

Family Displacement in Central Austin: Approaches for Regulating the High Occupancy Unit

August 21, 2013



The mission of the Central Austin CDC
is to enhance the livability, safety, and diversity
of our community by building bridges of
communication and respect among people.

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August 21, 2013

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Introduction

In the last few years, a relatively new housing type has emerged in Austin: the **High-Occupancy Unit (HOU)**. The HOU is not defined or regulated in any neighborhood plan, nor is it written in Austin's Land Development Code. Yet the HOU has changed traditional patterns of residential life in Central Austin, and upset the balance of our complete urban community more than any code change or plan adoption ever has.

Central Austin has always valued the vitality the University of Texas at Austin provides to our area and the mix of the very different backgrounds of its people. A balanced, diverse community is a strong community. **But today, our community is losing a most important component of that diversity: its families.** This loss is already complete in areas zoned and thought protected for single-family use. It may be irreversible, and many areas have reached the tipping point.¹ The trend began near the campus, but there is evidence that HOU's are spreading elsewhere in the City of Austin, and in less restrictive zoning districts as well.

The proximity to the University of Texas at Austin campus plays a large part in the proliferation of HOU's. The units are attractive to many students, but at the same time, they have become one of the costlier housing options. Advertising for HOU leases often carries an explicit entitlement that the other housing types of the same class do not: an environment for group living. Young adults emerging from 18 years of a family environment are naturally accustomed to group interaction in the family home. The independence and allure of casual group living has become part of our culture, driven by the formats of countless "reality" TV shows. Students and owner-occupants can be good neighbors with communication and respect, but the very different purposes supported by these housing types often set these relationships up to fail.

One out of every 8 residents, or 93,000 people in the city, are enrolled at a college or university. While an individual student's tenure may be limited in the city by their educational plan, students are a static population. The vast majority of students rent their home. Students are a protected class in Austin's housing code, yet the city has no proactive enforcement programs for leasing practices.

For many renters, leases represent a very large financial obligation. Current occupancy code applies based on how many unrelated adults actually live at a property, not how many names are on the lease, or how many leases there are for the property. Students are most vulnerable to the business practices of HOU landlords, who in other jurisdictions, try to conceal over occupancy by reducing the names on a lease. A rental licensing program that applies reasonable controls on both leasing practices and occupancy limits may be needed.

¹ The Northfield neighborhood in the 78751 zip code is thought to have been the most affected by the emergence of the HOU housing type.

While college students are a static population, families are always adding to density by bringing children into the world. Whenever a child is raised in the urban core, the future of urban schools is strengthened. Children add richness to our neighborhoods and ensure their vitality and survival. It has been said that great cities must function as nests for children, or else they will perish. There is a strong desire of families to live in the urban core, but it lacks the amenities, the protections and the affordability for their presence to be sustained.² The municipal government has a strong interest in encouraging their presence not just in the campus area, or the suburbs, but also throughout the city.

Executive Summary

The focus of this report deals with the **High-Occupancy Unit** impact on single family uses. The City of Austin is virtually unique in its weakness of protections for residential areas in this regard. Cities across the country set reasonable occupancy limits, use sensible zoning, and protect the interests of owners, renters, and the public with inspection and enforcement activities. Compliant landlords have much at stake; the inability to deliver quiet enjoyment of their property to their tenants may be caused by a nearby non-compliant activity.

- Occupancy limits in Austin are atypically high at 6 unrelated adults.
- Duplexes are seldom allowed in single family zoning districts elsewhere in the country.
- Austin conducts no proactive code enforcement activity of rental property.
- Austin has no regulatory activity in the leasing of residential property with the aim of consumer protection.

A **High-Occupancy Unit (HOU)** is created through the repurposing of traditional buildings such as duplexes, single family homes, and detached two family uses. HOU use has several elements in common:

- These units are allowable in both single family and multifamily zoning.
- They are rented by groups of unrelated adults who otherwise maintain separate household finances.
- Their leases encourage multiple households with severable obligations and tenancies within one unit.
- The structures' common features, like kitchens and living rooms, are leveraged across multiple tenants to the economic advantage of the owner.
- Absentee ownership. The properties lack an on-site owner, landlord, or property manager.
- The structures enjoy the advantages of single family parking regulations, and thereby lack adequate on-site parking.

² City of Austin Families and Children Task Force Final Report, June 24, 2008

A specific legal definition of the HOU should be formed in a future ordinance as part of a code amendment process.

The construction and conversion for HOU use has accelerated in recent years. The emergence of this novel building type is due to a number of factors.

- Provisions pertaining to occupancy in Austin's Land Development Code allow for a relatively high number of unrelated adults (6) to occupy a single family or duplex use.
- Permissive single family zoning allows duplexes in any SF-3 zoned district.
- The lack of proactive enforcement activity by the municipal government.
- An absence of a property inspection process, and a rental registration or rental permitting requirement.
- Unregulated business practices such as pre-leasing, leasing by the bed, and fixed calendar cycles ensure a nearly 100% annual turnover in renters of many HOU's.

Single family uses in the 78751 zip code, most particularly the Northfield Neighborhood, have been devastated. HOU's have placed many of their blocks beyond the tipping point of recovery. Northfield has experienced the brunt of conversions of buildings to High-Occupancy Units (HOU), and the disappearance of families, long term renters, and the historically contributing structures they once lived in.

Based on rents published in listings, HOU's have not created household affordability for the people who rent them, nor as a class, have they delivered meaningful supply to the market to reduce rents elsewhere. Conversely, **HOU's have increased the prevailing rents on a per-person basis**, compared to rents in denser multi-family uses and less restrictive zoning districts. **HOU's block dense development when they appear in upzoned areas.** When they occur in single family areas, **HOU's prevent appropriate infill densification through owner-occupant disinvestment.**

- HOU's have driven up the values in single family areas by competing with traditional single family uses, putting these homes out of reach to many families.
- They degrade the stated objectives of neighborhood plans for preserving single family neighborhoods.
- HOU's have undermined the neighborhood plans' effectiveness of increasing residential density where appropriate.
- They are increasingly built in more densely planned and less restrictively zoned parcels because of the financial benefits to the owner.

Recommendations

Regulatory reform carries the greatest promise of controlling where **High-Occupancy Unit (HOU)** use occurs, and stopping the loss of families. This could be accomplished through the development of code that would:

- **Reduce occupancy limits** by changing the code to **first** define what a “**single family**” is, **then add a variable number of unrelated adults** to suit each zoning district, with an appropriate cap. **See the Minneapolis model on page 13.**
- **Define an HOU use**, then create a **separate zoning district for HOU uses** and allow **duplex** use there.³
- Create a **rental licensing** program that verifies both occupancy and code compliance. Make enforcement simple, and violations handled with a traffic ticket-like citation. **See the Urbana model on page 14**
- Encourage long term tenancy and community stability by regulating the business practices of leasing residential property in three areas: **pre-leasing, tenancy, and renting by the room.** Tenant longevity and HOU’s are incompatible, both in and around the subject property.
- Establish a **town and gown** process with stakeholders and dedicate staff to manage the City of Austin’s relationship with institutions of higher learning. **See the San Marcos model on page 16**

Analysis

Affordability for All Renters

Renting out a single family house or duplex to two or more people who share household financial resources has been a traditional method of cost sharing and a way to achieve household affordability. As these same properties are marketed as **High-Occupancy Units (HOU)** to 4 or more unrelated adults, it becomes less of a collective endeavor, and the economic advantage shifts to the landlord. HOU’s are often rented by-the-bedroom. This subdivides the rental unit thereby negating the cost-sharing benefits of sharing a house. It also allows the landlord to lease the **same kitchen, the same living room, the same parking, and common areas** as many times as there are leases for the property. What should be cost savings for the renter, becomes the ability for landlords to leverage the value of common features across all tenants. It results in a cost duplication for the unrelated adults living at the property, a burden for the tenants, and a windfall for the landlord.

These properties can command over \$1,000 per bedroom. Renters may be highly motivated to reduce that cost, so they double up per bedroom. This is the path of

³ The City of Austin’s Single Family Task Force made a similar proposal. In the 2007 publication titled “Report Regarding Occupancy Issues in Single-Family Zoned Areas,” they wrote, “Establish the requirement that every single family property which houses 6 or more unrelated adults be required to get a license to technically qualify as ‘group housing’ and require the use to locate in an appropriate zoning district.”

occupancy non-compliance of a code that is almost uniquely permissive in the country and not proactively enforced. It may be how occupancy creeps to 10-12 people in a single family a house to try to cover these rents. The lack of adequate regulation seems to be creating a vicious cycle and this novel housing type. The HOU creates its own need for high occupancy.

Pre-Leasing's Effect on Rents, Community Cohesion

The practice of pre-leasing is very common in the marketing of **High-Occupancy Units (HOU)**. Pre-leasing inflates the cost of housing and destabilizes our community. To enable a unit to be pre-leased, the landlord first asks the current renter to commit to an annual extension up to 8 months before their lease expires, or tells them to plan to live somewhere else. The lead times for the renewal commitment can be as early as the preceeding December for an August renewal. Many HOU landlords dispense with the renewal step and just assume 100% annual tenant turnover.

Pre-leasing creates time compression in the market by manipulating the perception of scarcity. It has harnessed the fear that if a prospective tenant does not act now, they will lose their chance at securing a place to live. Demand is intensified for a short period, "the pre-leasing season", causing the rent prices to soar. Of course, the frenetic pace is engineered to increase rents. One landlord who owns several HOU's was recently quoted, "How quickly apartments are leased plays a big role in how they are priced."⁴

Leasing companies also make money on the cycle's churn. Owners are billed for commissions and make-ready activities; tenants are billed for service calls to replace burned out light bulbs on move out. **All of these annual pre-leasing costs are passed on to the renters as household costs, not to mention the expense and hassle of an unnecessary move.** Long term tenants, accustomed to month-by-month extensions and lease terms that begin and end any time of the year, are discourage from living in these communities. While beyond the scope of this study, taking the August-to-August peg out of leasing cycle would regularize process and attract a more diverse tenant base. With reforms, more of UT's 23,000 workers and their families may someday call West Campus and North Campus home again.

Owner-Occupants

The economic impact of HOU's on owner-occupant single family homes is large. Their introduction has depleted the supply of single family housing. Single family uses now compete with HOU's for the same land. The permissive entitlements of poorly regulated single family zoning have reduced the affordability of our community. Application of the single family definition to allow the permitting of HOU's has led in part to increases in single family housing prices.

Co-ops deliver another form of owner-occupancy. In contrast to HOU's, co-ops collectivize household tasks and finances. They are also not permitted in single family

⁴ "Rising costs of living straining UT Students", The Daily Texan, August 5, 2013

zoning districts, yet have more stable tenure than HOU's. Many co-ops are non-profits, delivering affordable student housing to our communities while contributing to our area's vitality and density.

The Lasting Effects on Single Family Neighborhood Character

When HOU structures reach a tipping point in an area, family flight accelerates.⁵ The city is left with a large area that does not work to fulfill density or affordability goals. These areas become a street with yards that are not maintained, parking that is inadequate, and a monoculture that lacks social cohesion and continuity. The historic fabric is dotted with vestigial surviving properties, and converted HOU structures.⁶ What permissive rules are in place for occupancy are then broken. These areas do not attract single family investment, nor do they attract denser multifamily development. This has played out on scores of blocks in the Central Austin area.

Disinvestment by Owner Occupants

High-Occupancy Units (HOU) create disinvestment by single family owner-occupants. They alter the character of these neighborhoods, and encourage the demolition or relocation of historically contributing properties. To most homeowners, the purchase of their homes is the largest investment they will make. These investments were made in good faith with the expectation that zoning would ensure the integrity of the area. Homes would be beside like-properties, and neighboring properties would not negatively affect theirs. It is within the responsibility of every municipal government to protect all investors equally, both owner occupant and investor owners. Past efforts have been unsuccessful in preserving the integrity of single family areas.

Impact on Public Education

Family displacement reduces the ability of the local school system to serve these areas with quality education. Expansion of the University of Texas at Austin Campus into single family neighborhoods during the Urban Renewal programs of the 1960's and 1970's resulted in the closure of at least 2 schools, Wooldridge Elementary and a middle school on San Jacinto Blvd. whose building now houses UT's School of Social Work. Baker School in Hyde Park was closed to area children in the 80's due to falling rates of households with children. In the Austin Independent School District's 2011 Facilities Master Plan, several Central Austin schools like Ridgetop, in the 78751 zip code, were recommended to close or start programs to draw children from outside the area.

⁵ "37th Street Lights: Will they burn brighter or burn out?" Austin Chronicle Dec 22, 2006 on neighborhood disinvestment and decline "...occupancy limits are needed to address the backdoor frat issue (where a single-family-zoned house – sometimes a newly built McMansion – functions as mini apartment complex, often renting to students)."

⁶ "Single Family, Duplex, 2-Family Demolitions and Relocations for Zip Codes 78705, 78751, and 78756", June 2013, Central Austin Community Development Corporation

Impact on Neighborhood Planning

The **Central Austin Combined Neighborhood Plan (CACNP)** was adopted by City Council in 2004. It was the product of many years of work by 7 neighborhood groups representing about 30,000 residents from the north and west areas of the University of Texas at Austin campus. A group of citizens, preservationists, and developers formed the Central Austin Neighborhoods Planning Advisory Committee (CANPAC) advocacy group. Their mission was to forge an agreement between families, developers, and the city to preserve single family neighborhoods while directing density where appropriate. Council adopted that sweeping land use plan unanimously. The first goal of the plan is to, “Preserve the integrity and character of the single-family neighborhoods.”⁷

One of the components of the CACNP is the University Neighborhood Overlay (UNO). UNO has added thousands of beds since 2004, and created a vibrant mixed use model of urbanism with the highest density in the city. **The proliferation of HOU's in the Central Austin Combined Neighborhood Planning area represents the not only the degradation of the two most important goals of that neighborhood's plan, but also the breaking of a covenant the citizens made with the city to preserve and protect these family areas.**

Similarly, the plan goals for the Hyde Park neighborhood are effectively rendered inoperable by the introduction of the HOU housing type. The Hyde Park Neighborhood Plan⁸ developed in 1999-2000 states as its first goal, to “Preserve and enhance the unique historic and residential character of Hyde Park”.

The Northfield neighborhood, to Hyde Park's north, is covered in the North Loop Neighborhood Plan⁹. Its primary goals make little to no reference of specific single family priorities: “To encourage well-designed neighborhood development that provides the needs of everyday life (shopping, employment, educational, spiritual, recreational, etc.) in locations that are readily and safely accessible within walking distance from where people live.” **The word “family” does not appear in 11 out of 11 of its North Loop Neighborhood Planning Goals.**

These plans are adopted city ordinances that carry the force of law. The level of damage caused by a regulatory gap in a robust plan threatens to degrade the effectiveness of neighborhood plans all over the city. In terms of Northfield's inadequately stated goals, the results of that gap have been devastating.

⁷ Central Austin Combined Neighborhood Plan was adopted by Ordinance 040826-56, August 26, 2004.

⁸ Hyde Park has several planning documents that apply. The first contemporary neighborhood plan was passed as Ordinance 000413-63. Hyde Park has since added two Neighborhood Conservation Combining Districts, and planned a northern section between 45th and 51st Streets.

⁹ The North Loop Neighborhood Plan is Ordinance 020523-30 and plans the land use for the top third of the 78751 zip code.

Density

While a **High-Occupancy Unit** does increase the density of one parcel, the presence of one on a block may discourage a larger area from densifying. The types of densifying investments owner-occupants make are additions and infill options that are compatible with single family uses, such as building a garage apartment or adding a floor to a house.

The aggregate presence of HOU's among single family uses creates a seasonal reduction in density that must be taken into account. The breaks, vacations, and re-renting of property every summer leaves them vacant for 20-30% of a year. This hollows communities and reduces effective density levels.

HOU's have reduced residential density by being built on multifamily zoning, reducing that planned residential zoning capacity and blocking the aggregation of lots. This is especially damaging in the West University Neighborhood Planning Area, and its University Neighborhood Overlay.

Supporters of unfettered development of the HOU housing type claim both density and affordability as benefits of an unregulated market by virtue of the law of supply and demand. This is reductive reasoning. The facts on the ground are that HOU's are blocking denser development. HOU's are also creating disinvestment in single family. Given the complex interrelationship between zoning, tenure, and the market, a modicum of regulatory changes for the HOU is needed to support the overriding land use objectives.

Town and Gown

The city has no program to manage "town and gown" issues with institutions. There are no dedicated City of Austin staff members who support the specific needs of the student population, or the existing communities who host them. The opportunities for problem solving and collaborative planning with the University of Texas and Austin Community College are vast, but not if regular engagement is not there. The costs of poor coordination are large.

Changes in Student, Renter and Owner-Occupant Population Groups

The number of people enrolled in college or graduate school in the City of Austin grew by over 13,000 from 80,623 in 2000 to 93,727 in 2011, a 16% increase. The 78751 zip code saw a 27.85% increase in the number of college students. That group grew at nearly twice the rate of 78705, a zip code that includes West Campus and the University Neighborhood Overlay (UNO).¹⁰ 78751 has experienced a disproportionate increase in the number of college students.¹¹

Population Enrolled in College or Graduate School

	Citywide	78705	78751	78756
2000	80,623	20,803	3,723	689
2011	93,727	23,817	4,760	796
Increase (Decrease)	13,104	3,014	1,037	107
%	16.25%	14.49%	27.85%	15.53%

Renter Population

	Citywide	78705	78751	78756
2000	320,405	15,077	9,995	3,966
2011	389,274	17,252	10,174	3,673
Increase (Decrease)	68,869	2,175	179	(293)
%	21.49%	14.43%	1.79%	-7.39%

Owner-Occupant Population

	Citywide	78705	78751	78756
2000	316,027	2,218	3,936	3,135
2011	375,099	2,231	4,303	3,979
Increase (Decrease)	59,072	13	367	844
%	18.69%	0.59%	9.32%	26.92%

Displacement of Long-Term Renters in the 78751 zip code

Between 2000 and 2011, the 78751 zip code witnessed an increase of 1,037 college students while the number of owner-occupants increased by 367. While there are some college students who belong to owner-occupant households, the vast majority of students are renters. Given that its total population increased by only 380, this would

¹⁰ The University Neighborhood Overlay (UNO) is a component of the Central Austin Combined Neighborhood Plan. UNO has added thousands of beds in the West Campus area since its passage on August 26, 2004, and created the densest Neighborhood Planning Area in the City of Austin.

¹¹ U.S. Census 2011 American Community Survey

indicate that in as many as 858 non-college student renters moved out of the 78751 zip code.¹²

	2000	2011	Change	%
Overall Population	14,005	14,526	521	3.72%
Owner-Occupant Population	3,936	4,303	367	9.32%
Renter Population	9,995	10,174	179	1.79%
Group Quarters Population	74	49	-25	-33.78%
Student Population ¹³	3,723	4,760	1,037	27.85%
Non-Student Population	10,282	9,766	-516	-5.02%
Non-Student Renter (Estimate)	6,272	5,414	-858	-13.68%

The accommodation of over a thousand new college students in the 78751 zip code had the effect of displacing a similar number of long term renters. Any number of factors such as dropping affordability, or changes in the marketing and leasing of rental property may have caused this.

Northfield and Hyde Park are the two main neighborhoods that comprise the 78751 zip code. Both communities have neighborhood plans in place. Hyde Park has 2 national register districts, and a number of additional zoning modifications, including 2 neighborhood conservation combining districts, and one local historic district. Since Hyde Park has more protections against larger structure types, Northfield has experienced the brunt of conversions of buildings to High-Occupancy Units (HOU), the disappearance of families, long term renters, and the historically contributing structures they once lived in.

Reductions in Single Family and Duplex Housing Stock

In a study of demolitions of single family and duplex residential properties, pronounced reductions of single family, two family and duplex uses were found.

On February 27, 2003 the first citywide moratorium went into effect for the construction of new duplexes. Up to that time, duplexes could have as many as 6 unrelated adults per side. Duplexes were, and are still allowed today, in any SF-3 or less restrictive zoning district. Super duplexes were being built in predominantly single family areas. The code was changed later that year to restrict new duplex occupancy to 3 per side, or 6 per site, but still allowing duplex use in single family zoning.

Over a ten year period following the enactment of the super duplex moratorium, an analysis of the City of Austin’s AMANDA review cases conducted by the Central Austin Community Development Corporation shows that the zip codes of 78705, 78751, and

¹² U.S. Census 2011 American Community Survey

¹³ Population Enrolled in College or Graduate School

78756 experienced the demolition or relocation of 638 single family, two family and duplex units.¹⁴

	78705	78751	78756	total
Demolition of Single Family Homes	82	167	117	366
Demolition of Two Family, Duplex Homes	12	13	5	30
Total Demolitions	94	180	122	396
Residential Building Relocations	37	57	42	136
Total Displacement of 1 and 2 Family Buildings	131	237	164	532
Total Displacement of 1 and 2 Family Units	156	281	201	638

The highest loses in each category were experienced in the 78751. This is striking because it is almost double the rate of 78705, where the University Neighborhood Overlay has experienced so much residential densification. And, because Northfield shares the 78751 zip code with Hyde Park but does not share the numerous development protections of the latter, **Northfield has experienced the brunt of single family, two family, and duplex demolitions and relocations.**

In considering any comparison, it must be noted that the periods of time in the Census studies (2000-2011) and demolitions (2003-2013) are overlapping, but not the same. A few demolitions and relocations are replaced with the same or less intense use.

Decrease in Owner-Occupancy in 78751

Census data showing the change in the number of owner-occupied units (a loss of 43 or -2.25%) indicates a disproportionate loss in the 78751 zip code. The city has shown strong gains in the number of owner-occupied units, mainly attributable to suburban construction of single family homes and condos in the urban core. 78705 and 78756, already low in total number in relation to total units, have shown modest gains of 8.26% and 15.63% respectively. Again, because of Hyde Park's protections, Northfield is seeing the largest loss of owner occupied units.

¹⁴ "Single Family, Duplex, 2-Family Demolitions and Relocations for Zip Codes 78705, 78751, and 78756 2003-2013", June 2013, Central Austin Community Development Corporation

Owner-occupied housing units

	Citywide	78705	78751	78756
2000	119,102	1,138	1,909	1,574
2011	146,812	1,232	1,866	1,820
Increase (Decrease)	27,710	94	-43	246
%	23.27%	8.26%	-2.25%	15.63%

Even though these units are a relatively small percentage of the total housing stock, and occur at a rate of less than a third of the whole city, they are creating a disproportional negative effect on owner occupancy and long term renters. The census data and the city maintained demolition data are consistent and point to the same trend.

2011 Bedrooms Per Housing Unit

	Citywide	78705	78751	78751
Total housing units	351,397	10,662	8,260	4,285
No bedroom	8,451	1,125	416	63
1 bedroom	80,899	3,986	3,105	1,356
2 bedrooms	100,554	3,529	3,043	1,502
3 bedrooms	106,494	1,264	1,317	1,132
4 bedrooms	45,576	512	250	227
5 or more bedrooms	9,423	246	129	5

Percentage of housing units with 4 bedrooms or more

Citywide	78705	78751	78751
15.65%	7.11%	4.59%	5.41%

Overall Population

Despite a 27.85% increase in student population between 2000 and 2011, the number of rentals in the 78751 zip code only grew by 3.72%. An increase in student population and an increase in the number of rental units did not correspond to significant gains in density. Even though lax policies resulted in the emergence of over occupancy for the 78751 zip code, it did not result in a significant increase in population density.¹

	Citywide	78705	78751	78756
2000	656,562	26,825	14,005	7,128
2011	782,149	29,247	14,526	7,682
Increase (Decrease)	125,587	2,422	521	554
%	19.13%	9.03%	3.72%	7.77%

Increase of City, Area Rents

	Citywide		78705		78751		78756	
	2000	2011	2000	2011	2000	2011	2000	2011
Units with cash rent	143,543	173,227	8,612	8,119	5,363	5,824	2,348	2,255
\$599 or less	40,659	15,884	3,577	862	2,456	561	1,160	307
	28.33%	9.17%	41.54%	10.62%	45.80%	9.63%	49.40%	13.61%
\$600 to \$799	48,132	42,312	2,132	1,675	1,347	2,219	638	624
	33.53%	24.43%	24.76%	20.63%	25.12%	38.10%	27.17%	27.67%
\$800 to \$999	31,220	47,211	1,310	1,518	758	668	301	565
	21.75%	27.25%	15.21%	18.70%	14.13%	11.47%	12.82%	25.06%
\$1000 or more	23,532	67,820	1,593	4,064	802	2,376	249	759
	16.39%	39.15%	18.50%	50.06%	14.95%	40.80%	10.60%	33.66%

Regulatory Models in Other Cities

Austin can look to other cities for guidance on how to approach the issue of **High-Occupancy Units (HOU)**. The issues are the same wherever residential property is leased:

*What is the occupancy limit?
 What does it apply to?
 How is it enforced?*

Minneapolis, Minnesota¹⁵

The occupancy limits are controlled through zoning, by defining a family and adding unrelated adults. Minneapolis does not allow duplex construction in single family areas, but there is extensive grandfathering in of them in R1 zoning in older campus areas. For zonings allowing up to 3 units, the occupancy is determined by adding family plus 0, 1, or 2 unrelated adults for families of more than 5, 4, or 3 or less, respectively, for a maximum of 5 people. For zonings allowing 4 or more units, the occupancy is determined the occupancy is determined by adding family plus 0, 1, 2, 3, or 4 unrelated adults for families of more than 5, 3, 2, or 1, respectively, for a maximum of 5 people. Neither formula limits the number of people in a family. The Housing Inspection Division

¹⁵ Interview of JoAnn Velde, Manager of Housing Inspections, Housing Inspection Division of the Regulatory Services Department, City of Minneapolis

of the Regulatory Services Department enforces the occupancy code. Although it is not codified, domestic partners are fully recognized by this city as meeting the definition of family.¹⁶

Minneapolis inspects all of its residential rental property under a rental licensing program. It takes between 1 to 8 years for all 84,000 units to cycle through and receive inspections. The Housing Inspection Division of the Regulatory Services Department employs 23 inspectors who handle the vast majority of rentals. There is a three-tier system that assigns a priority to each rental property by assigning points. Tier one, the best-managed properties, is inspected every 8 years. Tier two properties are inspected every 5 years and tier 3 properties, which include high rises, are inspected every 3 years. The Fire Inspection Services Department is assigned large buildings. Minneapolis' Title 12 Chapter 244 describes the rental-licensing program.

Urbana-Champaign, Illinois¹⁷

Both cities, Urbana and Champaign, are associated with the same campus. Their occupancy limits are the same. But, there are significant differences in their enforcement and licensing approaches, and a stark contrast in the results. The disparity is illustrative of the problem Austin faces today, and the need for a comprehensive licensing program.

In Urbana, occupancy limits began in 1982 through a grass roots effort of community organizing and advocacy. They were tightened in 2005 and the accountability of compliance shifted from tenants to landlords.¹⁸ Urbana has an occupancy limit established by zoning, and uses a limitation for 4 unrelated adults without regard to family definition per household. Landlords are required to file an affidavit stating how many people are occupying the property, certifying that the property is complying with the occupancy limit. There are fines assessed on the landlord for non-compliance after a first notice. The Community Development Services department enforces occupancy code.

Duplexes in Urbana are not allowed in the most restrictive zoning for single family, R1. They require a conditional use permit to be approved in R2 single family.

Champaign contains an area that is nearly 100% student occupied where virtually all remaining single family properties are zoned R7. The occupancy limit is the same as Urbana, 4 unrelated adults, but the enforcement is lax. Because of the significant upzoning, any violations would not be based on the zoning code, but the property maintenance code would be used. Even though Champaign has identical occupancy

¹⁶ Memorandum by JoAnn Velde "Important Notice on Occupancy Limits" July 2011
<http://www.minneapolismn.gov/www/groups/public/@regservices/documents/webcontent/wcms1p-100873.pdf>

¹⁷ Interview of Esther Patt, Executive Director of the Champaign-Urbana Tenants Union

¹⁸ Urbana seeks to crack down on residential over-occupancy 01/06/2005 <http://www.news-gazette.com/news/local/2005-01-06/urbana-seeks-crack-down-residential-over-occupancy.html>

limits, there is no rental licensing program, and no proactive enforcement. Safety code violations are reactive, and only furnace inspections take place if they can be accessed in common areas of buildings due to resistance by landlords.

In Urbana, the Community Development Services Department also runs the city's rental licensing program. It is systematic and covers all residential property. Single family homes were added in 2007 because a number of houses were purchased by parents for their children to live in while attending college. Those parents became absentee landlords after their children graduated. Of the approximately 9,000 units in Urbana, it takes 2 inspectors to cycle through each property once in every 3-4 years. Properties are prioritized through a three tier points system. Both rental licensing and occupancy are regulated in Chapter 12.5 of the Urbana City Code, sections 39-40.¹⁹

Champaign lacks a rental licensing program and code inspections are only done upon tenant complaint.

The situation Champaign faces is very analogous to the current conditions in some areas of Central Austin. There, diversity in tenure has been permanently lost. The effectiveness of Urbana shows that a robust licensing program and proactive enforcement is key to preventing the community deterioration that Champaign has experienced.²⁰

San Marcos, Texas

Since 1974, San Marcos has restricted occupancy limits to two unrelated adults in single family homes in same-designated zonings; however, enforcement of the code did not begin until 2005. The city engages in a proactive education campaign to inform tenants, landlords and owners of the obligations under the code. Enforcement activities are both proactive and respond to complaints. These include checking that car license plate numbers registered to unique individuals at a residence over a 21-day period do not exceed the occupancy limit. Conditional citations are issued, and if a second violation occurs, a violation citation will be issued to the owner or landlord. In that case, the landlord may be charged with a \$1000 per day per violation, with rights of appeal in Municipal Court. 700 conditional citations have been issued for occupancy since 2005, and only 10 violation citations have been needed. Section 4.3.4.5 of municipal code deals with occupancy restrictions. The office of Fire Marshal enforces all code compliance issues.²¹

San Marcos does not allow duplexes or multi family structures in single family zoning.

¹⁹ Excerpts from the City of Urbana Maintenance code: <http://urbanaininois.us/residents/housing-and-property-maintenance/owner/landlord-responsibilities>

²⁰ Regulatory Models - Tenant Union, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign
<http://www.tenantunion.uiuc.edu/zoning.html>

²¹ Phone interview with Will Schwall conducted by M. Sanger, June, 2013

The city does not have a rental registration program, but it tracks information on each rental, including the names of owners and management companies. In 2008, City Council considered such a program, but they withdrew the proposal due to concerns expressed by property owners and landlords.²²

San Marcos Neighborhood Commission

In 2010, San Marcos established a Neighborhood Commission with 9 community representatives, one member of Texas State Student Government, and a representative from the Office of Student Affairs. Listed as one of the body's roles is to, "Foster better university/city relations in an effort to promote understanding between students of the Texas State University and non-student residents of the community." While it is beyond the scope of this study, Austin would be well served to look into this model of community bridge building. Many of the town and gown challenges are the same that every college community faces around the country.²³

Boulder, Colorado

Like Austin, Boulder has sensitive residential uses in close proximity to their campus. Occupancy limits²⁴ were developed in response to that proximity. Duplexes are specifically prohibited in low density zoning for single family uses and are only allowed in higher density zoning districts. Zoning controls occupancy by allowing up to one family plus 3 unrelated adults in low density residential zoning. For high density residential and mixed use, up to 4 unrelated persons are allowed. For each unit of duplexes, and regular apartments, the limit is 2 related persons plus any unrelated people. The Zoning Administration Division of the Department of Community Planning and Sustainability enforces occupancy violations.

The definition of family is separate and distinct in the code.²⁵ A family is defined as one head of household, plus blood relationships. Boulder recently addressed families with same-sex members.

Boulder also has a rental licensing program that calls for every unit to be inspected once every 3 years. A rental licenses inspector in the Zoning Administration Division conducts the inspections.

Lubbock, Texas²⁶

Duplexes are allowed in R2 zoning designation, and single family homes in both R1 and R2 districts. Lubbock has occupancy limits that are uniform for both single family and duplex uses. A family is defined by a group of people who are blood relatives, plus 1 unrelated adult. Duplexes allow one family per side. Zoning controls occupancy, but

²² Council puts rental licensing, inspection proposal on hold, San Marcos Mercury News <http://smmercury.com/2008/02/08/council-puts-registration-inspections-idea-on-hold/>

²³ San Marcos Neighborhood Commission <http://www.ci.san-marcos.tx.us/index.aspx?page=977>

²⁴ Occupancy controlled in Boulder City Code Chapter 985

²⁵ Family definition in Boulder City Code Chapter 916

²⁶ Interview with Nathan Webb, Planning Department, City of Lubbock, TX

there are single family uses in less restrictive multifamily and commercial zonings that still must comply with occupancy rules. The Code Enforcement Department enforces occupancy rules.

This ordinance was challenged and upheld by the U.S. Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals by a plaintiff who claimed the measure prevented group homes for disabled residents.

Lubbock has no rental licensing or registration program, but it has a registration program for non-conforming grandfathered 2 family detached uses.²⁷ Owner-occupants can apply for a waiver to that requirement.

Lubbock has not addressed the issue of domestic partners or same sex couples in their family definition.

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²⁷ The City of Austin's Single Family Task Force made a similar proposal. In the 2007 publication titled "Report Regarding Occupancy Issues in Single-Family Zoned Areas". They recommended creating a grandfathering plan for the 6 unrelated adults on sites that included registration.

Appendix A: Occupancy Limits in Other Municipalities

City, State	College or University	Occupancy Limit for Unrelated Persons ³⁰	Rental Licensing Program	Source ^{31,32,33}
Auburn, AL	Auburn University	2	unregulated	College and Town Life
Troy, AL	Troy University	3		CACDC- College and Town Life
Tuscaloosa, AL	University of Alabama	2, 5 in a university district	yes ³⁴	College and Town Life
Anchorage, AK	University of Alaska Anchorage	3		College and Town Life
Tempe, AZ	Arizona State University	3	rental housing code (registration required)	College and Town Life
Little Rock, AR	University of Arkansas at Little Rock	4	rental property inspection program	College and Town Life
San Francisco, CA	San Francisco State University	10	rent control ordinance	College and Town Life
San Jose, CA	San Jose State University	sq. footage ³⁵	must register as a business owner ³⁶	College and Town Life
Santa Barbara, CA	University of California - Santa Barbara	no	unregulated	College and Town Life
Boulder, CO	University of Colorado at Boulder	3 for single family 2 per duplex unit 4 for multifamily	yes	CACDC
Fort Collins, CO	Colorado State University	3	unregulated	College and Town Life
Greeley, CO	University of Northern Colorado	2	unregulated	College and Town Life

³⁰ Unless otherwise noted, the occupancy limit for unrelated persons does not distinguish between single family units and duplex units.

³¹ College and Town Life was an organization founded by Robert Karrow. The group maintained a website collegeandtownlife.com, now inactive. Data was captured from October 2008.

³² CACDC – Central Austin Community Development Corporation, August 2013

³³ “Stillwater not only Big 12 community to consider zoning limits on unrelated occupants”, Stillwater News Press, www.stwnewspress.com, Ricky O'Bannon, July 2, 2011

³⁴ Implemented (6 Apr 2005) a second amendment would change occupancy regulations to allow up to five unrelated people to live together in a University district.

³⁵ Sole occupancy limit is California's housing code, which uses a square footage formula rather than the number of rooms.

³⁶ Requires a Housing Occupancy Permit for tri-plex and larger structures, has a routine and complaint response inspection and has a rent control program for those built before September 7, 1979.

City, State	College or University	Occupancy Limit for Unrelated Persons ³⁰	Rental Licensing Program	Source ^{31,32,33}
Newark, DE	University of Delaware	3, in some zones 4	yes ³⁷	CACDC- College and Town Life
Deland, FL	Stetson University	2 ³⁸		College and Town Life
Gainesville, FL	University of Florida	3	landlord permit ordinance (registration required)	College and Town Life
Tallahassee, FL	Florida State University	3	rooming house ordinance	College and Town Life
Athens, GA	University of Georgia	2	rental registration policy ruled unconstitutional by Clarke County Superior Court (Feb 2004)	College and Town Life
Atlanta, GA	Emory University	3	unregulated	College and Town Life
Kennesaw, GA	Kennesaw State University	2 ³⁹		College and Town Life
Milledgeville, GA	Georgia College & State University	3 ⁴⁰		College and Town Life
Statesboro, GA	Georgia Southern University	3	unregulated	College and Town Life
Honolulu, HI	University of Hawaii at Manoa	5	unregulated	College and Town Life
Moscow, ID	University of Idaho	6	unregulated	College and Town Life
Champaign, IL	University of Illinois at Urbana- Champaign	4	unregulated	CACDC
Evanston, IL	Northwestern University	3	unregulated ⁴¹	CACDC- College and Town Life
Normal, IL	Illinois State University	2	international property maintenance code (housing inspection and licensing)	College and Town Life

³⁷ The City of Newark requires all properties that are not owner-occupied but are leased to a tenant to acquire a yearly rental permit. It also requires all owner-occupied properties that let rooms out to more than two people, unrelated to the owner, to purchase the same type of rental permit.

³⁸ Court ruling that upholds the city's right to prohibit more than two unrelated people from occupying a single-family house - 31 Mar 2005

³⁹ Cobb County Ordinance passed 8 May 2008

⁴⁰ Ordinance passed 15 Nov 2006

⁴¹ "Rental Licensing Proposal Meets Fierce Opposition From Landlords" Evanston Patch, evanston.patch.com, Jennifer Fisher, October 10, 2012

City, State	College or University	Occupancy Limit for Unrelated Persons ³⁰	Rental Licensing Program	Source ³¹³²³³
Urbana, IL	University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign	4 for single family 4 for duplex unit 4 for multifamily unit	yes ⁴²	CACDC
Bloomington, IN	Indiana University-Bloomington	3	rental registration	College and Town Life
West Lafayette, IN	Purdue University	3	rental housing inspection program	College and Town Life
Ames, IA	Iowa State University	3 ⁴³	yes	CACDC-College and Town Life
Cedar Falls, IA	University of Northern Iowa	4	minimum rental housing code	College and Town Life
Des Moines, IA	Drake University	2 ⁴⁴		College and Town Life
Iowa City, IA	University of Iowa	3	rental housing inspection	College and Town Life
Lawrence, KS	University of Kansas	3 in single family	yes	CACDC
Manhattan, KS	Kansas State University	4 in single family, duplex, and multifamily	yes	CACDC
Louisville, KY	University of Louisville	5	unregulated	College and Town Life
Orono, ME	University of Maine	5	unregulated (under discussion)	College and Town Life
Portland, ME	University of Southern Maine	16	unregulated	College and Town Life
Baltimore, MD	Johns Hopkins University	2 in a single-family house 4 elsewhere ⁴⁵	yes ⁴⁶	CACDC-College and Town Life
Salisbury, MD	Salisbury University	from 4 to 2 - 2002 from 2 to 3 - 2005 ⁴⁷	yes	CACDC-College and Town Life

⁴² Landlords are required to file an affidavit stating how many people are occupying the property, certifying that the property is complying with the occupancy limit.

⁴³ Family plus 2 unrelated adults in low density residential zoning, elsewhere family plus 3 unrelated adults max 5, one more person than the number of bedrooms, up to five people, provided there is one parking space per bedroom for units with two bedrooms.

⁴⁴ In Council - Feb 2008 the ordinance allows any number of people related by "blood, marriage, adoption, guardianship or custodial relationship" within two degrees. It limits the number of unrelated persons allowed to live in a single-family residence to five people, provided adequate parking is available.

⁴⁵ In Baltimore County, no more than 2 unrelated people may live together in a single-family dwelling. Houses converted into apartment units are included. In that case, only two per apartment are allowed. In Baltimore City, the codes are more complex, but in basic, no more than 4 unrelated people may live together in a single-family dwelling.

⁴⁶ All buildings or a portion of a building that contain one to six dwelling units intended or designated as rental units must register and be licensed with Baltimore County.

City, State	College or University	Occupancy Limit for Unrelated Persons ³⁰	Rental Licensing Program	Source ³¹³²³³
Amherst, MA	University of Massachusetts-Amherst	4	unregulated	College and Town Life
Boston, MA	Boston University, Boston College, and others	4 students per any housing unit, single family, duplex, or multifamily	licensing and annual inspections	CACDC
Ann Arbor, MI	University of Michigan - Ann Arbor	4	housing inspection (pdf) (applies to rental and owner-occupied dwellings)	College and Town Life
East Lansing, MI	Michigan State University	2	rental housing license program	College and Town Life
Mt. Pleasant, MI	Central Michigan University	2	rental housing license program	College and Town Life
Mankato, MN	University of Minnesota - Mankato	2	yes	CACDC-College and Town Life
Minneapolis, MN	University of Minnesota Twin Cities	2 for single family, duplex zoning, or 3-unit zoning. 4 for higher density zoning.	yes	CACDC
Winona, MN	Winona State University	3 (reduced from 5) ⁴⁸	yes	CACDC-College and Town Life
Hattiesburg, MS	University of Southern Mississippi	city considering 2 fall 2006 ⁴⁹		College and Town Life
Oxford, MS	University of Mississippi	5 ⁵⁰	unregulated	College and Town Life
Columbia, MO	University of Missouri-Columbia	3 in single family	yes	CACDC
St. Louis, MO	University of Missouri - St. Louis	3	unregulated	College and Town Life
Bozeman, MT	University of Montana	4	unregulated	CACDC-College and Town Life

⁴⁷ What Does 4-3 Mean For Salisbury Residents? Three years after lowering the number of unrelated people allowed to live in a housing unit from 4 to 2, this college town is bumping the occupancy limit up from 2 to 3 WMDT - 6 Oct 2005 <http://www.wmdt.com/topstory/displaystory.asp?id=775>

⁴⁸ No more than 30 percent rental properties allowed on any city block (Dec 2005)

⁴⁹ Cities struggle with rental regulations American - 15 Sep 2006 HATTIESBURG, MS - Probably the most controversial ordinance deals with rental housing and would make it illegal for property owners to rent a home in a single-family residential area to two or more renters who are not related by blood, marriage or living as a couple.

⁵⁰ Considering limits of 3 unrelated tenants will be set on houses in areas zoned RA and a limit of 4 unrelated tenants for houses zoned RB, such as duplexes (1 Sep 2004)

City, State	College or University	Occupancy Limit for Unrelated Persons ³⁰	Rental Licensing Program	Source ³¹³²³³
Lincoln, NE	University of Nebraska	3		CACDC
Las Vegas, NV	University of Nevada - Las Vegas	4	unregulated	College and Town Life
Albuquerque, NM	University of New Mexico - Main Campus	5	unregulated	College and Town Life
Binghamton, NY	State University of New York at Binghamton	2 ⁵¹		College and Town Life
Brockport, NY	State University of New York at Brockport	3 (if property built after 1993)	inspection every three years	College and Town Life
Geneseo, NY	State University College at Geneseo	4	requires an inspection every three years for rental properties. system for registering landlords (27 Feb 2005)	College and Town Life
New Rochelle, NY	College of New Rochelle Monroe College Iona College	3		College and Town Life
Oneonta, NY	State University of New York at Oneonta	3	No	CACDC- College and Town Life
Syracuse, NY	Syracuse University	5 ⁵²	unregulated	College and Town Life
Chapel Hill, NC	University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill	4	rental licensing program	College and Town Life
Durham, NC	Duke University	3	yes ⁵³	CACDC- College and Town Life
Greensboro, NC	University of North Carolina at Greensboro	4	no response	College and Town Life
Greenville, NC	East Carolina University	3 ⁵⁴		College and Town Life

⁵¹ R-1 and R-2 areas either a single family or the functional and factual equivalent of a family
<http://www.westsidebinghamton.org/family2.html>

⁵² Proposed by the Southeast University Neighborhood Association to reduce the number of unrelated adults permitted in a rental unit from five people to three - A Full House Over Housing University-area issues draw crowd to City Hall Post-St

⁵³ Proactive Rental Inspection Program (PRIP) inspection required. All property owners with a rental property that has three or more Minimum Housing Code violations in the prior year will be required to register their rental property with the Department of Neighborhood Improvement Services

City, State	College or University	Occupancy Limit for Unrelated Persons ³⁰	Rental Licensing Program	Source ³¹³²³³
Raleigh, NC	North Carolina State University	4	unregulated	College and Town Life
Grand Forks, ND	University of North Dakota	4	unregulated	College and Town Life
Athens, OH	Ohio University	3 renters per house in R-1 zoning	yes	CACDC- College and Town Life
Bowling Green, OH	Bowling Green State University	3		CACDC
Kent, OH	Kent State University	2	limit of 2 unrelated unless dwelling is licensed as a boarding house	College and Town Life
Oxford, OH	Miami University	4	rental licensing program	College and Town Life
Toledo, OH	University of Toledo	3		College and Town Life
Edmond, OK	University of Central Oklahoma	5	unregulated	College and Town Life
Norman, OK	University of Oklahoma	3 for single family, 4 for duplexes and multifamily with conditional permitting		CACDC
Oklahoma City, OK	Oklahoma City Community College	5	unregulated	College and Town Life
Stillwater, OK	Oklahoma State	3		CACDC
Corvallis, OR	Oregon State University	5	rental housing program	College and Town Life
Eugene, OR	University of Oregon	5	unregulated	College and Town Life
Portland, OR	Portland State University	6	unregulated	College and Town Life
Anncville, PA	Lebanon Valley College	5 ⁵⁵	yes	CACDC- College and Town Life
Kutztown, PA	Kutztown University	2 ⁵⁶	yes, tenant roster maintained	CACDC- College and Town Life

⁵⁴ GREENVILLE, NC - The city of Greenville has filed lawsuits against the owners of seven rental properties as part of stepped-up enforcement of a zoning ordinance limiting occupancy to no more than three unrelated people.

⁵⁵ currently proposed rules would lower the number of unrelated people who can live in a house from five to three, require rental licensing and inspections, and impose penalties for tenants' disruptive conduct (2 Mar 2007)

City, State	College or University	Occupancy Limit for Unrelated Persons ³⁰	Rental Licensing Program	Source ³¹³²³³
Lower Merion, PA	Bryn Mawr College	3	yes	CACDC- College and Town Life
Philadelphia, PA	Temple University	3	rental licensing program	College and Town Life
Reading, PA	Albright College	3 ⁵⁷		College and Town Life
Selinsgrove, PA	Susquehanna University	3		College and Town Life
State College, PA	Pennsylvania State University	3	yes ⁵⁸	CACDC
West Chester, PA	West Chester University of Pennsylvania	4 ⁵⁹		College and Town Life
York, PA	York University	2		College and Town Life
Columbia, SC	University of South Carolina	3		College and Town Life
Brookings, SD	South Dakota State University	3	rental housing inspections & licensing	College and Town Life
Sioux Falls, SD	University of South Dakota, others	3	yes	CACDC- College and Town Life
Nashville, TN	Vanderbilt University, others	3	unregulated	College and Town Life
Austin, TX	University of Texas at Austin	6	unregulated	CACDC
Bryan, TX	Texas A&M University	2, but in opt-in neighborhoods	yes	Stillwater News Press
College Station, TX	Texas A&M University	4	yes	Stillwater News Press
Lubbock, TX	Texas Tech University	2	no	CACDC
San Marcos, TX	Texas State University - San Marcos	2 - family plus 1 unrelated adult	no ⁶⁰	CACDC

⁵⁶ 500 linear feet separation required between student homes § 225-25.1. Student home. [Added 5-9-1995 by Ord. No. 5-1995])

⁵⁷ off-campus student houses to be no closer than 800 feet from each other

⁵⁸ 1968 law provides for inspection program. Amended to require local "person in charge" live within 25 miles of property.

⁵⁹ considering change to 2 (17 Sep 2004)

⁶⁰ August 2013 – San Marcos is discussing creation of a rental registration program.

City, State	College or University	Occupancy Limit for Unrelated Persons ³⁰	Rental Licensing Program	Source ³¹³²³³
Waco, TX	Baylor	4	yes	Stillwater News Press
Logan, UT	Utah State University	3	unregulated	College and Town Life
Provo, UT	Brigham Young University	2 to 3	rental dwelling business licensing	College and Town Life
Salt Lake City, UT	University of Utah	3	rental licensing program for 3 or more units only	College and Town Life
Burlington, VT	University of Vermont	4	rental inspection program	College and Town Life
Blacksburg, VA	Virginia Tech	3	rental permit program	College and Town Life
Charlottesville, VA	University of Virginia	4 ⁶¹		College and Town Life
Fairfax, VA	George Mason University	4	rental occupancy program	College and Town Life
Williamsburg, VA	William and Mary University	3	yes ⁶²	CACDC- College and Town Life
Bellingham, WA	Western Washington University	3	unregulated	College and Town Life
Seattle, WA	University of Washington	8	ordinance repeal 1996	College and Town Life
Eau Claire, WI	University of Wisconsin-Eau Claire	3-4, depending on the zoning district 5 if the property has a rooming house license	housing maintenance code applies to all residential properties	College and Town Life
Madison, WI	University of Wisconsin - Madison	2	housing code applies to all buildings	College and Town Life
Milwaukee, WI	University of Wisconsin - Milwaukee	4	yes ⁶³	CACDC- College and Town Life

⁶¹ Limits the number of unrelated adults living together from four to three in some near-UVA single-family neighborhoods like JPA, Venable, and Lewis Mountain. (19 Mar 2003)

⁶² All properties registered and inspected in 4 districts, once every 4 years.

⁶³ Inspection required in 2 districts.

Appendix B: Resources

Austin, TX

Austin Tenant's Council [Tips for Renters](#)

["City of Austin Families and Children Task Force Final Report"](#), City of Austin Families and Children Task Force, June 24, 2008

["Report Regarding Occupancy Issues in Single-Family Zoned Areas"](#), City of Austin Single Family Regulations Task Force, January 31, 2007

["Central Austin Demolitions and Relocations for the Period 2003-2013"](#), Central Austin Community Development Corporation, June 2013

["Addressing Problem Properties: Legal and Policy Tools for a Safer Rundberg and Safer Austin"](#) The University of Texas School of Law Entrepreneurship and Community Development Clinic, August 2013

["The Facts about Rental Property Registration"](#), The University of Texas School of Law Entrepreneurship and Community Development Clinic, July 2013

["An Analysis of Rental Property Registration in Austin"](#) The University of Texas School of Law Entrepreneurship and Community Development Clinic, July 2013

Urbana, IL

["What Other College Communities Have Done Examples of Regulatory Actions to Preserve the Single-Family, Residential Character of a Campus Neighborhood"](#) West Urbana Neighborhood Association 2005, with excerpts from *Zoning News*, May 2002 American Planning Association

Minneapolis, MN

["Important Notice on Occupancy Limits"](#) Memorandum to Landlords by JoAnn Velde, Housing Manager, Minneapolis Department of Housing Inspection Services, July 2011

Saint Paul, MN

["Student Housing Zoning Study: Report and Recommendations"](#) Saint Paul Planning Commission, May 2012

New York State

Guidelines to Drafting a Definition of Family: New York General Counsel Guidance ["Legal Memorandum LU05"](#) "Any successful zoning scheme which purports to create and attain a single-family zoning district must contain a definition of family. "

State College, PA

["Regulation and Oversight of Rentals of Single Family Homes and Duplexes In the Borough of State College: A Neighborhood Perspective"](#) 2012

Other Resources

"[Keeping The 'Town' In College Town](#)" Bob Karrow, April 24, 2002
Town and Gown World <http://www.towngownworld.com/>

[International Town Gown Association](#) itgau.org

U.S. Census 2011 [American Community Survey](#)

[City of Austin AMANDA](#) Case Review and Permitting System

Neighborhood Plans and Major Components

[Central Austin Neighborhood Plan \(CACNP\) - Ordinance 040826-56](#)

University Neighborhood Overlay (UNO) [Ordinance 20040902-058 creating UNO](#)

[North University zoning Ordinance 040826-58](#) creating the North University
Neighborhood Conservation Combining District (NCCD)

Hyde Park Neighborhood Plan [on city website](#) and source [Ordinance 000413-63](#)

[Hyde Park Neighborhood Conservation Combining District \(NCCD\) Ordinance 20020131-20](#)

[Hyde Park North Neighborhood Conservation Combining District \(NCCD\) Ordinance 20050818-064](#)

[Hyde Park Local Historic District Ordinance 20101216-093, case C14H-2010-0019](#)

[North Loop Neighborhood Plan narrative](#) and source [Ordinance 020523-30](#)
