

## TRANSPORTATION AND URBAN LAND POLICY IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

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This session dealt with the relationships among urban travel, the urbanization of land and policies for directing the use of land, all in developing countries. A great deal of attention has been given to these topics in the United States, but little in the less developed countries. This is unfortunate because work relevant to these topics is going on in developing countries all over the world. This work on land use and transportation in developing countries needs to be made available in order to avoid the tendency to assume that conclusions reached in the post-industrialized world must also apply in developing countries. This mistaken assumption has been made by professionals from the developed countries working abroad and by professionals of the developing countries alike. The problem is limited knowledge of the functional relationship among travel-related phenomena.

There are many special problems of dealing with transportation and urban land in a social, economic and technological setting where data are limited. Entirely different tripmaking patterns, several additional forms of formal and informal public transit, a low-rate of auto ownership, and population subgroups of qualitatively different cultures and life-styles means that the conventional formulations from the developed countries may not suffice.

In many developing countries, the most effective policy to affect congestion is the control of auto ownership by regulating import tariffs and restricting assembly and manufacture of automobiles. This would not occur to most planners from post-industrialized countries.

The forces and conditions which relate land development to transportation facility impact and which generate land development may be special. The significance of primary sector employment in the generating and location of other development may not be as great as is assumed by many land development models. The issue of the significance of access and the value of time is unsettled. The assumption of an equilibrium among industrial, commercial, and residential land may be unjustified, particularly during rapid growth. Urban land may not even be negotiable in the direct sense. It may be held in tribal tenure or by other hands unresponsive to opportunities for adjustment to "higher use" when impacted by a transportation facility. The likelihood of particular kinds of government actions related to facility construction (such as betterment taxation, excess condemnation, etc.) may also affect the circumstances.

The potential/variety of land development policies available which are responsive to transport facility impacts is large in many countries. Professionals often miss good opportunities by failing to appreciate the degree of freedom permitted, and the strength of some measures available. On the other hand, it is probably much more common for the level of flexibility to be far overestimated. Optimistic public officials considering their statutory freedom, but not accounting for

conservative administrative customs, often encourage their advisors to recommend aggressive actions which have no hope for implementation. Governments driven by rising expectations are often forced into displaying bright tomorrows, while being unable to come to terms with the changes in the rules of land ownership which are required. The whole matter of what flexibilities exist in land policy is a very subtle one in many countries.

And the transfer of solution modes from one country to another, while inevitable, is a difficult problem. Each time a method is transferred from one environment to another it brings with it features which were required for the last application, but are unwelcome baggage to the next one. As an example, zoning was created in Germany during the third quarter of the 19th century primarily to control the high densities at which workers' housing was built by speculative housing builders. Then it was imported elsewhere, including the U.S. where its primary support was from constituencies interested in requiring uniform residential densities to protect land value in residential areas. Exported to developing countries, zoning district specifications bear clear indication of their prior use, although the countries borrowing them may have no intention of encouraging uniform densities, and no interest in them.

The papers in this set show a good variety of perspectives on the relationship between transportation and land development in developing countries. They deal with all the issues mentioned in one form or another. The Byrne-Tadross-Grava paper discusses transportation planning for new cities in the developing world. Beginning with the authors' work in transportation planning for Sadat City in Egypt, its features are compared with Ciudad Guayana, Chandigarh, and Brasilia. These comparisons produce a sense of the special features of transportation systems in developing countries which can be built into a designed urban situation. The Hirten-Echnique paper describes the application of an advanced land development model to the case of Teheran. The experience is revealing about the nature of the land development phenomenon in that country. Zahavi has an unconventional approach to the analysis of travel demand. In particular, he has discovered through the analysis of data from a number of developing and developed countries, that the allocations of time and cost to travel by individuals is remarkably constant. Linking these conclusions to other travel characteristics enables him to reach interesting conclusions about whether policy on urban transportation could really have significant consequences in land development... and vice versa. The Courtney paper brings the World Bank's wealth of data to bear on discovering the structure of the travel problem of the low income families of Manila. His sobering conclusions suggest that, just as housing solutions became infamous for widely overshooting the problems of the urban poor, even public transit improvement may be committing a similar fallacy in the transportation sector. Many poor in the developing world can scarcely afford to travel.