



# Land Lines

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We seek to inform decision making through education, research, demonstration projects, and the dissemination of information through publications, our website, and other media. Our programs bring together scholars, practitioners, public officials, policy advisers, and involved citizens in a collegial learning environment. The Lincoln Institute of Land Policy is an equal opportunity institution.

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## CONTENTS



#### F E A T U R E S

2 Winning Strategies for Climate Resilience: The 2014 Lincoln-Loeb Fellow Considers Rebuild by Design HELEN LOCHHEAD

In response to Hurricane Sandy, the Rebuild by Design competition challenged architects, engineers, and planners to promote climate resilience through innovative planning and design. In this interview with Land Lines, Helen Lochhead considers the winning projects.

10 Putting People First: 10 Steps Toward Pedestrian-Friendly Suburbs Lynn Richards

Communities across the United States are rescaling their suburban landscapes from places built for cars to vibrant, walkable places built for people. The incoming president of the Congress for the New Urbanism details 10 ways to start this process of transformation.

17 The 2014 Journalists Forum: Land and the Built Environment ANTHONY FLINT

Forty journalists gathered in Cambridge last spring to talk about infrastructure: who it's for, how to plan and pay for it, and why we need smarter investments for 21st-century urban environments. The Lincoln Institute's public affairs director reports on the options.

#### DEPARTMENTS

- 1 Report from the President
- 22 Faculty Profile Adam Langley discusses the FiSC database
- 24 New Lincoln Institute Publications Governing and Financing Cities in the Developing World Lessons from Sandy Education, Land, and Location Use-Value Assessment of Rural Land in the United States
- 28 Announcement George W. McCarthy Succeeds Gregory K. Ingram as Lincoln Institute President
- 29 Focus on the Website



The Bjarke Ingels Group's "Big U," a winner of the Rebuild by Design competition.

BIG-Bjarke Ingels Group

#### **Report from the President**

### Carrying on the Mission of the Lincoln Institute

It is an honor to follow Gregory K. Ingram as the fifth president of the Lincoln Institute of Land Policy (see page 28), and to join you for my inaugural issue of *Land Lines*. It will be a challenge to live up to Greg's accomplished leadership and remarkably productive years at the helm of the Institute since 2005. I hope that I can combine my skills and experience with Lincoln's formidable tools and talented staff to continue its singular mission: connecting scholars, public officials, and business leaders to blend theory and practice in land policy



Incoming President George W. McCarthy

in order to address a broad range of social, economic, and environmental challenges.

Tectonic forces—natural, man-made, or both—are reshaping our planet. As we contend with climate change, accelerating urbanization in Asia and Africa, the aging of populations in Europe and North America, the suburbanization of poverty in the United States, and the financial insolvency of American cities, the land use decisions we make today will dictate the quality of life for hundreds of millions of people for the next century. Comprehensive plans and policies that equitably govern land use, political and social systems that ensure sustainability, and sound economic analyses to address these challenges are in critical demand and will remain so for decades to come.

Lincoln Institute affiliates explore these matters in this issue of *Land Lines*. The 2013 Lincoln/Loeb Fellow Lynn Richards, incoming president of the Congress for the New Urbanism, lays out 10 nifty steps U.S. communities have taken to make their suburbs more pedestrian-friendly, with affordable housing to offset the suburbanization of poverty and with denser mixed-use development and public transit to reduce automobile use and help to slow climate change. Architect and 2014 Lincoln/Loeb Fellow Helen Lochhead discusses the winners of Rebuild by Design, the international competition that fostered design innovations that will integrate resilience, sustainability, and livability in the regions affected by Superstorm Sandy. Public Affairs Director Anthony Flint reports on Lincoln's seventh annual Journalists Forum on Land and the Built Environment, which explored prospects for making smarter, more equitable infrastructure investments in 21st-century cities. Finally, in the Faculty Profile, Lincoln's senior research analyst Adam Langley discusses the Institute's Fiscally Standardized Cities (FiSC) database—a newly developed tool that will provide the foundation for important new analyses that will guide local responses to fiscal challenges in the United States.

And just a little about me. Over the last

14 years, I worked at the Ford Foundation, where I occupied a unique perch within global philanthropy that allowed me to support, demonstrate, and test new approaches to solve vexing social problems. Some of my proudest accomplishments include founding the National Vacant and Abandoned Properties Campaign and helping to build and grow the nation's field of shared-equity housing through collaborations with the National Community Land Trust Network and other partner organizations. I helped to design and then took leadership of Metropolitan Opportunity, the Foundation's next generation of community and economic development programming, which seeks to reduce the spatial isolation of disadvantaged populations in metropolitan regions by integrating land use planning, affordable housing development, and infrastructure investment to better serve all residents.

I came to Ford with a research background in housing, economics, and public policy analysis. I enjoyed the opportunity to work with scholars across the globe on issues as diverse as the birth of the environmental movement in Russia, the role of trade imbalances and debt in driving macroeconomic cycles, and the impact of homeownership on the lives of low-income families. I played the role of teacher and mentor to thousands of students and have tracked their successes with great pride. I presented research, advocated for policy change, and enjoyed successful collaborations with researchers, advocates, and public officials on four continents. And now I am delighted and honored to join you in this venture with the Lincoln Institute of Land Policy. **1** 

# Winning Strategies for Climate Resilience Helen Lochhead Considers Rebuild by Design

The "New Meadowlands Productive City + Regional Park" in New Jersey will rebuild ecosystems that store and retain water while enriching biodiversity in an environment that is already a breeding ground for many local species.

n the wake of Hurricane Sandy, with more frequent extreme weather events and rising sea levels, the vulnerability of coastal cities and towns has become a matter of urgency. But out of disasters can come opportunities for innovation. Post-Sandy, a range of new initiatives, tools, policies, governance frameworks, and incentives are being tested, including competitions such as Rebuild by Design (RBD). Spearheaded by the Hurricane Sandy Rebuilding Task Force and the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD), the contest used design as a key tool for creating integrated strategies to build resilience, sustainability, and livability.

After HUD announced the winners in June, Land Lines discussed RBD with Helen Lochhead, an architect, urban and landscape designer, and 2014 Lincoln/Loeb Fellow at the Graduate School of Design at Harvard University and the Lincoln Institute. Previously, she was the Executive Director of Place Development at Sydney Harbour Foreshore Authority. She is also an adjunct professor at the University of Sydney. Land Lines: How did Hurricane Sandy differ from other storms in the United States? Helen Lochhead: Sandy caused unprecedented damage and underscored the vulnerability of coastal cities and towns to more frequent extreme weather events. Given the financial costs, topping \$65 billion, and the excessive human toll, with 117 people dead and more than 200,000 displaced from their homes, it was clear from the outset of the recovery process that rebuilding what existed before was not a viable option.

MIT CAU+7US+Urbanister

All levels of government—federal, state, and city—clearly articulated the imperative to build greater resilience in the Sandy-affected areas of New York, New Jersey, and Connecticut. To ensure the tri-state region fares better next time around, it was acknowledged that we had to build differently. Because every \$1 spent on mitigation and preparation can save \$4 down the road on post-disaster rebuilding, government agencies are testing a range of new initiatives, including competitions that promote resilience through innovative planning and design, such as Rebuild by Design.

# *Land Lines:* How did Rebuild by Design differ from other recovery efforts and design competitions?

*Helen Lochhead:* The RBD competition acknowledged design as a key tool for dealing with extreme weather events, with potential to reframe questions and develop new paradigms that challenge the status quo. Designers are collaborators, visualizers, and synthesizers. RBD provided them the opportunity to unpack issues and put together scenarios in new and different ways.

RBD's approach was also regional. Hurricane Sandy defied political boundaries, so the competition aimed to address structural and environmental vulnerabilities that the storm exposed across all affected areas. It also promised to strengthen our understanding of regional interdependencies, fostering coordination and resilience both at the local level and across the United States.

The procurement strategy was different as well. The standard model for federal design competitions is to define an existing problem, develop a brief, and solicit solutions from the best experts in the field. But a problem of such unprecedented scale and complexity as Sandy cannot easily be defined until it's understood in all its dimensions. This takes time. Such unchartered territory suggested the need for an open-ended question and an interdisciplinary, cross-jurisdictional approach.

First, a diverse pool of talent was engaged by a unique consortium of project partners—President Obama's Hurricane Sandy Rebuilding Task Force

and HUD in collaboration with New York University's Institute for Public Knowledge (IPK), the Municipal Art Society (MAS), Regional Plan Association (RPA), and the Van Alen Institute (VAI), with financial support from the Rockefeller Foundation

Every \$1 spent on mitigation and preparation can save \$4 down the road on postdisaster rebuilding.

and other major foundations. Rather than limiting the field, the project partners sought integrated teams of interdisciplinary, collaborative thinkers, to facilitate a broad range of ideas and approaches as well as more holistic strategies.

Second, the competition process itself was different. Eight months total, it was short, sharp, and focused. The process involved research *and* design to interrogate the issues and maximize the breadth and range of ideas through open innovation paradigms. The process was research-led, The "New Meadowlands" regional park, to the left of the Hudson River in this aerial rendering, will dwarf Manhattan's Central Park, to the right.

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SCAPE's "Living Breakwaters" around Staten Island, New York, will create marine habitats for oysters and other species, providing shoreline protection, food, and an outdoor classroom for local students. open-source, and collaborative, to better refine the nature and scope of the complex regional challenges and develop comprehensive design solutions.

Third, RBD set aside HUD Community Development Block Grants (CDBG-DR) funding—\$920 million specifically—to help implement winning projects and proposals. Typically, grantees are required to develop action plans only *after* receiving these funds. But RBD informally changed this procedure by fostering innovative proposals *before* awarding money. Thus, federal dollars became a catalyst for innovation as well as a mechanism to facilitate implementation. Teams were encouraged to secure their own funding for additional design development as well, fueling the extension of their outreach and their project's scope.

Finally, RBD interacted with communities, not-for-profits, government agencies, and local, state, and federal leaders at every stage to build new coalitions of support and capacity in tandem with each design proposal.

*Land Lines:* How effective was Rebuild by Design as a vehicle for driving innovation and delivering resilience across the region? And what are the key possibilities and challenges of such a design-led process? *Helen Lochhead:* We will not know for some time if RBD will ultimately deliver innovations that better prepare and adapt the region to a changing climate or whether the projects can be successfully implemented and leveraged to build resilience in other vulnerable communities. However, it is possible to identify where the competition has demonstrated innovation and potential impact over and above more standard processes.

The sheer number of participants, range of disciplines, and integrated team structures facilitated a multiplicity of ideas and approaches but also more holistic strategies. From a field of 148 submissions, RBD selected 10 multidisciplinary design teams to research and develop a range of proposals. These finalists included more than 200 experts primarily from planning, design, engineering, and ecology.

The multifaceted research phase, which began in August 2013, also differentiated the competition process from the start. Teams immersed themselves in design-based research, targeted discussions, and field trips to Sandy-affected areas to help understand the enormity of the challenge. The Institute for Public Knowledge led this stage as a way to address a broad range of issues and involve



local community input and fieldwork. The IPK research identified vulnerabilities and risk, for which the design teams could then propose better, more resilient alternatives. This framework enabled the project teams not only to identify, understand, and respond to core problems, but to define opportunities and create scenarios. The process also facilitated the sharing of research and ideas across teams.

The designers undertook extensive precedent studies, examined global best practice, and met with community members to elicit input on what might be most effective in local contexts. They identified new and emerging approaches to coastal protection, finance, policy, and land-use planning, as well as communication models that demonstrated promise in other contexts and could be adapted in the Sandy-affected region. Visual tools were key to the exploration. Teams tested scenarios using GIS mapping tools to collate, synthesize, and communicate complex data. Three-dimensional visualizations helped to convey various options and engage stakeholders.

The power of design-led propositions cannot be underestimated as a means to translate intangible problems into tangible solutions that stakeholders can relate to and discuss in meaningful ways.

# *Land Lines:* You mentioned that RBD built new coalitions of support. How was the outreach different?

Helen Lochhead: Ten ideas were selected for design development in October, commencing the final stage of the competition. Teams worked closely with MAS, RPA, and VAI to transform their design ideas into viable projects that would inspire cooperation from politicians, communities, and agencies across the region and thus facilitate implementation and funding. Because of the regional approach of these far-reaching projects, the role of the partner organizations was pivotal here in bringing together local networks of often vastly different interests.

Coalition building was essential to ensuring that the approach was inclusive as well as comprehensive. Even more important was the grassroots support for implementation, to create the necessary momentum to deliver projects in the long run, as inevitably some will roll out over time as funds become available.

## *Land Lines:* What were some key themes in the proposals?

*Helen Lochhead:* The overarching logic in the proposals is that the greatest benefit and value is

Protecting the Lower East Side of Manhattan from future storm surge and rising sea levels, BIG's "Bridging Berm" is a park planted with salttolerant trees, shrubs, and perennials, providing a resilient urban habitat. created when investment addresses not just flood or storm risk, but also the combined effects of extreme weather events, environmental degradation, social vulnerability, and vital network susceptibility. By restoring ecosystems and creating recreational and economic opportunities, the projects will enhance sustainability and resilience.

What prevailed were layered approaches that incorporate more ecological green/blue infrastructure as well as gray infrastructure systems, along with proposals for new, more regionally based governance models, online tools, and educational initiatives that build capacity within communities. Many demonstrated place-based solutions that also had wider application. All highlighted interdependencies, fostering coordination and inclusion.

#### *Land Lines:* Among the winning projects, announced by HUD Secretary Shaun Donovan on June 2, what are some of the key innovations?

Helen Lochhead: SCAPE/Landscape Architecture's "Living Breakwaters" could have far-reaching application if the engineered protective oyster reefs are successful. Although the proposal faces some challenges—in-water permitting and potential broader environmental impacts that need to be worked through—it has the potential to be piloted and tested on a much smaller scale, with the buyin of local communities and champions such as the New York Harbor School, to iron out teething problems early on. If feasible, it has the added benefit of self-sustaining biological systems that keep replenishing themselves. The ingenuity of this scheme is the use of a pilot project to challenge the policy and regulatory framework with a radical rethink of the possibilities. Regulatory hurdles are often a significant barrier to innovation, so a smallscale trial is a low-risk investment. If it fails, there is little downside; if it succeeds, it will have circumvented major policy hurdles, paving the way for other new approaches to more ecologically based storm protection.

MIT CAU + ZUS + URBANISTEN's "New Meadowlands: Productive City + Regional Park" proposal for the New Jersey Meadowlands affords another equally innovative approach to implementation. It's a striking example of green infrastructure in the form of thick, multifunctional, landscaped berms along the water's edge that act as a flood barrier but also allow occupation. The proposal features a productive regional park, with berms and wetlands ringing the waterway, that buffers vital property and infrastructure from floods, rebuilds biodiversity, and hosts recreational and social programs as well as a mix of development to take advantage of the new parklands.

The project also proposes a compelling opportunity for a regionally based governance model to help implement the vision. The New Jersey Meadowlands Commission—with existing land use zoning in 14 municipalities—is a case study in intermunicipal collaboration with latent powers that position it well for a coalition-building



Through the use of a levee and other mechanisms, PennDesign/ OLIN's "Lifelines" project aims to protect the Hunts Point Food Market in the Bronx—a key link in the New York City food supply and a major economic hub.

PennDesign/OLIN



effort over this regional landscape. With some re-engineering, it could potentially become an ecological and economic development agency. There are many regulatory hurdles embedded in this proposal that a strong governance body such as this one could potentially streamline. The regional scale of many of the proposals means that they cross jurisdictional boundaries, which complicates implementation. By identifying the untapped potential of this existing governance framework, this team has shifted a major roadblock.

The BIG Team's "BIG U" is a compartmentalized, multipurpose barrier designed to protect vulnerable precincts in lower Manhattan from floods and storm surge. The team focused on the Lower East Side. The project integrates green space and social programs and, in the longer term, proposes much-needed transit. While it aims to redress the lack of recreational open space in the neighborhood, it inadequately addresses systemic shortcomings, such as the shortage and quality of low-income housing in the area, access to services, and the potential gentrification this project could accelerate.

In Nassau County, Long Island, the Interboro Team's "Living with the Bay" sought to enhance the region's quality of everyday life in nonemergency times while addressing flood risk. Taken as a whole, the initiatives present a collection of relatively low-risk propositions that can be readily implemented and that sow seeds for a more strategic and resilient future. Over the long term, improvements would include denser housing close to mass transit and a new community land trust.

PennDesign/OLIN's "Hunts Point Lifelines" proposal for the Bronx focused on social and economic resilience. While the team considered environmental vulnerabilities, its chief concern was the critical role that the Hunts Point Food Market plays in the local community and the regional food chain. The team worked with the community and industrial property owners to develop site-specific designs for integrated storm protection as well as green infrastructure that offers high-quality social space using components that can be manufactured locally and built cooperatively. The project demonstrated the potential of hybrid port protection and ecology throughout the estuary.

OMA's comprehensive strategy for Hoboken— "Resist, Delay, Store, Discharge"—represents a catalogue of interventions that incorporates extensive green/blue infrastructure as well as a protective barrier for critical transport infrastructure. While it shares many similarities with the Hoboken Sustainable Communities project, its strength is A "cleanway" at Hunts Point in the Bronx intercepts storm water and water-borne chemicals in a planted canal on the site of a former creek—providing a safe, green, and interesting path between the community and the Hudson River. FEATURE Winning Strategies for Climate Resilience



The Interboro Team's "Living with the Bay" proposal will employ swales, marshes, and dikes to manage storm water and build resilience along the South Shore in Nassau County, New York.

Credit: Interboro Team— Interboro/Apex/Bosch Slabbers/Deltares/ H+N+S/Palmbout/IMG Rebel with Center for Urban Pedagogy, David Rusk, NJIT Infrastructure Planning Program, Project Projects, RFA Investments, TU Delft the comprehensive approach achieved through a series of key initiatives that brought Hoboken and Jersey City to the table with more than 40 stakeholders who will be essential to implementation.

# *Land Lines:* What were the most winning aspects of projects that didn't win?

Helen Lochhead: Open-source frameworks enabled online engagement that informed both the process and the public, so teams could tap into a much broader range of users than just those who traditionally attend community meetings. For example, Sasaki's "CrowdGauge for Rebuild" first asked users in Asbury Park, New Jersey, to rank a set of priorities. Then it demonstrated how a series of actions and policies might affect those priorities. Finally, it gave users a limited number of coins, asking them to put that money toward the actions they supported most.

Various teams demonstrated a kit-of-parts approach, drawing on economic development initiatives, how-to toolkits, and urban improvement projects in various combinations to achieve resiliency objectives. HR&A Cooper Robertson's proposal for Red Hook, Brooklyn, is an example of this method. With all the layers in place, a number of these strategies could be scaled up and result in systemic transformation and benefits. Such granular approaches facilitate phased implementation and with funding are immediately actionable, impactful, and scalable.

Sasaki/Rutgers/Arup's "Resilience + the Beach" shifted the focus inland from the Jersey Shore to higher, drier headlands, by redefining the coastal zone as the six-mile deep ecosystem between the beach and the New Jersey Pine Barrens. By revealing the scenic attributes and recreational potential of the hinterland's waterways and forests, the strategy encourages development to migrate from the barrier island edge to stable inland areas to grow a more layered tourism economy. The site for this project is Asbury Park, but the approach has broader regional application by capitalizing on the geographical attributes characteristic of the New Jersey coast—the Pine Barrens, inland bays, and barrier islands—to create new attractions. The strategy includes a range of actions including new green/blue infrastructure, open space and development, and a community toolkit to educate landowners on local risk and options for resilience.

Another prototype for regional coastal cities, WB's "Resilient Bridgeport" consists of a resilience framework and specific design proposals for the Long Island Sound region. A set of integrated coastal, urban, and riparian design strategies and planning principles provide multiple lines of defense to protect Bridgeport against flooding and storm surge while stimulating environmental restoration, economic development, and neighborhood revitalization focused around social housing.

# *Land Lines:* In sum, what have been the key successes of the competition so far?

Helen Lochhead: The urgency of the problem and the fast pace of the competition provided a level of intensity, drive, and momentum that yielded results in a short time frame. Many of the design solutions were characterized by a quantum and richness of ideas, depth of resolution, and cleverness of approach. The focus was not just on recovery and risk reduction, such as flood and storm mitigation, but on long-term resilience and sustainability. All propositions deliver multiple social, economic, and environmental benefits—improvements related to amenities, ecology, education, capacity building, long-term savings, and community health and well-being—and so tend to be higher-performing, holistic solutions.

The impact to date has already been catalytic. If nothing else, RBD has generated momentum and delivered major benefits to the region by starting the conversation on resilience by design. Granted, the real measure of success is in the implementation, but a robust, innovative process is required to provoke cultural change in practice. RBD has set that example.

## *Land Lines:* What will be the key challenges of implementation?

*Helen Lochhead:* Finding the sweet spot between the visionary and the pragmatic.

The carrot for the winners was the possibility of building these projects with disaster recovery grants from HUD and other sources of public- and private-sector funding. As such, a key part of the final phase was an implementation strategy that demonstrated feasibility, support of local grantees, phasing, and short-term deliverables that can be delivered with CDBG-DR funding as well as ongoing revenue streams for later stages.

The real opportunity for HUD now is to leverage this process and its exemplary projects to benefit other regions at risk on a national scale.

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Arlington County, Virginia

# **Putting People First** 10 Steps Toward Pedestrian-Friendly Suburbs

On the site of what was once a desolate parking lot (opposite page), the Arlington Mill Community Center offers affordable housing, retail, educational and recreational programs, and a playground in Arlington, Virginia.

Lynn Richards

any suburban areas in the United States are showing signs of deterioration, with foreclosed properties, vacant retail centers, and underutilized space. These landscapes have come to epitomize sprawl places built for the car and accessed only by the car. But they also hold enormous opportunities for creative reinvention. A number of communities across the country are rescaling their suburbs into vibrant, walkable places built for people.

Reoriented for pedestrians, suburban neighborhoods can thrive and diversify to better support local economies, raise quality of life indicators, and improve local and regional environmental conditions. Even deteriorating suburbs plagued by disused structures and other dead zones have the potential to generate new housing infrastructure, transit access, open space, and local retail.

The University of Utah estimates that 2.8 million acres of parking lots and other greyfield areas are ripe for redevelopment, and 1.1 million acres are available in underutilized shopping areas, such as strip malls and vacant storefronts (Dunham Jones and Williamson 2009). Transforming these landscapes will be a 21st-century planning and development priority in the United States.

Many cities are steadily redeveloping and capitalizing on recent demographic trends supporting urban revitalization, but economically robust regions need flourishing suburban communities as well. Recent surveys by the National Association of Realtors and the American Planning Association found that a majority of potential homebuyers seek to live in walkable neighborhoods with a range of housing types and a mix of residential, business, and retail options. As baby boomers age and more of the millennial generation enter adulthood, an increasing number of Americans are leaving their cars behind to live in more centrally located, walkable environments. In 2012, roughly half the population preferred smaller houses in well-connected neighborhoods with places to live, work, shop, and play (National Association of Realtors 2011, American Planning Association 2014).

Despite this mounting evidence in favor of suburban redevelopment, many local leaders remain uncertain about how to begin. This article explores 10 ways that communities across the country have rescaled significant parts of their sprawling suburbs into thriving social hubs.



Arlington County, Virginia

#### **1. Share a Vision and Draft a Plan**

Many communities start by imagining how they want to grow and then develop a plan to realize that vision. Do residents want more housing, a walkable entertainment center, a new arts district, or an urban farming zone? Is it most important to increase the tax base, reduce pedestrian and bike fatalities, or increase access to fresh food? Specific goals will help to steer redevelopment efforts.

Regional and neighborhood plans engage community members in a dialogue about where to target infrastructure investments and leverage redevelopment opportunities as they become available. Local governments can start with a small site—such as a vacant lot or city-owned building and then build on that successful effort, generating the momentum to tackle an entire neighborhood, corridor, or even a cleaned-up superfund site. Building a shared sense of purpose for a place can be a powerful incentive for guiding future change.

Consider Midvale Slag and Sharon Steel, two adjacent superfund sites about 10 miles south of Salt Lake City in Midvale, Utah. Both underwent cleanup at approximately the same time, but only one is thriving.

In 2000, the Midvale City Council adopted the "Bingham Junction Reuse Assessment and Master Plan" for the 446-acre Midvale Slag site. City officials worked with residents, EPA officials, and other stakeholders to devise a strategy for redeveloping the site into a mixed-use commercial, residential, and recreation area. Now thriving, Bingham Junction created approximately 600 jobs, \$1.5 million in annual property tax revenues, and a \$131 million increase in the value of the site property (EPA 2011). Families have moved

into new condominiums, and another 2,500 residential units are planned. Office buildings, a supermarket, and other stores have followed, and the community anticipates developing up to two million square feet of commercial office and retail space.

In contrast, the 250-acre Sharon Steel site, which did not have a redevelopment plan or future vision, remains vacant. Building on the success of Bingham Junction, however, city officials have begun the planning and visioning process.

#### **2. Identify Assets**

Many local governments struggle to determine where to focus their initial visioning and planning efforts. The following kinds of questions can help to identify which assets to leverage.

- Is public transit available? If so, are there underutilized areas near or immediately adjacent to transit stops that could be redeveloped to enhance accessibility?
- 2. Where will existing infrastructure dollars be spent—for example, on roads, water, sewers, schools, civic structures, parks?
- 3. Are there vacant or underutilized parking lots, buildings, or strip malls near these infrastructure investments?

# The suburbs hold enormous opportunity for creative reinvention.

- 4. Which of these areas have redevelopment plans in place or neighborhood support for new development?
- 5. Which of these areas are near or adjacent to other public assets such as schools, libraries, parks, or open space?
- 6. Can any of these sites align with existing or emerging employment areas?
- 7. Are any of these properties available for redevelopment (i.e., are any owners willing to collaborate with the community on redevelopment goals and plans)?

This proposed assessment is not a linear, stepby-step process. Sometimes a site may become unavailable unexpectedly, or a federal grant may come through for road improvements on a major arterial. In other situations, an owner may be unwilling to cooperate, or a site may be deemed unfeasible. In any case, an assessment of existing conditions can help to target potential sites or neighborhoods as priorities.

#### **3. Leverage Infrastructure Investments**

To attract private investment and new development, local governments can make significant public

Many cities and towns seize the opportunity to direct infrastructure investments to the neighborhoods they would like to revitalize. investments, either by upgrading existing infrastructure or by investing in new infrastructure. Many cities and towns seize the opportunity to direct these investments to the neighborhoods they would like to revitalize. Research has shown that by leveraging public investments, communities can increase land value from

70 to 300 percent and can boost private investment, social capital, tourism, and retail activity by an average of 30 percent (Litman 2010). They can also achieve key "placemaking" goals, communally shaping public spaces to heighten their shared value.

Norman, Oklahoma, about 25 miles south of Oklahoma City, is an interesting work in progress. The town had \$27 million to improve traffic flow and increase safety along a seven-block stretch of road that bisected a typical strip retail district with large parking lots on both sides of the street. The town came together to discuss how to use this money to make broader streetscape upgrades along with the necessary safety improvements. Business owners, university officials, and local leaders joined forces and engaged in strategic placemaking to discuss how they might create a walkable retail area.

Municipalities can also leverage capital improvement investments against other community goals. With shrinking resources, local governments can no longer reasonably afford to achieve singleobjective outcomes from their infrastructure investments. For example, the city of Lenexa, Kansas (a suburb of Kansas City), determined to be a more sustainable and livable community, and they used green infrastructure projects to help achieve that goal. Tapping funds from the American Recovery and Reinvestment Act, city officials implemented a range of street-level storm water improvements that achieved key placemaking objectives, such as creating open spaces and promoting walking, while addressing storm water problems.

#### 4. Align Codes and Ordinances

Outdated, disjointed codes and ordinances are among the greatest barriers to rescaling suburban environments. These land development regulations—from zoning ordinances to street standards, parking requirements, site coverage, and height limits—are often responsible for existing transportation and land use patterns, and serve as the default legal structure for new development. The upshot is that building a walkable mixed-use neighborhood is often illegal, requiring the developer to seek variances or special permits, which can create uncertainty and delays in the development process or discourage redevelopment in the first place.

Research has found that government support for development in targeted areas is the strongest predictor of private investment (Hook et al. 2013). One of the easiest ways to support new growth is to change the codes and ordinances to legalize pedestrian-friendly development. New codes can be embedded in an overlay zone or a neighborhood plan to allow for the type of construction needed to transform an area.

A number of resources are available to help local governments determine where and how to change their codes, such as the SmartCode (*www.smartcodecentral.org*) form-based codes



(http://formbasedcodes.org), the American Planning Association's Smart Codes: Model Land-Development Regulation (https://www.planning.org/research/ smartgrowth), or EPA's Essential Fixes series (www.epa.gov/dced/essential\_fixes.htm).

For example, Columbia Pike in Arlington, Virginia—a 3.5-mile urban corridor across the Potomac River from downtown Washington, DC—was rescaled after the county modified the underlying development codes and ordinances. Located in an urban county that grew explosively in recent decades, Columbia Pike, by contrast, had seen little development and minimal investment in the past 30 years. In the late 1990s, county leaders created a form-based code to foster transit- and pedestrian-oriented infill redevelopment in the corridor. The code is an optional code (also known as a parallel code); all the underlying zoning remains in place, but incentives such as expedited review and approvals encourage its use. Since adopting the code in 2003, the Pike has seen more than 1,000 new housing units and 240,000 square feet of retail built, and another 600 housing units and 21,700 square feet of retail have been approved.

#### 5. Get the Streets Right

A community's street network is fundamental to any redevelopment efforts. Typical suburbs have wide, high-speed travel lanes designed to move cars efficiently through the area. But the primary focus of any suburban rescaling effort should be on moving people, not cars, through an area. This goal can be accomplished by building wide, The "Boulevard" in Lancaster, California, before and after a streetscape redesign that narrowed and reduced traffic lanes, added green space, and ultimately helped to raise downtown revenue by 119 percent from 2007 to 2012.





The town of Norman, Oklahoma, hopes to leverage road improvements needed for public safety in order to make broader streetscape upgrades. inviting sidewalks; installing lanes and parking for bicycles; creating buffer zones between people and moving traffic; developing interesting places to walk; and making it safe to cross the road. Wellconceived streets can also kick-start investment and the redevelopment process. However, in many suburban communities, which tend to be less competitive, the public sector may need to catalyze growth by making up-front investments with support for infrastructure and amenities to attract privatesector funds.

For example, Lancaster, California, a midsize city about 60 miles north of Los Angeles, transformed a five-lane arterial into a Main Street by investing in a number of streetscape improvements. They narrowed and reduced travel lanes, and added on-street parking and street vegetation, which slowed traffic from 40 miles per hour to 15 miles per hour. The city's investment of \$11.5 million attracted more than \$300 million in private investment.

#### 6. Get the Parking Right

Parking is a challenge for any development, but it's particularly tricky in suburban areas where the community is trying to pivot from auto-dependence to auto-independence. Conventional wisdom holds that parking is essential to retail survival; consequently, many suburban areas have an oversupply, owing to various code, design, or bank requirements. But any successful effort to rescale a suburb will require planners to balance today's parking needs with a creative vision for a less automobiledependent future.

Communities can assess how much parking is needed and explore alternate ways to supply it by requiring on-street parking, permitting shared parking, or de-bundling parking spaces from housing units (EPA 2006). To foster a pedestrian-friendly streetscape, it's critical to eliminate or reduce surface parking, or to place it behind retail areas. Larger redevelopment projects may require a parking garage, but it should be located at the back of the site and not immediately adjacent to other transit opportunities. It's increasingly common to "wrap" a parking garage with smaller housing units or offices to provide parking without interrupting the pedestrian streetscape.

As a neighborhood decreases its dependence on cars, it can repurpose parking garages by converting top floors into community gardens or bottom floors into low-rent business incubator space. One community in Albany, New York, transformed an old parking garage and car dealership into luxury condominiums.

By planning for future uses, a neighborhood can maintain the parking spaces it needs now while allowing the area to evolve and change without losing the initial investments made during the revitalization process. Local governments can also rewrite zoning and building codes to demand that garage developers meet the minimum adaptability requirements (Jaffe 2013).

#### 7. Add More Green

Suburban landscapes have been described as "hostile" and "unhealthy" because of their wide, underutilized zones dominated by hard surfaces. But many communities are bringing nature back into these built environments and transforming the streets and alleys between buildings into attractive, thriving pedestrian hubs.

Trees, plants, open green space, and recreational pathways afford a respite for individuals, provide social gathering areas, improve environmental conditions, and create more livable streetscapes (Benfield 2014). Suburban sites can make it easier to integrate green into a new development project because they often offer more land and flexibility than urban areas. As a public investment, green space can also serve to attract private development initiatives.

Green spaces can be incorporated at three scales-at the regional, neighborhood, and site level. At the site scale, municipalities are beginning to use green infrastructure to manage storm water by absorbing it into the ground or capturing it for later reuse. These strategies create more beautiful places, increase pedestrian safety, calm traffic, manage water flows, and develop a constituency to support effective storm water management. (Much like potholes, a conspicuous clogged bio-swale on a local street is more likely to generate calls to city hall than an invisible underground pipe leak would.) These site-level approaches can also build momentum for larger-scale suburban transformation while creating bustling public spaces from parking lots, alleys, buildings, landscaped areas,

rooftops, or streets. Imagine, for example, a sea of cascading greenery descending from the roof of a parking garage or a pedestrian plaza with planters, trees, tables, and chairs in a section of a former parking lot.

At the regional and neighborhood level, green space can connect natural areas and working lands while also providing critical ecological functions.

Additionally, these connections can support multi-use paths and trails, habitat corridors, and other "green fingers" integrated throughout the region. Regional approaches focus on the movement of wildlife, people, and natural resources, such as water. Neighborhood strategies target connections to larger regional networks, creating connected public gath-

Strategic green space can create linkages that connect natural areas and preserve a region's character, working lands, open space, and clean water.

ering places, open spaces, coordinated multi-use paths, and a bike infrastructure network.

The redevelopment of Stapleton Airport outside Denver, Colorado, incorporated green space at the regional and neighborhood levels. Approximately one-third of its 4,700 acres serve as new parks and open space for the project's 12,000 residential units. Every home is within a 10-minute walk of open space. The centerpieces are the 80-acre Central Park and 85-acre Westerly Creek corridor. More than 27,000 trees have been planted, and the 6 million tons of concrete that once formed the airport's runways have been incorporated into the newly created parklands. Not only

Once a bleak stretch of strip malls and big-box stores, Columbia Pike in Arlington, Virginia, now offers pedestrianfriendly mixed-use developments such as Penrose Square.



Arlington County, Virginia



The grounds of the underutilized Stapleton Airport in Denver, Colorado, now encompass 12,000 residential units, retail, pocket parks, and greenways. did the redevelopment rescale the airport into a thriving pedestrian place, it is also generating \$22 million in annual property taxes and \$13 million in sales tax revenue (Swetlik 2013).

#### 8. Change Land Use

Many suburban areas are littered with abandoned or underperforming big box stores and outdated shopping centers. By reusing these buildings as libraries, schools, housing, and even churches, communities can activate a dead zone and create demand for a location. They can also prevent or slow an expanding sprawl pattern by reducing the need to build new big box stores on undeveloped parcels. Without a broader redevelopment strategy, however, reuse of big box stores will not change

Long-term agreements or planned densification can be designed to require density increases or large-scale redevelopment activities within a particular time frame. the physical landscape to support significant pedestrian activity.

Suburban developers often have to assemble land parcels and navigate the demands of multiple landowners, especially in retail corridors with multiple strip malls and single-use retail outlets. As a result, many developers are attracted to

old mall sites, which often have significant acreage, single owners, existing roads, water and sewer service, and adjacent residential housing. The existing mega-structure may be torn down and replaced with moderate-density buildings, a traditional street grid, and a mix of commercial and residential uses. For example, the redevelopment of the 100-acre Belmar Mall, in Lakewood, Colorado, reconnected the street grid. The pedestrian-friendly streets now support 1,300 new homes, one million square feet of retail, and 700,000 square feet of office space. This approach has drawn many suburban communities to create a town center or similar large-scale redevelopment on those sites.

The process of shifting from a suburban landscape to a walkable, thriving neighborhood takes time and may require public infrastructure investments. Recognizing this, some municipalities plan to roll out several stages of redevelopment over decades and provide immediate funds for infrastructure in order to leverage future investments. A critical component for successful staged developments is compatible local government planning and zoning. Long-term agreements or planned densification can be designed to require density increases or large-scale redevelopment activities within a particular time frame, allowing market supply and demand to coevolve.

One example of successful staged development is Potomac Yards in Alexandria, Virginia. The former industrial site was remediated in 1997 and developed according to then-current zoning as a traditional strip mall. Tenants signed a 15-year lease, which was typical for the time and the space. Over the next several years, city officials obtained funding to open a new metro station in the back of the mall, and several adjacent mixed-use, highdensity residential developments were built as well. Land value in Potomac Yards rose significantly as a result. In 2010, the city council approved a redevelopment plan, which is slated to begin in 2017 and will dovetail with the opening of the metro stop. The strip mall will be torn down to make way for a new walkable mixed-use neighborhood with



7.5 million square feet of office, retail, and residential development.

#### 9. Provide Catalytic Leadership

Rescaling suburban neighborhoods for pedestrians requires coordination and cooperation among municipal departments that normally operate independently. Transportation departments manage road systems, housing departments manage affordable housing, and public works departments build sewers. But no single department can implement the complex range of strategies and physical changes needed to transform a single-use residential subdivision or retail district into a walkable mixed-use neighborhood.

Catalytic leadership is equal parts mediation, facilitation, and leadership. It is based on respecting each department's traditional approach while acknowledging that no single department will have the answer or data to resolve some issues. Catalytic leadership can build the trust and respect needed to foster more collaborative and innovative approaches to the challenges presented by suburban placemaking. It is essential to orchestrating these efforts, mediating among parties with differing agendas, and achieving desired outcomes on time and within budget. The successful redevelopment of downtown Silver Spring, Maryland, benefited from such leadership. The area had been a dynamic retail center

in the postwar years. But, like many suburban centers, it lost much of its vibrancy to enclosed malls during the 1970s, and subsequent attempts to rebuild the retail base failed. In 1996, the county decided to redevelop the area into a pedestrian-oriented, mixed-use, transit-oriented community. The county executive knew that slow permitting would hinder the project, so he created a Green Taping program, which draws input from the local staff re-

implement the complex range of strategies and physical changes needed to transform a single-use residential subdivision or retail district into a walkable mixed-use neighborhood.

No single department can

sponsible for enforcing the range of building and site codes (building, electrical, fire, mechanical, accessibility, zoning, signage, sediment and storm water management, subdivision plan review, and inspection codes and standards). At "round table" sessions, the participants identified and resolved cross-department issues for proposed projects in the redevelopment zone. By gathering in one room, representatives from all the departments

JULY 2014 • Land Lines • LINCOLN INSTITUTE OF LAND POLICY 17

were able to resolve design, zoning, and code barriers more efficiently. As a result, Silver Spring has transformed its suburban landscape into a thriving community with more than 750,000 square feet of retail and entertainment space, 500,000 square feet of office space, and nearly 2,000 residences.

#### ABOUT THE AUTHOR

The incoming president and CEO of the Congress for the New Urbanism, LYNN RICHARDS was the 2013 Lincoln/Loeb Fellow at the Graduate School of Design at Harvard University and the Lincoln Institute of Land Policy. Previously, at the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency (EPA), she held multiple leadership roles over 13 years including acting director and policy director in the Office of Sustainable Communities. Contact: lrichards@cnu.org or follow her on Twitter @lrichardsCNU

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#### **10. Anticipate What's Next**

The process of rescaling suburban communities can be long and difficult, but there are a number of possible starting points—from visioning and planning, to making infrastructure investments, to building the first project. As municipalities begin, leaders should keep several issues in mind:

- Determine how to measure success. A clear, measureable objective for a corridor redevelopment or revamped strip mall can be critical to ensuring that the project stays on track. Is the goal to increase retail sales, transit ridership, or affordable housing? During the course of a project, city commissions and planning, zoning, and transportation boards will need to make seemingly minor decisions—such as increasing or decreasing allowed parking—with potentially major effects. Municipalities are more likely to reach their long-term goals if they clearly articulate and define the measures of success from the outset.
- Manage redeveloped places for all income and age groups. Many cities and towns are leveraging expanded transit lines to transform their suburban landscapes, which will attract more minorities, lower-income residents, and young people in search of walkable neighborhoods. Municipalities need to plan accordingly and accommodate these new demographics with affordable housing, employment opportunities, and retail options.
- Respect and celebrate local and regional uniqueness. Fundamentally, compelling neighborhoods have a strong sense of place, with unique streetscapes, architectural styles, or public art. As communities transform their suburban landscapes, leaders can allow neighborhoods to grow organically and authentically—and avoid replacing generic malls with generic town centers that will fare no better over the long run.

America's evolving suburban landscapes represent enormous opportunities to creatively rethink the nation's built and natural environments. Rescaling these places for pedestrians can help restore activity in the street and create lively, prosperous places to live and work. **I** 

# Journalists Forum on Land and the Built Environment

# **Urban Infrastructure**

Anthony Flint

tephanie Pollack, associate director of the Dukakis Center for Urban and Regional Policy at Northeastern University, noticed something seriously amiss when she analyzed the results of a survey on the public transportation needs of lower-income residents in Massachusetts. The survey asked respondents to indicate their main mode of transport, and there were the traditional choices like taking the train or the bus. But there was no box to check for what turned out to be the most common means of getting around: Dozens of respondents had written in "someone else's car."

For Pollack, the discovery underscored the difficulties of matching transportation systems to realities on the ground as well as the need for better metrics and engagement to satisfy the true needs of those who use public transportation. As part of a project called The Toll of Transportation, the Dukakis Center sought to determine how residents get where they need to go in such cities as Lynn, Worcester, Springfield, and East Boston. But "someone else's car" was not a category recognized in standard transportation data collection.

"We measure equity in education and health care, but not in transportation," Pollack told writers and editors gathered for the Journalists Forum on Land and the Built Environment, in Cambridge, March 28 to 29, 2014. "We have no concept of how a transportation system would be 'fair."

The theme of the forum was infrastructure who it's for, how to plan and pay for it, and why we need smarter investments for 21st-century urban environments. It was the seventh year of the annual two-day gathering for journalists, hosted



by the Lincoln Institute, the Nieman Foundation for Journalism at Harvard University, and Harvard University's Graduate School of Design (GSD).

Pollock also shared research on transit-oriented development (TOD)—a policy increasingly encouraged by cities through zoning reform and financial incentives. The data revealed some troubling outcomes in terms of equity and transit use: The higher-income residents who move into TOD areas, which rapidly become expensive places to live, don't tend to use the transit; whereas residents who do use transit must move farther from the stations, to more affordable neighborhoods—a displacement that raises the costs and complexity of their commutes. In a third of TOD sites studied, ridership actually went down after new development went in.

Marcin Wichary/flick

Unlike some mega-event sites, East London is still benefiting from infrastructure investments made for the London 2012 Olympics. In another presentation, Judith Grant Long, associate professor of urban planning at the GSD, looked at mega-events, such as the World Cup and the Olympics, which also inspire cities to invest billions in infrastructure. There is little evidence of a payoff in terms of permanent jobs, revenues, or even branding, she said. The International Olympic Committee could help cities plan better and deliver more compact, "right-sized" games, Long suggested. Barcelona, Rome, Tokyo, Munich, Montreal, and London all have had some success in transforming Olympic villages for long-term use that benefits a broader population after the games are over.

Public-private partnerships, private roadway building and operation, and tolling systems have marked recent innovations in the financing of infrastructure, said Jose A. Gomez-Ibanez, professor at the GSD and the Harvard Kennedy School. But, arguably, since the completion of the interstate highway system, the federal role has been unclear; the challenge is showing the public who benefits from projects, in order to justify how they are paid for, he said.

Governments are going to have to become smarter and more targeted in building future transportation and other types of infrastructure, especially as metropolitan areas seek to become more resilient in the face of the inevitable impacts of climate change, several presenters said.

Rich Cavallaro, president of Skanska USA Civil, Inc., cited the D+ grade in the latest "report card" on infrastructure issued by the American Society of Civil Engineers. That group estimates that the nation needs to spend \$1.6 trillion more than currently planned to bring infrastructure across all sectors to an acceptable level. In contrast to hugely expensive projects, such as floodgates similar to those on the Thames River in the United Kingdom, Cavallaro spoke in favor of more achievable steps, such as equipping subway tunnels with giant inflatable plugs, raising up grates and power substations, and designing parking garages and similar facilities so they can be flooded and then cleaned up when the waters recede.

Several nations are better at coordinating disaster relief and recovery efforts, according to surveys by Robert B. Olshansky, professor of Urban and Regional Planning at the University of Illinois Urbana-Champaign, and Laurie A. Johnson, principal at Laurie Johnson Consulting | Research. Building long-term resilience as part of that process was the subject of the recent Lincoln Institute report, *Lessons from Sandy*.

Susannah C. Drake, principal at dlandstudio pllc, detailed creative approaches such as retooling the waterfront apron of lower Manhattan and capping sunken highway trenches through urban neighborhoods. The nation cannot simply seek to rebuild what existed before a disaster—especially now that advances in technology make infrastructure less expensive, compared to the massive investments of the New Deal. Marcus M. Quigley, principal at Geosyntec Consultants, explored how smart technology and dynamic, intelligent controls can transform major facilities. "We can change the way our infrastructure acts on our behalf," he said. "Every time we repave a street or a sidewalk, we're burning an opportunity."

The dark side of smart infrastructure was also discussed. Ryan Ellis, postdoctoral research fellow at the Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs at the Harvard Kennedy School, addressed the complex challenge of security and infrastructure, revealing the cloak-and-dagger world of cyber attacks, vulnerabilities, and zero days. Hackers routinely hijack emails and can sabotage our power grid, air traffic control, and financial systems. The key, Ellis said, is to "design for security now," because "it's hard to bolt on after the fact." For planners engaged in building smart cities, he said, security must be part of the conversation.

The interconnected impacts of global urbanization require a broader framework for urban infrastructure, outside the "box" of individual metropolitan areas, said Neil Brenner, professor of urban theory at the GSD. "We need to update our cognitive map of urbanization," he said. Pierre Bélanger, associate professor of landscape architecture at the GSD, predicted that working with nature—and even allowing certain abandoned areas to return to a wild state—would eclipse the traditional approach of controlling water and putting streams in pipes.

Political leadership is the key to reinventing and designing new infrastructure in the urban environment, said landscape architect Margie Ruddick. Fortunately, mayors have become some of the most innovative leaders to take on these kinds of challenges, said David Gergen, senior analyst at CNN and director of the Center for Public Leadership at the Harvard Kennedy School. Mayors may not routinely become president, but they are practical problem solvers at center stage, said Gergen, who was the guest speaker at the forum's traditional evening gathering at the Nieman Foundation's Walter Lippmann House. "Cities are where the experimentation is taking place," he said.

The political difficulties of transforming the urban landscape were also noted by Janette Sadik-Khan, former transportation commissioner of New York City and now at Bloomberg Associates. She noted that bike lanes, a bike-share program, and car-free spaces in Times Square had prompted opposition from drivers, business owners, and others who viewed the initiative as impractical and "vaguely French." But many shopkeepers have since reported a big uptick in business because of increased foot traffic, and the moveable chairs in the car-free areas are continually occupied.

"When you expand options, people vote with their feet, their seats, and their bike share key fobs," she said. "New Yorkers have changed in what they expect from their streets." The forum traditionally includes two sessions devoted to "practicing the craft." Brian McGrory, editor of *The Boston Globe*, detailed efforts to integrate "searingly relevant" journalism in a digital business model that is sustainable. *The Globe* has more readers than ever, he said. Inga Saffron, architecture critic for *The Philadelphia Inquirer*, who won the Pulitzer Prize shortly after the forum, joined *Chicago Tribune* architecture critic Blair Kamin, Jerold Kayden from the GSD, and Gregory K. Ingram and Armando Carbonell from the Lincoln Institute in a conversation on the interaction between journalists and expert sources.

Several participants among the 40 journalists and Nieman fellows filed dispatches, including Roger K. Lewis at *The Washington Post*, Tim Bryant at the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, Christopher Swope at *Citiscope*, and Josh Stephens writing for *Planetizen*.

Anthony Flint is a fellow and director of public affairs at the Lincoln Institute of Land Policy, and author of Wrestling with Moses: How Jane Jacobs Took on New York's Master Builder and Transformed the American City (Random House, 2011). He was a Loeb Fellow in 2000–2001. Contact: anthony.flint@lincolninst.edu

Bike lanes are relatively inexpensive to install and eligible for federal grant money.



#### **Faculty Profile**



Adam H. Langley is a senior research analyst in the Department of Valuation and Taxation at the Lincoln Institute of Land Policy. Previously, Langley worked for the New York State Assembly. He earned his B.A. in political studies from Bard College and an M.A. in economics from Boston University.

Langley's research has covered a range of issues related to state and local public finance, with a particular focus on the property tax. He has coauthored three Lincoln Institute Policy Focus Reports: Property Tax Circuit Breakers: Fair and Cost-Effective Relief for Taxpayers (2009), Payments in Lieu of Taxes: Balancing Municipal and Nonprofit Interests (2010), and Rethinking Property Tax Incentives for Business (2012). He has also led several projects to provide data on the Lincoln Institute's website, including creation of the Fiscally Standardized Cities (FiSCs) database and a dataset with extensive information on nonprofits that make payments in lieu of taxes and the localities that receive them.

His articles have appeared in journals such as Regional Science and Urban Economics, Public Finance and Management, and Publius: The Journal of Federalism. His research has also been covered by more than a hundred news outlets, including The New York Times, The Wall Street Journal, The Economist, Governing, and The Boston Globe. Contact: alangley@lincolninst.edu

# Adam H. Langley

**LAND LINES:** What projects have you been working on recently as a senior research analyst at the Lincoln Institute?

**ADAM LANGLEY:** I have been working on several projects related to local government finances. One major project has been the creation of the Fiscally Standardized Cities (FiSCs) database. This subcenter on the Lincoln Institute's website allows users to make meaningful comparisons of local government finances at the city level for 112 of the largest U.S. cities over the past 35 years. I drew on this data in a recent paper on municipal finances during the Great Recession, which I presented at Lincoln's 9th annual Land Policy Conference on June 2, 2014. I am also creating a summary table that describes state programs for property tax exemptions and credits, drawing information from Lincoln's Significant Features of the Property Tax subcenter. I plan to use that table to estimate tax expenditures for these programs in all 50 states.

## **LAND LINES:** You've worked on several projects to provide data on the Lincoln Institute's website. What motivates this focus on data?

**ADAM LANGLEY:** These data projects go to the core of Lincoln's mission to inform decision making on issues related to the use, regulation, and taxation of land. Lincoln's databases have been used by policymakers to help guide their decisions, by journalists to provide broader context in their stories, and by researchers for their own projects. Providing data that is freely accessible and easy to use greatly magnifies the potential reach of Lincoln's work on land policy issues, because it empowers other analysts to undertake new research in this area.

It is also essential for Lincoln's reputation that we base our policy recommendations on high-quality analysis and good data. To impact policy decisions, it's critical that our research be widely viewed as objective, nonpartisan, and evidence-based.

# **LAND LINES:** You say that Fiscally Standardized Cities allow for meaningful comparisons of local government finances at the city level. What's wrong with simple comparisons of city governments?

**ADAM LANGLEY:** The service responsibilities for city governments vary widely across the country. While some municipalities provide a full array of public services for their residents, others share these responsibilities with a variety of overlying independent governments. Because of these differences in local government structure, comparing city governments alone can be very misleading.

For example, consider a comparison of Baltimore and Tampa. The city government in Baltimore spends three times more per capita than the city government in Tampa—\$5,594 versus \$1,829 in 2011. However, the difference is almost entirely due to the fact that the City of Tampa splits the provision of local services with overlying Hillsborough County and an independent school district, whereas Baltimore has no overlying county government and the schools are part of the city government itself. Once all overlying governments are accounted for in the FiSC methodology, per capita expenditures for residents in the two cities are nearly identical—\$6,083 in Baltimore versus \$6,067 in Tampa.

LAND LINES: Can you explain the methodology used to create Fiscally Standardized Cities? ADAM LANGLEY: FiSCs are constructed by adding together revenues for each city government plus an appropriate share from overlying counties, independent school districts, and special districts. County revenues are allocated to the FiSC based on the city's share of county population, school revenues are allocated based on the percentage of students in a school district who live in the central city, and special district revenues are allocated based on the city's share of residents living in the district's service area. Thus FiSCs provide a full picture of revenues raised from city residents and businesses, whether collected by the city government or a separate overlying government. These allocations are made for more than 120 categories of revenues, expenditures, debt, and assets. The FiSC methodology was developed with Andrew Reschovsky, a Lincoln Institute fellow, and Howard Chernick, a professor at Hunter College of the City University of New York. We calculate the estimates using fiscal data for individual governments provided by the U.S. Census Bureau, and we will update the FiSC database as data for additional years become available.

LAND LINES: Why is it important to compare local government finances at the city level? ADAM LANGLEY: Many people want to know how their city compares to other cities, but it's critical to account for differences in local government structure when making these comparisons. The FiSC database does account for these differences. Thus, it can be used to compare property tax revenues in two cities, rank all cities by their school spending, investigate changes in public sector salaries over time, or see which cities are most reliant on state aid to fund their budgets.

In a separate project with Andrew Reschovsky and Richard Dye, we're using the FiSC methodology to estimate pension costs and liabilities for all local governments serving each city. Media coverage sometimes creates the impression that all public pension plans face serious challenges, but in fact there is a great deal of variation around the country. In order to investigate these differences, it's essential to have comparable data on pension costs for all local governments serving each city. For example, initial estimates show that on average the annual required contribution (ARC) for local pension plans in 2010 was equal to 4.9 percent of general revenues for the 112 FiSCs. However, ARC was more than 10 percent of revenues in both Chicago (11.7 percent) and Portland, Oregon (10.9).

LAND LINES: Did revenue declines vary much across cities during the Great Recession? **ADAM LANGLEY:** Yes, revenue declines ranged widely across the 112 FiSCs during and after the recession. Accounting for inflation and population growth, only eight FiSCs avoided revenue declines entirely through 2011. I calculated changes in real per capita revenues from each FiSC's peak through 2011: About a third experienced declines of 5 percent or less (41 FiSCs), another third saw declines between 5 and 10 percent (34 FiSCs), and about a quarter had declines exceeding 10 percent (29 FiSCs). FiSCs with very large revenue declines include Las Vegas (20.2 percent), Riverside (18.0 percent), and Sacramento (18.0 percent).

LAND LINES: Have local government revenues recovered much since the end of the recession? **ADAM LANGLEY:** Not really, because revenue changes lagged behind economic changes by several years during and after the recession. Real per capita local government revenues were stable through 2009, declined slightly in 2010, and fell more significantly in 2011. The latest year with comprehensive data is 2011, so I tied together several different data sources to estimate revenues through 2013. Those data suggest that revenues hit bottom in 2012, when they were 5 to 6 percent below 2007 levels. That means revenues did not bottom out until three years after the recession officially ended. Revenues started to recover in 2013 but remained more than 4 percent below pre-recession levels.

This lag is driven by changes in intergovernmental aid and property taxes, which together fund almost two-thirds of local governments' budgets. The American Recovery and Reinvestment Act provided states with about \$150 billion in federal stimulus between 2009 and 2011, and there were additional stimulus funds provided directly to local governments. Most stimulus funds were gone by 2012, however, which led to the largest cuts in state spending in at least 25 years. Moreover, changes in property taxes typically lag behind changes in housing prices by two to three years, due to the fact that property tax bills are based on assessments from

prior years, there are delays in reassessing properties, and other factors. That lag means that property taxes actually grew through 2009, did not fall until 2011, and then hit their trough in 2012.

#### LAND LINES: Can you elaborate on your work describing property tax exemption and credit programs?

**ADAM LANGLEY:** I'm nearly finished with the first stage of this project, which entails creating a summary table on states' exemption and credit programs. The table contains data for 167 programs, with 18 variables describing the key features of each program. There is information on the value of exemptions expressed in terms of market value; criteria related to age, disability, income, and veteran status; the type of taxes affected; whether tax loss is borne by state or local government; local options; and more. Once that table is completed, I will write a policy brief to outline key features of these programs. All of this information is drawn from the table on Residential Property Tax Relief Programs in Lincoln's Significant Features of the Property Tax subcenter of the website. The original Residential Relief table provides detailed descriptions of each program, while the summary table should be most useful for users who want to make quick comparisons of states or for researchers who want to conduct quantitative analysis.

In the second stage of this project, I will estimate tax expenditures for these property tax relief programs. Despite the prevalence of these programs and their often large impacts on property tax burdens, there are no comprehensive estimates of their costs. Using data from the summary table and microdata from the American Community Survey, I will estimate for each state the percentage of residents who are eligible for property tax relief programs, the total cost of tax relief programs, the average benefit for beneficiaries, and the percentage of residents eligible and their average benefit by income quintile. These estimates will provide valuable new information on the impacts of property tax relief programs in the United States.

#### Governing and Financing Cities in the Developing World

The fast-growing cities of the developing world would benefit from a major overhaul in governance structure, to improve the financing and delivery of essential services, according to *Governing and Financing Cities in the Developing World*, a new Policy Focus Report by Roy W. Bahl and Johannes F. Linn. After examining more than 50 cities in the midst of rapid urbanization, the authors recommend a new relationship between major cities and national governments that would combine autonomy and national fiscal planning.

"With the increase in urban population, the metropolitan area constituency is growing in political power and may be, more than ever, in a position to sway votes," the authors write. "Moreover, the opportunities and the challenges of metropolitan cities are likely to become great and evident enough to force themselves onto the policy agenda of governments around the world."

Big cities generate the most dynamic economic development, the strongest links to the global economy, and the resources to help poorer countries become more competitive and prosperous. However, the same advantages that drive investment and growth in these areas also draw migrants who need jobs and housing, lead to demands for better infrastructure and social services, and result in increased congestion, environmental damage, and social problems.

The report identifies the critical issues related to governing and financing cities in developing countries and describes current practice, the gap between practice and theory, and potential paths to reform. The authors identify two fundamental challenges: how to capture a share of the economic growth to finance necessary expenditures, and how to manage cities so that the urban economy functions efficiently, services are delivered cost-effectively to all, and citizens have a voice in governing the



Governing and Financing Cities in the Developing World Roy W. Bahl and Johannes F. Linn 2014/72 pages/Paper/\$15.00/PDF free online/ISBN: 978-1-55844-299-3

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city. The report also explores local revenue instruments, with a focus on propertybased local taxes and user charges, as well as external revenue sources such as intergovernmental transfers, borrowing, public-private partnerships, and international assistance.

Three general reform recommendations arise from the available information.

- "Think metropolitan." Regionwide plans for service delivery and financing need to be utilized, despite some loss of home rule at the lowest levels of government.
- Grant metropolitan local governments discretion over their budgetary outlays, service delivery, and financing decisions.
- Adopt asymmetric systems of intergovernmental fiscal relations that allow metropolitan areas differential powers and responsibilities relative to other subnational jurisdictions.

There are also some promising avenues for improving governance and finance.

- Debt finance is a promising way to raise funds for infrastructure if metropolitan local governments are given the resources to support debt and if borrowing is properly controlled. Landbased levies and public-private partnerships (PPP) can also effectively finance local government capital projects, but these instruments require significant governmental capacity at the metropolitan level.
- The technological know-how is in place to make user charges and the property tax effective ways to finance services, supplemented by broad-based income or consumption taxes.
- Intergovernmental transfers must play a role in metropolitan finance because of the external benefits associated with local public services (e.g., pollution control). Grant financing can play much less of a role than it does now.

#### ABOUT THE EDITORS

**Roy W. Bahl** is emeritus Regents professor of economics and founding dean of the Andrew Young School of Policy Studies at Georgia State University. A coauthor of *Financing Metropolitan Governments in Developing Countries*, he is a member of the Board of Directors at Lincoln Institute of Land Policy. Contact: *rbahl@gsu.edu* 

Johannes F. Linn is resident senior scholar, Emerging Markets Forum nonresident senior fellow at Brookings Institution; a coauthor of *Financing Metropolitan Governments in Developing Countries*; and a member of the Board of Directors at the Lincoln Institute of Land Policy. Contact: *jlinn@brookings.edu* 

#### Lessons from Sandy: Federal Policies to Build Climate-Resilient Coastal Regions

This Policy Focus Report recommends a new federal framework for disaster recovery that will make coastal regions more resilient in the decades ahead, saving billions of dollars in the process. The authors examined the relief and recovery efforts following Superstorm Sandy, which inundated key infrastructure, disabled power plants and transmission lines, left 4.5 million in three states without electricity, damaged more than 600,000 homes, and killed at least 117 people after it made landfall on October 29, 2012. Estimated damage topped \$65 billion.

The report recommends a series of necessary changes in disaster recovery methods, recalibrating the process of funding relief and recovery efforts, modifying regulations, and putting incentives in place to encourage better adaptation to the inevitable impacts of climate change—volatile weather, sea level rise, and storm surge. Greater resilience must be built into the repair of vital transportation and energy infrastructure in particular, the report says.

A new approach to rebuilding that addresses both short-term needs and longrange planning will require changes across the board in disaster recovery, from the National Flood Insurance Program to the Federal Emergency Management Agency to the work of the US Army Corps of Engineers—all in coordination with state and local governments. The report also calls for more clarity about how the National Environmental Protection Act and other environmental standards and reviews apply to recovery efforts.

Specific policy recommendations to position federal agencies to help coastal regions adapt to a changing climate, aimed at advancing a national strategy for disaster recovery, include:

Anticipate future climate impacts during the disaster recovery and rebuilding processes: Adjust the rules that govern the use of disaster relief aid to help communities rebuild in a more resilient way; evaluate projects on their true



Lessons from Sandy Robert Pirani and Laura Tolkoff 2014/48 pages/Paper/\$15.00/PDF free online/ISBN: 978-1-55844-300-6

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costs and risks, including life cycle costs and environmental impacts; strengthen connections between pre-disaster and post-disaster planning efforts, in part by enforcing Executive Orders that protect and restore ecological systems; develop new financing and insurance models that capture the value created through mitigation to support long-term investments in resilience.

Align federal policies and programs to reduce risk and restore the health and productivity of coastal resources over the long term: Remove incentives to develop in hazardous areas; create risk reduction standards for multiple hazards, base them on future climate conditions, and build in a threshold for uncertainty; enforce Executive Orders that serve to protect and restore ecological resources.

**Enable effective urban infrastructure and development patterns:** Incentivize regional planning across federal grant and loan programs; incentivize state and local governments to play a leadership role in risk reduction and environmental protection; support strategic investments in energy resilience; distribute costs and responsibility for risks fairly and help lowincome households to access affordable housing in lower-risk areas; reward cities for partial mitigation activities that reduce flood losses.

Develop and share data, guidance materials, and decision-support tools to help governments and property owners make forward-thinking decisions: Invest in science and decisionsupport tools to help both the public sector and the private sector make decisions that support resilience; expand the use of new technologies to integrate two-way flows of information among all levels of government; disseminate guidance and best practices across federal programs and use data visualization to effectively communicate risk to the public.

#### ABOUT THE AUTHORS

**Robert Pirani** is the program director for the New York–New Jersey Harbor & Estuary Program at the Hudson River Foundation, and a senior fellow at Regional Plan Association (RPA). Prior to joining the Foundation in 2014, he was RPA's vice president for energy and environment for more than 20 years. Contact: *rob@rpa.org* 

Laura Tolkoff is associate planner for the Environmental and Energy Programs at RPA, where she has focused on advancing climate mitigation and climate resilience through research, advocacy, and planning. She manages RPA's energy program, which seeks to develop a contemporary model of energy infrastructure. Contact: *laura@rpa.org* 

n the United States, the dominance of local funding and control of K-12 education has created a particularly strong link between residential location and education. This volume reviews the development of this link and its effects on racial, ethnic, and socioeconomic segregation, on academic achievement, and on equality of opportunity. Topics include the expansion of school choice, especially through charter schools and home schooling; the importance of cognitive skills for economic growth; the role of the property tax in school finance, and the potential for alternative revenue sources; the structure of school districts; transportation to school; effects of school location; and housing policies that can unlink education and location.

Written for the Lincoln Institute's 8th annual land policy conference in June 2013 in Cambridge, Massachusetts, the chapters were contributed by experts in economics, planning, sociology, and education finance. Most content focuses on the United States, but one chapter explores academy schools in England and another examines the effects of Chile's universal education voucher.

The issues explored here have broad relevance to U.S. public policy. Public concern about the quality of education has been high at least since the 1983 publication of A Nation at Risk: The Imperative for Educational Reform, a report by the National Commission on Excellence in Education. In recent years, a robust debate has arisen concerning school quality and growing income inequality. The 50th anniversary of Martin Luther King Jr.'s "I Have a Dream" speech, the election of America's first black president, and the growing diversity of the population have reinvigorated public discourse about educational opportunity and racial and ethnic inequality. This volume is particularly timely in light of the rise and increasing predominance of school choice options, which have the potential to break the link between education and location and land.

#### **Education, Land, and Location**



Education, Land, and Location Edited by Gregory K. Ingram and Daphne A. Kenyon 2014/464 pages/Paper/\$30.00/ ISBN: 978-1-55844-289-4 eBook/\$12.99/978-1-55844-290-0

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#### Contents

#### Introduction

Gregory K. Ingram and Daphne A. Kenyon

#### Connecting Education, Land, and Location: Issues and Evidence

- 1. Is Location Fate? Distributional Aspects of Schooling, *Eric A. Hanushek*
- School Quality, School Choice, and Residential Mobility, *Eric J. Brunner* Commentary, *Charles T. Clotfelter*
- 3. The School Attendance and Residential/Location Balancing Act: Community, Choice, Diversity, and Achievement, *Ellen B. Goldring and Walker Swain*

#### Commentary, Ansley T. Erickson School District Organization and Finance

4. Not by the Hand of Horace Mann: How the Quest for Land Value Created the American School System, *William A. Fischel* 

Commentary, Thomas Downes

5. The Future Role of the Property Tax in the Funding of K–12 Education in

the United States, Andrew Reschovsky Commentary, Ashlyn Aiko Nelson

- 6. Nontraditional Public School Funding Sources: Trends, Issues, and Outlook, *Henry A. Coleman* Commentary, *Leslie Papke*
- 7. Transport Costs of School Choice, Kevin J. Krizek, Elizabeth J. Wilson, Ryan Wilson, and Julian D. Marshall Commentary, Marc Schlossberg

#### **Effects of School Location**

- 8. Charter School Location: Evidence and Policy Implications, *Robert Bifulco* Commentary, *Maria Marta Ferreyra*
- 9. Charter Schools and Minority Access to Quality Public Education, John R. Logan, Julia Burdick-Will, and Elisabeta Minca Commentary, Douglas N. Harris
- Admissions to Academy Schools in England: School Composition and House Prices, Stephen Machin and Anne West Commentary, Parag Pathak

#### **De-Linking Education and Location**

- Beyond "Accidents of Geography": Using Housing Policy to Improve Access to Quality Education, *Elizabeth J. Mueller and Shannon S. Van Zandt* Commentary, *Deborah McKoy*
- 12. Residential Histories, Geography of Opportunities, and Educational Achievement in the City of Santiago, *Carolina Flores* Commentary, *Keren Horn*
- 13. Community Characteristics of Homeschooling: The Case of Virginia, *Luke C. Miller* Commentary, *Mark Berends*

#### ABOUT THE EDITORS

**Gregory K. Ingram** was president and CEO of the Lincoln Institute of Land Policy from July 2005 through June 2014. Contact: *gkingram@lincolninst.edu* 

**Daphne Kenyon** is a visiting fellow in the Lincoln Institute's Department of Valuation and Taxation and principal of D.A. Kenyon & Associates, Windham, New Hampshire. Contact: *dkenyon@lincolninst.edu* 

#### **Use-Value Assessment of Rural Land in the United States**

cross the nation, state and local governments have adopted a number of policies to regulate the conversion of rural land to developed uses. One of the most significant and least understood is preferential assessment of rural land under the real property tax, often called use-value assessment or current-use assessment. Nearly all states across the country permit, and even require, local assessors to value some parcels of undeveloped land far below their fair market value for the purpose of levying local property taxes in order to encourage their continued use to support agriculture, working landscapes, and valuable ecosystems.

Under UVA, the assessments of various parcels of land within a given state may vary tremendously from property to property. A tract that is zoned residential with access to a turnpike might be assessed at \$7,865 per acre. In the very same neighborhood, though, an even larger tract of vacant land might be assessed at a mere \$127 per acre, which is far below the market value. This practice is perfectly legal and represents a major policy shift in local taxation during the last 50 years or more.

Despite their stated purpose of preserving rural lands from urban development, use-value assessment programs can have unintended negative consequences. One is erosion of the legal and constitutional principle of uniformity of taxation; another is shifting the local tax burden to other property owners, arguably in a regressive manner.

Abuses are also a problem, as "fake farmers" enjoy low property tax bills, while using the land to sell firewood or Christmas trees to a few friends and neighbors. Others are clearly preparing land for develop-



Use-Value Assessment of Rural Land in the United States John E. Anderson and Richard W. England 2014/176 pages/Paper/\$30.00/ ISBN: 978-1-55844-297-9 eBook/\$12.99/978-1-55844-298-6

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ment, taking advantage of the preferential assessment in the meantime.

The authors review several ways of tightening eligibility and reporting in usevalue assessment programs, such as raising the amount of revenue gained by agricultural use of land, and requiring better documentation of it; disqualifying landowners who have pending applications for rezoning, install survey stakes, or put in utility services not required for agricultural use; and stiffening penalties for developing land that has received preferential treatment.

Use-Value Assessment of Rural Land in the United States explains the origins, key features, impacts, and flaws of use-value assessment programs across the United States as a fiscal tool primarily for farmland preservation. It describes in detail the process and characteristics of use-value assessment programs in 44 states, and recommends reforms that can serve as a road map for public officials, scholars, and journalists concerned with agricultural taxation and land use issues.

#### **Contents**

- 1. Introduction to Use-Value Assessment
- 2. History, Design, and Features
- 3. Theoretical Analyses
- 4. Empirical Studies of Implementation and Impacts
- 5. Criticisms and Reform Recommendations

#### ABOUT THE AUTHORS

John E. Anderson is the Baird Family Professor of Economics at the University of Nebraska–Lincoln and visiting fellow at the Lincoln Institute of Land Policy. Tax policy is the focus of his research and work. He has advised government agencies in the United States and around the world, including a turn from 2005 to 2006 with the President's Council of Economic Advisers in Washington, DC. Contact: *janderson4@unl.edu* 

**Richard W. England** is professor of economics at the University of New Hampshire– Durham and visiting fellow at the Lincoln Institute of Land Policy. His research and public speaking focus on property taxation, land development, conservation, and housing markets. Together with Richard F. Dye, he edited *Land Value Taxation: Theory, Evidence, and Practice.* Contact: *richard.england@unh.edu* 

#### ANNOUNCEMENT

## George W. McCarthy Succeeds Gregory K. Ingram as Lincoln Institute President

George W. "Mac" McCarthy, an economist at the Ford Foundation dedicated to improving conditions in metropolitan areas worldwide, succeeded Gregory K. Ingram as the fifth president of the Lincoln Institute of Land Policy on July 7, 2014. Ingram retired after serving as president since 2005.

"McCarthy will bring new vision and a fresh perspective



George W. McCarthy and Gregory K. Ingram

to the Lincoln Institute as it continues to promote dialogue and sound land use policy in the United States and around the world," said Kathryn J. Lincoln, chair of the Lincoln Institute board of directors. "His experience bears so much on the work of the Institute, and he bridges the worlds of policy makers, the academy, and the public arena," she said. "He is visionary and energetic, and his leadership will be transformational."

As director of Metropolitan Opportunity at the Ford Foundation, McCarthy supported collaborative regional efforts to overcome the social, economic, and spatial isolation of disadvantaged populations living in and around metropolitan areas worldwide. "This is a pivotal and important time for cities around the world," he said. The Lincoln Institute plays a unique and extremely important role in identifying the central importance of land policies, across a range of social and economic challenges."

"The story of opportunity is told in how we organize ourselves spatially," McCarthy said. "Without an effective response, we will double the one billion people living in unplanned settlements around the world's cities in the next 30 years. Land use decisions made today will dictate the life chances of generations to come."

As director of Metropolitan Opportunity, McCarthy sought to improve access to jobs and other opportunities by coordinating regional planning efforts, transportation and infrastructure investments, and housing development policies to alleviate poverty and reduce its concentration within metropolitan areas. Before becoming director in 2008, he administered a Ford Foundation program that focused on using homeownership to build wealth for low-income families and their communities. That work centered on improving housing and housing finance markets to increase the chances that low-income homeowners could succeed in exiting and staying out of poverty.

Prior to joining the Ford Foundation in 2000, he was

a senior research associate at the Center for Urban and Regional Studies at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. He has worked as professor of economics at Bard College; resident scholar at the Jerome Levy Economics Institute; visiting scholar and member of the High Table at King's College of Cambridge University; visiting scholar at the University of Naples, Italy; and research associate at the Centre for Independent Social Research in St. Petersburg, Russia.

He earned a Ph.D. in economics from the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, a master's degree in economics from Duke University, and a bachelor's degree in economics and mathematics from the University of Montana. The son of two public school teachers in Massachusetts, he grew up in Boston and Sharon, Massachusetts, and taught in the Weymouth public schools for two years. He will be returning to the Bay State from his current home in Westchester County, New York, where he lives with his wife, Tootie Larios, an actress, and their three dogs.

Ingram, president of the Lincoln Institute of Land Policy from June 2005 through June 2014, was previously director-general of operations evaluation at the World Bank, where he also held positions in urban development and research, and was staff director for the World Development Report 1994, Infrastructure for Development; he was also an associate professor of economics at Harvard University. The previous leaders of the Lincoln Institute were H. James Brown, Ronald Smith, and Arlo Woolery. **1** 

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# **ONLINE EDUCATION IMPROVED**

The Lincoln Institute's Online Education offerings are now equipped with fuller detail about the courses, teaching faculty, and credits. There are currently 13 self-paced video courses listed at *http://www.lincolninst. edu/education/online-education*, on subjects ranging from urban planning to tax policy and from administration to ecosystems management. Students can earn up to 7.25 AICP CM or IAOO CE credits.



In "Practical Ecology," for example, Dan Perlman of Brandeis University in Waltham, Massachusetts, introduces key lessons from ecology and conservation biology to help land use planners, developers, and members of planning boards manage the interface between humans and nature for the benefit of all parties. Perlman uses an engaging video to demonstrate how incorporating ecological and conservation insights into planning and development will increase human health and safety, add to human pleasure, and help to protect native species and ecosystems.

In these stills from "Understanding Ecology Is Both Practical and Necessary," the first lesson from "Practical Ecology," Perlman demonstrates how human and natural ecosystems are tightly interwoven.



This photograph of Central Park sharply delineates human habitations and semi-natural habitat.



This signage indicates where humans and nature interact closely.

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Land Lines

# **2014 Publications Catalog**

The Lincoln Institute's 2014 Publications catalog features more than 100 books, ebooks, policy focus reports, and multimedia resources. These publications represent the work of Institute faculty, fellows, and associates who are researching and reporting on: property taxation, valuation, and assessment; urban and regional planning; smart growth; land conservation; housing and urban development; and other land policy concerns in the United States, Latin America, China, Europe, Africa, and other areas around the globe.

All the books, reports, and other items listed in the catalog are available to purchase and/or download on the Institute's website, and we encourage their adoption for academic courses and other educational meetings. Follow the instructions for requesting exam copies on the Publications homepage. The entire catalog is posted on the website for free downloading. To request a printed copy of the catalog, send your complete mailing address to *help@lincolninst.edu*.



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