - 1970**

Country	National Population (in millions)			National Growth Rate		Urban Population (in millions)			Urban Portion (percent) of National Population			Urban Growth Rate	
	1950	1960	1970	1950- 1960	1960- 1970	1950	1960	1970	1950	1960	1970	1950- 1960	1960- 1970
World	2486.0	2982.0	3632.0	1.7	2.0	706.4	994.0	1220.1	28	33	34	3.4	3.2
Africa	217.0	270.0	344.0	2.2	2.5	28.9	48.5	77.0	13	18	22	4.7	4.7
Ethiopia	16.0	20.7	25.3	2.6	2.0	.9	1.2	1.8	6	6	7	3.2	3.6
Ivory Coast	2.6	3.2	4.2	2.2	2.8	.2	.5	.9	8	15	21	10.0	6.3
Kenya	6.0	8.1	11.2	3.0	3.1	.3	.6	1.1	5	7	10	6.9	7.0
Liberia	.9	1.2	1.5	1.4	2.3	.04	.2	.4	5	13	29	11.7	10.8
Morocco	9.0	11.7	15.9	2.7	3.1	2.1	3.4	5.6	23	29	35	5.0	5.1
Nigeria	30.5	42.9	55.1	4.2	2.5	4.0	7.7	12.7	13	18	23	6.8	5.1

**Sources:** Kingsley Davis, WORLD URBANIZATION, 1950-1970. VOLUME I: BASIC DATA FOR CITIES, COUNTRIES, AND REGIONS (Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1969).

United Nations, UNITED NATIONS DEMOGRAPHIC YEARBOOK, 1971 (New York: United Nations, 1971).

United Nations, URBAN AND RURAL POPULATION: INDIVIDUAL COUNTRIES 1950-1985 AND REGIONS AND MAJOR AREAS 1950-2000 (New York: United Nations, 1970).

Office of Statistics and Reports, Bureau for Program and Policy Coordination, Agency for International Development, U.S. Department of State, Washington, D. C.

**Note:** All urban figures are based on national census definitions of urban population. These definitions vary considerably from one country to another.

Compilation by James Miller.

National and Urban Population (in Millions) and Growth Rates (Percent)  
for Selected Countries in EAST ASIA 1950 - 1970

<u>Country</u>	<u>National Population (in millions)</u>			<u>National Growth Rate</u>		<u>Urban Population (in millions)</u>			<u>Urban Portion (percent) of National Population</u>			<u>Urban Growth Rate</u>	
	<u>1950</u>	<u>1960</u>	<u>1970</u>	<u>1950- 1960</u>	<u>1960- 1970</u>	<u>1950</u>	<u>1960</u>	<u>1970</u>	<u>1950</u>	<u>1960</u>	<u>1970</u>	<u>1950- 1960</u>	<u>1960- 1970</u>
World	2486.0	2982.0	3632.0	1.7	2.0	706.4	994.0	1220.1	28	33	34	3.4	3.2
East Asia	657.0	780.0	930.0	1.8	1.9	127.2	225.6	349.7	19	29	38	5.5	4.1
Indonesia	76.0	96.3	122.7	2.1	2.45	9.3	14.5	20.9	12	15	17	4.1	3.7
Malaysia	5.2	8.4	11.1	2.9	2.9	1.3	2.9	5.0	25	35	45	6.7	5.5
Singapore	1.02	1.7	2.1	4.8	2.1	(Singapore = 100%)							
Thailand	19.6	28.0	38.7	2.9	3.3	2.0	3.4	5.8	10	12	15	4.3	5.6
Vietnam	10.5	14.5	18.8	3.0	2.6	1.7	2.7	4.5	16	19	24	5.6	5.1

**Sources:** Kingsley Davis, *WORLD URBANIZATION, 1950-1970. VOLUME I: BASIC DATA FOR CITIES, COUNTRIES, AND REGIONS* (Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1969).

United Nations, *UNITED NATIONS DEMOGRAPHIC YEARBOOK, 1971* (New York: United Nations, 1971).

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Office of Statistics and Reports, Bureau for Program and Policy Coordination, Agency for International Development, U.S. Department of State, Washington, D. C.

**Note:** All urban figures are based on national census definitions of urban population. These definitions vary considerably from one country to another.

Compilation by James Miller.

National and Urban Population (in Millions) and Growth Rates (Percent)  
for Selected Countries in SOUTH ASIA, 1950 - 1970

<u>Country</u>	<u>National Population (in millions)</u>			<u>National Growth Rate</u>		<u>Urban Population (in millions)</u>			<u>Urban Portion (percent) of National Population</u>			<u>Urban Growth Rate</u>	
	<u>1950</u>	<u>1960</u>	<u>1970</u>	<u>1950- 1960</u>	<u>1960- 1970</u>	<u>1950</u>	<u>1960</u>	<u>1970</u>	<u>1950</u>	<u>1960</u>	<u>1970</u>	<u>1950- 1960</u>	<u>1960- 1970</u>
World	2486.0	2982.0	3632.0	1.7	2.0	706.4	994.0	1220.1	28	33	34	3.4	3.2
South Asia	698.0	865.0	1126.0	2.2	2.6	85.9	116.0	162.0	12	13	14	3.3	4.4
India	354.9	435.1	553.8	1.9	2.4	60.8	78.3	116.3	17	18	21	2.4	4.0
Turkey	20.8	27.5	35.2	2.8	2.5	4.6	7.2	12.3	22	26	35	4.8	5.6

Sources: Kirgley Davis, WORLD URBANIZATION, 1950-1970. VOLUME I: BASIC DATA FOR CITIES, COUNTRIES, AND REGIONS (Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1969).

United Nations, UNITED NATIONS DEMOGRAPHIC YEARBOOK, 1971 (New York: United Nations, 1971).

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Office of Statistics and Reports, Bureau for Program and Policy Coordination, Agency for International Development, U.S. Department of State, Washington, D. C.

Note: All urban figures are based on national census definitions of urban population. These definitions vary considerably from one country to another.

Compilation by James Miller.

National and Urban Population (in Millions) and Growth Rates (Percent)  
for Selected Countries in LATIN AMERICA, 1950-1970

Country	National Population (in millions)			National Growth Rate		Urban Population (in millions)			Urban Portion (percent) of National Population			Urban Growth Rate	
	1950	1960	1970	1950- 1960	1960- 1970	1950	1960	1970	1950	1960	1970	1950- 1960	1960- 1970
World	2486.0	2982.0	3632.0	1.7	2.0	706.4	944.0	1220.1	28	33	34	3.4	3.2
Latin America	162.0	213.0	283.0	2.8	2.9	65.1	101.1	153.5	40	47	54	4.6	4.4
Brazil	52.0	71.9	95.2	3.2	2.8	18.8	33.1	52.4	36	46	56	5.5	4.7
Colombia	11.3	15.4	21.1	3.1	3.2	4.2	7.6	12.7	37	49	60	5.5	5.3
Panama	.8	1.1	1.4	2.9	3.0	.3	.5	.7	36	42	48	4.4	4.4

Sources: Kingsley Davis, WORLD URBANIZATION, 1950-1970. VOLUME I: BASIC DATA FOR CITIES, COUNTRIES, AND REGIONS (Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1969).

United Nations, UNITED NATIONS DEMOGRAPHIC YEARBOOK, 1971 (New York: United Nations, 1971).

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Office of Statistics and Reports, Bureau for Program and Policy Coordination, Agency for International Development, U.S. Department of State, Washington, D. C.

Note: All urban figures are based on national census definitions of urban population. These definitions vary considerably from one country to another.

Compilation by James Miller.

International Assistance for Urban Development  
in the Developing Countries (in millions US\$)<sup>1</sup>

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<u>Organization</u>	<u>Expended Funds or Capital Commitments</u>
International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (World Bank) and International Development Association (IDA) <sup>2</sup>	Total. . . . . 13610.0  Power, Industry, Water and Sewer, Education and Tourism.. 5760.0  Inter-urban Transportation and Telecommunications..... 7850.0
Inter-American Development Bank (IDB) <sup>3</sup>	Total. . . . . 1008.2  Water and Sewer..... 430.0  Housing..... 350.8 <sup>4</sup>  Electric Power..... 183.5  Food Marketing Facilities..... 6.9  Manufacturing Plants..... 36.1
Organization of American States (OAS) <sup>5</sup>	Total. . . . . 5.1  Urban Development..... 3.3 <sup>6</sup>  Urban/Regional Planning..... 1.3 <sup>7</sup>  Special Training..... .5 <sup>8</sup>
United Nations <sup>9</sup>	Total. . . . . 28.9  Regular Budget..... 12.8  Extra-budgetary (UNDP, Funds in Trust)..... 16.1

Notes on  
International Assistance for Urban Development  
in the Developing Countries (in millions US\$)

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- 1 It should be noted that data on international spending for urban development are fragmentary. The figures here are not truly comparable and provide only limited coverage of donor organizations. Note also variations in respective reporting periods.
- 2 Figures indicate Bank lending for urban purposes as of January 31, 1972. This urban-related lending to developing countries is about 68% of total Bank lending. A substantial portion of World Bank lending activities has been considered "urban-related." Through April 30, 1971, thirteen cities have absorbed approximately two billion dollars, or 10% of total Bank lending. The cities are: Buenos Aires, Lagos, Sao Paulo, Teheran, Bogota, Caracas, Bombay, Rio de Janeiro, Karachi, Calcutta, Kuala Lumpur, Istanbul, and Medellin.
- 3 Urban Development Assistance for the decade 1961-1970. This accounts for about 21% of Bank spending.
- 4 To include basic community facilities and services.
- 5 Expenditures for Urban Development reported for the period 1966-1970.
- 6 To include Headquarters direction and supervision of technical assistance activities: studies, research, conferences, seminars, and information. Also advanced level training in housing, building, and community planning at the Inter-American Housing and Planning Center (CINVA) in Bogota, Colombia.
- 7 Inter-American Program in Urban and Regional Planning (PIAFUR) in Lima, Peru.

- 8 The Special Training Program (PEC) offers courses in urban and regional planning, building, low-cost housing, and tropical architecture.
- 9 U.N. Funds expended in international programs for Housing, Building, and Planning, 1963-1970. Expenditures of the U.N. Specialized Agencies are not included.

Sources: United Nations Economic and Social Council, Committee on Housing, Building and Planning, TECHNICAL COOPERATION IN HOUSING, BUILDING AND PLANNING: FUNDS EXPENDED IN INTERNATIONAL PROGRAMS FOR HOUSING, BUILDING AND PLANNING (New York: United Nations, July 9, 1969 and July 30, 1971), documents E/C.6/102 and E/C.6/110.

United States Senate, Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs, STUDY OF INTERNATIONAL HOUSING: REPORTS FROM U.S. AGENCIES AND INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS (Washington, D. C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, June 28, 1971). Prepared for the Subcommittee on Housing and Urban Affairs.

Unpublished World Bank documents.

Compiled by Stephen W. Cooley.

Summary of multilateral and bilateral assistance in international programmes for housing, building and planning,  
cross-classified by donor and recipient, 1968-1969  
(Thousands of United States dollars)

Donor Recipient	UNITED NATIONS <sup>a</sup> /WHO		FAO	ILO	WFP	UNEP	Other international agencies	TOTAL multilateral assistance <sup>b/</sup>	Australia	Austria	Denmark	Finland	France	Italy	Japan	Netherlands	Norway	Sweden	United Kingdom	United States of America	TOTAL bilateral	G.A.P.E. TOTAL
	9,515	1,388																				
<b>WORLD TOTAL</b>	9,515	1,388	12,450	1,770	60,148	58,200	40,204	183,555	4,755	15	676	347	126,369	447	207	1,816	1,084	1,543	46,255	159,974	343,488	527,043
<b>Africa</b>	1,555	105	5,682	1,232	26,874	20,000	6,995	62,443	-	-	529	347	37,696	260	-	745	1,084	1,543	8,059	25,650	75,913	138,356
Algeria	-	-	-	120	-	-	-	120	-	-	-	-	2,492	89	-	-	-	-	-	-	2,581	2,701
Botswana	-	-	-	-	1,510	-	-	1,510	-	-	185	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	185	1,495
Cameroon	-	-	693	-	-	5,000	-	5,693	-	-	-	-	766	-	-	72	-	-	3	-	641	6,534
Chad	-	-	-	50	-	-	-	50	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	50
Central African Republic	-	-	1,037	-	-	-	-	1,037	-	-	-	-	-	32	-	-	-	-	-	-	32	1,069
Congo	-	-	823	-	-	-	-	823	-	-	-	-	466	11	-	-	-	-	-	-	477	1,300
Dahomey	-	-	5	-	-	-	58	63	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	63	63
Ethiopia	-	63	6	30	-	-	-	99	-	-	-	144	-	-	-	4	-	1,217	-	-	1,265	1,464
Gabon	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1,005	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1,005	1,005
Guinea	-	-	1,095	-	-	-	-	1,095	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	-	-	499	1,095	
Ghana	-	-	49	-	-	-	-	49	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	493	-	499	548
Gambia	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	34	-	34	34
Ivory Coast	-	-	785	-	-	-	-	785	-	-	-	-	1,908	-	-	365	-	-	34	3,050	5,323	6,108
Kenya	-	-	-	85	-	-	-	85	-	-	159	36	-	-	-	-	1,084	326	509	3,050	2,114	2,199
Lesotho	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	8	-	-	93	-	93	93
Liberia	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	8	8
Libya	-	42	6	285	-	-	-	333	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	333	333
Malawi	-	-	12	-	500	-	-	512	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5,813	-	5,813	6,325
Mali	-	-	-	-	-	-	2,698	2,698	-	-	-	-	101	-	-	-	-	-	-	127	101	2,799
Madagascar	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	357	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	688	688
Mauritania	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	688	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	688
Mauritius	-	-	1	180	-	-	-	181	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	181
Morocco	-	-	-	-	15,735	-	-	15,735	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	15,735
Niger	-	-	-	-	-	-	1,620	1,620	-	-	-	-	22	104	-	-	-	-	-	-	126	1,746
Nigeria	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	27	-	83	11,870	11,980	11,980
Senegal	-	-	52	-	-	-	-	52	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5,000	5,000	5,052
Seychelles	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	110	-	110	110
Sierra Leone	-	-	1	65	-	-	-	66	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	67
Somalia	-	-	2	-	824	-	42	868	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	175	175	1,043
St. Helena	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	78	-	78	78
Sudan	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	21	-	-	-	-	21	21
Swaziland	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	372	-	372	372
Tunisia	-	-	-	-	5,503	15,000	-	20,503	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	11	-	-	-	5,265	5,276	25,779
Togo	-	-	1	55	757	-	-	813	-	-	-	-	93	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	93	906
United Arab Republic	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	14	-	-	-	-	10	10
United Republic of Tanzania	-	-	1,109	107	-	-	-	1,216	-	-	-	167	-	-	-	159	-	-	-	-	306	1,522
Upper Volta	-	-	5	50	2,245	-	2,577	4,877	-	-	-	-	116	-	-	26	-	-	-	-	144	5,021
Uganda	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	471	-	471	471
Zambia	-	-	-	205	-	-	-	205	-	-	185	-	-	-	-	45	-	-	-	-	230	435
<b>Other unspecified African countries<sup>c/</sup></b>	1,555	-	-	-	-	-	-	1,555	-	-	-	-	29,682	24	-	8	-	-	-	163	29,877	31,432
<b>Americas</b>	1,056	31	3,645	120	5,424	19,000	33,289	62,565	-	15	2	-	750	2	-	312	-	-	24,382	118,244	143,707	206,272
Argentina	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	15	-	-	-	-	-	17	-	-	-	18,800	18,832	18,832
Barbados	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2,887	-	2,887	2,887
Bolivia	-	-	-	-	2,856	-	-	2,856	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	21	-	-	-	4,023	4,046	6,902
Brazil	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	20	-	-	-	1,169	1,169	1,169



Recipient	Donor	United Nations <sup>a/</sup>	WHO	FAO	ILO	WFP	IBRD	Other international agencies	TOTAL multi-lateral assistance <sup>b/</sup>	Australia	Austria	Denmark	Finland	France	Italy	Japan	Netherlands	Norway	Sweden	United Kingdom	United States of America	TOTAL bilateral	GRAND TOTAL
Viet-Nam		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2,255	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	15,346	17,601	17,601
Yemen		-	-	-	-	730	-	-	730	-	-	-	-	-	7	-	-	-	-	-	-	7	737
Other unspecified Asian countries <sup>c/</sup>		2,595	-	-	-	-	-	-	2,595	-	-	28	-	444	-	-	17	-	-	-	-	489	3,084
<u>Europe</u>		2,103	1	-	60	-	-	-	2,164	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	34	-	-	5,134	-	5,170	7,334
Cyprus		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	131	-	134	134
Gibraltar		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1,670	-	1,670	1,670
Greece		-	-	-	60	-	-	-	60	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	3	63
Malta		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	3	-	-	3,333	-	3,338	3,338
Poland		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	2	2
Romania		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	3	3
Yugoslavia		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	20	-	-	-	-	20	21
Other unspecified European countries <sup>c/</sup>		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2,103	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2,103
<u>Oceania</u>		-	8	246	-	-	-	-	254	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1,212	-	1,212	1,466
Fiji		-	8	246	-	-	-	-	254	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	39	-	39	293
Gilbert and Ellice Islands (Br.)		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	239	-	239	239
New Hebrides		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	374	-	374	374
British Solomon Islands		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	560	-	560	560
Other unspecified countries <sup>e/</sup>		2,006	938	13	-	-	-	-	2,957	-	-	117	-	87,475 <sup>f/</sup>	176	207	-	-	-	930	-	88,909	91,866

Note: This table presents a summary of all information contained in this report, cross-classified by donor and recipient. As explained in the text of the report, the figures given here indicate only the information provided for the preparation of this report and, consequently, should not be taken, either in the case of a donor or a recipient, for the total amount of assistance given or received in this field. It should also be noted that in certain cases information on funds expended was provided on a regional or interregional basis without specifying the recipient countries. Such expenditure is given in the above table under "other unspecified countries".

<sup>a/</sup> United Nations regular budget and extra-budgetary expenses; expenditure given by region and not by country.

<sup>b/</sup> The total multilateral assistance received by each country does not include multilateral assistance received from the United Nations (first column) which has been included under assistance received by other unspecified countries.

<sup>c/</sup> Including assistance at regional level.

<sup>d/</sup> Including the Middle East.

<sup>e/</sup> Including assistance at interregional level.

<sup>f/</sup> Including French overseas departments and territories.

Source: UNESCO COMMITTEE ON HOUSING, BUILDING AND PLANNING, "Technical Cooperation in Housing, Building and Planning: Funds Expended in International Programs in Housing, Building and Planning." (30 July 1971).

SUGGESTED LINKAGES AMONG THE FACTORS IN URBAN DEVELOPMENT

Factor	Depends on	Such as
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Perceptions and Leadership</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Manpower</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Cadre of urban development professionals to sensitize leadership to the critical problems and linkages in urban development, the role of the city in national development, and the potential for meaningful approaches within the national framework. Cadre should consist of more than one discipline.</li> <li>• Reservoir of experienced, competent, broad-gauged and articulate foreign experts to assist in sensitization process as requested and appropriate.</li> </ul>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Information (to be utilized by "manpower" above).</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Access to important literature on conventional wisdom and latest developments in the urban development field.</li> <li>• Case studies and comparative analyses of urban development experiences in other countries, especially other developing countries in similar circumstances.</li> <li>• Basic information and data on urban conditions, problems and resources in country X. This includes the results of an analysis of the dynamics of the urban development process and other research findings that help construct this picture.</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• National Policy</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Perceptions and Leadership</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Leadership (resource allocators and policy makers) is sensitive to problems of the urban condition in country X, is aware of the city as a complex sub-system of the national environment and the role of the city in national development, and understands that these are essential interactions among the various elements (inputs) in urban development.</li> </ul>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Information</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Same as "information" under factor "Perceptions and Leadership" above.</li> <li>• Access to materials on national urban development policies in other countries, particularly developing countries.</li> </ul>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Manpower</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Same as in factor "Perceptions and Leadership" above. Should have capacity to plan strategy for implementation of national policy.</li> </ul>

Factor	Depends on	Such as
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Legal Framework</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Perceptions and Leadership</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Same as in factor "National Policy" above. Also, leadership requires the political will (capacity?) to alter legal bottlenecks to urban development, both at national and local level. Bottlenecks include such items as lack of legal framework for local, area, and regional planning; perpetuation of legal definition of cities as purely administrative in function; persistence of outmoded legal codes based on the functions of former colonial government, etc.</li> </ul>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Information</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Analysis of existing legal framework impinging on urban development at local, state or national levels in country X, sufficient for identification of key constraints.</li> <li>• Basic information and case studies on interaction between legal framework and codes in other countries in similar circumstances. The elements of successful legal reforms to promote and facilitate urban development would be especially useful.</li> </ul>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• National Policy</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Public commitment on the part of national leaders to deal with cities in a developmental context in terms of addressing urban problems and exploiting the city as a factor in national development. Absence of some degree of policy commitment along these lines would in most cases preclude desirable legal reform or adjustment.</li> </ul>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Manpower</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Lawyers and legislators who understand the basic factors and linkages in urban development and the importance of the national and local legal framework to urban development.</li> <li>• Urban specialists who comprehend the interaction between urban development and critical elements of the local, state and national legal apparatus.</li> </ul>

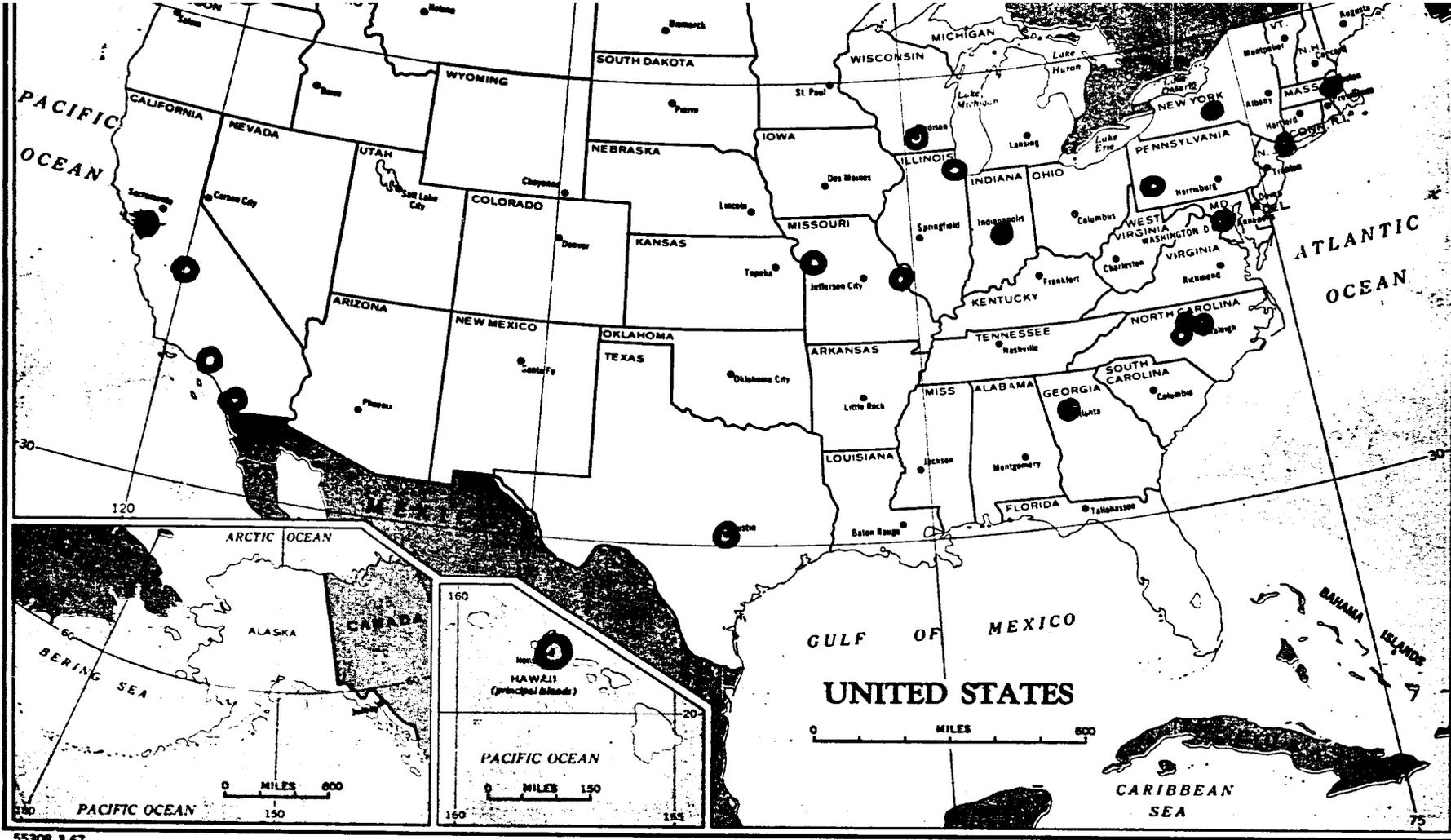
Factor	Depends on	Such as
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Institutions</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Perceptions and Leadership</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Leadership at national and local levels of government: same as in factor National Policy above.</li> <li>• Leadership of relevant institutions such as universities, private institutes, and even private enterprise should be able to perceive their potential role and/or their actual impact on urban development. Same applies to international aid agencies.</li> </ul>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Legal Framework</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• National and local level institutions legally responsible for urban development.</li> <li>• Legal framework for horizontal and vertical coordination of urban development activities carried out by different agencies at various level of government.</li> </ul>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Information</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Knowledge of strengths, weaknesses, gaps, and potential in existing institutions (institutional framework for urban development) such as those noted in the previous blocks.</li> </ul>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Financial resources</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Funding to strengthen and exploit potential of existing institutions and develop new institutions where necessary for urban development.</li> </ul>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Manpower</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Administrators, institutional developers, teachers, researchers, lawyers, and planners who understand the basic factors and linkages in urban development and who comprehend the actual or potential role of their respective institution(s) in urban development.</li> </ul>

Factor	Depends on	Such as
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Manpower</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Perceptions and leadership</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Same as in factor "National Policy" above. Leaders (governmental and institutional) should be cognizant of the importance of manpower in determining the pace and quality of urban development.</li> </ul>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Information</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• A profile of manpower resources, needs, and bottlenecks in urban development, including an inventory of manpower development potential.</li> </ul>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• National Policy</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• A framework for allocating national manpower and manpower development resources to bottleneck areas in urban development.</li> </ul>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Institutions</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Institutions with manpower development capacity or potential such as urban development focal points within the university system and government training institutions at all levels.</li> </ul>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Financial resources</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• National, local, or other sources of financing for addressing manpower needs in urban development.</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Information</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Manpower</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Urbanologists/researchers, demographers, urban economists, planners, etc., capable of generating data and information such as that required in information component factors outlined above.</li> <li>• Analysts skilled in sector analysis to assess the dynamics of the urban development process -- i.e., how the major factors interact over time and the effect of alternative interventions and changes on the achievement of goals.</li> <li>• Experts capable of framing research needs and priorities.</li> </ul>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Financial resources</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Funding for research, surveys, data series, information dissemination and, where necessary, institutions as a base of operation for information development activities.</li> </ul>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Institutions</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• As a base of operation for information development activities. Includes information focal point in urban-oriented institutions.</li> </ul>

Factor	Depends on	Such as
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Planning</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Perceptions and leadership</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Same as in factor "National Policy" above. General conceptual understanding of urban planning in its holistic context.</li> </ul>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• National policy</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Policy framework for commitment of resources to planning and for development of urban planning consciousness at all levels of government.</li> <li>• Contextual outline of urban planning objectives and guidelines, such as horizontal and vertical coordination of planning. Integration of urban with regional and national planning.</li> </ul>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Legal Framework</li> <li>• Institutions</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• National and local statutes and legislation enabling and guiding urban planning.</li> <li>• Legal framework for coordination of planning, e.g., across country or state boundaries.</li> <li>• Modern definition of legal municipality that reckons with developmental role and potential of cities.</li> <li>• Government institutions or components within them responsible for urban or urban-regional planning.</li> <li>• Universities and other private or semi-private institutions with a capacity for training and technical assistance in planning for urban development.</li> </ul>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Manpower</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Planning personnel with capabilities consistent with planning needs at the various levels (to staff the institutions noted above).</li> <li>• Professionals from a multiple of disciplines operating in the planning field.</li> <li>• Professionals capable of transferring rudimentary planning skills.</li> <li>• Seasoned planners at the national level capable of applying judgment in identifying and deciding upon alternative policies, approaches, or strategies.</li> </ul>

Factor	Depends on	Such as
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Planning (Cont'd)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Financial resources</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Allocation of national and local budget resources sufficient to meet basic planning needs.</li> </ul>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Information</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Information on planning approaches and techniques applied successfully elsewhere.</li> <li>• Information on urbanization in country X including demographic factors, land use patterns, data and information on regional and national plans that bears on specific cities, information on the function of the city in the region, profile of resources, etc.</li> <li>• Information on the dynamics of the urban development process.</li> <li>• Information on rudimentary planning techniques for use in secondary cities.</li> </ul>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Administrative Capacity</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Administrators capable of coordinating planning activities and plans and capable of utilizing plans in the decision/administrative process.</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Financial resources</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Perceptions and leadership</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Same as in factor "National Policy" above. Greater priority to role of cities in national development expressed through higher degree of priority to cities in the allocation of national resources.</li> </ul>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Legal framework</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Where appropriate, legal framework enabling municipalities to develop their own lucrative sources of revenue other than national budget allocations and a few minor local income sources.</li> </ul>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Institutions</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Local revenue departments with sufficient administrative capacity for effective operation.</li> </ul>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Information</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Case studies of successful (or unsuccessful) revenue or financing schemes employed in other countries or cities.</li> <li>• Knowledge of existing and potential sources of revenue for urban development in Country X.</li> </ul>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• National Policy</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• A framework of urban development priorities within which to allocate financial resources. A commitment of national financial resources to urban priorities.</li> </ul>

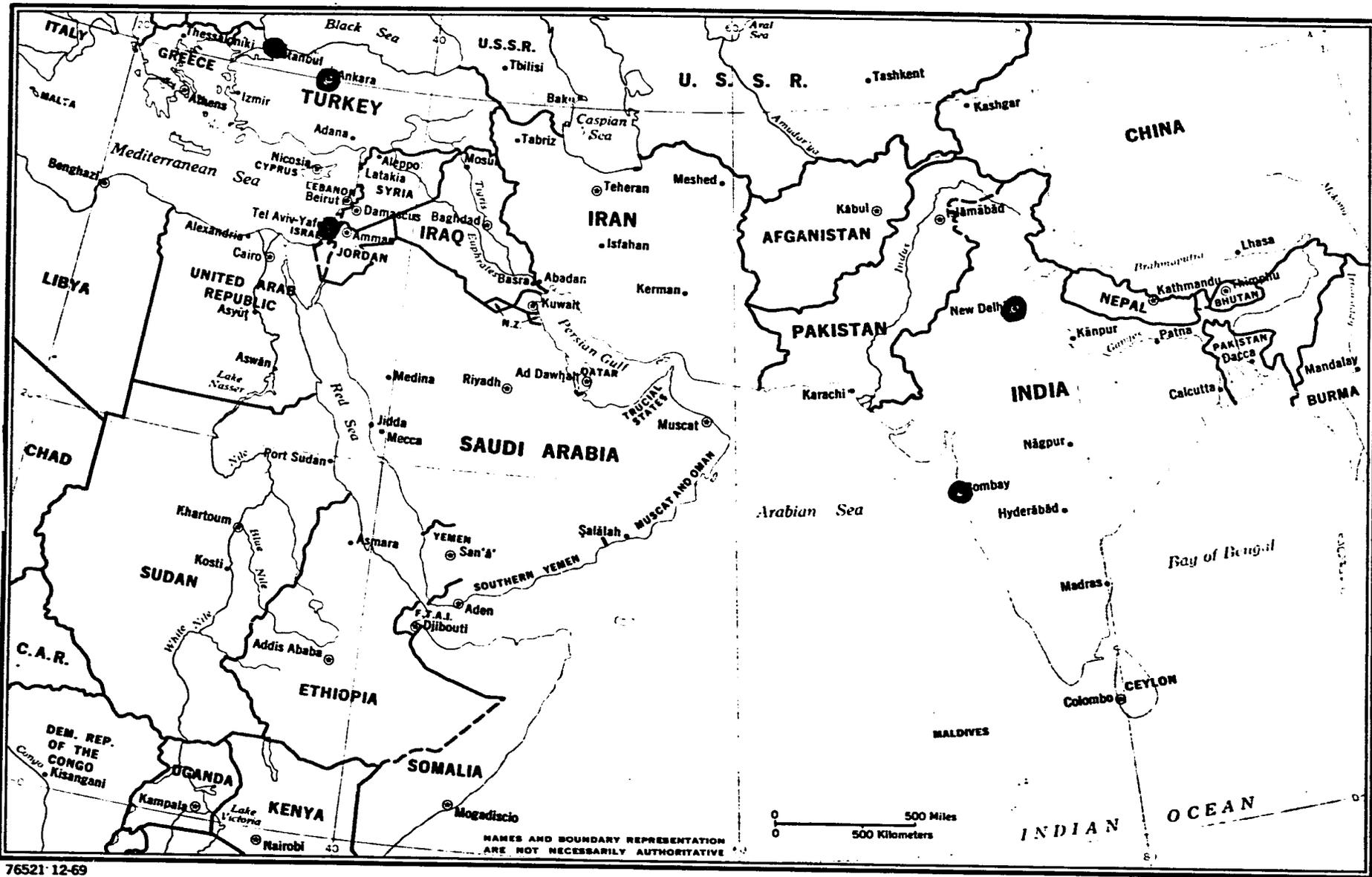
Factor	Depends on	Such as
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Financial resources (cont'd)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Planning</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• National and local urban development planning context as a basis for allocation and expenditure of developmental resources. Linkages between financial resource availability and plans.</li> </ul>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Administrative capacity</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Sufficient administrative talent to effectively operate municipal finance departments.</li> <li>• Administrative discipline for helping to develop planning-finance linkages.</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Administrative capacity</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Perceptions and leadership</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Same as in factor "National Policy" above. Appreciation of the developmental functions of the city also including among administrators at the sub-national level.</li> <li>• Awareness of the need for coordination of horizontal and vertical coordination of urban development.</li> </ul>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Legal framework</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Legal codes, laws, and legal/administrative framework geared to exploit the developmental functions of the city.</li> </ul>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Institutions</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Local bureaucratic practices conducive to efficient administration.</li> <li>• Government apparatus consistent with goals of urban development.</li> </ul>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Information</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Analysis of national and local administrative bottlenecks in urban development in country X.</li> </ul>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Manpower</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Cadre with administrative and management skills focusing on urban development. These needed at national and local levels.</li> </ul>



Consultation Visits, 1970-1971

-247-

# The Middle East and South Asia



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