SRE Economics Lecture 4

From Green Buildings to Green Cities Pricing Environmental Features & Supporting Decision Making

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March 2023

(MIT Center for Real Estate)

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Is There a Business Case for Green/Healthy Buildings?



Rental Premium of Green Building

Author,	Pont Duomium		%
Year	Rent Fremium	ES (95% CI)	Weight
Bond and Devine (2016)		0.05 (0.02, 0.08)	3.90
Bond and Devine (2016)	•	0.09 (0.07, 0.12)	4.13
Cajias and Piazolo (2013)		0.07 (0.04, 0.09)	4.21
Chegut, Eichholtz, and Kok (2014)	- F · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	0.31 (0.21, 0.42)	1.71
Devine and Kok (2015)	•	0.03 (0.01, 0.04)	4.34
Devine and Kok (2015)	+	0.04 (0.02, 0.05)	4.29
Devine and Kok (2015)		0.10 (0.08, 0.12)	4.29
ichholtz, Kok, and Quigley (2013)	•	0.03 (0.01, 0.04)	4.37
eige, McAllister, and Wallbaum (2013)		0.11 (-0.38, 0.60)	0.12
Fuerst and McAllister (2011a)		0.09 (-0.03, 0.21)	1.40
Fuerst and McAllister (2011b)	1000	0.05 (0.00, 0.10)	3.29
Fuerst and McAllister (2011c)		-0.56 (-0.79, -0.34)	0.53
Fuerst and van de Wetering (2015)		0.21 (0.08, 0.34)	1.26
Fuerst, van de Wetering, and Wyatt (2013)		0.11 (-0.02, 0.25)	1.18
Babe and Rehm (2014)	+	-0.02 (-0.04, 0.01)	4.16
oirala, Bohara, and Berrens (2014)		0.23 (0.18, 0.29)	3.02
Nappi?Choulet and Décamps (2013)		0.02 (-0.01, 0.04)	4.12
lewell, MacFarlane, and Walker (2014)	1 *	0.07 (0.04, 0.09)	4.12
Reichardt (2014)	+	0.03 (0.01, 0.06)	4.13
Reichardt (2014)	(*	0.07 (0.04, 0.10)	3.89
Reichardt (2014)		0.10 (0.05, 0.15)	3.22
Reichardt et al. (2012)	•	0.03 (0.01, 0.04)	4.40
Reichardt et al. (2012)	-	0.03 (-0.00, 0.06)	3.92
Robinson and McAllister (2015)		0.02 (-0.02, 0.06)	3.61
Robinson and McAllister (2015)	- Ta	0.07 (-0.05, 0.19)	1.45
Robinson and McAllister (2015)		0.14 (0.07, 0.22)	2.32
Sánchez-Ollero, García-Pozo, and Marchante-Mera (2014)	-	0.05 (0.02, 0.09)	3.75
Szumilo and Fuerst (2015)	•	0.02 (0.01, 0.04)	4.35
Viley, Benefield, and Johnson (2010)		0.09 (0.06, 0.11)	4.11
Viley, Benefield, and Johnson (2010)		0.17 (0.08, 0.27)	1.92
Deng et al. (2012)	•	-0.00 (-0.01, -0.00)	4.49
Overall (I-squared = 94.8%, p = 0.000)	▼ ♦	0.06 (0.04, 0.08)	100.00
NOTE: Weights are from random effects analysis	1 T		
	0	797	

Dalton and Fuerst (2018): meta analysis of green real estate rents

Overall significant rent premium of 6%

- 5.4% commercial
- 8.2% residential

Studies also find 5% - 9% higher occupancy rates for commercial real estate.

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Price Premiums of Green Building



Dalton and Fuerst (2018) also look at evidence sales prices

Overall price premium of 7.6%

- For commercial 11.5%
- For residential 5.5%

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- Estimating Green Building Premium: Hedonic Pricing Techniques
- Pricing Green Amenities in Cities
 - Within-city
 - Across-city
- Decision Making: Business & Policy



Hedonic Pricing Technique

- Stated preference and revealed preference
 - **Stated preference:** using survey techniques to elicit willingness to pay for a marginal improvement or for avoiding a marginal loss.
 - **Revealed Preference:** linking with observed purchase behaviors with the attributes of a product.
- Hedonic pricing model is a **revealed preference** method of estimating demand or value of market and non-market attributes.

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<u>Stated preference:</u> https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=___xzmlG4L8s

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Hedonic Model - "Decomposition"

• The price of a housing unit as the sum of the implicit values of its various "attributes".

$$P = 3 \text{ Rooms} + 2 \text{ Subway Stops} + I EED + A \text{ Nice Park} + \text{Residual}$$

$$\$ 1M = \$0.6M + \$0.1M + \$0.1M + \$0.1M + \$0.1M$$

$$1M = \$0.2M \times 3 + \$0.05M \times 2 + \$0.1M \times 1 + \$0.1M \times 1 + \$0.1M$$
 Input
P = $\alpha_1 \times X_1 + \alpha_2 \times X_2 + \alpha_3 \times X_3 + \alpha_4 \times X_4 + \varepsilon$ Output

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 $(R^2 = 83\%)$

Hedonic Model - "Decomposition"



 $Price_{ijt}$ is the house price per square meter of housing *i* in location *j* at time *t*; X_{1i} represents the physical attributes of the house *i*; X_{2j} represents location *j*'s locational attributes.

Example

Log(Price)

= 0.05 living rooms(the number of living rooms) + 0.03 bathrooms

(the number of bathrooms)

+ 0.08 subway

(dummy: within 1-mile subway buffer)

+ 0.05 green park

(dummy: within 1-mile park buffer)

+ ...



Estimate Green Building Premium

Ordinary Least Square (OLS)

Example: Green label in office building (by Fuerst and McAllister 2009)

	Log(rent/sf)
Other variables	YES
LEED	0.06**
Energy Star	0.06***
Obs.	10,970

$$Log(Price_{ijt}) = X_{1i}\beta_1 + X_{2j}\beta_2 + U_{ijt}$$

$$X'_{1i}\beta'_1 + \beta_g Green$$
Green Premium
Dummy (green = 1, otherwise = 0)
Or categorical variables, such as
LEED {Silver, Gold, Platinum}

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Hedonic Model



How to make an "Apple-to-Apple" Comparison

TABLE 2.—COMPARISON OF GREEN-RATED BUILDINGS AND NEARBY CONTROL BUILDINGS IN 2009 PROPENSITY-SCORE WEIGHTED OBSERVATIONS (STANDARD DEVIATIONS IN PARENTHESES)

		Rental Sample			Sales Sample	
	Rated Buildings	Convol Buildings	PSM Controls	Rated Buildings	Control Buildings	PSM Controls
Sample size	1,943	18,858	18,858	744	5,249	5,249
Contract rent (dollars/sq. ft.)	25.83	26.75	29.28			
	(9.67)	(12.48)	(12.12)			
Effective rent ^a (dollars/sq. ft.)	22.28	22.70	25.24			
	(9.61)	(12.39)	(10.89)			
Sales price (dollars/sq. ft.)	C Contraction of Contraction	CALCULA.	and a second	244.60	252.80	267.80
				(137.15)	(200.45)	(157.58)
size (thousands sq. ft.)	299.83	155.65	282.88	326.39	139.92	311.86
	(292.40)	(245.73)	(176.74)	(336.85)	(275.21)	(270.99)
Occupancy rate (%)	85.80	83.45	85.32	100 403		20110-0
and the second se	(13.11)	(16.39)	(31.54)			
Building class (%)		a core	1			
Class A $(1 = ves)$	75.75	26.9	71.94	75.66	21.50	69.53
Strategies Andres - and Andres	(42.87)	(44.34)	(37.53)	(42.95)	(41.09)	(44.23)
Class B $(1 = yes)$	23.21	52.73	26.90	23.47	51.16	29.24
	(42.23)	(49.93)	(12.57)	(42.41)	(49,99)	(15,16)
Class C $(1 = ves)$	1.04	20.37	1.16	0.87	27.34	1.23
	(10,15)	(40.27)	(1.31)	(9.32)	(44.58)	(1.01)
vee (vears)	24.65	53.22	25.93	26.31	60.48	28.37
Be Quarty	(17.36)	(34,33)	(7.56)	(19.47)	(37.29)	(9.84)
Renovated building (%)	24.25	40.31	26.20	27.26	43.26	30.07
(m)	(42.87)	(49.05)	(18.39)	(44.56)	(49.55)	(23.28)
Stories (number)	13.71	10.24	13.67	14.01	9.24	13.94
And the function of the second s	(12.64)	(10.05)	(6.95)	(12.61)	(10.28)	(8.67)
On-site amenities (%) ^b	53.53	28.8	51.88	60.50	28.42	57.41
	(49.89)	(45.28)	(31.82)	(48.92)	(45.11)	(38.32)
Public transport (%) ^c	12.75	11.55	12.46	14 14	10.93	14 19
ublic fullsport (/o)	(33 37)	(31.96)	(15.84)	(34.87)	(31.20)	(19.94)
Employment growth 2006-2008 (%)	1.18	-0.07	-1.47	4 53	3.53	4.63
Simpleyment growin, 2000-2000 (w)	(4.56)	(5.86)	(3.33)	(12.20)	(10.07)	(7.65)
Rental contract (%)	(4.50)	(2.00)	(0.00)	(12.20)	(10.01)	(1.05)
Triple pet (I - ver)	22.11	14 74	22.04			
Tuple liet (1 = yes)	(41.51)	(35.45)	(42.05)			
Modified gross $(1 - yes)$	131	7.94	2.58			
Mounted gross (1 = yes)	(11.30)	(27.04)	(15.85)			
Plus all utilities $(1 - yes)$	8.81	951	9.86			
a rus un aunices (1 - Jes)	(28 36)	(20 32)	(29.81)			
Gtride $(1 - vec)$	0 07	7576	67.20			
Gida (1 = 303)	(46.32)	100 000	(46.05)			

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Eichholtz, P., Kok, N., & Quigley, J. M. (2013). The Economics of Green Building. *The Review of Economics and Statistics*, 95(1), 50-63.

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"Effective rent equals the contract rent multiplied by the occupancy rate.
"One or more of the following amenities are available on-site: banking, convenience store, dry cleaner, exercise facilities, food court, food service, mailroom, restaurant, retail show, vending areas, fitness center,





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A Big Picture of Causal Inference

- Fundamental problem of causal inference:
- we cannot observe the "counter-factual"



Key Challenge to Causal Inference: Endogeneity



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• In econometrics:

 $Y = \alpha + \beta_1 D + \beta_2 X + \varepsilon$

where D = 1 if treated; Otherwise D = 0.

Endogeneity $\rightarrow \text{COV}(\varepsilon, D) = 0$ is violated.

- Three major types of endogeneity
 - I Omitted variables (correlated with D)
 - II *Reverse causality* (or called "simultaneity")
 - III Selection bias



Seeking Apple-to-Apple Comparison



RCT on Healthy-Building's Impacts



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RCT on Healthy-Building's Impacts









RCT on Healthy-Building's Impacts



Encouraging the resumption of economic activity after COVID-19: Evidence from a large scale-field experiment in China

Juan Palacios, Vichun Fan, Erz Yoeli, Jianghao Wang, Yuchen Chai,
 Weizeng Sun, David G. Rand, and Siqi Zheng

MIT News

A nudge to resume economic activity

MIT experiment finds people will respond to cues from neighbors about activities and risk preferences.

Peter Dizikes | MIT News Office January 26, 2022





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Matching: Seeking Apple-to-Apple Comparison

• Twins

• Geographic matching



• Propensity score matching (PSM)



	Rental Sample			Sales Sample		
	Rated Buildings	Control Buildings	PSM Controls	Rated Buildings	Control Buildings	PSM Control
Sample size	1,943	18,858	18,858	744	5,249	5,249
Contract rent (dollars/sq. ft.)	25.83	26.75	29.28			
	(9.67)	(12.48)	(12.12)			
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	(9.61)	(12.39)	(10.89)			
Sales price (dollars/sq. ft.)			and a second	244.60	252.80	267.80
		1		(137.15)	(200.45)	(157.58
Size (thousands sq. ft.)	299.83	155.65	282.88	326.39	139.92	311.86
	(292.40)	(245.73)	(176.74)	(336.85)	(275.21)	(270.99
Occupancy rate (%)	85.80	83.45	85.32	1 Sec. 210 3		
	(13.11)	(16.39)	(31.54)			
Building class (%)		2012-0				
Class A $(1 = yes)$	75.75	26.9	71.94	75.66	21.50	69.53
	(42.87)	(44.34)	(37.53)	(42.95)	(41.09)	(44.23
Class B $(1 = yes)$	23.21	52.73	26.90	23.47	51.16	29.24
	(42.23)	(49.93)	(12.57)	(42.41)	(49.99)	(15.16
Class C $(1 = yes)$	1.04	20.37	1.16	0.87	27.34	1.23
	(10.15)	(40.27)	(1.31)	(9.32)	(44.58)	(1.01
Age (years)	24.65	53.22	25.93	26.31	60.48	28.37
	(17.36)	(34.33)	(7.56)	(19.47)	(37.29)	(9.84
Renovated building (%)	24.25	40.31	26.20	27.26	43.26	30.07
	(42.87)	(49.05)	(18.39)	(44.56)	(49.55)	(23.28
Stories (number)	13.71	10.24	13.67	14.01	9.24	13.94
2007-00-00 - A	(12.64)	(10.05)	(6.95)	(12.61)	(10.28)	(8.67
On-site amenities (%) ^b	53.53	28.8	51.88	60.50	28.42	57.41
	(49.89)	(45.28)	(31.82)	(48.92)	(45.11)	(38.32
Public transport (%) ^c	12.75	11.55	12.46	14.14	10.93	14.19
	(33.37)	(31.96)	(15.84)	(34.87)	(31.20)	(19.94
Employment growth, 2006-2008 (%)	1.18	-0.07	-1.47	4.53	3.53	4.63
	(4.56)	(5.86)	(3.33)	(12.20)	(10.07)	(7.65
Rental contract (%)						
Triple net $(1 = yes)$	22.11	14.74	22.94			
	(41.51)	(35.45)	(42.05)			
Modified gross $(1 = yes)$	1.31	7.94	2.58			
	(11.39)	(27.04)	(15.85)	1		
Plus all utilities $(1 = yes)$	8.81	9.51	9.86	1		
	(28.36)	(29.33)	(29.81)	1		
Gross $(1 = yes)$	69.07	75.76	67.20			
	(46.23)	(42.86)	(46.95)			

How to make an "Apple-to-Apple" comparison?



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"One or more of the following amenities are available on-site: banking, convenience store, dry cleaner, exercise facilities, food court, food service, mailroom, restaurant, retail shoos, vending areas, fitness center.

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TABLE 3.—GREEN RATINGS, RENTS, AND SALES PRICES PROPENSITY-SCORE WEIGHTED OBSERVATIONS, 2009 SAMPLE FRAME

	Re (per squa	Rent (per square foot)		e Rent# are foot)	Sales (per squa	Price are foot)
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Green rating $(1 = yes)$	0.026*** [0.007]		0.076*** [0.010]		0.133*** [0.017]	>
Green rating \times gross (1 = yes)	-0.011 [0.008]		-0.037^{***} [0.012]			
Green rating \times modified gross (1 = yes)	-0.024 [0.035]		0.016 [0.053]			
Green rating \times plus utilities (1 = yes)	-0.001 [0.013]		-0.049** [0.019]			
Energy Star $(1 = yes)$		0.021*** [0.005]		0.065*** [0.007]		0.129*** [0.0191]
Label vintage (years)		-0.004** [0.002]		-0.010*** [0.002]		-0.017* [0.011]
LEED $(1 = yes)$		0.058*** [0.010]		0.060*** [0.015]		0.111*** [0.0419]
Building size (millions of square feet)	0.034*** [0.003]	0.034*** [0.003]	0.076*** [0.004]	0.076*** [0.004]	-0.049*** [0.010]	-0.049*** [0.010]
Fraction occupied	-0.000 [0.000]	-0.000 [0.000]		<u> </u>		

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Consider the Bias in Hedonic Model

$$P = 3 \text{ Rooms} + 2 \text{ Subway Stops} + \text{I} \text{EED} + A \text{ Nice Park} + \text{Residual}$$

$$\$ 1M = \$0.6M + \$0.1M + \$0.1M + \$0.1M + \$0.1M$$

$$\$ 1M = \$ 0.2M \times 3 + \$ 0.05M \times 2 + \$ 0.1M \times 1 + \$ 0.1M \times 1 + \$ 0.1M$$

$$P = \alpha_1 \times X_1 + \alpha_2 \times X_2 + \alpha_3 \times X_3 + \alpha_4 \times X_4 + \varepsilon$$
Input
Output

 $(R^2 = 83\%)$



Consider the Bias in Hedonic Model



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"Apple-to-Apple" Comparison



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Pricing Green Amenities: Within-City

• Again, Hedonic Model

$Log(Price_i)$	$_{jt}) = X_{1i}\beta_1 + X_{2j}\beta_2$	$+ U_{ijt}$
Example		
Log(Price) = .08 school (dummy: good school zone)	$X'_{2}\beta'_{2} +$	$X_2^G \beta_2^G \nearrow$ WTP for 1 extra unit of an amenity
+ .05 subway	\downarrow	
(dummy: within 1-mile subway station buffer)	Other locational	Green Amenities:
+ .03 green park	attributes:	- Green Space
(dummy: within 1-mile park buffer)	- School	- Clean Air
- 0.005 air pollution	- Transit	- Walkability
(continuous: $\mu g/m^3$)	- Restaurants	- Health Facilities
+		

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Siqi's Research

- Zheng , S., & Kahn, M. E. (2008). Land and residential property markets in a booming economy: New evidence from Beijing. *Journal of Urban Economics*, 63(2), 743-757.
 - Research Question: To present new evidence on real estate price gradient (and land price gradient) with respect to various location attributes and local public goods in Beijing's nascent free housing market.
 - Data: Pooled cross-sectional housing transactions and land sales.



Dependent variable 1: housing prices

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Fig. 1. The location of 920 new housing projects in Beijing.

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Dependent variable 2: land prices



Fig. 2. Spatial distribution of land parcels in Beijing.

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Local public goods: subway and bus stops

Hir



Fig. 3. Major transportation infrastructure in Beijing.

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Local public goods: crime, school, university



Fig. 4. Crime and school quality in Beijing.

Fig. 6. Major universities in Beijing.



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Local public goods: environmental amenities

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Fig. 5. Environmental amenities in Beijing.

Pricing Green Amenities: Within-City

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Constant	8.491***	8.805***	9.843***	10.046***	10.252***	8.945***
	(110.15)	(127.39)	(19.95)	(30.13)	(43.60)	(19.12)
D CENTER	-0.019***	-0.011***	-0.008***	-0.007***	-0.007***	-0.007***
(in kilometers)	(-7.67)	(-4.81)	(-4.01)	(-3.55)	(-3.82)	(-3.98)
UNIT SIZE	0.003***	0.003***	0.002***	0.002***	0.002**	0.002**
(in square meters)	(4.46)	(4.78)	(3.74)	(2.67)	(2.65)	(2.52)
UNIT SIZE2	-2.09E-6***	-1.24E-6***	2.53E-7	4.40E-7***	1.60E-7	8.93E-7
and services	(-1.03)	(-0.72)	(0.10)	(0.18)	(0.06)	(0.38)
PRO SIZE	-0.164***	-0.132***	-0.131***	-0.110***	-0.115***	-0.100***
(in 000 units)	(-4.32)	(-4.07)	(-3.36)	(-3.64)	(-3.56)	(-3.63)
PRO SIZE ²	0.025**	0.022**	0.022***	0.018***	0.020***	0.017***
	(2.15)	(2.27)	(4.40)	(4.16)	(4.76)	(3.75)
SOE	-0.091**	-0.077**	-0.100***	-0.098***	-0.100**	-0.087**
	(-3.64)	(-3.64)	(-3.46)	(-3.21)	(-2.87)	(-2.88)
Log(D SUBA)		-0.161***	-0.113**	-0.089**	-0.082**	-0.108***
(in kilometers)		(-14.25)	(-3.25)	(-2.70)	(-2.54)	(-3.80)
Log(D SUBB)		-0.038***	-0.014	-0.014	0.021	0.023
(in kilometers)		(-3.43)	(-0.90)	(-0.67)	(0.84)	(1.11)
Log(D BUS)		-0.079***	-0.074**	-0.074^{*}	-0.051*	-0.035
(in kilometers)		(-5.21)	(-2.43)	(-2.13)	(-1.94)	(-1.01)
Log(D PARK)			-0.104***	-0.086**	-0.041	-0.057*
(in kilometers)			(-3.46)	(-2.51)	(-1.57)	(-2.06)
AIRBAD			-0.0041 **	-0.0049***	-0.006***	-0.005***
(ug/m^3)			(-2.44)	(-4.40)	(-6.93)	(-5.85)
Log(D SCHOOL)			1.000	-0.065**	-0.066**	-0.054**
(in kilometers)				(-2.56)	(-2.87)	(-2.45)
CRIME				-0.024	-0.055	-0.051
				(-0.64)	(-1, 19)	(-1.55)
Log (D UNIV)				AL SCOR	-0.104***	
					(-3.68)	
UNIV 3KM					A. 505.54	0.106***
						(3.60)
UNIV SCORE						0.002***
and the state						(3.28)
Quarter dummies	ves	ves	yes	ves	ves	yes
R ²	0.356	0.533	0.569	0.578	0.597	0.601
No. of obs.	900	900	900	900	900	900

This table reports six OLS estimates of Eq. (3) in the text. In columns (3), (4), (5), and (6), the standard errors are clustered by the eleven air quality monitors (see Fig. 5). See Table 1 for variable definitions.



$$Log(\widehat{Price}_{jqt}) = B1 * X_{1j} + B2 * X_{2q} - 0.005 * Bad air - 0.057 * Park$$

- Environmental amenities are important set of local public goods.
- proximity to fast public transit, clean air, highquality schools, major universities, and environmental amenities are capitalized into real estate prices.
- A 10 microgram per cubic meter increase in PM10 reduces home prices by 5%

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Hedonic Method in Business Decision

• Bryant Park and W. R. Grace Building, 1980s – 2000s, NYC

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2019



Photos: <u>https://livingnewdeal.org/projects/bryant-park-new-york-ny/</u> <u>https://bryantpark.org/blog/life-of-bryant-bryant-parks-transformation-into-the-center-of-midtown</u>

Hedonic Method in Business Decision

$$Log(\widehat{Price}_i) = Controls + \widehat{\beta}X_i$$

- Benefit and Cost Analysis
 - Cost of producing *x* additional units of amenity < Consumer's willingness to pay for *x* additional units amenity
 - E.g. Choosing quantity of green space in a community, Plan A (QA) vs. Plan B (QB)
 - $\Delta \text{COST}(Q_{A-B})$ (upfront cost + maintenance cost + opportunity cost) < $\hat{\beta}$ (Q_A Q_B)*Housing Units
 - Note: If QA or QB are very different from what was observed in data, sorting of residents might dominant the WTP mechanism. For example, rich households would not consider a community with zero green space.

The 1st Subway Line in Chengdu, China

$$Log(\widehat{Price}_i) = Controls + \widehat{\beta}X_i$$

	Log(Housing Price)
Log(distance to subway)	-0.030 *** (-10.87)
Log(distance to subway) × Post	-0.165*** (-35.21)
Constant	8.598*** (879.63)
Ν	22,080
R2	0.731

Note: ***p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1, t value in brackets.

Center for Real Estate

Phir



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Hedonic Method in Infrastructure Decision

Distance (km)	Price premium	Base value (RMB/m2)	House areas (hectare)	Total value (billion RMB)
0-0.5	14%	7304.29	553.21	5.7
0.5-1	7.4%	7304.29	583.17	3.2
1-1.5	7.5%	7304.29	392.29	2.1
Total				10.96

- The results indicate building the new subway line in Chengdu can generate **\$11B RMB** benefit, measured by people's increased willingness to pay for the houses close to stations.
- Government can thus think about a tailored "value capture" mechanism to recover the infrastructure cost from nearby real estate developers.

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Hedonic Method to Support Policy Making: Clean Air Act

50 years in, the Clean Air Act's societal benefits still outweigh costs 10 to 1, research finds

DECEMBER 13, 2020 | BY MORGAN FOY AND LAURA COUNTS

Example

$$Log(Price) =$$

- 0.0028 air pollution
(continuous: mg/m^3)
+ Controls

19 million homes in non-attainment counties, Average home value = \$86,900 (1970, in 2001 \$)

10 units reduction in TSP -> \$2,400 value increase per home

Total WTP = \$45 billion

Larger tax base \rightarrow higher property tax



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Environmental Gentrification



Green Amenity







The High Line Park (West Chelsea, Manhattan)



1417





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