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# PACIFIC CONFERENCE ON URBAN GROWTH

# THE NEW URBAN DEBATE

HONOLULU, HAWAII MAY 1-12, 1967

## A CONFERENCE REPORT

AGENCY
FOR
INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20523

FEBRUARY 1968

THE NEW URBAN DEBATE: A CONFERENCE REPORT

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# THE NEW URBAN DEBATE: A CONFERENCE REPORT

On May 1 - 12, 1967, policy-level government officials, administrative personnel and technicians responsible for meeting the urban crisis in seventeen Asian countries were invited to Honolulu, Hawaii. Preparations had long been in the making for this first Pacific Conference on Urban Growth.

The idea for the Conference originated in Hawaii and came to fruition with the indispensable assistance of the Department of Housing and Urban Development and the Agency for International Development. The East-West Center (an agency of the U.S. Government) provided space for some of the Conference sessions and generously gave of its support in preparation for this event.

It was hoped from the beginning that the Conference would produce new assessments and evaluations of rapid urban growth and this is indeed what emerged from the proceedings.

This is a report of the Conference deliberations.

## *I. SUMMARY*

The agenda set up by the sponsors of the Pacific Conference on Urban Growth called generally for a discussion of the problems of unplanned growth in Asia and of ways for solving them. The Conference started just that way. The participants discussed problems—the problems of massive migration and increased population growth rates leading to over-rapid urban growth; abominable conditions in the overcrowded cities; and the lack of resources for alleviating those conditions. And from problems the Conference went on to examine proposed solutions. This was the conventional pattern followed by similar international conferences in the past. Initially, too, the proposed remedies were the conventional ones. Contain the flow of migrants. Decentralize. Disperse industries. Bring in the urban planners, the regional planners, and adopt all the new techniques for improving the environment.

Then came a dramatic shift in approach, and with it the new debate.

A fresh thesis emerged. In the words of Dean Hahn-Been Lee, the Conference Moderator, this thesis "regards rapid

urbanization as of central importance in the national development process, a condition, when properly organized, to be encouraged rather than discouraged." He explained:

> "The key concept which underlies all of our findings and suggestions is the idea of change, itself. The practical linkages are clear: national development entails change, and cities are primary agents of change. Cities yield changes of several kinds indispensable to national growth -- social, economic and political . . . A sound national urbanization policy must utilize this potential of cities to induce and support change."

Dean Lee also emphasized the need for political leaders who are aware of the urban role, as well as for innovative planners who would regard themselves as extensions of political leaders. Planning, then, would become a creative tool, making it possible for politicians and innovational administrators and planners to work together to use urbanization for national development.

If a name has to be given to the new approach that yielded this unorthodox doctrine, it might perhaps be called "functional". The primary characteristics of the approach are functional, objective and comprehensive; and its orientation is developmental. The approach asks: What does urban growth do, as well as, what does urban growth entail? Those who adopt the approach do not necessarily take a stand *a priori* as to whether urbanization is good or bad, to be discouraged, controlled, decried, or fostered. They seek to look at all aspects of such growth; not only the problems which it produces, but also the role of urbanization in national development. They treat national economic development as primary objectives of urban development, not as incidental considerations in the resolution of urban problems.

For the first time a major international conference has progressed from preoccupation with the problems of the growing city to an intensive examination of its positive role as an instrument of modernization and national development.

## II. SPONSORSHIP, PARTICIPANTS AND FORMAT

The sponsorship of the Conference was also new: the United States Department of Housing and Urban Development, the Agency for International Development, and the State of Hawaii. As host, Hawaii was assisted by the University of Hawaii and the East-West Center (an agency of the U. S. Government).

Never before had such a mixture of participants deliberately been assembled. They consisted of government technical experts and administrators operating at staff and secretariat levels; political leaders, including cabinet ministers, mayors and legislators; private consultants in the urban development field; and representatives of international financing and consulting agencies, public and private, including the United Nations Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East (ECAFE) and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD). They came from Australia, Fiji, Hong Kong, India, Indonesia, Japan, Korea, Laos, Malaysia, Pakistan, the Philippines, the Republic of China, the Ryukyus, Singapore, Thailand, Vietnam, and the U.S.A. The participants are identified in Appendix B.

The procedure for deliberation was novel. After two days of introductory exploration and review of problems of urban growth, five full days were devoted to discussions by the technicians of assigned topics and sub-topics (listed in Appendix A). A special program for ministers occupied the last two days. It consisted, first, of a review of the sessions held up to that point, then roundtable discussions of points previously raised during the Conference.

The format for discussion was a radical departure from the customary formal-paper-followed-by-questions plan. In the morning, exploration of each day's topics by the technicians was first undertaken by a panel of delegates and resource persons, followed by interchanges among panelists and delegates. The delegates were divided into four or five workshop groups which met in the afternoons and continued informally to develop and exchange views on points made during the morning sessions.

# III. SOME PRIOR DOCTRINES

Perhaps no important problem in public policy is ever considered original. By the time it becomes an important problem, some of its features will have been seen, their consequences felt, and solutions put forward to deal with them.

Urban growth is such a problem of public policy. It is to be expected, therefore, that long before the Conference, here reported, it would have been addressed. Indeed, urbanism has become a matter for intensive international investigation and discourse. From these deliberations, certain premises, analyses, and proposals have emerged.[1] Any further deliberation, however, had to start at points previously established, and with the product of prior efforts.

It is the purpose of this section to fix those points and briefly to describe some of the prior doctrines concerning urban growth, which were developed in other seminars and conferences that preceded the Pacific Conference on Urban Growth, and contributed significantly to its deliberations.[2]

Fortunately, much of the task of review had already been performed under the auspices of the United Nations. In 1966 its Centre for Housing, Building and Planning summarized the principal conclusions and recommendations of a number of United Nations seminars and meetings held over a decade on urbanization, regional planning, metropolitan areas, new towns and land policies.[3] To these may be added the findings of the meeting for which they were prepared: the Seminar on Planning for Urban and Regional Development, Including Metropolitan Areas, New Towns and Land Policies, held at Nagoya, Japan, October 10-20, 1966.

## 1. The Fact of Urbanization

The point of departure for all discussion is the fact of urbanization. Specifically, it is rampant, excessive, uncontrolled, unbalanced urban growth. Urban growth in the cities of Asia and the Far East is over-rapid, especially in the capitals and other larger cities which have a tendency to grow faster than smaller urban areas.[4] The main contributing cause is massive rural-urban migration.[5] This results largely from

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[1] All footnotes on pp. 33-37.

push factors from the rural countryside, due to the low level of rural living, and sometimes to conditions of physical insecurity; not from any pull of city employment opportunities and expectations of higher incomes from industrial, commercial and service developments.[6] Increase in the rate of population growth, owing to lengthening of the life span, is another contributing factor.[7]

## 2. The Consequences of Urbanization

The general consequences everywhere are as plain as the condition and its causes. Because of over-urbanization, primate or great cities have a paralytic effect on the development of other urban places and tend to be parasitic in relation to the remainder of the national economy.[8] By centralizing industrial, commerical and service developments, they may detract from the growth potential of other cities. At the same time, further concentrations in the great city[9] require heavy investment for public utilities, housing, and other basic social overheads. But because of unemployment and underemployment, the city's inhabitants are unable to pay for urban utilities and services, even at minimum standards, without substantial support from state or national governments.[10] A lack of resources, ineffective controls, overcrowding, and inability to provide essential facilities and services can set in motion a cumulative breakdown of economic efficiency and social service. And in fact many cities of Asia are at the point of developing serious diseconomies in production (transport and power shortages, etc.) as well as overstraining their function of relieving rural underemployment and setting the pace for national development.[11]

But the specific consequences are still more palpable, and undesirable. Over-urbanization has everywhere produced overwhelming difficulties and deficiencies. The number of such problems identified depends mainly on the detail by which they are listed. An inventory usually includes: (1) migration; (2) unemployment; (3) inadequate housing; (4) squatting; (5) absence of mass sanitary facilities; (6) shortage of potable water; (7) lack of even primary educational facilities; (8) crowding; (9) filth; (10) squalor; (11) repugnant odors; (12) disease; (13) high mortality; (14) overburdened and insufficient transportation facilities; (15) lack of parks, playgrounds, and recreational facilities; (16) soaring land prices; (17) breakdown of the social order; (18) high crime rates; (19) communal conflict and competition; (20) loss of personal identity; (21) political instability. And so on and on.

## 3. Proposals to Deal with Urban Growth

To deal with these conditions and their consequences, many and varied measures are wanted. Basic to them all, however, is a deliberate urbanization policy, by which governments may influence the location of industries and administrative services.[12]

Urbanization policy is considerably formulated by, and heavily implemented through, urban planning, ideally within the context of over-all development plans.[13]

The first step in the planning process involves the shaping of sound goals.[14] One goal is balanced development, and one kind of balance weighs and prescribes the coordination of physical, economic and social growth.[15] Physical planning should be aimed at facilitating and accelerating economic growth; and in planning and amelioration of social problems, care must be taken in the allocation of limited resources to achieve proper balance between economic and social investment.[16]

Another kind of balance repeatedly urged in statements of planning goals is balance of urban-rural growth.[17]

Imbalances are most apparent at the regional level. Redressing them calls for decentralization of urban growth, which may be ensured by rational planning.

The condition most to be desired would be to induce swelled urban populations to return to rural areas.[18] Failing deurbanization, efforts might be made to at least decelerate the rate.[19]

Urban decentralization has the advantages of strengthening the smaller rural units, while at the same time diminishing the differences between city and village cultures.[20]

Although there are economic advantages in locating industrial estates in or near metropolitan and other large centers, countervailing considerations make it necessary to locate the estates at sufficient distances from the cities.[21] Overstraining the capacity of public utilities, population congestion, acute housing shortages, growing pressure on space -- all are avoided. And workers may find employment and income nearer their places of residence.

The Nagoya Seminar recommended -- as others had before it -- that the dispersal of industries could be achieved by select-

ing and expanding small and medium sized towns, building satellite towns around major cities and laying out new towns.[22]

To decelerate urban growth, some countries have also attempted to increase agricultural productivity and incomes by improving facilities for rural credit and promoting cooperative methods; taken measures to make village life more attractive; stimulated village and cottage industries; improved communications; undertaken resettlement programs; and promoted land tenure reform.[23]

Ultimately, however, effective urban planning turns on control of the development of land. Few problems are more involved and burdensome, and require greater expense, litigation and political resolution.[24] To deal with these problems various measures or policies have been employed, including "(a) confiscation during periods of upheaval; (b) price regulation on sale of land and resale; (c) rent control; (d) building regulations; (e) zoning; (f) control of subdivisions; (g) acquisition or control of development rights; (h) acquisition and sale of reserve lands; (i) tax policy; (j) use of public subsidies with expropriation; (k) control through expropriation of extra land; (l) public land acquisition in advance of industrial or residential settlement; (m) approval by government agencies; (n) reparcelling of plots; (o) building of new towns; (p) control of development through financing."[25] In adopting such measures or policies governments might authorize special taxes to compensate for public services and improvements. Land unnecessarily held out of use would be taxed until it is developed according to urban and regional plans.[26] The proposed policies might also compel the retention of all land in new towns in public ownership, at least all commercial land, to prevent it from becoming the subject of speculation. Or alternative approaches would be taken to guarantee that increments resulting from population growth are captured for the public benefit.[27]

## 4. A Re-view

On review, certain observations may be offered concerning the preceding summary of conclusions and recommendations of former meetings. Of particular note is the perspective in which urban growth is viewed. While there are, to be sure, exceptions, the common view would seem to be limited to only part of the phenomenon of urbanization. What is seen may be said to be the fact, itself: urban growth. It is also detected that big cities are growing faster than little ones; and all urban

places faster than rural areas. But the primary focus highlights "problems" -- the problems created by, or associated with, urban growth. At least 21 such problems have been cited above. These, however, are specific deficiencies and difficulties. In a larger sense, urbanization robs the countryside of its people and wealth and impairs in various ways the national welfare. The manifestations of urbanization, the symptoms and symbols, are caught in the adopted framework.

A second point, dependent on this perspective (or perhaps the relationship is reversed), pertains to orientation. In the discussion, an anti-urban attitude is unmistakable. Whether the issue is social, economic, aesthetic, physical, political or some other or a combination of these -- a bias is clear. Cities destroy social traditions, entice away people who naturally belong to the fields and villages; cities are ugly, foul, and corrupting. They are unstable politically, and threaten desired and prior tranquility. While certain advantages of economy of scale and external economies are conceded, no one would seem to love cities; nor does anyone project urban living as an ideal life-style. The orientation is negative, informed by concern with the disadvantages of urban growth.

The policy prescriptions, thus, are to be expected. The best thing to be done, in the circumstances, would be to de-urbanize. Send the migrants back to the depleted rural areas, where they and the nation would be better off. Failing that, halt the present trend. Stop urban growth, if such growth cannot be reversed. If it cannot be stopped, at least arrest it. If it cannot be arrested, then there is nothing to be done save deal as best as possible with the problems created by urbanization. It is suggested that the whole panoply of proposals may be ordered by this series of points of attack or retreat. Balanced development, regional planning, counter-magnets, satellite cities, new towns, controlled development, land policy -- all are meant to reverse, divert, arrest, regulate urbanization.

It should be clear that these conclusions and recommendations are, fundamentally, consistent and coherent. Indeed, they comprise what fairly may be termed some of the prior doctrines on the topic presented at the Pacific Conference on Urban Growth.

# IV. INITIAL REINDORSEMENT OF PRIOR DOCTRINES

## 1. Image of the City as a "Planner's Nightmare"

The Pacific Conference on Urban Growth began with a restatement of the premises and objectives of those that preceded it -- uncontrolled city growth has created urban horrors, and something ought to be done about them. It began with the traditional problem-oriented approach to the phenomenon of urbanization in Asia.

Building on stark statistical facts, such as the projection of a city population of Asia of 550 million by the year 1971,[28] and word pictures of urban physical deterioration surely to be compounded by those statistics, the traditionalists at the Conference described the urban problems largely in environmental terms. In the words of the Conference Moderator, it is the "conventional view . . . of the great and growing city as a planner's nightmare and a mass of seemingly insurmountable problems."[29]

From this perspective the city was said to pose a great dilemma for the developing countries of Asia; for "while their very survival depends on development of agriculture and industry and diversification of their economies, with every step they take in these directions, they sink deeper into the mire of social and environmental deterioration."[30] Increased efficiency in agricultural productivity often releases labor. Despite this increased efficiency, rural living conditions frequently do not improve because of population increases and other factors. This induces migration to the cities. The consequence is added competition for already scarce urban employment opportunities, and more strain on limited city accommodations, improvements and services -- schools, hospitals, playgrounds and the rest. Investment in industry to provide new employment in turn attracts even more rural migrants, and at the same time increases the demand for housing for new concentrations of labor while further aggravating deficiencies in housing and municipal services. Efforts to meet those deficiences are frustrated by growing building costs and land shortages. And even where such efforts might succeed, they would make the city just that much stronger a magnet for the restless villager.

The net result is disorderliness in the cities, manifested physically by shanty towns, slums and squatter settlements and reflected in mounting social unrest which poses "great threats

to nascent nations." For urban "mobs driven to despair can become so disorderly an element that the very framework of social stability on which a nation's economic development depends can be destroyed."[31]

## 2. The Initial Response of the Conference: Arrest Migration; Decentralize

The initial response at the Conference sessions was the conventional one. Familiar notions were restated and reindorsed. To provide a complete report on them here would be merely to repeat many of the doctrines and proposed solutions already summarized, so would serve no useful purpose. But the strength of their influence on existing governmental and professional attitudes and conceptions would be misrepresented without a recital of salient points made in the course of this reaffirmation.

Again a major frontal attack was launched against in-migration. Stop the trend. Stem the tide of migrants by weakening the pull of the large city, and enhancing attractions of the smaller towns. Otherwise this continuing exportation of poverty and unskilled labor will increase the problems of the cities.

It was asserted that Japan at one time succeeded in obstructing the flow of migrants to the city through the control of rationing tickets. Manila has resorted to vagrancy laws to deny city residence to migrants who have no accommodations or adequate means of support. From one quarter came the recommendation to curb changes of residence through the dispensing and control of work permits.

Better yet, move the city people back to the country through inducements in the form of money and land. This is being done in Malaysia.

Or take employment to the people and they will stop moving to the city. There are ways to attract industry to sites in new or smaller towns, or prevent them from locating in the large urban centers. In recent years most of the licensed industries in India have gone to the great cities. Reform of industrial licensing policies may be necessary. In Australia the government assists in locating new industry in provincial towns. Korea and Japan provide special tax incentives to direct private investment into newly developing areas.

Singapore has used similar pump-priming methods, including tax forgiveness, contributions of up to 50% of equity capital, 100% loans, and recourse to international aid to provide water and power. And in the face of threatened failure, Singapore also used its ingenuity. It attempted to attract industry to a new settlement by providing roads, other improvements and public housing. Some 5,000 housing units were built, but after industry was established in the new settlement, it was found that two-thirds of these units remained vacant. The younger workers were still living at the distant homes of their parents. They complained that the new housing area afforded inadequate shopping, entertainment and cultural attractions. Yet, absent a clientele, commercial interests could not be induced to provide such services. To break this vicious cycle, Singapore stationed military personnel and their dependents in the area, thus providing customers for new commercial enterprise. This in turn induced labor to take up residence in the area, after which the military detachments were gradually withdrawn.

Policies for the development of new industrial complexes to deflect employment seekers from glutted urban labor markets is frequently linked with the promotion of "new towns", "satellite cities", or "ring towns". There is a maximum level for employment opportunities in expanding cities. Past that point, even if more jobs are created, social and welfare costs increase too much. The information about the kind of employment which increases as the city expands is not yet clear enough to support a policy of looking to expanding cities for the primary solution to the unemployment problem.

In Taiwan, new town development is described as one of the more aggressive measures to reduce pressures on heavily populated urban areas, and avoid the growth of cities to undesirable sizes. It is reported that in the judgment of Taiwan, the optimum city size is 500,000.

Pakistan has made a dedicated effort to build new towns, and boasts of good beginnings, reflected in the building of the new city of Islamabad and undertaking of a couple of other projects, one aided by the United Nations.

Some of the most articulate arguments for new towns were made at the Conference by a panelist from Malaysia. Concededly, huge capital expenditures are required for the establishment of new towns. Land must be acquired. Heavy earth moving equipment must be obtained. Drainage and water works and roads must be constructed. Substantial administrative

costs may be incurred. Yet equivalent or even greater investments may have to be made in existing urban centers if their improvement or renewal were the alternative. There colonies of squatters have to be removed from lands required for public purposes. New housing must be constructed for the squatters. Roads have to be widened, overpasses built, and other improvements made. It is claimed that low density housing in new towns would cost much less, in terms of initial capital investment and subsidies, than high density construction of housing in the old towns. But even if such economic benefits were not realized, other significant gains must be counted -- improvement in living conditions, greater industrial efficiency, provision of more time for leisure, the benefits of home ownership, and other social benefits, particularly to a multiracial society like Malaysia's. Its spokesman claimed that, on balance, twelve years of experience with Malaysia's first new town yielded both economic and social benefits, despite the fact that the new housing proved too expensive for the members of the new labor force and made commuters out of them.

A delegate from India declared that his country could not afford extensive expansion of its major cities. It needs new towns in the metropolitan region, not as a countermagnet to the metropolis, but as ring towns. Concomitantly, subsidiary industries (i.e., other than heavy industries whose locations are theoretically controllable by the Central Government) and government offices must be encouraged to move to the new towns so as to attract population to them.

Hong Kong has two new towns (so labelled even though they depend heavily on the central city for many community facilities). It also has two more in the planning stage, each with a projected population of one million.

One of Korea's major planning goals is to prevent excessive in-migration to large urban centers and instead guide migration towards productive establishment or re-enforcement of smaller urban centers.[32] The population growth of Seoul will be discouraged to prevent growth over 5 millions, and the present plan calls for the establishment of seven satellite cities.[33] Special attention has been given to the development of the Ulsan Industrial Center, 70 km northeast of Pusan, Korea's largest port.[34]

The Malaysian proponent of new towns suggested a variation for developing countries with inadequate resources to construct new city-size settlements; namely, the building of "new

villages". He argued that by using Asian standards these might be built cheaply to provide urban amenities in communities of 1,000 to 1,500 acres, containing from 10,000 to 20,000 people, and thereby help arrest the rural-to-urban drift. Indonesia and the Philippines are said to have built "transmigration areas". In more general terms, arguments were made for assigning priorities to the improvement of rural areas as a means of lessening the flow of migrants to the cities.

Decentralization is to be accomplished in the name of national or regional urbanization policy. It is essential to plan for the metropolitan region instead of expanding the metropolis. Develop a spatial pattern of cities. Correct urban-rural imbalances within a particular region or within the country as a whole. In sum -- repeating the stricture of the Nagoya Seminar -- the need is for countries to attempt a multi-centered spatial order in place of the present metropolitan-centered disorder.

Regional planning is vaguely perceived as a significant technique for achieving desired urbanization policy. Its dominant function is coordinative. When we talk of regional planning, we are talking about coordinated and integrated planning. The goals of national economic plans and regional urban ones must not be set in isolation.

> "Regional resources must be put to optimum use. For example, a single industry established in a region attracts ancillary industries. In the absence of a land-use plan, these industries utilize top agricultural land that then is lost forever. Also, it brings an imbalance in the population density. Mineral resources and ground resources may be left untouched in the absence of adequate infrastructure. This would not [happen] if the economic and physical surveys [were] undertaken at the same time and both utilized in the development of a coordinated regional plan."

In short, comprehensive physical planning must start on a regional basis so as to guide planning for individual cities and towns.[35]

The competition among cities for limited resources also demands regional treatment. All cities, regardless of size, usually want more growth economically, so coordination among cities is obviously essential, and that is particularly the concern of the regional planners.

In the larger countries, like India, regional planning must first be fostered by the federal government, with legislative backing and some funds provided for that purpose. A central government might prepare general regional plans, the details of which would be filled in by state and local plans.

The Conference was favored with a review of the promotion of regional planning in the Philippines.[36] For administrative purposes and industrial development, the Philippines is divided into 10 regions, one consisting of the primate city of Manila, and others of several provinces each. The region was selected as the most practical level both for planning and implementation, because of its compactness and cohesive characteristics. The regional approach offered "a middle path between the over-aggregative, often unrealistic national economic development planning on the one hand and the slower-paced electicism of individual project development on the other."[37]

The impetus for regional planning came from local levels, as well as from national planners, with the recognition that so many problems of the urban environment, such as floods, fires, traffic congestion, squatters, and air and water pollution are no respecters of local political and administrative boundaries.

Regional development authorities were created in the Philippines as instruments of regional planning. The government recognized that public corporations would be appropriate vehicles for "drawing up the necessary plans for regional development; providing leadership in the setting up of pioneering or ground-breaking industrial and agricultural enterprises; coordinating or integrating the diverse efforts of various public and private entities directly engaged in implementing plans and projects affecting power, manufacturing, mining, transportation and communication, conservation, resettlement, education, extension work, health and other activities leading to the rapid socio-economic growth of the regions and extending or facilitating the extension of financial, management and technical support of worthwhile industrial and commerical ventures within the region."[38]

These development authorities are directly under the supervision of the President of the Philippines. Their key officials are nominated by him, and their plans are subject to his approval.

The government provides some financial assistance in the form of revolving funds released over a period of years, government guarantee of their bonds, and exemptions from taxes.

It is conceded that the accomplishments of the Philippine Regional Development Authorities have been meager by reason of inadequate financial support and deficiencies in professional manpower and planning techniques. However, it is anticipated that comprehensive regional development planning will continue as a function of government in charting the country's growth.

In Korea, multi-purpose development planning for nine special regional areas is in progress.[39] Of immediate concern is planning for the Seoul-Inchon area, where random expansion is occurring without effective planning for reasonable and regularized development.[40] Major public works projects and industrial promotion are contemplated, including the establishment of seven satellite cities. The ultimate objectives are the improvement of traffic and transportation facilities; inducement of industrial development by providing fundamental facilities; agricultural improvement through irrigation works and tidal land reclamation; the development of electric power resources; prevention of the extraordinary expansion of Seoul City; improvement of the regional function; and the improvement of recreational facilities.[41]

"Regionalism is now a working concept . . . in Vietnam where the Cam Ranh Bay is no longer a planning program for a port but rather a whole region . . . wherein three provinces are considered as one unit."

Whereas the original development plan of Calcutta was for 12 million people living within 38 square miles, current planning embraces about 500 square miles in the Calcutta metropolitan region; and even beyond that Calcutta planners are taking cognizance of areas of influence extending into a number of Indian states.

Japan has initiated phased regional planning, beginning with the National Capital Region. It is linked with national planning through the assessment of development needs and costs on a regional basis, which are reflected in the National Development Plan.

### 3. Reaffirmation of the Importance of Development Controls

We have noted that public regulation of land development is important to the prior doctrines. It will be pertinent here to make selected references to regulatory measures and urban land policies discussed in Honolulu, indicating as they do a continued preoccupation with the regulatory tools of urban planning.

*Density controls.* The Conference took special note of Hong Kong's building and planning code revisions. In 1955 "permissible volume" replaced building height as the critical standard for density controls. Site density developed to about five or six thousand persons per acre, and in 1960 new regulations had to be devised to halt the trend. A change was made from permissible volume to plot ratio, which would cut population density almost in half.

*Public ownership of land.* Although it was generally agreed that government ownership of urban land is a good thing, the enthusiasm for public ownership ranged from a plea for nationalization of all urban land to suggested selective acquisition of unproductive odd-shaped plots.

India's acquisition of 55,000 acres of land in and about New Delhi, and resale by auction at a handsome profit, was cited as an illustration of how government might divert to community purposes increments from a rising land market that would otherwise go into the pockets of private investors. This was coupled with the suggestion that such profits might best be earmarked as a revolving fund for urban development projects.

The Conference was also reminded that there may be less costly alternatives to expropriation, such as the acquisition of development rights in land, if the objective is to prevent it from being put to a use detrimental to the community or incompatible with the community's plan. The exchange of land was commended as another method of obtaining land for public projects.

*Land acquisition.* The usual call was made for more efficient, less costly land acquisition laws; and the settling of damage claims by administrative tribunals rather than by the courts was generally endorsed, as was the practice of vesting title in government prior to paying compensation. The conferees were intrigued by the disclosure that under its new compulsory acquisition law Singapore reduces its costs in two situations: (a) If a natural catastrophe, such as a fire, destroys buildings housing squatters or subject to rent-control, encumbrances ordinarily depressing the market value of land, Singapore may acquire the land and pay the owner compensation not exceeding one-third of its tax value as a vacant parcel (the theory being that the private owner should not profit from an act of God resulting in an increase in market value). (b) Though compensation is ordinarily computed at market value, the law denies the owner that part of market value attributable to increments from

public improvements, such as adjoining highways, which were completed within the preceeding seven years. Singapore's compensation formula also discounts any value attributable to prospects of a favorable change in planning restrictions. The audience was reminded that Singapore's Constitution does not contain a guarantee of *property* rights.

*Balancing benefits and burdens resulting from government action.* The familiar list of methods for exacting tribute from property owners benefited by public works or planning decisions, and compensating the injured owners (e.g., betterment levies, special benefit assessments, and the required dedication of land by subdividers for public purposes) appeared. Of more than passing interest were mention of land readjustment and equalization techniques used in Korea, Japan, Taiwan and Singapore. In Seoul, Korea, using that country's land readjustment laws, the city takes an average of 26 per cent of the total land in a development area for public use -- most of it for streets, smaller portions for sewage and drainage, schools, parks, and other community facilities. In Taiwan, planning authorities, after pooling land to be developed, take out 40 per cent for public use and an additional five per cent to be sold for the purpose of defraying construction costs before reparcelling the remaining 55 percent among the original owners. In theory, at least, the land owners are compensated for this loss through increased land values resulting from the public improvements.[42] Increments from rising land values are also shared by the government in Taiwan through a system of assessment and taxation provided by the Statute for the Enforcement of the Equalization of Urban Land Rights. Land in selected urban planning areas is subject to a land value tax based on the owner's declared values, and may be compulsorily acquired if the declared value is more than 20 per cent lower than an assessed value. In addition, a land increment value tax is levied on land transfers. The proceeds of the latter tax are used for the construction of urban homes and other public welfare purposes.[43]

*Measures to stimulate private development of land.* The following may be noted: Japan delineates "use areas" embracing land which the private owner is required to develop within a specific period, under pain of a special tax. Singapore has reduced its 36 per cent tax on real property income to 12 per cent in urban renewal areas in order to attract investment by private developers. Some countries apply disproportionately high tax rates to vacant land to discourage land hoarding. Some rent control legislation facilitates the repossession of vacant land by owners who wish to redevelop it.

## V. EMERGING DOUBTS

The Conference responded to the admonition of Governor Burns of Hawaii that

> ". . . the time has come for all of the nations of the world to be particularly honest, one with the other; to face up squarely to the inadequacies of both our conceptual thinking about the problems of the city and to our inability to implement our new thinking . . . ."[44]

The delegates acknowledged that the recommendations of the previous meetings had not been carried out, and asked -- rhetorically -- whether those recommendations were unrealistic. Also came both the revelation that urban growth is inevitable and disenchantment with the notion that the inevitable might somehow be avoided by a magic formula for achieving rural-urban balance.

In the face of this reality some delegates challenged the assumption that there is a universally applicable optimum urbanization level or optimal city size. In their view, the optimum must vary from country to country, and at different points of time; it might reach 20 millions; there was no maximum to regulate.

If an urban population ceiling were prescribed, there was little assurance that the prescription could be filled. On the contrary, it was observed that Japan had built new industrial centers in furtherance of a policy of decentralization, but discovered that the magnetism of already established megalopolitan centers is too strong. And Japanese delegates viewed with skepticism current plans to surround Tokyo with 20 new industrial towns in the face of resistance by private industry, which prefers building sites on the fringes of Tokyo close to a labor supply and markets.

One expert was compelled to admit that despite strong statements on the potential value of decentralization and of building up secondary urban centers, actually we know very little about this subject; nor do we know much more about the most effective means for carrying out regional development programs as instruments of decentralization. He informed the Conference that "recognition of this fact gave rise to a proposal to study regional development in all parts of the world on a comparative basis to learn what works and what doesn't work, what is helpful

and what is not helpful." The study is to be made at the Social Development Center in Geneva.

Attempts to determine whether investment in urban infrastructures gives higher or lower returns than those in rural works were similarly inconclusive. According to the Conference Moderator:

> "We have been forced to concede that no one as yet knows. Until answers to such critical questions can be given on the basis of systematic analysis, of even the limited data available in many of our countries, investment policy continues to be a matter of educated guess work, not of science. We have noted, however, a growing body of evidence in favor of shifts to a higher urban ratio." [45]

On these subjects as well as on a host of others the discussions were permeated with reservations as to the efficacy of solutions put forward during the past eleven years of international exchanges on urbanization, and with doubts as to the validity of some of their underlying premises.

## VI. THE FUNCTIONAL APPROACH PRESENTED

We have already commented on the willingness of many participants, to a much greater degree than in the preceding conferences, to take urban growth out of its problem context for the purpose of reprobing its meaning. To them the crucial question is: what contribution does the phenomenon of urban growth make to national development, however painful its consequences? It is no longer: How do we prevent or contain urban growth to avoid these consequences and alleviate the pain?

The difference in the two approaches may have a profound effect on policy decisions. For instance, if it be demonstrated that migration to the city in the long run accelerates the country's economic and social development, policy may dictate a deliberate acceleration of migration.

However that issue (encourage or discourage migration) be decided, the critical contribution of this Conference is revealed in the new mood and style of those who took part in the debate. It stems from their impatience with the *a priori* method of constructing urbanization policy from unchallenged assumptions, as with building blocks -- notably the assumption that rapid city growth from migration is bad, hence must be halted.

This Conference was not structured as a debate. There were no briefs, no cases made in the form of prepared papers expounding and documenting positions to be argued. It did not provide a forum for testing the traditional concepts against empiric evidence; for determining the extent to which those concepts may be *a priori*, doctrinaire, and based mainly on attitudes, perception and orientation rather than facts. Nor could it -- as perhaps no conference could at this stage of Asian urban development -- produce a concensus as to the validity of the functional approach. But the observer can cull out of the discussions facts, explanations and inferences from which the non-traditionalists might support their position.

The next part of this report will state the case in conclusory terms. This will be followed by evidence, for what it is worth, gleaned from the experience of Japan (facts), and a Japanese panelist's elaboration on the theoretical underpinnings of that experience (explanations). Finally, supportive inferences will be drawn from experiences, ideas and proposals emanating from other Asian sources.

## 1. Role and Functions of the City

The new technique starts with an examination of the function of the large city to ascertain how in serving that function it promotes national development.

The overview reveals the city as a concentration of population, infrastructure, services, and markets which "offers opportunities for economies"

> economies of scale, both in production and consumption;
>
> economies of juxtaposition, from convenient and efficient spatial and functional relationships;
>
> economies resulting from the division of labor, from specialization of function and occupation, and diversity of skills and professions, which enable cities to serve as centers of administration, transportation, communication, and finance, as entrepots, factories, and markets, as sources of arts, services and recreation;
>
> external economies (that is, economies external to the individual and common to the community, which permit all economic activities to be performed more efficiently and productively) -- including economies of the infrastructure of transportation, communication, electricity, water and waste disposal, and other public facilities and services; as well as economies from the diversity and specialization of skills and services in support of production -- research and development, commerce and finance, engineering, construction and maintenance, etc. -- which make it efficient and profitable to do business in a modern city.

Through concentration and specialization of labor the city promotes the accumulation and distribution of capital. It is identified with the growth of financial institutions and development of entrepeneurial and managerial ability.

The city reaches into its hinterland for labor supply, for raw materials, and for provisions. But it returns manifold benefits to the rural areas. It is a major consumer of agricultural produce. It manufactures goods needed by rural consumers. When it reaches a kind of take-off stage in its own development, the city will provide jobs for surplus agricultural laborers; and even though they may be low-paying jobs, they nonetheless mean

higher incomes for rural migrants.[46] As population moves out of the rural areas, gross per capita product will increase since the numbers of persons sharing the rural product will decline and inter-regional income differences may lessen.[47] Finally the city acts as a major source of technical know-how and other skills for rural areas, without which their productive efficiencies could not increase.[48] In the Philippines for example, the more successful farmers are those who have been to the city to learn new methods and have returned to convert farming into a business.

In addition to the crucial roles they play in national economic development, cities in newly developing countries perform important *social* functions for both their inhabitants and the nation.[49] Civilization has flourished in the cities. The city is a theatre of change,[50] the theatre for modernization in every aspect of life.[51] The process of city development encourages innovation in all fields.[52] Since the beginnings of urban life, cities have been the repository and generator of major expressions of human creativity.[53]

The city sets the standards in practice of a nation's earliest efforts to provide the best quality facilities and services in health care, in housing, in education, in training for jobs, in business enterprises at various scales -- all hopefully to become the norms for national patterns in due course.[54]

## 2. Urbanization and Industrialization in Japan

No one disputed the assertions that:

> "In the past decade Japan has achieved the most remarkable economic growth in the world. In 1963 Japan's manufacturing production was the third highest in the world (if the United States' manufacturing production in 1963 was set at 100, the Soviet Union's 60, Japan's 35, and West Germany's 30)."[55]

Two structural changes of unprecedented magnitude accompanied this rapid economic growth: (a) *industrialization,* meaning the shifting of production bases from land to man-accumulated capital, and the marked increase in both production and consumption; and (b) *urbanization.*

Though Japan's industrialization began a century ago, prior to World War II it was characterized by the predominance of light

industries. Since the mid-1950's, however, heavy and chemical industries have become the mainstay of the Japanese economy; the ratio of heavy and chemical industrial production to national manufacturing production in Japan being today the highest in the world.

Whether or not it is universally true that urbanization is a concomitant of industrialization, it was undeniably so in Japan during the past decade. Up to the early 1950's, about 45 per cent of Japan's work force was engaged in agriculture. Today the ratio is only 30 per cent, and it is likely to decline to less than 10 per cent in the next 20 to 30 years. From 1960 to 1965 Japan's population increased by 4,860,000 to a national total of 98,280,000. This national increase was exceeded by a population increase of 5,730,000 in the three highly urbanized metropolitan regions of the country, Tokyo, Nagoya, and Kyoto-Osaka-Kobe. By the end of the 20th century, 90 million people or 80 per cent of Japan's urban population may live in the "Tokaido Megalopolis" formed by these three regions.

## 3. A Theory of the Economic Function of Urban Development in National Development

It is, to be sure, debatable whether Japan's urban growth per se brought about the radical transformation of its economy during the past ten years. And it will be contended that the Japanese setting is atypical; that its experience has little evidentiary value to the case for a policy of deliberate acceleration of urban growth. But the theory advanced in explanation of Japan's remarkable economic-urban growth was seriously scrutinized by the Conference for its universal truths. We refer to the theory, enunciated by Professor Fujii, of the economic function of urban development in national development.

It rests on these interrelated premises: (a) specialization of labor increases productivity; (b) the specialization of functional division of areas (such as areas devoted to industrial uses, areas devoted to cultivation, etc.) increases the efficiency of an urban economy, for it concentrates large numbers of people, skills and capital in relatively small spaces so as to facilitate communication among sectors of the economy; (c) there is a relationship between capital density and the efficiency of space; as more capital is invested in a given space, the economic efficiency of that space is increased; (d) industrialization leads to the concentrated accumulation of both capital and labor; (e) the accumulation of labor and capital leads in turn to urbanization.

There are of course points beyond which increases in labor and capital investment in a given space yield diminishing returns in economic efficiency. Where the optimum density of capital is exceeded in a given area, the capital in that area tends to disperse to the surrounding areas. This results in the expansion of areas having an optimum density of population.

The pace of this process of urbanization depends, of course, on progress in transportation and communication technologies, on the rate of investment in these technologies, and on the specialization of labor and space.[56] For example, as progress in transportation technologies makes the journey to work longer and longer in mile-distance but shorter and shorter in time-and-cost distance production areas become further separated from consumption areas. And the gap becomes widened even further by an increase in the capacity to pay for higher costs of transportation.

It follows that industrialization thus leads inevitably to the growth of cities, especially the large cities. And after a certain point, the large city becomes a kind of "autonomous power engine" in its own right; that is, as its productive capabilities are increased through the concentration of skills and capital, its consumption powers also increase, both for the products it produces and for the innumerable services required by urban producers and consumers.[57]

The description of the large city as an "autonomous power engine" does not mean that the city becomes disconnected from the rural areas and rural economy. As a matter of fact interdependency increases as cities expand as is pointed out above.[58]

In sum, the theory holds that the growth of the large city, based on capital accumulation, will in the long run stimulate the growth of the nation.

## 4. Supportive Inferences

The record of the proceedings is replete with inferences of readiness to examine objectively every facet of urban growth, analyze its functions as well as its symptoms, and assess its full worth.

*Attitudes towards migrants.* This was especially true of attitudes towards migrants, whose movement to and place in the Asian city dominated many of the discussions. Questions as to

how further migration can be prevented or how the city can be protected from the more undisciplined migrants already in its midst were replaced with such questions as: Who are these migrants? What are their characteristics? How can they be utilized to make urbanization more productive?

The Conference was informed that the willingness of many migrants to sever their ties with the rural homestead and its traditions alone demonstrates motivation and qualities making them potential contributors to urban productivity. Some claim that their numbers are drawn from the younger, better educated, better motivated, and socially more favorable elements of rural communities. Granting their economic and social insecurity when they arrive in the city and their problems of adjusting to urban life, a new national imperative was sounded: Capitalize on the vigor and enterprise of the migrants, and improve the essential conditions for this by helping them make the necessary occupational and social adjustments.

This dictum is being heeded in a number of countries. Many constructive programs have been undertaken or suggested, such as (a) training through self-help housing; (b) on-the-job training with the cooperation of industry (generally taking place in the evenings in a Pakistan program); (c) recruiting young people from rural areas for technical training, and providing vocational training in the rural areas (Malaysia); (d) the establishment of industrial training institutes in towns and cities (India); and (e) encouraging and providing training for self-employment, such as in crafts and services.

In some countries government policy favors the use of unskilled newcomers to the city in public works projects and municipal service operations. A number of them set up recruitment offices, employment exchanges, or information centers in rural areas, cities, or both. Indonesia has a special agency for finding employment for migrants. Government subsidization of labor-intensive, small-scale industries, such as weaving industries, was also mentioned as a device for alleviating the problem of the unemployed migrant. Public works projects were suggested. One delegate recommended that fringe areas of the city be earmarked for the development of industries, possibly of small scale, to absorb migrants. Hong Kong favors the movement of small-scale industries from squatter colonies to estates of flatted factories (small manufacturing establishments located in apartment buildings to provide local employment). Singapore has successfully formed disciplined, uniformed workers' brigades from the ranks of the unemployed, housed them in special

barracks, and given them tasks which both serve community needs and impart skills to the worker.

Technical training alone may not be sufficient to condition persons from rural backgrounds to reach the productivity of which they are capable, if indeed technical training can be given at all until such basic educational prerequisites as literacy are met. In recognition of this need, one government gives a monthly allowance to certain newly employed industrial workers who remain in their jobs for six months and at the same time attend night school.

The Conference sensed that city relatives of the migrants and linguistic or clan groups to which they form attachments probably provide more efficient mechanisms than existing governmental employment and community development programs for assisting migrants to obtain jobs and adapt to city ways. The positive approach, applied here, suggested to some delegates the need for public support for such social groups to help them perform this vital function.

The same attitude towards migrants also directs attention to their health problems, which government must help solve to transform them into contributing members of urban society. One innovative technique is Bangkok's community development program, which features mobile mother and children health center units, each consisting of a doctor, nurse, and social worker.

*Treatment of squatters.* The "new urban debate" entered squarely into discussions of the squatter problem. Some participants called for diligent enforcement of the laws to eliminate squatting altogether. This was characterized as the lawyer's view, starting with the legal definition of a squatter as a violator of property rights who must be ejected. In other words, the squatter's disrespect for the law is but another symptom or consequence of urban growth; and the way to solve the problem is simply to treat the symptom by enforcing the law. From another point of view, the squatter is perceived as a potential force for furthering urban, hence national, development. The Conference was reminded by Professor Hamzah Sendut that squatters are country people drawn to the city environment because they like the good things of life -- electricity, the cinema, modern ways of living. They devised seven or eight types of land tenure under conditions of poverty, which is indicative of their skill. . . Furthermore, they are very law abiding people. "They have never begun a social revolution up to this point -- but they could if you don't take care of them". [59]

Professor Sendut contended that governments must provide squatters with employment, training, shelter and education. They must be given every assistance to cooperate with city life -- to become useful citizens of the city and nation.[60]

A variety of caveats and constructive suggestions followed. Squatters should not be moved from place to place, simply in observance of the strictures of the laws of trespass. They should not be cleared from public land unless government is prepared to redevelop the cleared site immediately. They should be moved to government land reserves, even for temporary occupancy, until they can be absorbed into the regular stream of urban economic activity and be given permanent shelter. Appropriate zones or areas should be set aside for squatter settlements, impliedly including public lands which were not originally intended for settlement but might be used temporarily to siphon squatters from other private or public lands occupied at relatively greater social cost.

The observation that Hong Kong's export capacity was strongly aided by its squatter labor supply attested to the merits of a policy of rehabilitating squatters, rather than routing them.

*Housing.* The Conference was informed that housing plays an important role in the economy of a country, providing (a) a livelihood for the sectors engaged in construction or in servicing the building industry, which opens up vast opportunities for employment; (b) a large market for industry; and (c) an outlet for investment.

On the issue as to what groups should be accorded priority in housing assistance programs, one essentially economic criterion received widespread endorsement: Housing should not be provided at government expense for the lowest income segment; rather, assistance should be given to productive persons in slightly higher income brackets, productive in reference to their ability to make meaningful contributions to the economy. It was reported that India is considering subsidy schemes for persons able to afford possibly half the economic rent. The adoption of a standard of rent-paying capacity might resolve the difficult problems of identifying the more productive groups.

A number of participants favored open plot development, the device of providing housing sites for the lowest income groups, possibly some construction such as a plinth, water and sanitation facilities, and perhaps small funds for purchasing building materials. This typifies the developmental approach to the

problem. The self-help feature of the device is itself a cultivator of human skills which can be employed later in other ways in the cause of national development. The device is also developmental in conception in that it provides a relatively efficient, inexpensive and speedy method of satisfying conditions prerequisite to transforming migrants or would-be squatters into immediate producers, as opposed to investment of public capital in much costlier permanent structures long before the economy can afford them. Evidence of a similar perspective is to be found in the response of one observer to a common criticism of the method. Open plot development is often said to fail because some lessees of plots sell their interests to others. The sites are too far from their work, or they prefer the cash to the offered shelter arrangements. The response noted the countervailing fact that despite this deficiency the method at least adds to the housing stock of the community.

*Education.* We need not record the Conference give-and-take on the question whether priority should be given to universal primary education or to technical or specialized education. However, relevant to the point here was the statement made in the summary presentation to the Ministers:

> "We have come to believe that education should be viewed as a social investment. While we are unsure as to the proper priority to be assigned to the secondary and technical education of a relative few as against an attempt at universal primary education for all, we agree that certain rudimentary forms of education must be instituted immediately, including assistance to in-migrants in adapting to city life."[61]

Of further relevance was the criticism leveled at some universities for deterring urban and national development rather than aiding it, because of inflexible departmental structures, and the excessive baggage of over-specialization.

*The planning process.* There was a special message for city land use planners in the proposition that unless the city provides an efficient environment for carrying out its productive and trade activities, the erosion of its economic base may result: Land use planning should be just as concerned with economic growth as are national and regional planning. Pushing the analogy a bit further, it is reasoned that just as national planning must be based on sound rules of industrial location -- and economic planners will consider whether an industry is resource-oriented

or labor-oriented or market-oriented -- so local planning must be based on sound rules of localization. This means that the special requirements of different industries reach down into the local level. For example, some industries are transportation-oriented (e.g., requiring special local facilities such as ports or rail yards), hence may be sensitive to high transportation costs. Others may be communications-oriented, requiring a great deal of face-to-face contacts -- so that a compact downtown center may be essential. Still others are external-economies oriented, i.e., their overhead service costs loom large, therefore they demand locations where needed services can be provided at minimum costs, as in industrial estates. And so on. Land use plans on which development controls are grounded may indeed be anti-developmental if they do not meet these special requirements; if, as is so often the case, they attempt to limit locations by specific kinds of zoning standards applied across the board. A suggested solution is the substitution of general industrial and commercial performance standards, allowing industries to locate anywhere as long as they can meet the standards established for such abuses as smoke, noise and traffic generation. If city planners approach the problem in this light they would find the national economic planners both interested and sympathetic! They would be speaking the same language. A precondition is the formulation of urban development goals in precise terms to provide appropriate guidance for land use planning and controls; much more precise, at least, than such vague commonplace terms as "developing a satisfactory environment" or "avoiding non-compatible land uses." They must be described in sufficient detail to inform the city planner as to the role of industry, of transportation facilities, of squatter settlements, and of other city phenomena as generators of urban productivity.

A related criticism of existing planning practices charged that in many cases attempts are made to control land use patterns without taking into account opportunity costs, or the fundamental needs of the urban population for employment, shelter and other services privately supplied. They entail too much petty regulation; often reflect an attitude that looks upon business as a natural enemy of national growth; and in general are exclusively negative in slant and impact. The role of government in urban policy must be, at once, regulatory and supportive.

*Encouragement of the private sector.* In a similar vein, the same critic remarked:

> "In the matter of urban development, we are all socialists now . . . Everyone knows public power must be the

framework in which urban places develop and function. It is a tired argument about the 'rights' of property and free enterprise. There are no such rights except as government wishes to establish and maintain them. Such private rights, themselves, are publicly generated and sustaining."

Accordingly, it is useless to bring rigid and obsolete dogmas to problems of urban development, especially to questions concerning the roles of public and private sectors. The issue is not an ideological one but a functional and practical one, a matter of the optimal use of the resources of public and private institutions to attain developmental goals in urbanization. And for this purpose many mixtures of inputs are possible, each with determined costs and consequences. Among Pacific nations,

> "A considerable range of variation exists . . . with respect to this mixture, and the relationships which inform it. Despite wide variations, however, no nation has found it efficient to do certain things publicly. While every country must choose its own course, available resources, technological advancement, political organization, and social traditions in most developing areas suggest that a vast proportion of urban development will be, and should be, left to private initiative."

He concluded that the only sound urban planning is collaborative planning; and public-private partnership in this process is unquestionably the most critical condition of rational urban growth.

Here again the focus is on function rather than on form. The extent of the private partner's interest will depend on his ability to further national development, not on doctrinaire attitudes regarding his role.

*The building of secondary urban centers.* The functional approach is exemplified by one statement of the case for building secondary urban centers. It does not assume *a priori* that new towns must be established simply because the existing large ones are beset with problems of size. The decision will derive, deductively, from a finding that further expansion of the primate city of a country or region would accumulate costs more rapidly than benefits; and from the corollary determination that the alternative or secondary settlements would better promote national growth. Nor would the form of the secondary urban developments be taken from a stock mold. Through conscious,

planned efforts the choice would be made as to whether existing smaller cities should be expanded, regional service or market centers established, or, under certain circumstances, new cities built. Finally, the dominating influence in planning for secondary urban centers would be their role in national and regional development, not preconceived notions as to their location, size and other characteristics. There can be no rule governing the number, size, or location of such secondary centers in a country or region. They must be selected and developed on the basis of explicit considerations of their economic and political assets. Their location should be related to the raw materials or other resources required for industry, whether for a regional or national market or for export. Preferably, they will be centers which already have an economic reason for being and have demonstrated a viability based on location or resources.

# VII. RECOMMENDATIONS

The Conference made these recommendations:

1. The Conference underscored the lack of trained specialists, particularly planners, available for work on solutions of the problems of urban growth in the developing countries and recommended the establishment of new training centers. If this is not feasible in each of the participating countries, consideration should be given to the development of joint or cooperative regional training centers.

2. The training centers might be combined with study and research institutes or centers. In any event, research facilities should be established at one or more centers to service the countries of Asia and the Far East. It was suggested that this might be done on a regional basis in the ECAFE area, particularly under the sponsorship of ECAFE. Alternatively, or in addition, the Conference expressed the hope that the East-West Center at Honolulu might develop a similar resource. In such new centers, or otherwise, scholars should continue to examine the "larger, more fundamental research questions . . . , and hopefully, with larger budgets and staffs, so that the crucial development role of the city and urban development in general can better be understood."[62]

3. The participating governments should consider "a series of short intensive conferences dealing with special problems of keen importance to the development of urban policies in Asian countries (which) might range from essentially technical discussions relating to transport, tax administration, (and) waste disposal to the ways in which ethnolinguistic groups, guilds, extended family or clan associations, might be employed to better serve the needs of urban residents and migrants where public facilities are so deficient."[63]

4. A further policy level conference should be convened within an appropriate period to review the urbanization programs and developments considered by this Conference.

5. The Asian Development Bank should investigate the possibility of providing loans on reasonable terms out of its trust funds for aiding housing construction and urban development in Asian countries.

## FOOTNOTES

1. Of course, the conclusions of such conferences are not to be equated with the world-wide body of literature and research on urbanization. Nor, for a variety of reasons, are they necessarily compatible.

2. Seminar on Training for Town and Country Planning, Puerto Rico, 11-16 March 1956; Seminar on Urbanization in Asia and the Far East, Bangkok, 8-18 August 1956; The Seminar on Regional Planning, Tokyo, 28 July - 8 August 1958; Seminar on Urbanization in Latin America, Santiago, 6-18 July 1959; Seminar on Public Administration Problems of New and Rapidly Growing Towns in Asia, New Delhi, 14-21 December 1960; Meeting of Experts on Metropolitan Planning and Development, Stockholm, 14-30 September 1961; Seminar on Industrial Estates in the ECAFE Region, Madras, 1-11 November 1961; Ad Hoc Group of Experts on Housing and Urban Development, New York, 7-21 February 1962; European Seminar on Urban Development Policy and Planning, Warsaw, 19-21 September 1962; Seminar on Metropolitan Planning in Asia, Tokyo, 7-14 June 1964; Symposium on the Planning and Development of New Towns, Moscow, 24 August - 7 September 1964; Seminar on Planning for Urban and Regional Development including Metropolitan Areas, New Towns and Land Policies, Nagoya, 10-20 October 1966; Inter-Regional Seminar on Development Policies and Planning in Relation to Urbanization, Pittsburgh, 24 October - 7 November 1966.

3. United Nations, Centre for Housing, Building and Planning, Selected Conclusions and Recommendations on Regional and Metropolitan Planning, New Towns and Land Policy (E/CN.11/I&NR/PURD/L.7, September 9, 1966), p. 3. (Herein referred to as "Selected Conclusions")

4. Ibid., pp. 4-5; and Nagoya Seminar report, p. 14.

5. Nagoya Seminar report, p. 10.

6. Selected Conclusions, p. 5.

7. Ibid.

8. Ibid., p. 7.

9. Ibid.

10. Nagoya Seminar report, p. 16.

11. Selected Conclusions, pp. 6-7.

12. Ibid., p. 7; from the Bangkok Seminar report.

13. Ibid., p. 8; from Resolution 830D (CXXVII) of the Economic and Social Council.

14. Ibid., p. 9.

"The first step toward appropriate goals in planning are simple statements of purpose. The Report on New Towns, based on the Symposium in Moscow in 1964, suggested that 'the goal of town planning is the creation of the most favorable conditions of life for all the population.'

"While in basic agreement, the Ad Hoc Group of Experts on Housing and Urban Development, which met in New York in 1962, put the goals into a more comprehensive perspective; 'The provision of adequate housing and urban and regional development is . . . nothing less than the provision of the physical framework in which man's human, social, economic and cultural resources are released, enriched, and integrated'."

15. Ibid., pp. 10-11.

The Training for Town and Country Planning Seminar, held in Puerto Rico in 1956, declared:

> "The ill-effects of haphazard urban growth have demonstrated the increasing need for planning in advance of economic development. This is important especially in the less industrialized countries, where economic and technological resources are scarce. At the same time, industrialization in these countries has not advanced very far and there may still exist a better chance to plan for industrial growth in harmony with the other essential fields of production, such as agriculture and transport. A more balanced economic, physical and social development and a closer integration of urban and rural areas may well result from such an approach."

The 1958 Tokyo Seminar on Regional Planning recommended, similarly: "Environmental planning must be achieved in the context of, and in relation to, economic and social planning."

16. Ibid., p. 12. The same principles were stressed in the Santiago Seminar, by the Ad Hoc Group on Housing and Urban

Development at New York, by the Madras Seminar on Industrial Estates and by the Moscow Symposium on New Towns. The Economic and Social Council, itself, in Resolution 903B (XXXIV) urged that "United Nations organs . . . should intensify their work in connexion with the investigation of problems of planning for balanced economic and social development."

17. Ibid., p. 7.

18. Ibid., p. 7; from the Bangkok Seminar report.

19. Ibid.

20. Ibid.

21. Ibid., pp. 17-18.

22. Nagoya Seminar report, p. 15.

23. Selected Conclusions, p. 7.

24. Ibid., p. 28.

25. Ibid., p. 30.

26. Ibid., from proposals of the Ad Hoc Group of Experts on Housing and Planning.

27. Ibid.; Similar recommendations were made by the Nagoya Seminar.

28. "Of the 314 million people living in the large cities of the world, 106 million or about one-third live in Asian cities, compared to 48 million in North America and 82 million in Europe. Although a far larger number of people in Asia live in rural areas and hence the urban population forms a relatively small percentage of the total population, Asia's urban population is larger than that of Europe or America." (U Nyun, Address of May 2, 1967). In Taiwan about half the rural population move to urban settlements; and Taipei has a steady annual population growth rate of 5-6%; its satellite towns, rates as high as 16-20%. Of the 13 million people in Taiwan, about 44% presently live in cities of over 50,000 population; and by the year 2000, it is expected that up to 70%, or perhaps 18 million, will live in such cities. (C. C. Wang, Asian Urban Growth Problems and Objectives, paper

discussed May 2, 1967.) Korea has over 123 cities with populations exceeding 20,000, representing 42 per cent of the country's total population. (Speech by Minister of Construction, Republic of Korea, May 11, 1967, p. 3.) The startling rate of population growth in the "Tokaido Megalopolis" of Japan is noted in Section V of this Report. In 1966, 86 per cent of Australia's population growth was concentrated in only 10 cities.

29. Dean Hahn-Been Lee, Introductory Presentation of Conference Objectives (Ministers Session, May 10, 1967), p. 3.

30. U. Nyun, op. cit. note 28 supra, p.2.

31. Ibid., p. 4.

32. Republic of Korea, Ministry of Construction, Urban Development Programs in Korea (1967), pp. i-ii.

33. Ibid., p. 10.

34. Ibid., p. 42.

35. C. C. Wang, op. cit. note 28 supra.

36. Serafin G. Aquino, Jr., Regional Development Policy as a Factor in National Economic Planning and Urban Development (1967). The information and statements that follow, as indicated by the context, are taken from this source.

37. Aquino, quoting from Sixto K. Roxas, Regional Economic Development in the Philippine Economy in the 1960's (Quezon City, University of the Philippines, 1964), p. 171.

38. From the Declaration of Policy for the Mindanao Development Authority enabling Act which has been adopted for several other development authorities in the Philippines.

39. Urban Development Programs in Korea, op. cit. note 32 supra, pp. 7-8.

40. Ibid., p. 8.

41. Ibid., pp. 8-11.

42. Henry Y. S. Kao, Newly an Experiment in Comprehensive Urban Planning (1967), p. 4.

43. Yuen-Chen Yu, Equalization of Urban Land Reform and Relationship with Communities Development (1967), pp. 1-3.

44. Governor John A. Burns, Address of May 1, 1967.

45. Dean Hahn-Been Lee, op. cit. note 29 supra, p. 4.

46. Dr. Takashi Fujii, The Economic Functions of Urbanization in National Development (Notes for Briefing Ministers, May 10, 1967), p. 2.

47. Ibid.

48. Ibid.

49. Ruth M. Denney, The Social Functions of Urbanization in National Development (Notes for Briefing Ministers, May 10, 1967), p. 3.

50. Dean Hahn-Been Lee, Concluding Remarks (Ministers Session, May 10, 1967), p. 1.

51. Ruth M. Denney, op. cit. note 49 supra, pp. 3-4.

52. A. F. A. Husain, Urban Growth--Dimensions of the Problem (Notes for Briefing Ministers, May 10, 1967), p. 2.

53. Ruth M. Denney, op. cit. note 49 supra, p. 1.

54. Ibid., p. 4.

55. Dr. Takashi Fujii, An Economic Space Theory of Urban Growth (1967), p. 1.

56. A. F. A. Husain, op. cit. note 52 supra, p.2.

57. Dr. Tahashi Fujii, op. cit. note 46 supra, p. 1.

58. Ibid., p. 2.

59. Dr. Hamzah Sendut, Luncheon Address, May 5, 1967.

60. Ibid.

61. Ruth M. Denney, op. cit. note 49 supra, p. 2.

62. Dean Hahn-Been Lee, op. cit. supra note 29, p. 6.

63. Ibid.

# VIII. APPENDIX

A. Program. . . . . A-1

B. Registered Delegates. . . . . B-1

C. Conference Highlights (interim report). . C-1

APPENDIX "A"

PROGRAM FOR THE

# PACIFIC CONFERENCE ON URBAN GROWTH

HONOLULU, HAWAII, U.S.A.
MAY 1-12, 1967

Sponsored by:

The State of Hawaii
The Department of Housing and Urban Development
The Agency for International Development

## PURPOSES

- Bring together representatives of national and territorial governments, regional institutions and private organizations, who are directly concerned with the problem of unplanned urban growth in Asia.

- Discuss more effective techniques for attacking the social, physical, economic and political aspects of that problem.

## OBJECTIVES

- Identify the problems of urban growth common to the areas represented and to encourage a more comprehensive approach to finding a solution for those problems.

- Demonstrate how available domestic resources may be effectively mobilized to attack urban growth problems.

- Promote the adoption throughout the Asian area of appropriate planning and institutional techniques.

- Emphasize the need for immediate action to meet the growing crisis.

- Seek means for future cooperative actions in the Pacific area in solving urban problems.

## SUNDAY, April 30

| | |
|---|---|
| *2:00* | *Registration* – Hawaiian Village Hotel |
| *2:00* | *Meeting* of the General Chairman of the Steering Committee with Conference Moderator, Panel Moderators and Panelists and Workshop Moderators and Resource Persons to review Conference procedures. |

## MONDAY, May 1

| | |
|---|---|
| *8:30* | *Registration* – East-West Center |
| *10:00* | *Kennedy Theatre,* East-West Center |
| | **General Session** -- Open to Public |
| | *Statement* by the General Chairman of the Steering Committee Sunao Miyabara |
| | *Introduction* of Governor John A. Burns as Conference Chairman |
| | *Welcoming Remarks* by Mayor Neal S. Blaisdell of City and County of Honolulu |
| | *Introduction* of Delegations |
| *12:30 – 3:00* | *Luncheon* – Hawaiian Village – Long House Open to all Registered Conferees |
| | *Speech:* Dr. Rue. Denney |
| *6:00* | *Reception* by Governor Burns for Registered Conferees – Washington Place |

## TUESDAY, May 2

| | |
|---|---|
| *9:00* | *Kennedy Theatre,* East-West Center |
| | **General Session** – Open to public |
| | Announcements |
| | *Introductory remarks* by Conference Moderator, Hahn-Been Lee |
| *9:45* | *Coffe* |

## TUESDAY, May 2 (cont.)

*10:15* — *Speech:* "Review of Asian Urban Growth Problems"
U Nyun, Executive Secretary, ECAFE, UN, Bangkok, Thailand.

*12:15* — *Lunch:* Hawaiian Village – Gold Room – Open to Registered Conferees

*Speech:* Howard P. Jones, Chancellor, East-West Center

*3:30 – 5:30* — *Hawaiian Village* – Long House

**General Session** – Open to public

**Panel Discussion**
*Subject:* "Asian Urban Growth Problems and Objectives"

*Moderator:* V. Kandaswami, ECAFE

*Panelists:* Marnixias Hutasoit, Indonesia
Yoon Chong Howe, Singapore
Eiichi Isomura, Japan
Chang Ching Wang, China
A. Hussain, Pakistan
Dermont C. Barty, Hong Kong

*6:30 – 8:30* — *Reception* – Hawaiian Village – Hawaiian Village Dome

## WEDNESDAY, May 3

*9:00* — *Kennedy Theatre,* East-West Center

**General Session** – Closed to public

Announcements

*Remarks* by Conference Moderator

**Panel Discussion**
*Subject:* "The Role of Urban Development Within the Framework of Overall Economic Development"

1. The impact of urbanization on national economic planning.
2. The interrelationship between economic potential and physical characteristics of cities.
3. Regional development policy as a factor in national economic planning and in urban development.
4. New towns as a factor in economic development.

## WEDNESDAY, May 3 (cont.)

*9:00*

5. Government priority actions needed to utilize urban development as a positive contributor to economic development.

*Moderator:* Hamzah Sendut, Malaysia

*Panelists:* Serafino Aquino, Philippines
Edward Hollander, United States
C. S. Gupte, India
B. A. R. Tahir, Malaysia
Takashi Fujii, Japan

*12:00 – 2:30* *Lunch and tour* at East-West Center for Conference Delegates

*3:30 – 5:30* *Hawaiian Village*

**Concurrent Workshops**
*Discussion topic:* "The Role of Urban Development Within the Framework of Overall Economic Development"

**Workshop Number 1**
*Moderator:* Serafino Aquino, Philippines

**Workshop Number 2**
*Moderator:* Takashi Fujii, Japan

**Workshop Number 3**
*Moderator:* C. S. Gupte, India

**Workshop Number 4**
*Moderator:* B. A. R. Tahir, Malaysia

## THURSDAY, May 4

*9:00* *Kennedy Theatre,* East-West Center

**General Session** – Closed to public

Announcements

*Remarks* by Conference Moderator

**Panel Discussion**
*Subject:* "Development of Human Resources and Institutional Support for Rational Urban Growth"

1. Defining social needs to meet urban growth problems.

2. Projecting the demand for human skills necessary for orderly urban growth, the supply of skills to meet the demand, and the expected unmet demand.

## THURSDAY, May 4 (cont.)

*9:00*

3. Investments in education.

4. Stimulating citizen and non-governmental participation.

5. Unemployment in urban areas.

*Moderator:* Eiichi Isomura, Japan

*Panelists:* Deshpande, India
Edward Hollander, United States
Shelton Granger, United States
Mrs. Frances Howard, United States
Leandro A. Viloria, Philippines

*12:30*

*Luncheon* – Ilikai Pacific Ballroom
Open to Registered Conferees

*Speaker:* Don Hummel, Assistant Secretary, HUD

*3:30 – 5:30*

*Hawaiian Village*

**Concurrent Workshops**
*Discussion topic:* "Development of Human Resources and Institutional Support for Rational Urban Growth"

**Workshop Number 1**
*Moderator:* Deshpande, India

**Workshop Number 2**
*Moderator:* J. M. Wigglesworth, Hong Kong

**Workshop Number 3**
*Moderator:* Edward Hollander, United States

**Workshop Number 4**
*Moderator:* James Shafer, United States

## FRIDAY, May 5

*9:00*

*Kennedy Theatre,* East-West Center

**General Session** – Closed to public

Announcements

*Remarks* by Conference Moderator

**Panel Discussion**
*Subject:* "The Role of Public and Private Investment and the Utilization of External and Domestic Resources in Urban Growth"

## FRIDAY, May 5 (cont.)

*9:00*

1. Funding capital programs (utilities, transportation, etc.).
2. Government encouragement of the private sector.
3. Financing housing and shelter for low income groups.
4. Industrial estate development.
5. Potential role of savings banks, insurance companies, savings and loan associations, and cooperatives.
6. Private initiative and action in implementing comprehensive urban plans.

*Moderator:* Yoon Chong Howe, Singapore

*Panelists:* J. P. Firth, Hong Kong
Arch Dotson, United States
Sam S. Hironaka, United States
W. C. Andrews, Australia
Jacobo De Vera, Philippines
Shelley M. Mark, United States

*12:30* *Luncheon*

*Speaker:* Hamrah Sendut, Malaysia

*Subject:* "The Squatter Problem in Asia"

*3:30 – 5:30* *Hawaiian Village*

**Concurrent Workshops**
*Discussion topic:* "The Role of Public and Private Investment and the Utilization of External and Domestic Resources in Urban Growth"

**Workshop Number 1**
*Moderator:* Arch Dotson, United States

**Workshop Number 2**
*Moderator:* William K. Thomson, Hong Kong

**Workshop Number 3**
*Moderator:* James R. Firth, Hong Kong

**Workshop Number 4**
*Moderator:* Serafino Aquino, Philippines

## SATURDAY, May 6

*Excursion and Observation Tours*

## SUNDAY, May 7

*Excursion and Observation Tours*

## MONDAY, May 8

*9:00* — *Asia Room* – East-West Center

**General Session** – Closed to public

Announcements

*Remarks* by Conference Moderator

**Panel Discussion**
*Subject:* "Legal, Political and Administrative Aspects of Urban Growth"

1. Formulating objectives and goals through the political process.
2. Legislation needed to realize defined objectives and goals.
3. Adapting land use patterns to achieve urban development goals.
4. Taxation, survey problems, land tenure and acquisition methods, policies and administration.
5. Political and administrative institutions.
6. Coordinating national, regional and local programs and administration.

*Moderator:* Prem Krishen, India

*Panelists:* A. Nahappen, Malaysia
Harvey Perloff, United States
Tommy Koh, Singapore
C. C. Wang, China
Il Suck Cha, Korea
M. Hutasoit, Indonesia

*12:30* — *Luncheon* – Kabala Hilton Hotel
Open to Registered Conferees

*Speaker:* President Thomas H. Hamilton, University of Hawaii

*3:30 – 5:30* — *Hawaiian Village*

**Concurrent Workshops**
*Discussion topic:* "Legal, Political and Administrative Aspects of Urban Growth"

## MONDAY, May 8 (cont.)

**Workshop Number 1**
*Moderator:* T. Koh, Singapore

**Workshop Number 2**
*Moderator:* Harvey Perloff, United States

**Workshop Number 3**
*Moderator:* Il Suck Cha, Korea

**Workshop Number 4**
*Moderator:* A. Nahappen, Malaysia

## TUESDAY, May 9

*9:00* *Kennedy Theatre*, East-West Center

**General Session** – Closed to public

Announcements

*Remarks* by Conference Moderator

**Panel Discussion**
*Subject:* "Tools and Techniques for Planning and Plan Implementation"

1. Defining realistic planning objectives and measuring success.
2. The essential elements of a comprehensive urban plan.
3. Budgeting.
4. Making soil surveys and planning for water disposal.
5. Development regulations and codes.
6. Regional planning, creating secondary urban centers.
7. Training and research needs.

*Moderator:* Leandro A. Viloria, Philippines

*Panelists:* J. M. Williams, United States
Gerald Breese, United States
Harvey Perloff, United States
J. N. Kim, Korea
W. C. Andrews, Australia
Alec Michael Wright, Hong Kong

*12:30* *Luncheon* – Willows

*Speaker:* Stephen B. Ives, Deputy Assistant Administrator, AID

## TUESDAY, May 9 (cont.)

*3:30 – 5:30* — *Hawaiian Village*

**Concurrent Workshops**
*Discussion topic:* "Tools and Techniques for Planning and Plan Implementation"

**Workshop Number 1**
*Moderator:* Sixto K. Roxas, Philippines

**Workshop Number 2**
*Moderator:* Harvey Perloff, United States

**Workshop Number 3**
*Moderator:* Benjamin Gomez, Philippines

**Workshop Number 4**
*Moderator:* J. D. Firth, Hong Kong

**Workshop Number 5**
*Subject:* "Making Soil Surveys and Planning for Water Disposal"

*Moderator:* J. M. Williams, United States

*7:00* — *Cocktail Party* – Korean Consulate

## WEDNESDAY, May 10

*8:00* — *Hawaiian Village*

**Ministers' Program**
Ministers' Breakfast – Washington Place

*Welcome* by Governor Burns

*Introductory Presentation* of Conference Objectives by Conference Moderator

*9:00 – 12:00* — *Hawaiian Village*, Long House

**General Delegates**
Preparation of Conference Report by Selected Group

*Special Program* for Other Registered Conferees to be Announced

*12:30 – 2:30* — *Hawaiian Village*, Long House

*Luncheon* – For Ministers and Conference Delegates.

## WEDNESDAY, May 10 (cont.)

| | |
|---|---|
| *12:30 – 2:30* | *Speech:* W. O. Hall, Acting Deputy Administrator, AID<br>Minister Yoon Kie Kim, Korea |
| *3:00 – 5:30* | *Hawaiian Village* – Empire Room<br><br>**General Session** – Closed to Public<br>*Topic:* "Review of Conference Discussion" |
| *7:00* | *Reception* by Governor Burns honoring Ministers<br>Open to Registered Conferees |

## THURSDAY, May 11

| | |
|---|---|
| *9:00 – 12:00* | *Hawaiian Village* – Closed to Public<br><br>**Ministers' Program** – East-West Center – Pacific Room<br>*Roundtable Discussion* of Ideas Presented to the Conference |
| *9:00 – 12:00* | *Bus Tour of Urban Renewal Project* |
| *12:30 – 2:00* | *Hawaiian Village,* Long House<br><br>*Luncheon* – For Ministers and Registered Conferees – Long House<br><br>*Speaker:* Under Secretary Robert C. Wood, Department of Housing and Urban Development<br><br>*Greetings:* President Lyndon B. Johnson<br>Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey (special film presentation) |
| *3:30 – 5:00* | *Hawaiian Village*<br><br>**Ministers' Program** – Carrousel Room<br>*Roundtable Discussion* Continued<br><br>*Presentation* of Conference Recommendations |
| *3:30 – 5:00* | *Free Time* |
| *7:00* | *Royal Hawaiian Hotel* – Regency Room<br><br>*State Dinner* by Governor Burns for Ministers, Principal U. S. Officials and Registered Conferees |

**FRIDAY, May 12**

*10'00* *Hawaiian Village* – Long House

**General Session** – Open to Public

Announcements

*Steering Committee* General Chairman Introduces Governor Burns

*Speaker:* Governor Burns

**CONFERENCE CLOSES**

## SPONSORS

Honorable John A. Burns, Governor, State of Hawaii
Honorable Robert C. Weaver, Secretary, U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development
Honorable William S. Gaud, Administrator, Agency for International Development, U.S. Department of State

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Mrs. Anne Benner, Ladies Committee
Raymond Lum, Printing Committee
Kenneth Brown, Week-End Committee
General Francis R. Boyles, Protocol

# APPENDIX "B"

REGISTERED DELEGATES
(Listed Alphabetically)
Pacific Conference on Urban Growth
Honolulu, Hawaii, U.S.A.
May 1-12, 1967

AUSTRALIA

W. C. Andrews, Associate Commissioner, National Capital Development Commission

J. Douglas Anthony, Commonwealth Minister for the Interior, Government of Australia

Jessie Mary Hale (Secretary to Mr. Anthony)

Honorable R. J. Hamer, Minister for Local Government, State of Victoria

P. Henry, Chief Architect, Public Works Department, Territory Administrator, Papua, New Guinea

Eric Stephen Keehn, First Assistant Secretary, Department of the Interior, Canberra

David Ritchie, Second Secretary, Australian Embassy, Washington, D. C.

K. See, First Assistant Secretary, Commonwealth Department of Housing

ECAFE, UNITED NATIONS

V. Kandaswami, Chief, Housing-Building-and Planning, ECAFE

U. Nyun, Executive Secretary, ECAFE

FIJI

A. Seeto, Assistant Town Clerk, Suva City Council, Suva

GUAM

Kieran Hickey, Commissioner, Guam Housing and Urban Renewal Authority

Leonard San Nicholas Paulino, Senator, Government of Guam

Paul Souder, Director, Land Management, Government of Guam

HONG KONG

Dermont C. Barty, Commissioner for Resettlement

James R. Firth, Commissioner for Housing

David Kar-Wah Lai, Administrative Officer

William K. Thomson, Registrar General

John M. Wigglesworth, Senior Planning Officer, Member Legislative Council

Alec Michael Wright, Director of Public Works

INDIA

C. S. Gupte, Chief Planner, Town and Country Planning Office, Ministry of Works, Housing and Supply

Prem Krishen, Permanent Secretary, Department of Works and Housing

Deva Raj, Officer on Special Duty, Ministry of Health

Ratan Lal Sarkar, Calcutta Metropolitan Planning Organization

INDONESIA

Noor-Machmoeddin, Director of Regional Government at the Department of Home Affairs

Yos Sutyoso, Secretary, Committee for Exploration of National Resources, National Planning Board

Rio Tambunan, Deputy Director of Planning Matters, Government of Djakarta

Rachmat Wiradisuria, Director General for City Planning and Construction of Public Works, Ministry of Public Works

JAPAN

Kozo Amano, Professor of Urban Transportation Planning, Department of Civil Engineering, Kyoto University

Takashi Fujii, Assoc. Prof. of Economics, Nagoya University

Eiichi Isomura, Prof. of Sociology, Tokyo University

Ryokichi Nagato, Section Chief, Housing for Special Sale, Japan Housing Corporation

Moriyuki Sawamoto, First Secretary, Embassy, Washington, D. C.

Sadatoshi Tabata, Section Chief, Japan Housing Corporation

JAPAN

(Miss) Kazuo Arikuni, Official, Ministry of Works

Koichiro Takami, Housing Bureau, Construction Ministry

Hiroshi Takebayashi, Planning Bureau, Construction Ministry

Kazuhiko Tamura, Chief of Planning and Research Division

Yasuo Hachiya, Secretary of Vice Minister, Ministry of Construction

Mitsuyoshi Maeda, Vice Minister, Ministry of Construction

KOREA

Ki Sung Ahn, Chief of Building Section, American Korean Foundation

Mion Sup Ahn, Feasibility Study Officer, The Medium Industry Bank

Il Suck Cha, Vice Mayor of Seoul

Leon Seok Chang, Engineering Surveyor, Korean Reconstruction Bank

Tae Hong Chung

Kwan Ui Hong, Executive Secretary, Korean Reconstruction Bank

Soon Kil Hong, Chief Housing Section, Ministry of Construction

Se Chul Hwang, Assistant Manager, The Korean Reconstruction Bank

Yong Fu Hwang, Chief, Regional Planning Division, Ministry of Construction

Chang Hong Kim

Joo Nam Kim, Director, Budget Bureau

Yoon Kie Kim, Minister of Construction

Duk Woo Lee, Economist, Korean Reconstruction Bank

Hahn-Been Lee, (Conference Moderator), Dean, Graduate School of Public Administration, Seoul National University

KOREA

Sang Yun Lee, Director of Construction

Hagou Nam, Feasibility Study Officer, Korean Reconstruction Bank

Kim Chu Nan

LAOS

Manorak K. Luangkhot, Director of Urbanism, Ministry of Public Works

MALAYSIA

Navaratnam Jagatheesan, Deputy Secretary, Ministry Local Government and Housing

Mohamed Ishak Ariff, State Planning Officer of Penang

Eddie Swee Guan Chi, State Planning Officer, Town and Country Planning Department

Khaw Kai Boh, Minister of Local Government and Housing

Mihir Kumar Sen, City Planner, Federal Department of Town Planning

Athi Nahappan, Senator, Parliament of Malaysia

Tahir Bin Abdul Rahim, General Manager, Selangor State Development Corporation

Hamzah Sendut, Chairman, Department of Geography and Professor of Geography, University of Malaysia

PAKISTAN

Izzat Awan, Director General, Karachi Development Authority

A. Hussain, Professor, Member, Planning Commission

PHILIPPINES

Serafin G. Aquino, City Planning Consultant

Alfredo L. Benipayo, Professor, University of Santo Tomas

Alfonso Calalang, Chairman, National Economic Council, Office of the President

PHILIPPINES

Andres V. Castillo, Governor, Central Bank of the Philippines

Jacobo De Vera, Acting Manager, Peoples' Homesite and Housing Corporation

Benjamin Gomez, Director, National Planning Commission

Jose M. Guerrero, Press Officer and Administrative Assistant to the President, Capitol Motors Corporation, Director, Peoples' Homesite and Housing Corporation

Antonio Leviste, Director, Peoples' Homesite and Housing Corporation

Ernesto Maceda, Secretary of Community Development

Sixto K. Roxas, President, Economic Development Foundation

Leandro A. Viloria, Professor and Director, Philippine Institute of Planning, University of Philippines

RYUKYU

Seiko Kohagura, Deputy Chief Executive, Government of Ryukyu Isles

SINGAPORE

Kim C. Chung, Senior Lecturer in Architecture, Building and Architectural Department, Singapore Polytechnic

(Mrs.) R. Daroesman, Research Fellow, Economic Research Center, University of Singapore

Yoon Chong Howe, Chairman, Housing and Development Board

Tommy Koh, Sub-Dean of Faculty, University of Singapore

Kwok Weng Lam, City Planner, Ministry of Law and National Development

Koon Poh Lim, Acting Head, Resettlement Department, Housing and Development Board

Jackie Sam, Member, Executive Council, Journalists' Union, National Trades Union Congress

Peter Bo Kock Soo, Architect, Urban Renewal, Housing and Development Board

Soh Jin Teck, Assistant Architect, Urban Renewal, Housing and Development Board

REPUBLIC OF CHINA

Koon Poh Lim, Acting Head, Resettlement Department of Housing and Development Board

Walter H. Fei, Vice Minister of Communications

Huang Shun Hsing, Magistrate, Taitung County

Jui-Ming Hwang, Chief Engineer, Taipei Public Works

Henry Yu-Shu Kao, Mayor of Taipei

Chang-Ching Wang, Director, Taiwan Public Works Bureau

Tien-Hlang Want, Chief, Public Buildings Section, Bureau of Public Works

Yuen-Chen Yu, Director, Acropolis Architects Association

THAILAND

Asawat Chantian, Architect, Department of Housing and Social Welfare

(Mrs.) Preeya Chimchome, Deputy Director General, Department of Town and Country Planning

Chek Dhanasiri, Director, Bureau of Public Health, Bangkok Principality

Prasit Kengrian, Executive Secretary, Housing Bureau

Gun Nagamati (Dr.), Deputy Director General, Department of Land Transport, Ministry of Communications

Duang Yosun Thorn, Chief of Technical Division, Public Works Department

Chaiya Pulsirivong, Chief, Special Project Plan Division, Department of Town and Country Planning

Sukich Nimmanherminda, Ambassador to U. S.

Sompoach Sukanit, Chief, Building Control Division, Bureau of Building and Maintenance

Prayat Smanmit, Chief, Municipal Affairs Division, Department of Local Administration

Tuay Hain Yomanak, Police Colonel, Police Department of Bangkok

INTERNATIONAL BANK FOR RECONSTRUCTION AND DEVELOPMENT

Hugh B. Ripman, Deputy Director, Project Department

VIETNAM

Nguyen Quy Bao, Chairman, Saigon City Council

Duong Minh Dong, Director, Planning, Research and Training, Commission of Social Welfare

Le Vinh Hoa, Chief of Cabinet, Special Commission for Administration

Le Van Lam, Director General, Reconstruction and Urban Development

Lt. Gen. Dang Van Quang, Commissioner General, Planning and Development

Ung So, Chief, Public Hygiene Service, Saigon City

Do Duc Tam, Assistant Commissioner, General Planning and Development

Nguyen Van Tuong, Special Commissioner for Administration

Buu Vien, Director General, Planning

Bui Huu Tuan, Commissioner General Public Works

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# APPENDIX "C"

*CONFERENCE HIGHLIGHTS*
(An Interim Report, May 10, 1967)

## Pacific Conference on Urban Growth

### I. Preliminary Overview

In the first stage of the Conference (May 1-9) we have considered these topics: (a) review of Asian urban growth problems; (b) The role of urban development within the framework of overall economic development. (c) development of human resources and institutional support for rational urban growth; (d) the role of public and private investment and utilization of external and domestic resources in urban growth; (e) legal, political and administrative aspects of urban growth; (f) tools and techniques for planning and plan implementation.

We have sought primarily to analyze and evaluate the outstanding issues under each of these heads. A vast range and variety of problems associated with urban development have been disclosed. Among others, they include the following:

(a) The rate of urbanization has been alleged to be excessive. Urban growth has been so rapid and wide-spread as to upset the balance between the development of agriculture and industry. Industrialization has not proceeded with the growth of urban places. As a result, cities cannot provide employment for the enlarged labor force; nor can they absorb the hordes of migrants moving from rural to urban areas. They cannot supply essential urban services for their residents. We have discovered wide-spread deficiencies in virtually every function of urban government. We do not have enough pure water, or even water. We do not have basic shelter for much of the urban population. We cannot educate the masses of our children. Our streets are clogged with mixed traffic. Our standards of health are appallingly low, and filth-born diseases are common if not universal. Shanty towns, bustees, and slums permeate our cities.

(b) The social consequences of urbanization everywhere have produced painful problems of readjustment, not only for in-migrants but also for existing urban residents.

General social unrest is found, and disruptive social behavior is general. Clashes between ethnic and communal groups and conflict between generations are frequent. Our cities contain restless populations.

(c) Economic and social problems have been matched by administrative and political difficulties. One of the major issues in this connection is the absence of any national urbanization policy. Virtually without exception, Pacific nations have failed to relate overall economic planning to urban growth. As a consequence of this gap, urban planning has been unrealistic. We are convinced that the cost of achieving national development goals has been excessive and that we have not utilized effectively our scarce resources for the achievement of these goals.

(d) To cope with these problems, satellite towns and new towns have been created. These intermediate urban structures have done little to slow the rate of growth or to divert urban migration. The absence of services and facilities has not discouraged expansion. Countermagnets have had very little magnetism. Master plans have been adopted in virtually every country, at least for the metropolises and largest urban places. Such plans have proved obsolete almost by the time they were completed. We have concluded that they excessively concentrated on physical factors, and have paid too little attention to social and economic elements. So also have they been too regulatory and negative. In a great many instances, they have been so unacceptable as not even to warrant adoption by the government for whom they were prepared. In any event, they could not have been effective in directing urban growth had they been adopted, for they could not be prepared in a deliberate relationship to an overall national urbanization policy.

These and other problems have occupied our attention. We have considered the results of earlier conferences dedicated to specific aspects of these issues. We have attempted to take instruction from each other, from successful and unsuccessful experience elsewhere. We have determined that experience in Western nations does not apply directly to our conditions.

If the Conference were to conclude with these findings and assessments only, we would be deeply discouraged.

However, a new note has been sounded. As a result, we are hopeful that constructive general proposals, if not particular measures, will ensue from the remaining days of our deliberations.

This hope stems from a re-interpretation of the urbanization process, and the significance of urbanization itself. The long list of "problems" set out above are, to be sure, problems; but they must be seen in the context of national growth itself. They are also functions of national growth itself. So general and intense has been the preoccupation with urban problems and the outstanding failures to solve them, that the city itself has come to be regarded as an enemy. But this is, we are beginning to emphasize, a mistaken view. Urbanization performs indispensable functions in national growth. The problems are incidental to economic progress. Many critical goods and services required for expanding national populations can only be produced in urban settings. Occupational diversification can be achieved in cities. Cities, and especially large cities, bring about the external economies which increase productivity. Many internal economies of scale can only be found in cities. Rapid social change, even though frequently painful, is inevitably associated with urbanization. In short, the problems of rapid urban growth are not only to a considerable extent inevitable, but further, they should be regarded as incidents of a larger development.

The traditional problem of balanced rural-urban growth assumes in this appropriate context a new dimension. It may well be that rural migration is, overall, a constructive force. It may develop that urban growth does not need to be restrained, so much as encouraged: More cities may be needed. It may be that larger cities, rather than smaller ones, are needed for the achievement of national governmental goals. One general conclusion from these new inferences is that the outstanding allocation of resources in national development may need to be shifted in greater measure to urban outlays.

If this re-orientation is sustained in the latter days of our deliberation, then we can anticipate many practical reform policies. Our next days of this session will test further the above analysis and seek to fashion particular proposals consistent with our final assessment.

## II. Setting the Stage: Asian Urban Growth Problems and Objectives

*Re-examination of conclusions and assumptions.* The present Conference objectives were both confirmed and underscored

by participants in the introductory proceedings of May 1 - 2. More importantly, there has emerged as a significant, if not the most significant, Conference aim, the thorough re-examination of the conclusions of earlier international seminars on urban problems, and fresh, critical analysis of the premises on which those conclusions rested.

*The inevitability of urban growth.* Some basic propositions on urban growth handed to the Conference as givens evoked heated debate rather than unanimous acquiescence, such as: "There is a larger urban population than is justified by existing levels of . . . productivity." "Urbanization in large measure has been independent of industrialization." "Asian countries are over-urbanized." (ECAFE, Selected Conclusions and Recommendations on Regional and Metropolitan Planning, New Towns and Land Policies (1966), pp. 4-5.) Industries and industrial population should be dispersed from "overgrown metropolitan areas" (Report of the Negoya Seminar, p. 15). And so on. Questioning of such popositions was sparked at the outset by the admission of keynote speakers that "urbanization is inevitable".

*The human element.* The importance of government concern for the problems and needs of the human spirit in devising solutions to urban problems was highlighted during the opening session.

*Other noteworthy items.* In the first two-days' review of urban growth problems and Conference objectives, the participants set the stage for discussions by subsequent panelists and workshops of a mixed collection of problems and observations. Some of them were: the causes and ramifications of migration from rural areas to the large cities of Asia; the pains and costs of rapid city growth -- especially from immigration -- in terms of environmental deterioration and social instability; the twin objectives of building urban infrastructure for industrial and commercial development, namely the promotion of economic development and personal contentment; an examination of the functions of cities in the context of national economic development; ultimate reliance on government leadership for solutions; the need to train planners and the problem of the "brain-drain"; the question whether long range or short term solutions should be sought -- with particular reference to the provision of shelter for low income urban dwellers; the revelation that squatters provide an advantage in the form of a convenient labor supply; the question whether or what kinds of external assistance are desirable, economically or otherwise; the question whether Asian

countries may be suffering from "overplanning"; and the promotion of regional planning as a bridge between (a) spatial planning and urban development, and (b) national planning and development -- and, perhaps more significant, the question "What is regional planning?"

## III. The City -- A Potent Force for National Development

Professor Fujii evoked animated discussion during the entire Conference on his thesis that:

(a) "a real concentration of capital and population is one of the primary factors sustaining economic growth, together with capital accumulation and technological progress;"

(b) the movement of capital from low density to high density areas "achieves a greater efficiency and results in a higher standard of living"; and

(c) urban concentration increases productivity and enhances the national economy.

His suggestion that the acceleration of urbanization be promoted through conscious public policy won considerable support.

Statements by others, similarly affirming a positive attitude towards city growth, noted that the city:

(a) offers opportunities for economies of scale;

(b) provides a market for labor supply, raw materials, goods and produce drawn from the region, and by its very existence creates and develops its own market for goods and services;

(c) provides a hub for transportation and communication networks;

(d) serves as a cultivator of skills and manpower;

(e) becomes a builder of institutions, most importantly educational ones, for more efficiently ordering and enriching the lives of both city residents and, indirectly, of the people of the nation as a whole;

(f) contributes to modernization, both in the city itself and in the countryside; and

(g) is a factor in reducing the rate of population growth.

Recognizing an absence of reliable findings behind propositions made earlier on the subject, the Conference did not probe deeply the issues whether there is an "optimum" size city; if so what that size might be; whether national policy should favor one pattern or another for the distribution of cities; or whether deliberate policy directions regarding the dispersal of cities are meaningful or desirable at all under any circumstances.

However, exchanges of experience with new towns and satellite cities did bring out the following pertinent testimony:

(a) Some attempts to build industrial centers in outlying areas have not effectively countered the strong magnetism of the primate city.

(b) In some settings, satellite cities or new towns are apt to be absorbed into a megalopolis.

(c) The problem of bringing labor from a long distance, misplaced reliance on commuter transport, the prohibitive cost of new housing for young people, and the heavy capital investment required can frustrate the "new towns" movement (recognized in Malaysia, although its spokesman thought that his country's initial experience with the development of one new town was, on balance, favorable).

(d) An attempt by Singapore to attract a labor force to a new community with newly established industry and 5,000 public housing units was initially set back by the unwillingness of young people to leave distant parental homes, and the consequent absence of a clientele to attract commercial, entertainment and service enterprises. Singapore resorted to the ingenious pump-priming device of producing a captive market for such enterprises by temporarily stationing military personnel and their dependents in the area.

The lessons to be drawn from this testimony are not to perpetuate the negative attitude of earlier conferences that the fate of developing nations depends on the building of new towns or satellite cities, and the despair over the seemingly insurmountable problems this entails; but rather to -

(a) reinforce the positive attitude on the part of many of the delegates that intense or expanded urbanization in or around the primate city can contribute to national economic well-being. . . that it is not an evil that must be compounded by the problems of building new towns or satellite cities; and yet

(b) recognize that should a country or state opt for new town development -- a course favored by a number of conferees -- the consequent problems can be solved if ingenuity and forethought are substituted for the more familiar preoccupation with despair.

## IV. The Potential of Urban Manpower Development and Social Uplift as Contributors to National Development

Here are some salient points made in the discussions of development of human resources and institutional support for national growth:

*The special role of the city.* Reflecting the general theme of urbanization as generator of productive activities furthering national development, the observation was made that the city is the focus for the development, diversification and specialization of skills and services in support of production -- such as in the fields of research, commerce and financing, manufacturing, engineering, construction, maintenance, and the helping professions.

*The special potential of in-migrants.* Instead of focusing on the anti-social elements among recent arrivals to the city -- elements to be found in most any other group of urban dwellers -- this Conference has concentrated on their potential for good. Our attention has been drawn to the fact that rural-urban migration is occupational and employment-oriented, that those who move to the city were more often than not the younger, better educated, better motivated, and socially more favorable members of the rural community. Recognition of these truths may stimulate governments to take measures designed to improve the conditions under which this movement takes place, instead of inhibiting it or simply wishing it would stop. One illustration of that kind of positive thinking was the recognition in Thailand and Taiwan that if communication between rural and urban areas is facilitated by highway improvement, daily commuting is made possible for rural workers who can contribute to urban productivity, and thereby alleviate the consequences of urban residential

overcrowding, while making it possible for the commuters to enhance their wealth and the country's food supply by continuing to grow cash crops.

Planning for the best use of manpower potential. The Conference was informed that efforts to meet manpower needs and stimulate employment should be correlated with national and regional economic development plans. Doubtless aimed at this objective, a study of the structure of employment has been undertaken in Kerala, India. So too are analyses of employment needs and potential made by local authorities in the Republic of China, followed by advice to interested industries on where they can find appropriate skills. In a similar vein, in formulating employment policies, officials are enjoined to pay special attention to the rehabilitation of migrants.

Skills training for urban employment. Constructive programs have been undertaken or suggested, such as:

(a) Training through self-help housing;

(b) On-the-job training with the cooperation of industry (generally taking place in the evenings in a Pakistan program);

(c) Recruiting young people from rural areas for technical training, and providing vocational training in the rural areas (Malaysia);

(d) The establishment of industrial training institutes in towns and cities (India); and

(e) Encouraging and providing training for self-employment, such as in crafts and services.

*Stimulating and providing employment.* In some countries government policy favors the use of unskilled newcomers to the city in public works projects and municipal service operations. A number of them set up recruitment officers or information centers in rural areas, cities, or both. Indonesia has a special agency for finding employment for migrants. Government subsidization of labor-intensive, small-scale industries, such as weaving industries, was also mentioned as a device for alleviating the problem of the unemployed migrant. Singapore has successfully formed disciplined, uniformed workers' brigades from the ranks of the unemployed, housed them in special barracks,

and given them tasks which both serve community needs and impart skills to the workers.

Job training must be coupled with general educational programs. This was the message of a number of conferees. Technical training alone may not be sufficient to condition persons from rural backgrounds to reach the productivity of which they are capable, if indeed technical training can be given at all until such basic educational prerequisites as literacy are met. In recognition of this need, one government gives a monthly allowance to certain newly employed industrial workers who remain in their jobs for six months and at the same time attend night school.

*Urban community development.* India has undertaken pilot urban community development projects in Calcutta and elsewhere, each covering a population of about 50,000. Economic and social needs of the residents are being assessed and, significantly, special emphasis is placed on participation by existing clubs, citizens associations and other voluntary organizations operating in the affected neighborhoods. The utility of tying linguistic and clan groups into community development programs, and of giving them public financial and other support to help them perform their vital function of adjusting migrants to the disciplines of city life has been endorsed in other countries, as well. Community development programs in Bangkok feature neighborhood councils, and "mother and children health centers". The health centers have mobile units, consisting of a doctor, nurse and social worker, who, in addition to administering health services, attempt to encourage participation in urban affairs. This incidental effort to instill consciousness of civic responsibilities in the poorer elements of the city has been unsuccessful to the extent that those who are renters have not shown an interest in improving their shelter conditions. This may suggest the need to develop techniques for giving lower income groups some kind of property interest in their homes.

*Citizen participation.* The importance of citizen participation in urban activities bringing about social change is implicit in many of the programs already touched on, such as self-help housing and community development programs. Of perhaps equal significance is the need for planners, administrators, and policy-makers to ascertain at first hand the sentiments, needs and aspirations of the citizens -- a new planning technique resulting from belated recognition that urban planning has too often failed in the past because it was based on imperfect perceptions and notions of professional planners, rather than on

stated needs and articulated attitudes of the citizen-client. Affirmation comes from Seoul, Korea; its chief executives make frequent field visits to keep abreast of the desires of citizens and ways in which current public works are affecting their lives. The views and suggestions of citizens are also solicited with respect to tentative plans explained in exhibits open to the public.

## V. Financing Urban Development: The Role of Public and Private Investment and External Assistance

### A. Housing

*Housing and the economy* The Conference was reminded that housing plays a tremendous role in the economy of a country, providing (a) a livelihood for the sectors engaged in construction or in servicing the building industry, most significantly, opening up vast opportunities for employment; (b) a large market for industry; and (c) an outlet for investment.

*Home ownership.* The observation that in every country home ownership seems desirable did not provoke debate. It was suggested that home ownership be encouraged by such means as "strata" titles, giving the owners of a flat or apartment title to the space in which he lives.

*Priorities for government housing subsidies.* A number of views were expressed on the questions whether governments should subsidize shelter for the lowest income groups, and if not, which groups should be accorded priority in housing assistance programs. It was obvious, as in the case of many other issues put to the conferees, that no general rule would be feasible for a variety of Asian countries with disparate economic and political conditions. But it was also appreciated that an interchange of experiences and viewpoints would be useful for analysis of the problems of any one country. One essentially economic criterion received widespread endorsement. . . that housing should not be provided at government expense for the lowest income segment; rather, assistance should be given to "productive" persons in slightly higher income brackets, "productive" in reference to their ability to make meaningful contributions to the economy. It was reported that India is considering subsidy schemes for persons able to afford possibly half the economic rent. It was suggested that adoption of a standard of rent-paying capacity would resolve the difficult problem of identifying the more "productive" groups.

*Open plot development or self-help housing.* A number of speakers and delegates favored the device of providing plots for the lowest income groups, possibly some construction such as a plinth, water and sanitation facilities, and perhaps small funds for purchasing building materials. Caveats were issued on the basis of experience in India and other countries with lessees of plots who preferred to sell their interests to others, either because the sites were too far from their work, or because they preferred the cash to the offered shelter arrangements. At least one observer shrugged off this weakness of the device by noting the countervailing fact that at least it adds to the housing stock of the community.

*Methods for financing or providing housing.* Many existing or suggested devices were discussed, in addition to the operation of savings and loan associations which was the subject of both panel presentations and papers distributed to the delegates. Some of these techniques were:

(a) Schemes operating in Singapore and Australia, under which participants make regular contributions to a fund they may tap eventually for the purpose of financing their own homes . . . similar to savings and loan associations, with the added feature in Australia of government subsidies as an incentive to saving.

(b) The Pakistan version of the savings and loan association, the Finance Housing Corporation, which was originally funded by government, and is now supported by private savings and by government loans at less-than-market interest rates; and similar institutions in Japan.

(c) The utilization of revenues from enforcement of Taiwan's law on "Equalization of Urban Land Rights", for subsidizing low cost housing . . . explained in a paper distributed to the delegates.

(d) The construction of workers' flats or houses by industries with government financial aid (as in India), or the Hong Kong variation of construction by factory owners of dormitory facilities for younger employees.

(e) The use of revolving funds initially supplied by government.

(f) Indonesia's use of income from government operated lotteries to finance housing construction.

(g) The proposal that employee pension funds be invested in housing.

(h) The development of multi-purpose cooperative societies (as in Malaysia).

(i) Government mortgage insurance, and the development of credit institutions with both public and private backing (with the suggestion that governments should first deal with the problem of building up public confidence in credit institutions).

(j) Proposals that tax relief be given to encourage private housing development, and that governments otherwise take steps to facilitate private investment in housing.

## B. Industrial Estates

The planning, pitfalls and prerequisites of industrial estates development were discussed by one panelist, who recounted Hong Kong's experience and stated that Asian governments must take the lead in their development.

## C. External Assistance

Existing requirements and practices of international lending institutions came in for criticism, some of it negative -- such as complaints regarding the lender's insistence on costly standards for projects for which financing is sought -- and some constructive, such as the suggestion that these institutions devote more of their resources to the support of urban development projects.

It was also suggested that consideration be given to:

(a) The establishment of an Asian housing bank.

(b) Inter-country cooperation schemes.

(c) International exchanges of building materials, or foreign assistance in that form; and

(d) The possibility of guarantees of foreign investments in Asian mutual savings institutions which finance housing construction.

## VI. Legal, Political and Administrative Aspects of Urban Growth

### A. The Planning Process

Most of the discussion of the planning process centered on the interpretation of planning as an extension of the political process. Applying this to municipal level planning, the Vice Mayor of Seoul, Korea, told the delegates that "effective planning is the function of the chief executive".

Dissatisfaction with the yields of city planning was laid to:

(a) The failure of land use controls to take "into account opportunity costs or the fundamental needs of the urban population for employment, shelter and other services privately supplied".

(b) The fact that the concentration of many city planners on "purely physical problems has served as a block to meaningful cooperation between national economic planners and city planners".

(c) The lack of connection between city planning goals and political and economic goals.

(d) The formulating of urban development goals in terms too vague to provide adequate guidance to land use planning and control.

These faults can be remedied only if land use planning becomes just as concerned with economic growth as is national and regional planning -- e.g., if in prescribing industrial locations the planners take into account the different needs of different industries, just as national authorities do in formulating industrial licensing policies. The use of commercial and industrial performance standards, in lieu of preset regulations, may be necessary if such requirements are to be accommodated.

### B. The Familiar Problem of "Coordination" and "Integration"; Analysis and Suggestions

This Conference could add nothing new to the complaints about the lack of "coordination" and "integration" of planning and development decisions, nor to the many variations on the wording of the exhortation to "coordinate" and "integrate".

It did make a useful contribution by going more deeply into the meaning of these terms, thus into the roots of the problem; and by noting a number of existing or suggested corrective methods.

Sometimes the terms "coordination" and "integration" have been used interchangeably, sometimes as distinguishable concepts, but most times as umbrellas covering a variety of intergovernmental or interdisciplinary conflicts. Some of the more troublesome points of friction adverted to under these rubrics arise out of planning and development proposals or decisions made by:

(a) different agencies of a single governmental unit; or

(b) agencies of different governments operating within one area or region, such as a metropolitan area, where no one unit has direct control over the decisions of the others or enjoys a superior position in a hierarchical government structure; or

(c) made by persons with different professional backgrounds, specialties or approaches, or with different objectives, who may be located within the same agency or within different units of government covered by (a) and (b) above (e.g., land planners vs. economists, technicians vs. administrators, city planners vs. executives or legislators, transportation agencies vs. housing agencies).

The cure for such conflicts arising within one governmental jurisdiction is sometimes called "horizontal coordination". On the other hand, "vertical coordination" is usually associated with planning and development proposals or decisions made at different levels of government, or with reference to different geographical dimensions, such as in connection with multipurpose national, regional and city development plans, or with respect to special or functional development programs or plans (e.g. for a state highway network).

The two points of friction that seemed most troublesome to the Conference were:

(a) The failure to mesh city land use plans or public works projects with national or provincial economics-oriented development plans or decisions having spatial implications; and

(b) The inability of city planners with limited comprehension of economics, and economic planners with limited perception of environmental problems, to communicate with each other.

Among the various reforms already effected or suggested for dealing with one or more of these types of problems, are the following:

(a) Attempts should be made to have regional and urban planning implement national and social objectives or, conversely, to make local and regional plans an integral part of national development plans.

(b) The direction of migration should be taken into account in formulating national objectives.

(c) Grants in aid by higher level governments to lower level ones might be conditioned on both (i) the recipient following plans which reconcile conflicting aims or programs of the areas to be served through use of the funds (e.g., grants for making studies of water needs of one municipality, which might be conditioned on the making of a study covering adjoining municipalities as well); and the recipient's assurance that in using the grant for development purposes it will follow the guidelines laid down in an applicable plan or program promulgated by a higher authority (e.g., in a regional plan sanctioned by the state). Korea uses similar disciplinary devices.

(d) The creation of a centrally situated agency staffed with persons skilled in a number of specialties.

(d) Joint administrative organizations, such as regional boards, or organizations containing mixes of national, state and local representatives.

(f) Special high-level agencies, committees, sub-committees or advisory boards to act on, screen or advise on proposals relative to urban development (cf. The National Development Planning Board of Indonesia; and use of a ministerial committee in Singapore).

(g) Higher level review or sanctioning of development plans and programs (e.g. by a state, of municipal plans and programs).

(h) Reduction of the number of planning agencies operating within the same area or region.

C. Regional Planning

The delegates had the benefit of detailed explanations regarding the highly organized regional planning activities of the Philippines. Regional planning there has been described as an extension of national planning, but closer to the grass roots level. This would indicate that regional planning in the Philippines may be serving the purpose of reconciling national and local development activities and objectives.

One delegate declared that in rationing a short supply of professional planners, he would give priority to regional planning agencies over national and city agencies. No one quarreled with the proposition inherited from the Nagoya Seminar that regional planning could not be treated as a substitute for national or city planning.

D. Public Ownership of Land

Attitudes of the conferees on the issue whether, and to what extent, governments should own urban land ranged from a plea for nationalization of all urban land to selective acquisition of unproductive odd-shaped plots. The recurring theme of the city's importance to national development was played once again in the suggestion that government acquire for redevelopment those parcels of land not contributing to the national good.

India's acquisition of 55,000 acres of land in and about New Delhi, and resale by auction at a handsome profit, was cited as an illustration of how government might divert to community purposes increments from a rising land market that would otherwise go into the pockets of private investors. This was coupled with the suggestion that such profits might best be earmarked as a revolving fund for urban development projects.

The sobering note that land ownership policy must depend on the circumstances of each country was struck in the reminder of one delegate that it may be unprofitable for a government to put capital into unproductive land.

The Conference was also reminded that there may be less costly alternatives to expropriation, such as by acquisition of

development rights in land, if the objective is to prevent it from being put to a use detrimental to the community or incompatible with the community's plan. The exchange of land was commended as another method for obtaining land for public projects.

The usual call for more efficient, less costly land acquisition laws was made; and the settling of damage claims by administrative tribunals rather than by the courts was generally endorsed, as was the practice of vesting title in government prior to paying compensation.

The conferees were intrigued by the disclosure that under its new compulsory acquisition law Singapore reduces its costs in two situations:

(a) If a natural catastrophe, such as a fire, destroys buildings housing squatters or subject to rent-control, encumbrances ordinarily depressing the market value of land, Singapore may acquire the land and pay the owner compensation not exceeding one-third of its tax value as a vacant parcel (the theory being that the private owner should not profit from an act of God resulting in an increase in market value).

(b) Though compensation is ordinarily computed at market value, the law denies the owner that part of market value attributable to increment from public improvements, such as adjoining highways, which were completed within the preceeding seven years. Singapore's compensation formula also discounts any value attributable to prospects of a favorable change in planning restrictions.

The audience was reminded that Singapore's Constitution does not contain a guarantee of property rights.

## E. The Balancing of Burdens upon and Benefits to Private Land Resulting from Government Actions or Policies

The familiar list of methods for exacting tribute from property owners benefited by public works or planning decisions, and compensating the injured owners (e.g. betterment levies, special benefit assessments, and the required dedication of land by subdividers for public purposes) appeared. Of more than passing interest to the delegates was mention of:

(a) land readjustment techniques used in Korea and Japan;

(b) Singapore's exaction of a 25% to 50% charge on increased land value resulting from the granting of permission to develop the land at variance with the master plan.

### F. Measures to Stimulate Private Development of Urban Land

The following may be noted:

(a) Japan delineates "use areas" embracing land which the private owner is required to develop within a specific period, under pain of a special tax.

(b) Singapore has reduced its 36% tax on real property income to 12% in urban renewal areas in order to attract investment by private developers.

(c) Some countries apply disproportionately high tax rates to vacant land to discourage land hoarding.

(d) Some rent control legislation facilitates the repossession of vacant land by owners who wish to redevelop it.

### G. Squatters are People, Not Statistics

So spoke one delegate, echoing a sentiment shared by many who criticized the application of wooden eviction rules to squatters. Though some argued for a "get tough" policy, most who spoke to the point counselled a more practical, politically palatable, and humane approach. It was suggested that the legal definition of squatters as violators of property rights be rejected; that government land reserves be used for temporary occupancy by squatters; that it is futile for governments to move squatters from place to place; that they should not be cleared from public land unless government is prepared to redevelop the cleared site immediately; that they be paid compensation or given other inducements to move; that housing for squatters be located near their places of work; and that appropriate zones or areas should be set aside for squatter settlements.

## VII. Tools and Techniques for Planning and Plan Implementation

The wide range of subjects covered under this head and the richness of delegate contributions have compounded the difficulties

of highlighting discussions on the May 9th agenda. For present purposes we can do no more than select a few items at random.

A. Evaluation of Plans and Programs

One workshop group commended, for the attention of the Conference, Malaysia's "National Operations Room", an outgrowth of joint services planning during World War II. The institution enables Malaysia to keep a complete, up-to-date, record of action on the national plan, by various levels of government down to the district.

A member of one workshop agreed that for effective evaluation some form of inspectorate is needed at each appropriate level of government. Pakistan sends inspection teams into the field.

In Calcutta, evaluation is designed as part of the planning process. A central planning office sets objectives which are published in a report showing budgets and plans. An evaluation team reviews the development of the plans and submits cost-benefit analyses. The reports of the evaluation team are published periodically.

B. Budgeting as a Technique for Planning

No one questioned the proposition that planning and budgeting should be closely related processes, but no universal formula was recommended as best suited to achieve an efficient partnership of planning and budgeting agencies. There was acknowledgment of the need to have planners influence decision-makers to phase their spending so that new programs become additive rather than discrete. After giving serious consideration to the problem, Korea transferred the budgeting function to an Economic Planning Board.

The system of preparing both annual and rolling five or six year budgets seems to have taken hold in some of the Asian countries (e.g., the Philippines).

In a pilot project sponsored by the University of the Philippines and the National Planning Commission the technique of performance budgeting is being tested in a couple of provinces of that country. Of special interest is the fact that they are preparing the broad framework of a physical development plan to provide a sound basis for the performance budgets.

The suggestion that budgetary allocations be made by major regions of a country elicited the information that to some extent this procedure is now being followed in Pakistan and Indonesia.

## C. Professional Training for Planners and Managers

The Conference thoroughly aired the pros and cons of sending persons abroad for training. There was no disagreement with the proposition that foreign postgraduate training for persons with some government experience may be desirable. The ultimate objective of establishing indigenous training facilities received wide-spread support.

Discussions relating to deficiencies in the training of planners often led to the conclusion that the curriculum should be broadened to include instruction in economics and other social sciences, to enable planners to communicate more easily with other partners in the planning process.

The growing need for supporting technicians at subprofessional levels was noted on a couple of occasions.

The extensive discussions regarding the problem of the "brain-drain" require no highlighting. In general it was acknowledged that more stringent measures should be taken to regulate the exodus of highly skilled persons to the more affluent countries.

The importance of continued, stepped-up research in Asian problems of urban growth was stressed in a number of contexts, and led to proposals that a center or centers be established to sponsor such research and serve as points of interchange of findings and expertise.