1 2 3 4	•	ation in Apartment and Office Market Rents with Respect to nsit Station Distance in Metropolitan San Diego and Salt Lake City
5 6 7 8 9	Arthur C. Nelson (con School of Landscape University of Arizona	Architecture and Planning
10 11 12 13 14	Robert Hibberd Department of Geogra University of Arizona	aphy and Development
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25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35 36	Institute of Transport Metropolitan Portland Regional Council, and our institution, the Ur using its commercial	y acknowledge support for research leading to this paper from the National ation and Communities, City of Tucson, AZ, Metro Council of I, Southern Nevada Regional Transportation Commission, Mid-America d the Wasatch Front Regional Council. We also acknowledge support from niversity of Arizona. We especially acknowledge CoStar's permission in rental database for this study, and Laura Jensen's role in assembling CoStar lysis. Our views do not necessarily reflect those of our sponsors.

#### 37 Analysis of the Variation in Apartment and Office Market Rents with Respect to

#### 38 Commuter Rail Transit Station Distance in Metropolitan San Diego and Salt Lake City

39

40 The forgotten mode in research on how the real estate market responds to fixed guideway transit

- 41 seems to be commuter rail. We help address this shortcoming. In theory, like all fixed guideway
- 42 transit systems, proximity to commuter rail transit (CRT) stations should confer positive benefits
- 43 capitalized by the market; the closer real estate is to those stations, the more valuable it should
- 44 be. On the other hand, unlike other transit modes that are set amidst urban development,
- 45 commuter rail stations are often located in industrial areas. As such, proximity to CRT stations
- 46 may confer negative benefits capitalized by the market; the closer real estate is to those stations,
- the less valuable it would be. Using a quadratic distance function, we assess how rental real
  estate markets in two metropolitan areas—San Diego and Salt Lake City—respond to CRT
- 46 estate markets in two metropontan areas—San Diego and San Lake City—respond to CK1
   49 station proximity. We find positive proximity benefits, albeit small for office land uses though
- 50 much larger for multifamily rental land uses. We reason that the positive effects of CRT station
- 51 proximity outweigh negative ones. We offer CRT system planning implications.
- 52
- 53

#### 54 **Overview**

- 55 This article does three things. First, it reviews how rail transit stations may generate both positive
- and negative amenity effects on urban real estate markets based on conventional urban location
- 57 theory. This leads to a theory that can detect both positive and negative amenities in the urban
- real estate market and suggests how it can be applied. Second, we apply our theory to the rental
- real estate market affected by two commuter rail transit (CRT) systems in the West: metropolitan
- 60 San Diego—the one of the West's oldest CRT systems, and Salt Lake City—one of the West's
- 61 newest. We find that the rental real estate market reveals both positive and negative effects of
- 62 CRT station proximity. And third, it draws planning implications for the future of CRT system
- 63 planning and perhaps all rail transit planning.
- 64

#### 65 Theory and General Model

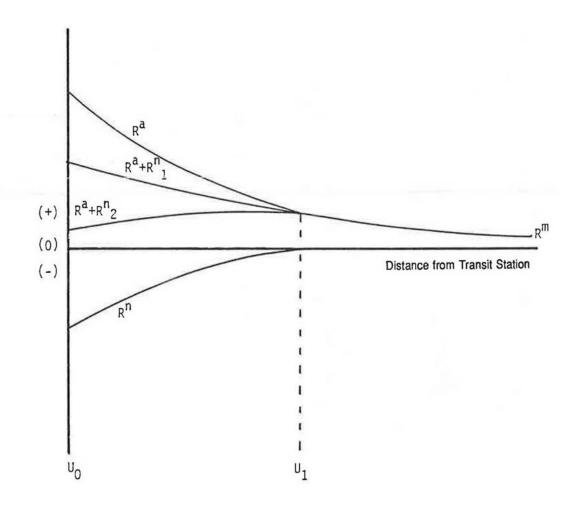
- 66 Conventional urban location theory articulated by Alonso (1964), Muth (1969) and Mills (1972)
- 67 shows that in a monocentric city where all jobs are in the central business district (CBD), the cost
- of transportation increases as distance increases from the CBD at a declining rate, as a function
- 69 of increasing land area of the commuting shed. Transportation costs thus affect land value so that
- the "bid rent" curve for land also declines as distance increases. Where transportation costs are
- 71 lowest, in the CBD, land prices are highest. To afford higher land prices ("rent") in the CBD,
- more economic exchange is needed, resulting in higher development intensities among office,
- retail, and high-value multifamily housing land uses among others. Economic activities that
- cannot compete for CBD locations are pushed outward to locations where they can outbid other
- <sup>75</sup> land uses, a process called urban land use invasion and succession (Park and Burgess 1925).
- 76
- 77 In relaxing the strict monocentric city model, one can imagine the same principles at work only
- at smaller scales that are distributed across a metropolitan area (see Hajrasouliha and Hamidi
- 79 2017). For instance, in focusing transportation activity at nodes, rail transit stations can become
- 80 small version of CBDs. Economic activities will bid up land prices close to rail transit stations;
- 81 lower value activity moves away from transitions to location there they can outbid competing
- 82 land uses. Numerous studies show negative bid rent gradients with respect to distance from rail
- 83 transit stations (Higgins and Kanaroglou 2016).
- 84

85 But rail stations themselves can be nuisances such that land value may be dampened very near

- them. The market capitalizes both positive amenity effects of rail station proximity as well as
- 87 negative amenity effects such as those associated with noise and congestion (Nelson and
- 88 McCleksy 1990; Nelson 1992). So long as positive amenity effects outweigh negative ones, the
- bid rent gradient will be sloping downward and away from rail transit stations. In theory,
- 90 however, it is possible for negative amenity effects to outweigh positive ones. These interactions
- 91 are shown in Figure 1, described as follows:
- 92
- The line R<sup>a</sup> shows the land rent (R) curve with full amenity ("a" for positive amenity)
   value from a rail transit station, u<sub>0</sub>, outward to a point, u<sub>1</sub>, where the amenity effects of
- 95 rail transit proximity disappear, beyond which the overall market rent, R<sup>m</sup> is revealed.
- 96 97 Negative effects of rail transit stations are shown in line  $R^n$  ("n" for negative amenity).
- 98 As distance from the rail station increases, the negative amenity effects are reduced until 99 they become zero at  $u^1$ .

100	
101	Positive and negative amenity effects interact in the market leading to overall positive or
102	negative bid rent curves with respect to distance from rail transit stations to $u_1$ . Line $R^a$ +
103	$R_1^n$ is revealed where overall positive amenity effects outweigh negative ones. Line $R^a$ +
104	$R_{2}^{n}$ is revealed where overall negative amenity effects outweigh positive ones. Overall
105	effects disappear at $u_1$ beyond which market rent, $R^m$ , in the absence of positive and
106	negative amenity is revealed.
107	
108	Unless analysts use the proper distance measure variable, estimates of the revealed bid rent
109	gradients with respect to distance from rail transit stations will not detect the interaction between
110	positive and negative amenity effects. In our view, this requires a model wherein the distance
111	effects of rail transit stations are specified using the quadratic functional form. The first term,
112	linear, reveals the strongest of the two influences, positive or negative. In cases where value is
113	affected negatively by such sites as landfills, the linear term would be expected to have a
114	negative association with respect to landfill distance while the second term would be positive so
115	that after some distance, u <sub>1</sub> , the negative effect is offset (Nelson et al. 1992). In the case of rail
116	transit stations, theory suggests there would be an overall positive amenity effect with respect to
117	station distance—the first term—but it can be dampened by underlying negative amenities—the
118	second term. A general model including a quadratic transformation of distance from a rail transit
119	station to reveal both positive and negative amenity effects of rail transit stations on real estate
120	values is:
121	
122	$\mathbf{R}_i = f(\mathbf{B}_i, \mathbf{S}_i, \mathbf{L}_i)$
123	
124	where:
124 125	where:
125	
125 126	where: <b>R</b> is the price of rent per square foot for property <i>i</i> ;
125 126 127	<b>R</b> is the price of rent per square foot for property $i$ ;
125 126	
125 126 127 128	<ul><li><b>R</b> is the price of rent per square foot for property <i>i</i>;</li><li><b>B</b> is the set of building attributes of property <i>i</i>;</li></ul>
125 126 127 128 129	<b>R</b> is the price of rent per square foot for property $i$ ;
125 126 127 128 129 130 131	<ul> <li>R is the price of rent per square foot for property <i>i</i>;</li> <li>B is the set of building attributes of property <i>i</i>;</li> <li>S is the set of socioeconomic characteristics of the vicinity of property <i>i</i>; and</li> </ul>
125 126 127 128 129 130 131 132	<ul> <li>R is the price of rent per square foot for property <i>i</i>;</li> <li>B is the set of building attributes of property <i>i</i>;</li> <li>S is the set of socioeconomic characteristics of the vicinity of property <i>i</i>; and</li> <li>L is a set of location attributes of property <i>i</i> wherein the case of distance to transit</li> </ul>
125 126 127 128 129 130 131 132 133	<ul> <li>R is the price of rent per square foot for property <i>i</i>;</li> <li>B is the set of building attributes of property <i>i</i>;</li> <li>S is the set of socioeconomic characteristics of the vicinity of property <i>i</i>; and</li> </ul>
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125 126 127 128 129 130 131 132 133 134 135	<ul> <li>R is the price of rent per square foot for property <i>i</i>;</li> <li>B is the set of building attributes of property <i>i</i>;</li> <li>S is the set of socioeconomic characteristics of the vicinity of property <i>i</i>; and</li> <li>L is a set of location attributes of property <i>i</i> wherein the case of distance to transit</li> </ul>
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- 145



- **Figure 1** Positive Amenity (R<sup>a</sup>) and Negative Amenity (R<sup>n</sup>) influences of transition stations on proximate
- property values

#### 153 **Prior Research**

- 154 Surprisingly few studies of transit station effects on real estate values use the quadratic
- 155 functional form. Of the more than 60 studies reviewed by Higgins and Kanaroglou (2016), nearly
- 156 none used a quadratic transit station distance variable. The common reason is that theorists seem
- 157 shackled by the Alonso-Muth-Mills model of urban form wherein negative amenity effects with
- respect to distance from nodes such as a downtown or a transit station are simply not
- 159 recognized—the functional form is thus ipso facto negative (linear) or declining at a declining
- 160 rate (log, semi-log, or inverse). A minima or maxima is impossible to estimate, however,
- 161 meaning that researchers cannot tell planners the distance over which the negative and positive
- 162 influences occur.
- 163
- 164 What are commonly used (including us) are distance-band variables, as in the case of Cervero's
- 165 (2004) study of the association between CRT station distance and real estate values in San
- 166 Diego. As it seems to be among the leading CRT-based studies, it is worth reviewing in detail.
- 167
- 168 The San Diego study was based on the sale of numerous types of parcels during the period 1999-
- 169 2000, including 1,495 multifamily housing parcels and 372 commercial parcels. Ordinary least
- 170 squares (OLS) regression analysis was used to estimate the variation in sales price per parcel
- 171 with respect to properties sold within one-half mile of a CRT station. Positive associations were
- 172 predicted; that is, the sales prices of multifamily residential and commercial parcels were
- 173 expected to be higher within one-half mile distance band around CRT stations compared to those
- 174 outside that band. Instead, mean multifamily residential parcels were -43,379 (p = 0.148) within
- the one-half mile band while mean commercial parcels were -\$111,917 (p = 0.004). In other
- 176 words, multifamily and commercial real estate values were *less* per parcel within one-half mile
- of a CRT station than beyond. Cervero's results are similar to most other studies of CRT effects
- on nearby multifamily and commercial property values reported by Higgins and Kanaroglou:
- 179 only seven of 20 showed positive associations while 13 did not, with 11 of those having no
- 180 significant association. Again, nearly all those studies used distance-band methods.
- 181
- 182 There are certainly exceptions as residential properties in and near downtowns especially value
- 183 CRT rail station proximity as an overall amenity (see Cervero and Duncan 2002), but those
- 184 outcomes seem limited to just downtowns and not CRT systems as a whole. In contrast, nearly
- all heavy- and light-rail transit systems have positive or insignificant effects on all land uses.
- 186 Where standard theory posits positive effects of rail transit stations on nearby property values,
- 187 research seems to show otherwise with respect to CRT stations, at least outcome downtowns.
- 188 Could it be that CRT stations *per se* impose negative amenity effects near them? We address this 189 next.
- 190

### 191 Research Design

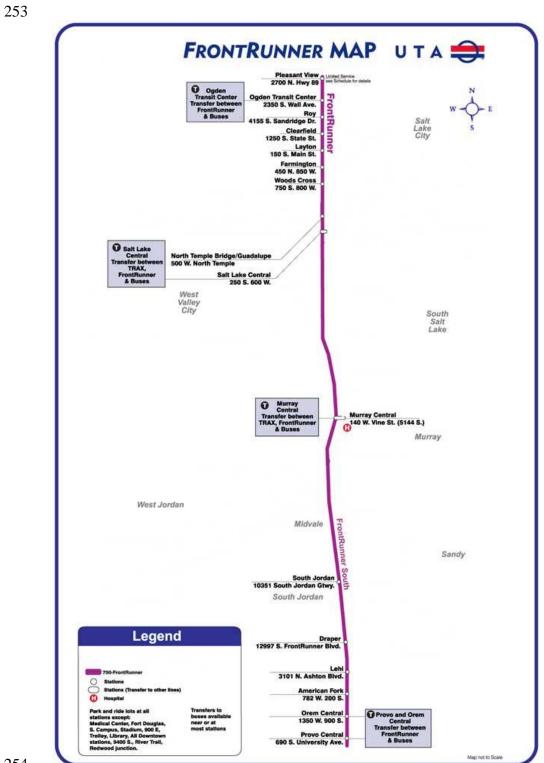
- 192 Our research design is quasi-experimental in which variation in real estate market prices is
- 193 estimated with respect to distance from commuter rail transit stations. The experiment considers
- 194 building structure, local socioeconomic, and centrality controls.
- 195
- 196 We apply our analytic approach to two case study metropolitan areas: San Diego and Salt Lake
- 197 City. San Diego is selected because it has already been studied and seems reasonably
- 198 representative of Western-most Californian-CRT systems, and one of its oldest. Salt Lake

- 199 City is the second case study metropolitan area. It was selected because it is one of the newest
- 200 non-California CRT systems in the West, and serves as area roughly comparable in population to
- 201 the San Diego metropolitan area. (We include the Ogden and Provo metropolitan areas with Salt
- Lake City; they are often considered part of the Salt Lake City combined statistical area.)
- 203
- 204 The "Coaster" (see Figure 1) is a commuter rail transit service launched in 1995 that serves
- 205 central and northern San Diego Country along the coast. It is operated by the North County
- 206 Transit District (NCTD). The system is comprised of 62 miles of track with eight CRT stops. It
- 207 operates mostly during weekday peak periods with occasional weekend and holiday service. The
- 208 entire route can be covered in about an hour.
- 209
- 210 The FrontRunner (see Figure 2) commuter rail system started in 2008 and is operated by the
- Utah Transit Authority (UTA). It provides service along the Wasatch Front from Pleasant View
- in northern Weber County south to Salt Lake City, then to Provo. Its 88 miles of track that serve
- 213 17 stations, and takes about two hours to travel from end to end. Like the Coaster, it operates
- 214 mostly during weekday peak periods with occasional weekend and holiday service.
- 215
- 216 Table 1 summarizes the office data collected for this study, variable specifications, and predicted 217 signs of association. Notably, by permission, we are able to use CoStar's asking rent database for 218 rental multifamily and office properties for the first two quarters of 2017. Our model is based on 219 that noted earlier. Our dependent variable, asking rent per square foot, is logged so that the 220 unlogged coefficients of the independent variables can be interpreted as percentage change in 221 rental price associated with a unit change in the independent variable. Among the building 222 attributes, we expect rents for Class A (the highest office market quality rating) to be higher than 223 Class B and both to be higher than the referent, Class C; larger buildings will command higher 224 rents than smaller ones because scale economies allow for more on-site amenities; and newer 225 buildings will command higher rents than older ones. Among socioeconomic attributes, we 226 expect higher rents associated with higher percentages of White non-Hispanic persons in census 227 block groups, and higher median household income. Because the FrontRunner passes through 228 four counties, our location variables include Davis, Salt Lake, and Utah counties with the 229 referent being Weber County but no associations with respect to rent are predicted as these are 230 merely geographic controls. Distance from the central business district (CBD) is expected to 231 have a negative sign. Our experimental variable, distance from the nearest CRT station, includes 232 the linear term and its quadratic transformation; based on conventional urban local theory, we 233 expect negative and positive associations respectively. But the signs could just as easily be 234 reversed if negative amenities outweigh positive ones near CRT stations. Table 2 presents the 235 mean statistics for each metropolitan area.
- 236
- Table 3 summarizes rental multifamily apartment rents much in the same way that Table 1 does for offices. For the most part, expected directions of association are the same as for offices with these exceptions: compared to properties that have overall rental restrictions (such as low and moderate income tax credit projects, certain Section 8 properties, and other publicly-assisted properties), rental properties without restrictions will command higher rent. Table 4 reports the mean statistics for each metropolitan area.
- 243
- 244 Results are reported next.



- Figure 1 Coaster commuter rail transit route map *Source*: North County Transit District

- 252



### 55 Figure 2

- 256 FrontRunner commuter rail transit route map
- *Source*: Utah Transit Authority

262 **Office Property Variables, Specifications, Predicted Signs, and Data Sources** 

Variable	Specification, Predicted Sign	Data Source
Dependent Variable		
Asking rent per square foot	Continuous, logged	CoStar
Building Attributes		
Gross Leasable Square Feet	Continuous -	CoStar
Class A	Binary (Class C is the referent) +	CoStar
Class B	Binary (Class C is the referent) +	CoStar
Effective Year Built	Continuous +	CoStar
Socioeconomic Characteristics		
Percent Not White Non-Hispanic	Percent x 100 +	American Community Survey 2015
Median Household Tract Income	Continuous x 1,000 +	American Community Survey 2015
Location		
County location, Salt Lake City metro only	Binary for Davis, Salt Lake, Utah counties (referent is Weber County) <i>np</i>	
Distance to CBD, miles	Continuous -	GIS measure from parcel centroid to CBD centroid
Experimental		
Distance to Nearest CRT Station	Continuous -	GIS measure from parcel centroid to station centroid
Distance to Nearest CRT Station Squared	Continuous +	Square of Distance from station

### 267 Mean Office Property Variable Statistics

Variable	Metro Salt Lake	Metro San Diego
Asking rent per square foot	\$17.61	\$27.43
Gross Leasable Square Feet	46,870	44,476
Class A	14%	16%
Class B	69%	53%
Effective Year Built	2000	1990
Percent Not White Non-Hispanic	86%	71%
Median Household Tract Income	\$59,038	\$75,261
Davis Co	9%	na
Salt Lake Co	57%	na
Utah Co	24%	na
Distance CBD, miles	16.27	15.65
Distance CRT station, miles	2.49	5.22

- 272 Rental Multifamily Variables, Specifications, Predicted Signs, and Data Sources

Variable	Specification, Predicted Sign	Data Source
Dependent Variable	C	
Asking rent per square foot	Continuous, logged	CoStar
Building Attributes		
Gross Leasable Square Feet	Continuous -	CoStar
Effective Year Built	Continuous +	CoStar
Market Rent	Binary (rent restriction is the referent) +	CoStar
Socioeconomic Characteristics		
Percent Not White Non-Hispanic	Percent x 100 +	American Community Survey 2015
Median Household Tract Income	Continuous x 1,000 +	American Community Survey 2015
Location		
County location, Salt Lake City metro only	Binary for Davis, Salt Lake, Utah counties (referent is Weber County) <i>np</i>	GIS
Distance to CBD, miles	Continuous -	GIS measure from parcel centroid to CBD centroid
Experimental		
Distance to Nearest CRT Station	Continuous -	GIS measure from parcel centroid to station centroid
	Continuous	Square of Distance from station

#### 279 Mean Rental Multifamily Property Variable Statistics

Distance CRT station, miles

280

Variable	Metro Salt Lake	Metro San Diego
Asking rent per square foot	\$1.07	\$1.78
Gross Leasable Area	53,209	52,455
Effective Year Built	1974	1975
Percent Not White Non-Hispanic	90%	73%
Median Household Tract Income	\$45,604	\$50,839
Market Rent	86%	86%
Davis County	6%	na
Salt Lake County	72%	na
Utah County	15%	na
Distance CBD, miles	11.73	12.16

2.31

6.59

281 282

283

#### 285 Results

Results first for office rents are reported in Table 5 and multifamily rents in Table 6. We review office results first, then multifamily results. We discuss implications in the next section.

288

#### 289 *Office*

290 In the office regression equations, the building structure variables performed as expected. The

- 291 difference in rents per square foot between Class A and Class B buildings (with Class C
- buildings as the referent) is substantial and expected. The incremental size of a building in the
- metropolitan Salt Lake market though not in the San Diego market showed small increases in
- rent suggesting bigger buildings confer slightly more value in the market's willingness to pay,
- we surmise because they offer additional amenities that smaller building cannot. Newer
- structures also conferred higher rents in the Salt Lake market than older ones, though only slightly and not in the San Diego market.
- 298

299 The socioeconomic variables in the San Diego regression had expected signs and were both

- 300 significant, but only the coefficient for median household income was significant in the Salt
- 301 Lake market, though the coefficient itself is quite small. We do not discuss the county-based
- 302 controls for the Salt Lake market because of their role as merely geographic controls.
- 303

The CBD distance variable has the correct sign and was significant in both equations. We note that this variable was not included in most of the prior CRT studies. It is possible that re-analysis

- that this variable was not included in most of the prior CRT studies. It is possible that re-analysis of those studies could reveal different outcomes with respect to CRT distance.
- 307

308 Of interest to us is the extent to which office rents are affected by proximity to CRT stations and 309 if so how far away. Both coefficients for CRT distance are significant and have the anticipated

- signs; that is, as distance from a CRT station increases office rent falls at the margin (the
- 311 negative coefficient on the distance variable) but at a declining rate (the positive sign on the
- 312 quadratic transformation). Differentiating the coefficients and then setting for zero, the distance
- threshold is 30 miles in the Salt Lake market and 32 miles in the San Diego market. These are
- essentially slightly downward sloping gradients from CRT stations implying that negative
- amenities do not have a strong influence, though the influence is significant nonetheless.
- 316

## 317 Multifamily

318 In the multifamily regression equations, the building structure variable did not perform as

- 319 expected as the rent per square foot falls when the overall size of the multifamily structure
- 320 increases. It may be that larger structures gain managerial economies of scale that result in lower
- 321 rents, making larger structures more competitive than smaller ones even if they may also have
- 322 more amenities. Consistent with expectations, newer structures conferred higher rents in both
- 323 markets than older ones. Also as expected, rental properties that are not restricted have higher
- 324 rents per square foot than restricted ones.
- 325
- 326 Only the socioeconomic variables in the San Diego regression had expected signs and were
- 327 significant, though the coefficient for median household income was negative, contrary to
- 328 expectations. On the other hand, the coefficient itself is quite small suggesting that block group
- income levels have little meaningful influence on rents. As for the office market analysis, we do
- not discuss the county-based controls for the Salt Lake market because of their role as merely

- 331 geographic controls.
- 332

333 The CBD distance variable has the correct sign and was significant in both equations. Again, as

- noted for the office analysis above, we observe that this variable was not included in most of the
- prior CRT studies. It is possible that re-analysis of those studies could reveal different outcomes
- 336 with respect to CRT distance.
- 337
- 338 Of interest to us is the extent to which multifamily rents are affected by proximity to CRT
- 339 stations and if so how far away. Like the office rent analysis, both multifamily regressions have
- 340 coefficients for CRT distance that are significant and have the anticipated signs; that is, as
- 341 distance from a CRT station increases multifamily rent falls at the margin (the negative
- 342 coefficient on the distance variable) but at a declining rate (the positive sign on the quadratic
- transformation). Differentiating the coefficients and then setting for zero, the distance threshold
- 344 is 2 miles for both metropolitan areas. These are much steeper gradients than seen for office 345 rents, suggesting the rental residential market is more sensitive to CRT station proximity than
- rents, suggesting the rental residential market is more sensitive to CRT station proximity thanoffice markets.
- 347
- 348 Implications of both analyses are discussed next.
- 349
- 350
- 351
- 352
- 353
- 354
- 355

**Regression results for Office Rent with Respect to Commuter Rail Station Distance** 

358

<b>X</b> 7 <b>1</b> . 1. 1.	Metro Salt Lake	Metro San Diego
Variable	Coefficient p	Coefficient p
Constant	6.290E-001	0.330
Gross Leasable Area	6.664E-007 *	-0.000
Class A	0.151 *	0.216 *
Class B	0.07 *	0.105 *
Effective Year Built	0.000E+000 *	0.000
White Percent	0.000E+000	0.098 *
Median Household Income	9.918E-004 *	0.001 *
Davis Co	0.01	na
Salt Lake Co	2.800E-002	na
Utah Co	7.000E-002	na
Distance CBD, miles	-4.000E-003 *	-1.000E-003 *
Distance CRT, miles	-0.015 *	-1.600E-002 *
Distance CRT Squared	0.001	1.000E-003 *
Cases	618	811
Adjusted R-Square	0.306	0.311
F-Ratio	23.643	41.533
* $p < 0.05$ , one-tailed test		

359

Regression results for Multifamily Rent with Respect to Commuter Rail Station Distance
 363

364

Variable	Metro Salt Lake Coefficient p	Metro San Diego Coefficient <i>p</i>
Constant	-4.484	-0.349
Gross Leasable Area	3.657E-007 *	2.155E-007 *
Effective Year Built	0.002 *	0.000 *
Market Rent	0.132 *	0.082 *
White Percent	-0.001	0.137 *
Median Household Income	-2.606E-005	8.186E-004 *
Davis County	-0.084	na
Salt Lake County	-0.038	na
Utah County	0.157	na
Distance CBD, miles	-2.017E-006 *	-1.000E-003 *
Distance CRT, miles	-7.215E-006 *	-1.400E-002 *
Distance CRT Squared	1.171E-010 *	0.000E+000 *
Cases	618	3608
Adjusted R-Square	0.306	0.205
F-Ratio	23.643	94.047
* $p < 0.05$ , one-tailed test		

#### 377 Implications

378 Though we are not the first, we are among the few researchers who have devised a method to

379 detect positive and negative amenity effects of rail transit stations on real estate properties. Our

380 method is applied to office and multifamily rental properties in metropolitan San Diego and Salt 381 Lake City with respect to distance from commuter rail transit stations. Our model further

382 includes such controls as key structure features, socioeconomic factors, and CBD distance, the

383 latter of which has not been used in many prior studies of the effect of CRT stations on the real

- 384 estate market.
- 385

386 Our analysis indicates that both the rental office and multifamily markets respond favorably to 387 CRT station proximity; but the real surprise to us is how sensitive the rental multifamily real

388 estate market is. At first blush, we anticipated that negative amenity effects of CRT station

389 proximity would outweigh the positive ones: who would want to live near very noisy diesel-

390 powered train engines in areas where CRT stations are often in industrial locations? Yet, we

- 391 notice that land use and facility planning around CRT stations in both metropolitan areas create
- 392 attractive mixes of land uses and often have residential development located several hundred feet

393 away from CRT stations, thus moderating potentially negative amenity effects. Indeed, the

closest rental multifamily project to CRT stations was 380 feet in Salt Lake and 190 feet in San 394

395 Diego. In contrast, the closest rental offices were 690 feet and 230 feet, respectively. The first

396 few hundred feet from CRT stations are often occupied by park and ride lots, government

- 397 facilities, and train-related facilities.
- 398

399 Though there may be some negative amenities associated with living near—though not too 400 near—CRT stations, there are important benefits. For the San Diego market, Cervero et al (2004) 401 observe that CRT access allows workers to live far away from their workplaces and still get to

402 and from work much faster than any other mode, including other transit modes. We could

403 imagine two-way benefits: one could live in a suburban area near a CRT station, either walk,

404 bike or take a short bus trip to the station, and be at their downtown workplaces sooner than 405

driving or using other forms of transit; or, one could live downtown and enjoy downtown 406 amenities but work in a suburban location near CRT stations. Indeed, we observe that most if not

407 all suburban CRT stations in both markets enjoy direct light rail or bus access to nearby

- 408 employment centers.
- 409

410 Our analysis may embolden transportation planners to consider new or expanded commuter rail

411 systems. For one thing, many potential commuter rail transit stations exist in underdeveloped

412 industrial areas that are ripe for redevelopment to the next highest and best use. For another, as

- 413 the demand for transit expands (see Nelson 2013), more modes will need to be explored,
- 414 including commuter rail transit and associated commuter rail based transit oriented
- 415 developments.
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