

# Land Lines

JANUARY 2003

Newsletter of the Lincoln Institute of Land Policy



# Land Lines

JANUARY 2003 • VOL. 15, NO. 1



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*Land Lines* is published quarterly in January, April, July and October to report on Lincoln Institute-sponsored education programs, publications and special projects.

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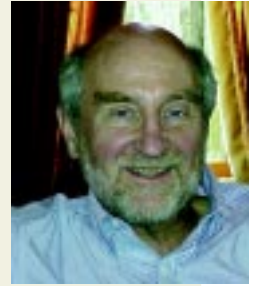
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## From the PRESIDENT

In our work to develop and improve the curriculum of Lincoln Institute programs, I have come to appreciate the enormous value of our executive courses. As you recall, the Institute offers two main types of educational programs: executive courses and professional development courses. Executive courses are presented by invitation only to senior-level professionals who hold particular positions related to our interests in taxation, planning and development. These courses provide an opportunity for participants to learn from and share experiences with colleagues in similar positions and with our faculty. Professional development courses are more traditional skill-building programs available on an open admission basis. In this academic year we are offering 34 professional development courses and 16 executive courses.



**Jim Brown**

The executive courses are designed for a variety of professionals including city planners, state planning directors, state legislators, state tax judges, and journalists with special interests in land use. These courses are significant for two reasons. First, they provide an unusual forum for key actors who affect land and tax policy to share their experiences and knowledge. Busy professionals often do not have the time or opportunity to engage with others who are working on the same issues or fighting the same fights, so these programs have enormous benefits for the participants themselves. Second, these courses permit the Institute to introduce issues and perspectives on land and tax policy that we feel are important, but that may not be part of the day-to-day work of the participants. Our faculty can guide the discussion so that our issues are put on the table and open to debate. Let me offer some examples of both aspects of these executive courses.

- In the first meeting of city planners from large U.S. cities, the planners came to understand that virtually all of them were struggling with locating, financing and providing infrastructure to support sports facilities. Since they were at different stages in the process, sharing their experiences was extremely valuable to their subsequent decision making.

- State planning directors in the northeastern states were each trying to develop policies and tools to better manage the rapid expansion of their urban areas. They were able to share the political and market issues associated with their various state efforts in a productive learning environment.

- We engaged a group of state tax judges in a debate about the long-term prospects for locally based property and land taxation, and the implications of financing schools with local taxes.

- A similar set of issues was presented to a group of journalists from major national and regional news organizations and publications. The course encouraged participants to examine the unique role of the media in framing land policy issues and shaping public discourse.

I believe these executive courses are an effective way for the Lincoln Institute to be engaged in practical land and tax issues and to provide an extremely valuable service to the individuals who are on the line to make decisions about policy.

# Holly Whyte

## Visionary for a Humane Metropolis

In June 2002, about 300 urban design practitioners, writers, ecologists, grassroots activists and students gathered in New York City for “The Humane Metropolis: People and Nature in the 21st Century—A Symposium to Celebrate and Continue the Work of William H. Whyte.” The Ecological Cities Project at the University of Massachusetts, Amherst, organized the event with a grant from the Lincoln Institute and additional support from the Wyomissing Foundation, the National Park Service, the U.S. Forest Service, and Laurance S. Rockefeller, a longtime friend and supporter of Whyte’s work.

The symposium was held at the New York University Law School in consultation with NYU faculty, representatives of organizations and programs that continue Whyte’s work, including the Regional Plan Association, Project for Public Spaces, the Municipal Art Society, Trust for Public Land, and the Chicago Openlands Project, and with his widow, Jenny Bell Whyte, and their daughter, Alexandra Whyte. The University of Pennsylvania Press released a new edition of Whyte’s 1956 classic study of postwar suburbia, *The Organization Man*, at the symposium reception.

### RUTHERFORD H. PLATT

**W**illiam H. “Holly” Whyte (1917–1999) was one of America’s most influential and respected commentators on cities, people and open spaces. Through his writings, particularly *The Organization Man* (1956), *The Last Landscape* (1968), and *City: Rediscovering the Center* (1988), he taught a generation of urban designers to view cities as habitats for people, rather than simply as economic machines, transportation nodes, or grandiose architectural stage-sets. As the United States approaches 300 million residents, of whom four-fifths live in cities or suburbs, Whyte’s vision of people-centered urban communities has never been needed more. And it seems safe to assume that this vision would today also incorporate recent insights on urban ecology and sustainability, in short a symbiosis of people and nature.

### “The Man Who Loved Cities”

Norman Glazer (1999) described Holly Whyte as “The man who loved cities . . . one of America’s most influential observers of the city and the space around it...” Whyte gloried in parks, plazas, sidewalks and other pedestrian spaces that invite *schmoozing* (a Yiddish term he popularized) or simply encountering other people. Conversely, he deplored *urban sprawl* (apparently his term), particularly the waste of

land, ugliness and isolation of tract development on the urban fringe. I stated in opening remarks the overriding premise of both the symposium and the book to follow:

Contrary to the trend toward privatization, security and “gated-ness” so well documented by Dean Blakely (*Blakely and Snyder 1997*), twenty-first-century America needs a strong dose of Holly Whyte; namely, we need to rediscover the humanizing influence of urban shared spaces. “The Humane Metropolis” for present purposes means urban places that are “more green, more people-friendly, and more socially equitable.”

A native of the Brandywine Valley in eastern Pennsylvania, William H. Whyte, Jr., graduated from Princeton in 1939 and fought at Guadalcanal as an officer in the U.S. Marine Corps. Shortly after the war, he joined the editorial staff of *Fortune* magazine in New York, where he began to examine the culture, life style and residential milieu of postwar suburbia, leading to his 1956 classic *The Organization Man*. Among other findings, this book argued that the spatial layout of homes, parking, yards and common spaces is a key factor in promoting or inhibiting social contacts,

helping to account for patterns of friendships versus isolation. Thus began a lifetime career devoted to better understanding how people interact in shared or common spaces.

Appalled by rapid development of his beloved Brandywine Valley, Whyte in 1958 co-organized an urban land use roundtable, jointly hosted by *Fortune* and *Architectural Review*, which attracted a who’s who of urban planners, economists and lawyers. His subsequent essay on “Urban Sprawl” added both a new term and a sense of urgency to the conversion of rural land for suburban development (Whyte 1957a).

But open space per se is not a panacea. In *The Exploding Metropolis* (Editors of

*Fortune* 1957), Whyte and Jane Jacobs excoriated urban renewal programs that placed high-rise structures in the midst of amorphous open spaces modeled on Le Corbusier’s *Ville Radieuse*. In Whyte’s words: “The scale of the projects is uncongenial to the human being. The use of the open space is revealing; usually it consists of

manicured green areas carefully chained off lest they be profaned, and sometimes, in addition, a big central mall so vast and



Holly Whyte

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abstract as to be vaguely oppressive. There is nothing close for the eye to light on, no sense of intimacy or of things being on a human scale” (Whyte 1957b, 21). And as Jane Jacobs observed in her 1961 classic *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*, without streets and street life, projects are dangerous as well as boring (and all that green grass was soon covered with old cars).

Whyte left *Fortune* in 1959 to pursue a broader array of urban projects. His first technical publication on *Conservation Easements* (1959) became the model for open space statutes in California, New York, Connecticut, Massachusetts and Maryland. In the early 1960s, he served as a consultant to the Outdoor Recreation Resources Review Commission, for which he prepared a 60-page report on *Open Space Action* (1962). His association with the Commission’s chair, Laurance S. Rockefeller, led to his role as a one-man think tank on urban land problems with the Rockefeller Brothers Fund, which provided him with an office in Rockefeller Center. Whyte also was a member of President Lyndon B. Johnson’s Task Force on Natural Beauty and chaired

Society of Planning Officials (Birch 1986). He also advised the city on revisions to its zoning ordinance, leading to improvement of public spaces established by private developers in exchange for density bonuses (Kayden 2000).

The turbulent year of 1968 yielded three environmental literary milestones: Ian McHarg’s *Design with Nature*, Garret Hardin’s “The Tragedy of the Commons,” and Holly Whyte’s *The Last Landscape*. The latter was Whyte’s “bible” for the fast-spreading movement to save open space in metropolitan America. Open space was to the conservationists of the 1960s what anti-congestion was to early twentieth-century progressives, and sustainability and smart growth are to environmentalists today. Whyte’s book embraced a variety of negative effects of poorly planned development, such as loss of prime farmland, inadequate recreation space, urban flooding, pollution of surface and groundwater, aesthetic blight, diminished sense of place, and isolation from nature. *The Last Landscape* confronted each of these and offered a legal toolbox to combat them, including

Fund. Based at Hunter College in Manhattan, where he served as distinguished professor of urban sociology, the project documented social activity in public spaces through interviews, mapping, diagrams and film. That research underlay Whyte’s 1980 book and film titled *The Social Life of Small Urban Spaces* and his 1988 capstone book, *City: Rediscovering the Center*.

From Park Forest in the 1950s to New York City in the 1980s, Whyte was a diehard urban environmental determinist. He believed that the design of shared spaces greatly affects the interaction of people who encounter each other in those spaces, and their resulting sense of well-being or discomfort in urban surroundings. This in turn helps to shape the success of cities and suburbs as congenial or alien environments for the millions who inhabit them. Paul Goldberger, architectural critic for *The New Yorker*, writes in his Foreword to *The Essential William H. Whyte* (LaFarge 2000):

His objective research on the city, on open space, on the way people use it, was set within what I think I must call a moral context. Holly believed with deep passion that there was such a thing as quality of life, and the way we build cities, the way we make places, can have a profound effect on what lives are lived within those places.

### Celebrating and Continuing Holly Whyte’s Work

A major goal of the symposium was to revisit Holly Whyte’s work, which anticipated many of the ideas behind smart growth and new urbanism, and reintroduce him to a younger generation of planners and urbanists. This goal was accomplished during the opening sessions through personal tributes by friends and family (Donald Elliott, Amanda Burden, Fred Kent, Eugenie Birch, Lynden B. Miller and Alexandra Whyte) and fellow urban writers (Charles E. Little, Paul Goldberger and Tony Hiss). Planners Frank and Deborah Popper and environmental historian Adam Rome offered perspectives on Holly as viewed from the twenty-first century. A second



Courtesy of Project for Public Spaces

**Bryant Park, New York City**

Governor Nelson Rockefeller’s Conference on Natural Beauty in New York. At the invitation of Donald Elliott, then chair of the New York City Plan Commission, Whyte wrote much of the 1969 Plan for New York City, which was acclaimed by *The New York Times* and the American

cluster zoning, conservation easements, greenbelts, scenic roads, tax abatements and so on.

Whyte’s fascination with the social functions of urban space was the focus of his Street Life Project, a long-term study sponsored by the Rockefeller Brothers



Paley Park, New York City

goal was to trace the influence of his work in contemporary efforts to make cities and suburbs more livable and more humane, which was accomplished through an address by Carl Anthony of The Ford Foundation, and his introduction by Robert Yaro of the Regional Plan Association. Subsequent sessions, both plenary and concurrent, reviewed a variety of initiatives in New York City and around the nation that carry on the spirit of Holly Whyte. Session topics included:

- Protecting Regional “Last Landscapes”
- Urban Livability
- Ecological Restoration: Practice and Ethics
- Green Design in the Built Environment
- Regreening Older Neighborhoods
- Green Infrastructure of Greater New York
- Urban Environmental Education
- Privately-Owned Public Spaces
- What Makes a Great City Park System?
- Green Urbanism in European Cities

Some of these topics departed somewhat from Whyte’s own areas of focus, but the organizers felt that he would have applauded the inclusiveness of our agenda. He no doubt would have added many topics, such as urban gardens, green roofs, brown-field reuse and ecological restoration, if he were here to write a sequel to *The Last Landscape* today. In particular, no appraisal of current approaches to making cities more humane would be adequate if it failed to consider issues of social justice in relation

to urban sprawl and inner-city land use or abuse.

### Next Steps

The symposium deliberately closed without the usual “Where do we go from here?” session, but the next major task is to produce an edited volume of selected papers presented at the symposium, and possibly a film. We hope “The Humane Metropolis” (symposium and book) will provide a template for regional symposia in other cities and metropolitan regions of the U.S. These could be locally funded and planned with guidance as requested from the Ecol-

ogical Cities Project and its allies across the country.

An elusive but critical function of events like “The Humane Metropolis” is the energizing of participants through sharing of experience and specialized knowledge. Feedback from speakers and attendees indicates the symposium stimulated new contacts among participants from different disciplines and geographic regions. In particular, it seems to have well served a key goal of the Ecological Cities Project, to promote dialogue between urbanists and natural scientists. According to Peter Harnik, director of Trust for Public Land’s Green Cities Program, “You are on the cutting edge of an up-and-coming topic that is given almost no attention by anyone else—since urban experts rarely talk about nature, and conservationists virtually never talk about cities.” As the consummate synthesizer of things urban, Holly Whyte should be beaming with approval. **L**

**RUTHERFORD H. PLATT** is director of the Ecological Cities Project at the University of Massachusetts, Amherst, and organizer of the symposium and related activities. The full list of speakers and other information about the symposium may be found at [www.ecologicalcities.org](http://www.ecologicalcities.org). Contact: [platt@geo.umass.edu](mailto:platt@geo.umass.edu).

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# Informality, Urban Poverty and Land Market Prices

MARTIM O. SMOLKA

**T**he excessively high price of serviced land in Latin America is one of several explanations for the extent and persistence of informal land markets. Contrary to popular beliefs, informality is expensive and therefore is not the best or even an advantageous alternative to combating poverty, but it is usually the only one available to the urban poor. A more consistent policy to reduce informality, and in so doing reduce poverty, should be at least neutral or contribute to reducing high land prices.

## Poverty Alone Cannot Explain Informality

Although the map of illegality corresponds to a great degree with that of poverty, the extent and persistence of informality cannot be explained by poverty alone. Not all occupants of informal settlements are poor, as many empirical studies in Latin America have proved in recent years. The rate of new irregular land occupations is much higher than the rate of increase in the number of new poor families. In Brazil, for example, the total number of *favela* residents has increased at five times the rate of poor residents, and a similar trend is seen in most large Latin American cities.

This spectacular growth in informal settlements has occurred through expansion on the peripheries and densification in “consolidated” irregular urban areas, even though the birth rate and the number of rural-to-urban migrants have declined substantially and the percentage of poor citizens has remained relatively stable. Other explanations for this growth in informality include the lack of sufficient social housing programs, inadequate public investment in urban infrastructure for public amenities and services (such as drainage and sewage systems) and, last but not least, the reality



“The best deal in the land is land—buy here.” This sign advertises land for sale in Goiânia, a new city near Brasília in central Brazil.

Martim O. Smolka

that informal arrangements are profitable for those who promote them.

## The High Cost of Serviced Land

Conventional economics argues that free market prices reflect the level at which a buyer’s ability and willingness to pay matches a supplier’s ability and willingness to sell, but in practice no assurance is given with respect to meeting social needs. That is, the market for serviced land may be functioning well, even though many families (even non-poor ones) are unable to access such land, and some existing urbanized lands are being kept vacant intentionally.

On the peripheries of many Latin American cities, the price of a square metre ( $m^2$ ) of serviced land made available by private agents can vary between US\$32 and US\$172. These figures are close in absolute terms to those found in cities in the developed world, where the per capita income is typically 7 to 10 times higher than in Latin America. Even a family above the poverty line saving up to 20 percent of its monthly wages (US\$200) would need 12 to 15

years to save enough to acquire an urbanized plot of  $150 m^2$ . These indicators suggest that the difficulty of gaining access to serviced land may be one of the factors that actually contribute to poverty.

The price of serviced land, like prices in other markets, is determined by supply and demand. The supply of land depends on the amount that is newly serviced (produced) per year, the amount that is retained from the market, and the intensity of the use of the existing serviced land. The demand depends on the annual rate of formation of new households, adjusted by their income and/or purchasing power, their preferences and the prices of other items in their budgets. It is difficult to provide a full discussion of all factors affecting the behavior of land prices (see Smolka 2002), but it suffices to mention certain determinants that are emblematic to understanding some apparent idiosyncrasies of the functioning of urban land markets in Latin America.

On the supply side, property taxes, a major potential source of revenue to finance the production of serviced land, are ridi-

culously low. Typically property taxes represent less than 0.5 percent of GDP, compared to 3 to 4 percent in the U.S. and Canada. Overall there is a sense that Latin America underspends on infrastructure and services compared to its per capita GDP. The substantive observed land value increments resulting from investments in urban infrastructure and services are basically neglected as a revenue source to finance such investments, due to weak sanctions on capturing land value increments or simply holding improved land from the market (Smolka and Furtado 2001).

In addition, the disposition of considerable amounts of land is controlled by agents that do not follow strict economic rules (e.g., some public agencies, the Army, the Church or even state-owned enterprises like the railroads for whom some statutory restrictions preclude the disposition of land according to the market's highest and best use criteria). Furthermore, the limited amount of available land that is fully serviced is often subject to overtly elitist urbanistic norms and regulations (zoning) designed to "protect" those serviced neighborhoods by making it difficult for low-income families to comply.

On the demand side, many families, even those with relatively high incomes, work in the informal sector and are excluded from the market because they lack the credentials required by financial agencies to apply for a loan. The need to self-finance housing production on a piecemeal basis through nontraditional funding sources extends the time between acquisition and occupation of land, thereby adding to both the cost of financing and the overall demand for land. Further, the legacy of high inflation, ill-developed or inaccessible capital markets, and limited participation in the social security system are responsible for nurturing a well-established culture and preference by lower-income sectors to use land as a reserve of value and as a popular means of capitalization, which also adds to the demand for land. In other words, holding undeveloped land and the culture of land speculation are not exclusive to high-income areas.

### Prices for Informal Plots

Beyond these conventional arguments about supply and demand, one may also consider the interdependency of formal and informal urban land markets as a factor contributing to high land prices. Specifically, the high prices for serviced land in the formal market seem to affect the relatively high prices of unserviced land in the informal market, and vice versa.

Land prices reveal the difference that the purchaser has to pay to avoid falling into a worse situation (that is, farther from work; fewer or worse services, lower environmental quality, and the like). Thus, if the "best" alternative is a plot in an unserviced settlement, one would expect a premium on the existing serviced land, which would also reflect the value of the legal title that comes with serviced land. On the other hand, if the minimum price for serviced land (raw land plus the cost of urbanization) is still unaffordable, then whatever land one could have access to would represent an alternative. This alternative could range from outright squatter settlement, to invasion through the mediation of "pirate" operators or organized movements (both of which involve fees and other payments), to the more prevalent land market for irregular subdivision of large parcels into small plots with inadequate services.

The price of land in the informal market is, therefore, higher than the price of raw land but normally less than the sum of the raw land price plus the cost of providing services. At the same time, it tends to be lower (though not necessarily on a per square-metre basis) than the minimum price of fully serviced and commercialized land in the formal market. In effect the market values more "flexible" means to access land, such as plots smaller than the minimum lot size, or construc-

tion without building codes, or even the possibility of selling the roof of a house as buildable space.

Most low-income families do not choose an informal arrangement because it provides the best price option, but simply because it is often their only option. The "choice" of acquiring an informal plot is still expensive. Conservative estimates obtained from an informal survey of 10 large Latin American cities show the average price of land on a commercialized illegal plot was US\$27 for one square metre (see Table 1).

The profit figure (4) explains at least in part the question (an apparent paradox): Why, in spite of a significant mark-up in the provision of urbanized land in the informal market, does one find so little interest in development from the private sector? As Table 1 indicates, the provision of informal land is more profitable than the provision of formally developed land. In fact, the figures for the formal market are largely underestimated since there are higher risks associated with financial, security and marketing costs, and other costs borne by the developer that are not incurred in informal developments. These data also help explain why formality begets informality and exposes the fact that the advantages of informal arrangements are not necessarily perceived by the low-income occupants, but by the subdivider or informal developer.

### Unexpected Effects of Regularization

Let us turn now to the question of policy responses to this state of affairs. Given the apparent impossibility or impracticality of adopting any other policy, the prevailing notion has been that tolerating informal "solutions" to gain access to land and then regularizing the settlements after they are established is cheaper in the long run for

TABLE 1 Prices and Profitability of Informal and Formal Land Markets (US\$)

	Informal market	Formal market
1 - Rural land designated for urban use	\$4	\$4
2 - Cost of urbanization	minimal = \$5	full = \$25
3 - Final price in the market	\$27	\$70
4 - Profit over advanced capital = $(3-1)/(1+2)$	200%	141%

public finances, and better for the low-income occupants (Lincoln Institute 2002).

The public finance argument claims that the existing arrangement is cheaper because it capitalizes on private (self-) investments in the consolidated settlements, thus relieving public agencies of social responsibility and expenditures otherwise associated with one's full "right to the city." This view is questionable on two accounts. First, the physical conditions and existing housing are often unacceptable as human shelter, in spite of the ingenuity and imagination of informal solutions under extremely unfavorable conditions. The poor standards of land use and density in these settlements are only tolerated because the damage has already been done. Second, with regard to infrastructure, some of the alternative technologies that look promising are ultimately shown to perform poorly and to require overly expensive maintenance.

The impacts on low-income occupants are also worse than expected. Not only are

cost of insecurity is greater because of living in a more violent environment.

Regularization policies evaluated in a broader urban context may actually contribute to aggravating the problem it is supposed to remedy. That is, as a curative approach these policies may instead have perverse or counter-productive preventative effects, as noted below.

**Price Signals** — The expectation that an area of land will eventually be regularized allows the developer to raise the price. A purchaser often obtains a lot with written evidence that the developer does not yet have the services required by urban planning norms. At the same time the developer promises that as soon as enough lots are sold the services or infrastructure will be provided, even though such promises are often unfulfilled. At best, a relationship of complicity is established between buyer and seller. At worst, and this is quite common, the purchaser is tricked by the existence of services, such as pipes put

expectations about the future use of the lot. The informal sector is no exception. The greater the expectation that the plot of land that is currently without services will get them eventually, either from the developer or, as is more likely, from the government through some regularization program, the higher the price at which the land is sold.

**Regularization as an Attraction for More Irregularity** — Research on the first arrival dates of inhabitants in informal settlements suggests that in many cases more people moved in just when some regularization program (such as the granting of titles or urbanization improvements) was announced or implemented (Menna Barreto 2000).

The idea that expectations about regularization have an effect on informality is also corroborated by the large number of invasions or occupations that take place either just before or just after electoral periods, when candidates promise new regularization programs. The victory of Miguel Arraes as governor of Pernambuco, Brazil, in 1986 led to 13 land invasions in just over a month (Rabaroux 1997, 124), and the Latin American historiography of the effects of the expectations created by populist promises is rich in other examples. Many of the existing settlements that need to be regularized today owe their origin to the irresponsible complacency of politicians turning a blind eye to the irregular occupation of public or unsuitable areas, or, which is worse, who ceded public land for electioneering purposes.

**The Opportunity Costs of Regularization**

— Regularization programs, which are normally of a remedial or curative nature, have a high opportunity cost compared to the cost of providing urbanized land in a preventative manner. The rule of thumb cost per benefited family of a typical upgrading or regularization program has been in the range of \$3,000 to \$4,000. Taking the size of a plot to be around 50 m<sup>2</sup> and adding 20 percent to account for streets and other public services, the cost works out to US\$50 to US\$70 per m<sup>2</sup>.



Martim O. Smolka

**Because of high land prices and other factors, informal settlements are often built in environmentally sensitive and even dangerous areas without regulatory oversight.**

land prices much too high but there are additional costs: those without an official address (because they live in an irregular settlement) are often discriminated against when looking for a job or social services; rents as a percentage of property value are higher than the rates observed in the formal market; access to water from a truck or other temporary source is much more expensive than piped water; and the

into the ground, which the developer claims are part of the infrastructure network. Other problems in these arrangements that can harm poor residents are doubtful rights of tenure, payment terms that disguise the full amount of interest to be paid, and confusing or inaccurate details in the contract.

As in any other segment of the land market, the actual prices reflect, or absorb,





**Informal settlements are spreading into the peripheries of São Paulo, as around many Latin American cities.**

This is considerably higher than the cost for servicing new land, which is less than US\$25 per m<sup>2</sup>, and is similar to the price charged by private developers, even when allowing for a handsome profit margin. ECIA, a private developer operating west of Río de Janeiro, offered completely urbanized plots for US\$70 to US\$143 per m<sup>2</sup> at 1999 prices (Oliveira 1999). The Municipal Secretariat of Urbanism in Río de Janeiro has a technical study, from 1997, which demonstrates that it is possible to commercialize urbanized plots for less than US\$55 per m<sup>2</sup>. Along the same lines, Aristizabal and Gomez (2001) in Bogotá estimate that the cost of correction (“reparation”) of an irregular settlement is 2.7 times the cost of planned areas.

These figures suggest the limitations of preventative programs in favor of curative ones. It is also relevant that permission to develop a regular, formal subdivision may take from three to five years, whereas the decision to regularize an informal settlement often takes less than six months.

**The “Day After” of Regularization** — A well-executed regularization program (that is, one that effectively integrates the informal area with the urban fabric) would ideally result in the improved quality of life for all occupants and a stronger community. In particular, one would expect an appreciation of property values, causing some residential mobility as families with below-average incomes are forced to move.

However, when the program is badly executed the area may be consolidated as a low-income irregular settlement.

The Favela-Bairro upgrading program in Río de Janeiro is often used to exemplify the most comprehensive and successful experience of its kind. Abramo’s (2002) study of the impact of regularization programs found a relatively small increase in property values in the affected areas (28 percent). Applying this average figure to typical or modest houses with an ex-ante value estimated at US\$12,000, the added value is about US\$3,400, a number close to the average per-family cost of regularization programs. This result contrasts with the mark-up of more than 100 percent obtained in the process of servicing raw land through the market by private agents. This intriguing piece of information seems to show how little notice the “market” takes of the increased value of these regularized settlements. At the same time, full integration into the urban fabric turns out to be less frequent than had been expected. Many of the *favelas* that received important upgrading investments remain stigmatized as *favelas* even 15 years later.

### Conclusions

Informality is expensive, and it exacerbates the conditions of living in poverty. The diagnoses of such agencies as the UNCHS (Habitat), World Bank, Inter-American Development Bank and others would seem to be correct in regarding

upgrading programs as an essential ingredient of any policy to deal with urban poverty. However, because of the piecemeal and limited approach of such programs, there is no guarantee that the regularization of settlements alone will contribute to reducing urban poverty. In effect these programs not only reiterate and keep intact the land market “rules of the game” that contribute to informality, but they also generate some perverse effects. This situation poses both a dilemma and a challenge. The dilemma is that not regularizing simply is not a political option (nor is it a humanitarian option). The challenge is how to interrupt the vicious cycle of poverty and informality through interventions in the land market. The task ahead is formidable, but there are places in Latin America where local governments are beginning to set new ground rules. □

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# Planners and Economists Debate Land Market Policy

PAUL CHESHIRE, ROSALIND GREENSTEIN *and* STEPHEN C. SHEPPARD

**T**he land market allocates land and access to urban amenities, and it does so with impressive efficiency. Yet, economists and planners continue to debate the extent to which the market fails to achieve broader social goals, how far regulation can offset for that failure, and even whether regulation results in land market outcomes being even farther from the socially desired outcome than would be the case without any regulation. To examine this debate and the underlying issues, more than 30 economists and planners met at the Lincoln Institute in July 2002 to encourage new policy-relevant analysis on land markets and their regulation, and to foster more fruitful communication between the disciplines.

At the center of the substantive debate was the basic question of regulation within a market economy and the unintended consequences that can result. The discussions touched upon many themes including gentrification, the use of public resources for private consumption, distributional issues, urban form and its regulation. If perspectives regarding market regulation differed between the two disciplines, so too did views regarding the strengths and limitations of the analytic tools that academics from different disciplines bring to such thorny problems. Among the challenges are the basic questions of how to define the problem, how to measure the current conditions in light of limited data, and how to interpret findings. Throughout the conference, the differences in the perspectives, assumptions, tools and references between planners and economists were ever present, in particular with regard to the role of politics in planning and policy making.

## Unintended Consequences of Land Market Regulations

Despite their differences, concern for land markets and their centrality to social, political and economic life was the common



Paul Cheshire addresses the conference on land markets.

focus of both economists and planners at the conference. They agreed that land markets are about far more than land. These markets have an important role in delivering life experiences and conditioning the welfare of the majority of people in developed and developing countries alike who live and work in cities. In addition, their regulation has both direct and indirect economic effects that extend into many areas of economic life and public policy. For example, the urban poor are likely to have worse schools and to experience higher levels of neighborhood crime because land markets capitalize the values of neighborhood amenities, such as better school quality and lower crime, thereby pricing poorer households into less desirable neighborhoods.

This power of land markets to reflect and capitalize factors that affect a household's welfare was revealed in a study of impact fees levied on new development in Florida. Ihlanfeldt and Shaughnessy found that impact fees appear to be fully capitalized into house prices for owners of new

and existing houses by redistributing the costs of new infrastructure provision from existing taxpayers to a reduced value of development land. In fast-growing Miami the cost of impact fees was borne by developers, yet offset by the increases they received in higher prices for new housing, "while buyers of new homes are compensated for a higher price by the property tax savings they experience. In contrast to the neutral effects that fees have on developers, landowners, and purchasers of new housing, impact fees provide existing homeowners a capital gain" (Ihlanfeldt and Shaughnessy, 26).

One complement to their story of Florida's impact fees was illustrated in several other papers concerned with the unintended outcomes of regulation. British participants reported that Britain's containment policy has generated higher densities within urbanized areas, but cities leapfrog out across their Greenbelts (or growth boundaries) to smaller satellite settlements; the consequence is that development becomes less contiguous and travel times increase. Villages become high-density suburbs surrounded by a sea of wheat: London in functional terms extends to cover most of southeastern England.

In a U.S. example based on an econometric simulation, Elena Irwin and Nancy Bockstael found that a clustering policy intended to preserve open space could instead backfire. Using Maryland data, they simulated the effects of a policy that was intended to preserve rural open space and found that it would instead accelerate development if "small to moderate amounts of open space are required to be preserved (specifically, 20 acres or less) and would slow the timing of development if larger amounts of open space are required to be preserved" (Irwin and Bockstael, 26). Their simulation results yield an interpretation that is highly nuanced and requires careful thought. That is, under certain

conditions the cluster policy can backfire, while under other specific conditions the policy can yield an intended policy outcome.

These hypothetical clusters in Maryland may be echos of a real situation that Jean Cavailhès and his colleagues observed in the French countryside, where some urban dwellers moved to farm regions to create a mixed-use area that is neither entirely urban nor entirely rural. These former urbanites appear to value their proximity to a functioning rural landscape in exchange for longer commutes and (surprisingly) smaller residential lots. The authors hypothesize that these peri-urban dwellers benefit in different ways from living among the farmers.

In another example of the unintended consequences of regulations, Donald Shoup analyzed curbside parking. Many U.S. municipalities require developers to provide minimal parking per square foot of new commercial or, in some communities, residential space. The requirement for off-street parking, coupled with a systematic underpricing of curbside parking, has a double impact, according to Shoup. It imposes a substantial tax on affected developments (equivalent to up to 88 percent of construction costs), increases land taking, and means that public revenues annually lost an amount equal to the median property tax.

In these cases of unintended consequences of policy or regulatory interventions in the market, the authors argued for more careful design of both policies and regulations so state and local governments could reasonably achieve their policy goals. Despite the fact that the conference debate tended to pit regulation against the market, there was probably a tendency—if not full-fledged consensus—to favor market incentives and disincentives to achieve policy goals, rather than to rely strictly, or even largely, on regulation. Roger Bolton's comments on Shoup's paper cogently reflected this viewpoint. He said that Shoup's work was valuable because it urges us to pay attention to a whole package of "important and related phenomena: inefficient pricing of an important good, curb parking; inefficient regulation of another good,

privately owned off-street parking; and missed opportunities for local government revenue."

### Data and Measurement Challenges

Growth management and urban form were referenced extensively throughout the conference. The paper presented by Henry Overman, and written with three colleagues (Burchfield et al.) provided useful grounding to that conversation. They attempted to measure the extent of sprawl for the entire continental U.S. Using remote sensing data they calculated and mapped urban development and the change in urban land cover between 1976 and 1992. They defined sprawl as either the extension of the urban area, or leapfrog development, or lower-density development beyond the urban fringe. They concluded that only 1.9 percent of the continental U.S. was in urban use and only 0.58 percent had been taken for urban development in the 16-year period covered by the study. Furthermore, during this period, urban densities were mostly on the increase.

This study found development to be a feature of the "nearby urban landscape," whether that was defined as close to existing development, or near highways or the coasts, and thus was perceived as encroaching on where people lived or traveled. The authors use this last observation to reconcile the apparent contradiction between their finding that less than 2 percent of the continental U.S. has been developed and the fact that containing and managing sprawl is at the center of policy agendas in many states and regions across the U.S. While relatively little land might have been consumed by new development in aggregate during the study period, many people see and experience this development on a daily basis and perceive it to represent significant change, often the kind of change they do not like.

The conference discussion touched upon some of the data questions raised by this work. The paper's discussant, John Landis, noted some challenges he has faced in working with these and similar data to measure growth patterns in California. The estimates by Burchfield et al. are extremely

low, possibly for technical reasons, according to Landis. Among the reasons is the difficulty in interpreting satellite images and the different outcomes that can occur when different thresholds are used for counting density, for example. That is, an area can be classified as more or less dense depending on what threshold the analysts establishes. "Ground-truthing" is required to remove some of the arbitrariness from the analysis, but this is an enormously costly undertaking.

Policy analysts are always faced with data limitations. Sometimes the problem is missing data, while other times it is data with questionable reliability. Yet, all too often researchers spend very little time paying attention to how serious that deficiency is for the policy problem at hand. When the available data is a very long time series with frequent intervals that relies on a well-structured and well-understood data collection method, and where few transformations occur between data collection and data use, most researchers and policy analysts would feel extremely comfortable interpolating one or two or even a handful of missing data points. Econometricians relying on data collected at regular intervals from government surveys frequently face this situation and are quite adept at filling in such "holes in the data." In the world of limited data, that might be considered the best-case scenario.

At the other extreme we might have data that are collected using relatively new methods and that require significant transformation between collection and use. Data reliability likely decreases under these circumstances. Given the imperfect world in which we live, the answer is probably not to insist on using only the "best data." However, researchers and policy analysts do have the obligation to use care in interpreting results based on weak data and to convey that weakness to their audience.

Another side of the limited data problem is the translation from concept to measure, and it explains why the conference participants spent so much time discussing "What is sprawl?" For researchers

this question becomes “How does one define sprawl in such a way that one can measure it?” Burchfield et al. define sprawl as leapfrog or discontinuous urban development. Landis argues for “a more multi-faceted definition of sprawl, one that also incorporates issues of density, land use mix, and built-form homogeneity.”

Definitions are not trivial in policy analysis. If we cannot define the problem or the outcome, and we cannot measure it, how can we know if it is getting better or worse, and if our policies are having an impact? On the other hand, a very precise definition of a different but perhaps related concept may lead to unnecessary intervention. The new policy may improve the score on the *measure* but have little or no effect on the *problem*. For a variety of reasons (perhaps in part the customs and cultures within different disciplines) the economists at the conference tended to favor concepts that are simple and for which the data exist. On the other hand, the planners tended to favor concepts that are messy. In the end, one is left with weaknesses on both sides. The uni-dimensional definition, and therefore the uni-dimensional measure, may provide many of the desirable properties that allow statistical analyses. Multi-dimensional concepts are difficult to translate into measures. Which is better for policy making?

### The Political Nature of Land Policy

Planning as a political activity was emphasized by several authors, notably Chris Riley (discussant of papers by Edwin Mills and Alan Evans), to emphasize the importance for economists to recognize this role and the constraints it imposes on significant change (particularly given the capacity of land markets to capitalize into asset values the amenities generated by planning policies themselves). Richard Feiock added there was also evidence that the forms of planning policies that communities selected (both the severity of such policies and the degree to which they relied on regulation in contrast to market instruments) could be largely accounted for by the political structure and socioeconomic

and ethnic composition of those communities.

Participants reacted differently to the political nature of land policy and planning. For some this was problematic: it meant that the market was not being allowed to work. For others, it meant that the political process in a democracy was being allowed to work: the people had spoken and the policy reflected the expressed will of the body politic.

### Reflections on Debate

The differences between economists and planners will continue, and differences among practitioners in different countries and even different parts of the same country (notably the large United States) can either stimulate or thwart future debates over the study of land market policies and implementation. Perhaps, though, the word *debate* itself thwarts our efforts. In debates, the debaters rarely change their minds. They enter the debate with their point of view firmly fixed and do not get

“points” for admitting that their debating opponent taught them something or that they have consequently changed their own mind. However, one purpose of a professional conference is, indeed, for thoughtful people to consider their own assumptions and to be informed and changed by the points of view of others. In the future, perhaps debates will be supplanted with reflective conversation. □

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## Conference Papers

The conference participants whose papers are cited in this article are noted below. All conference papers and discussants’ comments are posted on the Lincoln Institute website ([www.lincolninst.edu](http://www.lincolninst.edu)) where they can be downloaded for free, and they are available for purchase on a CD.

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# Prospects for Land Value Taxation in Britain

TONY VICKERS

It is not surprising that proposals for land value taxation (LVT) should elicit strong reactions in public debate. Land, taxes and information are a combustible combination, but they are critical to our political system. Without land we cannot live; without taxes we cannot be governed; without information about land and taxes we are powerless to change the way we are governed. Although Britain has not confronted basic land or tax reform in recent years, there are several signs, outlined below, that this is changing, and such changes can open the way for renewed attention to LVT initiatives.

## Increasing Awareness of the Tax Burden

There is now widespread acceptance that Britain taxes jobs and enterprise far too much. In 1997 the European Commission (now known as the European Union) asked its 15 member states to produce employment action plans, including proposals to relieve the burden of taxes on employment. In 1999 British Prime Minister Tony Blair and German Chancellor Gerhard Schröder issued a joint statement that said, "... overall, the taxation of hard work and enterprise should be reduced." Britain's Liberal Democrat Party manifesto in 1998 called for a "major tax shift off people and on to pollution and resources." Across the political spectrum consensus is building for a shift in the tax burden.

## Devolution and Constitutional Reform

The United Kingdom is in the midst of far-reaching constitutional changes involving elections by proportional representation, which almost guarantee coalitions and make continuity of policy more likely. The number of voting hereditary peers in the House of (Land) Lords has been reduced from 400 to fewer than 100. Unlike a century ago,

the Lords can no longer block an elected government with a mandate to introduce LVT or other land reforms. Although Britain still has one of the most centralized governments in Europe, Scotland and Wales now have considerable autonomy through their elected Parliament and Assembly.

Northern Ireland also has an elected Assembly, and land policy there is arguably more forward-thinking than on mainland Britain, with integrated ministerial responsibility for maps, land registers and property valuation. By 2007 there will be a fully electronic, map-based comprehensive land register and up-to-date property assessment. Uniquely in the UK, residential areas will be assessed through computer-aided mass assessment (CAMA) techniques imported from the U.S.

Scotland can vary income tax by up to 3 percent and can choose the tax base for its 28 local authorities. There is a much better understanding of LVT in Scotland than elsewhere in the UK, and the Scottish Executive has promised to initiate a thorough study of the economic implications of LVT before the next elections in 2004.

London now has its own devolved regional government, the Greater London Assembly, with an elected mayor, Ken Livingstone, who has become keenly interested in the potential of land values to fund transport infrastructure. The mayor's transport commissioner, American Bob Kiley, is even more interested and has gone on record saying LVT might have a role, and not just in transport funding. There is currently a lively political battle concerning the London Underground, addressing who pays for investment and who benefits from it, which may provide a context for considering the role of LVT.

In most of the UK, however, local government is still a creature of the central state. Seventy percent of local government revenue comes directly from central grants, and over 90 percent of local expenditure is con-

strained by directives from the central government.

## Advances in Geographic Information Technology

There have been amazing changes in information technology since the last thorough review of local government finance in Britain, in 1975. Then, base map information was held on a quarter of a million glass plates that were only revised on a 10- to 25-year cycle, using manual cartography, steel tapes and parchment paper. Now the entire national mapping system is computerized, using satellites, hand-held field data recorders and Internet map access. The Ordnance Survey MasterMap data structure recognizes land and building parcels and can hold attributes as diverse as height, material of construction, value and ownership. It is updated on a continuous basis and can incorporate pre-build and historic information. In 1975 the map archive occupied a large four-story building; now it fits on just eight CD-ROMs, covering every building and land parcel occupied by 60 million people.

All of these advances could assist the introduction of a tax based on land value, although there are serious institutional problems in getting all agencies that would be involved in LVT to apply the technology fast enough. However, the government has a target of enabling all information-based functions to be delivered electronically by 2005.

## Unpopularity of the Uniform Business Rate

The uniformity of taxation in Britain is reflected in the name of the nonresidential property tax: Uniform Business Rate (UBR). At the end of the 1980s, local councils lost the power to fix the rate of the tax, and with it any direct financial connection with their local business communities. The central government at Whitehall decides what each

council will collect from its business rate-payers, and how much each council retains, which can be substantially more or less than is collected locally. All that remains is some discretion over businesses exemptions, at the expense of local residents. No wonder that a recent government study showed a deep disdain for local councils among business owners and huge ignorance by both business and councils about their respective roles and problems.

Because this tax is based on occupancy and not on ownership, vacant and under-used land largely or wholly escapes taxation. The UBR is regarded as a most regressive tax, accounting for up to one-third of the turnover of the smallest independent traders but only 3 percent of turnover of large multiple stores. My research has found UBR to be extremely unpopular: it penalizes success and fails to compensate for harm done by irresponsible neighbors. So this is another factor in the return of interest in LVT. As others have noted in recent years, the replacement of UBR, in part or totally, with a site-value-based tax would most likely be an extremely effective policy for urban renewal.

### Business Improvement Districts

BIDs are coming to Britain after years of use in the U.S. These special districts allow commercial and office sectors to raise funds through property assessments for maintenance and improvement of their neighborhoods. But the only tax currently proposed for BIDs is a supplement to the occupier-based UBR. The business community does not like this idea, and LVT campaigners are now working with others to persuade prospective BID partnerships to consider assessments on owners and also to press for the creation of new tax powers.

LVT supporters propose that if a large majority within the BID support such measures, the BID should be able to compel all owners in the district to pay them; free-riders should not be allowed. The idea, known as “Smart BIDs,” is to support the BIDs with taxes on owners rather than business rates, and perhaps even to reduce the UBR rate within Smart BIDs.

### Environmental Concerns

Current interest in LVT in Britain was boosted by an Urban Task Force report and formal support for LVT pilot projects by Friends of the Earth (which has more members in the UK than the Liberal Democrat Party) and the Town & Country Planning Association. These environmental organizations are interested in taxation as a tool for sustainable development, and such concern will only grow in the future. People in Britain will recycle even if it costs them time and money to do so. The same concern for the environment will increase acceptance of LVT when it is understood as a means of keeping towns and cities viable and protecting the countryside.

### Practical Administrative Considerations

Two surveys of the town of Whitstable by Hector Wilks in 1963 and 1973 support the view that LVT presents fewer assessment difficulties than do traditional rating systems. Recent advances in computerized assessment systems make LVT more feasible than ever before. My own preliminary studies of other countries that use computerized assessments, especially Denmark and Australia, show that the overall cost of property tax administration is far lower there.

Denmark’s property tax, with annual revaluations, costs 20 percent less per property than Britain’s. When I visited Denmark last year, I found an extremely efficient property tax system tapping into land values in a modest way. Tax administrators told me that, aside from the environmental benefits of the tax, the greatest interest came from Treasury officials concerned about the growth of offshore tax havens. They are attracted to LVT because it costs very little to administer and there is virtually no possibility of avoidance or evasion.

If a British government were inclined to switch to LVT, it would not find any insuperable problems within our highly intelligent and incorruptible valuation profession. We have a professional, politically independent agency for conducting property tax assessments and the best

national mapping agency in the world. It is simply a matter of exercising political leadership.

### The Way Forward

In addition to supporting Smart BID pilot projects, my personal list for projects to help realize the potential of LVT includes:

- updating basic economics courses and making them available on the Web;
- implementing exchange programs between relevant tax professionals in Britain and countries with LVT;
- developing easy-to-use value mapping tools;
- studying the links between planning and LVT;
- comparing compliance costs of LVT and other taxes;
- developing indicators of the economic impact of LVT;
- monitoring public perceptions of land and tax issues over time and across countries; and
- providing more accessible nontechnical publications about LVT.

The subject of tax reform is one of the most important issues of our age and political environment, and after years of neglect LVT is being considered in Britain again. The Lincoln Institute’s sponsorship of work by many LVT thinkers, writers and researchers in Britain and elsewhere has been instrumental in advancing public awareness of and professional appreciation for the potential benefits of LVT. (See pages 16–17 and the inside back cover.)

**TONY VICKERS** recently completed a David C. Lincoln Fellowship in Land Value Taxation at the Lincoln Institute, and this article summarizes his Founder’s Day lecture on the topic in Cambridge, Massachusetts, in June 2002. Vickers is the former CEO of the Henry George Foundation in London, and he is currently pursuing a Ph.D. at the School of Surveying, Kingston University, London. Contact: [tonyvickers@cix.co.uk](mailto:tonyvickers@cix.co.uk).

## Exploring Ad Hoc Regionalism

A growing number of urban challenges—from threats of environmental degradation and sprawl, to social and fiscal disparity, to economic transformation and globalization—call for action at a regional scale. But regions in the United States largely lack governance capacity to formulate and execute plans to respond to these challenges. Some recent experiments aimed at developing governance capacity to address regional challenges rely on augmenting existing government institutions—councils of government, regional planning councils, and the like. But more often they involve interest groups from multiple sectors—public, private and nonprofit—operating in loose-knit, collaborative relations.

Douglas Porter and Allan Wallis have given the name *ad hoc* regionalism to this amorphous collection of governance experiments. Their new policy focus report, *Exploring Ad Hoc Regionalism*, is based on a forum held at the Lincoln Institute in April 2001, which brought together a group of practitioners, advocates and academics to share information about some promising trends and case studies. Discussion focused on a set of common issues that *ad hoc* efforts must address.

- **Defining the region.** To act regionally requires a way of defining the geographic area of interest. Some approaches to identifying a region are based on a sense of place, others on the key functional issue to be addressed (e.g., watershed drainage), and still others on a combination of factors forming an identity matrix.

- **Understanding the driving forces.** Mobilizing to act regionally occurs in response to different kinds of driving forces. Sometimes mobilization arises in response to an immediate crisis, such as pollution of a major water resource. At other times it is a reaction to a perceived threat, such as loss of a region's economic base or the disappearance of open space resources. Driving forces can also take the form of responding to opportunities, such as going after new economic prospects.



- **Capacities to ensure success.** Not all regions are equally well positioned to address regional driving forces. Several kinds of capacity seem to be important to ensuring success. These include leadership, institutional capacity, fiscal resources, and technical and civic capacity.

- **Determining strategic handles for action.** In responding to the driving forces of regional action, *ad hoc* efforts need to determine how to act strategically with their available capacity. If crisis is the driver, then the strategic handle for action typically consists of a clear response to that crisis. If the driver is not as immediate and pressing, the strategic handle may focus on building regional identity and developing awareness of a threat or opportunity.

- **Sustaining action.** *Ad hoc* regional efforts often begin mobilizing for action by focusing on an opportunistic strategic handle. But to continue their work, these efforts must try to develop a sequence of activities that builds and sustains momentum. For example, a planning effort that began in response to an immediate crisis may evolve into a collaborative, longer-term planning initiative.

- **Sustaining organization.** Mobilizing at a regional scale often requires considerable organizational effort. In some cases, after a mobilizing crisis has passed, motivation to sustain an *ad hoc* arrangement dissipates with it. But in other cases, *ad hoc* structures can be institutionalized, for example, by establishing a new nonprofit to address regional issues as its central focus.

As some of the experiments in *ad hoc* regionalism discussed at the Lincoln forum become more widespread, they may give rise to new institutionalized forms of governance. Meanwhile, *ad hoc* regional organizations are proving that they can make a difference in attracting attention to and providing solutions for regionwide issues. Representatives from four regions—Cleveland; Santa Ana, California; South-eastern Massachusetts; and the New Jersey Highlands—described the purpose and work of their groups. Case studies of these regions, along with descriptions of other participating regions, are included in this report.

The goals of the forum were simply to try to understand how these *ad hoc* efforts had emerged, how those involved defined their region, what factors drove the programs, what they were accomplishing, how well they were succeeding, and how they saw their own future. (Could they or did they even want to be sustained?). This report summarizes those themes and closes with an attempt to draw some lessons learned that can help inform efforts around the country that are struggling to develop greater governance capacity to address regional challenges. □

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### Exploring Ad Hoc Regionalism

2002. 36 pages, paper. \$14.00.

Lincoln code: PF012.

ISBN 1-55844-154-9

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## William A. Fischel

**William Fischel** is professor of economics and the Patricia F. and William B. Hale '44 Professor in Arts and Sciences at Dartmouth College in Hanover, New Hampshire. He was a member of the Hanover zoning board for 10 years, and has long served on the teaching and research faculty of the Lincoln Institute. He has written more than 50 articles and three books about the related topics of local government, land use controls, school finance and property taxation. Fischel's most recent book pulls those themes together under the title *The Homevoter Hypothesis* (Harvard University Press 2001), and he will discuss them at a course at the Lincoln Institute on April 25 (see page 19). Contact: [Bill.Fischel@Dartmouth.edu](mailto:Bill.Fischel@Dartmouth.edu).

### Land Lines

*The term homevoter doesn't seem to be in any dictionary. What does it mean?*

#### William Fischel

I coined the word to convey the theme of my book. My original title was *Municipal Corporations and the Capitalization Principle*, but when I tried it out on people their eyes glazed over. I had to think of something catchier, and homevoter popped into my head. In local government elections, residents tend to "vote their homes." For example, if the school board proposes a tax increase to reduce class size, most homeowners will consider the impact of the taxes and the better school quality on the value of their homes as well as on their personal situations.

**LL:** *What's the difference between people voting their personal situations and voting their homes?*

**WF:** If people voted only according to their immediate situation, almost every school referendum would be voted down. Since the last of the baby boomers graduated from high school in the late 1970s, only about a third of all American households have any children in public school. If people only cared about whether school expenditures benefited them directly, the two-thirds of voters without kids in school would vote down school referenda and save themselves some taxes. The reason they usually don't is that they know that scuttling the local schools will drive their home values down. They may not like paying taxes, but most voters will not actively oppose a reasonable school budget.

**LL:** *Why would home values override immediate concerns about taxes, since most homeowners plan to keep their houses for a long time?*

**WF:** For the great majority of homeowners, the equity in their home is much larger than their holdings of stocks and bonds and savings accounts. An owner-occupied home is a huge asset, and it is nearly impossible to diversify the financial risk of holding on to it. People who own a lot of stocks can diversify their holdings by buying mutual funds. But you cannot diversify your homeownership portfolio by buying a tenth of a house in Cambridge, a tenth in Springfield, a tenth in Pittsburgh, and so forth. You are stuck with all your homeownership eggs in one local basket. If the schools are declining, so is much of your investment. You don't have to plan to sell a home soon to be concerned about its value, just as you don't have to be ready to retire to be concerned about your retirement investments.

**LL:** *So even people who will never have kids are interested in the quality of public schools?*

**WF:** They sure are, especially when they are buying a house. Many economic studies of housing values have found that the major determinant of house price differences among communities is the quality of public schools. Further, the difference in home values is not reflected in the cost of the structure but in the land value. If your home

burned down and you decided to sell your lot instead of rebuilding, the price of the lot would reflect the value of the community's public assets such as its schools. The

structure itself would just reflect the cost of building it.

**LL:** *What other community assets do homevoters pay attention to?*

**WF:** Lots of things, including neighborhood traffic, local parks, good (or bad) views, local air quality, open space, crime rates and public libraries. Like school quality, all of these community charac-

teristics are capitalized in home values if they are better or worse than average.

**LL:** *Capitalized? As in the stock market?*

**WF:** Yes, just as in the stock market. If Merck Pharmaceuticals develops an effective drug to treat cancer, the value of Merck stock will go up. That good news is quickly capitalized in (or reflected in) the price of the stock. If a particular city found a good way to control traffic noise and congestion, the value of homes there would rise. In both cases, the stockholders would be pleased.

**LL:** *How is a city like Merck?*

**WF:** They are both corporations. One is a municipality and the other is a business, but each has a corporate identity that is independent of its owners or residents. The main difference is that a city's major stockholders, its homeowners, cannot diversify their assets. So unlike most business stockholders, residents pay close attention to what



William A. Fischel

Martha Stewart



their corporation's managers are doing. They make managers do their business in the open most of the time, and they make their board of directors—the city council—stand for election more frequently than business corporation boards.

**LL:** *What about the role of other stakeholders, such as local business owners?*

**WF:** Business people are usually behind development plans, and city councils pay attention to them. But in the municipalities where most people live—cities and towns of less than 120,000 population—homeowners have to be persuaded that the proposed development will do them some good. Just creating jobs and lowering taxes is not enough in most places. A job-creating, tax-paying factory whose traffic, noise and pollution devalue the homes of nearby residents will have a hard time getting permission to locate there. Homevoters may not be as active as developers, but they are usually more numerous and vocal, and few city councils can afford to ignore their concerns.

**LL:** *And how do renters benefit from the system?*

**WF:** Renters get the benefit of municipal services that are more consumer-oriented as a result of homevoters' activism. But renters have a shorter time horizon because when they move they neither gain nor lose from the local improvements they leave behind. This may explain why renters tend to participate in local government less than homeowners. They don't have the long-term financial stake that even the short-term homeowner has.

**LL:** *What's the downside of homevoters' influence?*

**WF:** The downside is exclusionary zoning. Zoning is a necessary tool for local governments to rationalize development. The problem is that homevoters can overuse this tool. Because homes are not a diversifiable asset, homeowners often become risk averse to any development that might reduce their home's value. The NIMBY (Not In My Back Yard) syndrome is most often seen in home-

owners, and my theory says they are rational to behave this way. But what is rational for the homeowners in a single community might not be rational for the larger region. Siting low-income housing, power plants, half-way houses and the other necessary but sometimes unlovely developments is impeded by having people too worried about their home values.

**LL:** *Is there a way to control the bad side of homevoting and still keep the good side?*

**WF:** Understanding where the problem comes from is a start. People who oppose low-income housing projects are not necessarily opposing low-income people. They may be mainly worried about their home values. One way to deal with that would be to offer home-value insurance for neighborhoods that feel threatened by proposed land use changes. An innovative program in Chicago offered home-value insurance to help forestall "panic selling" and thus stabilize neighborhoods with respect to both home values and socioeconomic composition. It might be worth extending home equity insurance to other situations in which neighborhood change raises the anxieties of homeowners.

**LL:** *But people have lots of reasons to oppose neighborhood changes besides loss of property value.*

**WF:** It is rare for people to mention property values in public discussions. It sounds too selfish to talk about in a public forum. But economists know that most of the things that people do talk about, such as traffic, noise, open space and service costs, clearly affect people's home values. Whether owners are consciously relating these characteristics to home values or simply intuitively aware of this connection is hard to say. If developers could take home values off the table in such debates, it might go a long way to overcoming the NIMBY problem.

**LL:** *You mentioned earlier that the quality of community life was reflected in land values. Would this argue for a tax on land rather than improvements in order to finance local services?*

**WF:** I think it does, and in fact that's what most property taxes really do tax. Local development is a highly regulated activity because of zoning laws, planning reviews and environmental impact statements. I believe that local land use regulation is tight enough to make buildings essentially indistinguishable from land as a tax base. Take the example of the home that burns down. The buyer of the lot typically has to put up another home of the same type, and the tax payment on land and structure will be the same as before. For the most part, owners of homes and businesses in zoned communities have only one allowable use for their land, so that increasing or decreasing local taxes is not going to affect that use. That's exactly the same virtue as a tax on land. Beyond that, taxing property value gives voters cooperative incentives on the zoning front. Homevoters won't want to trash another side of town with an unfriendly land use, because devaluing other people's property would cause property taxes to be shifted to the remaining homeowners.

**LL:** *A land tax is what Henry George advocated more than 100 years ago. Are you saying that the local property tax already is a land tax?*

**WF:** Yes, within certain contexts. It is quite a bit like a land tax in largely residential communities and for most new development. Zoning limits a developer's alternatives, so the tax rate will not alter his behavior. A general property tax would not be like a land tax, however, if it were administered by a large jurisdiction such as a state or national government, unless those governments also had local zoning controls in place. It is the combination of local zoning plus the property tax that approximates a land tax. Henry George's ideas came in through the back door of suburban zoning and property taxation rather than through the front door of state and national taxation. **L**

## David C. Lincoln Fellowships for 2002–2003

The David C. Lincoln Fellowships in Land Value Taxation were established in 1999 to develop academic and professional interest in land value taxation through support for major research projects. The fellowship program honors David C. Lincoln, chairman of the Lincoln Foundation and founding chairman of the Lincoln Institute, and his long-standing interest in land value taxation. The fellowship program encourages scholars and practitioners to undertake new work in this field, either in the basic theory of land value taxation or its application. The projects will add to the body of knowledge and understanding of land value taxation as a component of contemporary fiscal systems throughout the world.

The fellowships announced here are the fourth group to be awarded under this program; several recipients are continuing projects from last year. The deadline for the next annual application process is September 15, 2003. For information, contact [fellowships@lincolninst.edu](mailto:fellowships@lincolninst.edu) or visit the Institute's website at [www.lincolninst.edu/education/fellowships.asp](http://www.lincolninst.edu/education/fellowships.asp).

### Legislative Opinion of Land Value Taxation

**David Brunori**

*Tax Analysts/State Tax Notes  
Arlington, Virginia*



This project involves a comprehensive, statistically meaningful survey of legislators in each of 50 states. The goal is to ascertain American legislators' level of awareness and knowledge of land value taxation.

### Two-Rate Property Taxation in New Hampshire: Turning Promise into Reality

**Richard W. England**

*Professor of Economics and Natural Resources  
University of New Hampshire  
Durham, New Hampshire*



This project will pursue three goals: (1) organizing a training workshop on land value taxation for New Hampshire state and local officials; (2) analyzing municipal assessment data for

several New Hampshire cities to discover how the property tax burden would be redistributed if those cities were to make a revenue-neutral shift from a uniform property tax to a two-rate system of property taxation; and (3) drafting a model statute that would enable city governments in New Hampshire to adopt two-rate property taxation.

### Property Taxes in the British Commonwealth

**Riël Franzsen**

*Department of Mercantile Law  
University of South Africa  
Pretoria, South Africa*

### William McCluskey

*School of the Built Environment  
University of Ulster  
Jordanstown, Northern Ireland*



The aim of this project is to collect and collate property tax data on 37 of the 54 member states of the British Commonwealth. An analysis of property tax systems in these countries, spread across the globe, should lead to a better understanding of the international use of property taxes. The diversity of

countries allows for interesting comparisons as member states differ in terms of size, population, per capita income, stages of economic development, and political, land tenure and legal systems. The availability of data and more detailed information on assessment and collection 'best practices' from the more developed member states could benefit less developed jurisdictions in need of assistance and advice.

### Land Market Understanding is the Basis for Smart Change

**Courtney Alfred Haff, AICP**

*The Real Estate Institute  
New York University  
Haff Associates  
(Investment Banking, Market Analysis,  
Land Planning and Conservation Appraisals)  
Great Barrington, Massachusetts  
and New York, New York*



A land value survey and map of Lower Manhattan's residential, vacant and publicly owned land markets sets the framework for examining land value trends from the days of New Amsterdam to the Wall Street of the future. Initially,

the survey will focus on the impact of September 11, 2001 on the course of such trends. Examination of smart growth options, community preservation and policy change within this urban land market in transition requires an understanding of the influence of transportation improvements, waterfront access and land value change on housing development, the cost and benefit of open space and the potential for preservation and reuse of old buildings for housing. Land policy options will be analyzed using spatial analysis techniques and geographic information systems to assess the importance of location, land use regulation, land tax policy, public investment, open space and other economic factors on land value and property development potential.

## Potential Roles of Land Value Taxation in China's Tax Reform

**Yu-Hung Hong**

*Department of Public Administration and Urban Studies  
University of Akron  
Akron, Ohio*



This project will explore the possibilities as well as limitations of establishing land value taxation systems in the People's Republic of China. The goals are to examine the varieties of practice and

experience in levying taxes (or fees) related to land and buildings in different parts of the country, current property taxes as components of local government fiscal systems, and the potential for utilization of land value taxation. In-depth personal interviewees and focus groups will be conducted in major coastal cities and selected rural areas in China.

## Land Taxes and Revenue Needs as Communities Grow and Decline: Evidence from New Zealand

**Suzi Kerr and Arthur Grimes**

*Motu Economic and Public Policy Research  
Wellington, New Zealand*



**William McCluskey**

*School of the Built Environment  
University of Ulster  
Jordanstown, Northern Ireland*



In 1998, 56 percent of New Zealand local government revenue came from property taxes. What drives long-term changes in the property/land tax base? How responsive is land tax revenue to

external shocks? How does a 'property tax' empirically differ from a 'land tax' in terms of the variability of the tax base? We will

combine economic analysis based on an extremely rich dataset with valuation techniques to identify causes and levels of fiscal stress and study the responses of local governments. Based on these empirical results we will assess how reliant local government should be on property and land taxes.

## An Examination into the Effects of Land Value Taxation in the United Kingdom: An Update of the Whitstable Case Studies

**Frances Anne Plimmer and Greg S. McGill**  
*College of Estate Management  
Reading, England*



To advance the cause of land value taxation in the UK there is a need for up-to-date information on land values and how a system of land value taxation would work. To date, the only UK studies that have been undertaken were in 1963 and 1973 for the town of Whitstable, England. The aim of this project is to again focus on Whitstable and to establish site and property values for all of the taxable units (hereditaments) in the town taking into account the methodology used in 1973 and more recent advances in valuation, appraisal methods and geographic information systems.

**GARY CORNIA**, a visiting senior fellow at the Lincoln Institute this year, has been named president of the National Tax Association. Cornia is on a sabbatical from the Romney Institute of Public Management at Brigham Young University in Utah. He joins a number of other Institute Board members and faculty who have served as NTA president, including Roy Bahl, C. Lowell Harriss and Therese McGuire. Contact: [gcornia@lincolninst.edu](mailto:gcornia@lincolninst.edu).

## Dissertation Fellowship Applications Due by March 1, 2003

The Lincoln Institute announces its annual funding cycle to select applications for dissertation projects that focus on land use planning, land markets and land-related taxation policies in the United States, Latin America and other regions. This fellowship program demonstrates the Lincoln Institute's commitment to provide financial support to doctoral students who will contribute to land and tax policy research and will develop new ideas to guide policy makers. 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 will award approximately ten dissertation fellowships of \$10,000 each for the 2004 fiscal year (starting July 1, 2003). As part of the program, all recipients are invited to present their work to other fellows and Lincoln faculty in a seminar at Lincoln House in Cambridge, Massachusetts, in June 2004.

To download a copy of the application guidelines and forms, and to learn about the work of current fellows, visit the Institute's website at [www.lincolninst.edu/education/fellowships](http://www.lincolninst.edu/education/fellowships), request information by email at [fellowships@lincolninst.edu](mailto:fellowships@lincolninst.edu), or call 1-800-LAND-USE (800-526-3873). An electronic version of the complete application must be received at the Lincoln Institute by March 1, 2003.

## PROGRAM CALENDAR

### Courses and Conferences

The courses and conferences listed here are offered on an open admission basis and are presented at Lincoln House in Cambridge, Massachusetts, unless otherwise noted.

For more information about the agenda, faculty, accommodations, tuition fee and registration procedures, visit the Lincoln Institute website at [www.lincolninst.edu](http://www.lincolninst.edu) or email to [rboff@lincolninst.edu](mailto:rboff@lincolninst.edu).

#### SUNDAY-TUESDAY, JANUARY 26–28

##### **Brownfield Redevelopment for Nonprofit Developers**

Lavea Brachman, Delta Institute, Columbus, Ohio

Designed for representatives of nonprofit community-based organizations engaged in urban redevelopment, this course has two related objectives: first, to provide the tools community redevelopment leaders need to promote redevelopment; and second, to engage experts, stakeholders and nonprofit leaders in a discussion about the essential elements of successful brownfield and vacant property redevelopment.

#### THURSDAY, JANUARY 30

##### **Visualizing Density**

Julie Campoli, Terra Firma Urban Design, Burlington, Vermont; and Alex MacLean, Landslides Aerial Photography, Cambridge, Massachusetts

As smart growth initiatives gain momentum across the country, one of the persistent obstacles to compact development is the public's aversion to density. Misplaced concerns over density often prevent the construction of urban infill projects or the revision of zoning regulations that would allow for compact growth. Part of this aversion is based on an inability to imagine high-quality, high-density living environments. This workshop offers planners, designers and community development officials specific tools for measuring density, as well as graphic techniques for illustrating it. Using aerial photography and computer graphics, it focuses on the link between urban design

and density, and explores how various design approaches accommodate residents.

#### FRIDAY, JANUARY 31

Washington, DC

##### **Two-Rate Taxation of Land and Buildings**

John Wallis, Department of Economics, University of Maryland; and David Brunori, Tax Analysts/State Tax Notes, Washington, DC

This one-day program presents a variety of political and economic views on the taxation of land and buildings, and the rationale for applying different tax rates to land and buildings. Speakers address the economic impact of two-rate taxation, its history in Pennsylvania, and current issues in the assessment of land value. Cosponsored with Tax Analysts/State Tax Notes.



Kathy Foulger

#### FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 28

##### **Conservation Easements Policy Seminar (Series II)**

Joan Youngman, Lincoln Institute; and Charles Fausold, Cornell Cooperative Extension of Schuyler County, New York

By restricting the future development of privately owned land, conservation easements offer a means of preserving land that has unique natural features or is environmentally sensitive. This seminar assumes some familiarity with the basic concepts of conservation easements. It presents alternative views on policy questions raised by

current practice. Instructors with expertise in local government finance, environmental protection, property law and federal taxation consider such issues as the appropriate role for state oversight in the easement process, the distribution of the benefits and costs of easement protection, the effect of estate tax reform, and the desirability of perpetual restrictions on development.

#### THURSDAY-FRIDAY, MARCH 20–21

##### **Mediating Land Use Disputes (Series I)**

Armando Carbonell, Lincoln Institute; and Lawrence Susskind, Consensus Building Institute, Cambridge, Massachusetts

This two-day introductory course for planners, policy makers, public officials, developers and community advocates presents practical experience and insights into negotiating and mediating solutions to conflicts over land use and community development. Through lectures, interactive exercises, gaming 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 use mediation to resolve land use disputes are also explored.

#### FRIDAY, MARCH 21

Phoenix, Arizona

##### **Tax and Other Fiscal Incentives and Business Location**

Jeffrey Chapman, School of Public Affairs, Arizona State University, Tempe

This seminar brings together local officials, business leaders and economists to review the use of tax and other public fiscal incentives for business retention and development. Their perspectives on the theoretical and practical issues raised by these arrangements will clarify the extent to which economic analysis can assist state and local policy makers who seek to balance uniformity in taxation with a competitive business climate.



Kathy Foulger

**MARCH (DATE TBA) — IN CALIFORNIA**  
**APRIL (DATE TBA) — AT LINCOLN HOUSE**

**Land Market Monitoring**

**Gerrit Knaap, Department of Urban Studies and Planning, University of Maryland, College Park**

This course identifies the elements of a locally based land monitoring system and illustrates its applications. Topics to be covered include components of a land monitoring system, data requirements, and its uses and limitations. In addition, the concept of land supply as an inventory problem is introduced, as well as the relationships between land supply monitoring, urban growth processes and growth management policy. The course is relevant to professionals working in planning, transportation, infrastructure, housing and other locally delivered services.

**WEDNESDAY–FRIDAY, APRIL 2–4**  
**Advanced Course on Mediating Land Use Disputes (Series II)**

**Armando Carbonell, Lincoln Institute; and Lawrence Susskind, Consensus Building Institute, Cambridge, Massachusetts**

This interactive three-day course is designed for those who have attended Mediating Land Use Disputes I or trained mediators with public policy dispute resolution experience. Participants explore different approaches to consensual land use decision making and deepen their understanding of assisted negotiation techniques to settle land use disputes. This course offers experienced mediators an opportunity to learn about the special problems associated with land use disputes, including infrastructure and

facility siting disputes, disagreements over how to manage new development, environmental justice battles, zoning and permitting rights, and discord over long-range resource management and land use plans.

**MONDAY-FRIDAY, APRIL 7–11**  
**Land and Building Taxation in Latin America**

**Martim Smolka, Lincoln Institute; and Claudia De Cesare, Municipality of Porto Alegre, Brazil**

This course is designed for leading practitioners who advise and make decisions on issues related to policies and administration of property taxes in Latin America. Participants share lessons and innovative experiences, improve their access to useful information, and exchange views on polemic and complex issues of property taxation. The course examines not only theoretical aspects, but also several practices concerning policy and administration of the property tax. The curriculum includes determination of property values; property tax in the context of urban finance; principles of taxation; components and definition of the property tax base (assessment levels, valuation methods, complex properties); assessment performance; property tax rates and exemptions; property information systems (cadastre, maps and GIS); collection and appeal; analysis of the efficiency of current systems; and responsibilities for policy and administration. Formal lectures are combined with discussion of papers, analysis of practical experiences (case studies) and moderated debate among groups of participants.

**FRIDAY, APRIL 25**

**The Homevoter Hypothesis: How Home Values Influence Local Government Taxation, School Finance and Land Use Policies**

**Daphne Kenyon, D.A. Kenyon & Assoc., Windham, New Hampshire; and Christopher Hoene, National League of Cities, Washington, DC**

In this one-day program, policy makers and tax practitioners consider alternate economic interpretations of the local property tax, and their implications for tax policy choices. Dartmouth Professor William Fischel explains his analysis of the property tax as an incentive for efficient local government, as presented in his book *The Homevoter Hypothesis* (2001). A panel of economic experts and city leaders respond to Fischel's interpretation and offer their views on the role of the property tax in local government finance. Cosponsored with the National League of Cities.

**APRIL (DATE TBA)**

**The Theory and Practice of Land Valuation: A Case Study Approach (Series I)**

**James J. Czupryna, Townsend, Massachusetts; Paul V. O'Leary, West Barnstable, Massachusetts; Jerome C. German, Lucas County Auditors Office, Toledo, Ohio; and Michelle Thompson, Lincoln Institute**

All policy issues concerning value-based taxes, from the distribution of the tax burden to the impact of a tax on land-use decisions, depend on a prior determination as to the meaning and computation of value for purposes of taxation. Using a specific parcel as a case study, this course offers a detailed examination of the valuation of undeveloped land. Actual documents concerning this parcel, including appraisal reports, site plans, deed restrictions and comparable sales data, will be provided to assist participants in analyzing market value before and after development. Seven hours of continuing education credits will be awarded by the Massachusetts Division of Licensure for Real Estate Appraisers and by the International Association of Assessing Officers.

## PROGRAM CALENDAR

**MONDAY–FRIDAY, APRIL 28–MAY 2**

### **Property Tax Policy**

Jane Malme, Lincoln Institute; and Alan Dornfest, International Association of Assessing Officers (IAAO), Chicago, Illinois

This new course, developed in collaboration with the IAAO for use in their educational and certification program, provides a general introduction to the role of the property tax in a federal system of government and in an equitable and balanced tax system. It addresses the role of state and local officials in policy formation and analysis, and presents criteria for evaluation of various taxes and tax systems. The strengths and weaknesses of the property tax, and standards for property assessment and taxation are examined. The course includes thirty hours of classroom instruction and an examination. Continuing education credits will be available pending approval from the IAAO.

**MAY 5–JUNE 13**

Taoyuan, Taiwan

### **Infrastructure Planning and Urban Development**

H. James Brown, Lincoln Institute; Gangadhar P. Shukla, Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts; and John Chien-Yuan Lin, Graduate Institute of Building and Planning, National Taiwan University, Taipei

Over 200 billion dollars are spent each year on infrastructure in developing countries. This spending represents an enormous demand on scarce resources and has a significant impact on the form and quality of urban life. This course, held at the International Center for Land Policy Studies and Training, aims to prepare public officials from developing countries with basic tools to analyze the economics of infrastructure investment, to understand the impact of investment on urban environments, to develop alternative mechanisms for financing investments, and to manage the process that is necessary to get the projects done on time and within budget.

**WEDNESDAY, MAY 7**

### **Comprehensive Planning**

Armando Carbonell, Lincoln Institute; and John R. Mullin, Department of Landscape Architecture and Regional Planning, Center for Economic Development, University of Massachusetts, Amherst

This course provides an in-depth review of fundamental planning principles and the planning process. Exploring both the theoretical and practical aspects of comprehensive planning, this course is designed to equip participants with state-of-the-art tools and techniques for realizing specific planning objectives, and for framing, implementing, assessing and managing comprehensive plans. Topics include strategic and long-range planning, the land use plan, the capital improvements plan, the plan and the map, the plan and zoning, and growth management.

**FRIDAY, MAY 23**

### **The New Model of Tax Administration: The Implications of Using GIS in the Valuation Process (Series III)**

Jerome C. German, Lucas County Auditors Office, Toledo, Ohio; and Michelle Thompson, Lincoln Institute

This course will consider the use of econometric models and spatial analysis in establishing value for property tax purposes. Faculty will discuss standards for evaluating models and present a demonstration of spatial valuation tools. Participants should have a general understanding of geographic information systems (GIS) and computer assisted mass appraisal (CAMA). Continuing education credits pending from the International Association of Assessing Officers, the Massachusetts Association of Assessing Officers and the Massachusetts Division of Licensure for Real Estate Appraisers.

### **Lincoln Lecture Series**

The lecture series is presented at Lincoln House in Cambridge, Massachusetts, at 12 noon, and a complimentary lunch is provided. To pre-register, contact [help@lincolninst.edu](mailto:help@lincolninst.edu).

**MONDAY, MARCH 17**

### **Community Statistical Systems for Shared Property Tax Data**

Joseph Ferreira, Jr

Urban Studies and Planning Department  
Massachusetts Institute of Technology

**WEDNESDAY, APRIL 23**

### **Private Property Rights in the Twenty-first Century**

Harvey M. Jacobs

Department of Urban and Regional Planning  
University of Wisconsin-Madison

### **Audio Conference Training Program for Planning Officials**

This series is cosponsored with the American Planning Association (APA). All programs begin at 4 p.m., E.T. and run for one hour. For

registration information, call the APA at 312-431-9100 or visit the website ([www.planning.org](http://www.planning.org)).

**WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 5**

### **Update on Planning and Environmental Law**

The legal landscape of planning and environmental law is constantly shifting. Four of the nation's leading planning and environmental law attorneys discuss what to watch for in 2003 and how to write defensible decisions in light of recent legislation and case law.

**WEDNESDAY, MAY 21**

### **Planning the Physically Active Community**

Americans are facing a major health crisis—obesity and the chronic diseases related to it. Is the design and function of our communities adding to the problem? Explore the dimensions of the situation and the innovative steps communities are taking to encourage walking, bicycling and other physical activity. Learn how your community can benefit.

## Related Publication

### Henry George: Collected Journalistic Writings

Edited by Kenneth C. Wenzer

More than a century after his death in 1897, Henry George remains one of the most original and influential economic thinkers in American history. His revolutionary theory on land taxation gained a tremendous following, reshaped the nation's political and economic debate, and continues to be a widely discussed and controversial subject throughout the world. George's seminal work was *Progress and Poverty* (1879), but as a reformer, economist, journalist and political candidate he wrote scores of articles on a vast array of topics, including political thought, private property, socialism, industrialization, and his race for mayor of New York City. Despite his profound influence on economic thought and American reform, he remains understudied, in part because many of his writings appeared in obscure journals, long-defunct daily newspapers, and out-of-print collections.

This four-volume set gathers all of George's hard-to-find articles and essays in one comprehensive edition. It also includes an early biographical sketch, written in 1884, as well as numerous articles he wrote during his tour of Australia in 1890.

Henry George scholar Kenneth C. Wenzer edited these volumes, with support from the Lincoln Institute. Each article is reprinted in its original form with annotations. There is a general introduction to each volume and a timeline of George's activities and travels.

### Henry George: Collected Journalistic Writings

2003. 1,525 pages (4-volume set).

\$450 (cloth)

ISBN 0-7656-1066-3

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- Economic and community development
- Ethics of land use
- Farm and forest land
- Growth management
- Housing and infrastructure
- International
- Land dispute resolution
- Land law and regulation
- Land markets and economics

- Land reform and land tenure
- Land value taxation
- Latin America and the Caribbean
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- Courses, lectures and other programs by faculty, date and location
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