

WHITHER INDIAN URBANISATION?

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FORUM OF FREE ENTERPRISE

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YOUTH CENTER
SOCIETY

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"People must come to accept private enterprise not as a necessary evil, but as an affirmative good."

—EUGENE BLACK

WHITHER INDIAN URBANISATION?

By

DR. F. P. ANTIA *

Next to food, shelter is the most important essential for life. Even the primitive man felt the necessity of taking refuge from the rigours of weather. Step by step, man wanted a higher standard for this shelter, providing him not only protection from natural elements but also a certain modicum of comfort in living and relaxation from his strenuous wanderings in search of food. He wanted an enclosed area relatively isolated from his neighbours, from animals, and from hostile forces, where he could look after his family, maintain his privacy, guard his possessions, all with a view to function with greater efficiency. Even the earliest civilisations of which we have evidence — those on the Nile, the Euphrates, the Tigris and the Indus — carry proof of man having built himself a refuge to provide himself with not only ease and comfort but also enjoyment in his surroundings.

In regard to the housing structure, it has always been recognised that the first function is to provide comfort, ease and relaxation. The house is the home. All the sleeping and most waking hours of the family are spent therein. From the earliest days, an attempt has been made not only to make these surroundings agreeable, but also pleasant, even exciting. The ancient cave dwellings along the Garonne in France and in Northern Spain carry to this day the animals and the hunting scenes painted on their walls. The Ajanta paintings of a later date in history are world famous. It did not take man long to realise that pleasant home surroundings must contribute eventually towards productivity and efficiency of every member of the household and so also of the community. The necessity of providing

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pleasant housing was realised by our distant forbears. But can we say the same of today?

According to urban sociologists, one just cannot deal with the housing problems in isolation without referring to the problem of cities and *vice versa*. For housing in a genuine sense today is not merely a shelter. It is the focal part of the entire fabric of life in which man is placed, of the whole economic and social milieu in which he carries on his activity, even though it may be confined principally to making a living for himself. The importance of housing, therefore, can hardly be over-emphasized in the setting of urban development. The two are inseparable.

In U.S.A. The Housing and Urban Development Act 1965 which established the Department of Housing and Urban Dévelopment under a full-fledged Cabinet Secretary stated that its purpose was to “achieve the best administration of the principal programmes of the Federal Government which provide assistance for housing and for the development of the nation’s communities to encourage the solution of the problems of housing and urban development ”

India’s Rapid Urbanisation

The 1971 Census returned the total population of India at 548 millions. Of these, 109 millions, i.e., approximately 20 *per cent*, were listed as “urban”, i.e. includable as living in centres covered under the following definitions:

- (a) All places with a municipality, corporation or cantonment or notified town area;
- (b) All other places which satisfied the following criteria:—
 - (i) a minimum population of 5,000;
 - (ii) at least 75 per cent of male working population is non-agricultural;
 - (iii) a density of population of at least 400 per sq. km. (i.e. 1,000 per sq. mile).

One remarkable characteristic about India’s urban population is that although, as percentage of total popula-

tion, compared with other countries like U.K. (79), France (70), U.S.A. (70), Japan (68), U.S.S.R. (56), and Canada (74), the figure looks small at 20, in point of total numbers at 109 millions, it ranks as the third largest urban community, next only to that of U.S.A. and U.S.S.R. In fact, the entire population of several large European countries will have to be put together to reach the figure of 109 millions. Further the urban population has been increasing very rapidly during the last two decades. The number of cities of 100,000 plus population has gone up from 74 in 1951 to 107 in 1961 and to 142 in 1971, whereas the inhabitants in cities of over 100,000 has gone up from 24 millions in 1951 to 35 millions in 1961 and to 57 millions in 1971. The total number of centres with urban characteristics as defined has gone up from 2,700 in 1961 to 2,921 in 1971. Another characteristic of urbanisation in India is that during the last four decades, urban population tends to congregate increasingly into larger cities.

The urbanisation process appears certainly to have run amuck in this country. India stands practically at the bottom of the world list as far as the quality of life of its people and its *per capita* income are concerned. Nevertheless, it has the dubious distinction of claiming as many as three cities within the largest 25 in the world—Calcutta ranking seventh at 7 million, Bombay 12th at 6 million and Delhi 21st at 3.6 million. Let us not forget that these figures refer to the 1971 Census taken more than six years ago. Since then, the population in these cities has suffered further increases.

The quality of life lived in these cities has been the subject of investigation since the mid-fifties, under the sponsorship of some universities. The Bombay investigation was under the leadership of the reputed economist, Prof. D. T. Lakdawala, the present Dy. Chairman of the Planning Commission. The New Delhi investigation was headed by Prof. V. K. Rao. Several investigations were conducted also under the sponsorship of the Planning Commission by Dr. J. F. Bulsara, an eminent urban sociologist, who had worked for many years as the Social Welfare Representative on the United Nation's Commission for Asia and the Far East. Care

was taken to see that the sampling was fair and representative of the correct state of affairs.

Structural Conditions of Houses

In Bombay, it was found that *pacca* and *kaccha* houses are all mixed up practically in every locality. The *kaccha* houses are occupied preponderantly by those earning less than Rs. 500/- p.m. Out of 1,054 families investigated 78.6 per cent lived in multi-tenement chawls, with common taps, bathrooms, and latrines. 13.2 per cent lived in apartments, 5.5 per cent in hutments and 1.1 per cent in bungalows.

In Calcutta 44 per cent households lived in "joint *pacca*" or semi-*pacca* houses, 28 per cent in *kaccha* houses. Only 7.5 per cent had a separate house or apartment whereas 20 per cent lived in a makeshift way in messes, hotels or on shop-floors.

In Delhi of 16,336 houses surveyed 83.3 per cent are *pacca*, 11.4 per cent *kaccha*, 5.3 per cent of mixed type.

In Madras, of the 13,288 houses investigated 56.2 per cent were old, low and crouching type, 15.7 per cent multi-tenement storeyed houses, 28.5 per cent were thatch or flimsy hutments, 1.2 per cent lived in "new type" houses and 0.4 per cent in garden houses.

Accommodation

The surveys brought out the fact that in Bombay 77.6 per cent of tenants had one room, 14.2 per cent had two rooms, 4.3 per cent had three rooms, 2.1 per cent had 4 rooms, 1 per cent had 5 rooms and 0.8 per cent had six rooms in each tenement. 75.7 per cent households lived three or more persons in one room. Of this 47 per cent lived 3 to 5 persons per room, 24.6 per cent lived 6 to 9 per room, 4.1 per cent lived 10 to 17 and even more persons per room. In the textile Chawls of Bombay, the workers are known to live 5 to 18 to a room about 10 ft. by 10 ft. They sleep in relays wherever there is strain on the available space.

Water Taps

In Bombay 49 per cent in the *pucca* and 32 per cent in the hutment area had independent water taps, whereas 42

per cent in *pucca* area and 19 per cent in hutment area had a common tap for the whole building. 8 per cent in the *pucca* and 57 per cent houses in the hutment area do not have water facilities at all.

A water tap in Bombay, however, does not assure supply of water, as Bombay residents find to their cost. In some of the apartments, even in expensive localities like Reclamation and Colaba, not a trickle of water comes in except per chance at 3 O'Clock in the morning! In several areas, water is being tapped regularly and unauthorisedly from mains and public hydrants, in which process, of course, a lot is wasted. Water is bought and sold as a commercial commodity in many areas of Bombay.

Water Closets

In Bombay, it was found that only 31 per cent households in the *pucca* area and 2.3 per cent in the hutment area have independent W.Cs. The rest resort presumably to any open space available, which is mostly the street. 61 per cent in the *pucca* area and 41 per cent households in the hutment area share W.Cs. used by several persons, ranging from 10 to 50 or more. 8 per cent in the *pucca* area and 68 per cent in the hutment area have none and resort presumably to any open space available which is usually again the street.

According to the previous surveys in Bombay, only 12.7 per cent of the households have a private W.C., 79.3 per cent share it with other households whereas 8 per cent have no facility at all and use the outdoors. The load on common W.Cs. ranges between 13 to as many as 300 persons per unit. Where W.Cs. do exist in Bombay, 72.4 per cent of them do not flush!

In Calcutta 14 per cent households have no lavatory facilities at all. In Delhi 36.4 per cent households have no latrines.

Ownership of Houses

In a village, every family owns its own house, howsoever modest. In fact, usually the first security the householder seeks is to own his dwelling. For all practical purposes, hiring of a house in a village is unknown.

In Dr. Bulsara's survey, it was found that out of 2,182 households investigated in the *pucca* area only 8.1 per cent owned their own houses, 81.1 per cent are tenants of different categories. In the hutment areas only 1.5 per cent owned their own houses whereas 52.3 per cent are tenants.

The results of other surveys showed that the position was even more insecure. In Bombay, it was found that out of 13,369 households investigated only 4.8 per cent owned their own houses whereas 87.6 per cent lived in rented houses. In Calcutta out of the 18,535 households only 7.2 per cent owned their own houses, the rest being tenants. However, in Delhi about 14 per cent owned their own houses and in Madras—which still retains some desirable characteristics—about 28.1 per cent.

Housing Conditions in Smaller Cities

We have covered so far housing and sanitary conditions in the four metropolitan cities. Is the position in smaller cities any better? Conditions in the smaller cities were investigated about 22 years ago under the sponsorship of the Research Programmes Committee of the Planning Commission. However, as noticed from the figures on urbanisation, its rapid increase during recent years would cause only greater pressure on civic amenities than what existed in those days. On the other hand in no city have we any evidence of effective measures having been taken which should have improved the situation. Conditions would have, therefore, changed for the worse during these 22 years.

Conclusions on Housing Conditions in Indian Cities

More recently, the Rajwade Committee which was entrusted by the Maharashtra Government with the task of making a "Regional Plan for Bombay Metropolitan Region 1970-91" consequent on the recommendations of the Gadgil Committee, came out with corroborating figures from the 1961 Census Report for Bombay—20 per cent samples on housing. This showed 72 per cent households as one room tenements, 16.8 per cent as two room ones. 10 per cent households had only grass thatch and leaves as building material.

The living conditions in Indian cities generally, both large and small, and housing conditions particularly, have ably been summed up in the words of the Study Group for Greater Bombay appointed by Maharashtra Government under the Chairmanship of a brilliant I.C.S. Officer, the late Mr. S. G. Barve. He thus concluded his observations on Greater Bombay in February 1959—a full 18 years ago: “The absence of playgrounds and recreational spaces for children as well as the citizen-body; school buildings unworthy of the coming generation; a deficit of housing to the extent of a third of the total population with all that this shortfall means to the lower income group categories who have to bear the entire incidence of the deficit; the squalor and disgrace of slums accounting for several lakhs of the population; large proportion of working people perforce living single and bereft of domestic life with all the inevitable effect of this deprivation on social vice; ceaseless squabbles, litigations, and a chronic state of “cold war” between tenants and landlords; the degradation and shame of queues and quarrels over water taps and the use of sanitary conveniences; the daily grind to several hundred thousands persons who have to travel 1½ to 2 hours each way in choked trains to and from their work; a myriad scowls and distempers attending upon traffic as it daily snarls up at a hundred places in trying to force its way through a wholly inadequate circulation system, this is the unvarnished picture of living conditions generally in which the 43 lakhs of population in this ‘Urban Prima in India’ have to subsist. This number represents no less than 10 per cent of the State’s entire population. Yet it is really unnecessary that such large numbers of people in the premier city of the country should be consigned to live such squalid, stunted, fractious lives. If it is tackled with determination, we make bold to say, within a couple of years distinct improvements ought to be visible and within 5 years the problem would have been set well on the way to a solution. It is no more and no less than a challenge to the civic statesmanship and organisational capacity of the authorities concerned.”

These lines were written in February 1959. Since then Mr. Barve unfortunately is no more. It cannot, however, be

claimed that conditions described by Mr. Barve's Report, and suggested as improvable within 2 to 5 years, have to the slightest degree changed for the better. The change, if any, has been for the worse, as the more recent data would have shown.

What is the Way Out of this Situation ?

I suggest the following course of action if we want things to change for the better:—

(a) **Control and Regulate migration to Cities:** Regulation and control over immigration to the four metropolitan cities to start with, percolating down in stages gradually to all cities with a population of 100,000 plus is a must. The right to reside and settle in a particular city should bear some relationship to the resources, physical and economic, which that city can command in its hinterland.

(b) **Provide avenues of livelihood in villages and small towns:** Simultaneous effort is needed at provision of means of livelihood to inhabitants of small town and villages so as to eliminate the *raison d'être* for the present drift to cities. Apart from work on minor irrigation, contour bunding and land improvement, avenues for employment can be opened up by encouraging improvement and construction of village housing. The Government of India is prepared already to pay for preparation of village housing sites and to give technical assistance in building houses to the householder. Construction of all weather roads to the hundreds of thousands of our isolated villages would employ crores of men and women. In fact, it has been calculated that every crore of Rupees spent on road building can provide employment to the extent of 12,000 man years. In operating road transport on such road 4,000 persons can be employed indefinitely. There should also be enormous scope for self-employment in animal husbandry, dairying, piggeries, bee-keeping and like occupations even in drought prone areas. Small-scale cottage industries, preferably with the aid of power so as to make such units meaningful and productive.—but even without power if it is not available.—should be the normal phenomenon in every village home. If raw materials are not locally available, appropriate materials suitable to locally developed

or inherited skills should be brought in from outside. Where no such skills are apparent, they will have to be injected by training. The Maharashtra Government has introduced an Employment Guarantee Scheme which should prove an eye-opener to other States.

(c) **Make Regional Plans to decongest cities into Satellite and new towns in Surrounding Regions:** The total urban population according to 1971 census is 109 million spread over 2,921 cities and towns large and small. Four of these which are categorised as metropolitan cities, namely, Calcutta, Bombay, Delhi and Madras with populations 7 million, 6 million, 3.6 million and 2.5 million respectively i.e. a total of 19.1 million have already made their regional plans. How far these regional plans meet the requirements leading up to reasonably happy urban living from the human point of view may, however, need some scrutiny. One cardinal requirement with regard to all of them should be that on the one hand they provide adequate decongestion of the cities, and on the other they provide conditions of living in the new and satellite towns, within their regions or without, which are tempting enough to attract population to them along with their avenues of employment, from the congested core of the city.

It is to be realised that the problems a large urban sprawl gives rise to cannot satisfactorily be resolved unless the entire surrounding region of which the city is the core, is comprised within the planning orbit.

Leaving aside these four metropolitan cities, there are five other cities with a million plus population, viz., Hyderabad, Secunderabad, Bangalore, Ahmedabad, Kanpur and Poona, which require immediate attention towards making their regional plans. This is obvious to any visitor to these cities. Further if the remaining 133 cities above 100,000 population are not to go the same way as the nine cities with million plus population, ways and means will have to be found, before it is too late, to guide them along the correct channels. Thus, it would be desirable to require by law that all these unplanned cities also should make their regional plans.

(d) **Town Plans already submitted need scrutiny:** It is understood that as many as 74 towns have already submitted their plans to the Central or State Governments. Nothing, however, has been heard about their implementation, or any other progress. Urban development was obviously low on the priority list of the Planning Commission all these 30 years. Let us hope the reconstituted Planning Commission will evolve early a rational policy in this behalf, to guide the pattern of living of a portion of our population which by the next census will probably be as high as 25 per cent of the total. The plans need to be scrutinised and further action taken early.

(e) **Small hamlets should be regrouped into small towns or big villages:** This will still leave the country with hundreds of thousands of scattered hamlets and villages, some of them with a population of hardly a hundred souls. It is doubtful if such small units could generate the financial resources to provide and maintain even the most elementary civic amenities such as a primary school, a source of clean water supply such as a well or a pump and elementary sanitary conveniences such as even common latrines and bathrooms. These small units will have to be clubbed together at suitable adjacent sites in well laid out units of say 3,000-5,000 population or so. If even thereafter they cannot afford the provision or maintenance of these basic amenities, they will have suitably to be subsidised by the Zilla Parishad or the State. The migration of people from these tiny villages and hamlets to larger villages and small towns should from this point of view be encouraged, so as to constitute viable large village or small town units.

(f) **New Industrial Towns should be planned on Group lay-out basis:** At the same time, attention should be given to the new company towns which are developing, to support large industrial units such as Durgapur. The general pattern adopted in most of them is to locate the factory or plant on one side of the highway and the township on the other. This is *ab-initio* faulty planning. The highway has then to be used by local traffic generated between the township and the plant which it is not meant to carry and which obstructs the through

traffic. *Per contra* the through traffic is as much a nuisance to the local activities and traffic, appertaining to the industry and the township. The pattern adopted should be that of group layout of the factory and township together, say about a km. away from the highway but on the same side of the highway, and connected to the highway by a spur road.

In many instances again, whereas the residential area of such townships is well laid out, downtown business or shopping area—the “bazar”—is permitted to grow haphazard. Its squalor stands in stark contrast to the orderly residential area. Durgapur is again an instance in point. There is no reason why orderly lay-out should not prevail in the ‘Bazar’ areas as well.

It is realised that the preparation of plans for as many as nearly 3,000 towns, will require a whole army of engineers, surveyors, town planners, draftsmen etc. who may not readily be available. If so, provision should be made to train them. Each State should have at least one town planning school attached to an engineering or architectural college. Besides the status of this profession can be raised by increasing the salary scales etc. so as to attract talented young men and women to it.

(g) Population goals should be defined and observed in New Towns: The new and satellite towns should be laid out with defined population goals, beyond which the population should not be permitted to expand. This means when making the original lay-out there should be scope for normal and natural increase in population. Aristotle considered 5,000 as the desirable number to populate a town. His reasoning was that the audience from this size of town could personally be addressed on issues that arise for a democracy to function. Sir Ebenezer Howard to whom we owe the concept of establishing new towns, so as to cut cities away from the squalor, filth, social degradation and complete lack of contact with nature, had advocated units of 30,000 for U.K., in 1898. The Reith Committee in U.K. had indicated 30,000 to 50,000 as a desirable limit. The minimum figure was on the footing that too small a town cannot afford all civic amenities, the maximum figure on basis of keeping a mini-

mum distance between any house and the open countryside. The Gadgil Committee taking its cue from conditions in India felt that 30,000 to 50,000 population may not bring in sufficient income to maintain essential civic amenities. At the same time having observed the favourable conditions prevailing in pre-war Poona as an integrated city, they came to the conclusion that a desirable population for a city would be between 75,000 and 2,50,000 depending on its resources. A city of that size could afford to provide all the required municipal, civic, educational, recreational and cultural diversity to its people, which after all is the principal objective of congregating together in a city. Besides it could provide necessary variation of economic and cultural activity and constitute an interesting community. An inviolable green belt of sufficient width round each town say 5 to 10 miles, to be used for playgrounds, recreation parks, agriculture, horticulture, etc., is a must.

(h) **Hierarchical layout of New Towns:** The layout within the new towns is of vital importance to the welfare of its residents. It should be on an hierarchical basis which fortunately has been introduced already in Chandigarh. The smallest unit in the town, a housing cluster of 1,000 to 1,200 population would be so designed as to enable a small child to attend his nursery school unescorted without having to cross a street carrying vehicular traffic. The next bigger unit, a residential planning area of 4,000 to 5,000 people, i.e., say 4 clusters, should be able to support a primary school, a playground and a small shopping centre. The next bigger one, a neighbourhood unit of 12,000 to 15,000 population, say four residential areas, would have a large shopping centre, a secondary school, a playground and recreation facilities such as a sports club, a cinema etc. Several such neighbourhood units put together would form the community or the town of say 75,000 to 2,50,000 population. In all the units the densities will have rigorously to be zoned and controlled, and in no circumstances should be allowed to cross 75 persons per acre which is the red line indicated by knowledgeable urban sociologists.

But it should be emphasised that quite as important as physical planning, is the social planning of a community, particularly a new one. It is an accepted fact that the larger the city's population, the greater the lonesomeness and helplessness of the newcomer to it. An attempt should be made to look after the residents from the human point of view, and their need for company of other fellow beings of their own kind provided for. From this angle it would be as well to encourage settlement in the new towns of already existing homogenous groups which can be encouraged to work together for their own social and cultural advancement, the state or civic body working at a catalyst.

(i) **Avoid dormitory suburbs as in the West—Avoid commuting—avoid underground railways:** One mistake which should not be repeated in the new towns is to bloat them up to unmanageable populations and sizes and stretch them into "dormitory suburbs" and then oblige millions to commute to and from their places of work. Even in India, people working in Bombay commute to and from Lonavala 70 miles away and from Poona 115 miles away. The position in other metropolitan cities is probably identical. Each satellite town and new town should have its own industries, offices, shops and other avenues of employment located in a separate part of the same town but within easy walking or bicycling distance of the residential area, accessible without having to commute. Most of the commuting today is done in overcrowded agencies of mass transit—suburban trains, tram cars and buses—standing and strap hanging all the way. Then again from the station or the bus stop the commuter must take another conveyance or walk to his working place or his home. Before the city dweller reaches his work place or his home he is already exhausted. Besides all this involves getting up early in the mornings and turning in late at night, cutting down the necessary hours of relaxation. The "Sunday father" whose children do not recognise him, may be a joke to his neighbours. But it is a tragic phenomenon for the concerned family itself.

The daily grind of waste of physical energy, time and human resources involved in commuting is over and above

the waste involved in the capital resources the community has sunk to provide mass transit and transport equipment. This capital could easily have been diverted to some genuinely productive purpose, increasing the goods and services available to the country, if it had not been committed to this futile unproductive effort. Similarly the energy, time and effort spent on commuting could well have been spent by the commuter on activities or pursuits more rewarding and relaxing.

Further the recent misdirected enthusiasm in favour of underground railways in the four metropolitan cities, which will easily cost about a Rs. 1,000 or Rs. 1,500 crores between them,—apart from causing explosive dislocation of the normal life of these cities over several years—should invite a fresh probe from the point of view of basic fundamentals. For example, does an underground railway really solve or even ease the traffic and transportation problems of a city? If it is claimed that it does, why should London, New York, Tokyo, Paris, to name only a few, continue to be plagued with these problems with increasing intensity, notwithstanding the fact that some of them were the pioneers in installing the underground railway about a hundred years ago? Surely they should by this time have gathered all possible experience in aligning, constructing and operating them! Tokyo, the foremost in the field, in fact has provided every imaginable agency of mass transit, apart from its 100 miles of underground railways and a mono rail. A Japan Government white paper while examining the problem concluded recently just the same that the attempt to accommodate more people in Tokyo must be resisted.

(j) Small communities would automatically minimise ecological and enemy aciten hazards: One very relevant point that cannot be overlooked in this context is the pollution hazard. Human life, even animal life, must pollute nature to a certain extent, wherever it exists in the very process of living. However, it has been established that nature has the in-built capacity to deal with reasonable sized doses of pollution, but not with oppressively large ones. In fact, scientific

and industrial research still feels baffled with the ecological problems arising out of large concentrations of people.

Yet another hazard to which a large city is exposed is that of enemy action in case of war—no matter what weapons are used or outlawed—whether conventional or nuclear. The larger the number of small communities into which the country is divided, the more limited would be such risk.

(k) **Communal Control and ownership desirable over urban land:** In any regional or town plan, the essential ingredients will be to restrict certain activities in some areas, to stimulate certain activities in others. Land use as determined by the planning authorities is therefore of the greatest significance. All these objectives can be achieved if the regional authorities are empowered to acquire land at present prices based on their agricultural use, not the future price as a city business or residential plot. Where land values rise consequent on the use for which it has been earmarked, betterment charges would be collected from owners. In appropriate cases such revenue can even contribute towards compensation to another set of owners whose land values fall, for example by reason of the town incinerator being located in the neighbourhood. Similarly taxation in different areas can be adjusted to decongest one area or to populate another area. Similarly high employment potential industries can be zoned in some areas, low potential ones in another as indicated by requirements of public welfare.

(l) **Regional Planning Authority should be superior to Local Authorities:** The Regional Planning Authority (R.P.A.) should have superior authority over municipalities, municipal corporations, zilla parishads, gram panchayats etc., because they have to take a more comprehensive regional view of all issues, not just a local or parochial angle. At the same time, they should not pose themselves as so superior that they disregard all local considerations and ride roughshod over the local authorities. But once the point of view of local authorities has been taken into consideration they (the local authorities) should then implement the programme in their areas as desired by the R.P.A. Local authorities within the

metropolitan region should be encouraged to make plans for their own towns and villages, which should dovetail into the regional plans. Local authorities should continue to function within their local areas regarding building permissions, refusals etc. In local matters R.P.A. should not constitute itself as the appellate authority. Otherwise the prestige of local authority will suffer.

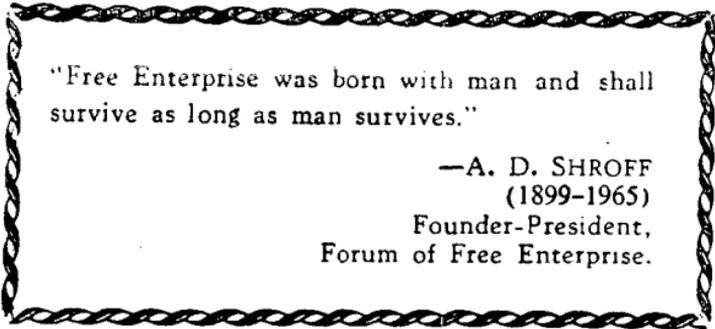
(m) **Preparation and Execution of Regional Plan by same set of people is desirable:** The plan should preferably be prepared, administered and executed by the same set of people so as to obviate pitfalls in execution and clash between planners and 'doors'.

As long as migration to an urban area is left unregulated and uncontrolled, all civic amenities, whether housing, water supply, sewerage, drainage, electric power, primary and secondary education, medical aid, recreational avenues, parks, open spaces and playgrounds, roads, carriageways for vehicles, even pavements for pedestrians, and a host of such other items as the city authority is expected to provide, will continuously be subjected to severe strain. They must get saturated not only to capacity but far beyond that. In the result the share of each city dweller must be reduced to a distressingly small portion and make his life a misery.

This is what is happening in so many West European, North American and Japanese cities. This is precisely what is happening also to cities in India, particularly those with a population of 100,000 plus.

Lewis Mumford has aptly said: "The final test of an economic system is not the tons of iron, the tanks of oil or the miles of textiles it produces. The final test lies in its ultimate produce—the sort of men and women it nurtures and the order and beauty and sanity of their communities." The first step towards nurturing the right sort of men and women is to give them the right surroundings to grow up in and to live in.

The views expressed in this booklet are not necessarily the views of the Forum of Free Enterprise.



"Free Enterprise was born with man and shall
survive as long as man survives."

—A. D. SHROFF
(1899-1965)

Founder-President,
Forum of Free Enterprise.

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