

Land Lines

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From the PRESIDENT

We announced in the last issue of *Land Lines* that I will be stepping down next year as president of the Lincoln Institute of Land Policy.

Rather than use this column to talk about the many innovative programs we have undertaken in the past, I want to offer my view of the factors that will guide the work of the Institute in the future.

Most important, the staff and board are committed to continuing the Institute's educational focus. We hope that this work will improve the quality of information available to decision makers in the areas of land policy and land-related tax policy, and will enhance public discussion and debate by disseminating ideas, information, analysis and experience to institutions and individuals engaged in these topical areas. Our focus on land and tax policy stems from our commitment to introduce the thinking and ideas of Henry George, especially as developed in his book *Progress and Poverty*, into contemporary policy making in the United States and through our international programs.

To help guide particular projects at the Institute, the staff has developed and the board has approved eight objectives.

1. To build capacity for better decision making by offering educational programs that provide information, ideas and analytical tools to public officials, professionals and citizens.
2. To identify, support and disseminate research that will lead to better understanding, decisions and actions.
3. To develop and demonstrate more effective, fair and efficient programs and policies for accomplishing public goals.
4. To advance the understanding and application of new methods, tools and techniques for achieving policy goals.
5. To foster and participate in communications and interactions with scholars, practitioners, public officials, policy advisers and civic leaders.
6. To encourage and support scholars who will pursue academic disciplines related to land policy and land-related tax policy.
7. To develop training materials and other educational resources that can be used in our programs and those of other organizations.
8. To identify relevant audiences in our topical areas and disseminate our work to them through the most effective means available, including courses, seminars, conferences, printed publications, Web-based materials, electronic media, audio and video resources, and other methods of communication.

Each program and activity of the Institute is designed to serve one or more of these objectives. I believe that the conformation of our educational focus with these specific program objectives will provide valuable guidance to the Institute's leadership to improve ongoing programs and develop new ones in the future.



Jim Brown



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Urban Spatial Patterns and Infrastructure in Beijing

YAN HUANG

As the capital city of China, Beijing is not only the nation's political, cultural, scientific and educational center, but also one of the leading growth machines in the country. The city has experienced double-digit growth in its gross domestic product (GDP) for at least the last decade, and government revenues have increased at rates between 18 and 30 percent in recent years. Real estate has been one of the most important sectors of economic growth since the mid-1990s, with public and private investment leading to improved urban infrastructure, intense demands for housing and increased land consumption. This rapid growth has fundamentally changed the physical pattern of the city, both in the existing built-up central areas and throughout the municipal region.

At this time of transformation from a planned economy to a market economy, Chinese urban planners are reviewing the existing planning methodology and urban systems. This article reports on efforts by the Beijing municipal government and its planning commission to control and manage urban growth during this transition and to plan for the future.

The Current Urban Pattern

Beijing is one of four municipalities in the People's Republic of China with provincial-level status directly under the central government. Covering an area of 16,400 square kilometers (km), Beijing has under its jurisdiction 16 districts and two counties. It is the second largest city in China with a population of more than 14 million, including about 11 million permanent residents and several million temporary residents.

Geographically Beijing is located on the North China Plain, but economically it has been considered part of the coastal



Hanlei Tegening

zone. Since the national economic development strategy of the 1980s, three major economic zones along the coast have been in the forefront of reforms: the Pearl River Delta including Hong Kong, Guangzhou and Shengzhen; the Yangtze River Delta including Shanghai; and the Bohai Bay area including Beijing and Tianjin. Comparing their economic development patterns, Bohai Bay remains behind the others in regional development and cooperation. Unbalanced development and the gap between urban and rural development are the major issues needing attention.

Although regional development has been included in the national economic strategy, previous and current urban planning has not addressed spatial patterns on a regional scale. Beijing's current comprehensive plan, which was approved by the State Council in 1993, still reflects the influence of the former Soviet Union in the 1950s. Comprehensive planning is a major tool used by municipal and local governments to control, monitor or guide urban development in China as elsewhere. But, because of inefficient implementation

policies and slow procedures for updating the plans, they have not kept up with the rapid development of recent decades. There are six distinct sectors in Beijing's current plan (see Figure 1).

Historic City Core: The heart of Beijing is the 62 square km historic core, which has served as the capital city for nearly 800 years. With a population of 1.3 million, this historic area is being significantly transformed as modern urban functions put pressure on preservation efforts.

Central Built-up Area: Surrounding the historic core is the 300 square km city center that has been developed gradually since the 1950s. After the market for land use rights was established in the 1980s, this area has been redeveloped rapidly and in the process has changed the physical image and socioeconomic life of Beijing. Most industrial land has been converted into a central business district of commercial and residential neighborhoods. Meanwhile, development on the outer edge of this area has been expanded more than 25 percent within the last 10 years, and the population has increased to 5 million.

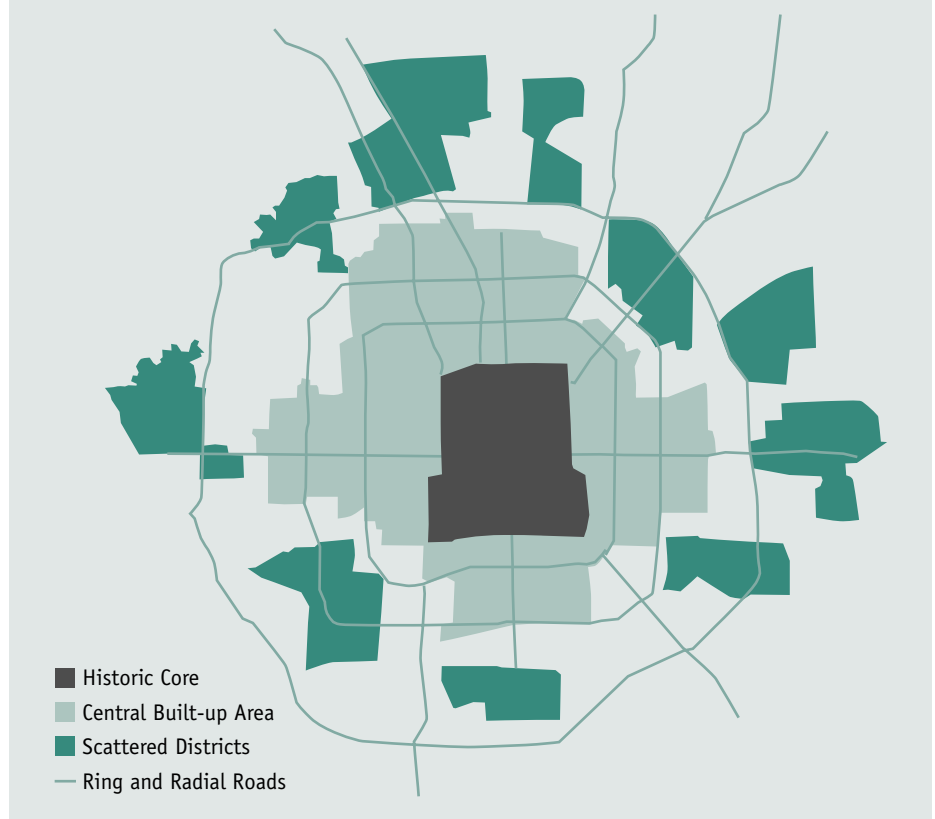
Inner Greenbelt: A planned greenbelt area of 300 square km was established in the city's 1982 comprehensive plan, but the 1993 plan showed the area reduced to about 240 square km. The objective of the greenbelt was to define the edge of the central area and provide adjacent open space. Without appropriate implementation policies and funding, however, this greenbelt (including important agriculture land) has been continually encroached upon by urban development. At the end of 2002 about half of the planned open space was made available for residential development and now only about 100 square km of open space remains.

Scattered Districts: Ten scattered districts were created in the comprehensive plan of 1982 as inner suburban development areas. Some of them have benefited from large investments in housing, but they remain primarily bedroom communities lacking mixed-used development, employment opportunities, public transportation and other services. The planned population for each of these districts was about 200,000, but several districts on the north and northeastern edge have already reached 500,000.

Satellite Towns: In the outer suburban area 14 satellite towns were planned to be self-sufficient centers combining employment and housing functions. Several factors contributed to the initial failure of this plan, however: the city center and its expansion area continued to attract most of the investment because of its existing infrastructure and lower development costs; the new market economy could not control strong linkages between employment and housing; the public transportation system could not support the development of these satellite towns; and people demonstrated a cultural preference for living in the dense urban center.

In other words, the original planned polycentric pattern neglected the impact of market forces and sociocultural preferences. Significant urban development did not reach the satellite towns until the late 1990s, when the municipal government built radial highways and created some university and industrial zones. Neverthe-

FIGURE 1
Schematic Map of Beijing, China



less, the physical pattern of urbanization around Beijing remains monocentric in character.

The Ring and Radial Highway System: To support the city's planned spatial structure, the concept of a ring and radial road system was created in the 1950s and strengthened in the 1982 and 1993 comprehensive plans. The system was considered to be an ideal transportation model to support the planned urban pattern. The 4th ring road would be the edge of the city center; the 5th ring road would link the 10 scattered districts; and the 6th ring road was designed as the intercity highway to connect some of the 14 satellite towns. The radial highways were planned to provide rapid access between the ring roads and to create traffic corridors between Beijing and other cities.

Impacts on Urban Spatial Structure and Planning

China's rapid economic growth has provided more income for both municipal government and citizens, fundamentally

shifting consumption patterns in a very short time. The demands for housing and automobiles, in particular, have exceeded all expectations. Numerous large redevelopment projects in the city center have replaced old industrial buildings and many traditional houses with large-scale commercial complexes, modern apartment buildings, and the road and highway systems. Generally, the planned polycentric pattern of equally sized satellite towns has not been a workable structure to manage the city's rapid urban growth, and the 1993 comprehensive plan has not been able to guide rampant urbanization. Nevertheless, some planning and policy-making efforts have attempted to control physical growth and solve serious transportation problems.

Spatial Expansion and Growth

Control: Under the two types of land ownership in China—state-owned urban land and collectively owned rural land—land use rights are separated from ownership. After the 1980s, urban land use rights could be transferred in the land market, making land the major resource by which

local government could raise revenues to finance urban infrastructure and redevelopment. But, dependence on revenues from the leasing of state-owned land is not sustainable over the long term because all leasehold fees are collected once at the beginning of the lease term (generally 40 years for commercial property, 50 years for industrial property and 70 years for residential property). Without a large source of annual revenue from a property tax or other fees, local governments need to find more land to develop in order to generate new revenues. As a result, many local governments are motivated to create an oversupply of land, thus accelerating the acquisition of rural agricultural land.

In Beijing, an average of 20 square km of land was acquired for urban development annually between 1990 and 2000, but this figure reached 50 square km after 2000 and is expected to more than double during this decade. At this rate, to reach the municipal economic goal of tripling the GDP growth rate by 2010, there will be hardly any agricultural land left in the municipal area. Facing these challenges to sustainable urban development, the central and the municipal governments are initiating some urban planning efforts to control land consumption and redefine greenbelts.

To preserve the nation's limited agriculture land resources, the central government in the 1980s set up an urban planning regulation of 100–120 square meters of urban land per person in a large city. For example, if Beijing's comprehensive plan has an urban population forecast of 10 million in 2010, the city's total urbanized land area should be controlled within 1,200 square km.

The population forecast is a crucial factor in determining urban land scale and controlling land consumption. However, after the national population policy became more flexible in accepting temporary urban residents in the 1990s, this population planning norm became much more difficult to attain in practice. There is no workable analytical method to review and evaluate urban population forecasts. As a result, it is difficult to control the oversupply of land by local governments, which

can use their forecasts to enlarge their planned land development territory.

The inner greenbelt was not fully realized in the 1993 comprehensive plan, but it is still considered a workable planning approach for designating the urban edge. When construction of the 5th and 6th ring roads started in 2000, however, development of land around the roads began immediately, spreading primarily from the central city. In 2001 the Beijing municipal planning commission submitted a new "outer" greenbelt plan to the

archy system, consisting of urban highways, main motorways, sub-motorways and streets, did not anticipate such a rapid increase in the number of automobiles. Beijing is the leading city in China for automobile use, with an annual increase in car ownership of 15 to 20 percent. The city had one million vehicles in 1997, but the second million was added in only five years, from 1998 to 2003. Most people agree that the constant traffic jams are caused by the inappropriate transportation system and inadequate regulatory policies.



Sally Yonans

municipal government, defining nine large corridors connecting outer-suburban open spaces with inner-suburban green areas. The purpose is to define the boundaries for urban growth and to link the central city with the natural environment. However, there are more challenges for implementation: urbanization and urban development pressure within these green corridors affects hundreds of villages and nearly a million peasants; and it has been difficult to define the types of open space that are both ecologically sensitive and economically sustainable.

Transportation Planning: The transportation system planned in the early 1980s and modified in the early 1990s has been implemented; however, the road hier-

When the market demand for automobiles began to increase in the mid-1990s, the municipal government decided to speed up construction of the planned highways and motorways. Most of the public budget for infrastructure went into this road construction, and within three years the 4th and 5th and most of the 6th ring roads were completed. Transportation engineers insisted on completing the road system as planned, in spite of two commonly accepted arguments: dependence on the inner-city highway network caused more traffic congestion and negative impacts on the central urban fabric; and transportation planning without considering land use planning causes conflicts in the urban spatial structure.

Realizing that public transportation is a key solution to reducing traffic jams and managing the city more efficiently, the municipal government started to focus on building its subway and urban light-rail systems in 2001, after Beijing won its bid for the 2008 Olympic Games. The plan is to build four or five subway lines in the city center and four urban light-rail lines connecting to the suburban areas. To obtain sufficient funding for these very costly projects, the municipal government adopted a public-private partnership model to raise investment from the private sector. Although it is too early to tell how much these efforts may affect other aspects of urban development, it is clear that they cannot yield sustainable development without broader regional collaboration.

Beijing Urban Spatial Development Strategy Study

Several factors have prompted the City of Beijing to review its spatial structure on a regional scale.

- The continued increase in the cost of development because of high land prices is reducing municipal economic competitiveness.
- Rapid urban growth is spreading out to the fringe of the city center, requiring reforms in the current planned spatial structure.
- The city center is considered to be too dense, causing extensive traffic congestion.
- The redevelopment pressure on the historic city core is continually threatening its preservation, increasing the urgency to find new spatial resources to move the growth pressure out of the core.

Reforming the city's physical spatial structure based on a consideration of the larger Bohai Bay region is fundamental to solving these problems. Furthermore, the major public tool to manage urban development, the existing comprehensive planning methodology, is being challenged by the market economy, which makes it more difficult to estimate future urban development demand.

Some Western urban researchers have pointed out problems in the Chinese com-

prehensive planning process, suggesting that it is too static; is too focused on physical and land use planning; neglects the costs of development and infrastructure; and takes too long for implementation and approval. Recognizing the increasing strength of market forces, planners and government officials constantly search for solutions to better balance their respective roles. The Beijing municipal government thus has started an urban spatial development strategy study outside the existing urban planning system to explore fundamental urban forms derived from market principles.

A Vision for the Future: As China's capital city, Beijing is the nation's political and cultural center. To raise its competitiveness and become a world city, however, Beijing needs to improve its built environment so it can host more national and international events in the areas of international trade and finance, education and tourism. Beijing's spatial structure and infrastructure capacity also should support more urban functions using its regional industrial base and international transportation and port facilities. Population is a key element in measuring urban scale, but the more flexible national population policies since the late 1990s have made it difficult to provide accurate estimates. One critical step is to analyze the "carrying capacity" of environmental resources such as land and water, which can limit the city's future growth and urban scale.

Urban Density: Density is another important issue in this study. Beijing's population density of 150 persons/hectare (ha) in built-up areas (roughly within the 4th ring road) compares unfavorably with most other large cities in China: Shanghai 280 persons/ha; Tianjin 230 persons/ha; Guangzhou 360 persons/ha. Further reduction of density in the historic core is considered to be an important mission, however, because of the traffic congestion and the need to preserve the old city. Thus, the new plan is trying to encourage more people to move out toward the 4th ring road and suburban areas. The goal of reducing density in the historic core and between the 2nd and 4th ring roads does

not match the city's public transportation strategy, however. The traffic congestion and environmental problems in the built-up areas are not directly caused by density, but rather by existing transportation policies and systems, the lack of urban green spaces and the proliferation of urban super-blocks.

A New Polycentric Pattern: The old planned polycentric pattern failed to control urban growth from spreading out of the existing built-up center. After reviewing the reasons for this failure, several major principles can help to define a new spatial pattern: consider regional development and reinforce the physical links with the port city of Tianjin; define the area on a large scale with more attention to environmental protection; bring the market factors that affect urban structure into the planning process; and discard the former goal of creating equally sized satellite towns. The general concepts of the new polycentric pattern are to

- 1) strengthen development along the existing north-south and east-west axes that run through the center of Beijing with strong cultural and social identity as the bones of the spatial structure;
- 2) restrict the amount of development in the environmentally sensitive upland areas west and north of the central city;
- 3) expand the scale of three existing satellite towns along the eastern edge of the city and provide public investment and finance to reinforce regional connections; and
- 4) emphasize development in the corridor to Tianjin by building multiple transportation options.

Future Planning Practices

Developing a long-term urban plan is an enormous challenge for a city like Beijing, which is undergoing rapid urban development, growth and transformation with a very uncertain future. Several crucial questions regarding urban scale, density, spatial expansion and growth policies need further study and analysis.

Forecasting and controlling urban scale through planning is difficult for all urban planners and policy makers. Existing and potential natural resources serve to con-

strain future growth, and population is more controlled now by the market economy than by centrally planned policies of the past. Politically and economically, Beijing will continue to attract more investment, which needs more professionals, technicians and skilled workers, while it also has to deal with the pressure of unskilled migrants from rural areas. The limited amount of natural resources thus becomes a major element in planning, but it cannot be the only factor to help forecast the future scale of the city. Analysis of the full range of alternatives and policies should be prepared to address the most rapid and largest growth scenario imaginable.

A polycentric spatial structure might be a good solution for Beijing, but it needs more attention to the interdependencies of the central city and the new town centers. The old satellite town pattern failed because it focused on the development balance between existing local jurisdictions but neglected economic forces, physical relationships and environmental constraints on a regional scale. Several important elements help to define the new spatial pattern: the boundaries of the central urbanized area; the scale and location of the new town centers; and the relation-

ships among these centers, Beijing, Tianjin and other mega-centers in the region. The efficient, rapid public transportation corridors between the city center and the sub-centers also are a critical element in making the polycentric model workable.

The fundamental purpose for launching the spatial development strategy study and updating the comprehensive planning process is to develop better policies to manage urban growth and balance land development and conservation with a long-term perspective. To reach that goal and to implement the new strategy will require legal tools and strong, comprehensive policies—a challenge for most Chinese cities under the existing policy-making system.

Preserving historic areas, agricultural land and environmentally sensitive areas is not compatible with the current hot economy and planned development. Preservation has never received much public funding support, a major reason for failed efforts in the past. The public sector now has sufficient resources and enough authority to balance development and preservation, but it needs to broaden the use of technical tools and incorporate more regional policies. Planning cannot be implemented only through planning regula-

tions; it requires various authorities and professionals to work together on policies and programs that address planning, taxation, land use, environmental concerns and historic preservation.

The next five to 10 years will be a key period for the City of Beijing to create its new urban form. Local planners and decision makers should make a serious review of the last century of urban development history in U.S. cities. They have lessons to offer on both policy making and implementation regarding highways, suburbanization, shopping malls, the city beautiful movement and other urban issues. Current initiatives also are instructive: smart growth, regional growth control and management, mixed-use planning, density and design review. Globalization will bring more political and economic competition to the world's largest cities, and Beijing must learn from past experiences and adapt to the new economic realities. ■

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Some Observations on Street Life in Chinese Cities

The Lincoln Institute has been collaborating with the Loeb Fellowship Program at Harvard University's Graduate School of Design for several years. The program was established in 1970 through the generosity of alumnus John L. Loeb, and each year invites about 10 mid-career professionals to study independently and develop insights and connections that can advance their work in revitalizing the built and natural environments. In May 2004 this year's group of Loeb Fellows took their class study trip to China. They held a seminar on land use planning for the Beijing Municipal Planning Commission and were hosted by senior planning officials on land use tours in Beijing and Shanghai. This article offers some brief observations by four of the fellows.

STEPHAN FAIRFIELD,
OFER MANOR, DAVID PERKES *and*
HARRIET TREGONING

China's great cities are rushing toward a tipping point where a rich legacy of innovative styles of urban living may be swept away by unbridled modern-

ization. The country's land planners face Herculean challenges in shaping the fastest growing urban settlements the world has known, and it is easy to imagine how nuanced planning can be lost in this rapid tide of change. In China's quest to catch up with the West, it might be tempting to simply replicate Western patterns and practices. However, not all of those

approaches are worthy of emulation, and in some cases China may be emulating the wrong ones.

The Car Culture

In a time of global concern over dependence on oil, Chinese officials seem to be encouraging the car to prevail over other transportation infrastructure and policy options,

although the rate and extent of development of Beijing's public transit system is commendable. Following the decision to award the 2008 Olympic Games to Beijing, the municipal government announced it would complete construction of its light rail system along with Metro lines 5 and 8 by 2005, extending the rail systems by 85 km to a total of 138 km. The city also plans to start on Metro lines 4 and 9 during the next five years. Yet, there are also plans to build the 5th and 6th ring roads around the capital, reflecting both the phenomenal growth of the city and the anticipated explosion in car ownership and use. Also troubling is the constant relegation of existing dedicated bicycle lanes to additional vehicular traffic, thereby creating a vicious cycle of ever more citizens surrendering their bikes for cars.

Beyond the social, cultural, environmental and economic consequences of this



Harriet Tregoning

process, which are in themselves largely irreversible, these asphalt expansions result in irreparable damage to the city's urban fabric and structures. While this condition is obvious to local planners, they seem to have bowed to the citizens' strong yearnings for car ownership. These aspirations are spurred by a national policy of accelerating automobile production for domestic



Pudong Plaza, Shanghai

Harriet Tregoning

use, conceived as a leading catalyst in the country's industrial and economic advancement.

Acknowledging these trying circumstances, the enforcement of mitigating measures within the jurisdiction of local government could help restrain the increase in car use. For example, a curb on parking would decrease commuter traffic substantially, but would only indirectly challenge the nation's automobile consumption policy, since these coveted status symbols would remain available for noncommuting needs. Car sharing, a commercial enterprise that has enjoyed great success in Europe and more recently in transit-rich U.S. cities, is an alternative that would give many more Chinese the benefits and convenience of car usage without necessitating the cost and impact of individual automobile ownership. Many nations, including Singapore and most European Union countries, have automobile-related taxes on purchasing prices, fuels and registration, as well as parking and tolls. These taxes are intended to internalize the costs of pollution, infrastructure, traffic congestion, accidents and noise, but they also act as financial disincentives to car ownership.

The conditions in Beijing appear particularly favorable to introducing transportation management policies. While many cities might be wary that such measures could dampen inner-city development, these propositions would not alter the projected growth in Beijing's core.

Regarding a parking policy, for instance, rapid development over the past decade has already produced a substantial number of covered parking spaces, arguably meeting minimum needs. Conversely, the extent of projected development would render these measures particularly effective in limiting additional traffic.

Local policies that focus on controlling car use would also benefit Beijing's cultural destinations, where cars already encroach on pedestrian sidewalks in parks and around lakes. From an environmental perspective, beyond the reduction in carbon emissions due to fewer cars, a sharp reduction in the extent of roadways, parking lots and related construction of impervious surfaces would contribute to increased groundwater recharge to replenish the already parched aquifer on which the city's water supply depends.

Scales of Urban Living

Despite China's vast expanse, population pressures in the cities dictate that every bit of land in metropolitan regions be put to work. Each road leading out of the city is lined for many kilometers with nurseries of trees, shrubs and flowering plants to provide mature landscaping for every new park, building, road, plaza and mall as soon as the project is completed. The result is surprisingly green boulevards and generously planted parks. The plantings tend to be both water- and labor-intensive vari-

eties, but that might change as water resources are likely to become scarce before cheap labor does.

Beijing and Shanghai demonstrate the uniquely complex ways of living that have evolved over many years (e.g., small-scale farming, sidewalk markets, bicycles and motorcycle taxis), but these urban features can be jarring when juxtaposed against the dynamic scale of current development. Even as these authentic, small-scale living arrangements are being buffeted, and perhaps eradicated, by large-scale planning and the concomitant rush toward modernization in many city districts and neighborhoods, new innovations in urban living are emerging. For instance, the illegal motorcycle taxis observed at a 50,000-unit suburban housing development are a creative and practical solution to the problems of getting around a huge pedestrian-unfriendly project with inadequate public transit and amenities that are concentrated in a large core rather than scattered within walking distance.

Other new districts, such as Pudong in Shanghai, represent instances where a grandiose scale results in dissatisfying urban places that look like American cities of the Sunbelt, designed around cars with too much open space and decorative landscaping. These vast plazas may be appreciated from the air or the upper floors of nearby high-rise buildings, but they are incoherent at ground level. Pedestrians avoid the arid spaces, preferring the charm of the

older urban districts with their more human scale, shade, shops and seating. More participation in the planning process by those who live and work in these areas would likely yield an environment more tailored to quality of life than a monument to progress.

Indeed, more resident participation in the planning process is one of the Western practices that is seldom replicated, but can most contribute to better-quality outcomes. Perhaps not understood is that residents, provided with enough background, will often point to similar but more helpfully nuanced ways of achieving the goals sought by planners. Enfranchisement in planning and economic outcomes can make allies of those in historic districts and on the urban frontiers who are currently a growing political and public relations problem for officials. Such a process can also improve market efficiency, since residents often know best what is needed and will work locally.

The willingness to create a culture of participation, dissent and engagement is a far from certain proposition, even for planning and development purposes. As design professionals observing Chinese cities for much too short a time, we can only hope that in the future more can be done to preserve successful forms of traditional urban living and create uniquely new Chinese forms that will contribute to the higher quality of life the policy makers, planners and architects we met seem so eager to embrace. **L**



Loeb Fellows, 2003–2004

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Land Use and Design Innovations in Private Communities

ERAN BEN-JOSEPH

The twenty-first century will witness record growth in the number and distribution of private residential communities. Collectively referred to as common interest communities (CICs) or common interest developments (CIDs), these communities rely on covenants, conditions and restrictions to privately govern and control land use, design decisions, services and social conduct. The communities own, operate and manage the residential property within their boundaries, including open space, parking, recreational facilities and streets. Although CICs historically have been the domain of the affluent, they are now becoming a viable choice for both suburban and urban residential development. Taking the form of condominiums, cooperatives, and single- and multifamily homes, both gated and nongated private communities are spreading among diverse economic and social classes.

A Worldwide Phenomenon

The proliferation of private communities in the United States is causing an unprecedented transition from traditional individual ownership to collective governance of property, signaling a remarkable shift in the American political and economic landscape. This trend establishes a new micro-scale level of governance beneath existing municipal structures, and highlights other tensions between the public and private sectors.

Indeed, the numbers provide a clear indication of this movement's strength. At the end of the twentieth century, about 47 million Americans lived in condominiums, cooperatives and homeowner associations (HOAs). Growing from only 500 in the 1960s to an estimated 231,000 in 1999, HOAs now comprise almost 15 percent of

the national housing stock, with an estimated addition of 8,000 to 10,000 private developments each year. In the 50 largest metropolitan areas, more than half of all new housing is now built under the governance of neighborhood associations. In California—particularly in the Los Angeles and San Diego metropolitan areas—this figure exceeds 60 percent (Treese 1999).

Recent press coverage and research from Europe, Africa, South America and Asia suggest that CICs are rapidly being popularized in other parts of the world as well. Although gated communities are still rare in Britain, former prime minister Margaret Thatcher reportedly moved into such a community in South London. In South Africa, where secure communities were an unavoidable consequence of racism, post-apartheid gated developments are

inhabited by all races, and not only by the wealthy. In Saudi Arabia private compounds of linked houses provide extended families with privacy and identity. Those compounds seem to be a reaction to the single residential typology imported from abroad during the country's modernization period.

Since the economic reforms of the early 1980s, many residential areas in Chinese cities have walls to improve security and define social status. Often these developments are designed by U.S. companies and based on U.S. planning and design standards. Private communities in Southeast Asia, such as in Indonesia, are marketed as places that allow the differentiation of lifestyle and give prestige and security to their inhabitants. In Latin America sprawling gated communities at the metropolitan



Gloria Yanez Warner

In Latin America, sprawling gated communities, such as this one in Santiago, Chile, have become the norm for a growing sector of the population.

edges of Santiago, Chile, Bogotá, Colombia, and other cities have become the norm for a growing professional class in need of a secure lifestyle in an environment dominated by social and economic poverty. The deteriorating political and economic state of affairs in Buenos Aires, Argentina, has resulted in situations where developers and private companies provide privatized “public” services that attract large sectors of the population to private developments housing up to half a million people (*Environment and Planning B* 2002).

Dual Governance, Rules and Outcomes

The spread of CICs in the U.S. is driven by the mutual interests of developers and local governments, including planning officials. Developers benefit because they can maintain profits—despite the high costs of land and infrastructure—by introducing efficient land design schemes and, often, higher densities. Local governments prefer CICs because they privatize infrastructure and reduce public costs. At the same time, consumers see a way to protect their property values through the ability to control their neighborhood character by using compliance and enforcement mechanisms. CICs also provide consumers greater infrastructure options, recreational amenities and community services.

The growing fiscal crisis experienced by many local governments means they are often unable to respond to such traditional community demands as building and maintaining streets, collecting garbage, snowplowing and other services. The establishment of a separate legal mechanism within a private neighborhood association allows collective control over a neighborhood’s common environment and the private provision of common services. Perhaps more important, this trend creates a de facto deregulation of municipal subdivision standards and zoning, because cities and towns allow for a different, more flexible set of standards to be implemented in private developments. Often, the results are innovative spatial and architectural layouts and, sometimes, unusually sensitive environmental design. This shift in neighborhood governance enables a resultant

shift in the design of residential developments that heretofore has not been fully appreciated.

A recent nationwide survey of public officials and developers gauges the impacts of subdivision regulations on the design of residential developments and the practices of developers in rapidly growing regions of the country (Ben-Joseph 2003). It assesses attitudes and perceptions and identifies the issues regarding subdivision regulations that members of the housing industry and the regulatory agencies feel are affecting housing development.

Excessive Regulations

As early as 1916 Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr., commented on subdivision standards and regulations.

While such regulations are intended only to guard against the evil results of ignorance and greed on the part of landowners and builders, they also limit and control the operations of those who are neither ignorant nor greedy; and it is clear that the purpose in framing and enforcing them should be to leave open the maximum scope for individual enterprise, initiative and ingenuity that is compatible with adequate protection of the public interests. Such regulations are, and always should be, in a state of flux and adjustment—on the one hand with a view to preventing newly discovered abuses, and on the other hand with a view to opening a wider opportunity of individual discretion at points where the law is found to be unwisely restrictive. (Olmsted 1916, 3)

Indeed, developers in the 2003 survey clearly expressed their frustration with the excessive and often unwarranted nature of physical improvements and standards associated with subdivision development. When asked to indicate which types of requirements present the greatest expense in conforming to regulations, an overwhelming majority (80 percent) pointed to requirements associated with site design. When asked to indicate which specific requirements they perceived as excessive, 52 percent of the respondents indicated those relating to street design and construction,

with almost 45 percent indicating land dedication and 43 percent storm sewer systems (underground piping for storm water mitigation). When asked about which physical standards within each category were seen as excessive, those most frequently cited were street widths (75 percent of the respondents), street rights-of-way (73 percent) and requirements of land for open space (73 percent). Most developers also mentioned water and sewer hook-up fees (85–90 percent) and payments in lieu of land dedication (79 percent) as being excessive monetary requirements associated with physical improvements (see Table 1).

While one might expect that developers would criticize regulations as interfering in their business, it is important to note that most respondents were selective in their answers to the survey. Out of 29 requirements listed in Table 1, only 13 were considered excessive by the majority of developers, while 16 others were deemed reasonable. Such results indicate that many developers are tuned in to construction and design performance, and their attitude toward regulation cannot always be assumed to be negative.

Furthermore, the surveyed public officials (town planners and town engineers) often concurred with the developers’ observations. Generally these officials agreed that the regulatory process, such as the enforcement of subdivision regulations, has become more demanding and complex. Over the past five years, for example, 70 percent of the jurisdictions where these public officials work have introduced new requirements, and 57 percent have increased specifications, such as those for setbacks and lot sizes. Only 16 percent of these jurisdictions have decreased their specifications, mostly by reducing street widths.

Relief from Subdivision Regulations

Two-thirds of residential developers consider government regulations, particularly those pertaining to the design and control of subdivisions, the main culprit in prohibiting design innovation and increasing the cost of housing. More specifically, they see these regulations as an impediment

to increasing densities, changing housing types, and reconfiguring streets and lots. One way developers try to relax these regulations is through requests for relief in the form of zoning or design variances. More than half of the surveyed developers (52 percent) had to apply for some sort of relief in at least half of their projects, while 37 percent had to apply in at least three-fourths of their projects. When asked to point to the type of changes they requested, many indicated higher-density single-family projects, more multifamily units, and more varied site and structural plans. The majority of the developers in the survey responded that they sought to increase the density of housing units on their sites, but 72 percent noted that because of existing regulations they had to design lower-density developments than they wanted. Some developers reported that regulations forced them to build in greenfield locations away from major urban areas, where restrictions and abutters' objections were less onerous.

Although almost all of the public officials (83 percent) reported that their jurisdictions require private developments to follow established subdivision regulations, the enforcement of these standards through the approval process is malleable. In some cases, when such a development is classified as a condominium, which may include attached and/or detached dwelling units, no formal review of street standards is required. In fact, the majority of public officials surveyed (61 percent) indicated that their jurisdictions allow for narrower streets to be constructed within private developments. One respondent stated, "Variances are more easily granted within private road systems since the county will not have any maintenance responsibility or liability."

The practice of building narrower roadways and offering smaller building setbacks within private subdivisions has become widely accepted over the last decade. A street standards survey completed in 1995 showed that 84 percent of the cities responding allowed for different street standards in such developments, and that they more readily accepted the introduction of differ-

TABLE 1
Developers' Assessments of Various Requirements (n=84)

Requirement	Excessive (% responding)	Reasonable
Street width	75	
Street right-of-way	73	
Pavement thickness		62
Curbs		83
Sidewalk width	56	
Sidewalk thickness		70
Water pipe diameter		55
Water pipe material		80
Water pipe depth		93
Water pipe hook-up fees	85	
Sewer pipe diameter		72
Sewer pipe material		75
Sewer pipe depth		70
Sewer hook-up fees	90	
Sewer system layout		56
Storm water pipe diameter	62	
Storm water pipe material		50
Storm water pipe depth		45
Storm water pipe hook-up	57	
Storm water system layout	73	
Street trees	73	
Street lighting		52
Telephone lines		53
Electric lines	60	
Cable/TV lines		64
Land for recreation	52	
Land for open space	73	
Land for schools		65
Fee in lieu of land dedication	79	

Source: Adapted from Ben-Joseph (2003, Table 26)

ent paving materials, changes in street configurations, and the employment of traffic calming devices (Ben-Joseph 1995).

Design Benefits

Both public officials and developers acknowledge the design benefits associated with private subdivisions (see Table 2). Fifty-seven percent of officials indicated that private developments are introducing innovative design in the form of building

arrangements and unit clustering. Forty-one percent felt that such developments permit the introduction of housing types not found elsewhere in their communities, and 61 percent indicated that they allow for narrower street standards to be incorporated.

While public officials see the benefits of pushing the design envelope within the confines of the development itself, many are also concerned about the social

implications and impacts of these private developments on their surrounding communities. “As a matter of policy,” a survey respondent wrote, “gated private communities are discouraged as they are not in keeping with the urban form, which calls for an interconnecting network of vehicular and pedestrian movement. In addition, the walling of neighborhoods from arterial roadways should be avoided by alternatives such as the placement of other compatible uses along the periphery.”

Both developers and public officials believe that common subdivision regulations restrict alternative solutions, and they see privatizing subdivisions as a vehicle for simplifying the approval process and introducing design innovation. As one of the developers remarked, “Regular subdivision codes don’t allow flexibility. Lots are too standardized and streets use too much area. If I could build narrow streets and small lots, developments controlled by covenants and HOAs will not be necessary.” The ability to provide design choices and efficient layouts and to avoid a lengthy approval process drives both public and private sectors to offer CICs rather than typical subdivisions. Indeed, it seems that in the last decade most innovation in subdivision design has sprung from within the private domain and under the governance of community associations rather than within the public realm through traditional means.

Toward Better Subdivisions

The proliferation of CICs, with their ability to plan, design and govern outside of public boundaries, can be seen as an indicator of a failed public system. When developers and public officials resort to privatization to achieve a more responsive design outcome, and when local jurisdictions acknowledge that privatized communities provide a straightforward way to grant variations and innovation, then something is wrong with the existing parameters of subdivision codes and regulations.

For the last 25 years the subdivision approval process has increased in complexity, in the number of agencies involved, in the number of delays, and in the regu-

TABLE 2

Perception of Design Characteristics Fostered by Private Subdivisions

Residential Private Subdivision Characteristics	Developers (% responding)	Public Officials (% responding)
Encourage housing clusters	42	49
Permit greater density	25	26
Permit housing types not found elsewhere	37	41
Allow narrower streets	49	61
Allow innovative design	67	57

Note: Survey respondents included developers (n=80) and public officials (n=145).
Source: Adapted from Ben-Joseph (2003, Table 36).

lar addition of new requirements (Seidel 1978). Both developers and public officials acknowledge that the application for variances and changes in subdivision regulations are lengthy and cumbersome. Therefore, it is not surprising that developers see private projects governed by HOAs as not only responding to market demands and trends, but also introducing planning and design concepts that are often not allowed or are difficult to get authorized under the typical approval process.

CICs are enabling developers to maintain profits and keep the design process relatively open-ended and flexible. The ability to operate outside the regular, common set of subdivision regulations allows developers to offer various design solutions that fit the local setting, the targeted site and the prospective consumers. In some cases these can be attractive, high-density yet affordable single-family developments, and in others low-density, high-end yet ecologically sensitive construction (McKenzie 2003).

The concept of private communities as environmentally sensitive developments may seem a contradiction in terms. However, some of these developments provide examples of responsible construction that minimizes environmental impact while maximizing economic value. In Dewees Island, South Carolina, there are few impervious road surfaces, allowing full restoration of the underground aquifer. Only vegetation indigenous to the local coastal plains is allowed. This xeriscaping approach removes the need for irrigation, fertilizers and pesticides. In addition, homes are

required to use water conservation fixtures, reducing water consumption by 60 percent.

Paradoxically, while CICs are often controlled and managed by strict covenants and regulations, their initial design is very much outside the mainstream regulatory apparatus. It is precisely for this reason that they prove to be more flexible in their design solutions and more agreeable to developers, consumers and local governments.

How can such flexibility be integrated in the regular planning process? Can subdivision regulations be made more accommodating and less prescriptive? Will such an approach level the playing field and allow for more housing choices and greater design variety in the public domain? Will such changes promote developers to plan subdivisions endowed with CICs’ design qualities without their restrictive covenants and privatized shared spaces? And conversely, can CICs, while exhibiting great variation in architecture and site design features, be made less controlling in their management policies?

There are many issues raised by the spread of CICs, but none is more important than the realization that public policy and subdivision regulations must allow and promote more variety in housing styles and development options. Consumers should not be forced into CICs because they are the only type of development that offers a lively choice of features. CICs should be seen as a catalyst to change subdivision standards and regulations and as a vehicle to create a bridge between public officials and developers. Through the use

of CICs developers are not only able to circumvent existing regulations, lower development costs and in some cases produce quite innovative community design solution, but also enable jurisdictions to secure new taxpayers with less public expenditure.

Not all CICs are created equal, and many are far from perfect. But, in terms of design efficiency, utilization of space, and integration of social and environmental amenities, private communities illustrate the shortcomings of many standards applied to typical subdivisions. ■

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What Politicians Know About Land Taxation

DAVID BRUNORI

Supporters of land taxation view it as an efficient and effective means of financing government, and the concept has wide appeal among public finance scholars. Many economists, including several Nobel Prize winners, actively endorse this method of taxation, which taxes land value separately and instead of buildings and improvements. At least from an academic perspective, then, the case for the efficiency and fairness of a land-based tax system seems irrefutable.

Despite that support, the concept of land taxation has not been widely embraced in the United States. Property tax bases are set by state constitutional or statutory law, so local governments cannot implement a land tax, or its split-rate variant, without authorization from their respective state legislatures. Other than a handful of Pennsylvania cities that have adopted split-rate or two-rate tax systems, no American jurisdictions currently place higher tax burdens on land than on buildings and other improvements. Virginia recently responded to interest in two-rate taxation with legislation allowing two local governments to adopt graded tax programs, but they have not yet done so. While split-rate taxation is discussed periodically as a reform measure, there are no current proposals for its adoption awaiting action before a state legislature (Brunori and Carr 2002).

Statutory or constitutional enactment of a land tax would entail revising property tax laws that have been substantially unchanged for more than a century. In general, state legislators are cautious about implementing dramatic reforms in any public policy area, and comprehensive tax reform has been a particularly elusive goal. Adoption of split-rate or land taxation

would be a dramatic change, requiring significant awareness, advocacy and support in the ranks of the legislature and at the local level.

There are few areas of government finance in which scholarly opinion and actual public policy diverge so dramatically. This situation prompted me to undertake two nationwide research surveys. The first survey sought to ascertain the level of knowledge of land taxation on the part of the nation's state legislators. Without an understanding of the issues presented by the taxation of land, legislators are unlikely to champion, advocate or even vote for such measures. I also surveyed local elected officials, because state legislators will not advocate any reforms without constituent support. Moreover, since the reforms at issue will affect primarily local government finances, any legislative body seeking to reform a tax system will solicit the views and advice of local officials.

The Survey Questions

To gauge awareness of the concept of land value taxation, the survey began with a broad question, describing it as “taxing the full value of land but exempting buildings, structures and other improvements from tax.” The next question narrowed the scope to determine familiarity with split-rate taxation, the version of land taxation practiced in Pennsylvania and authorized in two Virginia municipalities. Because it entails less dramatic reforms, split-rate taxation is the version of land taxation most likely to be adopted in the U.S. This concept was described as “taxing land at a higher rate than buildings, structures and other improvements.”

Legislative research has long found that state lawmakers are likely to support policies that they believe will foster economic development and oppose policies perceived to deter development (Beamer 1999).

Taxing land at a higher rate than improvements has historically been thought to encourage building and investment by eliminating or reducing the tax burdens of improving the land. Thus, the third question asked for the respondents' opinion on the effect that taxing improvements at a lower rate than land would have on economic development, defined as capital investment and job creation.

The proliferation of suburban sprawl is a growing concern among legislators and local officials across the country. The vast academic literature suggests that policy makers view sprawl unfavorably and that most officials think that policies that promote sprawl are unsound. Some public finance scholars believe that adopting split-rate tax policies will limit the negative effects of sprawl (Brueckner 2001). If this belief is true, split-rate taxation could play an important role in the continuing debate over policies intended to deter suburban sprawl. Question four asked what effect taxing improvements at a lower rate than land would have on sprawl. Sprawl was not defined in the question because the term can refer to a number of developments affecting density, suburban growth, loss of open space and decrease in population. Indeed, scholars have lamented the lack of a single operational definition of sprawl. Still, the perception of sprawl as an undesirable land use pattern and policy outcome warranted inclusion of the question in the survey.

Finally, state and local legislators are influenced by the desires and concerns of their constituents. The more important a particular issue is to constituents, the better informed a legislator will become about that issue. Thus, survey participants were asked if during the past year any citizens or organizations had contacted their offices with respect to the issue of split-rate taxation, and if so, whether the constituent supported or opposed the idea.

State and Local Respondents

The first survey focused on state legislators who served on committees with primary responsibility for tax policy and local government finance during the period January–

June 2003. There were 106 such committees in the 50 state legislatures, but I excluded those in Pennsylvania and Virginia. Since those states have either adopted or authorized graded tax systems, I assumed that their legislators would be more familiar with the concept and could bias the results.

For the second survey I chose city and county officials from 15 randomly selected local jurisdictions within the 25 largest metropolitan areas in the U.S. To insure a national perspective, I also included city

council members from the largest city in each state. Again I focused on officials with primary responsibility for implementing and administering public finance policy and excluded all jurisdictions in Pennsylvania and Virginia.

The survey questions were sent to 1,284 legislators, of whom 780 responded (see Brunori 2003 for more information on methodology). An identical survey was sent to 3,298 city and county officials, of whom 430 responded. The response rate for the state legislators was far above

TABLE 1 Survey Questions and Results

	State Legislators		Local Officials	
	#	%	#	%
1. Are you familiar with the concept of land value taxation?				
Very Familiar	290	37.7	70	16.3
Somewhat Familiar	260	33.7	210	48.8
Not Familiar At All	220	28.6	150	34.9
Total	770	100.0	430	100.0
2. Are you familiar with the concept of split-rate taxation?				
Very Familiar	230	29.8	50	11.6
Somewhat Familiar	290	37.7	230	53.5
Not Familiar At All	250	32.5	150	34.9
Total	770	100.0	430	100.0
3. In your opinion, what effect would taxing improvements at a lower rate than land have on economic development?				
Promote More Development	490	62.8	330	76.7
Have No Effect on Development	180	23.1	100	23.3
Deter Development	40	5.1	0	0.0
Don't Know	70	9.0	0	0.0
Total	780	100.0	430	100.0
4. In your opinion, what effect would taxing improvements at a lower rate than land have on sprawl?				
Foster More Sprawl	320	41.0	200	46.5
Have No Effect on Sprawl	190	24.3	150	34.9
Deter Sprawl	210	26.9	80	18.6
Don't Know	60	7.7	0	0.0
Total	780	100.0	430	100.0
5. Have any citizens or organizations contacted your office with respect to the concept of split-rate taxation?				
Yes	90	11.5	40	9.3
No	690	88.5	390	90.7
Total	780	100.0	430	100.0

national standards, and the response rate for the local officials was considerably below national standards, but both were statistically significant.

Before revealing the results of the survey research, I must confess that I entered this project with a bias. Having worked in the state and local tax field my entire professional life, as a lawyer, teacher and journalist, I think about tax policy more than any sane person should and have come to know many state legislators and local public officials. In my experience, these government officials are quite capable of finding revenues to pay the bills, but they generally have little in-depth knowledge of the more philosophical and theoretical underpinnings of tax policy. So I assumed that few of them would understand what I was talking about when I began asking questions about land taxation. After all, I did not think most politicians were using their spare time to read Henry George's classic book, *Progress and Poverty*. I was quite surprised at the responses.

The Results

In a country where there are virtually no land tax policies in place, the survey results show that a vast majority of elected political leaders do know about land and split-rate taxation (see Table 1). More surprising, to me at least, most political leaders are aware of the benefits of adopting land tax policies. More than 70 percent of the state legislators and 65 percent of the local government officials responded that they were either very or somewhat familiar with the concept of land value taxation, and 67 percent of state legislators and 65 percent of local officials were very or somewhat familiar with split-rate taxation.

The single most important policy goal (after public safety) that concerns American politicians is economic development. When asked about the relationship between the economy and land taxation, more than 62 percent of state legislators and 76 percent of local government officials replied that adopting a split-rate tax system would promote economic development. About one-quarter of both state and local officials thought that taxing improvements at a

lower rate than land would have no effect on economic development. These results are arguably consistent with the conventional view that land taxation would have a benign effect on economic decision making. Only 5 percent of the state legislators and no local officials believed that taxing land at a higher rate would deter economic development.

One of the common misperceptions about land taxation is that it will lead to more sprawl, and many, but not a majority, of the respondents shared that misperception. Forty-one percent of surveyed state legislators and 46 percent of local officials said they believed that adopting a split-rate tax system would lead to more suburban sprawl. About 51 percent of the state legislators and 53 percent of local officials surveyed said that split-rate taxation would have no effect on sprawl or would deter sprawl. The fact that so many respondents believe that split-rate taxation would foster more sprawl, presumably by encouraging development of open space in suburban and rural areas, should be troubling to advocates of land taxation.

Finally, a surprisingly small number of elected political leaders have been contacted by constituents regarding land taxation. Eleven percent of state legislators and 9 percent of local government officials said an individual constituent or organization had contacted them regarding the issue of land-based or split-rate taxation, and all were supporters of the idea.

What Does It All Mean?

What originally sparked my interest in this research project was the disconnect between scholarly opinion about land taxation and political action to promote it. I thought this discrepancy might be the result of ignorance of the concepts of land taxation on the part of state and local political leaders. If state legislators and city council members were unaware of land or graded taxation, then they could not be expected to champion such reforms.

The survey results show, however, that this discrepancy cannot be resolved by looking at level of awareness alone. Most state legislators and local officials involved

in public finance and taxation issues are familiar with both land taxation and split-rate taxation, and they know that moving to a split-rate tax system would have a positive effect on economic development. Moreover, a slight majority of those surveyed believe that graded taxes would have no negative effects on sprawl.

Since state and local officials know about land taxation and believe it could lead to positive policy outcomes, why are so few local governments using this method of public finance? It is difficult to answer that question without eliciting views on more technical aspects of land or split-rate taxation. Implementation of land taxation raises complex issues as to the feasibility of adopting major property tax reforms, the effects on other revenue sources, and the administration of a land tax system, particularly with respect to valuation. Solving the mystery as to why more jurisdictions are not exploring the policy of taxing land at a higher rate than improvements may lie in analyzing these important operational factors. ■

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Francisco Sabatini

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Land Lines: Why is the topic of residential segregation so important for land policy and urban planning in general?

Francisco Sabatini: Zoning, the centerpiece of urban planning, consists of segregating or separating activities and consolidating homogeneous urban areas, for either exclusionary or inclusionary purposes. At the city level, this planning tool was introduced in Frankfurt, Germany, in 1891 and was adopted elsewhere to address environmental and social problems due to rapid urbanization and industrialization. In modern cities the widespread practice of zoning to separate different activities and groups has aggravated these and other problems. It affects traffic and air pollution because more car trips are needed to move around the city, and it contributes to environmental decay and urban ghettos characterized by symptoms of social disintegration, such as increasing rates of school dropouts, teenage pregnancy and drug addiction.

It is indisputable that the desire for social segregation has long been a component of exclusionary zoning, along with concerns related to the environment and health. The influx of working-class families and immigrants is often considered undesirable and politically threatening, and zoning has been used to segregate such groups. Ethnic and religious discrimination are the most negative forms of social segregation. When a national government defines itself in religious, ethnic or racial terms, residential segregation usually remains entrenched as a severe form of



discrimination, intolerance and human exploitation, as in Ireland, South Africa and Israel. Segregation can be positive, however, as in many cities around the world that become socially enriched with the proliferation of ethnic enclaves.

LL: What are the economic impacts of segregation?

FS: Besides its urban and social effects, residential segregation is an important aspect of land policy because it is closely connected to the functioning of land markets and is a factor in motivating households to pursue economic security and the formation of intergenerational assets. Fast-growing cities in unstable and historically inflationary economies convert land price increments into an opportunity for households at every social level to achieve their goals. It is no coincidence that the percentage of home ownership is comparatively high in Latin American cities, including among its poor groups. Land valuation seems to be an important motivation

behind the self-segregating processes of the upper and middle classes. And, the increase in land prices is a factor in limiting access to serviced land and contributing to spatial segregation. In fact, the scarcity of serviced land at affordable prices, rather than the absolute scarcity of land, is considered the main land problem in Latin American cities, according to research conducted at the Lincoln Institute.

LL: What makes residential segregation so important in Latin America?

FS: Two of the most salient features of Latin America are its socioeconomic inequality and its urban residential segregation. There is an obvious connection between the two phenomena, though one is not a simple reflection of the other. For example, changes in income inequality in Brazilian cities are not necessarily accompanied by equivalent changes in spatial segregation. Residential segregation is closely related to the processes of social differentiation, however, and in that sense is deeply entrenched in the region's economically diverse cities.

The rapidly increasing rate of crime and related social problems in spatially segregated low-income neighborhoods makes segregation a critical policy issue. These areas seem to be devolving from the "hopeful poverty" that predominated before the economic reforms of the 1980s to an atmosphere of hopelessness distinctive of urban ghettos. How much of this change can be attributed to residential segregation is an open question, on which little

research is being done. I believe that in the current context of “flexible” labor regimes (no contracts, no enforcement of labor regulations, etc.) and alienation of civil society from formal politics, residential segregation adds a new component to social exclusion and desolation. In the past, spatial agglomeration of the poor tended to support grassroots organizations and empower them within a predominantly elitist political system.

LL: *What features are characteristic of residential segregation in Latin America, as contrasted to the rest of the world?*

FS: Compared to societies with strong social mobility, such as the United States, spatial segregation as a means of asserting social and ethnic identities is used less frequently in Latin America. Brazil shares with the U.S. a history of slavery and high levels of immigration, and it is one of the most unequal societies in the world; however, there is apparently much less ethnic or income segregation in residential neighborhoods in Brazil than in the U.S.

At the same time, there is a high degree of spatial concentration of elites and the rising middle class in wealthy areas of Latin American cities, although in many cases these areas are also the most socially diverse. Lower-income groups easily move into these neighborhoods, in contrast with the tradition of the wealthy Anglo-American suburb, which tends to remain socially and economically homogeneous over time.

Another noteworthy spatial pattern is that the segregated poor neighborhoods in Latin America are located predominantly on the periphery of cities, more like the pattern of continental Europe than that of many Anglo-American cities, where high concentrations of poverty are found in the center. The powerful upper classes in Latin America have crafted urban rules and regulations and influenced public investment in order to exclude the “informal” poor from some of the more modern zones, thus making the underdevelopment of their cities and countries less visible.

Finally, the existence of a civic culture of social integration in Latin America is manifested in a socially mixed physical environment. This widespread social mingling could be linked to the Catholic cultural ethos and the phenomenon of a cultural *mestizo*, or melting pot. The *mestizo* is an important figure in Latin American history, and it is telling that in English there is no word for *mestizo*. Anglo-American, Protestant cities seem to demonstrate more reluctance to encourage social and spatial mixing. Expanding this Latin American cultural heritage should be a basic goal of land policies aiming to deter the formation of poor urban ghettos, and it could influence residential segregation elsewhere.

LL: *What trends do you perceive in residential segregation in Latin America?*

FS: Two trends are relevant, both stimulated by the economic reforms of the 1980s: the spatial dispersal of upper-class gated communities and other mega-projects into low-income fringe areas; and the proliferation of the ghetto effect in deprived neighborhoods. The invasion of the urban periphery by large real estate projects triggers the gentrification of areas otherwise likely to become low-income settlements, giving way to huge profits for some. It also shortens the physical distance between the poor and other social groups, despite the fact that this new form of residential segregation is more intense because gated communities are highly homogeneous and walls or fences reinforce exclusion. Due to the peripheral location of these new developments, the processes of gentrification must be supported by modern regional infrastructures, mainly roads. Widespread private land ownership by the poor residents could help to prevent their complete expulsion from these gentrified areas and achieve a greater degree of social diversity.

The second trend consists of the social disintegration in those low-income neighborhoods where economic and political exclusion have been added to traditional spatial segregation, as mentioned earlier.

LL: *What should land policy officials, in Latin America and elsewhere, know about residential segregation, and why?*

FS: Residential segregation is not a necessary by-product of public housing programs or of the functioning of land markets, nor is it a necessary spatial reflection of social inequality. Thus, land policies aimed at controlling residential segregation could contribute to deterring the current expansion of the ghetto effect. In addition, officials should consider measures aimed at democratizing the city, most notably with regard to the distribution of investments in urban infrastructure. Policies such as participatory budgeting, as implemented in Porto Alegre and other Brazilian cities, could be indispensable in helping to undermine one of the mainstays of residential segregation in Latin American cities: public investments biased toward affluent areas.

LL: *How is your work with the Lincoln Institute addressing these problems?*

FS: Residential segregation is widely recognized as a relevant urban topic, but it has been scarcely researched by academics and to a large extent has been neglected by land policy officials. With the Institute’s support I have been lecturing on the topic in several Latin American universities over the past year, to promote discussion among faculty and students in urban planning and land development departments. I also lead a network of scholars that has recently prepared an eight-session course on residential segregation and land markets in Latin America cities. It is available in CD-ROM format for public officials and educators to support teaching, research and debate on the topic.

LL: *Please expand on your new role as a Lincoln Institute partner in Chile.*

FS: This year we inaugurated the Program on Support for the Design of Urban Policies at the Catholic University of Chile in Santiago. The program’s advisory board includes members of parliament, senior public officials, business leaders, researchers,

consultants and NGO representatives. With its focus on land policy, particularly actions related to the financing of urban development and residential social integration, this board will identify relevant national land policy objectives and adequate strategies to reach them, including activities in the areas of training, applied policy research and dissemination of the results.

The board's first task is to promote broad discussion of the draft reform of major urban laws and policies that the government recently sent to the Chilean Parliament. Since the late 1970s, when the urban and land market liberalization policies were applied under the military dictatorship, the debate on urban policies has fallen nearly silent, and Chile has lost its regional leadership position on these issues. Overly simplistic notions about the operation and potential of land markets, and especially about the origins of residential segregation (due in part to ideological bias), have contributed to this lack of discussion. Both land markets and the processes of residential segregation must be seen as arenas of critical social and urban importance. We want to reintroduce Chile into this debate, which has been facilitated by the Lincoln Institute's Program on Latin America and the Caribbean and its networks of experts over the past 10 years. □

References and Resources

Sabatini, Francisco, and Gonzalo Cáceres. 2004. *Barrios cerrados: Entre la exclusión y la integración residencial* (Gated communities: Between exclusion and residential integration). Santiago: Instituto de Geografía, Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile.

———. Forthcoming. *Recuperación de plusvalías en Santiago de Chile: Experiencias del Siglo XX*. (Value capture in Santiago, Chile: Experiences from the 20th century). Santiago: Instituto de Geografía, Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile.

Sabatini, Francisco, Gonzalo Cáceres and Gabriela Muñoz. 2004. *Segregación residencial y mercados de suelo en la ciudad latinoamericana*. (Residential segregation and land markets in Latin American cities). CD-ROM.

Espaço e debates. 2004. Segregações urbanas 24(45).

To order any of the above items, contact Francisco Sabatini (fsabatini@puc.cl).

Program on Latin America and the Caribbean

LAC Program Spanish Web Site

The Lincoln Institute's Web site has been updated and expanded to include Spanish-language content developed for the Program on Latin America and the Caribbean (LAC). It features detailed descriptions of educational programs, research and publications; more than 60 *Land Lines* articles; and a Frequent Questions and Answers section that addresses a number of issues related to the program (http://www.lincolninst.edu/aboutlincoln/lac_espanol.asp).

New Publications

The following publications have been published by the Lincoln Institute or copublished with partner institutions in Latin America. Consult the e-mail address or Web site for additional information and ordering instructions.

Acceso al suelo para los pobres

urbanos: 2002 mesa redonda translates into Spanish the Institute's 2002 Annual Roundtable on access to land by urban poor. Seven experts on developing and implementing land and housing policies in the third world contributed to the roundtable. Their discussion reflected in this publication addresses the linkages among poverty, informal land markets, lack of services and urban policies in Latin America and other regions (<http://www.lincolninst.edu/pubs/pub-detail.asp?id=918>).



Grandes proyectos urbanos (*Large-scale Urban Projects*) is a compilation of materials from the LAC Program's professional development courses on large-scale urban redevelopment projects held in 2002, 2003 and 2004. The chapters, authored by Lincoln faculty associates, reflect their respective areas of expertise: course developer Mario Lungo of El Salvador edited the volume and provides a general discussion on the topic; Alfredo Garay of Argentina examines the development and management of large urban interventions; Paulo Sandroni of Brazil addresses project financing; and Eduardo Rojas of Chile focuses on the relationship of these projects to sustainable urban development. The volume highlights such topics as the relationship between large-scale projects and urban planning, project management instruments and options, public participation, financing and the various dimensions of these projects' impacts, especially gentrification. Special attention is paid to land management and opportunities for value capture generated by large-scale urban interventions in Latin American cities. Contact: Edgardo Recinos at distpubli@ued.uca.edu.sv.

A related forthcoming publication, **Catálogo: Grandes proyectos urbanos** (*Catalog of Large-scale Urban Projects*), is a compilation of case studies on projects presented by students in the same three courses. The cases represent the enormous diversity among existing urban interventions classified as large-scale

GRADUATE STUDENT FELLOWS

Program on Latin America and the Caribbean

continued

projects: revitalization of historic centers; reutilization of abandoned installations such as military barracks or industrial buildings; renewal of port areas; upgrading of housing complexes; and construction of new urban transport systems. They show the disparate impacts of these large interventions, consider their relationship with different regulatory frameworks for urban growth in Latin American nations, and help to illustrate the specific conditions for implementing these projects based on various land market functions. Contact: Edgardo Recinos at distpubli@ued.uca.edu.sv.

The magazine *Acesso legal à terra urbana e à cidade* (*Legal Access to Urban Land and to the City*) is the newest product of the LAC Program's Social Urbanizer project based in the Municipality of Porto Alegre, Brazil. The Social Urbanizer project began in 2003 and has become one of the program's most dynamic and productive initiatives. The magazine (in Portuguese) contributes to the debate on policies for expanding legal access to urban land and provides a discussion on the informal (illegal) production of urban space, which affects all Latin American cities. Professionals in economics, law and urban planning reflect on the central themes of Latin American urban policy, including the premise that the current model of tenure regularization and subsidized production is inadequate and may actually worsen the situation. The magazine highlights the need for innovative policies that go to the source of the problem, including an enhanced role for public authorities as effective managers of urban space. Copies are distributed free of charge from the Social Urbanizer team at urbanizadorsocial@spm.prefpoa.com.br.

The Lincoln Institute offers several types of fellowship programs to demonstrate its commitment to provide financial support to graduate students and practitioners at different stages of their academic and professional careers. These individuals will contribute to the land and tax policy knowledge base and will develop ideas to guide policy makers throughout the world. During the 2004–2005 academic year, 29 students are receiving fellowships to pursue their research.

DISSERTATION FELLOWS

The Lincoln Institute's Dissertation Fellowship Program assists Ph.D. students, primarily at U.S. universities, whose research complements the Institute's interests in land and tax policy. The program provides an important link between the Institute's educational mission and its research objectives by supporting scholars early in their careers. Dissertation fellowship awards are \$10,000 each. Every year the Institute hosts a special seminar for these fellowship recipients so they can present their research and share feedback with other fellows and Institute faculty members. Dissertation fellowship applications are due March 1, 2005, and the awards will be announced by July 15, 2005.

Gregory S. Burge

*Department of Economics
Florida State University, Tallahassee*

A Theoretical and Empirical Investigation of the Effects of Impact Fees on the Affordability of Starter Homes

Choi Ki-Whan

*Department of Economics
Georgia State University, Atlanta*

The Economic Effects of Land Value Taxation in an Urban Area under Large Lot Zoning

Esteban G. Dalehite

*School of Public and Environmental Affairs
Indiana University, Bloomington*

School Finance and Local Incentives: The Effects of Property Tax Abatements on School Tax Burden and Effort

Michael Donovan

*Department of City and Regional Planning
University of California at Berkeley*

Toward a Political Economy of Land Titling: A Study of Recife, Brazil

Shihe Fu

*Department of Economics
Boston College, Massachusetts*

Essays on Urban Agglomeration and the Dynamic Henry George Theorem

Bill B. Golden

*Department of Agricultural Economics
Kansas State University, Manhattan*

Spatial Equity of Use Value Assessment

Levent Kaya

*Department of Economics
State University of New York at Buffalo*

Analyzing "Smart Taxes" as Growth Management Tools: Effects of Taxation on Urban Development

Raven E. Saks

*Department of Economics
Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.*

Housing Supply Regulations across the United States

Makiko Tanaka

*Department of City and Regional Planning
University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia*

Public Participation Emphasizing Consensus Building in the United States: Exploring a Japanese Framework for Comprehensive Land Use Plans

Tian Li

*Department of Land Economy
University of Cambridge, England*

Betterment and Compensation under the Land Use Rights System of China

Abigail York

*Department of Political Science and School of Public and Environmental Affairs
Indiana University, Bloomington*

The Impact of Zoning: A Multilevel Analysis

For application forms or information about these programs, contact fellowships@lincolninst.edu or visit the Lincoln Institute Web site (www.lincolninst.edu).

P. Christopher Zegras

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

**Sustainable Urban Mobility:
What Role Does the Neighborhood Play?**

INTERNATIONAL FELLOWS

The Institute's Program on Latin America and the Caribbean offers its own fellowships to doctoral and masters students, for \$5,000 and \$3,000, respectively. Fellows attend an evaluation meeting for a critique of their projects at a Latin American locale. The LAC Program also cosponsors with the City Studies Program at the National Autonomous University of Mexico the FEXSU (Formación de expertos en suelo urbano) fellowship, available to graduate students writing theses on subjects directly related to urban land policy. Applications for fellowships in the LAC Program are due April 30, 2005, and the awards will be announced by July 1, 2005.

The Institute's Program on the People's Republic of China also awards dissertation and thesis fellowships of \$5,000 and \$3,000, respectively. Fellows participate in a workshop in China to present their proposals and receive critiques from an international expert panel. Fellows are required to make presentations based on their research findings prior to the final submission of their projects.

*Program on Latin America
and the Caribbean*

Nelson Baltrusis, Ph.D. student

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

**The Informal Real Estate Market in
Favelas in the São Paulo Metropolitan
Region**

Rosario Casanova, Master's student

*School of Engineering
University of the Republic
Montevideo, Uruguay*

**Multitemporal Analysis of Land Market
Values in Montevideo to Identify
Urban Interventions**

María Cristina Cravino, Ph.D. student

*Conurbano Institute
General Sarmiento National University
Buenos Aires, Argentina*

**Tenure Regularization and Informal
Land Market in Buenos Aires**

Marcelo Fernando Delgado,

Master's student
*School of Economic Sciences (CEPLAG)
Greater University of San Simón
Cochabamba, Bolivia*

**The Problem of Human Settlements:
Land Use on the Campus of the
Greater University of San Simón
"La Tamborada" Farm**

Daniel Galizzi, Master's student

*Department of Economics
University of Buenos Aires, Argentina*

**The Institutional Capacity and
Administration of Land and Housing
Policies in Three Municipalities of
Greater Buenos Aires**

Nestor Garza, Master's student

*Department of Economics
National University of Colombia, Bogotá*

**New Housing Submarkets Produced
by the Formal Sector in Bogotá**

Nadia Hilgert, Master's student

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

**Urban Land, Poverty and Democracy:
Access to Land by the Urban Poor in the
Participatory Budget of Porto Alegre**

Vilma Josefina Rondón, Master's student

*School of Architecture and Urbanism
Central University of Venezuela, Caracas*

**Improving Urban Operations Programs
Proposed in Urban Master Plans**

Camilo Silberkasten, Master's student

*Department of Economics
University of Buenos Aires, Argentina*

**Economic Analysis and Proposal
for Reform of the Property Tax in
Buenos Aires**

Daniela Sepúlveda Swatson,

Master's student
*School of Architecture and Urbanism
University of Chile, Santiago*

**Residential Segregation in Metropolitan
Areas: Access to Land by Urban Poor
in the Santiago Metropolitan Area**

Rodrigo Tapia, Master's student

*Institute of Urban and Territorial Studies
Catholic University of Chile, Santiago*

**Spatial Aspects to Residential
Segregation in Santiago, Chile**

Alessandra Vieira, Master's student

*Institute for Technological Research
for the State of São Paulo, Brazil*

**Real Estate Appreciation Due to Public
Intervention in São Paulo in the 1990s**

*Program on the People's Republic
of China*

De Tong, Master's student

*Department of Urban and Regional
Planning*

*Shenzhen Graduate School, Beijing
University, Guangdong*

**A Comparative Study of Shenzhen and
Guangzhou in Land Use and Alteration
Model of Villages Within Cities**

Liu Xuan, Ph.D. student

*Department of Real Estate
National University of Singapore*

**Construction of Land Markets: A
Comparative Study of Chinatown
(Singapore) and Jinhuajie, Guangzhou
(China)**

Wenli Feng, Ph.D. student

*College of Resources Science and Technology
Beijing Normal University*

**The Methodology of Land Use Planning
at the County Level Under Ecological
Security in Haidian District, Beijing**

Wu Yuzhe, Ph.D. student

*Department of Land Management
Zhejiang University, Hangzhou*

**GIS-based Urban Housing Price Data
Mining and Its Application: Spatial
Distribution of Urban Housing Price
and Its Evolvement in Hangzhou**

Yu Kun, Ph.D. student

*Aetna School of Management
Shanghai Jiao Tong University*

Land Banking Modes for China

Practical Ecology for Planners, Developers, and Citizens

In recent years, the practice of ecologically based planning and development has emerged as a way to safeguard human communities from natural hazards and to protect natural systems from the impacts of human settlement. Yet, despite a growing recognition of the value of planning and building with greater ecological sensitivity, many land use professionals lack the tools needed to do so easily. In *Practical Ecology for Planners, Developers, and Citizens*, authors Dan Perlman and Jeffrey Milder address this need by introducing and explaining key ecological concepts for planners, landscape architects, developers and others involved in planning and building human habitats.

Throughout the book, the authors make ecological concepts accessible to readers with little or no scientific background by presenting information in simple, pragmatic terms and by using numerous graphics and illustrations to help explain important principles. The book is not so much an exhortation to conserve nature as a practical explanation of how to do so in the context of land use planning and land development. It explains how, by paying attention to the ecology of the places they work, land use professionals can create a richer, healthier world for humans and for all living creatures.

The three parts of the book lead the reader from concept to application, but the two are closely intertwined throughout in recognition of the relevance of scientific information to planning and design practice. The first part introduces the paradigm of ecological thinking and the ways in which it differs from the planning paradigm. It then explores the fundamentals of the ecological world and humans' relationship to it.

The second part is a primer on ecology and conservation biology, emphasizing those aspects of the field most relevant to planners, designers, developers and others



interested in land use: How does nature change over time? How predictable are these changes and what does this mean for planning? How do organisms and species interact in nature? Finally, how does the arrangement of landscape elements such as cities, farms, roads and nature reserves affect the form and function of ecological communities?

The final part discusses how scientific concepts can be applied to the two primary goals of ecologically based planning and design: (1) ensuring that humans benefit from and are not endangered by local ecosystems, and (2) improving the ecological integrity of human-influenced landscapes. This part begins by discussing large-scale applications such as regional planning and the design of nature reserves. It then moves to the scale of communities and sites to discuss the design of smaller parks and nature areas, as well as techniques for managing and restoring land. The final chapters present a range of practical planning and design techniques from an ecological standpoint as well as a two-part planning exercise that lets the reader practice applying the book's lessons.

The Lincoln Institute supported the authors' research for the book, which is published by Island Press in cooperation with the Institute.

Contents

Part One: Humans, Nature and Interactions

1. Humans Plan
2. An Introduction to Ecology and Biodiversity
3. When Humans and Nature Collide

Part Two: The Science of Ecology

4. Change Through Time
5. Populations and Communities
6. The Ecology of Landscapes

Part Three: Applications

7. Conservation Planning
8. Nature in the Neighborhood
9. Restoration and Management
10. Ecologically Based Planning and Design Techniques
11. Principles in Practice

DAN L. PERLMAN is assistant professor of biology and chairman of the Environmental Studies Program at Brandeis University in Waltham, Massachusetts. He coauthored the interactive CD-ROM *Conserving Earth's Biodiversity* with E.O. Wilson. Contact: perlman@brandeis.edu

JEFFREY C. MILDER, AICP, is an environmental planner and former manager of planning services at Daylor Consulting Group, Inc., in Braintree, Massachusetts. He is working toward a Ph.D. in the Department of Natural Resources at Cornell University. Contact: jcm85@cornell.edu

Practical Ecology for Planners, Developers, and Citizens

Dan L. Perlman and Jeffrey C. Milder

Published by Island Press in cooperation with the Lincoln Institute of Land Policy
2004. 376 pages.
Paper: \$35.00 ISBN 1-55963-716-1
Cloth: \$65.00 ISBN 1-55963-634-3

Ordering Information

Contact Lincoln Institute at www.lincolninst.edu or help@lincolninst.edu

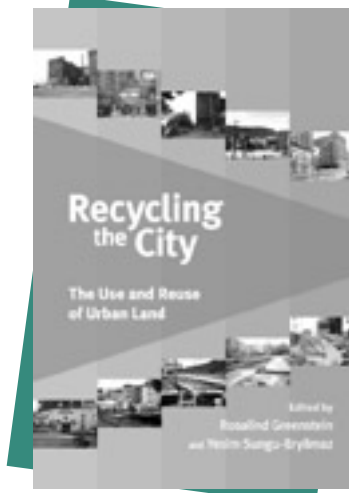
Recycling the City: The Use and Reuse of Urban Land

This collection of essays examines underutilized, abandoned and vacant urban land within political, economic, institutional and policy contexts. In the volume's three sections, the authors consider the issues at the national, regional, local and site levels; examine redevelopment processes and policies; and describe some potential uses of vacant and abandoned land, including urban agriculture, green development, and the preservation of an industrial landscape for cultural uses.

Following an introduction by coeditors Rosalind Greenstein and Yesim Sungu-Eryilmaz, the 11 chapters raise the essential questions: Is vacant land an opportunity or an obstacle? Are brownfields a legacy of prior industrial wealth, or of illegal and dangerous contamination? Is a land inventory vital to community needs for future growth, or the symbol of political shortsightedness or worse? Is the reclamation of this land the first step in an urban turnaround, or one more giveaway of local assets to investors with weak ties to the community?

To transform urban vacant lots requires focusing redevelopment efforts beyond the vacancy to the neighborhood and district context; accepting transitional uses as intermediate states; and a commitment to making thousands of small steps. The authors put redevelopment of urban land within the context of land economics, and make policy recommendations that concentrate on local action, including by nongovernmental organizations.

Recycling the City gathers cross-disciplinary research and analysis on the topic of underutilized, abandoned and vacant urban land, and will be of interest to anyone concerned with the future of our cities.



Contents

Introduction

Recycling Urban Vacant Land, *Rosalind Greenstein and Yesim Sungu-Eryilmaz*

Part One: The Vacant Land Phenomenon

1. Vacant Land as Opportunity and Challenge, *Michael A. Pagano and Ann O'M. Bowman*
2. Western European Vacant Land: An Overview of Its History, Context and Policy in the Twentieth Century, *Barry Wood*
3. The Economics of Vacant Land, *Alan W. Evans*

Part Two: The Vacant Land and Brownfield Redevelopment Process

4. Turning Brownfields into Community Assets: Do Current Policies, Encourage Brownfield Redevelopment?, *Lavea Brachman*
5. Is Contamination the Barrier to Inner-City Industrial Revitalization?, *Marie Howland*
6. Survey of State-Level Policies to Address Urban Vacant Land and Property Reuse, *Nancey Green Leigh*
7. Environmental Devolution and Local Capacity: Brownfield Implementation in Four Distressed Cities in New Jersey, *Sarah S. Gardner*

8. The Role of Community Development Corporations in Brownfield Redevelopment, *Margaret Dewar and Sabina Deitrick*

Part Three: Innovative Uses for Vacant Land

9. Farming Inside Cities Through Entrepreneurial Urban Agriculture, *Jerome Kaufman and Martin Bailkey*
10. Creative Brownfield Redevelopment: The Experience of the IBA Emscher Park Initiative in the Ruhr in Germany, *Klaus R. Kunzmann*
11. Once Upon a Brownfield: Toward a Vision of Sustainable Development in Boston's South Bay, *William Shutkin*

ROSALIND GREENSTEIN is senior fellow and cochair of the Department of Planning and Development at the Lincoln Institute of Land Policy. Her expertise lies in the political economy of metropolitan regions; local economic development, with an emphasis on the social implications of that development; and research design. Contact: Roz@lincolninst.edu

YESIM SUNGU-ERYILMAZ is a Ph.D. candidate at the Graduate School of Public and International Affairs at the University of Pittsburgh. She specializes in urban and regional economic development and international development, and has served as a research assistant in various projects including brownfields redevelopment, affordable housing and disaster management. Contact: yesim@pitt.edu

**Recycling the City:
The Use and Reuse of Urban Land**
Edited by Rosalind Greenstein and
Yesim Sungu-Eryilmaz

Published by Lincoln Institute of Land Policy
2004. 300 pages. Paper. \$20.00
ISBN 1-55844-159-X

Ordering Information

Contact Lincoln Institute at
www.lincolninst.edu or help@lincolninst.edu

PROGRAM CALENDAR

Courses and Conferences

The courses and conferences listed here 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 Web site at www.lincolninstitute.edu/education/ or e-mail rboff@lincolninstitute.edu. For more information about the Institute's Program on Latin America and the Caribbean, visit www.lincolninstitute.edu/aboutlincoln/lac.asp.

MONDAY, OCTOBER 18

Land Use and Property Rights in America

Harvey M. Jacobs, Department of Urban and Regional Planning and Gaylord Nelson Institute for Environmental Studies, University of Wisconsin-Madison

In the 1990s, the property rights movement influenced legislation in 27 states that restricts the right of state and local governments to enact and enforce land use and environmental regulations and planning programs. It reshaped public dialogue on the appropriate balance of private and public property rights. This course, intended for land use and environmental planners and managers, citizens and elected officials, acquaints participants with the history and structure of the property rights movement; strategies to engage land use planning opponents in constructive dialogue; policy techniques that address the concerns of property rights advocates; and the future of property rights in local, state and national politics.

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 4-FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 5

Ventura, California

Resolving Land Use Disputes

Lawrence Susskind and Merrick Hoben, Consensus Building Institute, Cambridge, Massachusetts; Matthew McKinney, Public Policy Research Institute, University of Montana, Helena; and Patrick Field, MIT-Harvard Public Disputes Program, Cambridge, Massachusetts

Land use disputes are among the most contentious issues facing communities

throughout the U.S., and local officials struggle to find ways of balancing environmental protection, economic development and private property rights. This two-day introductory course 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 apply mediation to resolve land use disputes are also explored.

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 15-FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 19

Montevideo, Uruguay

Informal Land Markets:

Regularization of Land Tenure and Urban Upgrading Programs

Martín Smolka, Lincoln Institute of Land Policy; and Edésio Fernandes, International Research Group on Law and Urban Space (IRGLUS), London

Participants from diverse professional backgrounds examine informality and the land tenure regularization process through the analysis of Latin American and other international cases. Topics include the formal-informal urban land market nexus; legal issues associated with the security of tenure; property rights and housing rights; alternative policy instruments; new institutional settings; managerial procedures leading to alternative modes of project implementation, including community participation; and evaluating programs at the project and city levels.

DECEMBER [TBA]

Economic Perspectives on Property Taxation

Joan Youngman, Lincoln Institute of Land Policy; Robert Tannenwald and Matthew Quigley, Federal Reserve Bank of Boston, Massachusetts; and Daphne A. Kenyon, D. A. Kenyon & Associates, Windham, New Hampshire

This program encourages policy makers to consider the economic impact of alternate

state policies toward property taxation and education finance, and the implications of these effects for policy choices. Leading tax and school finance experts discuss their analysis of current issues, including the results of shifting tax and expenditure responsibilities between the state and local levels, the role of property taxation in public school finance, and the latest developments in state aid for education. Cosponsored with Federal Reserve Bank of Boston.

MONDAY, DECEMBER 13-TUESDAY, DECEMBER 14

Tampa, Florida

GIS for Community-Based Organizations: A Focus on Redevelopment and Revitalization Projects

Ann-Margaret Esnard, Department of City and Regional Planning, Cornell University, Ithaca, New York

GIS technology (including Web-GIS) is increasingly used by community based organizations (CBOs) for land development and community revitalization projects and policies geared at improving a community's overall quality of life. To help CBOs keep up with the rapidly changing technology while maintaining their mission, this course provides CBOs with general strategies for successful GIS implementation; information about national data resources for local uses; case studies on the types of projects and analyses that can be used as methods for evaluating administrative, political and financial impacts of GIS.

JANUARY 2005 [TBA]

Chicago, Illinois

Policy Responses to Housing Teardowns

Richard Dye, Lincoln Institute of Land Policy; and Dan McMillen, University of Illinois at Chicago

Residential housing teardowns have attracted attention in many local communities for their impact on appearance, preservation, zoning, affordability and property values, among other concerns. This program explores the effects of housing teardowns and examines successes and failures of local government policy responses.

Planning Tools and Techniques Series

Armando Carbonell, Lincoln Institute of Land Policy; and Michelle Thompson, Course Coordinator, Ithaca, New York

This week-long series of courses provides urban planners and designers, public officials, citizen stakeholders and developers with a set of principles, tools, methods and techniques to effectively engage communities in the planning process. Participants with a basic understanding of urban planning and design concepts may attend either individual sessions or the complete program.

MONDAY, DECEMBER 6–TUESDAY, DECEMBER 7

I. Visioning and Visualization

Michael Kwartler, Environmental Simulation Center, New York City; and Gianni Longo, ACP–Visioning & Planning, New York City

Visioning has become an accepted technique to build broad-based agree-

ment on goals and strategies for the future of a neighborhood, city or region. When used with visualization techniques, visioning is a powerful tool for making informed decisions on the physical quality of future development. This course defines principles for effective visioning, reviews three case studies, and includes a hands-on workshop that demonstrates visioning and visualization techniques in a realistic situation.

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 8

II. 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. This workshop offers planners, designers and community development officials specific tools for understanding the link between urban design and residential density. Using aerial photography and computer graphics, the program explores how various design approaches accommodate different levels of density.

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 9–FRIDAY, DECEMBER 10

III. Redesigning the Edgeless City

Robert Lane and Robert Yaro, Regional Plan Association, New York City; Patrick Condon, Landscape Architecture Program, University of British Columbia, Vancouver; and Dan Marcelle, College of Architecture and Landscape Architecture, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis

This course introduces planning and policy advocates, city and state officials,

developers and citizen stakeholders to principles and techniques that can be applied in different metropolitan contexts. Previous courses have dealt with such topics as the design of a sustainable suburban highway corridor and ways to redesign mature suburban areas into pedestrian-friendly, transit-oriented centers with a strong sense of place.



PROGRAM CALENDAR

Audio Conference Training Program for Planning Officials

This series is cosponsored with the American Planning Association (APA). Most programs are one hour and begin at 4 p.m., E.T. For registration information, call the APA at 312.431.9100 or visit their Web site: www.planning.org.

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 6 Economic Development for Small Towns

Small towns are challenged by the need to develop and maintain an economic base. This program presents case studies from around the country that illustrate how communities have set their own agenda, found innovative ways of developing new businesses, reinforced viable existing businesses and adapted to changing markets.

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 1 Planning and Public Health

The new frontier in community planning is the border between public health and planning. What types of health problems are being affected by community design? How can the two fields be brought together? What does planning gain from the partnership? Planners working with local health officials report on new research APA has undertaken with the National Association of County and City Health Officials and the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention.

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 16, 2005 Zoning Clinic

Panelists examine the zoning board of appeals and how it can function better. They discuss the purposes of the board and how it should approach decision making, as well as the use of a zoning hearing examiner as an alternative to a board. Gain insight into how to conduct administrative hearings, make findings of fact and ensure your decisions can survive legal challenges.



Lincoln Lecture Series

The Institute's annual lecture series offers the opportunity to learn from and engage in discussion with faculty associates working on current issues in land and tax policy. The lectures are presented at Lincoln House in Cambridge, Massachusetts, and begin at 12 p.m. (lunch is provided), unless otherwise noted. Consult the Lincoln Institute Web site (www.lincolninst.edu) for information about other dates, speakers and lecture topics. The programs are free, but pre-registration is required.

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 28 Housing Vouchers and Policy in Chile since 1980

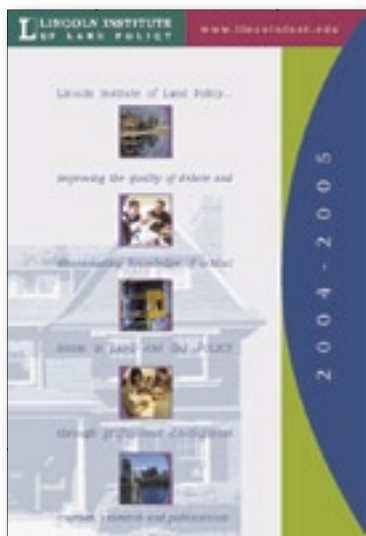
Mario Navarro
Visiting Fellow, Lincoln Institute of Land Policy, and Loeb Fellow, Harvard University Graduate School of Design, Cambridge, Massachusetts

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 18, 4:30 P.M. Practical Ecology: Using Ecological Science in Planning and Development

Dan L. Perlman
Chairman, Environmental Studies Program, Brandeis University, Waltham, Massachusetts
Jeffrey C. Milder
Ph.D. Candidate, Department of Natural Resources, Cornell University, Ithaca, New York

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 2 Turning Brownfields into Community Assets: Current Policies in Brownfield Redevelopment

Lavea Brachman
Visiting Fellow, Lincoln Institute of Land Policy



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