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Layers of development in Shanghai
© Christine Saum

Evaluating Assessment Limits

Homeowners understandably dislike unexpected increases in property taxes. Such increases have happened in the past most notably when property values grew rapidly, thereby raising property tax assessments that are normally based on market prices. Nineteen states and the District of Columbia have implemented limits on the growth of assessments with the objective of providing tax relief to homeowners.

The Institute's recent policy focus report, *Property Tax Assessment Limits: Lessons from Thirty Years of Experience*, by Mark Haveman and Terri A. Sexton, concludes that assessment limits perform poorly in terms of their effectiveness, efficiency, and equity outcomes. Other approaches, such as circuit breakers that target tax relief to particular groups of households, perform better.

The logic of assessment limits is straightforward. The amount of property tax due is determined by multiplying a tax rate times a property's assessment. If assessed values track market prices, then higher property prices will increase assessments. If tax rates are not reduced to offset the overall rise in assessments, property tax bills will go up. An obvious solution is to limit the growth in assessments. However, such limits make the determination of local taxes less transparent to citizens and have produced surprising consequences.

Assessment limits normally set a uniform cap on the annual growth of assessments, but all property values do not rise at the same rate. The uniform cap redistributes the property tax burden—reducing the share paid by properties that are increasing rapidly in value, and raising the share paid by those growing slowly or not at all. This redistribution benefits high-income households when the prices of larger houses increase more than prices of smaller houses. In fact, the dollar benefit of assessment limits has been found to increase with household income.

In most states with assessment limits, the assessed value of a house is reset to its market value when it is sold. This also redistributes the property tax burden—reducing the share paid by long-term residents and raising the share paid by new residents—so that the tax payments of otherwise identical properties can differ many fold.



Gregory K. Ingram

Typically a household loses its property tax advantage when it moves. The prospect of paying higher property taxes may impede household mobility and distort housing decisions, locking households into dwellings and locations that become suboptimal as household needs change. On balance, lower-income households relocate less frequently than high-income households, so they benefit from the lower tax payments but bear

the costs of lower mobility.

Assessment limits also have impacts on local governments, which typically rely more than any other level of government on property tax revenues. Assessment limits have reduced the tax base of municipal governments by as much as half and have produced similar reductions in locally controlled revenues. This limitation on the revenues of local governments also constrains local control over spending because decreased local revenue is replaced by state aid payments that often come with restrictions. In lean times state aid payments may be reduced dramatically, leaving local governments with few options to replace state funds. The reduction in local control over spending also leads to less citizen involvement in local governments that now have less authority and influence over local spending.

What other instruments can help to control rising property tax bills? Truth-in-taxation procedures require municipalities to announce the constant-yield tax rate that would maintain revenues at the same amount as the previous year. Any increase above that rate is then seen transparently as an increase in the property tax rate.

If the objective is to reduce property tax burdens for low-income households or those in financial difficulty, circuit breakers—which reduce property taxes that exceed a given percentage of income—can be used to target relief to households whose bills are large relative to their incomes. This targeting increases the efficiency of property tax relief because high-income households normally would not qualify. Neither of these measures has the manifold unintended consequences produced by assessment limits.

A free copy of the complete report can be downloaded at www.lincolnst.edu.

Beijing and Shanghai: Places of Change and Contradiction



The Gate of Heavenly Peace stands at the end of the redeveloped Qianmen Street in Beijing.

© Eric T. Fleisher

Christine Saum

Dazhalan, in the Qianmen district south of Beijing's Tiananmen Square, has been described as a *hutong* (lane) with a "heady jumble of shops," including some of the oldest stores in the city. So it was puzzling when the taxi driver stopped in the middle of the street and waved vaguely at a construction site nearby. Through a gap in the fence we could see a broad new street lined with modern, mixed-use buildings whose design reflected

the architectural characteristics of old Beijing. A lone trolley car waited in the middle of the street to take visitors to the designer shops that would be opening in a few weeks. This is the Beijing we had come to see: a place that is changing so fast that a feature described in a guidebook may no longer exist, or if it does, the subway line to reach it may be so new that it doesn't appear on any map.

When the 2007–2008 class of Loeb Fellows from Harvard University's Graduate School of Design met for the first time in May 2007 to discuss options for the study trip that would conclude

a year at Harvard the following spring, we quickly agreed on a number of criteria. We were looking for a place where change was happening now; a place where a visit five years before or hence would be a different experience; a place dealing with significant environmental, transportation, and housing challenges; a place looking for ways to preserve some of its past while moving into the future; and a place where it was possible to see the role that outside designers and consultants were playing. Most of all, the Loeb Fellows were looking for a place where they could be inspired by the leadership and vision they would experience. China quickly moved to the top of the list of places to be considered.

What we found in our visits to Shanghai and Beijing in May 2008 were places full of contradictions. With our guides Yan Huang (LF 2003), director of the Beijing Municipal Planning Commission, and Lin Wang (LF 2009), deputy director of Historical Areas, Urban Design, and Urban Sculpture for the Shanghai Urban Planning Bureau, we saw a nation whose environmental woes are well known, but whose vision of a green future at times put the United States to shame. It was a fascinating insight into a nation experiencing staggering rates of urbanization as thousands move from the countryside to the cities every day, and whose challenges in providing the housing and infrastructure to accommodate those new citizens are unparalleled in human history.

Making No Little Plans in Shanghai

In 1990, Shanghai had a population of 13 million. Across the Huangpu River from the Bund, the Pudong area was mostly farmland. Today, the city has a population of 18.45 million, and it is expected to reach 25 million by 2020. Traditional neighborhoods are disappearing and being replaced with high-rise apartment buildings. The GDP of the Pudong alone is the size of a small country. And then there's the automobile. According to recent news reports, in 2002 there were 142,801 private cars in Shanghai; in 2006 there were more than 600,000; and in 2010 the number is projected to be 1.5 million. That requires a lot of change in the built environment.

Big growth calls for big plans, and Daniel Burnham would not have been disappointed with Shanghai's vision for the future. Wu Jiang, deputy director of the Shanghai Urban Planning Bureau, described the plan: nine new cities of between



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300,000 and 500,000 people; 60 new towns of between 50,000 and 100,000; and 600 new agriculture-based villages, all to be located in outer areas of the city's existing 660 square kilometer boundaries. These new cities will provide housing for new residents and relieve overcrowding in the central city, where half of the current population lives. Building enough housing for a population the size of the city of Omaha every year for the next eleven years is ambitious, but the plan aims to transform Shanghai, already the largest city in China, into both a world economic and financial center and a livable city.

Transportation is the key to this economic engine. The big moves are impressive enough—a new international airport that already serves about 35 million passengers annually and is expected to reach 80 million by 2015, and a new deepwater shipping port that quickly became the world's busiest by tonnage. But the creation of enough public transportation to offset increased car ownership will be essential to maintaining livability. By building a system of expressways with ten spokes and three ring roads, and 17 new subway lines, the city hopes to accomplish its "15-30-60" goals: key points in the city should be connected to expressways that are reachable within 15 minutes; the new satellite cities should be reachable from downtown within 30 minutes; and any two points within the city should be reachable within 60 minutes. In addition, a 350 km/hour high-speed rail will link Shanghai to the neighboring city of Hangzhou and to Beijing.

The Pudong section of Shanghai is now the commercial center of the city.



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The automobile infrastructure in Shanghai must keep up with rapidly increasing demands.

Another essential element of Shanghai's livability strategy is its plan for a series of parks and greenways. The city traditionally has had very little in the way of public open space, so the plan envisions many small parks, with no household more than 500 meters from a place where family members can exercise or take their children to play. According to Dr. Wu, the city has already increased the amount of landscaped space from $\frac{1}{4}$ square meters per person to 12 square meters per person since 1990, and as a result the average temperature has dropped 5 percent.

Dr. Wu also pointed out that all this infrastructure for roads and parks needs to be built now, before the city is further developed and the opportunity to set aside land for parks and transportation rights of way is lost. The Loeb Fellows, however, were at a loss to understand how the government planned to pay for all this. After all, we kept hearing that China, in spite of its growth, is still a poor country.

One answer came later, during a seminar hosted by the Peking University–Lincoln Institute Center for Urban Development and Land Policy in Beijing. At a panel discussion among U.S. and Chinese scholars, John Mikesell, a visiting professor from the University of Indiana at Bloomington, explained that this new infrastructure was being paid by fees from developers when they acquire the right to develop land, all of which

remains under the ownership of the state. What is less clear is whether future lease payments will support the upkeep for this infrastructure.

Transforming Housing and Neighborhoods

Until fairly recently, housing in China was owned by and rented from the state or state-owned enterprises at rates significantly lower than the cost of maintaining it. Most housing stock was comprised of traditional neighborhoods known in Shanghai as *lilong*, or lane neighborhoods, a low-rise housing type that evolved as a blend of the European row house and the Chinese courtyard house. These neighborhoods provided physical security and a strong sense of community, but living conditions in the *lilong* were often crowded and the houses in poor repair. Housing reform in the mid-1990s allowed many Chinese to purchase the unit they already occupied, but did not address the problem of substandard housing and housing shortages.

During a tour of *lilong* with locally based historian Patrick Conley, the Loeb Fellows were invited into a traditional Shanghai home. While the underlying building typology could be used as a model for high-density, low-rise housing, it was easy to understand why renovating entire neighborhoods of these individually owned homes is not the solution to Shanghai's housing crisis. Those who want to stay in the *lilong* are primarily the elderly, because younger Chinese are eager for housing with modern amenities. As a result, many of the *lilong* are being demolished to make way for new development, and residents are relocating to new high-rise apartments, often outside the city center.

However, few lower- and middle-class Chinese can afford even subsidized housing units (see Duda, Zhang, and Dong 2005), so the Loeb Fellows wondered how those who were displaced could afford new housing. According to Boston architect Ben Wood, whose Xintiandi mixed-use development replaced one of these neighborhoods but retained much of its architectural character and details, it is the developers who are footing the bill. When redevelopment occurs, developers are required to compensate residents at a rate equivalent to the value of their current square footage in the new development. This money can then be used to acquire a new home. According to city officials, however, this system has not been successful in providing housing for the poorest 20 percent of the city's residents, so the government is exploring strategies for housing that segment of society.

Preservation versus Reconstruction

Unique structures and cultural icons are benefiting from creative adaptive reuse, often involving arts uses, as a result of increased government funding for historic preservation. Shanghai's former slaughterhouse, for example, has been reborn as 1933 (the year it was built) Old Millfun, a creative "lifestyle center." It is an Art Deco marvel with austere concrete chutes and sluices crisscrossing a central atrium space, making it look like something out of a sci-fi movie. In Beijing, the ornate polychrome eaves and lintels of Imperial Palace buildings within the Forbidden City all received fresh coats of paint in anticipation of the Olympics. But it is the dense fabric of small-scale domestic and commercial structures that gives a city its unique character, and the fate of those neighborhoods in Shanghai and Beijing is much less certain.

In the United States, preservation efforts are guided by the Secretary of the Interior's Standards for Rehabilitating Historic Buildings. Failure to comply with these standards makes a project ineligible for various federal tax credits created to promote preservation. The standards state that preservation should begin by preserving those elements that are essential to maintaining the building's historic character. If necessary, repairs should be carried out with the least possible amount of intervention. Only if preservation and repair are impossible should character-defining elements be replaced with new materials.

In China, however, what constitutes preservation is open to interpretation. In Shanghai, there are 12 historic districts, comprising 25-30 percent of the old city, and 2,138 buildings have protected status. Beijing has 25 historic districts, and approximately 35 percent of the city is protected. But in the Dazhalan project cited above, preservation means tearing down original urban fabric and replacing it with new structures designed by internationally recognized architects in the character of what was there 50 or 60 years ago. Preservation of traditional courtyard-house neighborhoods sometimes involves demolishing the existing houses and reconstructing them with modern materials. Inevitably, something is lost in the translation.

The preservation of historic neighborhoods is problematic, however. To western eyes, the narrow lanes and tile roofs represent a vision of China that many Chinese themselves are eager to leave behind. Houses that date back to before the 1949 revolution are a reminder of a feudal society, and

long years of deferred maintenance by local housing authorities have resulted in often slum-like living conditions. But ultimately the biggest threat to the hutong of Beijing and the lilong of Shanghai may be the underlying government ownership of the land. The payments received from developers for long-term ground leases and development rights are an important source of income for local governments.

Improving Environmental Quality

Any lingering doubt as to whether the air in Beijing is as bad as reported can be dispelled by a day of bicycling around the city. Like Los Angeles, Beijing is flanked by mountains that hold the polluted air over the city, like a bowl. Some sources of the problem are natural, such as the yellow dust that blows in from the Gobi desert in the spring. Others are manmade, such as exhaust from the rapidly expanding number of automobiles in the city. But

Many traditional lilong neighborhoods in Shanghai (below) are being replaced by new housing developments (page 7).



© Christine Saum

the biggest problem is industrial pollution from the manufacturing regions of Shanxi and Shandong provinces to the southwest, whose noxious emissions are carried into Beijing by the prevailing winds.

The good news is that the central government recognizes the problem and is encouraging local governments to increase efforts to improve environmental quality on a local level. The commitment

by the Chinese to make the 2008 Olympics the “Green Olympics” resulted in buildings and a landscape that use rainwater for landscaping, heat water with solar energy, and implement other energy efficiency strategies. Shanghai’s 2010 World Expo is intended to gather best practices for livable cities from around the world. During the last several years both cities have planted millions of fully grown trees along roadways and in city parks, and many buildings are crowned with solar water heaters.

But there is always more that could be done. At the panel discussion at the Peking University–Lincoln Institute Center, Loeb Fellow Eric T. Fleisher described how Battery Park City in New York City maintains all its parks organically. In response, Professor Shiqiu Zhang of the Peking University School of Environmental Science and Engineering noted that before the development of chemical fertilizers, all gardening was done organically. “That’s how we did it here fifty years ago, but we don’t do it now.” And while Shanghai has made it extremely expensive to get a permit for a new car, Beijing has not. As a result, while rush hour traffic on the elevated highways around Shanghai is bad, the gridlock on Beijing city streets is constant. Still, one gets the sense that in contrast to the United States, where one can still find people who question whether global warming is a problem and what is causing it, the Chinese are tackling the problem head on.

Architectural Distinctions

Shanghai is to New York as Beijing is to Washington. It was difficult to avoid making the comparison. By reputation, Shanghai is chic and exciting; Beijing is provincial and a little dull. Shanghai is all about business; Beijing is all about bureaucracy. Shanghai has skyscrapers; Beijing has a height limit on buildings in the city center. But one thing Beijing has that Shanghai does not have is stunning twenty-first-century Olympic architecture and great historic and cultural monuments. Shanghai developed as a major city in the mid-nineteenth century, only after it became a treaty port where foreign governments could base their trading activities, so many of its most distinctive older buildings date from that era.

While western “starchitects” have been accused of using China as a playground for their most outrageous ideas, the Loeb Fellows generally were enthralled by the quality of the design they saw in Beijing. On a tour of the Olympic facilities with



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Loeb Fellows, 2007–2008

Kevin Cavanaugh

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Portland, Oregon

Janet Echelman

Urban Sculptor
Brookline, Massachusetts

Eric T. Fleisher

Director of Horticulture
Battery Park City Parks
Conservancy
New York, New York

Moises Gonzales

Urban Planner
Sandoval County,
New Mexico

Edward Lifson

Design Critic
Chicago, Illinois

Douglas Meffert

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Founder
In Kindness
New York, New York

Camilla Ween

Land Use Planner
Transport for London
London, England

Yan Huang, who oversaw much of the planning for the Olympics, doubts about much-publicized and debated venues such as the Bird's Nest and the Bubble Building were dispelled by first-hand experience. And according to Loeb Fellow Edward Lifson (2008), "Beijing Airport's new Terminal Three by the UK's Norman Foster and Partners is not only perhaps the most beautiful airport in the world, it's one of the most beautiful buildings of any kind in the world."

Qingyun Ma, principal of the Shanghainese architectural firm MADA and also dean of the University of Southern California School of Architecture, explained that architectural practice in China is dominated by architectural institutes—quasi-governmental organizations whose participation is required in any project that needs government approval. Small, innovative firms like MADA must partner with one of the institutes if they are to have any hope of winning major commissions, but then they may find that they lose control of the design process once the commission has been awarded. Up-and-coming architects in Beijing probably have the same problem, but the famous international architects who have designed many of the major new buildings in the lead-up to the Beijing Olympics are much less likely to be subject to such treatment.

Conclusion

To experience China today is to experience something both frightening and exciting. Many in the West are concerned that China is repeating many of the West's mistakes, by poisoning the air and water and by falling in love with the automobile. To a large extent, those fears are justified. The air is often foul and the traffic is awful. But there is also a sense that the Chinese people and their government care about these things and are striving for improvement, maybe more so than in the United States. Private vehicle use and factory operations were restricted during the Olympics, but some western media reports indicate that many of the worst-polluting factories are being closed permanently.

Cars may be multiplying astronomically, but Beijing and Shanghai are still incredibly bicycle friendly, with lots of dedicated bike lanes. Everywhere one hears of government plans to improve environmental quality, even while trying to lift millions of poor Chinese out of poverty. For the good of the planet, let's hope they succeed. **L**



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Shanghai has a diverse mixture of old and new housing types.

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Developments in Value-Based Property



The unique Triple Bridge links Prešernov Square and Old Town in Ljubljana, Slovenia.

© Joan Youngman

Jane Malme and Joan Youngman

The development of new land and tax systems in countries in political and economic transition in Central and Eastern Europe reflects a unique array of historical, social, political, and economic circumstances. While all transitional countries seeking admission to the European Union (EU) have initiated comprehensive reforms to encourage free markets and democratic governments, the three Baltic nations—Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania—made privatization and restitution of property rights a prime objective immediately after their independence in the early 1990s. These actions, together with a desire to stimulate real estate markets and capture tax revenues for improved

public services, made them the first of the transitional countries to introduce value-based taxation of real property.

The Baltic nations were admitted into the EU in 2004. Their economies have grown in recent years at twice the EU average, and their strong real estate markets have been attractive to international investors (Baltic Property Expert 2008). The property tax has served as both a fiscal instrument and as a means of advancing privatization, restitution of property rights, decentralization, and market development (see table 1).

The Lincoln Institute offers opportunities for sharing information and learning from these international experiences in its courses for public officials of countries considering or implementing property tax reforms (see box 1, page 12).

Taxation in Central and Eastern Europe

The Land Tax in Estonia

The Lincoln Institute's work in transitional countries began in Estonia when officials there sought an accurate valuation base to enhance their ability to analyze and track the developing real estate sector. A tax on land was also a component of Estonia's land policy and economic reforms, because it did not penalize renovation and new construction, but rather encouraged productive land use by pre-1940 owners and their heirs who had recovered land through restitution.

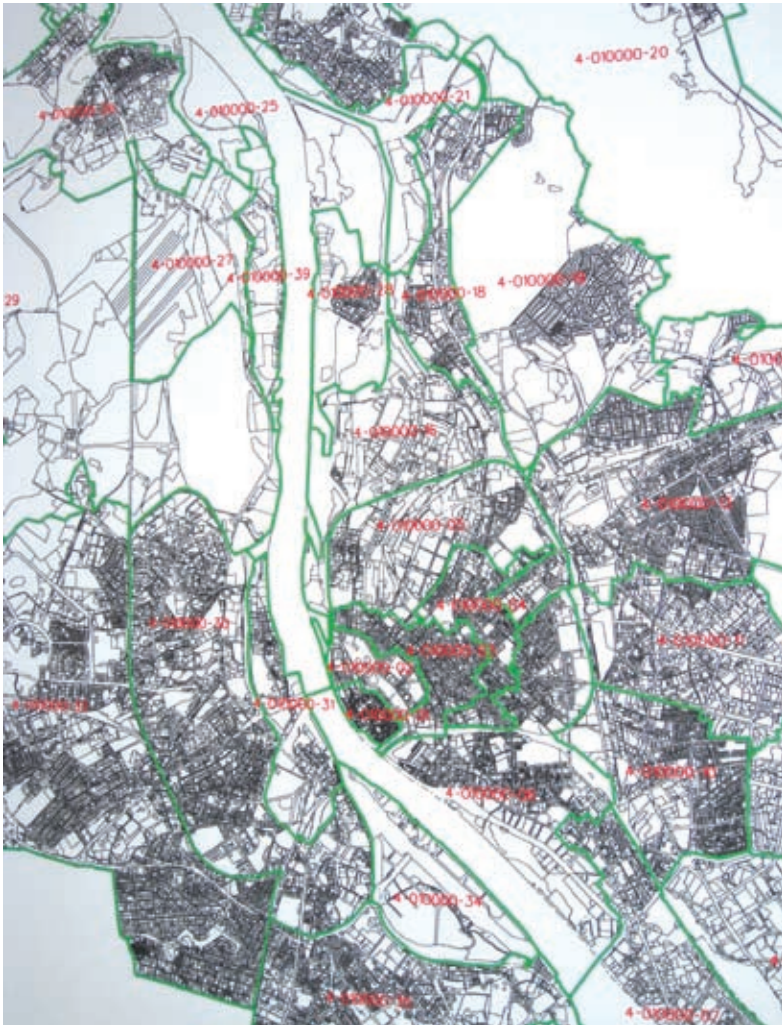
A land tax also allowed an accurate tax base to be assembled within a reasonable time, since land

and buildings had been recorded separately under Soviet systems. With little sales evidence available, the Estonian National Land Board created a value map with comparable price zones, and invited citizen comments on these boundaries during a series of public meetings. When high duties on property transfers resulted in under-declaration of sales prices, Estonia reduced its stamp duty to less than 1 percent of sale price, as low as 0.5 percent for many parcels, to ensure reliable price information for future valuations. The tax revenue received from the land tax has been a modest but stable source of revenue for local governments for more

TABLE 1
Demographic and Economic Data for the Baltic Countries and Slovenia

	Estonia	Latvia	Lithuania	Slovenia
Population	1,307,605	2,245,423	3,565,205	2,007,711
Area	45,226 sq. km.	64,589 sq. km.	65,299 sq. km.	20,273 sq. km.
GDP per capita; % Growth (2007)	US\$21,100; 7.1%	US\$17,400; 10.2%	US\$17,700; 8.8%	US\$27,200; 6.1%
Tax on Real Property	Land tax	Real estate tax (land and nonresidential buildings)	Building tax on property in commercial use; Land tax (not value-based)	Tax on buildings, land (built upon or buildable)
Tax Base	Market value	Market value-based mass (cadastral) value	Buildings: Average market value based on mass valuation; Land: Normative value	Points per sq. meter; Value-based Property Tax Law pending
Tax Rate	0.1%–2.5%; 0.1%–2.0% for agricultural land	1% (reduced from 1.5% in 2007)	Buildings: 0.3%–1%; Land: 1.5%	Buildings: 0.1%–1.5%, based on use; Land: 2%
Tax Rate Determination	Central Government (sets limits); Municipality (within limits)	Central Government	Central Government (sets limits); Municipality (within limits)	Central Government (sets limits); Municipality (within limits)
Tax as % of Local Tax Revenue (2007)	14% (2005)	9.5%	9.4%	12.2 %
Tax as % of All Local Revenue (2007)	7.2% (2005)	5.2%	4.6%	8.2%
Number of Local Governments	256	26 regions, 548 municipalities	60 local authorities	210
Transfer Tax	0.3%–0.5%	0.5%–3%	0.3%–1%	2%
Valuation Administration	National Land Board	State Land Service	State Enterprise Centre of Registers	State Surveying and Mapping Authority
Tax Administration	National Tax and Customs Board	Municipalities	State Tax Inspectorate	Municipalities

Sources: Country Reports; Baltic Property Expert 2008; CIA World Factbook 2008; RICS Foundation 2004.



Cadastral maps such as this one of the City of Riga, Latvia, are used in developing values for property taxes on land and buildings.

than a decade, and has the potential for considerable future growth (Tiits 2008).

Cadastral and Information Systems in Latvia and Lithuania

The Latvian and Lithuanian Parliaments recognized the importance of a strong institutional framework for property information as they expanded land privatization and restored property rights to those who had owned land prior to Soviet occupation. Latvia’s State Land Service and Lithuania’s State Land Cadastre and Register were established in the 1990s to collect data on property location, ownership, construction, and condition. They later added information on real property market transactions to expand their capacity to value real property for taxation and other public purposes.

These systems were developed in the belief that accurate records of real property ownership, use, and value were essential to privatization and rapid market development. The systems also assigned

“normative” values, drawn from legal formulas for municipal taxation of land and buildings. This process demonstrated how far these “values” were from actual market prices.

Market-based mass valuations have been undertaken in Latvia since 1998, with value-based taxation introduced incrementally, first on land in 2000 and then on commercial buildings in 2002. The Lithuanian Parliament approved a value-based tax on buildings in commercial use in 2005, after withdrawing its support for a value-based land tax when an initial review of valuation results in 2003 indicated significant changes from the current normative values. Neither country currently includes housing in the property tax base.

In both countries, mass (cadastral) valuation is used for a variety of purposes by other state agencies, such as the Latvian Central Bank and the Central Bureau of Statistics. In Lithuania the data is used for estimating social welfare subsidies and developing rent and sales prices for land still in state ownership. Valuation services also are made available to private users for a fee.

These institutional reforms have helped reduce the impediments to value-based property taxation faced by many transitional countries, such as lack of market information and a shortage of professional appraisers. In addition, new technology has permitted the compilation, integration, and analysis of vast amounts of data that is well-suited to mass valuation techniques. Online public access to property information has the potential to increase taxpayer confidence in the accuracy of property valuations and acceptance of value-based taxes.

Sharing Experiences and Data

The three Baltic central land agencies collaborate in producing periodic *Baltic Property Market Reviews*, which disseminate sales and rental information along with demographic and economic data and information on tax systems and the investment climate. Information indicating market yields greater than in other parts of Europe helped stimulate foreign investments in commercial real estate between 2000 and 2006 (Baltic Property Expert 2008).

Although property markets in the Baltic states have slowed during the current global downturn, there is still demand for retail and industrial property markets in the capital cities of Riga, Tallinn, and Vilnius, and new interest in smaller cities with lower prices (Baltic Property Expert 2008). The development of central databases has also aided

European cooperation in data sharing and improving real property information systems. For example, the Lithuanian Centre of Registers entered into agreement in 2006 with the European Land Information Service (EULIS) to share real property information online with other countries.

The Baltic experiences may be useful to the Republic of Slovenia, part of the former Yugoslavia until 1991. Slovenia has experienced rapid economic growth, and was the first of the states joining the EU in 2004 to adopt the Euro as its currency. The Slovenian Parliament considered a property tax based on market value in 1996, but decided first to improve its real estate cadastre and mass valuation system. In 2006 the country passed a Property Mass Valuation Law officially adopting the legal, methodological, and administrative framework prepared in anticipation of mass valuation of real property for taxation. A draft Property Tax Law awaits Parliamentary approval upon completion of the first valuation roll. To address taxpayer concerns as to valuation accuracy and tax burdens, the Valuation Office has initiated a public information program and a valuation appeals process in all 210 of the nation's municipalities.

Fiscal Decentralization

With small populations, ranging from 1.3 million in Estonia to 3.5 million in Lithuania, fiscal and governmental decentralization has been a lower priority for these nations than implementing and integrating the rapid changes necessary for transition to a market economy and accession to the European Union.

In the first years after independence, property tax revenues were assigned to local governments in hopes that central grants to municipalities could be decreased (Šulija 2008). There was no expectation that localities could operate independently, and these taxes supply only a small proportion of municipal revenues—less than 5 percent in Lithuania and 8.2 percent in Slovenia. Most local services are funded by the national government through assigned shares of VAT and income taxes, together with grants and transfers.

In Estonia only 10 to 20 percent of all municipalities are financially self-supporting. Although the majority of local governments need financial support from the central government, reform of local government finances is still not high on the political agenda (Tiits 2008). Under these circumstances, locally elected officials and taxpayers do

not yet experience either the benefits or obligations of an autonomous revenue source. However, the past decade's rising standard of living, greater familiarity with a market-based economy, and progress in privatization may strengthen the property tax as a local fiscal instrument. As residents seek improved local services, a value-based property tax has the potential to provide the means to pay for them.

Lessons and Challenges

Each of the Baltic nations has taken significant steps toward establishing stable property tax systems based on uniform and equitable value-based assessments. The accomplishments of Lithuania's Centre of Registers in this respect have been recognized by awards from the International Association of Assessing Officers (IAAO) in North America and the Institute of Revenues, Rating and Valuation (IRRV) in Great Britain. These countries now face the challenge of maintaining and improving these systems as markets mature. This will require a clear legal and policy framework for taxation, together with strengthened taxpayer acceptance and understanding, in order to realize the potential of the tax for improving local government services.

Revaluation. One important aspect of establishing a full and accurate tax base is implementing a system of periodic revaluations. Without this, over time it becomes more difficult to muster the political

Renovated and unrenovated buildings exist side-by-side, posing challenges for mass assessment in Riga's historic district.



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will to revalue, since a long-delayed revaluation will result in dramatic shifts of the tax burden.

Latvia and Slovenia already provide for revaluations every four years with interim adjustments. Lithuania values both land and buildings in commercial use annually, although only the buildings are now taxed according to value. Estonia was the first to adopt a value-based tax on land in 1993, but no reassessment has been authorized since 2001. In some areas values have increased four-fold, with wide variations by location, so current assessments are neither accurate nor equitable (Tiits 2008). The Estonian law leaves the revaluation decision

to the Minister of Environment, and does not mandate a specific timetable.

Taxes on Housing. The exclusion of housing from the tax base in the Baltic countries reflects earlier stages of the transition when the standard of living was low and a less mobile citizenry was housed mainly in Communist-era flats. Changing conditions have not changed political reluctance to tax housing, but this is an important issue for future decentralization. Local residents can best decide the level and quality of services offered by their local governments and, in order to make those decisions responsibly, must fund a portion of these services with their own taxes.

Inclusion of residences in the tax base provides a means for homeowners to compare their payments to the quality of services they receive, and promotes accountability in fiscal decisions. In addition, housing will broaden the tax base and increase tax revenue without increasing the burden on local business and industry.

New or Changed Taxes. New taxes are never politically popular. They require a clear rationale for any change, transitional measures to blunt shifts in tax burdens, and targeted relief for needy taxpayers. Lithuania's experiences offer some lessons in this regard. The "severe reaction from the media and the public" that greeted new values from an official mass appraisal of land resulted in Parliament withdrawing authorization to use these values for tax purposes (Aleksienė and Bagdonavicius 2008). These values were significantly higher than the normative values used for taxation, and no provision for tax relief had been proposed.

In an instructive contrast, Lithuania's introduction of a tax on commercial buildings was successful. It was presented as a means of balancing taxes on labor and on capital, with income tax rates reduced from 33 percent to 24 percent over a two-year period. The initial property tax rate was 1 percent, but municipalities were given the option of adjusting it in the future to between 0.3 percent and 1 percent. In addition, the Parliament extended the time and expanded the appeal rights of property owners to challenge the new values.

Determination of Tax Rates. Another important challenge concerns determination of the tax rate. Currently, rates are set by national law in the Baltic countries, although local governments re-

BOX 1

The Lincoln Institute in Central and Eastern Europe

In its work with nations in political and economic transition, the Lincoln Institute has had the opportunity to contribute to the development of new land and tax systems in a vibrant and rapidly changing part of the world. Since 1993 the Department of Valuation and Taxation has designed and presented courses for public officials in transitional countries on value-based taxation of land and buildings. These courses address the political, legal, and administrative issues raised by implementation of a new tax, with particular attention to establishment of mass appraisal systems for property valuation.

For example, a week-long course, titled *Market Value Taxation of Real Property: Lessons from International Experience*, was held in collaboration with the Center of Excellence in Finance (CEF) in Ljubljana, Slovenia in April 2008. Lincoln Institute faculty included Tambat Tiits, director of Baltic Property Expert in Estonia, and Albina Aleksienė and Arvydas Bagdonavicius, senior officials from the State Enterprise Centre of Registers in Lithuania, all of whom have been deeply involved in their countries' transitional land and tax reforms. Other faculty included U.S. mass valuation expert and international consultant Sally Powers and Dusan Mitrovic from the Valuation Office in Slovenia's Surveying and Mapping Authority, who reported on the mass valuation system under development there. Public officials representing state and municipal offices in Kosovo, Latvia, Lithuania, Serbia, and Slovenia attended the course and shared information and experiences concerning property taxation in their countries.

In June 2008 the Institute sponsored a course in Riga, Latvia, in collaboration with the State Land Service of Latvia. The faculty included Robert Gloudemans and Richard Almy, international experts in mass appraisal and assessment administration, and Albina Aleksienė from Lithuania. The sessions addressed professional mass appraisal methods, model building, and performance measurement, as well as legal, political, and social issues related to taxation of property in the context of international experience.

ceive the tax revenue. While guidance from the national government may have been helpful in the early years, the rate bears no relationship to the costs of government services; when property values increase, so do taxes, unless Parliament adjusts the rate on a nationwide basis.

For example, Latvia reduced its tax rate from 1.5 percent to 1 percent in 2007 to reflect rising values, but the effect of this reduction will not be uniform throughout the country because value increases have varied widely in different areas. Furthermore, concern about rising property values and price volatility resulted in a requirement that the Cabinet of Ministers approve the values determined by the State Land Service. This produces a potential conflict between accurate valuation of the tax base by a professional administrative agency and decisions by a government entity likely to be influenced by revenue and political concerns.

Estonia, Lithuania, and Slovenia have established an upper and lower range within which local officials select a tax rate. In Estonia, municipalities may also adjust the rate according to value zones. This option has been used by a few communities to reduce taxes for land in zones with rapid price appreciation. This helps mitigate volatility on a short-term basis, but if made permanent it risks inequities and regressivity by taxing high-value property at lower rates.

Local flexibility in determining tax rates allows local taxpayers some choice in the level of services they receive, and a voice in their tax burden and government revenue. The ability of local officials to adjust rates annually to reflect budgetary decisions, and to allow property values to rise and fall to reflect market changes, enhances accountability and transparency. To advance the goals of fiscal decentralization, local governments in these advanced transitional countries will need increased authority over the rate and level of taxation.

Increasing Local Autonomy. As these local governments gain more fiscal and political autonomy, they can assume more responsibility for tax assessment and administration. Currently, local governments have only minor involvement in the preparation of the tax base or the collection of taxes. National governments can provide central databases, as well as professional and technical services, guidance, and oversight. However, the availability of online linkage and mass valuation software offers opportunities for local officials to

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participate more actively in assessment and tax administration in the future.

Summary

The extraordinary political and economic changes underway in transitional countries vividly illustrate the dual revenue and land policy functions of a tax on property, and the role it can play in clarifying property rights, encouraging efficient land use, and stimulating market development. The property information and mass valuation systems developed in the Baltic countries and in Slovenia provide a strong foundation for future land and tax policies. As they reap the benefits of membership in the European Union and face the challenges of international competition, these countries will benefit from a well-functioning tax on immovable property to strengthen their own societies. Their experiences offer important lessons for others in earlier stages of the process of change. **L**

Heritage Preservation, Tourism, and Inclusive Development in Panama City's Casco Antiguo

N. Ariel Espino

Many historic centers in Latin America have been the focus of government and private initiatives seeking to rehabilitate the building stock and position the areas to serve the tourism industry. In most cases these efforts have led to the displacement of low-income residents or of residential activities altogether, due to gentrification and commercialization of the district (Scarpaci 2005). More recently, the rehabilitation of these historic cores has been framed as part of broader debates and efforts that pursue the recovery of the city centers (historical or otherwise) because of their key role as collective symbols or spaces of social interaction, or because of their potential efficiency as dense, well-serviced urban districts (Pérez, Pujol, and Polèse 2003; Rojas 2004).

This article seeks to advance this discussion based on the experience in Panama City's historic center, "Casco Antiguo." It describes some recent, innovative policies that have explored the intersections of tourism, affordable housing, employment, and culture in a historical context, and draws some general insights and lessons.

Casco Antiguo and the Inclusive Development Policy

Casco Antiguo is the second colonial Panama City, founded in 1673 after the first settlement was burned down during a pirate invasion. Its heyday was in the period between 1850 and 1920, when the trans-isthmian railroad and canal projects were developed, and most of the architecture reflects the influence of this era. The neighborhood (some 44 hectares) was declared a national historic site in 1976 and a UNESCO World Heritage Site in 1997.

Casco Antiguo started transitioning from being a multifunctional and socially diverse urban center

to a rental, residential neighborhood for the middle classes and rural immigrants in the 1920s, when the economic elites moved to new U.S.-style suburban developments and the city started its modern expansion to the East. In the following decades, Casco Antiguo lost many of its central urban functions, while its population became increasingly poor. By the 1970s, many buildings had been abandoned by their owners, and squatting had become prevalent. Some key government facilities, such as the Presidential Palace and a handful of institutions, remained in the area, however, maintaining some metropolitan relevance for what was otherwise a large, low-income residential neighborhood.

During the 1970s and 1980s the government drafted the first redevelopment plans with the tourism industry in mind. Public squares and monuments were renovated, but the effort was interrupted by the political crisis that occupied most of the latter decade. By the early 1990s, the private sector began its own renovation projects, which have continued to be primarily high-end condominium developments with commercial space on the ground floors. Fiscal and financial incentives approved in 1997 spurred a flurry of private projects and plans, but many buildings were simply vacated and left unrestored. Between 1990 and 2000 the census revealed that the neighborhood lost close to a third of its population, and by 2004 one in six buildings was boarded up or in ruins.

Two significant developments have taken place in recent years. On the one hand, Panama City has entered into a real estate bonanza fueled by tourism and the international retiree market, both of which have benefited Casco Antiguo in the form of numerous condominium and hotel projects. Government sanctions regarding abandoned buildings also have helped. On the other hand, an explicit social policy has been implemented for the low-income community, replacing a long-standing



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Aerial view of Casco Antiguo in Panama City

tacit consensus between government and the private sector on the need to expel these residents and gentrify and/or commercialize the entire area.

The new social policy has focused on two types of programs: affordable housing and job training. Four government-owned historic buildings have been rehabilitated so far, producing 52 one- and two-bedroom apartments rented by a government agency, the *Oficina del Casco Antiguo* (OCA), to long-time residents, most of whom lack credit history. Three other buildings are under rehabilitation, and five more are in the planning process. The buildings offer decent housing alternatives, as well as commercial spaces on the ground floors, now rented to long-time neighborhood establishments that were also facing eviction.

On the job training front, courses have been offered in the building restoration trades, hotel and restaurant services, culinary arts, tourism services, and languages. This experience has shifted the line of work from being simply one of many types of programs implemented by the OCA (together with monument restorations or infrastructure improvements) into a central component of a new vision of “inclusive development” of the neighborhood. The lessons have been numerous and important, and have allowed for a keener understanding of the challenges and impacts of affordable housing, tourism, and cultural heritage policies.

Seven Key Lessons

1. Affordable housing is much more than just new housing that is affordable. Despite the deplorable condition of the housing, many Casco Antiguo residents cling to the neighborhood due to their emotional attachments and a host of practical reasons. In Panama City, low-income households typically have to build their own squatter houses on land located in the urban periphery, far from employment concentrations and decent urban services, and this is also where new public housing projects are usually located. The imposed commuting times and transportation costs can be enormous—up to 5 hours daily and 40 percent of household income, respectively. In this context, affordable housing policies that improve housing conditions only at the price of urban exile are self-defeating and ultimately irresponsible (Espino 2007).

2. For many low-income families, a home is also a business. While the middle and upper classes can usually afford to separate residence from work, and thus live and work almost anywhere in the city accessible by private car, the urban poor frequently need to combine both uses. In many Latin American cities informal activity constitutes an important source of household income, and the residence typically houses commercial activity, which in turn requires a good location. The resi-



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Before and after views of La Boyacá, an historical building renovated for affordable housing.

dents benefit enormously from living in active, accessible parts of the city, and historic neighborhoods like Casco Antiguo have just the right urban structure for this type of activity.

Many Casco occupants of the new affordable housing units have established services and businesses, such as crafts, shoemaking, or dressmaking, that serve a metropolitan clientele from among the increasing local and international foot traffic that tourism has brought to the neighborhood. Ironically, when such centrally located neighborhoods can finally start benefiting from the improved security and environment that tourism brings, the families are typically expelled.

3. Urban social mix is essential for inclusive development. Renovating a historic neighborhood only for the poor makes as little sense as gentrifying it completely. Everyone needs safety, nice urban landscapes, and plenty of pedestrians with buying power, not least the urban poor. A healthy mix of up-scale and affordable developments benefits everyone.

4. Affordable housing projects do not threaten high-end investment (at least not in historic neighborhoods). In Casco Antiguo, the affordable housing projects have actually become the spearhead of high-end private investment by

serving as pioneers in highly deteriorated sections of the neighborhood, opening the door to more risk-averse private developers. High-income Casco residents and users also tend to be more tolerant of social diversity to begin with than the typical middle-class household. As a consequence, property values in Casco Antiguo continue to rise.

5. Central-city affordable housing opportunities should be permanent. In highly inflationary environments like Casco Antiguo, building affordable units and then selling them in the market can stimulate resales, speculation, and loss of affordable stock. Resales of affordable units must be strictly controlled through deed restrictions, and nonprofit renting should be considered a serious option in such cases. The romanticism of homeownership should be replaced by a firm commitment to serve the existing population and to extend the benefits of urban inclusion to future generations. Governments and nonprofit agencies have to secure a reasonable building stock for this purpose.

6. Some segregation is good, but don't overdo it. The Panama government's affordable housing projects are concentrated in a specific area for historical (accidental) reasons. This sector is surrounded, nonetheless, by areas slated for high-end development. This geography allows for both

social cohesion and interaction, concentrating an active community life and adequate community services. Businesses such as corner stores and barber shops that serve low-income populations are quite different from their middle-class counterparts, in terms of products and services offered, prices, or working hours. A critical density of customers allows these establishments to play their roles, while an open urban grid increases their potential customer base to other social classes.

One must keep in mind that urban segregation, in both its positive and negative aspects, does not affect only housing, but also the whole repertoire of activities that makes up a neighborhood. This is why protecting formal, low-income neighborhood businesses from displacement is an integral part of affordable housing programs in gentrifying areas. On the other hand, space should be allowed and promoted for high-end institutions in the midst of or in close proximity to these areas. Museums, foundations, cultural centers, or tourist attractions can benefit from being part of these communities, and vice-versa.


7. There is more tourism in popular culture than meets the eye. Low-income populations are as eager to participate in the tourist trade as anyone else, but they tend to be included only if they have some folklore to sell or perform. The contemporary daily culture of these groups, including their food and music, tends to be shunned as vulgar or uninteresting. To date the OCA has worked mainly to promote the neighborhood's culinary culture, by helping to organize vendors and incorporate them into mass cultural events in the area. In another project, life histories of long-time residents have been recorded and are being published in a book format. Their residences are then promoted as places that tourists can visit for an informal conversation about the "old times." This promising field of popular cultural industries is still wide open.

Conclusions

Due to their nature as cultural attractions, historic districts benefit in a unique way from social diversity. Above all, tourists want to experience a neighborhood that is representative of the local culture, not just another open-air, international, high-end mall. To keep the neighborhood culturally grounded, social diversity is essential, in both its housing and commercial components. On the other hand,

planning in historic districts is inevitably linked to broader discussions about centrality, affordable housing, and the "right to the city" (Lefebvre 1996).

In Panama, the Casco experience has been part of a broader, central-city effort to restore dignity to affordable housing policy through the rehabilitation of traditional buildings and neighborhoods. It represents a departure from previous policies focused on either peripheral development or lifeless apartment blocks in residual areas. It also transcends the narrow focus on housing, and engages issues related to employment, culture, and location.

We believe these lessons and experiences have a lot to teach about how inclusive urban development can look. The lessons are interesting because they don't deal with abstractions, but with concrete needs and desires of different agents bound to an urban space. They also rely on purposeful action rather than simplistic expectations of trickle-down economic or social benefits. Can they contribute to more general discussions of urban development paradigms in Latin America and elsewhere? 

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As a visiting fellow at the Lincoln Institute of Land Policy in 2008–2009, **Carla Robinson** is providing leadership for the Sustainability of Communities project in the Department of Economic and Community Development. She earned an undergraduate degree in economics from Harvard University, and master's and doctoral degrees in city and regional planning from the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

Most of Robinson's work has focused on local development policy and planning, with an emphasis on the distribution of benefits associated with public investments. She previously served as research director at the National Housing Institute in New Jersey, and as senior associate at the Center for the Study of Social Policy in Washington, DC. She has held faculty, research, administration, and outreach positions at the University of Illinois at Chicago, Georgia Institute of Technology, Spelman College, Georgia State University, and the University of Georgia. She has also worked as an independent consultant on neighborhood development and planning issues.

Her research on local economic development has been published in the *International Journal of Public Administration*, the *Journal of the American Planning Association*, the *Journal of Urban Affairs*, and the *Review of Black Political Economy*. In May 2008 she completed a Lincoln Institute working paper titled "Valuation and Taxation of Resale-restricted, Owner-occupied Housing," which is posted on the Institute Web site.

Carla J. Robinson

LAND LINES: *How did you come to be associated with the Lincoln Institute?*

CARLA ROBINSON: In 1999 I served as the Lincoln Institute's liaison with Spelman College for the planning of the Atlanta University Center Community Urban Summit, sponsored by Spelman and the four other institutions in the Atlanta University Center (AUC), a consortium of historically black colleges and universities. The two-day summit brought together community leaders, government officials, and faculty, staff, and students from the AUC institutions to identify critical issues for the future development of the surrounding communities and to begin developing strategies for addressing them. Representatives from Hampton University in Virginia, Trinity College in Connecticut, and the University of Medicine and Dentistry of New Jersey shared information about their university-community partnerships. The summit laid the groundwork for improved relations and communication between the AUC institutions and their surrounding communities. It was one of Lincoln's early projects in the area of university-community partnerships.

LAND LINES: *What was the impetus for the Sustainability of Communities project?*

CARLA ROBINSON: This new project grows out of work initiated by John Davis, who is also a Lincoln Institute visiting fellow (see *Land Lines*, October 2007). He served as a workshop leader at an April 2007 regional conference on community land trusts (CLTs) that took place in North Carolina. The conference participants included grassroots leaders from African-American communities in Florida, Georgia, Mississippi, North Carolina, and South Carolina. By the second day of the conference, their shared interest in the CLT as a means of gaining greater control of land in their communities surfaced as a key issue. In response, Davis worked quickly with Dannie Bolden, who was then the secretary of the National Community Land Trust Network, and Mary O'Hara, his colleague at Burlington Associates in Community Development, to arrange a lunch meeting so the leaders could voice their concerns and discuss ways to address them.

The community leaders described a number of troubling situations: increased interest in land among developers looking to build resort and retirement projects in their communities; the opportunistic use of cloudy land titles and property tax delinquency by developers and others seeking to take land and homes from unsuspecting families; government use of "blight" designations in black neighborhoods in order to secure federal funds and then allocate those funds to other neighborhoods; a history of environmental degradation that resulted in depressed land values in black communities; the loss of major employers that had been located in their communities for years; and the intentional exclusion of black residents and leaders from public planning processes affecting their neighborhoods.

In May 2008 the Lincoln Institute and the National Community Land Trust Network sponsored a follow-up meeting to get more information about the problems the communities face and determine how we might be able to assist them. The participants included representatives from four CLTs located in the southeastern United States, seven other community-based organizations in Georgia and South Carolina, a local college, a transit-oriented redevelopment project that is underway in Atlanta, a national foundation, and several organizations that provide technical and financial assistance to community-based organizations.

The community leaders expressed concern about many of the same issue that emerged during the earlier meeting in North Carolina. They emphasized the historic and cultural significance of their communities and noted that often those features are overlooked in the development process. During a meeting sponsored by the National Community Land Trust Academy the day prior to this meeting, participants heard leaders from the New Town community in Gainesville, Georgia, tell of their struggle against environmental contamination. Residents of that community, which sits on a

landfill and is adjacent to several industrial sites that emit toxins, suffer from unusually high rates of certain cancers and lupus.

LAND LINES: *Is the Sustainability of Communities project concerned mainly about environmental justice?*

CARLA ROBINSON: That certainly is one of our concerns. Environmental justice can serve as a principle of planning and development. The environmental justice movement sometimes acts as a check on the planning and development process to remind us that development has intended and unintended consequences, as well as recognized and unrecognized consequences. In some cases, we fail to anticipate some of the impacts of development. In others, we limit our scope when identifying likely or actual impacts of development, and as a result we fail to recognize some significant consequences. We need to pay attention to these unintended and unrecognized effects. Quite often, we can reduce the costliness of development by identifying and addressing these potential consequences sooner rather than later.

LAND LINES: *What other issues does the Sustainability of Communities project focus on?*

CARLA ROBINSON: Our focus is on communities that are threatened by disintegration or displacement due to threats brought on by rapidly increasing land prices that make it difficult for longtime residents, businesses, and community-serving institutions to remain in the affected areas. These threats can also result from economic disinvestment and decline, high rates of home foreclosure, and environmental contamination that adversely affects residents and property values. The disruption, displacement, economic isolation, and environmental degradation experienced by these communities represent costs that often go unaccounted for in assessments of the benefits and costs associated with specific policy interventions and development projects.

Through this project we intend to look at the nature and extent of these costs and to explore ways to incorporate them more

fully into the analysis of development options and outcomes. Also, we want to identify planning processes and public policies that effectively integrate and respond to the perspectives and concerns of community residents and leaders. We are still in the planning stage. During the initial phase of the project we plan to focus on African-American communities in the southeastern United States.

LAND LINES: *What kinds of research topics will the project address?*

CARLA ROBINSON: Our general area of inquiry involves identifying the extent to which the development process serves community interests. We understand that this covers vast territory, particularly since there are so many types of community that can be examined. I mentioned that we will begin with African-American communities in the Southeast.

Our research will explore how it is that so many of these communities continue to face significant unemployment, deteriorating infrastructure, and inadequate public schools, even after the expenditure of thousands and even millions of dollars in public funds intended to increase the tax base or create jobs in the surrounding areas, and in some cases in those very communities. This work will involve examining how the planning and development processes actually play out in some places, as a means for better understanding which community interests do and which do not get addressed by development policies, projects, and outcomes.

LAND LINES: *Do you expect to develop curricula, publications, and other products as part of the Sustainability of Communities project?*

CARLA ROBINSON: Absolutely. We believe that for our work to be effective it needs to influence how planning and development decisions are made, and ultimately to influence the results of those decisions. We expect to produce training materials, reports, and other items that will improve the ability of community residents and leaders to understand how the planning and development processes work and how to participate effectively in those processes.

We also hope to reach out to other audiences, such as planners, elected officials, and developers, so we can help them address the full set of interests present in their areas.

LAND LINES: *How is this project related to other work in the Department of Economic and Community Development?*

CARLA ROBINSON: Last year the department partnered with the Urban Strategies Council, a community building support and advocacy organization located in Oakland, California, to present a conference on the community control of land. Nearly 100 practitioners and neighborhood residents attended that conference. In preparation the department developed three courses on inclusionary housing, community benefits agreements, and community land trusts, which are tools communities can use to influence development. In addition, a new course, called Planning School for Residents, is being developed with the staff of Strategic Action for a Just Economy (SAJE) in Los Angeles. We are exploring the possibility of making these courses available on the Lincoln Web site.

In March 2008 the department published a policy focus report on the effective use of data and information systems for community transformation (*Transforming Community Development with Land Information Systems*). That report features cities that have used detailed parcel data systems to give neighborhood organizations greater access to information about their local real-estate markets, thus enabling them to participate more effectively in community planning processes.

Looking forward, we believe that what we learn from the Sustainability of Communities project will inform the department's efforts to develop a multi-attribute assessment tool for the likely impacts of development. **L**

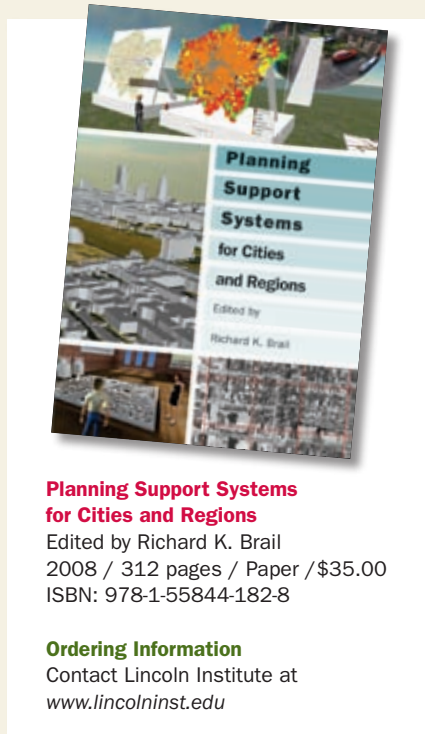
Planning Support Systems for Cities and Regions

This book invites the reader to join in a virtual dialogue with its authors—educators, theorists, model builders, and planners—about technology and the social context in which technology is employed. It is also the trace of a face-to-face dialogue that took place at Lincoln House in Cambridge in September 2007, when the Institute convened the authors and several invited planning experts to discuss earlier drafts of these chapters on the state of the art in planning support systems. (This term dates only to 1989 and is attributed to Britton Harris, if not first coined by him.)

This dialogue, or perhaps dialectic, revolves around the almost unlimited potential of computer-based tools to enhance the effectiveness of planning and the serious challenges in applying these tools within real-world planning environments. The Lincoln Institute has focused on tools for planners in a number of its recent books, including Kwartler and Longo's *Visioning and Visualization: People, Pixels, and Plans* (2008), Campoli and MacLean's *Visualizing Density* (2007), and Hopkins and Zapata's *Engaging the Future: Forecasts, Scenarios, Plans, and Projects* (2007).

All three of these books and the current volume have in common, albeit to varying degrees, an interest in the spatial and visual side of planning. However, it is useful to differentiate the two visualization/design books from this volume and *Engaging the Future*, which are less about "showing" the tools and more about promoting a critical understanding of their strengths and limitations. The intended audience, therefore, is both the user—and potential user—of these tools, and those who seek to continue to improve them.

Editor Richard K. Brail has brought together the wisest of the field's thinkers, the most inventive of the toolmakers, the most experienced of those working at the interface with real clients, and the most battle-seasoned practicing planners (and many of these individuals occupy more



Planning Support Systems for Cities and Regions

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than one of these niches). Together they present a broad view of the field, in-depth developmental histories of the most important models and tools as told by their creators, and a provocative in-the-trenches critique of the state of the art.

Planning will never be easy; it needs and deserves the best support systems that modelers and system developers can deliver. This volume not only reports that they are "working on it," but also gives us a glimpse at future tools suited to a planning process that has become, as Brail says, "more visual, more public, more accessible, and more collaborative."

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Introduction, Richard K. Brail

Section 1: A Broader Perspective

1. Planning Support Systems: Progress, Predictions, and Speculations on the Shape of Things to Come, *Michael Batty*

2. Disseminating Spatial Decision Support Systems in Urban Planning, *Harry Timmermans*

Section 2: The Regional Scale

3. A Decade of Cellular Urban Modeling with SLEUTH: Unresolved Issues and Problems, *Keith C. Clarke*
4. Simulating Regional Futures: The Land-use Evolution and Impact Assessment Model (LEAM), *Brian Deal and Varkki Pallathucheril*
5. A New Tool for a New Planning: The What if? Planning Support System, *Richard E. Klosterman*

Section 3: Moving from Region to City

6. UrbanSim: An Evolving Planning Support System for Evolving Communities, *Paul Waddell, Xuan Liu, and Liming Wang*
7. Clicking Toward Better Outcomes: Experience with INDEX, 1994 to 2006, *Eliot Allen*
8. Communities in Control: Developing Local Models Using CommunityViz®, *George Janes and Michael Kwartler*
9. Development Control Planning Support Systems, *Anthony G. O. Yeh*

Section 4: Planning Support Systems in Practice

10. Planning Support Systems: A Planner's Perspective, *Stan Geertman*
11. Planning Support Systems: What Are Practicing Planners Looking For?, *Terry Moore*

ABOUT THE EDITOR

Richard K. Brail is professor of urban planning in the Edward J. Bloustein School of Planning and Public Policy at Rutgers University. His interests include the applications of information technology in urban planning, geographic information and planning support systems, and urban transportation. Contact: rbrail@rutgers.edu

FELLOWSHIP *programs*

The Lincoln Institute offers three types of fellowship programs to demonstrate its commitment to support scholars, practitioners, and graduate students at different stages of their academic and professional careers: Visiting Fellows, Research Fellows, and Graduate Student Fellows. These individuals contribute to the land and tax policy knowledge base and develop ideas to guide policy makers throughout the world. For more information and application guidelines on all of the Institute's fellowship programs, visit the Institute's Web site at www.lincolnst.edu/education/fellowships.asp.

VISITING *fellows*

Each year the Lincoln Institute sponsors visiting fellows who have worked closely with the Institute in the past or have a special expertise in land and tax policy issues. These fellows undertake research and are actively involved in the Institute's education programs.

Shlomo Angel

Adjunct Professor of Urban Planning, Wagner School of Public Service, New York University

Ciro Biderman

Associate Professor, Getulio Vargas Foundation; Associated Researcher, Center for the Study of the Politics and Economics of the Public Sector (CEPESP/FGV) (on leave); and Affiliated Researcher, Department of Urban Studies and Planning, Massachusetts Institute of Technology

John Emmeus Davis

Partner, Burlington Associates in Community Development, Vermont

Richard F. Dye

Professor, Institute of Government and Public Affairs, University of Illinois at Chicago, and Professor of Economics Emeritus, Lake Forest College

Richard W. England

Professor of Economics and Natural Resources, Whittemore School of Business and Economics, University of New Hampshire, Durham

Edesio Fernandes

Member of DPU Associates-Development Planning Unit, University College London

Jacqueline Geoghegan

Associate Professor, Department of Economics, and Adjunct Associate Professor in the Graduate School of Geography, Clark University, Worcester, Massachusetts

Jack Huddleston

Professor of Urban and Regional Planning, University of Wisconsin-Madison

Rick Jacobus

Partner, Burlington Associates in Community Development, Oakland, California

Daphne A. Kenyon

Principal, D. A. Kenyon & Associates, Windham, New Hampshire

Gerald Korngold

Professor of Law, New York Law School, New York City

Daniel P. McMillen

Professor, Department of Economics and Institute of Government and Public Affairs, University of Illinois

Andrew Reschovsky

Professor of Public Affairs and Applied Economics, Robert M. La Follette School of Public Affairs, University of Wisconsin-Madison

Carla J. Robinson

Former Senior Research Associate, National Housing Institute, Washington, DC

Heather Tremain

Partner, reSource Rethinking Building, Inc., Vancouver, British Columbia

RESEARCH *fellows*

The current David C. Lincoln Fellows in Land Value Taxation and the Planning and Urban Form Fellows were announced in the January 2008 issue of *Land Lines*, which is available for free downloading from the Lincoln Web site.

CHINA PROGRAM FELLOWS

The China Program offers two types of research fellowships to qualified scholars to enhance their capacity in land and tax policy fields that address the Institute's primary interest areas in China. Priority topics include urban economics, land use and policy, urban and rural planning, local public finance, and property taxation.

International Fellows include faculty and researchers who are working on land and tax policy issues affecting the People's Republic of China. These fellows undertake research projects and participate in conferences and other activities sponsored by the Lincoln Institute.

Yuming Fu

Department of Real Estate, National University of Singapore

Siqi Zheng

Institute of Real Estate Studies, Tsinghua University, Beijing

Hongyu Liu

Institute of Real Estate Studies, Tsinghua University, Beijing

Housing Opportunities across Population Groups in Chinese Cities

Erik Lichtenberg

College of Agricultural and Resource Economics, University of Maryland, College Park

Economic Incentives, Administrative Restrictions, Infrastructure Development, and Urban Expansion in China

FELLOWSHIP *programs*

John Mikesell

School of Public and Environmental Affairs, Indiana University, Bloomington

Jun Ma

Center of Public Administration Research and School of Government, Sun Yat-sen University, Guangdong

Alfred Tat-kei Ho

School of Public and Environmental Affairs, Indiana University, Bloomington

Meili Niu

School of Government, Sun Yat-sen University, Guangdong

Financing Local Public Infrastructure in the People's Republic of China: A Case Study of Guangdong Province

Ming Zhang

School of Architecture, University of Texas, Austin

The State of the Practice in Land Use-Transportation Integration in Chinese Cities: A National Survey

Research Fellows based in the People's Republic of China are awarded fellowships by the newly established Peking University-Lincoln Institute Center for Urban Development and Land Policy in Beijing. Additional information is available on the Peking-Lincoln Center Web page at <http://plc.pku.edu.cn>.

Yizhen Gu

Beijing Municipal Urban Planning Research Center

The Incentives of Site Density Restrictions and the Resistance of Market Forces: Empirical Analysis of Zoning Adjustments in Beijing

Xiqing Li

Peking University, Beijing

Analysis of the Reuse of China's Industrial Heritage and Manufacturing Base

Ming Lu

Fudan University, Shanghai

Land Use Efficiency and Cross-regional Land Allocation

Jian Peng

Peking University, Beijing

Land Use Policy Analysis Based on Regional Ecological Sustainability

Lanlan Wang and Yuezheng Liu

China Academy of Public Finance and Public Policy, Beijing

The Spatial Nature of Housing Prices: An Empirical Investigation for the Beijing Housing Market

Weidong Liu and Hongmei Yang

Chinese Academy of Sciences, Beijing

Development Patterns in New Urban Districts in Chinese Cities

Yang Zhang

Research Institute for Fiscal Sciences, Ministry of Finance, Beijing

Property Tax Affordability in China

Bryan Patrick Grady

Center for Urban Policy Research, Rutgers University, Highland Park, New Jersey

The Promise (and Peril) of Regionalism: Economic and Sociospatial Impacts of Jurisdictional Fragmentation in U.S. Metropolitan Areas

Ratoola Kundu

College of Urban Planning and Public Affairs, Great Cities Institute, University of Illinois at Chicago

The Social and Contested Production of the Peri-urban Zones of Kolkata

Evangeline Linkous

School of Design, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia

Using Transferable Development Rights to Manage Growth: The Adoption and Performance of Transferable Development Rights Programs in Florida

Eric Marsh

School of Architecture, University of Texas, Austin

The Role of Collaborative Planning in the Redevelopment of Contaminated Sites

Rachel Meltzer

Wagner Graduate School of Public Service, New York University

Public Goods, Private Solutions: Essays on Private Associations and the Supplementation of Public Services

Jay Mittal

College of Design, Architecture, Art, and Planning, University of Cincinnati, Ohio

Valuing Private Lands under Conservation Easements and Measuring their Effect on Surrounding Property Prices

Rui Sun

School of Public Policy, University of Maryland, College Park

Essays on Municipal User Charge Reliance in the United States

GRADUATE STUDENT *fellows*

DISSERTATION FELLOWS

The Dissertation Fellowship Program assists Ph.D. students, primarily at U.S. universities, whose research complements the Institute's interests in land and tax policy. The program provides an important link between the Institute's educational mission and its research objectives by supporting scholars early in their careers. The Institute hosts a special seminar for the fellowship recipients each year so they can present their research and share feedback with other fellows and Institute faculty members. The next deadline for dissertation fellowship applications is March 1, 2009.

Christopher City

Graduate School of Geography, Clark University, Worcester, Massachusetts

Water and Land Use: Seeking Integrated Solutions to the Water Resource Challenges of Suburban Sprawl

Lu Gao

Department of Urban Studies and Planning, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cambridge

The Impact of Land Leasing Fees on China's Housing Affordability

Ekaterina Dmitrievna Gnedenko

Agricultural and Resource Economics, University of Connecticut, Storrs

Open-Space Preservation and Local Public Choice

FELLOWSHIP *programs*

INTERNATIONAL STUDENT FELLOWS/LATIN AMERICA

The Lincoln Institute's Program on Latin America and the Caribbean (LAC) offers fellowships to doctoral and master's students. Fellows are invited to attend a week-long course on research methods, during which they receive orientation and feedback on their projects. Applications for fellowships in the Latin America Program for 2009–2010 are due March 15, 2009.

María Laura Canestraro, Doctoral candidate

School of Social Sciences, University of Buenos Aires, Argentina

Between Fact and Law: Actors and Practices in Three Processes of Housing Production in Mar del Plata, 1983–2007

Ricardo Dualde, Doctoral candidate

School of Architecture and Urbanism, University of São Paulo, Brazil

Critical Issues on Urban Value Capture in Brazil

Jaime Fabián Erazo Espinosa, Master's candidate

Program on Public Affairs and Management, Latin American Social Sciences Institute (FLACSO), Quito, Ecuador

Access and Management of Quality Urban Land in the South of Quito

Carlos Enrique Guardia, Master's candidate

Training Program on Urban and Regional Planning (PROPUR), School of Architecture, Design, and Urbanism, University of Buenos Aires, Argentina

Land Rents and Housing Policy Between 1970 and 1990: The Case of Housing Complexes in the City of Mar del Plata

Alex Ferreira Magalhães, Doctoral candidate

Institute of Urban and Regional Planning and Research (IPPUR), Federal University of Rio de Janeiro, Brazil

Interconnections Between Government and "Community" Regulations in Irregular Settlements: Transformations in Regulatory Mechanisms for Land Use and Occupation in Rio de Janeiro Favelas

Sara Noemí Mata Lucio, Master's candidate

Department of Sociology, Metropolitan Autonomous University, Azcapotzalco campus, Mexico D.F., Mexico

Planning, Irregular Land Settlement, and Urban Expansion in León, Guanajuato, over the Last 30 Years

Daniel Todtmann Montandon, Master's candidate

School of Architecture and Urbanism, University of São Paulo, Brazil

Urban Operations and Selling of Building Rights (solo criado) in São Paulo: Genealogy of Instruments and Development Alternatives

Eimmy Liliana Rodríguez Moreno, Master's candidate

Department of Economics Law, School of Law, Externado University of Colombia, Bogotá, Colombia

The Social Cost of Urban Informality: A Theoretical Approximation of the Production of Urban Public Goods

INTERNATIONAL STUDENT FELLOWS/CHINA

Through the Peking University–Lincoln Institute Center for Urban Development and Land Policy, the China Program awards fellowships to master's and doctoral students residing in and studying land and tax policy in the People's Republic of China. Candidates participate in a workshop in China to present their proposals and receive comments from an international panel of scholars. See the Peking–Lincoln Center Web site for more information at <http://plc.pku.edu.cn>.

Jinfeng Du

Peking University, Beijing

Land Use Impact Mechanisms and Adjustment Policy for Beijing's Urban Fringe

Ke Feng

Zhejiang University, Hangzhou

Quantitative Analysis of Urban Sprawl: A Case Study of Hangzhou

Yuan Feng

Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, Beijing

Impact of the Introduction of the Real Estate Tax in China

Yalin Jia

Chinese Nationalities University, Beijing
China's Agricultural Land Preservation Legislation

Pingping Tao

Central University of Finance and Economics, Beijing

Characteristics of the Distribution of Migrants in Beijing

Junsong Wang

Peking University, Beijing

Agglomeration Effect and Industrial Spatial Structure of China's Three Metropolitan Areas

Guilan Weng

Central University of Finance and Economics, Beijing

Moving Toward More Differentiated Urban Space? Residential Mobility, Housing, and Social Space in China

Zheng Xu

Fudan University, Shanghai

Optimal Land Allocation and Sustainable Growth in Chinese Cities

Haihong Zeng

Peking University, Beijing

Spatial Analysis of Employment and Housing in Shenzhen

Bo Zhang

Nankai University, Tianjin

Social Segregation Impact Based on Affordable Housing and Rental Housing

Shuhai Zhang

Peking University, Beijing

Factors of Built Area Expansion in China: A Study of Administrative Cities

Wenjia Zhang

Peking University, Beijing

Interaction Between Urban Land Use and Commuting Demand in Beijing

Xingrui Zhang

Fudan University, Shanghai

Support for Lower-middle Class Housing Demand Characteristics and Financing Tools in Shanghai

Hang Zhou

Shanghai Jiaotong University

Impacts of the Mass Transit Network Development on Urban Land Use: Evidence from Shanghai

Courses and Conferences

The education programs listed here are offered as open enrollment courses for diverse audiences of elected and appointed officials, policy advisers and analysts, taxation and assessing officers, planning and development practitioners, business and community leaders, scholars and advanced students, and concerned citizens.

For more information about the agenda, faculty, accommodations, tuition, fees, and registration procedures, visit the Lincoln Institute Web site at www.lincolninstitute.edu/education/courses.asp.

Programs in the United States

MONDAY, OCTOBER 6

Canton, Massachusetts

Facilitation Skills and Best Practices for Leading Partnerships, Coalitions, and Alliances

Lawrence Susskind, Merrick Hoben, Patrick Field, and Ona Ferguson, Consensus Building Institute, Cambridge, Massachusetts

Good negotiation skills are essential to the preservation of open space, habitat, and farm and ranch land across the United States. This intensive negotiation skills course is tailored explicitly for those who are seeking to conserve open space, land, and habitat. It includes lectures on mutual gains negotiation, hands-on opportunities in negotiation exercises, and group discussion about the challenges of land trust negotiations.

THURSDAY-FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 6-7

Leominster, Massachusetts

WEDNESDAY-THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 4-5

Portland Oregon

Resolving Land Use Disputes

Patrick Field and Ona Ferguson, Consensus Building Institute, Cambridge, Massachusetts

This introductory course offers practical experience and insights into negotiating and mediating solutions to conflicts over land use and community development. Through lectures, interactive exercises, and simulations, participants discuss and work with cases involving land development and community growth, designing and adopting land use plans, and evaluating development proposals. Questions of when and how to apply mediation to resolve land use disputes are also explored.

Community Land Trust Academy

TUESDAY-THURSDAY, DECEMBER 2-4

Boston, Massachusetts

National Community Land Trust (CLT) Conference

John Davis, CLT Academy Dean, Burlington Associates in Community Development and Lincoln Institute of Land Policy

The Lincoln Institute and the National Community Land Trust Network have formed a joint venture to provide comprehensive training on theories and practices unique to community land trusts taught by highly skilled and experienced instructors. The CLT Academy promotes public understanding of the community land trust model, sets a high standard for practitioner competence, and supports research and publication on evolving practices. The following courses are being offered as part of the National CLT Conference.

DECEMBER 2-4

CLT Intermediate Level Training

This intermediate course offers three days of training, primarily for CLT staff and board members. The goal is to address operational issues, opportunities, and challenges in building a stronger organization. An array of comprehensive, informative workshops, joint problem-solving exercises, and networking opportunities allows participants to gain experience and knowledge from their peers and from expert trainers. Two sessions will focus on Financing Permanently Resale-Restricted Homes and on Designing Resale Formulas and Managing Resales. For this course, prior familiarity with the CLT model is presumed and completion of assigned readings before the training is required. These readings will be sent to participants three weeks before the training.

DECEMBER 3

Introduction to Community Land Trusts

Community land trusts (CLTs) are place-based, nonprofit organizations formed to hold title to parcels of land to preserve its long-term availability for affordably priced housing or other community uses. Many CLTs combine private homeownership with community ownership of land as a means to assure a permanent supply of affordable housing in their communities. This course includes comprehensive session on the nuts and bolts of the community land trust model. Participants will gain a fundamental understanding of the value of shared equity homeownership and the merits of permanent housing affordability. A second session will be offered in Atlanta with the NeighborWorks Training Institute in February 2009.

DECEMBER 4

The City-CLT Partnership: Municipal Support for Community Land Trusts

Participants learn about the key elements of the city-CLT relationship identifying some of the common pitfalls and best practices from throughout the country. Participants also review essential aspects of a negotiation between a CLT and a local government. Participants are exposed to the range of challenges that arise when local governments choose to support community land trusts and highlight the best practices of local governments that have found ways to help CLTs to grow and develop. This course uses the Lincoln Institute policy focus report on city-CLT partnerships published in the spring of 2008. A second session will be offered in Atlanta with the NeighborWorks Training Institute in February 2009.

Programs in Latin America

WEDNESDAY–THURSDAY, OCTOBER 29–30
Buenos Aires, Argentina

Urban Reform in Argentina: Legislative and Policy Challenges for Land Management

Martim Smolka, Lincoln Institute of Land Policy; and José María Zingoni, Senator, Province of Buenos Aires, Argentina

This conference, organized with the National Congress of Argentina, the Senate of the Province of Buenos Aires, and the National University of General Sarmiento, targets members of legislative bodies at different levels, including members of the parliament, mayors and their staff, and other authorities and specialists in the area of urban development. The event aims to disseminate knowledge and stimulate discussion on land use regulation, property rights, value capture, regularization programs, access to basic services, and related urban public policies. Conference panels will bring together international experts and representatives of legislative and other entities in Argentina.

MONDAY, OCTOBER 20–FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 6
Guatemala City and San Salvador

Specialization Course in Land Policy

Martim Smolka, Lincoln Institute of Land Policy; Silvia Garcia-Vettorazzi, University of San Carlos, Guatemala; Jean-Roch Lebeau, Association for Land and Territorial Management (AGISTER), Guatemala; Carlos Ferrufino, Central American University of José Simeón Cañas, El Salvador

This special course provides an opportunity for faculty of graduate programs in urban planning and related areas in Central America to update their knowledge of land policy issues. It is intended to reinforce the capacity of existing programs to provide training to local practitioners involved in land policy reform and implementation. The course combines classroom instruction with sessions taught through the distance education platform. Topics include the functioning of informal and formal urban land markets; quantitative and qualitative methods and techniques for empirical land market analysis; legal dimensions of land policy; property assessment, cadastres, and taxation; value capture and other instruments for urban development finance; land use regulation; large-scale urban redevelopment projects; and social aspects of urban structures such as residential segregation.

SUNDAY–FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 23–28

Guatemala City, Guatemala Informal Land Markets: Regularization of Land Tenure and Urban Upgrading Programs in Central America

Martim Smolka, Lincoln Institute of Land Policy; Sandra Drummond, Guatemalan Association for the Improvement of Housing (MEJORHA); Silvia Garcia-Vettorazzi, University of San Carlos, Guatemala; Jean-Roch Lebeau, Association for Land and Territorial Management (AGISTER), Guatemala; Claudio Acioly, UN-Habitat, Nairobi, Kenya

This week-long course is geared to practitioners involved in implementing land regularization programs in Central America. Participants examine informality and the land tenure regularization process through the analysis of Latin American and other international cases. Topics include the formal-informal urban land market nexus; legal issues associated with the security of tenure; property rights and housing rights; new institutional settings; managerial procedures leading to alternative modes of project implementation, including community participation; and program evaluation at the project and city levels.

DECEMBER 2008

Rio de Janeiro

APRIL 2009

Belem

Implementing Value Capture Tools in Brazil

Martim Smolka, Lincoln Institute of Land Policy; and Fernanda Furtado, Federal Fluminense University, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil

This set of courses addresses topics in the Brazilian national urban law (*Estatuto da Cidade*) including the sale of building rights, urban operations, and progressive property taxation. The first course, in Rio de Janeiro, is designed to train a group of instructors from institutions committed to providing regular courses in their own regions. A regional pilot course in Belem is designed to train municipal government officials in overcoming the practical problems that result from implementing value capture policies and associated instruments. These courses rely on innovative pedagogical tools and a hands-on approach to policy implementation.

JANUARY 2009

Bogotá, Colombia Real Estate Development in Colombia

Martim Smolka, Lincoln Institute of Land Policy; and Oscar Borrero, Colombian Real Estate Association, Bogotá

This program, jointly developed with the Colombian Real Estate Association (*Lonjas de Propiedad Raíz*) will provide an open forum for developers, builders, and assessors to discuss from the private sector perspective the impacts of the application of value capture tools (specifically *participación en plusvalías*, betterment contributions, and land readjustment) on the real estate market in general and the land market in particular.

Lincoln Lecture Series

This annual lecture series highlights the work of scholars and practitioners who are involved in research and education programs sponsored by the Lincoln Institute. The lectures are presented at Lincoln House, 113 Brattle Street, Cambridge, Massachusetts, beginning at 12 p.m. (lunch is provided).

Consult the Lincoln Institute Web site (www.lincolninst.edu) for information about other dates, speakers, and lecture topics. The programs are free, but pre-registration is required. Contact rsugihara@lincolninst.edu to register.

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 1

Trends in Demographics and Settlement Patterns: A Journalist's View

Haya El Nasser, *USA Today*

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 24

Inclusionary Housing: A Comparative International Analysis

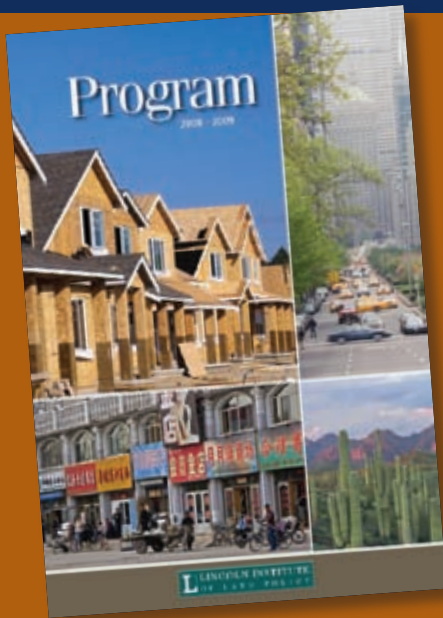
Nico Calavita, Graduate Program in City Planning, San Diego State University, and Alan Mallach, Metropolitan Policy Program, The Brookings Institution, Washington, DC

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 19

Linking Cities by High-Speed Rail: What the Future Holds

Michael S. Dukakis, Department of Political Science, Northeastern University, Boston; Former Governor of Massachusetts; and Former Member of Board of Directors of Amtrak

What's New on the Web



2008–2009 Program

The Lincoln Institute's annual Program for 2008–2009 presents a comprehensive overview of the Institute's mission and its expanding diversity of programs for the new academic year. It includes department descriptions; courses, seminars, conferences, and online education programs; research, demonstration, and evaluation projects; fellows and faculty; publications and multimedia products; and Web-based resources and tools. The complete 80-page document is posted on the Lincoln Web site for free downloading.

Resources and Tools

Two new subcenters in the Resources and Tools section of the Lincoln Institute Web site support ongoing research projects.

Regional Collaboration: Stewardship Across Boundaries

Designed for policy makers, practitioners, citizens, and scholars, this site captures lessons learned on how to address land use, natural resource, and environmental issues that cross jurisdictional and sectoral boundaries. The site features guiding principles, practical strategies, case studies, and resources to help share and build knowledge on regional collaboration as part of a joint venture between the Lincoln Institute's Department of Planning and Urban Form and the Public Policy Research Institute at The University of Montana.

University Real Estate Development

As major centers of employment and economic activity in metropolitan areas, colleges and universities are expanding their physical presence beyond traditional campus boundaries. This new database includes information on real estate development associated with over 800 nonprofit academic institutions. It is part of the City, Land, and the University research program in the Institute's Department of Economic and Community Development, and was created in partnership with the University of Baltimore.



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