



# Valuing Land in Detroit

## Using the Option Value Approach

Urban Economics and Public Finance Conference  
2024

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# Background

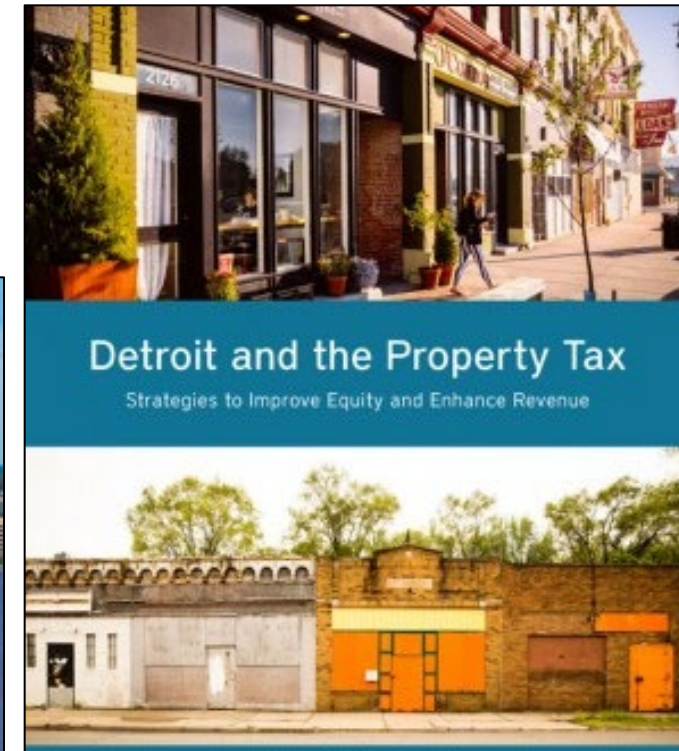
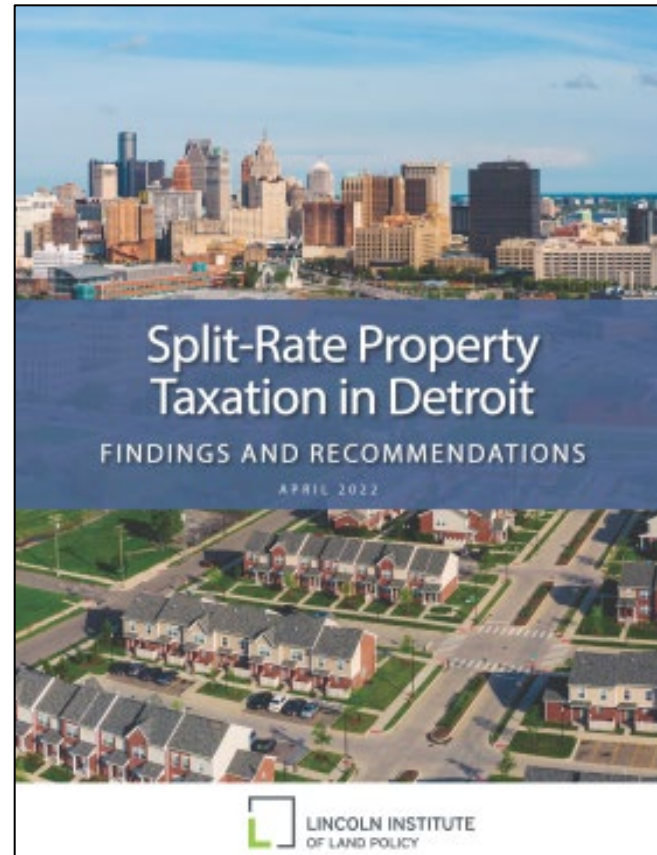
- ❑ This project fits into a decade long history of research on Detroit's property tax & property market that includes many partners
  - ❑ **Supported by Lincoln**
  - ❑ Fernanda Alfaro, Camila Alvayay Torrejón, Nick Allen, James Alm, John Anderson, Andrew Hanson, Zach Hawley, Timothy Hodge, Daniel McMillen, Dusan Paredes, **Gary Sands**, Mark Skidmore, Zhao Yang
- ❑ Detroit's collapsed real estate market beginning in 2008.



# Lincoln Supported Activities

- Will a Greenbelt Help to Shrink Detroit's Wasteland? (Mark Skidmore, Lincoln Land Lines, 2014)
- Detroit and the Property Tax: Strategies to Improve Equity and Enhance Revenue (Gary Sands & Mark Skidmore, Lincoln Report, 2015)
- Split-Rate Property Taxation in Detroit: Findings and Recommendations (John Anderson & Nick Allen Lincoln Report, April 2022)
- Many other working papers & writings

## Will a Greenbelt Help to Shrink Detroit's Wasteland?



# Lincoln Supported Activities

Alm, J., Hodge, T. R., Sands, G., & Skidmore, M. (2014). Detroit **property tax delinquency**: Social contract in crisis. *Public Finance and Management*, 14(3), 280-305.

Sands, G., & Skidmore, M. (2014). Making ends meet: Options for **property tax reform** in Detroit. *Journal of Urban Affairs*, 36(4), 682-700.

Hodge, T. R., Skidmore, M., Sands, G., & McMillen, D. (2015). **Tax Base Erosion and Inequity** from Michigan's **Assessment Growth Limit**: The Case of Detroit. *Public Finance Review*, 43(5), 636-660.

Hodge, T. R., Sands, G., & Skidmore, M. (2015). **Assessment Growth Limits and Mobility**: Evidence from Home Sale Data in Detroit, Michigan. *National Tax Journal*, 68(3), 573-599.

Hodge, T. R., McMillen, D. P., Sands, G., & Skidmore, M. (2017). **Assessment inequity** in a declining housing market: The case of Detroit. *Real Estate Economics*, 45(2), 237-258.

Paredes, D., & Skidmore, M. (2017). The net benefit of **demolishing dilapidated housing**: The case of Detroit. *Regional Science and Urban Economics*, 66, 16-27.

Hodge, T. R., Sands, G., & Skidmore, M. (2017). The **land value gradient** in a (Nearly) collapsed urban real Estate Market. *Land Economics*, 93(4), 549-566.

Alvayay Torrejón, C., Paredes, D., & Skidmore, M. (2021). **Housing demolition** and property tax delinquency: Evidence from Detroit. *Journal of Urban Affairs*, 43(5), 702-723.

Alfaro, F., Paredes, D., & Skidmore, M. (2022). The Effect of **Property Assessment** Reductions on Homeownership: A Quasi-Dynamic Economic Analysis. *Public Finance Review*, 50(6), 704-731.

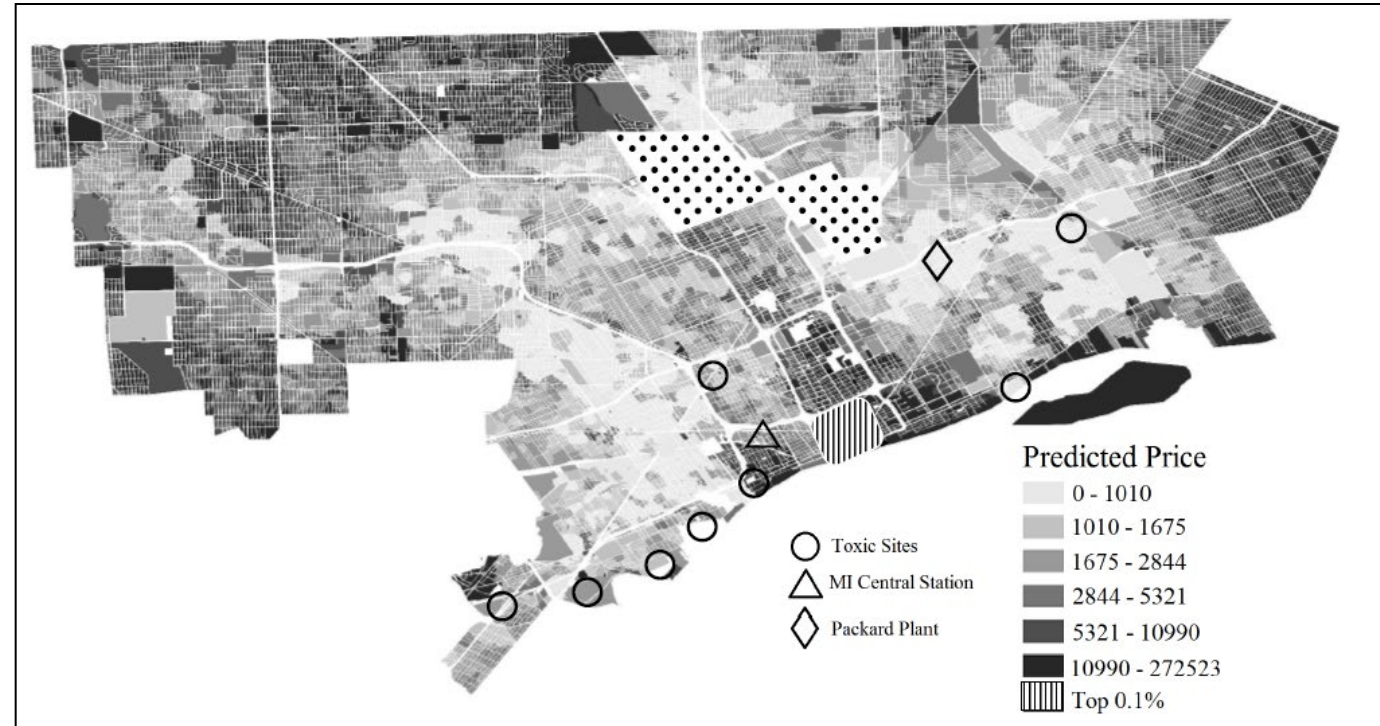
Alfaro, F., Paredes, D., & Skidmore, M. (2022). The Effect of **Property Assessment** Reductions on Tax Delinquency and Tax Foreclosure. Revised and resubmitted to *National Tax Journal*.



# The Split-Rate Tax in Detroit

- ❑ Enabling State Legislation Awaits Enactment
  - ❑ **Mayor Dugan Has Become a Champion of the Split-Rate Tax**
- ❑ Nick Allen (Ph.D. student MIT) was and continues to be a key figure in Detroit
- ❑ Split-rate taxation requires accurate and assessment of land separate from structures that is feasible to implement
  - ❑ Camila Alwayay Torrejón's dissertation topic
  - ❑ Market Value = Use Value + Option Value

Predicted Citywide Land Values Based on Vacant Land Sales  
(From Hodge, Sands, & Skidmore (2017))



# The Problem: Erosion of the property tax base in Detroit

- ❑ “Under Detroit’s property tax system, **blight is rewarded, and building is punished.** Detroit homeowners pay among the highest property taxes in Michigan” (City of Detroit, 2023)
- ❑ High level of property tax delinquency.
- ❑ Uneven distribution of tax burdens, **inflated property assessments.**



# The Problem: Erosion of the property tax base in Detroit

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DETROIT

## Detroit overtaxed homeowners \$600M. Years later, advocates still seeking reparations.



**Emma Stein**  
Detroit Free Press

Published 4:55 p.m. ET Jan. 22, 2022 | Updated 3:52 p.m. ET Jan. 23, 2022

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The city of Detroit overtaxed homeowners by at least \$600 million between 2009 and 2016. After a City Council proposal failed in 2020, Detroit City Council President Mary Sheffield and the Coalition for Property Tax Justice revealed

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DETROIT

## Tax justice group calls on Detroit to fix 'unfair' property assessments



**Charles E. Ramirez**  
The Detroit News

Published 4:26 p.m. ET July 7, 2021 | Updated 5:29 p.m. ET July 7, 2021

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Detroit — Community activists Wednesday celebrated thousands of Detroit and Wayne County homes spared from tax foreclosure this year amid the pandemic and renewed a call for Detroit officials to halt inflated property tax assessments



Detroit Wayne Oakland Macomb Washtenaw Monroe St Clair Livingston

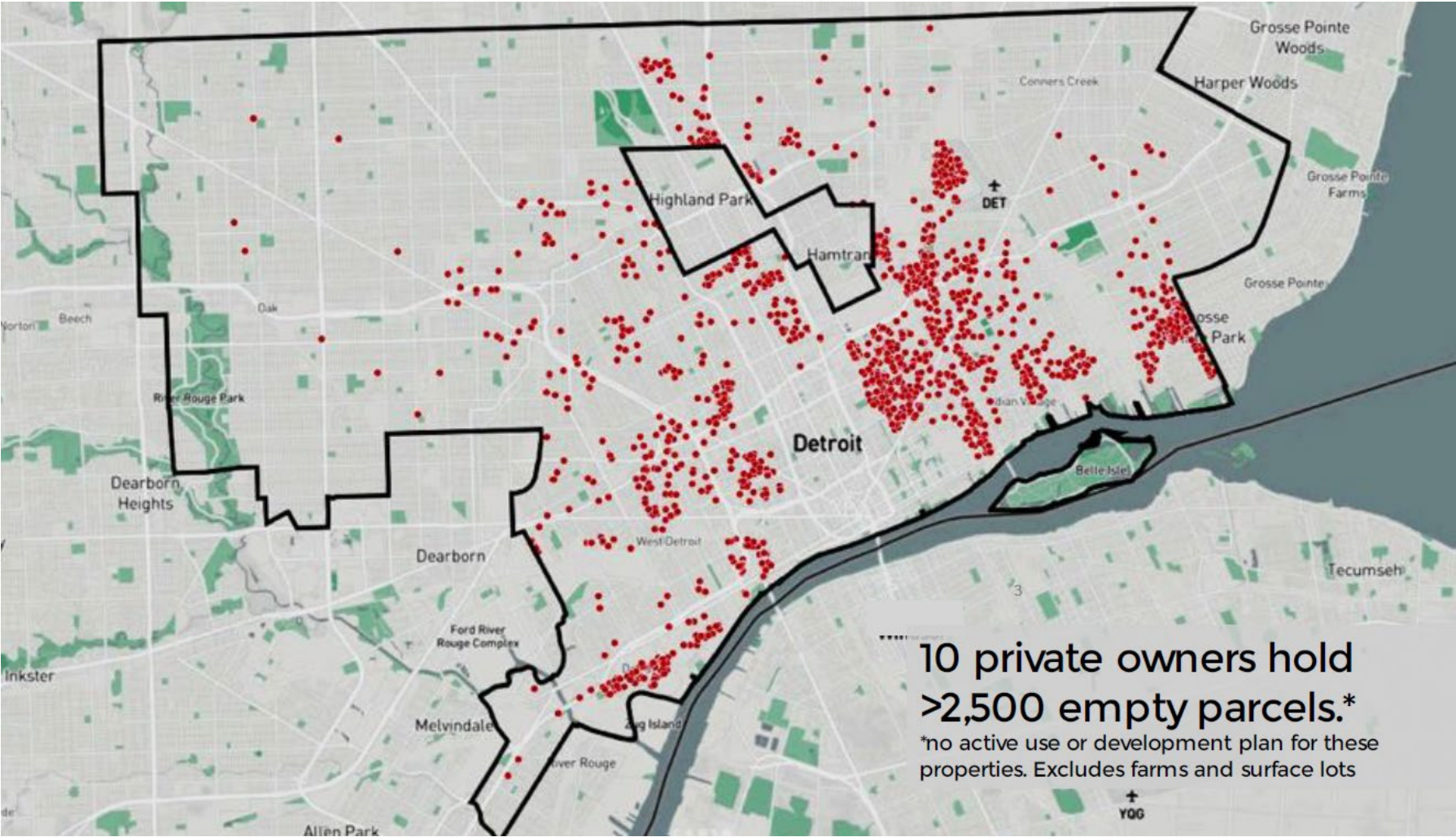
NEWS > 7 IN DEPTH

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## Detroiters still seeking compensations for overassessed property taxes 12 years later



# The Problem: Erosion of the property tax base in Detroit



Source: City Council Presentation Land Value Tax Proposal, October 10, 2023.



# A Possible Solution: Split-rate tax

- ❑ **Recommendation:** local property tax reform (Sands and Skidmore, 2015).
  - ❑ A land value tax or a split-rate tax **applies a higher tax rate on land than on improvements.**
  - ❑ The split rate property tax policy alternative is intended to foster **growth and urban renewal.**

## Challenge

Accurate and timely assessment of **land value separate from improvements (Dye & England, 2010).**



# Why Is It Important?

First paper to present evidence of Option Value in Detroit


We propose a simple method to measure land values.



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United States | By George!

## Detroit wants to be the first big American city to tax land value



### Detroit's Land Value Tax Plan

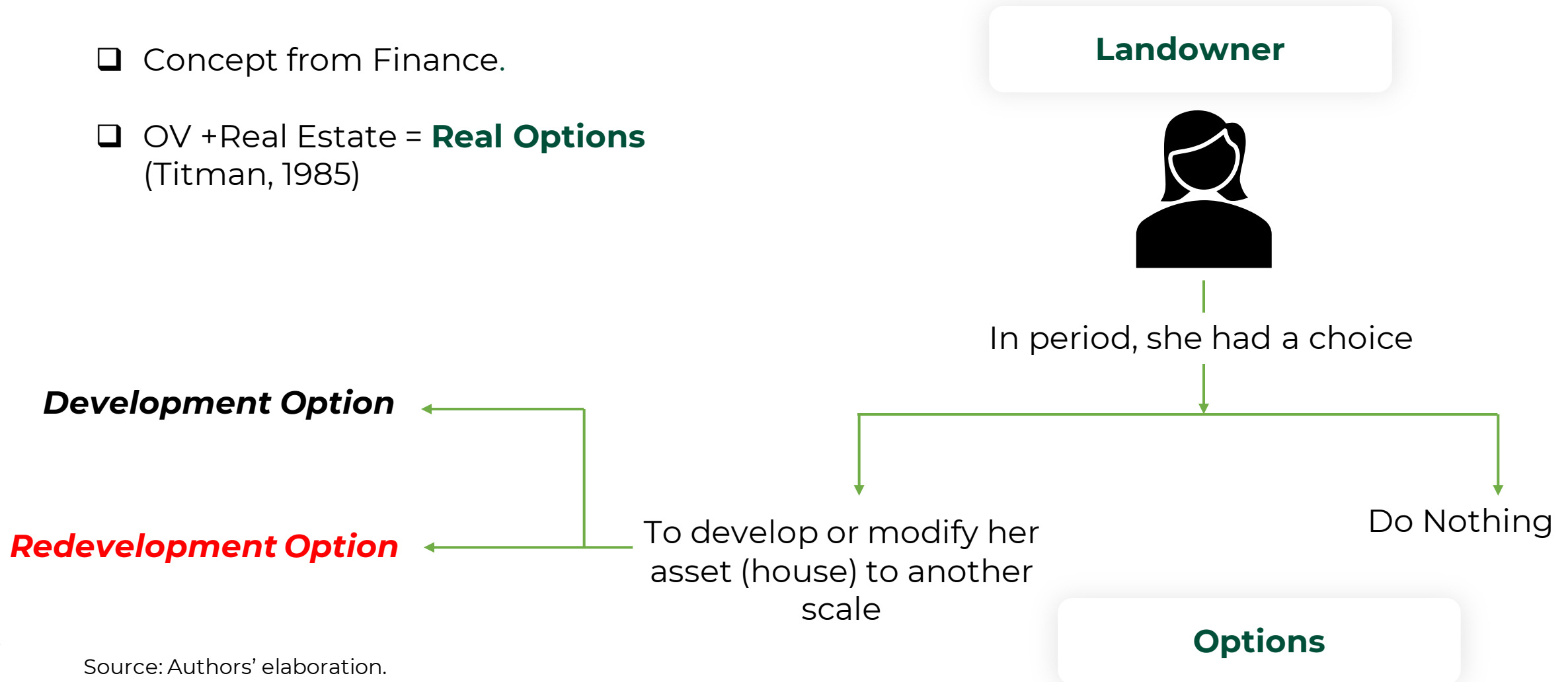
**Detroit's Land Value Tax Plan** is a way for Detroit voters to decide whether to cut homeowners' taxes by an average of 17% and pay for it by increasing taxes on abandoned buildings, parking lots, scrapyards, and other similar properties.

If the Michigan Legislature authorizes, Detroit City Council would decide by November, 2023 whether to place the issue on the ballot. Detroit voters would decide whether to adopt the Land Value Tax at the February, 2024 Presidential primary election. Homeowners would see the full tax cut in 2025.

**Detroit voters would decide whether to adopt the Land Value Tax on November 2024 ballot.**

# Real Options and Urban Land Valuation: Literature Review

- ❑ Concept from Finance.
- ❑  $OV + \text{Real Estate} = \text{Real Options}$  (Titman, 1985)



Source: Authors' elaboration.



# Real Options and Urban Land Valuation: Literature Review

## Empirical evidence of redevelopment option in Hedonic Models

Authors & Year	Option Value Variable	Results
Clapp & Salavei, (2010)	(1) $Intensity_{Assessor} = \frac{Assessed\ Structure\ Value}{Assessed\ Land\ Value}$	32% of market price is option value.
	(2) $Intensity_{Const} = \frac{Interior\ Square\ Footage\ (ISF)}{Average\ ISF\ Nearby\ New\ Construction}$	
	(3) Percent of neighboring sales recently torn down identified by the town assessor.	
Clapp et al. (2012)	$Intensity_{Assessor} = \frac{Assessed\ Structure\ Value}{Assessed\ Land\ Value}$	Mean option value of 29%-34% for properties most similar to vacant land. Average town has option value of about 6%.
Clapp et al. (2013)	$D(Development\ Potential) = \frac{current\ floor\ space}{maximum\ allowed\ floor\ space\ st\ zoning\ regulations}$	The elasticity of house value with respect to development potential is 15% on average over the full sample period.

Source: Authors' elaboration.



# Theoretical Considerations

## The call option model of Land Value

- Main idea land ownership gives the owner **the right without obligation** to develop or redevelop her property Clapp et al. (2012)
- **Assumptions:**
  - Option to redevelop as a single **irreversible** call option.
  - Landowner (and developer) is risk-neutral and that at time  $t$ , she has a unit of land ( $L = 1$ ) and an **initial scale of housing ( $\bar{Q}$ )**.
  - Then, at any time  $s \geq t$ , the landowner is able to **redevelop land on a scale equal to  $Q$** .



# Theoretical Considerations

## The call option model of Land Value

- The functions of **cost of redevelopment** and **rent per unit of the redeveloped property** are given by equations (1) and (2).

**Potential Structure**

**Initial Structure**

$$C(Q, \bar{Q}) = Q^{\eta_2} \bar{Q}^{\eta_1} \quad (1)$$

$$R(Q, x(t)) = Q^b x(t) \quad (2)$$

$$\eta_2 > 0$$
$$0 > b > -1$$

**Shocks from the demand side**



# Theoretical Considerations

## The call option model of Land Value

- Developer's problem: find the optimal time to execute the option and the optimal redevelopment scale that maximizes the expected net present value of the existing property

$$z(x, \bar{Q}) = \max_{T, Q} E_t \left\{ \overbrace{\int_t^T \bar{Q}^{b+1} x(s) e^{-\rho(s-t)} ds}^{\text{E(NPV) of rents up to } T} + \overbrace{\int_T^\infty Q^{b+1} x(s) - Q^{\eta_2} \bar{Q}^{\eta_1} e^{-\rho(T-t)}}^{\text{E(NPV) since } T} \right\}$$

$$st \quad \underbrace{dx(t) = \alpha x(t) dt + \sigma x(t) dz(t)}_{\text{Geometric Brownian motion}} \quad (3)$$

$\rho =$  Discount Rate and Interest Rate

**Geometric Brownian motion**



# Theoretical Considerations

## The call option model of Land Value

- Clapp et al. (2012)
- The solution to the optimization problem is an optimal development density,  $Q^*$ , and a critical value  $x^*$  such that it is optimal to redevelop a property with scale  $Q^*$  if  $x \geq x^*$ .

**Z1: No redevelop**

**Z2: Redevelop**

$$z(x, \bar{Q}) = \begin{cases} Z_1 = \frac{\bar{Q}^{b+1}x}{\rho-\alpha} + \overbrace{B\bar{Q}^{\alpha_0}x^{\beta_1}}^{\text{Option Value}} & \text{if } x < x^* \\ Z_2 = \frac{g\bar{Q}^{b+1}x}{\rho-\alpha} - g\frac{\eta_2}{b+1}\bar{Q}^{\eta_2+\eta_1} & \text{if } x \geq x^* \end{cases} \quad (4)$$

**Intensity**

$$g, \beta_1, \alpha_0, B = f(\rho, b, \eta_1, \eta_2, \alpha, \sigma^2)$$

$$\beta_1 > 0$$

$$\alpha_0 < 0$$

*Market Value = Use Value + Option Value*





# Theoretical Considerations

## The call option model of Land Value

- The solution to the optimization problem is an optimal development density,  $Q^*$ , and a critical value  $x^*$  such that it is optimal to redevelop a property with scale  $Q^*$  if  $x \geq x^*$ .

### Option Value

$$F(\bar{Q}) = P(\bar{Q}) = B_0 \bar{Q}^{b+1} + \overbrace{B_1 \bar{Q}^{\alpha_0}}^{\text{Option Value}} \quad (5)$$

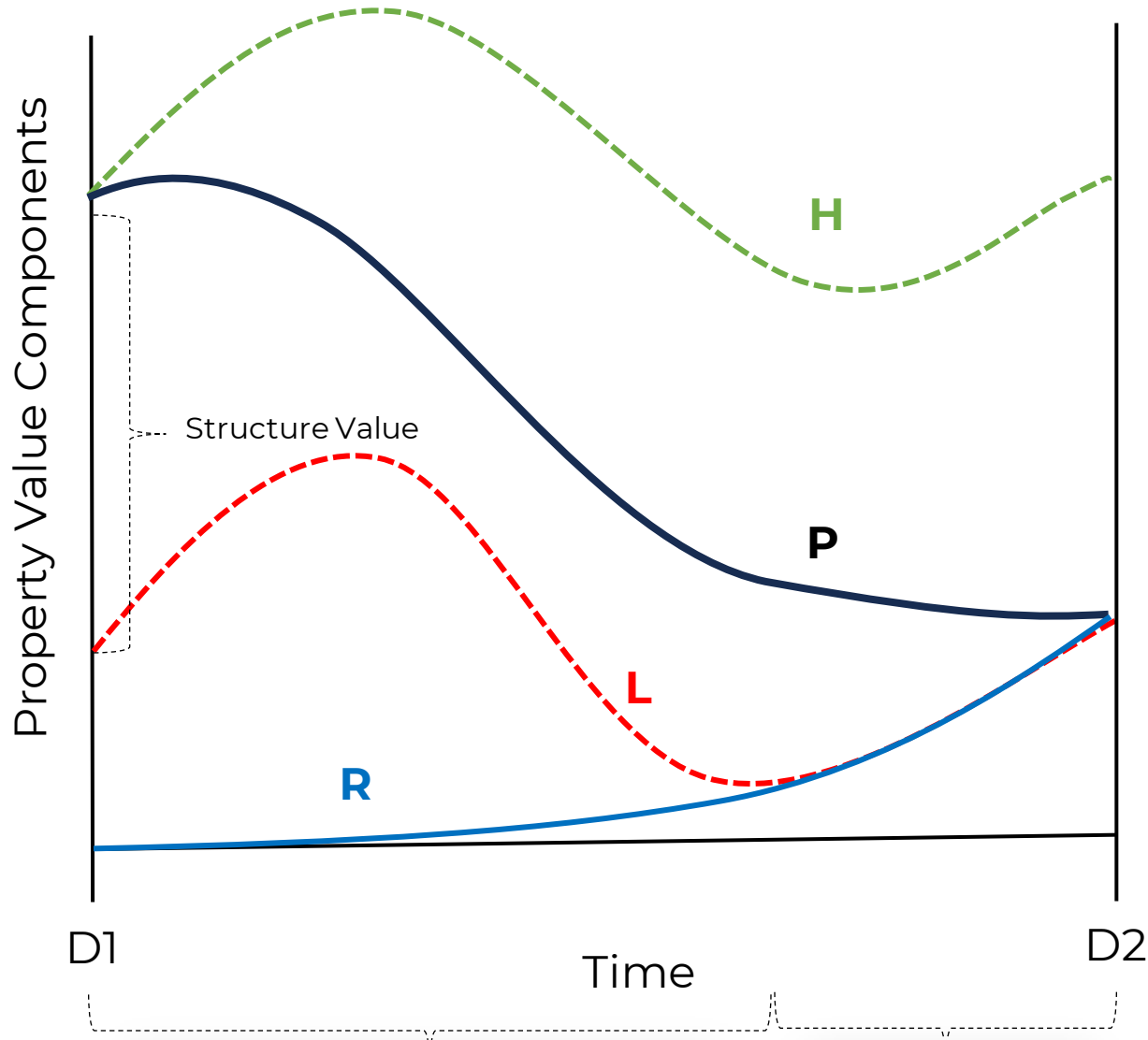


$$B_1 > 0 \quad \alpha_0 < 0$$

$$\text{Market Value} = \text{Use Value} + \text{Option Value}$$



# Land Value and Option Value



**H**=Value of HBU at time of Development

**P**=Property Asset Value (depreciated)

**L**=Land Value (as if vacant)

**R**=Redevelopment Option Value

D1=Redevelopment at time 1

D2=Redevelopment at time 2

$$L = \text{use value of land} + R$$

$$L \cong R$$



# Identification Strategy

## Step 1: Estimate Option Value for Detroit Residential Properties

- From the theoretical model:

$$P_i = \beta_0' q_i^0 + \varepsilon_i \quad (6)$$

$$P_i = \beta_0' q_i^0 + \beta_1 (q_i^0)^\alpha + \varepsilon_i \quad (7)$$

$$\text{Intensity}_i = f\left(\frac{S}{L}\right)$$

**Intensity**: a scalar aggregation index for the amount of structure per unit of land, as a **proxy variable for the option to redevelop**.



Intensity



Option Value



# Identification Strategy

## Step 1: Estimate Option Value for Detroit Residential Properties

- Using OLS estimator, we can estimate the following specifications:

First Specification: Hedonic Model including the Option Value

$$\ln P_i = \alpha' q_i + \beta_1 \ln Intensity_i + \varepsilon_i \quad (8)$$

Hypothesis:  $\frac{\% \Delta Price}{\% \Delta Option Value} \approx \frac{\ln P}{\ln Option Value} = -\hat{\beta}_1 > 0$

Second Specification: Model including the Option Value and Depreciation Effect

$$\ln P_i = \alpha' q_i + \beta_1 \ln Intensity_i + \beta_2 \ln Intensity_i \times Age_i + \beta_3 \ln Intensity_i \times Age_i^2 + \varepsilon_i \quad (9)$$

Hypothesis:  $\frac{\% \Delta Price}{\% \Delta Option Value} \approx \frac{\ln P}{\ln Option Value} = -(\hat{\beta}_1 + \hat{\beta}_2 \times Age_i + \hat{\beta}_3 \times Age_i^2) > 0$



# Identification Strategy

## Step 1: Estimate Option Value for Detroit Residential Properties

- Using OLS estimator, we can estimate the following specifications:

Third Specification: Hedonic Model including the Option Value, Depreciation Effect and Neighborhood Housing Quality

$$\ln P_i = \alpha' q_i + \beta_1 \ln Intensity_i + \beta_2 nhood\_quality_i + \beta_3 \ln Intensity_i \times nhood\_quality_i \times Age_i + \beta_4 \ln Intensity_i \times nhood\_quality_i \times Age_i^2 + \varepsilon_i$$

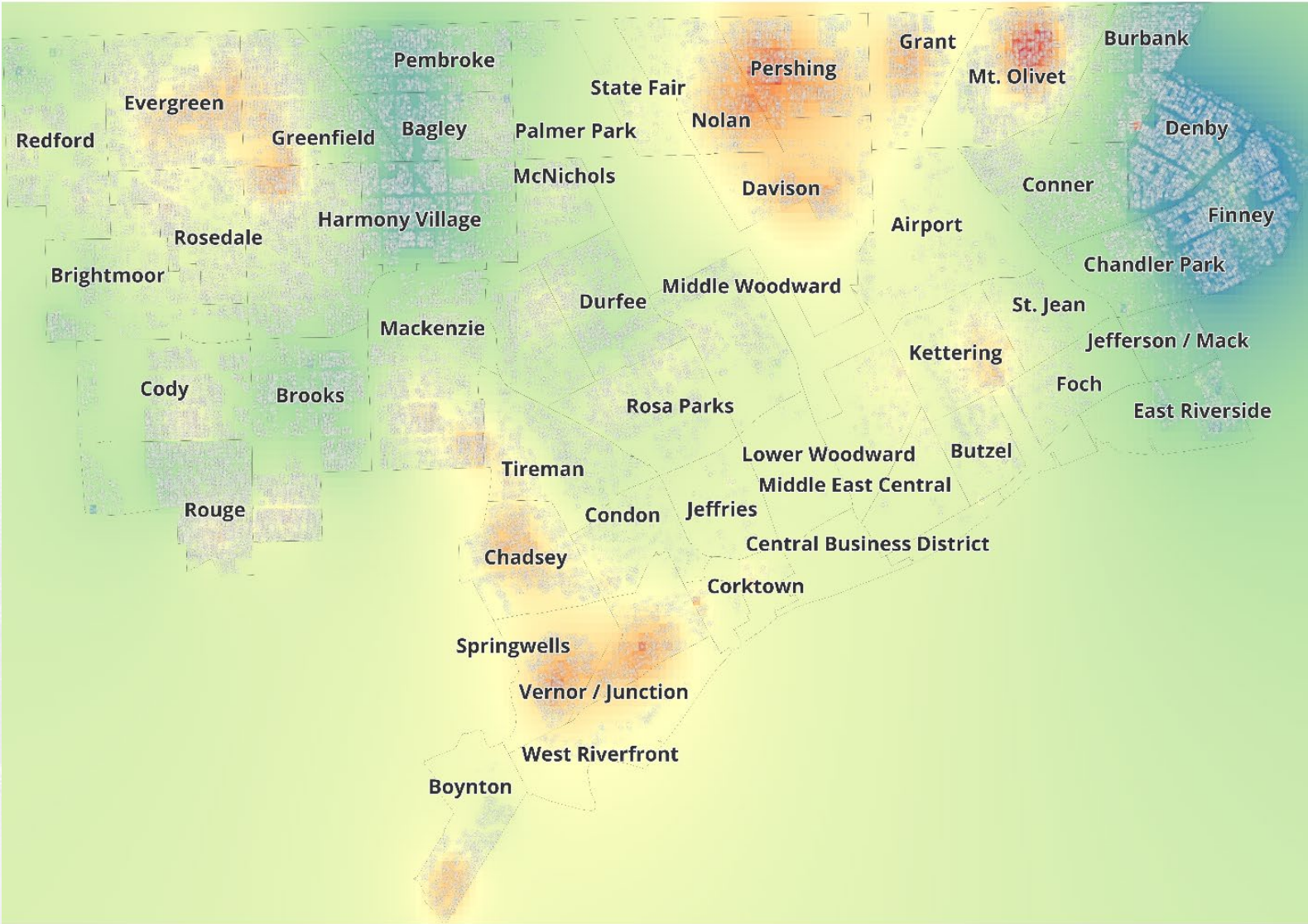
- $Nb$ : Number of blighted properties within 0.5-mile radius over three years prior to sale.
- $Fa$ : Average fine amount for blight infractions per property.
- Blight Intensity Score (BIS) =  $Nb \times Fa$

$nhood\_quality$

$$Blight\ Index = \frac{BIS}{BIS_{maxneighborhood}}$$



# Heat Map of the Blight Index



Source: Authors' elaboration.



# Identification Strategy

## Step 1: Estimate Option Value for Detroit Residential Properties

**Hypothesis 1:** Increased land use intensity decreases property prices, suggesting a rise in option value.

**Hypothesis 2:** The devaluing effect of land use intensity on price intensifies with property age, indicating a greater option value for older properties.

**Hypothesis 3:** Higher neighborhood blight scores diminish the option value, with the impact of intensity on price being less adverse in areas with more blight.



# Identification Strategy

## Step 1: Estimate Option Value for Detroit Residential Properties

### 1) Relative 2D Intensity Measure

$$Intensity_{2D_{05},i} = \frac{Interior\ Square\ Footage_i}{\frac{1}{J} \sum_{j \neq i}^J Interior\ Square\ Footage_j}$$

### 2) Relative 3D Intensity Measure

$$Intensity_{3D_{05},i} = \frac{Volume_i}{\frac{1}{J} \sum_{j \neq i}^J Volume_j}$$

## Neighbors Criteria

Located within 0.5 miles  
from property *i*.

=<60 years

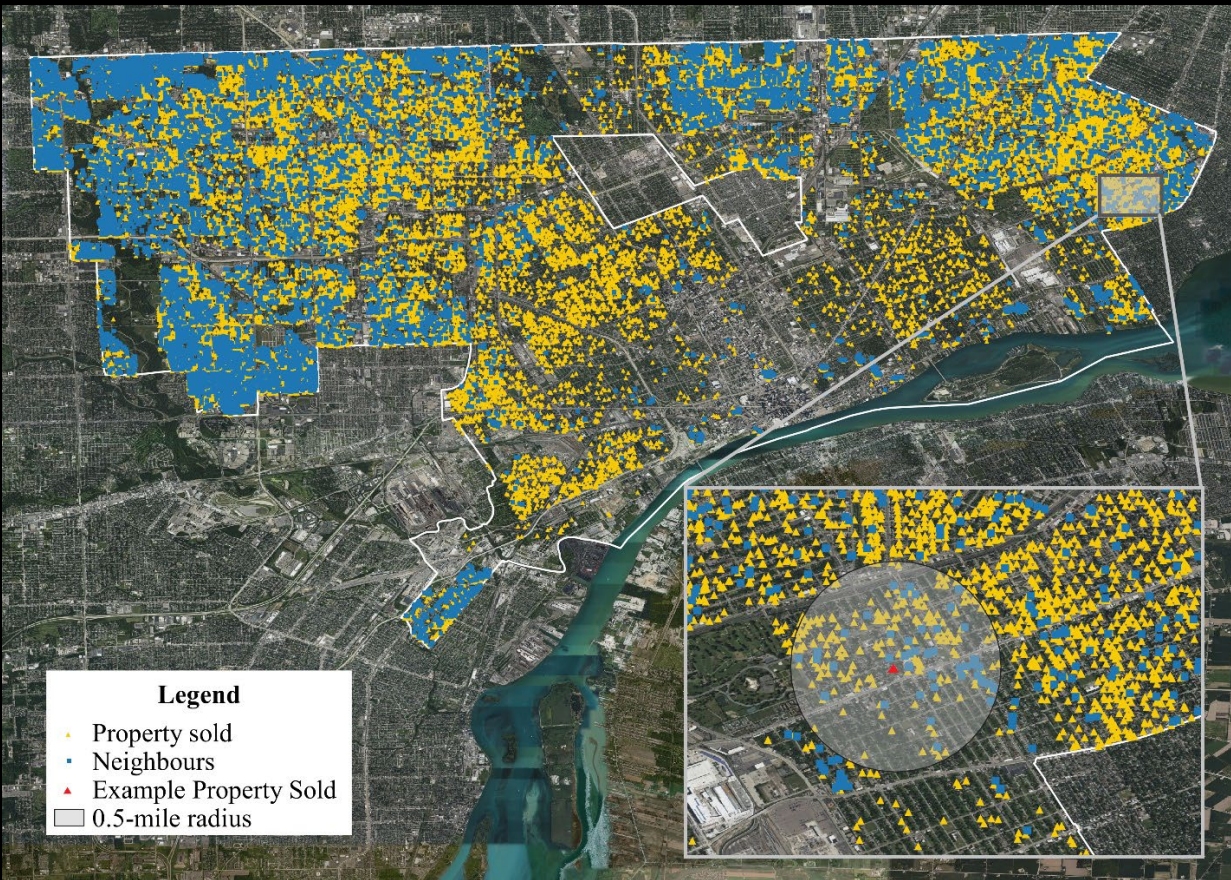
Sold within three years.

Market transaction filters.





# Example of the construction of the variable *Intensity*



# Identification Strategy

## Step 2: Estimating Land Value Using Option Value

Predicted Option Value

Predicted Values from Poisson Regression

$$\widehat{OV} = \widehat{P}_i - \widehat{P}_{maxint,i}$$

Predicted Values as HBU

Predicted Land Value

*Use Value of Land = f(Location Characteristic, Lot size)*

$$\widehat{LV} = LV_{nooptionvalue} + \widehat{OV}_i$$

Properties far from  
Redevelopment Time

$$\widehat{LV} = \widehat{OV}_i$$

Properties close to  
Redevelopment Time



# Data

## Descriptive Statistics Full Sample Residential Transactions (2012 to 2019)

Table 2: Summary Statistics of the Full Sample (Continuous Variables)

Variable	Definition	N	Mean	SD	Min	Max
<i>Dependent Variables (Panel A)</i>						
<i>Price</i>	Sale Price	122117	14927.05	21233.96	436.00	175830.00
<i>Ln Price</i>	Natural Logarithm of Sale Price	122117	8.64	1.53	6.08	12.08
<i>Key Independent Variables (Panel B)</i>						
<i>Intensity<sub>2D05</sub></i>	$\frac{\text{Interior Square Footage}_i}{\frac{1}{J} \sum_{j \neq i}^J \text{Interior Square Footage}_j}$ within a radius of 0.5-mile	122117	1.10	0.43	0.08	8.48
<i>Ln Intensity<sub>2D05</sub></i>	Natural Logarithm of <i>Intensity<sub>2D05</sub></i>	122117	0.04	0.32	-2.52	2.14
<i>Intensity<sub>3D05</sub></i>	$\frac{\text{Volume}_i}{\frac{1}{J} \sum_{j \neq i}^J \text{Volume}_j}$ within the census tract	122117	1.34	0.82	0.04	16.97
<i>Ln Intensity<sub>3D05</sub></i>	Natural Logarithm of <i>Intensity<sub>3D05</sub></i>	122117	0.17	0.47	-3.18	2.83



# Preliminary Results

Table 4: Hedonic regressions with option value measured as intensity.

	<i>First Specification</i>	<i>Second Specification</i>	<i>First Specification</i>	<i>Second Specification</i>	<i>Third Specification</i>	<i>Third Specification</i>	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
	Standard Hedonic	Option Value (2D Int 0.5)	Option Value with Depreciation (2D Int 0.5)	Option Value (3D Int 0.5)	Option Value with Depreciation (3D Int 0.5)	Option Value (3D Int 0.5x neighborhood quality)	Option Value with Depreciation (3D Int 0.5 x neighborhood quality)
$\ln Intensity_{2D05}$		-0.475***	1.032***				
		(0.0268)	(0.259)				
$Age \times \ln Intensity_{2D05}$			-0.0316***				
			(0.00617)				
$Age^2 \times \ln Intensity_{2D05}$			0.000161***				
			(0.0000369)				
$\ln Intensity_{3D05}$				-0.192***	1.125***	-0.210***	-0.214***
				(0.0146)	(0.173)	(0.0157)	(0.0157)
$Age \times \ln Intensity_{3D05}$					-0.0252***		
					(0.00415)		
$Age^2 \times \ln Intensity_{3D05}$					0.000112***		
					(0.0000249)		
$Blight\_index$						-0.0235	-0.00333
						(0.0270)	(0.0272)
$\ln Intensity_{3D05} \times Blight\_index$						0.127**	5.106***
						(0.0423)	(0.826)
$Age \times \ln Intensity_{3D05} \times Blight\_index$							-0.111***
							(0.0190)
$Age^2 \times \ln Intensity_{3D05} \times Blight\_index$							0.000608***
							(0.000109)
Year Effects	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Neighborhoods Effects	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Constant	0.198	-2.838***	-2.599***	-1.199***	-0.902***	-1.193***	-1.237***
	(0.291)	(0.286)	(0.294)	(0.253)	(0.257)	(0.253)	(0.254)

Source: Authors' elaboration.  
 \*\*\* Significant at the 5 percent level.  
 \*\* Significant at the 1 percent level.  
 \* Significant at the 0.1 percent level.



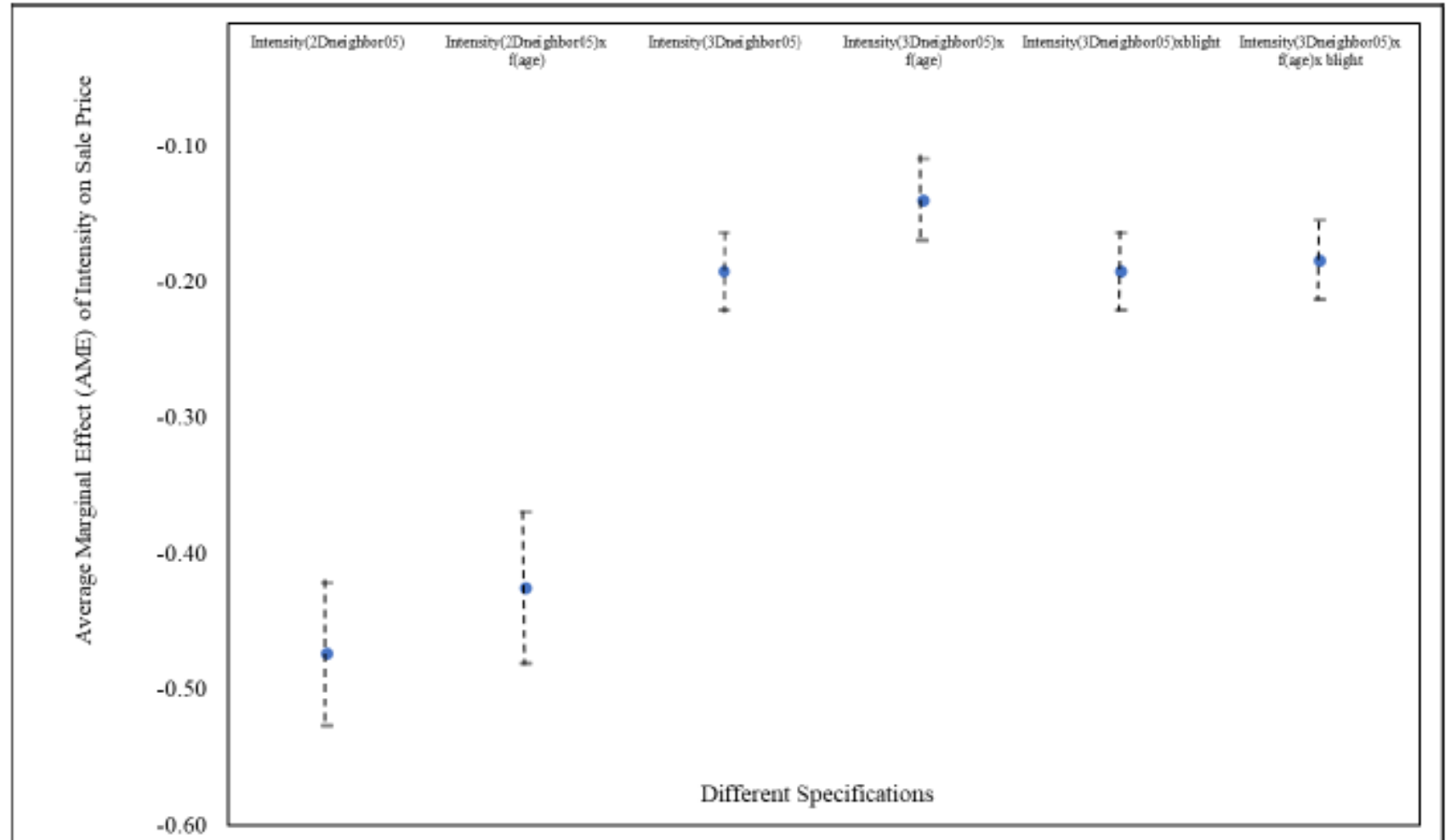
# Results

## First Step: Evidence of Option Value in Detroit's housing transactions

### Average Marginal Effect of Intensity on the value of the property in different

#### Evidence supporting H1

In our most robust specification, having a 100% of option value increases the value of the property by approximately 18%.



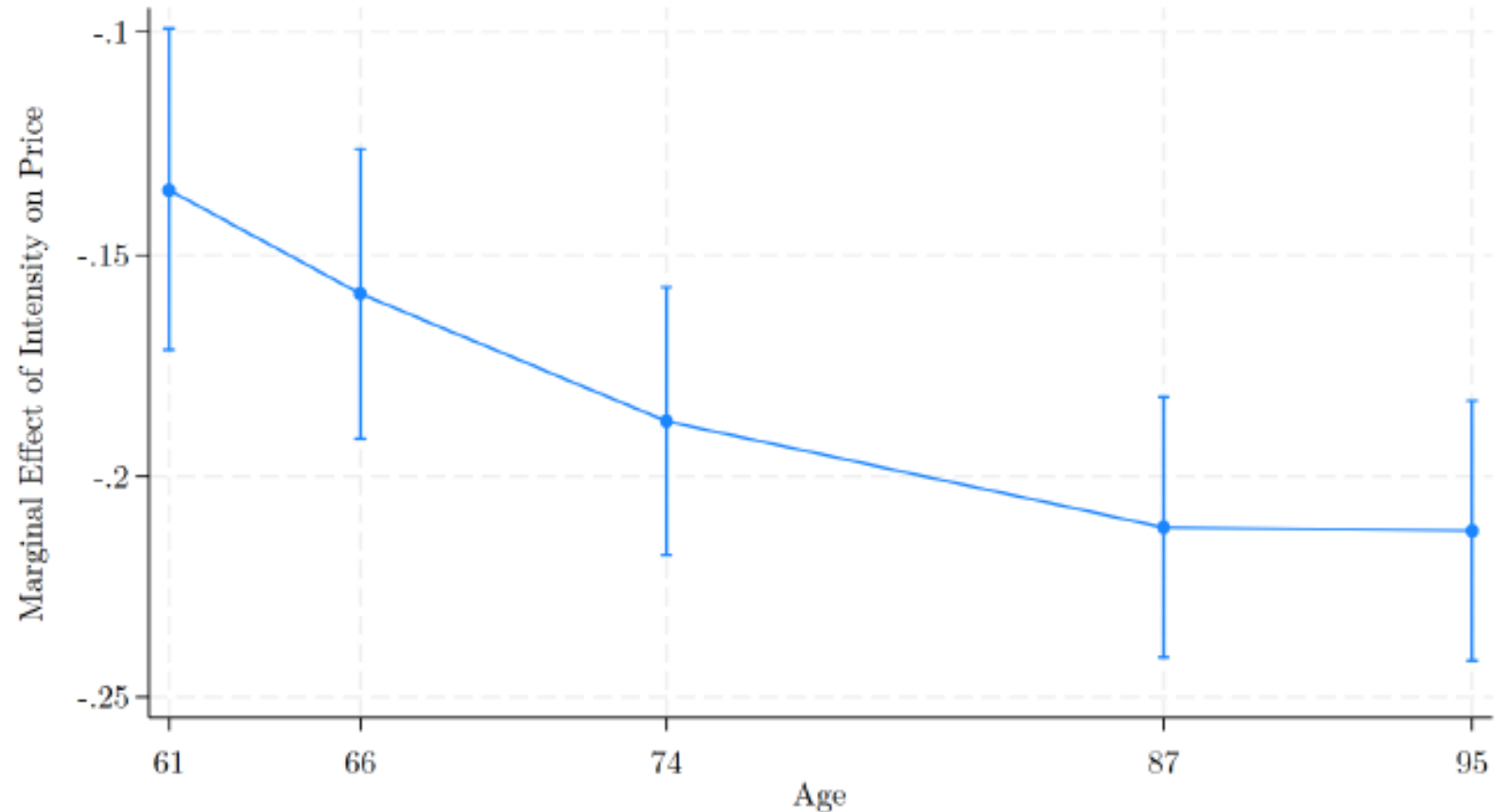
# Results

## First Step: Evidence of Option Value in Detroit's housing transactions

### Average Marginal Effect of Intensity on Price Across Different Age Groups

#### Evidence supporting H2

The older the property is, the higher the impact of the redevelopment potential (option value) on sale prices.



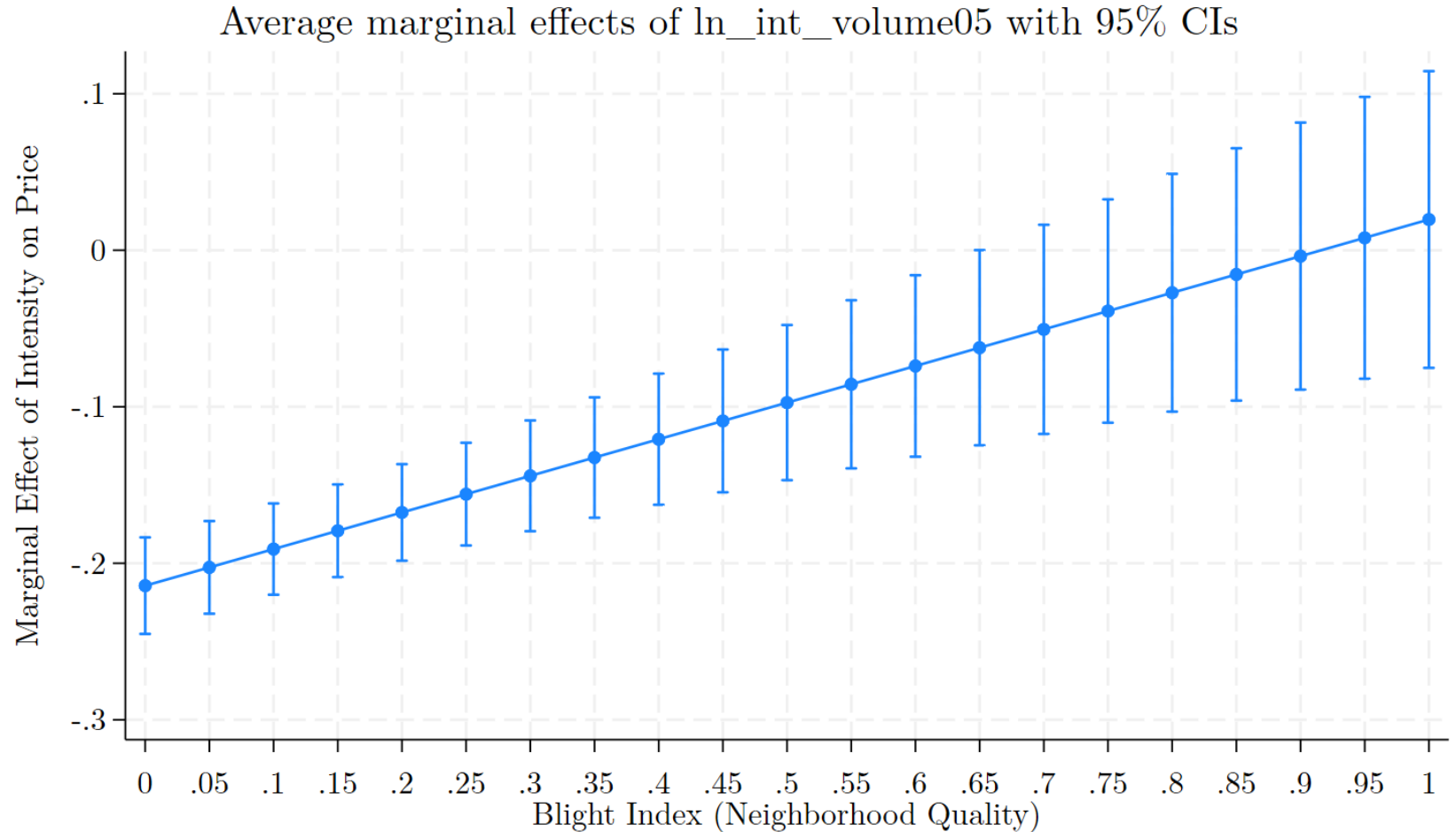
# Results

## First Step: Evidence of Option Value in Detroit's housing transactions

### Average Marginal Effect of Intensity on Price Across Different levels of the Blight Index

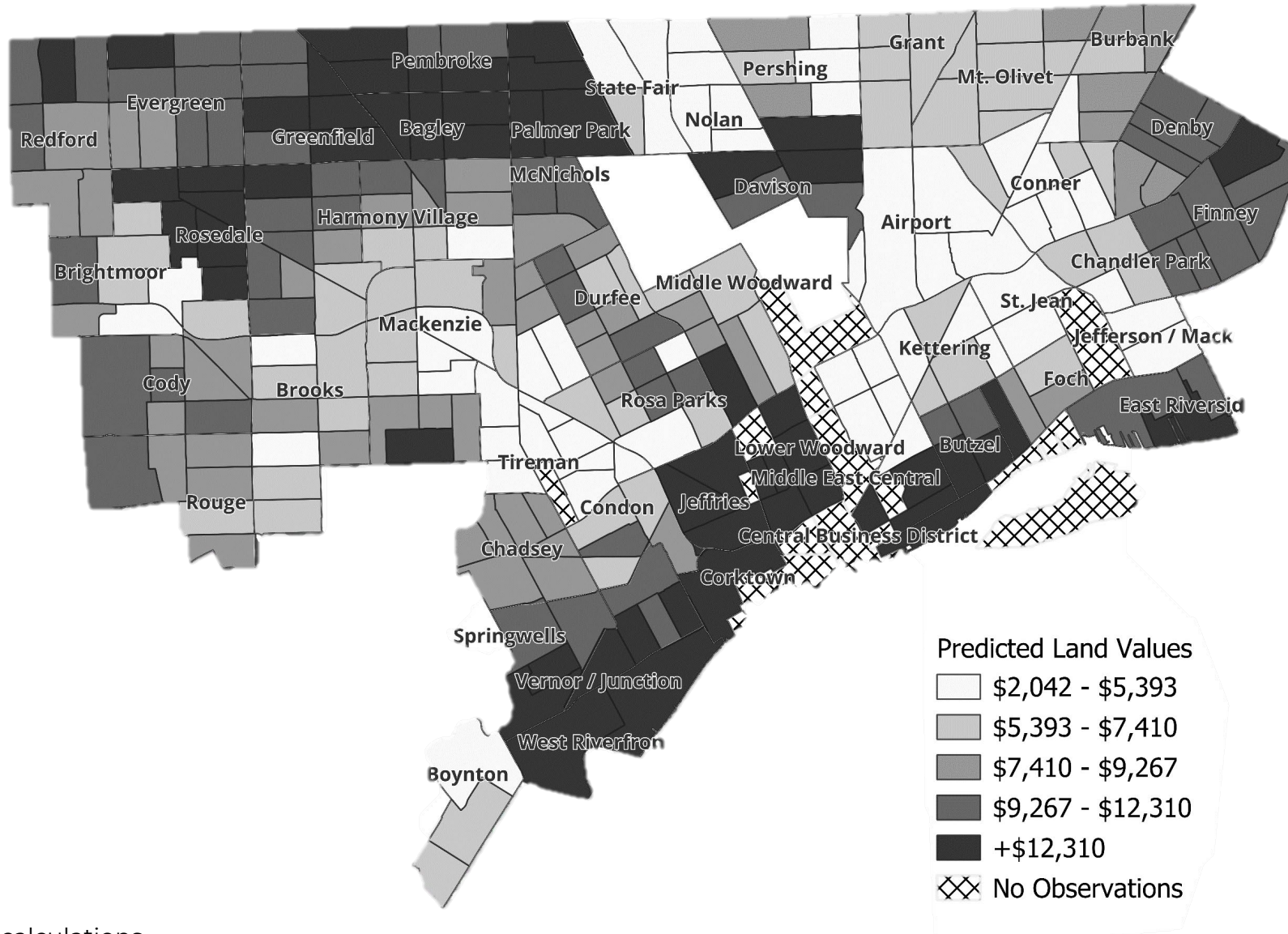
#### Evidence supporting H3

Worse quality neighborhoods, meaning values of the blight index close to 1, are associated with less impact of the redevelopment option on prices.



# Results

## Second Step: Predicted Land Values



Source: Author's calculations.



# Summary and Conclusion

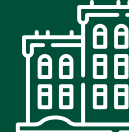
## Valuing Land in Detroit Using the Option Value Approach



A 1% increase in three-dimensional intensity (property volume relative to neighbors) results in a **0.18%** decrease in prices.



Spatial analysis reveals neighborhoods with **high option values indicating unaccounted redevelopment potential.**



**Including option value significantly raises predicted land values,** particularly for higher-valued properties.



# Limitations

## Valuing Land in Detroit Using the Option Value Approach



Big bias selection since we are not account for vacant lots. **New Data with vacant lots.**



Potential OVB. **Can we do more?**



**Our efforts must contribute to understand the potential impact of the tax reform.**



# Current Work: The Land Value Tax Plan of Detroit

- ❑ Educational tool that provides an estimate of your tax bill if the Land Value Tax proposal were in effect in 2023.
  - ❑ **Web scrapping process.**
- ❑ Information on land values estimates, taxes, mill rates, assessed total value, etc.

Estimate using 2023 Values Actual change will be comparable	
Parcel Number(s)	01000618.002
Assessor Taxable Value	\$94,459
Taxable Value of Land	\$4,048
Total 2023 Taxes ⓘ	\$6,471
Estimated 2023 Taxes (LVT Plan) Ⓣ	\$5,627
<b>Tax Bill Change</b>	<b>-\$844</b>



# Estimated Land Values from the City



Source: Authors' elaboration

**\*Only Using 18% of the data collected.**



# Estimated Land Values from the City

## Tax Exemption + LVT Replacement

Legislation lets voters in any Michigan community create

1

### Universal Tax Exemption

Remove some local taxes on  
all taxable real property

**-14 mills**



2

### Replacement Land Value Tax

Replace with new tax on the  
taxable value of land

**+118 mills**

Lower taxes on use and development are  
replaced by higher taxes on holding land





# Valuing Land in Detroit

## Using the Option Value Approach

Urban Economics and Public Finance Conference  
2024

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“

# Appendix



## 1) Zillow ZTRAX database

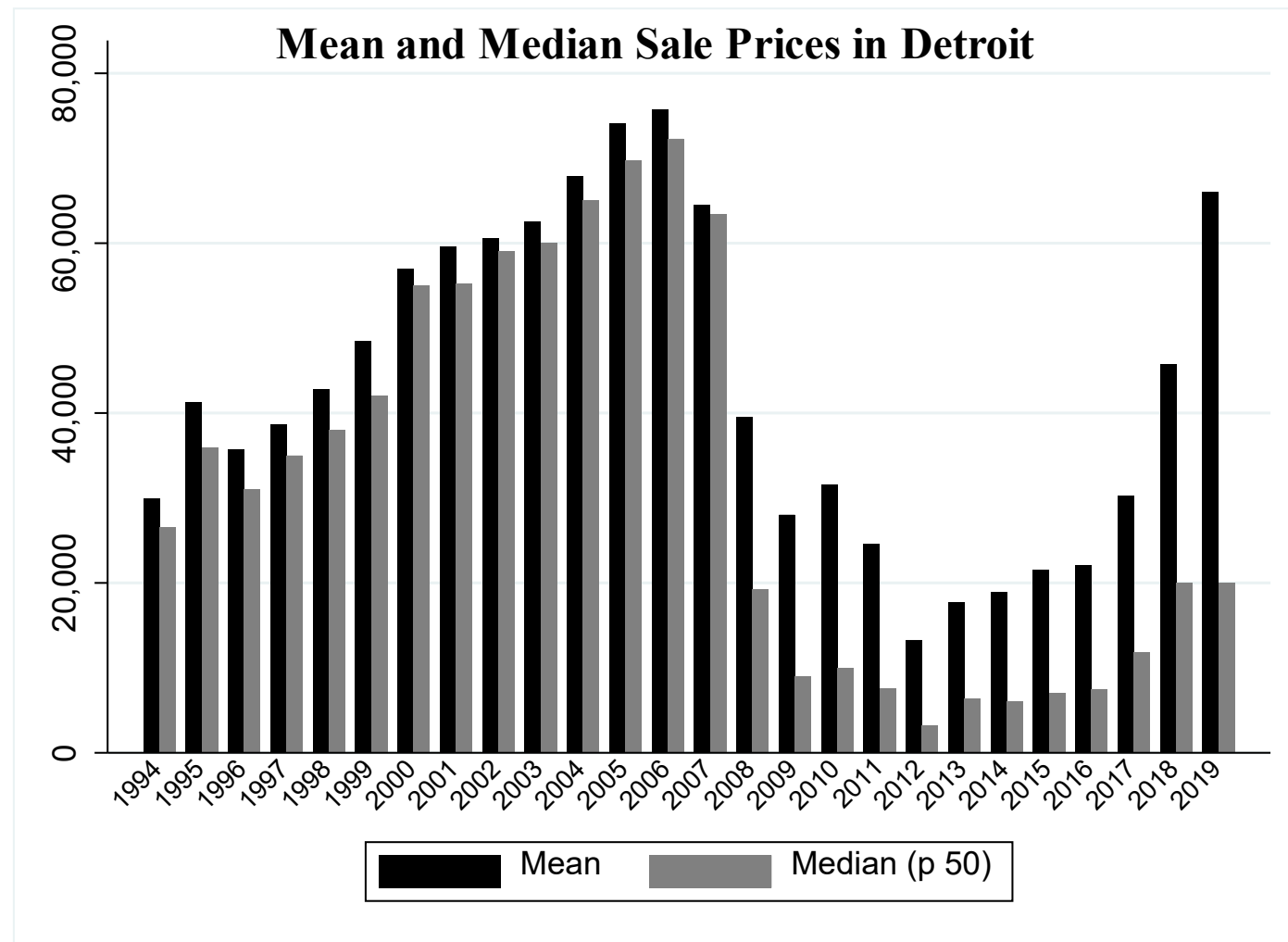
- ZTRAX contains two sources of information: 1) ZTrans, which is the property transaction database, and 2) ZAsmt, which is the tax-assessment information.

## 2) Building Permits Database

- “Building permits are required for any of the following: Construction or alteration of a structure” (Construction Codes in Michigan). This data contains information from 2010 to 2019.





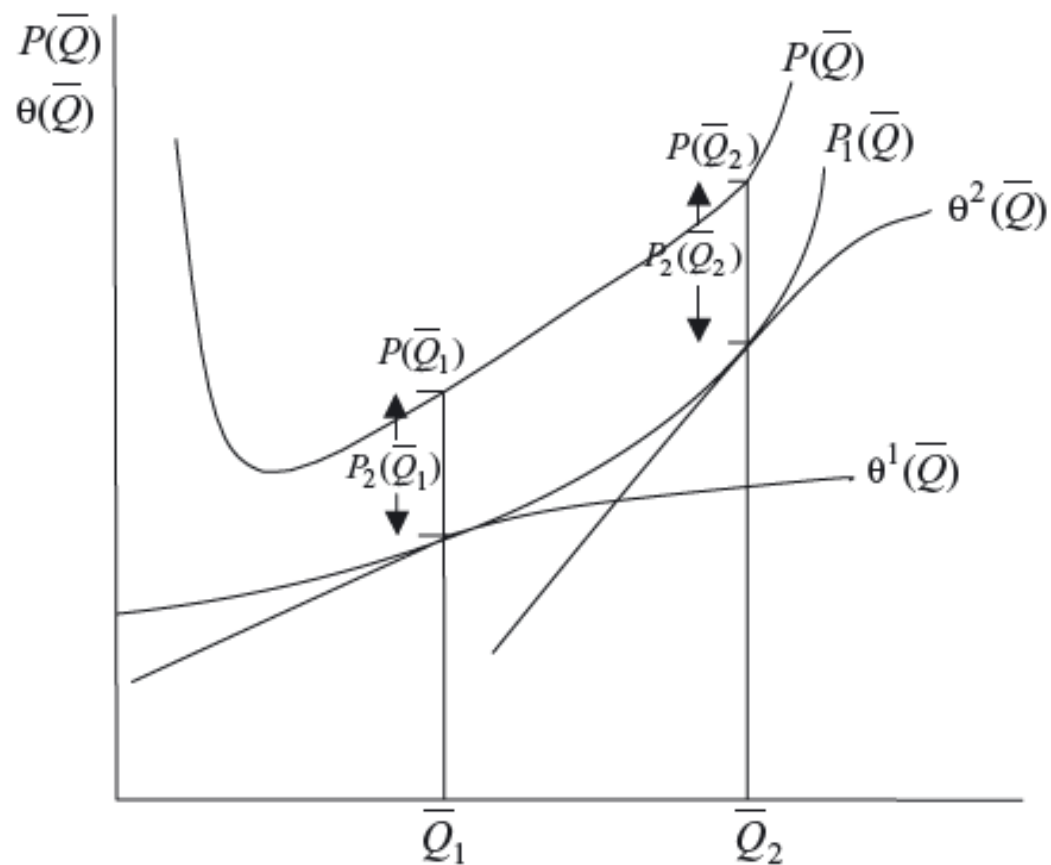


# Identification of market transactions

Step Number	Description	Observations
0	All transactions in Detroit	387,738
1	Remove observations with coordinates with missing values	387,530
2	Select transaction from 2009-2019	338,841
3	Remove duplicate observations	324,538
4	Identify transactions prices that reflect fair market value	171,479
	4.1    Filter by type of deed (268,405)	
	4.2    Filter by document type (217,969)	
	4.3    Filter by intra family sale (217,784)	
	4.4    Filter by transfer tax exempt (171,479)	
5	Select residential properties	170,667
6	Remove sales price outliers and properties that sold more than seven times	162,222
	6.1    Removing prices below p1 and above p99 (168,044)	
	6.2    Eliminate properties with more than 7 sales (162,222)	



**Figure 1 ■ Hedonic equilibrium with additive option value.**



*Notes:*  $\theta^i(\bar{Q})$  is the consumer  $i$ 's bid function, compensated for the income effects (options and asset value in place) associated with changes in  $\bar{Q}_j$  where  $j$  indexes the intensity.  $P(\bar{Q}_j)$  is the value of the property at any time  $t$ : the sum of the asset value in place,  $P_1(\bar{Q}_j)$ , and the option value to redevelop,  $P_2(\bar{Q}_j)$ ; see Equation (13) for details. The  $\bar{Q}_j$  are inelastically supplied as in real options theory.



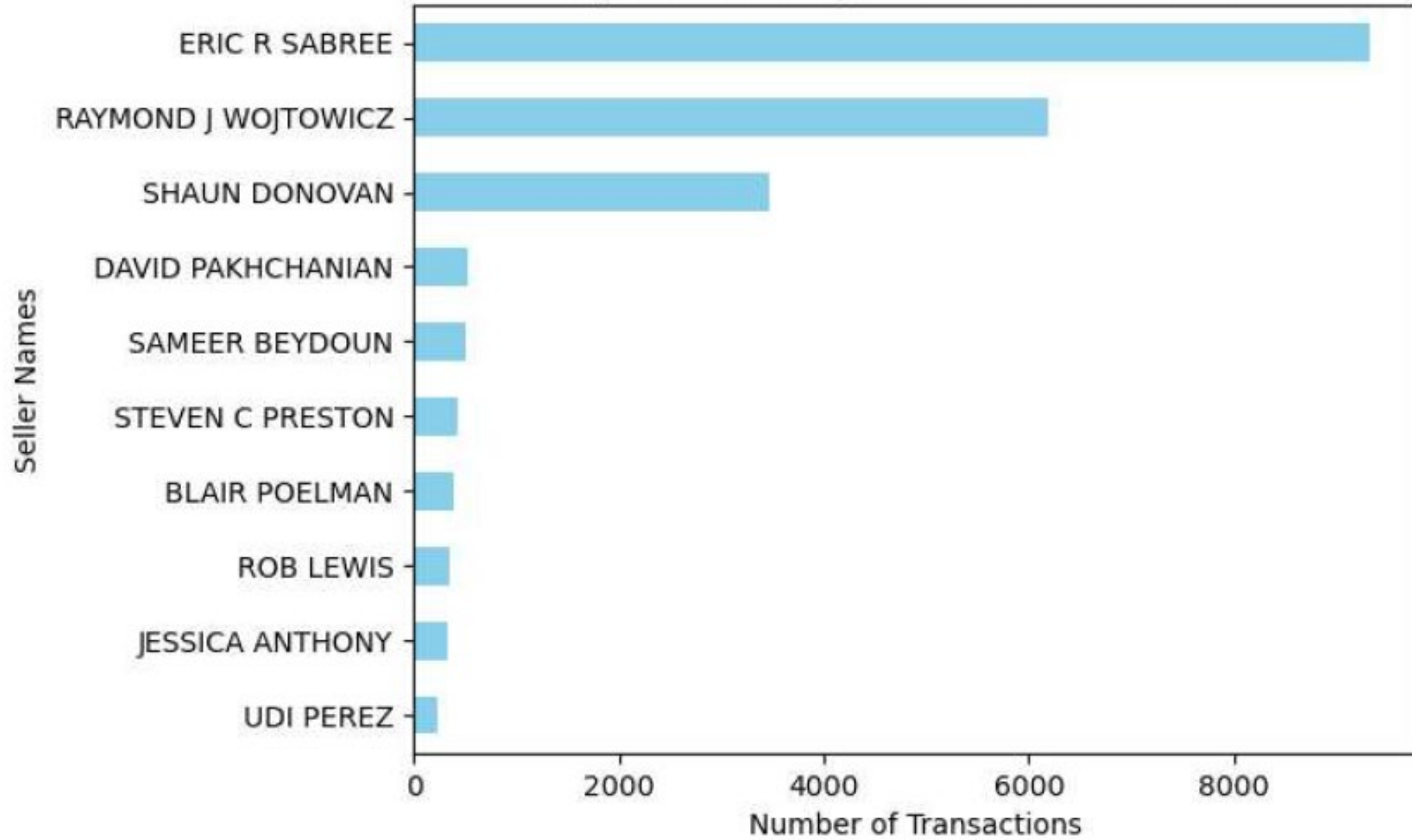
## Analysis of Repeated Buyer and Seller Names:

Upon delving deeper into the dataset, some intriguing patterns regarding repeated names emerge:

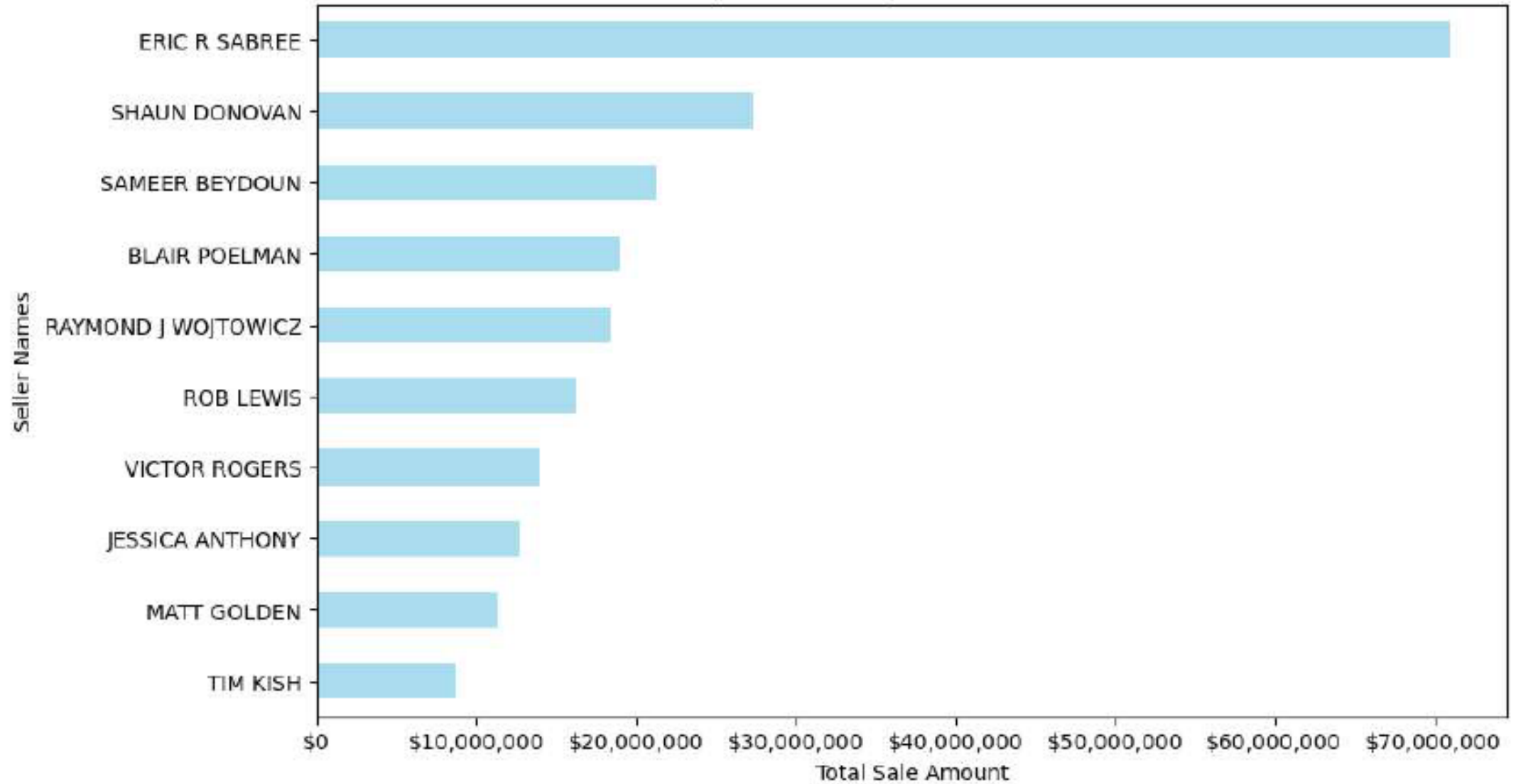
- **Buyers:** Out of the total unique buyers, 46,327 buyers have made more than one property purchase during the study period. This represents a significant portion and suggests that many buyers in the Detroit market during this timeframe were potentially investors, property dealers, or entities with a keen interest in multiple acquisitions.
- **Sellers:** On the seller side, 13,107 unique sellers have been involved in more than one property sale. While this number is smaller compared to repeated buyers, it's still noteworthy. It could indicate that a segment of sellers might be businesses or individuals who frequently trade properties or perhaps manage a portfolio of assets.



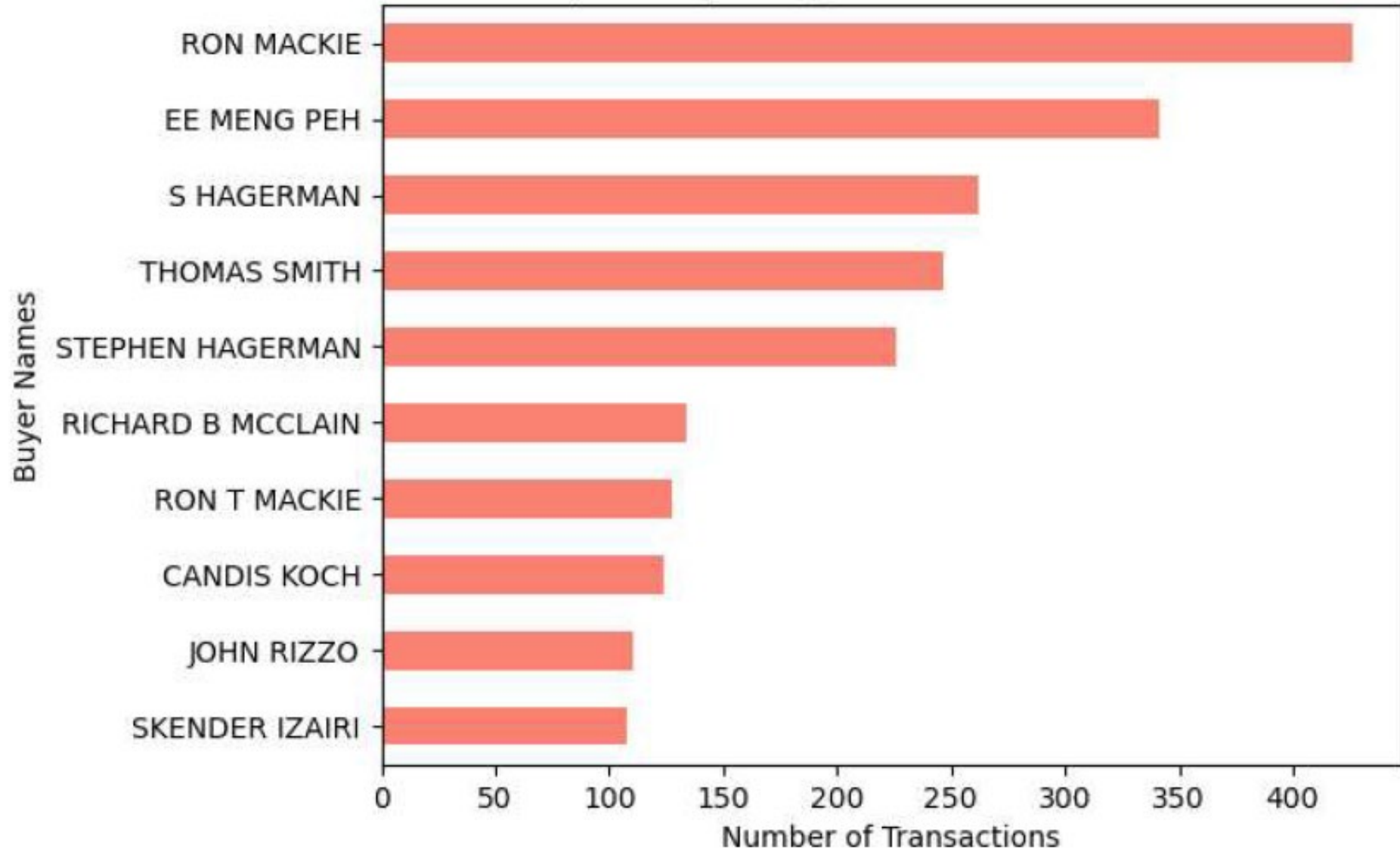
Top 10 Sellers by Number of Transactions



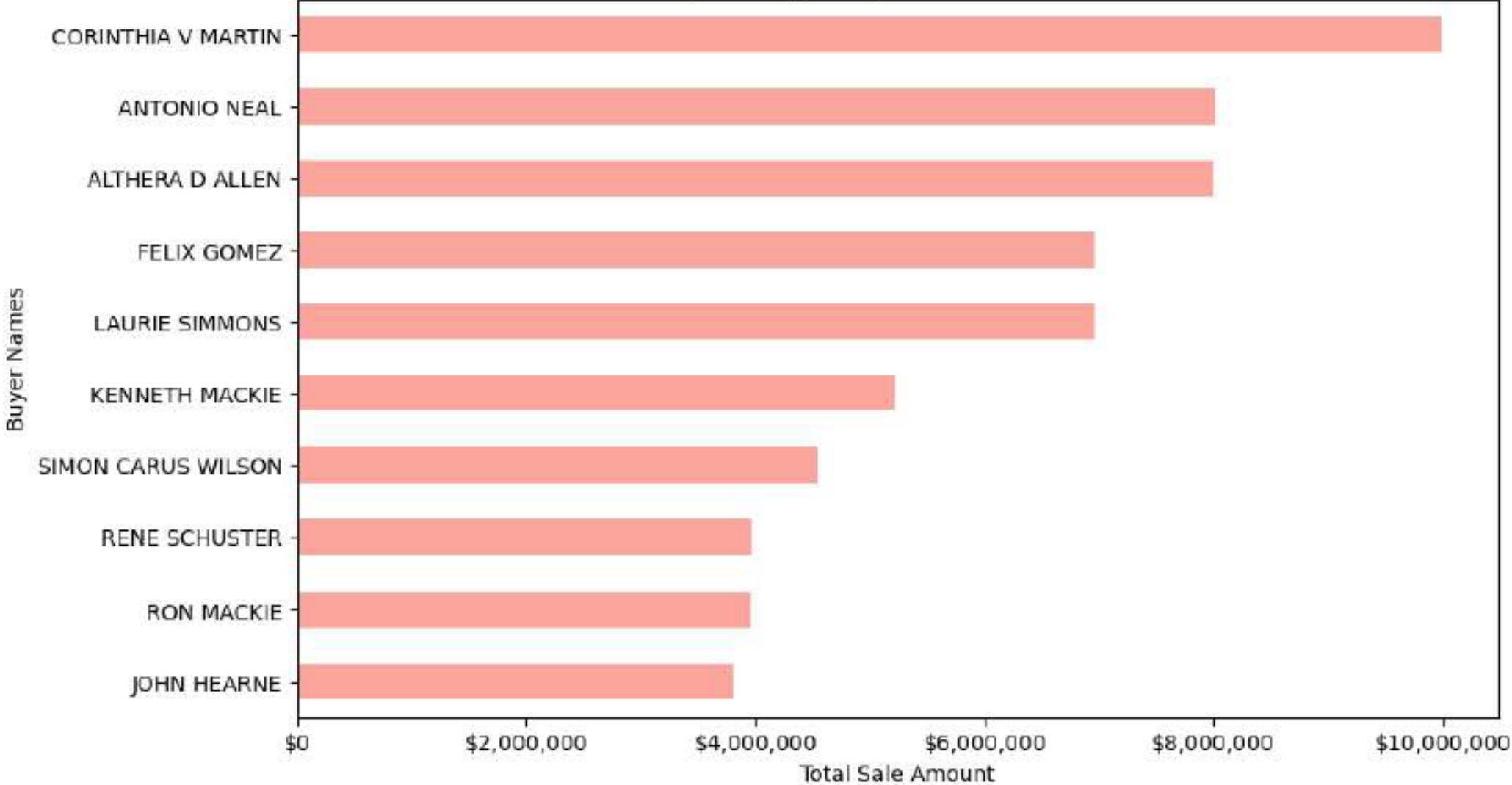
Top 10 Sellers by Total Sale Amount



Top 10 Buyers by Number of Transactions

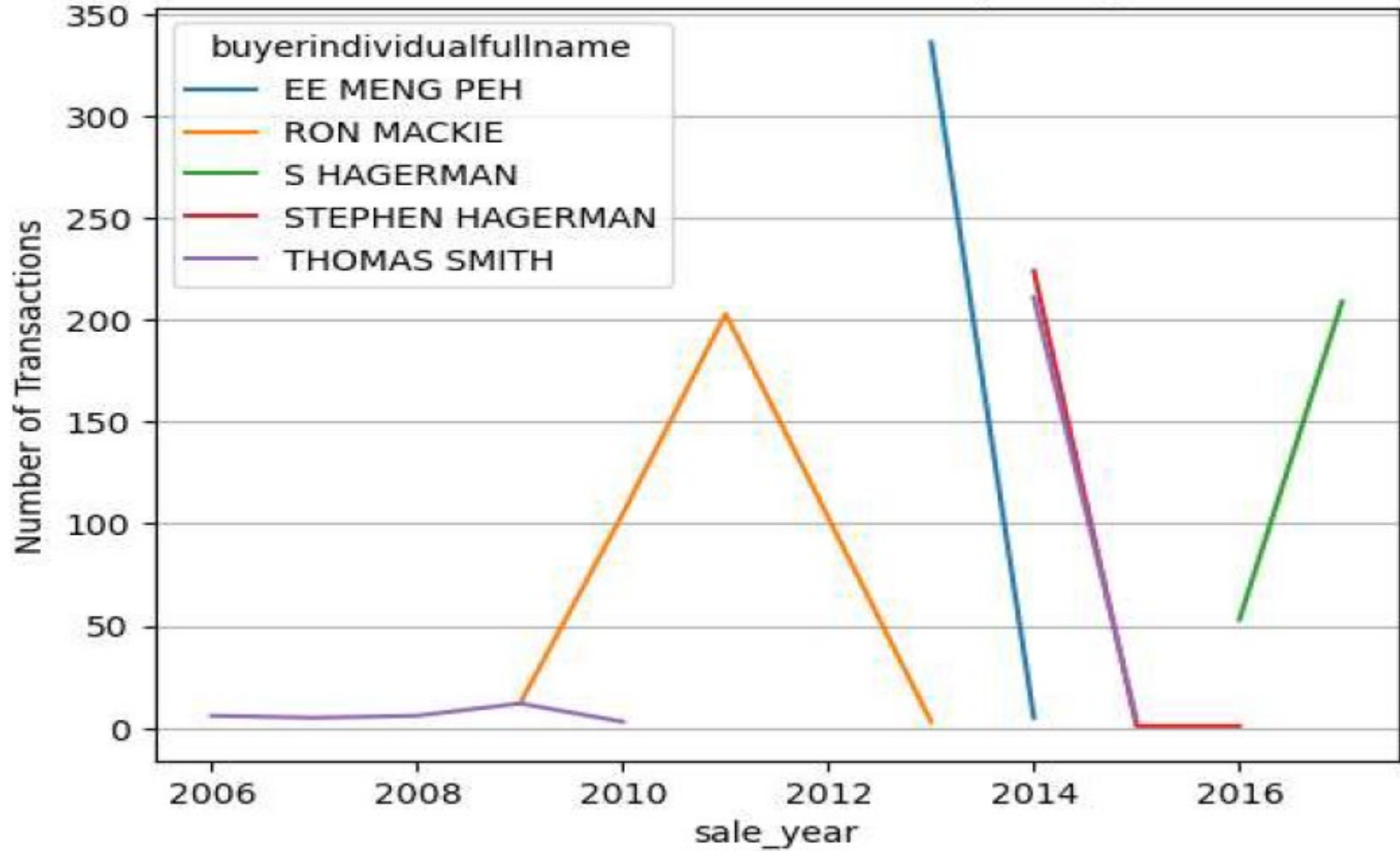


Top 10 Buyers by Total Sale Amount

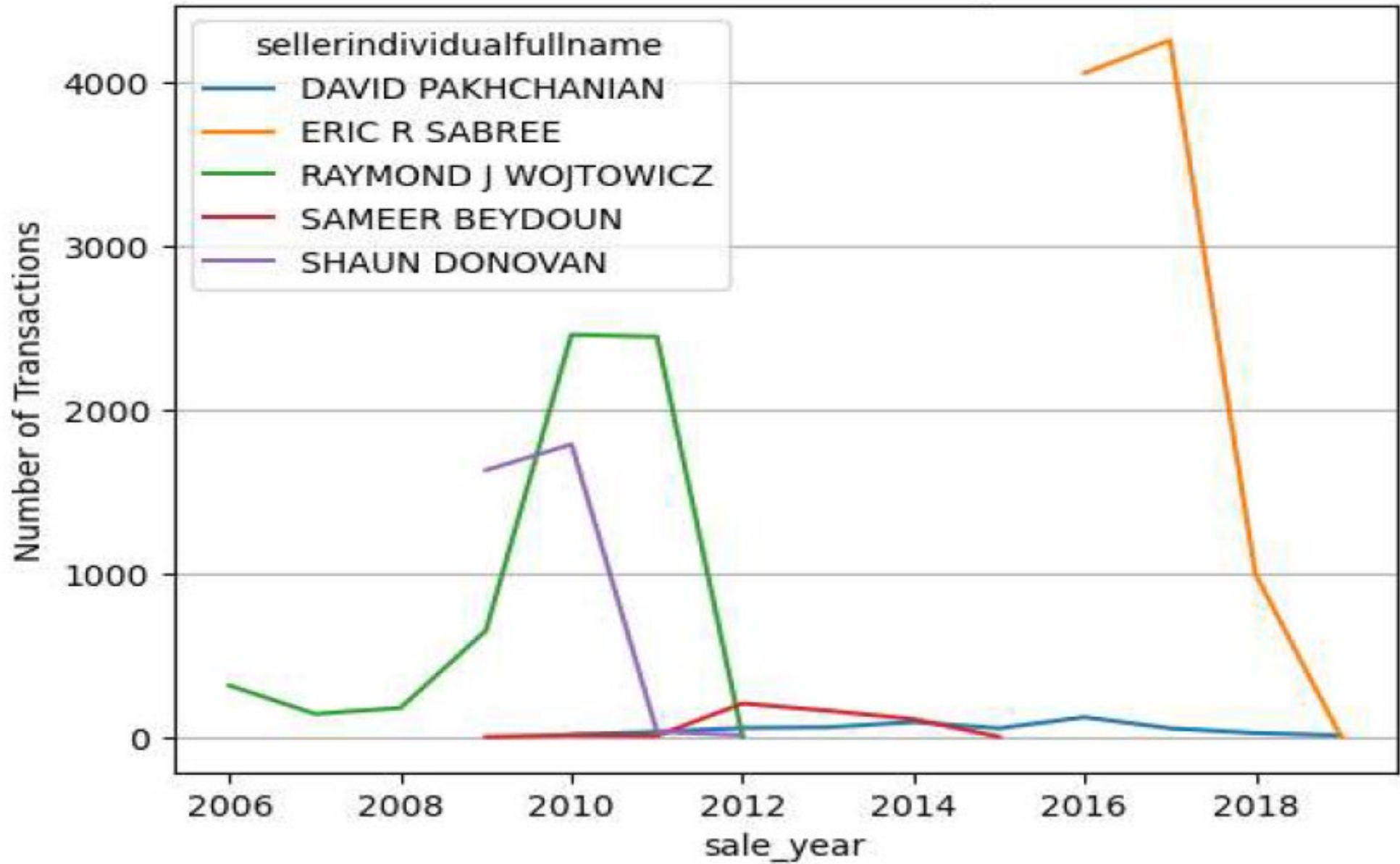




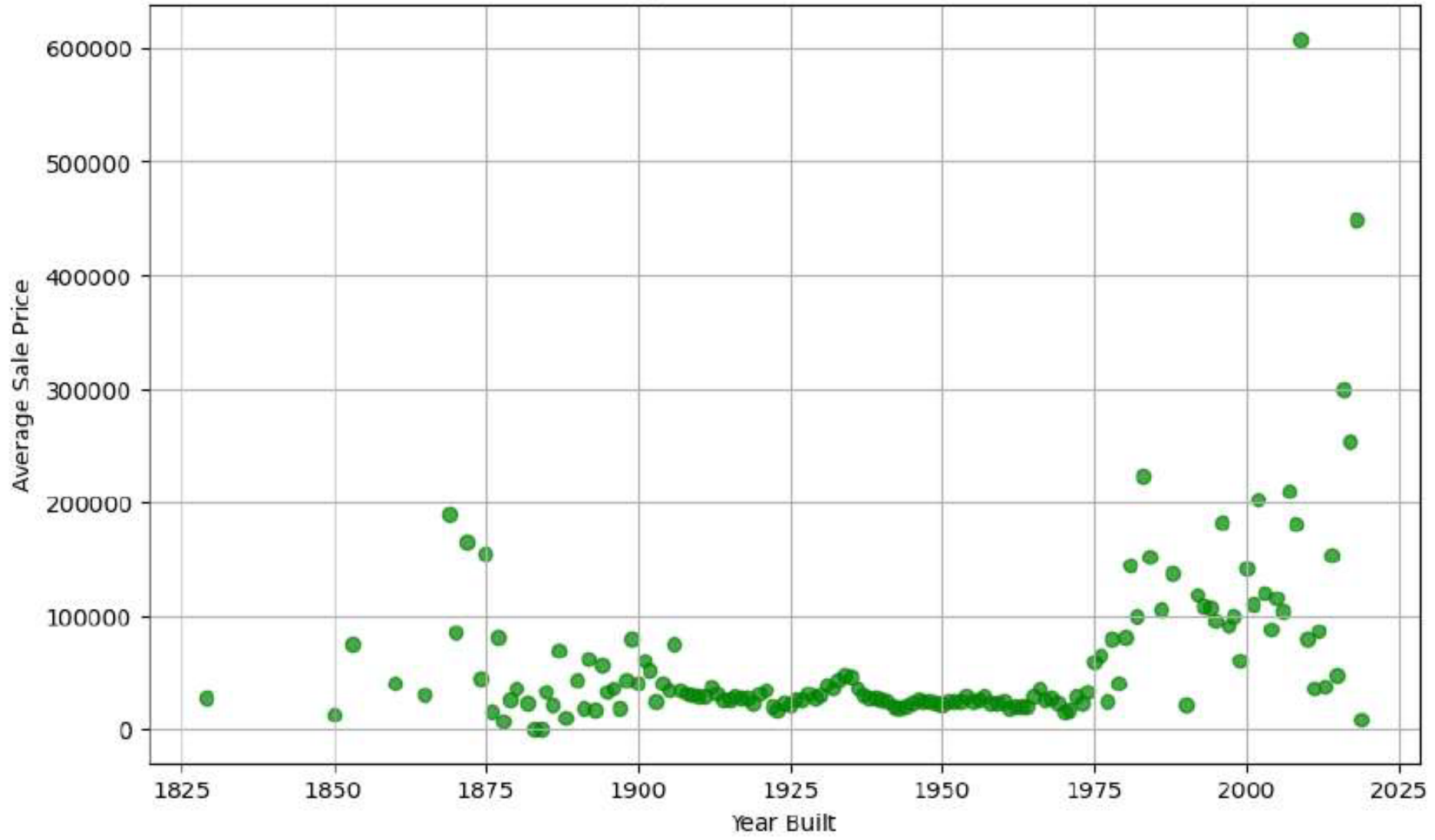
Transactions Over Time for Top 5 Buyers



### Transactions Over Time for Top 5 Sellers



Average Sale Price vs. Year Built



Source: Author's Calculations.