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Puente de la Mujer (Woman's Bridge) in Puerto Madero, Buenos Aires, Argentina © Michael Lewis/Corbis

Regenerating America's Legacy Cities

Over the past several decades, the structure of the U.S. economy has changed as it experienced a continuing reduction of overall employment in manufacturing and ongoing growth in the service sector, especially services involving knowledge workers. The geographic distribution of activity has also changed as population has continued to shift from the seasonal Northeast and Midwest to the warmer South and West. Finally, within metropolitan areas, populations and employment moved



Gregory K. Ingram

from cities to the suburbs as trucking and automobile travel became ubiquitous. These three trends have left many cities in the Northeast and Midwest with much smaller populations, weaker economies, fewer manufacturing jobs, and an inability to offset lost employment opportunities with gains from sectors that are expanding nationally. These are today's legacy cities, which often have excess infrastructure capacity, underutilized housing stocks, and fiscal stress related to past obligations from public sectors now greatly diminished in size. A recent Lincoln Institute policy focus report, *Regenerating America's Legacy Cities*, by Alan Mallach and Lavea Brachman, reviews the performance of a sample of these urban areas and identifies steps the more successful cities have taken to produce stronger outcomes.

While the declines of legacy cities have common causes, their economic performance has become guite diverse in recent decades, as some have delivered much stronger economic, institutional, and fiscal results than others. All legacy cities have an array of assets including infrastructure, neighborhoods, institutions, populations, and ongoing economic activity. Differences in their comparative performance are related to how local policies and leadership have leveraged existing inventories of these assets. In particular, recovering legacy cities have built upon and expanded existing institutions in research, medicine, health, and education. They have also exploited the growing interest in urban neighborhoods where it is easy to walk to stores and restaurants, and where residential densities are higher than those in most suburban communities. Recovering cities also typically have maintained or attracted more educated residents and have seen growth in knowledge-related activities.

Legacy cities that have seen their economies begin to transform and grow again have not necessarily experienced

population increases. The population of most legacy cities peaked in the mid-20th century and then declined. Buffalo and St. Louis, for example, had lower populations in 2000 than in 1900. Sometimes the decline in city populations is offset by suburban growth, so that metropolitan populations do not decline. But some successful legacy cities, such as Pittsburgh, have experienced modest population declines even at the metropolitan level. Changing the composition of

city populations and economic activity is more important for success than population growth alone.

The successful recovery of legacy cities normally has not resulted from megaprojects that focus on redevelopment, but on the accretion of many small steps with a large cumulative impact—an approach Mallach and Brachman have dubbed "strategic incrementalism." Their research shows that successful legacy cities have pursued such an approach continually and relentlessly. The key elements of strategic incrementalism require the evolution of new forms for a city's physical organization, economic components, governance, and linkages to its surrounding region. Physically, the practice involves focusing on the city's central core, its key neighborhoods, and the management of vacant land. Economically, it involves restoring the economic role of the city based on its comparative advantages and existing assets, sharing the benefits of growth with its population, and strengthening connections to the city's region. Cities also must strengthen their governance and address the flow of services and fiscal resources between the city and the municipalities in the greater metropolitan area.

Legacy cities have declined over many decades, and recovery will take time and require patience. While the performance of some, such as Camden, NJ, continues to deteriorate, others show signs of progress. In Pittsburgh, Philadelphia, Milwaukee, and other legacy cities on the rebound, economic performance has improved, and the rates of unemployment, crime, and poverty have fallen below national averages despite the fact that populations remain well below their peak 60 years ago.

For additional information on the determinants of legacy city success, see http://www.lincolninst.edu/pubs/2215_ Regenerating-America-s-Legacy-Cities.

Puerto Puerto Nadero A CRITIQUE

The old port district of Buenos Aires (above) is thriving again. Santiago Calatrava's footbridge (inset), *Puente de la Mujer,* spans the water at dock 3.

Alfredo Garay with Laura Wainer, Hayley Henderson, and Demian Rotbart

© Alvaro Uribe

ore than two decades have passed since a government-led megaproject set out to transform Puerto Madero, the oldest sector of the port district at the mouth of the River Plate in Buenos Aires, Argentina. Once a center of decay that was hastening decline in the adjacent downtown, Puerto Madero is now a tourist icon and hub of progress, drawing in residents and visitors alike to its park and cultural amenities, housing approximately 5,000 new inhabitants, and generating 45,000 service jobs. Home to a number of new architectural landmarks-including Santiago Calatrava's Woman's Bridge (Puente de la Mujer) and César Pelli's YPF headquarters—the redeveloped port has contributed to the reactivation of the city center, influencing development trends throughout the Argentinean capital.

Encompassing 170 hectares near the downtown presidential palace *(Casa Rosada)*, Puerto Madero was one of Latin America's first urban brownfield renewal projects of this scale and complexity. The project was conceived as part of a wider strategy for city-center development that also included changes in land use regulations, building refurbishments, and social housing in heritage areas. This article draws on two decades' worth of evidence and experience with the project to examine the extent to which Puerto Madero has achieved its central objectives: to contribute to the reversal of undesirable development patterns in the city, assert the downtown as the eminent center of Buenos Aires, stimulate the local economy, and improve the living conditions of all *porteños*.

The Port in Crisis

Puerto Madero was abandoned as a port at the beginning of the 20th century, when operations transferred to Puerto Nuevo. By the late 1980s, Puerto Madero had suffered several decades of neglect and underutilization. The federal General Administration of Ports owned the land, but the city and national governments both had jurisdiction over planning. Similarly, greater Buenos Aireshome to 35 percent of Argentina's population and producer of 46 percent of its GDP-is governed by an overlapping set of institutions that often have trouble coordinating. To simplify this interjurisdictional governance, a public limited corporation, with shares divided equally between the national and city governments, was formed to manage the project. In 1989, the federal government transferred ownership of this sector of the port to the new corporation, CAPM (Corporación Antiguo Puerto Madero).

After receiving the federal land transfer, the role of CAPM was to develop the site plan, define a self-funded financial model, undertake the site improvements associated with the project, commercialize the land, and supervise the development process in accordance with the established time frames and guidelines of the master plan. Unlike similar ventures elsewhere in the world, which generally rely on substantial public financing or access to credit, CAPM by decree would receive no public resources besides the land transfer and would generate its own revenue to cover operating costs. The port redevelopment could not have happened otherwise, as the federal government was focused on fiscal recovery and job creation amidst a nationwide economic crisis.

Context and Chronology of the Megaproject

As in most Latin American cities, the displacement of activities from Buenos Aires's traditional downtown had curtailed use of the public transit system and led to the slow decline of historical buildings, many of which had lapsed into substandard housing. The proposed redevelopment of Puerto Madero was part of the city's broader strategy to protect heritage, promote downtown development, stimulate the local economy, and contribute to the reversal of these undesirable settlement patterns.

Development took place in four stages. During the first phase (1989–1992), CAPM sold the old docklands on the western end of the port, initiating the redevelopment process and covering initial project costs. In 1991, the city and Society of Architects signed an agreement to facilitate the Puerto Madero National Ideas Competition.

In 1992, the three winning teams collaborated to create the Draft Urban Project for Puerto Madero. The redevelopment required a new subdivision geometry that would allow for construction without requiring the demolition of valuable landmark structures. Many of the historical port buildings, such as the warehouses, would be restored with new functions, thereby com-

Once a center of decay that was hastening decline in the adjacent downtown, Puerto Madero is now a tourist icon and hub of progress.

bining valuable historic patrimony with new development.

During the second phase (1993–1995), the winners of the Ideas Competition were awarded the master plan contract. The original proposal called for the development of 1.5 million square meters of floor area concentrated in a central location to help revive the downtown. With a 20-year horizon, the



Harbor cranes are still an integral part of the cityscape.

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New towers rise behind the old docks.

> plan comprised commercial activities, cultural and recreational facilities, cafes, restaurants, amenities, professional studios, and medium-sized commercial activities (e.g. printing, packaging, and storage companies), which the 16 renovated former port warehouses could adequately accommodate. Provisions for green space, to compensate for an observed deficit in the extended city center, included a metropolitan central park, ecological reserve, and rehabilitated southern esplanade. Given the original assumption that office buildings would predominate, the number of anticipated dwelling units was to be fewer than 3,000. (Residential use experienced higher demand, however, leading to approximately 11,000 dwellings units today.)

During the third phase (1996–2000), most of the public works were built, and project expenditures peaked along with land sales. Throughout this phase, the cost per square meter of construction did not vary significantly, oscillating from around \$150 to \$300 per square meter up to the end of the decade. (Note: All prices are in U.S. dollars.) By this third phase, the investor profile had evolved from an initial pioneer group of small and medium firms that faced high levels of risk (1989–1993) to large firms that invested in proven products. By 2001, there was little public land left to sell, and the public corporation had enough liquid assets to complete the public works required by the project.

The fourth phase of development includes two segments, from 2001 to 2003 and from 2004 to today. Initially, the project suffered from the economic, financial, and political turmoil associated with the 2001 fiscal crisis propelled by the government's default on its external debt payments. Throughout that period, CAPM faced high levels of governmental uncertainty, and land sales stalled. After the 2003 presidential elections, however, the country resumed international negotiations, restructured its external debt, and significantly improved economic conditions. Simultaneously, CAPM was able to resolve litigation on some parcels, which it then proceeded to sell, using the revenues to complete the public works on site.

As the land in Puerto Madero became scarce, developers looked to the surrounding downtown areas as alternative investment locations. The scale and complexity of the port redevelopment attracted investors with closer links to national and international financial markets. Many developers chose to invest downtown instead of in the suburbs. Thus the project succeeded in redirecting market trends to align with urban policy priorities a shift that would not have happened without state intervention.

Project Achievements

Now the project is almost complete, with approximately 1.5 million square meters of floor area as planned. From start to finish, project funds were derived entirely from land sales and concessions.

By 2011, CAPM had sold approximately \$257.7 million worth of property and invested \$113 million in public works, with an overhead of about \$92 million, including management fees and other operating expenses. Land prices escalated from \$150 in the early 1990s to \$1,200 per square meter today, and the project has attracted considerable private investment in addition to the state's land transfer.

The project added four major bodies of water totaling 39 hectares and 28 hectares of green space to the city's parks system. It also facilitated the opening of the ecological reserve and enabled renewed access to the southern esplanade, the Costanera Sur, designed at the beginning of the 20th century by Jean-Claude Nicolas Forestier, who designed Paseo de Prado in Havana, Cuba. The adjacent downtown again serves as the undisputed reference point for public office and high-level administrative, financial, and commercial activity.

Puerto Madero spurred local economic growth, which has ultimately translated into higher tax revenues. As a state initiative, it triggered more than \$2.5 billion of private investment, with a present value exceeding \$6 billion. Although a full accounting is not available, revenues from corporate income taxes are estimated at \$158 million, and taxes paid by the public corporation are \$19.86 million. The new property owners pay approximately \$12.4 million per year in property taxes to the city government. Once construction is complete, property tax revenues are expected to reach \$24.3 million per year.

The project also stimulated job market growth. To date, private construction in Puerto Madero involved about \$450 million in labor costs—the equivalent of 900,000 months of work or 3,750 jobs per year distributed over 20 years. The project investments in public works created 313 jobs per year for 20 years plus 26,777 administrative jobs as of 2006 and 45,281 services jobs by 2010. These figures demonstrate the vital role the project has played in stimulating the local economy.

Diminished Returns

Despite the overall success of Puerto Madero, its social outcomes are considered unsatisfactory by many observers. Largely to blame was the fast sale of big land parcels during the most dynamic sales

period, from 1996 to 1999. Some of these parcels were the size of an entire city block and are now occupied by towers that function in some ways like vertical gated communities. Furthermore, large, fully equipped firms were needed to perform the tremendous

From start to finish, project funds were derived entirely from land sales and concessions.

volume of construction, which excluded smaller and medium-sized companies. Thus, the morphology of large land parcels essentially defined the types of businesses and products being offered as well as the social profile of prospective buyers.

Moreover, the marketing strategy of private developers colored the general project discourse, diluting socially inclusive public policy objectives in favor of creating an exclusive neighborhood. Wealthy citizens and high-end entrepreneurs covet Puerto Madero's residential and commercial spaces. CAPM has difficulty protecting the public character of even the district's new open spaces, such as the ecological reserve, as affluent port district residents strongly discourage entertainment and sport activities that would appeal to all *porteños* citywide. In this regard, CAPM limited itself to articulating the interests of private entrepreneurs

The ecological reserve affords views of the urban skyline.



© Luis Sandoval Mandujano



Bars and clubs in the renovated docks light up the port at night. and current residents and ignored policies designed to benefit many inhabitants of the city. Affordable housing and other elements that would have ensured diversity in the residential demographics were not part of CAPM's mandate. Several social programs with this objective were planned as part of the broader downtown strategy, but they did not materialize, isolating Puerto Madero as an elite development area.

The project scale of Puerto Madero, which would have been risky and unmanageable for private investors at the time, proves that the public sector can assume a leading role in developing the city. It also demonstrates, however, that socially progressive standards are difficult to maintain once a project becomes prestigious and rising land values increase the pressure from private developers. Puerto Madero's ability to self-finance was a doubleedged sword. On the one hand, it enabled a stateled development process without incurring government costs. Because the public corporation could defer the payment of dividends to shareholders, it was able to capitalize on the proceeds of land sales and reinvest in site works and public amenities. The open and accessible neighborhood, dotted with public infrastructure and open space, largely protected the public interest. Furthermore, the project stimulated economic activity and contributed to a more efficient overall development pattern citywide, fulfilling two important public policy objectives.

Outcomes would have improved if financial support from multilateral agency loans had been available, to better pace the rhythm of sales and enable long-term decisions that would enhance the public benefit of the project. Flexible bidding requirements on large plots in the second half of the 1990s increased sales but ensured that the majority of the incremental land value from the last increase in real estate prices accrued to the large investors who commited early.

In 2011, CAPM transferred the maintenance of all developed areas to the city and determined to complete the remaining public works by 2013. Today, CAPM's

income and expenditure are balanced; income is limited to rents from the piers and the parking lots. Corporate assets include several properties (offices, lots) whose proceeds constitute the company profit and whose market value is estimated at \$50 million. These profits could seed new capital ventures or be transferred to shareholders when they decide to dissolve CAPM. The soundness of CAPM's financial statements is verified, though the criticism it inspired during the development of Puerto Madero may cost it access to new ventures from the government.

The initial public investment in Puerto Madero was \$120 million, including the land (originally assessed at \$60 million) and a set of intangible services such as project design, expertise, and consulting. Total land sales amounted to \$257.7 million with a general cost (administration, taxes) of around \$92 million (excluding start-up costs, which did not involve monetary transactions), which leaves a modest rate of return. Although prices should have been promotional during the initial stage of development, sale values could have increased over time, if sales had been timed to take advantage of increased market prices. Higher rates of return would have required higher average sales value, better paced land sales, and more modest public works commitments, such as infrastructure, public space, and parks. CAPM could have saved

considerably if construction of bridges and walkways had not extended beyond the project perimeter, under municipal jurisdiction.

The results of the project would have differed greatly had the land been sold unimproved or had it landed in the hands of private developers. In this regard, it is important to note that at the time of project inception the risk was generally considered high, and the scale of investment surpassed the capacity of local private investors. Similarly, international investors would have been unwilling to take on such a high level of risk without major concessions on the part of the government. Furthermore, private developers were interested in promoting large projects with access restricted almost exclusively to owners. A number of final project attributes, such as the public space contributions and holistic character of the development, were guaranteed by the control exercised by the government via the public corporation to ensure benefits for the community.

Conclusion

The original objectives of the project—to stimulate economic activity, affirm the role of the city center, contribute to the reversal of undesirable development patterns, and improve living conditions—have arguably been met. Puerto Madero created jobs, stimulated the local economy, and brought higher levels of investment and complexity downtown, contributing to its supremacy and leading to improvements in the surrounding area. It created high-quality open space, enhanced the metropolitan park system, and improved the overall development pattern in Buenos Aires.

However, the relaxation of quality controls, wide scope of the projects, and rapid pace of land sales at certain times reduced potential project revenues accruing to the public sector and reduced the initiative's redistributive capacity. Access to credit would have strengthened CAPM's position and allowed the careful staging of land sales and site improvements. It is encouraging that residential occupancy has greatly exceeded original projections, consolidating a trend to repopulate the city center, though the project should have included a percentage of affordable housing.

These results reveal the complexity of undertaking multiple initiatives to achieve a balanced social outcome. Puerto Madero fell short of incorporating a greater social mix, because other strategies for the downtown, including the rehabilitation of heritage buildings, were unrealized. Future urban project management initiatives should contemplate factors that would ensure the continuity of policies. Within this framework, it is important to encourage participation among the beneficiaries of specific interventions, such as affordable housing, as their involve-

ment and commitment is the strongest guarantor of policy continuity.

Finally, Puerto Madero indicates the state's capacity to proactively lead the urban development process. In this case, the state stepped out of a regulatory role and took charge of a significant redevelopment initiative. CAPM demonstrated a capacity to sustain a complex urban regeneration Some of these parcels are now occupied by towers that function in some ways like vertical gated communities.

sustain a complex urban regeneration project over a long period of time and stay afloat through a turbulent political climate and severe economic crisis. The creation of the public corporation represents a creative innovation in urban management, as it offers an example of how to achieve project self-financing and interjurisdictional cooperation in urban governance. In this regard, the Puerto Madero experience serves as a convincing model for interjurisdictional urban management and reaffirms the positive role that the state can play in city planning initiatives.

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Town-Gown Conservation at Kenyon College

Douglas L. Givens

t is no accident that Kenyon College, in Gambier, Ohio, appears on so many lists of America's most beautiful campuses. Since Bishop Philander Chase founded the college on a wooded hilltop in 1824, he envisioned a serene rural environment that would promote serious thought and good conduct. For 189 years, the college and those who have found their way

The Spires of Old Kenyon date to the college's founding in 1824.



to it have valued this setting. Timeless rhythms in the landscape afford views that please the eye and nourish the spirit in every season, and students and faculty members use the rural acres adjacent to the campus for fieldwork in a variety of disciplines ranging from sociology to biology and chemistry. Long after graduation, alumni remember the campus, the surrounding fields and forests, and the twists and turns of the Kokosing State Scenic River. Integral to the Kenyon experience, it is this environment that captures the interest of prospective students and their parents. More than beautiful natural assets, they represent the past, present, and future for Kenyon.

As farm auctions, land sales, pellmell subdivisions, and commercial developments accelerated, it became clear that action was required.

In the 1820s, Chase originally purchased 4,000 acres for the college and the village of Gambier plus an additional 4,000 acres as an investment for a total of \$18,000. Within five years of its founding, however, Kenyon began selling the investment acreage in response to financial difficulties. By the early 1970s, the college's land holdings had dwindled to fewer than 750 acres.

By the final decade of the 20th century, it was clear that the college could not take its charmed setting for granted. First, the owner of a property on the Kokosing River and directly across from the entrance to Kenyon announced plans to establish a recreational-vehicle park. The college purchased the property for a substantial premium and soon thereafter bought an additional 225 acres in order to quash proposals for a business district along the state highway that leads to Gambier. Concurrently, growth and development were changing the landscape in broad swaths of Knox County's rural countryside. As farm auctions, land sales, pell-mell subdivisions, and commercial developments accelerated, it became clear that action was required.

Philander Chase Corporation to the Rescue

In 1995, the college was in the early stage of a fiveyear capital campaign that included a \$1 million goal for "land acquisition to preserve the surroundings [the college] so cherishes." The first preservation gift came from an alumnus visiting one sunny spring weekend in 1997. After walking to a hilltop overlooking the Kokosing River valley, to see what Kenyon needed to protect, he wired \$1 million to the college. By the end of the campaign, in 2000, the college had raised more than \$3 million three times the goal for open space preservation.

The campaign showed that alumni and other donors ranked land conservation high on their charitable giving list, and the protection of land around the college would continue to enlist the loyalty and charity of Kenyon alumni. At the same time, state and federal programs were beginning to provide meaningful funding for land conservation. Because the college was ineligible to receive such assistance, the establishment of a special entity was crucial.

In 2000, the school formed the Philander Chase Corporation (PCC) as a separately incorporated nonprofit entity with a simple mission: "To preserve and maintain the farmland, open spaces, scenic views, and characteristic landscapes surrounding Kenyon College and Gambier, Ohio." With its own 15-member board of directors, PCC's organizational structure is unique among land trusts. It is a membership 501(c)3 organization, and Kenyon College is the sole member under provisions of Ohio nonprofit law. Even though the corporation is a separate entity operating under the direction of its board, Kenyon College is the controlling organization and ratifies the election of the corporation's directors. The president of Kenyon and chair of PCC are ex officio members of one another's boards.

PCC also serves to prevent future boards from selling off acreage and to improve town-gown relations. While interactions between Kenyon and the surrounding community were not a major problem, there was some friction; although PCC functioned under the college's auspices, local residents generally perceived it as a separate entity with a clean slate.

Aid from Local Partners

As suggested above, PCC was lucky to have been founded at an especially opportune time, when its concerns coincided and overlapped with similar initiatives taking shape in the state of Ohio and in Knox County, providing the framework and strategies that would later help PCC carry out its work.

In 1996, then-Governor George Voinovich commissioned a bi-partisan Ohio Farmland Preservation Task Force consisting of representatives from government, business, academia, and agricultural interests. In June 1997, the task force reported that in the previous 45 years, more than seven million acres (33 percent of Ohio farmland) had been lost to nonagricultural uses. Two specific recommendations set the stage for broader conservation efforts: the creation of an Office of Farmland Preservation within the Ohio Department of

BOX 1 Conservation Catalysts

The story of Kenyon College's protection of the farms and fields near its campus is an exemplary case of an academic institution catalyzing large landscape conservation. As such, it is one of more than a dozen narratives being compiled by the Lincoln Institute in a forthcoming book, *Conservation Catalysts*, edited by Lincoln Institute fellow James Levitt. He reports that "the volume will give us a picture of the practice of universities, colleges, and independent research organizations around the globe that are going beyond their research and teaching missions and applying land conservation expertise, in many cases quite literally, 'on the ground.'"

What is remarkable about these cases is not only their impact, but also the span of organizational and geographic diversity they represent. Academic and research organizations are catalyzing these initiatives well beyond Kenyon's base in Gambier, Ohio, to places as widespread as Australia, the Caribbean islands of Trinidad and Tobago, and the Canadian boreal forest. The initiatives often encompass a broad range of interests representing the public, private, nonprofit, and academic/research sectors and involve a wide variety of disciplines in the natural sciences, social sciences, professional studies, and the humanities. The study and sharing of best practices in large landscape conservation is the focus of two ongoing efforts of the Lincoln Institute and its joint venture partners, the Practitioner's Network for Large Landscape Conservation (www.largelandscapenetwork.org) and the Conservation Catalysts Network (www.conservationcatalysts.net).



Agriculture and a policy statement declaring the state's commitment to protect its productive agricultural land from irretrievable conversion to nonagricultural uses.

The state also announced a \$10,000 Community Development Block Grant program to support local "farmland preservation" plans, which led to

From the beginning, PCC determined that good working partnerships would be essential for success.

The Briggs family donated its farmland as open space through the Ohio Agricultural Easement Donation Program in 2003.

> the formation of the Knox County Farmland Preservation Task Force in 1998. I served on the local task force, charged with "evaluating the state of agricultural production in the county, exploring alternatives to unplanned development, and making recommendations for the preservation of the farmlands in Knox County."

In 2000, state voters approved The Clean Ohio Fund, a \$400 million bond program to preserve natural areas and farmland, protect streams, create outdoor recreational opportunities, and revitalize urban areas by returning contaminated brownfields to productive use. The fund (renewed by voters in 2008) dedicated \$25 million, to be spent over a four-year period, to the Ohio Agricultural Easement Purchase Program administered through the Ohio Department of Agriculture. Another key county-level development at that time was the establishment of the Owl Creek Conservancy. A nonprofit private land trust, the conservancy works with landowners to conserve farmlands, stream corridors, aquifer- and watershedprotection areas, wildlife habitats, woodlands, and other ecologically sensitive areas of central Ohio including Knox County.

From the beginning, PCC determined that good working partnerships would be essential for success, and so it forged ties with policy makers at the village, township, county, and state levels. From the Knox County Commissioners to the Regional Planning Commission to the Soil and Water Conservation District, PCC established and continued to nurture productive relationships. It was also critical that, as the managing director of PCC, I was an active participant in many of these organizations.

PCC's Preservation Strategies

Amid this dynamic environment, PCC began its operations. Before its establishment, there were reports and numerous recommendations at the local level, but PCC was an early catalyst for countywide action. In keeping with PCC's philosophy of helping others, the newly established Ohio Agricultural Easement Purchase Program provided the perfect opportunity for PCC to engage with



The McPhail property in Knox County is protected in perpetuity as an Ohio Century Farm.

the local farming community to help them protect their land from adverse development.

Under the Ohio Agriculture Easement Purchase Program, landowners could not directly apply for easements; a county, township, municipality, or land trust had to apply on their behalf. Shortly after the guidelines were published in 2001, two local farmers asked PCC to act as their local sponsor. The state rewarded applicants who formed larger blocks with nearby properties, so the farmers recruited their neighbors and rallied many of them to attend workshops hosted by PCC with help from the Office of Farmland Preservation. In the program's first year, PCC was the third largest source of applications statewide. Only 24 applications were funded; PCC received one of the coveted easements.

The following year, PCC ingeniously helped raise local farmers' scores on the essay portion of the application. PCC's applicants scored highly on the objective questions, but most scored lower than other applicants statewide on the five essays. So I asked the chair of Kenyon's English department, renowned as one of the nation's best, to enlist about 20 students to assist farmers in writing their essays. Students met with the farmers in their homes, interviewed them, and helped them craft compelling essays. The effort was a rousing success. The farmers enjoyed getting to know Kenyon students, the students loved visiting the farms and talking with the farmers, and in following years their applications earned top essay scores.

Permanently protected property in close proximity to an applicant's farm garnered additional points, so PCC secured a conservation easement from the college on the 380-acre Brown Family

Environmental Center. In a similar manner, PCC asked the Owl Creek Conservancy to apply for Clean Ohio Funds to purchase an easement on PCC-owned land. The result was a threefold win: PCC received cash for selling the easement and continued to own the land, the Owl Creek Conservancy held the easement, and agricultural easement applicants received additional points.

PCC boosted local applicants' scores by increasing its local match of state subsidies as well. Ohio funds only Students met with the farmers, interviewed them, and helped them craft compelling essays. In following years, they earned top essay scores.

75 percent of an easement's total value; the remaining 25 percent must come from the landowner or another source. If applicants volunteer to pay more than 25 percent, lowering the state's obligation, the state awards "bonus" points to the applicant. By using its own money and persuading the Knox County Commissioners to contribute nearly \$300,000 to support the program, PCC ensured more successful applications.



Source: Justin Smith, Knox County Map Office

Over the years, PCC also raised the scores of applicants whose property qualified for the Ohio Department of Agriculture's Century Farm designation, honoring families who demonstrated continuous family ownership for at least 100 years. Century Farms received extra points, and, with encouragement and guidance from PCC, five of Knox County's 18 Century Farms successfully applied for easements and conserved their land.

While helping local farmers protect their properties, PCC helped create a county park at the same time. Using money generated by the college's fundraising campaign and subsequent gifts, three

PCC is eminently replicable at any educational institution in the country.

properties totaling 202 acres were purchased and then resold subject to deed restrictions. One of these properties, the 168-acre Prescott farm between Gambier and Mount Vernon, was especially important to Kenyon as the source of Wolf Run Creek, which flows into the Kokosing River and through the Brown Family Environmental Center. A development company from Pennsylvania had already purchased land across the road from the Prescott farm and planned to build 225 homes there. Before the developer could purchase the farm as well, PCC bought it for \$626,000.

A year later, PCC agreed to resell the farm to the Knox County Park District only if the district obtained state subsidies to acquire the property and establish Knox County's first park. Because state funding required matching grants—money the district did not have—PCC helped persuade the Mount Vernon Community Foundation and the County Commissioners to donate land they owned adjacent to the farm to satisfy the matching fund requirement. The plan worked. The park district got the funding and purchased the property from PCC, Knox County had a new 288-acre Wolf Run Regional Park, and the source of Wolf Run was protected from development.

While some successes happened without funding, many of the accomplishments directly resulted from the availability of money. In addition to donations from alumni and friends during two college Jegla Farm in Knox County was permanently protected by an easement in 2007.

campaigns, PCC secured additional funding from state, federal, and county sources in excess of \$2.1 million. The original notion that alumni and other donors might be interested in "preserving the nature of the Kenyon experience" proved to be correct again.

Colleges and Universities as Conservation Catalysts

PCC, as it has developed, is a model with the legal structure and tools needed to be an effective conservation catalyst. By 2013, PCC had outright purchased 230 acres that it manages and leases to farmers, facilitated the creation of 35 easements encompassing 4,216 acres, and, with the Owl Creek Conservancy, protected a total of 6,746 acres in Knox County. Of the county's 339,000 total acres, those remaining 164,666 unprotected acres provide a tremendous opportunity for the local land conservation community.

While large landscape conservation is taking place nationally and internationally, local conservation activities have a valuable role to play and a great deal to contribute to grander-scale activity. According to the Land Trust Alliance 2010 Census, the 1,723 active land trusts operating in the United States had collectively conserved 47 million acres. There are 7,500 post-secondary educational institutions in the United States. If only 10 percent of these institutions engaged in land conservation using a model similar to PCC's, it could be a major step forward in the conservation movement.

Each institution where the PCC model might be adopted would have its own unique environment. Nevertheless, the model is widely applicable; every element that led to the formation of PCC is eminently replicable at any educational institution in the country.

The Philander Chase Corporation began at a time when there was growing concern about the deal-by-deal erosion of the rural landscape. The goal was local: it related to Kenyon College and its environs. But PCC's experience and aims were soon shared by overlapping and allied agencies in Knox County and beyond, leading to and suggesting larger possibilities. This experience demonstrates that what happened here can happen elsewhere. **I**



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DOUG GIVENS was the founding managing director of the Philander Chase Corporation. Givens also served as chair of the Farmland Preservation Committee of the Knox County Regional Planning Commission and member of the State of Ohio Farmland Preservation Advisory Board. He was a founding trustee of the Owl Creek Conservancy and president of the Brown Fund. Mr. Givens is currently the vice president, director, and member of the executive committee of the Scranton-Averell Company (a land holding company); a director of the Bradford & Carter Company (a real estate development company); and a director of the George B. Storer Foundation. For 28 years, he worked in the development office at Kenyon College, retiring from the vice presidency in 2000. He earned his bachelor's and master's degrees at Indiana University and received a doctor of laws degree from Kenyon College. Contact: givens@kenyon.edu

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The 2011 earthquake in New Zealand sundered this road in Christchurch.

Laurie A. Johnson and Robert B. Olshansky

magine for a moment that you are a political leader—a prime minister, president, or governor—and you awake to the news that natural disaster has struck. Citizens died, buildings collapsed, infrastructure is hobbled, and local leaders desperately need additional resources and support.

You respond immediately, sending personnel and equipment to the disaster zone and pledging additional assistance to local leaders. Your country, like many around the world, has institutionalized a scalable, tiered response system with regional, state, and national levels of government engaging as disaster-related demands exceed local capacities to respond. Yet within days, even hours before all the casualties are treated and citizens are accounted for, and before the streets have been cleared of rubble and basic services have been restored—other leaders and the media are demanding answers to questions you haven't had time to consider: How much money will be pledged to the rebuilding? What standards will guide it? Will all landowners be permitted to rebuild? Who will lead the process? Is a new institution or governance structure needed to cut through bureaucratic red tape and expedite the rebuilding?

This article summarizes ongoing research into the roles of various government levels in successful disaster recovery and rebuilding (table 1). It represents the synthesis of two decades of recovery research and planning practice following some of the largest disasters of our time in the United States, Japan, China, Taiwan, Indonesia, India, New Zealand, Australia, Chile, and elsewhere. Its purpose is to find common lessons in these disparate environments and help facilitate recovery for communities struck by disasters yet to come.

TABLE 1 Recovery Management Experiences Around the World

Recovery Management Experiences Around the world		
Australia		
Victoria Bushfire Recovery and Reconstruction Authority	 Formed after February 2009 bushfires; disbanded in June 2011 and transferred operations to government departments, local councils, and nonprofit groups. State-level department formed through a national-state agreement. Had broad authority and responsibility for leading and coordinating recovery and reconstruction including state- and community-level planning and actual rebuilding. 	
Queensland Reconstruction Authority	 Established in February 2011 following 2010–2011 flooding in Queensland; still exists. State-level statutory authority established by the state parliament. Has broad authorities to decide recovery priorities, work closely with communities, collect information about property and infrastructure, share data with all government levels, coordinate and distribute financial assistance, realize the board's strategic priorities, and facilitate flood mitigation. 	
Chile		
Ministry of Housing and Urban Development (MINVU- Ministerio de Vivienda y Urbanismo)	 Formed after Chile's 2010 earthquake and tsunami. Main national agency in charge of reconstruction and development of national reconstruction plan. Interministerial Committee established by Chile's president; includes representatives of MINVU and all other national ministries involved in recovery and reconstruction; coordinates national budget and finance, integrates the work of ministries involved in reconstruction, and coordinates and monitors the implementation of complex projects over time. 	
China		
General Headquarters for Earthquake Relief	 Formed following the 2008 Wenchuan Earthquake. Established within China's State Council (Chinese cabinet), with the premier as nominal director. 	
India		
Gujarat State Disaster Management Authority (GSDMA)	 Formed after 2001 earthquake; still exists. Formed administratively as state implementing agency; subsequently formalized through legislation in 2003. Cabinet-level agency with chief minister as chair. Has broad powers to manage public recovery funds (provided by government of India, Gujarat, and international donors), set policy, issue recovery guidelines, and to plan, coordinate, and monitor recovery. 	
Abhiyan	 Established after 2001 Gujarat earthquake; still exists. A network of 30 NGOs facilitates among NGOs, communities, and government. Formally endorsed and supported by government. 	
Project Management Unit	 Created after 1993 earthquake in Maharashtra state. Implemented policies of a cabinet-level recovery policy subcommittee. Focused on implementing community reconstruction projects, with authority to supervise other state agencies and hire consultants. 	
Indonesia		
Rehabilitation and Reconstruction Agency—BRR	 Formed after 2004 Indian Ocean tsunami, with a 4-year life. Operated under the authority of the president. Had considerable latitude to coordinate, monitor, and implement recovery; took over housing reconstruction when other agencies failed to deliver. Built capacity of Aceh government following 30 years of armed conflict. 	
Coordination Team for Rehabilitation and Reconstruction—TTN	 Established by presidential decree after 2006 earthquake in provinces of Yogyakarta and Central Java. Coordination team of national and provincial representatives. Improved coordination and communication between central and local governments. 	
Japan		
National Reconstruction Agency	 Formed after the March 11, 2011 earthquake and tsunami; still exists. National agency directly responsible to prime minister. Sets guidelines for local planning, approves local recovery plans, and coordinates work of national ministries as they implement reconstruction. 	
New Zealand		
Canterbury Earthquake Recovery Authority	 Formed following 2011 earthquake in Christchurch; expires April 2016. National agency reporting to special cabinet-level minister appointed for Canterbury Earthquake Recovery. Broad authority to lead recovery policy and planning and to manage critical recovery and rebuilding functions for national and local governments. 	

TABLE 1 Recovery Management Experiences Around the World (CONTINUED)		
Taiwan		
921 Post-Earthquake Recovery Commission	 Formed after 1999 earthquake in central Taiwan. Temporary national organization formalized by presidential decree; dissolved in 2006. Central government agency led by three ministers of state; included representatives from various national departments. Responsible for all post-earthquake recovery activities. 	
Morakot Post-Disaster Reconstruction Council	 Formed after 2009 typhoon in southern Taiwan. Central government agency modeled after the 9-21 Post-Earthquake Recovery Commission. Responsible for all relief activities and reconstruction. 	
United States		
Lower Manhattan Development Corporation	 Formed after the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks; still in operation. Joint state-city corporation governed by 16-member board of directors (half appointed by New York governor and half by New York City mayor). Lead planning agency for reconstruction of Lower Manhattan; responsible for distribution of federal rebuilding funds. 	
Louisiana Recovery Authority	 Formed after 2005 Hurricane Katrina; expanded focus following 2005 Hurricane Rita; disbanded in 2010. State agency set planning policy for recovery, made recovery policy recommendations to the governor and state legislature, and provided oversight of state agency recovery activities. 	

Recovery Management Around the World

Governments tasked with post-disaster reconstruction face an extraordinary set of management challenges. The first is the compression of activities in time, focused in space, as cities built over the course of decades if not centuries are destroyed or damaged suddenly and must be rebuilt in a fraction of the time it took to construct them. From this tension develops a second challenge: a keen tension between speed and deliberation, as the various recovery actors in stricken communities move with urgency while aiming to make thoughtful and deliberate decisions, to ensure optimal long-term recovery. From both these phenomena a third challenge arises: the need for immediate access to a deep wealth of money and information-the two currencies of the post-disaster recovery environment.

To meet these demands, governments in every country after every large disaster create new relief agencies or significantly rearrange existing organizations. The most common reason for these postdisaster governance transformations is lack of capacity. Governments still need to attend to their normal daily affairs while they coordinate the reconstruction or reinvention of impacted communities, so they appoint an entity that can focus daily attention on rebuilding while coordinating the recovery-related activities of multiple government agencies. Commonly designed to serve a variety of purposes and governmental settings, these recovery agencies provide a range of substantive functions as they rebuild infrastructure, housing, and economic activity. They differ depending on the type and scale of coordination they provide; the scope of their authority, especially regarding the flow of money and information; and the level of government they serve—at either the national, state, or intergovernmental level.

National governments handle very large disasters at the top political tier, mobilizing financial resources from national reserves or international aid and providing capacity support to lower levels of government in the disaster-stricken locality. When large disasters transcend state or provincial boundaries, national governments also assume active roles in developing recovery policies, and they create recovery organizations to assist them. Examples include Japan's National Reconstruction Agency, established after the 2011 earthquake and tsunami; New Zealand's Canterbury Earthquake Recovery Authority, created after the 2010 and 2011 earthquake sequence in Christchurch; and China's General Headquarters for Earthquake Relief following the 2008 disaster in Wenchuan. Each of these international bodies hewed to the national administrative leadership, derived authority from the top rung of government, and articulated policies approved by the reigning administration.

Similarly, state-level recovery agencies are usually created in direct response to disasters that affect a region or other subnational jurisdiction. The authorities and legalities of these entities are more limited by their authorizing body's secondary, subnational position in government. Examples include the Gujarat State's Disaster Management Authority (GSDMA), created after the 2001 earthquake in western India; Louisiana's Recovery Authority, founded after Hurricane Katrina in 2005; Victoria State's Bushfire Reconstruction and Recovery Authority (VBRRA), established after the 2009 Australian bushfires; and Queensland State's Reconstruction Authority, founded after the summer 2010–2011 floods in Australia.

A third class of organizations are designed to operate between levels of government, such as the Lower Manhattan Development Corporation, created as a state and city partnership for recovery planning and funding following the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks in New York City. Another example, the Rehabilitation and Reconstruction Agency (BRR) created in Aceh, Indonesia, following the 2004 tsunami, consisted of three independent agencies whose membership came from a wide range of local and national stakeholders. Likewise, the Indonesian government's Coordination Team for Rehabilitation and Reconstruction (TTN), following the 2006 earthquake in Yogyakarta and Central Java, was designed to provide a bridge between national agencies and local agencies, and it also monitored and investigated local implementation issues.

In some cases, governments choose to modify or adapt existing institutions and procedures to help manage recovery. For example, Chile established a national interministerial task force after the 2010 earthquake and tsunami, but the existing Ministry of Housing and Urban Development took on expanded roles and responsibilities and managed the national planning and implementation efforts.

The Mastery of Money, Information, Collaboration, and Time

Considering these factors, common to all postdisaster recovery settings, our research demonstrates that the key to governing large-scale crises effectively is the mastery of money, information, collaboration, and time. For this article, we offer here some best practice examples and lessons learned from our various country-organization studies.



Destruction and reconstruction in New Orleans after Hurricane Katrina in 2005.

1. Managing Money: Sourcing and distributing recovery funding efficiently, effectively, and equitably.

When large amounts of public funds are involved in a disaster cleanup, the true power over the recovery resides with the level of government that controls the flow of money and how it is acquired, allocated, disbursed, and audited. Sometimes, the recovery organization assumes all or some of these powers, and sometimes all funding authority continues to reside where it did before the disaster, in the same legislative and administrative branches. Important functions in the post-disaster environment include setting policies and priorities for allocating large sums of recovery funding and establishing accounting systems that allow for timely disbursal of critical financing while also providing transparency and minimizing corruption.

Some organizations, such as India's state-level GSDMA, are established specifically to collect all the recovery funds in one place and then allocate and disburse them. Some, such as one of the three legs of Indonesia's intergovernmental BRR, are created to independently audit and monitor the expenditures of recovery implementation organizations. In contrast, the state-level Louisiana Recovery Authority recommended funding priorities to the state and provided oversight as needed, but it had no direct control over recovery funds. Japan's National Reconstruction Agency received national funding and allocates that money to the relevant national ministries and local governments.

2. Increasing Information Flows: Effectively gathering, integrating, and disseminating information to enhance decision making and actions by all recovery actors.

A critical demand is to accelerate and broaden the flows of information among recovery actors about the dynamics of reconstruction actions and emergent opportunities. This challenge includes the planning and public engagement processes that provide information to citizens and institutions involved in the recovery, facilitate communication and innovations among recovery actors, and convey citizen concerns to government agencies and NGOs in a timely manner. It also includes providing information between both governmental and nongovernmental organizations and establishing forums to facilitate coordination. In Victoria, Australia, after the 2009 bushfires, national and state leaders worked with affected communities to form more than 30 local recovery committees, which were then charged with developing a community recovery plan that identified local priorities and projects. These committees were used by state and national governments as focal points for local funding distribution and by local communities to raise additional funds and establish local policy guidance for rebuilding. In Yogyakarta, Java, after the 2006 earthquake, TTN kept a variety of local and national agencies mutually informed of each other's activities—which, in turn, helped to provide early alerts to officials regarding potential problems.

A critical function appropriately provided by a government-supported agency is the acquisition, synthesis, and distribution of basic information on damage, reconstruction activities, population, social and economic issues, and various recovery indicators. Such agencies issue regular progress reports and monitor recovery indicators, as both Japan's National Reconstruction Agency and New Zealand's Canterbury Earthquake Recovery Authority have done, using a variety of communication mechanisms, including website postings, press releases, newsletters, and forums. Frequent information from credible sources can help to ensure that all actors understand the current recovery environment, and it can also help reduce the spread of rumors and misinformation.

3. Supporting Collaboration: Building sustainable capacity and capability for long-term recovery through genuine collaboration and coordination, both horizontally among local groups and vertically among different levels of government.

Vertically organized, hierarchical agencies—with clear organizational charts and streamlined channels of communication—are usually not well suited to manage disaster recovery, because the lack of "connecting flow" across vertical hierarchies limits collaboration as well as the flow of new and updated information among organizations. U.S. national agencies involved in recovery, for example, are more adept at administering individual programs than they are at solving complex problems that cut across governmental institutional boundaries.

By contrast, horizontally organized agencies can promote interagency coordination and information sharing, allowing individual groups to adapt to new contexts and information while remaining responsible to their parent organization. If multiple states or local jurisdictions are involved, cooperation among multiple jurisdictions is essential. Technical assistance and capacity building for the key recovery actors is also important for building local capabilities to sustain long-term recovery.

After Hurricane Katrina in 2005, Governor Kathleen Blanco appointed the members of the Louisiana Recovery Authority, so it was technically an extension of the state-level administration. But the legislature eventually formalized it. As an intentionally bipartisan body, it operated independently as it interacted with both U.S. national officials and local governments, made policy recommendations, and provided oversight of state agency recovery activities. Even though its power was limited to making policy recommendations, it was able to exert considerable influence at multiple levels in a very politically contentious atmosphere. It also collaborated with U.S. national agencies to set standards for long-term community recovery planning and helped match technical assistance and provide other planning resources at regional, local, and neighborhood scales.

Because they carried the authority of state leaders, India's GSMDA and Queensland Australia's reconstruction authority were able to successfully coordinate the activities of other state agencies. Similarly, Chile's MINVU and Taiwan's national recovery agencies have had the centralized authority to coordinate activities of other national agencies. Abhiyan, an NGO officially endorsed by the Gujarat government in India but without any defined governmental authority, also played a crucial role in coordinating the work of hundreds of NGOs and in establishing a network of local subcenters to provide information and technical support.

The hierarchical recovery process after the 2008 Wenchuan Earthquake in China succeeded in quickly reconstructing buildings, but it left little room for local innovation, as it lacked genuine local capacity building and involvement in decision making. Because local conditions were not always considered, economic recovery appears to be uneven.

Likewise, in many tsunami-affected communities in the Tohoku region of Japan, recovery has stalled because the hierarchical system established under the national government and the National Recovery Agency leaves insufficient room for local



Buildings toppled and rebuilt following the 2008 Wenchuan earthquake in China.



innovation. Furthermore, within the complex and powerful Japanese ministry system, the National Reconstruction Agency lacks power to compel actions by other ministries.

Increasingly, research shows that if residents are partners in reconstruction planning, they are tolerant of delays, and they are more satisfied with the results. Still, even the best examples of decentralized processes involve an agency at the top establishing the framework and rules. This trend strongly suggests that governments should resist the urge to manage the details of reconstruction and act less as managers and more as coordinators and facilitators of the process.

4. Balancing Time Constraints: Effectively meeting the immediate and pressing local needs of recovery while also successfully capitalizing on opportunities for longterm betterment.

Governments face a balancing act as they confront the tensions between speed and deliberation, and between restoration and betterment. The most fundamental way to address these challenges is to increase information flows, as described above. But recovery agencies have found several other specific ways to attain both speed and improvement.

To hasten reconstruction, there are often opportunities to streamline normal bureaucratic processes of decision making, especially regarding construction permits, without compromising quality. Because such processes often involve multiple agencies, a recovery agency can be helpful to the extent that it can facilitate or compel line agencies to cooperate more effectively.

New Zealand's parliament conferred upon the Canterbury Earthquake Recovery Authority and its minister a wide range of unilateral powers that would enable the timely and coordinated recovery of greater Christchurch. Parliament continued the emergency authorities granted under previous legislation and extended the expiration date of those authorities where appropriate; permitted the minister to acquire land compulsorily; and allowed the suspension of any part or all of the national land use, local government, and transport management, plans or policies developed under various acts. It directed CERA to prepare a draft recovery strategy within nine months of its authorization. Similarly, it issued the Christchurch city council a nine-month deadline to draft a recovery plan

Devastation and reparation after recent disasters in Indonesia. for the city's damaged central business district.

Most recovery agencies include disaster risk reduction in their reconstruction policies. A common recovery slogan is "build back better." The slogan of the Louisiana Recovery Authority was "Safer, Stronger, Smarter." The easiest form of post-disaster betterment is to adopt disaster-resistant building standards. The incorporation of new structural standards need not slow down the rebuilding process, but land use improvements such as relocating neighborhoods or entire communities can require considerable time for planning and land acquisition. These projects involve difficult tradeoffs between speed, design quality, and public involvement. New Zealand is undertaking a major buyout of neighborhoods that sustained heavy damage in the 2010-2011 earthquakes and remain vulnerable to damage from future tremors. Japan is encouraging relocation of coastal communities from tsunami hazard areas, and some of these will likely take up to ten years to complete.

One way to manage these goals simultaneously is to support participatory planning processes to create long-term betterment while also trying to meet immediate needs. In many cases, professional planners worked with neighborhoods—in Japan, Chile, New Orleans, and Bhuj, India, for example—but each project also involved difficult compromises in order to meet time constraints. Victoria and Queensland's creation of local recovery planning committees, however, are great examples of state and national support systems that helped build local capacity to carry forward the rebuilding processes over time.

Next Steps in our Research

Governments know that their task is to manage information and money flows among many actors in a compressed time. Up to this point, we have identified many examples of how to accomplish this. But, even better, we would like to be able to create menus of organizational and process choices, based on combinations of disaster magnitude and scope and economic, political, environmental, and governmental contexts.

We also have several remaining questions: Why do many of the same institutional problems continue to appear from one disaster to the next, and is there a way to avoid repeating some of them? What are the effective outcomes—negative and positive—of these institutional arrangements that may inform future leaders facing similar reconstruction challenges? What specific kinds of technical assistance and capacity building should international donors and national governments focus on providing for local governmental and non-governmental organizations, so they can do their jobs better during the recovery process? In large-scale disasters, how do the tiered goals of a recovery (i.e. rebuilding households, neighborhoods, cities, regions, nations) relate to each other, in terms of consistency, efficiency, and effectiveness? And what happens when these disaster-related organizations cease to exist? Is the local capacity and capability in place for long-term community sustainability? By studying varied national and organizational experiences, we can better understand how the time compression phenomenon of post-disaster recovery affects other theoretical constructs guiding public policy and city management; planning, land development and growth management; and fiscal and capital management.

ABOUT THE AUTHORS

Co-authors of Clear As Mud: Planning for the Rebuilding of New Orleans (2010, APA Planners Press), LAURIE A. JOHNSON and ROBERT B. OLSHANSKY are currently collaborating on a Lincoln Institute book and policy focus report on governing post-disaster recovery. For the past two decades, they have been researching and practicing post-disaster recovery planning following urban disasters around the world. Johnson is an urban planner based in San Francisco and specializing in disaster recovery and catastrophe risk management. Olshansky is professor of urban and regional planning at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. Contact: laurie@lauriejohnsonconsulting.com or robo@illinois.edu

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Faculty Profile



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Dr. Tao received his PhD in economics from the University of Chicago in 2002. He is a long-time research fellow at the Peking University-Lincoln Institute Center for Urban Development and Land Policy and was previously a Shaw Research Fellow of Chinese Economy at the University of Oxford's Institute of Chinese Studies. With funding from PKU-Lincoln Institute and from other agencies, such as the National Science Foundation of China, he led a research team and started a large survey on urban migrants and dispossessed farmers in 12 cities across China's four major urbanizing areas: the Yangtze River Delta (Jiangsu and Zhejiang provinces), the Pearl River Delta (Guangdong province), Chengdu-Chongqing region (Sichuan province and Chongqing municipality), and Bohai Bay Area (Hebei and Shandong provinces). He is also working on a project to pilot new urban village redevelopment models in Shenzhen municipality and the Pearl River Delta. Contact: rantao72@gmail.com

Tao Ran

LAND LINES: Why is the study of China's political economy and its transition so important to the country's future?

TAO RAN: After enjoying nearly double-digit growth in the past three decades, China has become the shining star of the 21st-century global economy. People marvel at its successful transformation from a third-world country into the world's largest manufacturing base and second largest economy—an evolution that lifted 450 million people out of poverty. As China grows, however, it faces widening income inequality, serious corruption and pollution, and social injustice that has left hundreds of millions of temporary migrants without access to decent urban public services and tens of millions of undercompensated, dispossessed farmers transitioning into industrialized urban economies.

My research explores the institutional sources of China's fast growth in the past decades as well as the implications, positive and negative, of China as an alternative model for the developing world—as an effective, growth-oriented autocracy with heavy investments in infrastructure and industries, massive exports of manufacturing goods, and selective government intervention and industrial policies. I believe it's essential to predict what will happen to China in the near future, because it will have important implications for the whole developing world.

LAND LINES: Why do you think it is important to study land and household registration? What do these studies say about the current state of China's socioeconomic structure? TAO RAN: China is in the midst of an urban revolution, sustaining a massive volume of rural-to-urban migration every year in the last three decades. About 200 million rural migrants are working and living in Chinese cities. Yet, under the persistent hukou (household registration) system, a majority of migrants with hukou registration in their homelands exist as "outsiders" or "temporary population" in their new cities of residence. They are denied access to welfare benefits, subsidized public housing, and urban public schools.

Their difficulties are compounded by highly distorted land use patterns. Typically, when countries urbanize, less than 20 percent of newly utilized land supports manufacturing, leaving a majority of that territory to accommodate migrant housing. Under the current Chinese land requisition-leasing system, local governments lease around 40 percent of newly utilized land to build industrial parks, leaving only 30 to 40 percent of the area every year for residential purposes.

China's current land use and household registration systems help to generate several dual socioeconomic structures as well. Besides the widely acknowledged urban-rural dichotomy, there is also a dual structure of urban permanent residents versus migrants. Another duality separates homeowners from urban rentees who lag far behind in terms of wealth accumulation. As 90 percent of homeowners are permanent residents, and 95 percent of renters are migrants, these dual structures lead to a highly divided society.

LAND LINES: What land use challenges will China face in the coming decade?

TAO RAN: Many cities have constructed industrial parks, or "garden-style factories," that make very inefficient use of land. Industrial companies lease land at an extremely low price and use only a part of it, leaving other areas undeveloped or allocated for large-scale greenification projects. Local governments undersupply residential and commercial land in order to maximize profits, leading to undersupplied commercial/residential land markets, followed by serious bubbles in the real estate sector. The rapid rise in urban housing prices and the formation of a real estate bubble over the past decade has made it impossible



Migrant worker dorms like these are common in Shanghai and other Chinese cities receiving a massive influx of rural workers.

for the vast majority of rural migrant populations to afford commodity housing in cities. In fact, even new labor force entrants with university degrees find that today's housing prices are far higher than they can afford. Clearly, housing affordability has become the main challenge to China today.

The aftermath of the 2008 world financial crisis had a huge impact on China. The fiscal and financial stimulus package implemented by the central government mainly benefitted local governments, which have continued to invest in even more industrial parks. Consequently, the Chinese economy has experienced more overcapacity in industrial infrastructure and manufacturing goods as well as more serious housing bubbles across all tiers of cities. This path is all the more unsustainable considering that China already suffered from overcapacity in manufacturing and real estate bubbles before 2008. Given the moral hazards of borrowing from stateowned banks and the fiscal illusion that

Even new labor force entrants with university degrees find that today's housing prices are far higher than they can afford.

the housing bubble will continue, local government debts have reached an unprecedented level of 10 trillion RMB, half of which was accumulated after 2009. If there is no real reform in the systems governing land, hukou registration, and local public finance, the Chinese economy will slow down quite significantly. In the worst-case scenario, the housing bubble will burst, leading to a full-scale financial and economic crisis.

LAND LINES: What are some potential policy implications of your research on local governance and public finance in rural China? TAO RAN: China needs to reform its land and household registration systems so that migrants can access affordable housing and decent public schooling services in

migrants can access affordable housing and decent public schooling services in cities. Land has played an essential role in the making of China's growth model in the past 15 years—but it is also responsible for current economic woes. In my



view, a reform package that centers on land and urbanization provides the best chance of creating a better balance between the country's import and export rates by unleashing huge domestic demand and relieving the overcapacity problem in many Chinese industries.

I propose a gradualist approach that aims to build a more equitable dual-track system. Under the current land regulatory regime, land ownership is separated into urban and rural; while urban governments have the authority to allocate rural areas for urban development, rural governments do not have the same rights in reciprocity. This bias deprives rural residents of their development rights and leads the Chinese economy down a destructive path.

Total liberalization, however, may result in a crash of the existing housing bubbles when a large volume of rural land is made available to the market. To alleviate this concern on the part of local governments and urban homeowners, China may need to set up a rental property market track targeting the 200 million rural migrants who already live and work in cities. Half of them currently live in dormitories provided by their employers, and the other half reside in illegally built housing in urban villages without good infrastructure or access to urban public services such as education for migrating children. I propose a reform that would allow rural communities in suburban villages of migrant-receiving cities to take their nonagricultural land onto the urban housing market under one condition: for the first 10 to 15 years, they could build properties used only for rental purposes. After the transitional period, those houses would gain full rights, and they could be sold directly on the housing market.

LAND LINES: What are the advantages of this design?

TAO RAN: Insulating developable rural land in the rental market initially provides a cushion for the existing real estate market and prevents market panics and a bursting of the housing bubble. Merging the two tracks, however, would send speculators a credible signal that residential building prices will not rise further, and so the central government could phase out its strict regulations on real estate markets installed since 2010 to curb the housing bubble. Such a reform package would contribute to a healthy growth of the housing market. Moreover, granting rural communities development rights even if those rights were restricted during the transition period—would open the legal channel for them to apply for development loans.

Land has played an essential role in the making of China's growth model in the past 15 years—but it is also responsible for current economic woes.

This opportunity would unleash a housing construction boom in urban villages and suburban areas and provide a lift for construction-related industries with significant overcapacity. Unlike the current housing bubble, this kind of real estate development is more socially beneficial and economically sustainable. Rural residents, particularly those living close to urban centers, would benefit directly. The growth in the rental property track also makes housing affordable for hundreds of millions of migrant workers, enabling them to settle in cities permanently. Urbanization has the potential to turn the Chinese economy away from the investment-driven model.

LAND LINES: What is the key to the success of this reform?

TAO RAN: The attitude of local governments is critical. Their concern over revenues is perfectly legitimate and needs to be addressed in the reform package. Under the current system, local governments are burdened with too many spending responsibilities, and they lack adequate revenues. After the reform, they would have limited power of land requisition and lose the sizeable land lease fees and bank loans associated with that power. In the long run, municipalities should levy property taxes to generate a stable source of income for local public finance. Considering the strong resistance from wealthy and politically powerful residents of the cities introducing the property tax on a trial basis, however, it is unrealistic to expect this new tax to take effect soon.

I believe that another untapped source for local governments is underutilized industrial land. According to various reports, the floor-area ratio is only about 0.3 to 0.4 for industrial parks even in China's developed areas. Through reorganization by negotiation, it is possible to double land development intensity and convert some industrial land for residential and commercial construction. Our estimates show that local governments would be more than compensated for giving up the power of land requisition, and they could also use these revenues to pay back the debts and avert a financial crisis.

At the current stage of development, no reform in the Chinese economy is going to be easy. One certainly should not have any illusions about a quick fix. But the proposed dual-track reform package offers some real hope of boosting domestic consumption and alleviating the overcapacity problem in many sectors. One particularly favorable factor for this reform is the new leadership's emphasis on urbanization. Premier Li Keqiang has spent years on this issue and seems to have a genuine interest in achieving breakthroughs. This proposal may provide a realistic roadmap for such reforms.

LAND LINES: What lessons can China teach? TAO RAN: The Chinese model successfully effects growth. It also generates several negative consequences, such as the overleveraging of land, social unrest resulting from land grabbing, environmental damages, and housing bubbles, which burden the urban population. The Chinese lesson is that for a country to grow, the government is essential; but that same government may overdo things and, in the long run, generate distortions that finally damage the sustainability of the economy and society.

Preventing House Price Bubbles: Lessons from the 2006–2012 Bust

The recent boom and bust in house prices generated widespread fallout, affecting metropolitan areas across the country. But the extent of the damage varied widely, suggesting that local market conditions also played an important role in determining how the crisis played out. As a result, nationally aggregated data were an unreliable guide to both housing performance and the design of policies to mitigate the crisis.

Based on their recent research for the Lincoln Institute of Land Policy, James R. Follain and Seth H. Giertz document how econometric models can be used to address some of the complex issues that have arisen since the house price bust. In particular, these models provide valuable insights into the interrelationships between house price patterns and their drivers including new drivers that changed the fundamental dynamics of hard-hit housing markets, such as the size of the distressed real estate inventory, the pace of price appreciation, and the amount of subprime lending.

These changes made policy making in mid-crisis especially challenging. To illustrate this point, the authors analyze one of the major programs put in place to stem the spread of foreclosures. The Home Affordable Modification Program (HAMP) was developed in 2007 just as the destructive fallout of the crisis began to appear. Traditional tools for measuring and managing the crisis were insufficient. The design of HAMP thus rested upon a number of critical judgments about borrower and lender behavior made without benefit of strong empirical support. While recognizing the challenges of responding to a bust once it has begun, the authors suggest that attempts to deal with any future crises of this type might benefit from certain different design decisions:

- an initial focus on hardest-hit markets to fine-tune program parameters;
- development of longer-term forecasts of house prices for local markets;



Preventing House Price Bubbles: Lessons from the 2006–2012 Bust James R. Follain and Seth H. Giertz 2013 / 40 pages / Paper / \$15.00 / ISBN 978-1-55844-285-6 / Code PF036

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- greater efforts to foster more cooperation among all levels of government; and
- fuller recognition of the inherent weaknesses of mortgage securitization.

The report also discusses how econometric results can be used to identify and prevent, or at least limit, the formation of house price bubbles in the future. Analysts often mention two specific options for combating unsustainable house price increases: monetary policy and countercyclical capital policies. Follain and Giertz argue that monetary policy is of limited use in this arena, given that price appreciation varies so widely across local markets. Countercyclical capital buffers-which would raise capital requirements for financial institutions during the initial stages of the bubble and reduce them during a period of price decline—are a much more promising policy direction because they could be designed to put the brakes on only in those markets where bubbles appear to be developing.

Tailoring capital requirements to local markets is, of course, challenging. Indeed, identifying price bubbles or the increasing risk of a severe price drop is not easy, and consensus about the risk is unlikely. Projecting future price changes will never be error-free, and the costs of such errors must be weighed against any gains from this policy. Moreover, the degree of success of a countercyclical capital policy would depend on forecasting ability.

Nevertheless, broader recognition of the importance of local market conditions would be a step in the right direction, and the growing availability of geographically granular data makes this approach to bubble prevention much more viable than in the past. We are in the midst of a data revolution that will ultimately allow highly detailed measurement of house price trends. Both private and public sector entities are moving to take advantage of this highly positive development in the mortgage market. With these new information sources, the nation has an opportunity to prepare better for the next housing market bubble.

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Implementing Value Capture in Latin America: Policies and Tools for Urban Development

Urbanization in Latin America is associated with strong pressure for the supply of serviced land, resulting in significant changes in land values that are distributed unequally among landowners and other stakeholders. Conventional fiscal policies and instruments largely neglect how the costs of providing urban infrastructure and services are socialized, and how their benefits are privatized.

The notion of value capture is to mobilize for the benefit of the community at large some or all the land value increments (unearned income or plusvalías) generated by the actions of others besides the landowner, such as from public investments in infrastructure or administrative changes in land use norms and regulations. Many countries in Latin America, notably Brazil and Colombia, have passed legislation that supports value capture principles, and some jurisdictions have applied this potentially powerful financing mechanism by using a variety of locally adapted tools and instruments.

This discussion of the concept of value capture explains its justification and increasing popularity, provides a brief review of its antecedents in Latin America and elsewhere around the world, and illustrates its many forms and longstanding presence in the urban planning agenda. The reasons for its growing popularity are manifold: regional economic stabilization and fiscal decentralization; more progressive strategies for urban planning and management; redemocratization, increased social awareness, and demands for equitable public policy responses; changing attitudes toward privatization and public-private partnerships; the influence of multilateral agencies; and pragmatic consider-



Implementing Value Capture in Latin America: Policies and Tools for Urban Development Martim O. Smolka 2013 / 68 pages / Paper / \$15.00 ISBN: 978-1-55844-284-9 / Code: PF035

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ations to capture land value increments to raise funds for local community needs.

The report examines a variety of specific instruments and applications in municipalities throughout the region under three categories: property taxation and betterment contributions; exactions and other direct negotiations for charges for building rights or the transfer of development rights; and large-scale approaches such as development of public land through privatization or acquisition, land readjustment, and public auctions of bonds for purchasing building rights. It concludes with a summary of lessons learned and recommends steps that can be taken in three spheres:

Learn from Implementation Experiences: While value capture charges in theory are neutral regarding land use and should fall entirely on landowners, in practice successful implementation demands management skills to deal with many complex factors and diverse stakeholders. In addition, it requires proper understanding of land market conditions, comprehensive property monitoring systems, a fluid dialogue among fiscal, planning, and judicial entities, and the political resolve of local government leaders.

Increase Knowledge about Theory and Practice: Conducting research, documenting and disseminating implementation experiences, and providing evidence about how value capture policies work on the ground are essential to overcome the disjunction between rhetoric and practice and to change the behavior and attitudes of public officials, landowners, and the community at large.

Promote Greater Public Understanding and Participation: Land value increments are captured more successfully from landowners and other stakeholders who perceive they are receiving greater benefits from a public intervention than those accruing from business as usual. Furthermore, value capture tools are more likely to succeed when used to solve a locally recognized problem.

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

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FELLOWSHIP programs

David C. Lincoln Fellows, 2012–2013

he David C. Lincoln Fellowships in Land Value Taxation were established in 1999 to develop academic and professional interest in this topic through support for major research projects. The fellowship program honors David C. Lincoln, founding chairman of the Lincoln Institute, and his longstanding interest in land value taxation. The program encourages scholars and practitioners to undertake new work in this field, either in the basic theory or its applications. These research projects add to the understanding of land value taxation as a component of contemporary fiscal systems in countries throughout the world. The deadline for the next application process is September 16, 2013. For more information, visit the Institute's website at www.lincolninst.edu/education/dcl_fellowships.asp.

David Albouy

Assistant Professor, Department of Economics, University of Michigan Urban Land Value: Measurement and Theory

This project estimates land value differences across U.S. metropolitan areas with a large, new database of market values. Variations are explained through local site characteristics, or "amenities," and are used to estimate production parameters for residential housing, including income share to land. The project will also estimate the costs and benefits of "regulatory taxes" on land to determine if they reduce land values. Finally, the research will address the theory of urban land values in an urban system of heterogeneous cities.

Michael Bell

MEB Associates David Brunori

Research Professor, George Washington Institute of Public Policy

A Better Tax: Thoughts and Research on Replacing Local Option Sales Tax with a Land Value Tax

This study will examine the policy and administrative issues associated with replacing local option sales taxes with a land value or split-rate tax system. The research will include a case study of the local tax system in a demonstration city, selected in collaboration with the Lincoln Institute, and evaluate the consequences of replacing a local-option sales tax there with a land value or split-rate tax.

Aleksandar Bućić

Managing Assistant to Secretary General for Finance, Standing Conference of Serbian Towns and Municipalities **Dušan Vasiljević**

Business Regulation and Economic Governance Team Leader, Cardno Emerging Markets, USAID Business Enabling Project Continuing Property Tax Reform in Serbia: Capturing Land Value through Integration of the Land Use Charge into Property Tax and Taxing Business Properties

Serbia is one of the Southeast European countries that has done the most to tap into the property tax's potential to improve public finances and make local governments more accountable. Many issues remain unresolved, however—notably the taxation of land and properties owned by legal entities (businesses). The 2014 abolition of Serbia's land development charge, a kind of quasi-property tax, calls for a long-awaited overhaul of the property taxation system. The purpose of this research is to model different land taxation options in the context of reforming the taxation of business properties.

Jeffrey P. Cohen

Associate Professor of Economics, University of Hartford Replacing the Sales Tax with a Land Tax: Where, What Goods, and Why?

One approach for encouraging urban economic activity is to lower distortionary taxes, such as local sales taxes, while raising nondistortionary taxes, such as land taxes. Henry George and other economists have argued that a land tax accompanied by tax cuts in other areas would encourage economic development while extracting land rents from landowners without distorting their decisions. A land tax has the potential to encourage greater efficiency in markets and discourage sprawl. Some cities in certain U.S. states, including Arizona and Pennsylvania, currently impose sales taxes at the local level in addition to state sales taxes. This project will estimate elasticities of supply and demand for various goods in various states and assess where sales taxes might be replaced by land value taxes. An aim of this study is to provide guidance to state and local policy in Arizona, Pennsylvania, and other states that may be considering land value taxation.

Paavo Monkkonen

Assistant Professor, Dept. of Urban Planning, UCLA Luskin School of Public Affairs The Impact of Land Value Taxation on Urban Development: The Mexicali Experience

Land value taxes are expected to benefit urban form more than standard property taxes by promoting more efficient and intensive use of land, limiting land speculation, and facilitating more compact development. The municipality of Mexicali in Baja California, Mexico, began using a land value taxation system in 1989. This project will describe and test hypotheses about how Mexicali's change in tax policy affected urban development there by interviewing public officials, developers, and land owners and by analyzing census GIS data from 1990 to 2010.

Zhou Yang

Assistant Professor, Department of Economics and Legal Studies, Robert Morris University **The Effects of the Two-Rate Property Tax: What Can We Learn From the Pennsylvania Experience?**

This project empirically investigates the effects of the two-rate (split-rate) property tax on the capital intensity of land development in Pennsylvania. After developing and drawing upon an effective strategy for data collection, to overcome the data limitations in the existing literature, the project will offer a better picture of the effects of the two-rate tax and provide policy suggestions regarding the use of land value taxes to combat urban sprawl.

Other Fellowships

Each year the Lincoln Institute sponsors a wide variety of research projects that further our commitment to exploring cutting-edge land and tax policy. We offer three types of fellowship programs: visiting fellowships, research fellowships, and graduate student fellowships. These support scholars, practitioners, and graduate students whose work contributes to our knowledge of land and tax policy and develops ideas to guide policy makers throughout the world. For a list of on-going research projects at the Institute, visit www.lincolninst.edu/ education/research.asp?search=Submit

PROGRAM calendar

The education programs listed here are offered as open enrollment courses for diverse audiences of elected and appointed officials, policy advisers and analysts, taxation and assessing officers, planning and development practitioners, business and community leaders, scholars and advanced students, and concerned citizens. For more information about these and other programs, visit the Lincoln Institute website at *www. lincolninst.edu/education/courses.asp.* In addition, the website hosts many online courses on land use and taxation policy that are offered in both English and Spanish.

The 79th Annual International Conference on Assessment Administration

MONDAY, AUGUST 26, 2013 Grand Rapids, Michigan Perspectives on School Funding and the Property Tax

Daphne Kenyon, Lincoln Institute of Land Policy, D. A. Kenyon & Associates; Alan Dornfest, Idaho State Tax Commission; Laura Dawson Ullrich, Winthrop University, Rock Hill, South Carolina; Sally Powers, Lincoln Institute of Land Policy; Ronald C. Fisher, Michigan State University; Andrew Reschovsky, Lincoln Institute of Land Policy, University of Wisconsin-Madison.

This year's seminar focuses on current property tax and school finance issues and explores future prospects for funding education. The program features three case studies of states that have substituted sales taxes for a portion of school property taxes. It examines the impact of these "tax swaps" on property tax burdens, the stability of school funding, fiscal disparities, and educational outcomes. Presentations include: Idaho School Funding Reform-Reducing Property Tax in Favor of State Funding; Act 388: Its Impacts on South Carolina Schools and Communities; Using Lincoln Institute's Significant Features of the Property Tax; Sales Tax Substitution for Property Tax in Michigan: What Happened; Prospects for Property Tax Revenues for School Funding. Opportunity for 3 hours of IAAO Continuing Education credit. For information about conference registration, contact Lauren Harlan, IAAO (email: Harlan@iaao.org, phone: 816-701-8109), or visit www.iaao.org.

Programs in Latin America

MONDAY-TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 16–17 Belo Horizonte, Brazil Cities, Taxes and Municipal Finances Martim Smolka, Lincoln Institute of Land Policy; Marciano Seabra de Godoi, Institute for Fiscal Studies—IEFi, Belo Horizonte, Brazil

During this seminar participants will discuss domestic and international issues related to taxes and municipal finances, emphasizing the links to urban policy and the analysis of concrete experiences in municipalities in Brazil and other Latin American countries. The main purpose of the seminar is to sensitize the executive and legislative branches of the municipal government regarding the importance of developing an efficient and just municipal tax policy that is fully integrated with the land and urban policies already established in the 1988 Brazilian Constitution.

FRIDAY-SATURDAY, OCTOBER 4–5 Buenos Aires, Argentina Urban Policy Instruments: Current Tendencies and New Visions for Argentinean Cities Martim Smolka, Lincoln Institute; Cynthia Goytia, Torcuato di Tella University, Buenos Aires, Argentina

This course has two main objectives. First, it aims to improve our understanding of urban growth trends in Argentinean cities and discuss the available regulatory instruments of urban land use regulation. Second, it presents information and describes experiences of several judicial, fiscal, and management instruments that affect the agenda of urban and land policies and have been validated through actual implementation in different Latin American cities in the last decades. The instruments to be discussed include land regularization and titling, development rights, social interest zoning, use of geographical information systems, and land acquisition by the public sector.

SATURDAY-TUESDAY, OCTOBER 12–15 Rio de Janeiro, Brazil VIII International Congress on Research Journalism

Martim Smolka, Lincoln Institute; Paulo Sandroni, Getulio Vargas Foundation, Sao Paulo, Brazil

The eighth annual International Congress on Research Journalism is the premier meeting for Brazilian journalists. The event will have approximately 100 speakers grouped in 70 thematic panels and will be offered to an expected audience of 1,000 participants. The Lincoln Institute is offering two three-hour long workshops and a panel discussion on themes related to urban development, emphasizing instruments of urban intervention used in projects related to the 2014 World Soccer Tournament and the 2016 Olympic Games, to be held in Brazil.

SUNDAY-FRIDAY, OCTOBER 27-NOVEMBER 1 Curitiba, Brazil

Land Management in Large-Scale Urban Projects

Martim Smolka, Lincoln Institute; Eduardo Reese, General Sarmiento University, Buenos Aires, Argentina

This course analyzes projects designed to promote the redevelopment or regeneration of deteriorated or abandoned urban areas, the extension of the urban perimeter, the strengthening of growth centers, and/or the creation or rehabilitation of central city areas, including historic centers. The course also includes a broad set of management instruments for large-scale urban projects, financing alternatives, mechanisms for fair redistribution of costs and benefits, and critical analysis of a wide variety of case studies.

SUNDAY-FRIDAY, DECEMBER 1–6 Cochabamba, Bolivia Informal Land Markets and Regularization in Latin America

Martim Smolka, Lincoln Institute of Land Policy, Cambridge, MA, USA; Claudio Acioly, United Nations Human Settlements Program, UN-Habitat, Nairobi, Kenya

This course is designed to meet the needs of practitioners involved in the planning, management, and implementation of land regularization and citywide slum upgrading programs in Latin America. Those involved in urban planning, housing, and land policy will find the course particularly useful. Participants will examine informality and the land tenure regularization process through the analysis of cases from Latin America and other regions.

FOCUS ON THE WEBSITE

NEW WORKING PAPERS

wo dozen additional working papers are accessible for free on *www.lincolninst.edu* since January 2013. The leading edge of the Lincoln Institute's research, working papers are often the seed of books, policy focus reports, *Land Lines* articles, and other publications. The most recent research covers land-related themes throughout the globe, from myriad aspects of land taxation in China to the effects of rapid transit buses on property value in Mexico City. Here are some new releases:

Transportation in the Favelas of Rio de Janeiro

Jacob Koch, Luis Antonio Lindau, and Carlos David Nassi

This paper presents findings on transportation patterns in the slums of Rio de Janeiro, based upon a survey of 2,000 residents in three favelas of diverse typology and geographic location. (May 2013)

Beyond Housing: Urban Agriculture and Commercial Development by Community Land Trusts

Greg Rosenberg and Jeffrey Yuen

Based upon case studies of 13 CLTs exploring nonresidential development in the U.S., this paper focuses on the urban agriculture and commercial development sectors. (April 2013)

Future Sea Level Rise Scenarios and the Shoreline of Mar del Plata, Argentina: Assessing Socioeconomic Impacts and Relief Measures

Juan Pablo Celemín and María Laura Zulaica This report anticipates where coastal damage will occur, the extent to which the effects of sea level rise will vary spatially, and the present socioeconomic context of areas that will be most heavily exposed. (June 2013)

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2013–2014 Program

The Lincoln Institute's annual Program for 2013–2014 presents a comprehensive overview of the Institute's mission and its diverse programs for the new academic year. It includes department descriptions; courses, seminars, conferences, and online education programs; research, demonstration, and evaluation projects; publications and multimedia products; Web-based resources and tools; and lists of fellows and faculty.

The complete Program catalog will be posted on the Lincoln Institute website for free downloading in late August. To request a print copy, contact *help@lincolninst.edu*.



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