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PRACTICE SHORT-TERM RENTALS



Peering into the Peer Economy: Short-Term Rental Regulation

By Dwight H. Merriam, FAICP

You will recall, or if you are a millennial (18 to 34 years old), you might have read about the mantra that James Carville dreamed up for President Bill Clinton’s 1992 campaign: “It’s the economy, stupid.”

Today, for planners, thanks to the entirely new perspective brought to us by the millennials, our theme must be “It’s the sharing economy, stupid.” It is called variously collaborative consumption, the peer economy, and the sharing economy. More than half of millennials have used sharing services. It is permeating our daily lives in many ways.

This new ethic about our relationship to things, to transportation, to where we bed down, and even to other people has taken us away from owning and exclusively using, to not owning, not possessing, and not using alone. We see the sharing economy in three broad spheres—transportation, goods and services, and housing. While our focus here is on short-term rentals, it helps to understand the larger context for “home sharing.”



Dwight H. Merriam

➞ This four-bedroom colonial home in Wetherfield, Connecticut, rents for \$385 per night, with a four-night minimum stay.

RIDE-SHARING REVOLUTION

Transportation may be the most obvious and most pervasive face of the sharing economy. Millennials own fewer automobiles than other age cohorts. Millennials purchased almost 30 percent fewer cars from 2007 to 2011 (Plache 2013). Why? Because they use short-term car rentals, public transportation, and ride-sharing services. They are less likely to get driver’s licenses. One-third of 16 to 24 year olds don’t have a driver’s license, the lowest percentage in over 50 years (Tefft et al. 2013). At the same time, so we don’t get too carried away with this trend, as the millennials age, they will buy more cars. Forty-three percent said they are likely to buy a car in the next five years (Kadlec 2015).

Ride sharing as a generic term encompasses short-term rentals, making your car available to others, sharing rides, and driving or riding in taxi-like services brokered online through companies like Uber.

Instead of owning a car, you can rent one on a short-term basis from companies such as Zipcar and Enterprise Rent-A-Car. Why own a car when you can conveniently pick one up curbside and use it to run errands for a few hours?

Sharing a ride and splitting the cost is made easier with services like Zimride (also by Enterprise Rent-A-Car), which links drivers with riders at universities and businesses. You boomers will remember the ride-share bulletin boards on campus. Same thing.

Got a car, not making much use of it, and interested in making some money? You can make it available to others on a short-term basis through peer-to-peer car-sharing services including Getaround, which presently operates in Portland, Oregon; San Francisco; San Diego; Austin, Texas; and Chicago. They will rent your car for you while you are away. Cars are covered with a \$1 million policy, and they even clean it for you. RelayRides connects neighbors to let them rent cars by the hour or the day, and if you’re traveling more than 14 days, they will take your car at the airport, rent it for you, and pay you. You can even do it for boats with Boatbound. With the help of Spinlister, you can connect with others and rent a bicycle, surfboard, or snowboard.

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Want to make some money by driving others around in your car, or are you a rider who wants to be driven? Just about everyone has heard of Uber, the leader in this form of ride sharing, which includes other services such as Lyft and now Shuddle for ferrying children around and Sidecar for both people and packages. Wireless communications, the Internet, and smartphones have made such ride-sharing and delivery services possible. This is a big deal. Lyft and Uber are worth \$2.5 billion and \$50 billion (more than FedEx and 405 companies in the S&P 500) respectively (Dugan 2015; Tam and de la Merced 2015). And want to be a driver but don't have a car? You can rent one from Breeze just for that purpose.

GOODS AND SERVICES PEER TO PEER

Beyond transportation, the sharing economy extends to relationships between people and service providers. There is peer-to-peer or collaborative consumption through services like TaskRabbit and Skillshare which provide help, paid or bartered, or sometimes free. Instacart will grocery shop for you and claims it will deliver to your door in an hour. You can be a shopper and delivery person for them, making up to \$25 an hour.

NeighborGoods lets you share all those things you have but use so little, from leaf blowers, to pressure washers, to . . . well, take a look in your garage, that place where you used to park your car. If you live in Austin, Texas; Denver; Kansas City, Missouri; Minneapolis; or San Francisco, Zaarly seeks to create a marketplace

to help freelance home-service workers connect with home owners.

There seems no end to the sharing. Fon, touting over 7 million members, lets you share your home WiFi in exchange for access. The Lending Club connects borrowers and investors, enabling, so they say, better rates than credit cards and more return for lenders than what banks offer. Over \$11 billion has been borrowed since it started in July 2007, with investors earning a median of 8.1 percent. Poshmark lets you show your unneeded clothing in a virtual closet and get linked with people who share your sense of style. You can even share your dog, or become a sitter, with DogVacay and Rover helping you find a local dog sitter to care for your dog at your home or theirs.

The power of the Internet in facilitating collaborative consumption was probably best evidenced first when eBay and Craigslist provided an online marketplace never experienced before. Today, we have web-based services like Freecycle where people can post things they don't want, the remnants of our overconsumption, and others can take that flotsam and jetsam for free. Yes, for free. It solves the donor's solid waste disposal problem and provides free goods for the takers.

SHARING THE ROOF OVER OUR HEADS

That brings us to the subject matter of greatest interest to planners—the sharing of space.

Maybe it began with the sale of timeshares in the United States in 1974. These fractional interests have proved difficult to sell. Short-term vacation rentals emerged as a better way for many, linking property owners with vacationers through companies like HomeAway and its numerous related entities, claiming over one million listings. FlipKey does much the same with what it says are over 300,000 listings in 179 countries.

But Airbnb goes beyond vacation rentals. You can rent a shared or private room for a night, a whole house, an apartment for your exclusive use for a week, a British castle (Airbnb says it has 1,400-plus castles), a teepee, an igloo, a caboose, or an eight-foot by 14-foot treehouse in Illinois (\$195 a night) if you wish.

The company, originally "AirBed & Breakfast," was founded in 2008 by Brian Chesky, Joe Gebbia, and later Nathan Blecharczyk. It began when Chesky and Gebbia, to help pay their rent, rented sleeping accommodations on three air mattresses in their San Francisco apartment living room and made breakfast for the guests (Salter 2012). The company is now worth \$25.5 billion and joins the ranks of the rest of the great ideas we wish we had thought of first (O'Brien 2015).

GOOD OR BAD?

Are short-term rentals good or bad for your community? Like so many things, it depends.



Brian J. Connolly

➞ A second-floor condominium in this converted mansion in Denver's Capitol Hill neighborhood offers a private bedroom and bath rental for \$105 per night, with a two-night minimum stay.



Sorrell E. Negro

➞ This three-bedroom home near Miami's Coconut Grove rents for \$325 per night, with a five-night minimum stay.

Affordable Housing

Short-term rentals (STRs) increase the stock of furnished, short-term accommodations. Because many of the rentals involve renting a room in a permanently occupied dwelling, they are often less expensive than commercial lodging. The benefit for home owners or long-term tenants who host STR guests is additional income, which can help offset mortgage or rent payments.

Some contend that STRs may exacerbate the shortage of lower cost rentals because landlords, attracted by the higher revenue stream from STRs, are taking apartments out of long-term rentals, especially in tight markets like New York and San Francisco (Monroe 2014; Moskowitz 2015). Others say high tenant demand and demographics are the cause of the problem, not STRs, which are a small share of the market (Lewyn 2015; Rosen 2013).

Aging in Place

Short-term rentals of rooms in homes and apartments not only provide additional revenue for those aging in place, but they may provide an opportunity for sharing of chores and bartering for services, just as accessory apartments do. This can enable older people to stay in their homes longer before transitioning to an independent or assisted living facility.

Commercial Lodging

The only possible benefit of STRs with regard to existing commercial lodging is that it may stimulate competition and lower prices for the consumer. The negatives are several. Short-



Robert H. Thomas

➞ This condo hotel in downtown Honolulu includes owner- and long-term renter-occupied units, privately owned units available for daily rental through the building's hotel operator, units owned by the hotel operators, and privately owned units available for short-term rental through Airbnb and similar sites.

term rentals may reduce commercial lodging revenues. In many situations STRs have an advantage over commercial lodging because the STRs do not pay the occupancy taxes paid by commercial lodging. Short-term rentals generally do not need the service workers employed in commercial lodging. Unions and service workers often oppose STRs.

State and Local Government

Revenues to state and local government may go down as a result of STRs because, as noted, such rentals usually do not pay the occupancy and other taxes levied on commercial lodging. Airbnb does provide 1099 forms to hosts to report their income, and it has begun collecting and remitting hotel and tourist taxes in San Francisco; San Jose, California; Chicago; and Washington, D.C. (Hantman 2015).

Health and Safety

Much of the STR market today is unregulated. Those who rent typically do not have their premises inspected to determine compliance with health, building, housing, and safety codes. For its part, Airbnb does clearly state in its terms of service that some localities have zoning or administrative laws that prohibit or restrict STRs and that "hosts should review local laws before listing a space on Airbnb."

Airbnb also provides a guide to responsible hosting on its website, and what they do address is good guidance for local planners and regulators, and thus worth reading. How many hosts read and follow up on the suggestions is another matter. Airbnb's list is still a good starting point for local action.

Many STR hosts do not have home owners and liability insurance to cover losses that may result from occupancy. There is a life safety issue here, and in the event of death, injury, or property damage, there may not be insurance coverage or sufficient assets available to cover the liability.

AN OUNCE OF PREVENTION IS WORTH A POUND OF CURE

So said Benjamin Franklin, and it is apt here. You need only take a few relatively easy steps to get out ahead of the potential problems with STRs and capitalize on the good that such rentals can provide your community.

Moratorium

This is not a recommendation, but something worth considering. As you work down this list of

steps you will have the sense that you need to do six things at once. You do. One way to get a grip on it is take a “planning pause” moratorium on all STRs for, say, six months, during which time no one can rent. However, given that the number of such rentals in many places is still relatively small, it is unlikely that much harm will come from letting them continue on while you plan and prepare to regulate. It may not be worth the effort to have a moratorium. A moratorium takes time—for drafting, maybe some legal advice, and the expenditure of political capital in most cases—and may cause some pushback from those already renting, all of which may cost more than the planning pause is worth. Moratoria sometimes serve only to delay the inevitable hard work and are often extended. Back to Ben Franklin: “Don’t put off until tomorrow what you can do today.”

Education

Learn what is available out there now by going to all of the websites and services that you can find, most of which are identified here. Look online to see what STRs are being offered in your community. You may be surprised at how many of your friends and neighbors are already in the STR business. Don’t forget to check Craigslist as well, and use an online search engine, such as Google, with a few key terms, like “rentals Anytown” and “house-sharing Anytown,” to find other STR activity.

Conduct educational sessions in your community (“Everything You Need To Know About Short-Term Rentals”) even before trying to regulate, to sensitize present and potential hosts to the need for proper code compliance, fire prevention, emergency response, following rules for rent controlled units, first aid, protecting privacy (e.g., disclosing security cameras), insurance coverage, parking, noise, smoking, pets, childproofing, operation of heating and ventilating systems (including fireplaces and heating stoves), safe access, occupancy limits, deciding what to tell neighbors, home owners association approval, tax obligations, and any required zoning approvals. These sessions may also provide an opportunity to learn who is renting and to connect with them. Consider establishing a section of your municipal website as a resource portal. You will not have all the answers to all the questions as you start, but you need to start.

Planning

Yes, planning. The rational planning model in its simplest terms is what do you have, what do

you want, and how do you get it. You need to know who is renting and what is being rented to whom for how long. You need to determine what you may expect in the future. What do you think the demand is for STRs, in what mix of accommodations, and for what length of tenancy? This will prove useful to deciding whether you need to limit the number of units available for STR and to regulate the length of occupancy.

Regulate

Regulation probably will come in two forms: licensing of individual hosts to insure code compliance and general regulation (either through zoning or licensing standards) as to location, number of units, and terms of tenancy. You will have to draw the line somewhere as to what is an STR and what is simply an unregulated rental.

Conduct educational sessions in your community even before trying to regulate, to sensitize present and potential hosts to the need for proper code compliance.

Is an STR a rental of less than 30 days or 90 days, or some other somewhat arbitrary number of days, and everything else is just an unregulated rental? It is for you to decide. You will also want to consider whether owner-occupied STRs might be regulated less strictly, given that the owner is present during the STR.

Austin, Texas, has a robust program with licensing. They carve out three types of STRs: owner-occupied single-family, multifamily, or duplex units (Type 1); single-family or duplex units that are not owner occupied (Type 2); and multifamily units that are not owner occupied (Type 3). There is a three percent limit by census tract on the Type 2 single-family and duplex STRs, a three percent limit per property on Type 3 STRs in any noncommercial zoning district, and a 25 percent limit per property on Type 3 STRs in any commercial zoning district. However, each multifamily property is allowed at least one Type 3 STR, regardless of these limits.

Austin has separate application forms for Type 1 primary, secondary, and partial STRs. All of these forms include owner and property identification information as well as insurance information, number of sleeping rooms, occupancy limit, and average charge per structure. To qualify as a Type 1 primary STR, the unit must be owner occupied at least 51 percent of the time and can only be rented out in its entirety and for periods of 30 days or less. To qualify as a Type 2 secondary STR, the unit must be accessory to an owner-occupied principal residence and can only be rented out in its entirety and for periods of 30 days or less. To qualify as a Type 1 partial unit, namely a room rental, the unit must provide exclusive use of a sleeping room and shared bathroom access. Only one partial unit can be rented out at a time, to a single party of individuals, and for periods of 30 days or less. Owners must be present for the duration of the rental.

The annual licensing fee for STRs in Austin is \$235. Applicants must also pay a one-time notification fee of \$50.

Of course, as with all regulation there are those with schemes to beat the regulation. There are sites online that advise potential STR hosts to avoid posting on Craigslist, use Airbnb’s community and social features to screen the reservations (presumably to avoid enforcement types), “hide your home” by using Airbnb’s public view that only shows a large circle within which the unit is located, use word of mouth (or social networking sites) to rent the unit, and “get lost in the crowd” in that there are thousands of listings in large places like Austin (but not in the rural counties, suburbs, and small towns). This advice to those interested in breaking the law suggests that it will not always be easy for code enforcement to find the STRs. Perhaps some notice to all property owners, maybe a note with the tax bill, telling them of the need to register would help. Free, simple, online registration might increase compliance. The critical issue is life safety—you need to find all of these STRs to make sure they are safe.

San Francisco has an Office of Short-Term Rental, and in 2014 the city adopted major revisions to its planning codes for STRs. Those amendments include some useful definitions of hosting platform, primary residence, residential unit, short-term residential rental, and tourist or transient use. The code requires registration, occupancy of the unit by the owner not less than 275 days a year, maintenance of records for two years, certain insurance coverage, payment of transient occupancy taxes, compliance with the

housing code, posting the registration number on the hosting platform's listing, and a clearly printed sign inside of the front door with the locations of all fire extinguishers in the unit and building, gas shut-off valves, fire exits, and pull fire alarms. The application fee and renewal fee every two years is \$50. The hosting platform has numerous responsibilities, and there are fines for violations. It is a good model from which to start.

Isle of Palms, South Carolina, regulates STRs through zoning, defining an STR to be three months or less. The city's STR standards limit the number of overnight occupants to six and daytime occupants to 40 (can we assume a wedding party or the like?), set a minimum floor area per occupant, and establish off-street parking requirements.

Monterey County, California, also regulates STRs in its zoning code, defining STRs as rentals between seven and 30 consecutive calendar days. The county considers stays of less than seven days to be a motel/hotel use. The regulation provided for administrative approval of all STRs in operation at the time of its adoption in 1997 if the property owners applied within 90 days. Most of the existing, legal STRs date from that initial round of approvals. Since then, there have been some discretionary approvals, and many STRs are believed to be operating without the required permits.

San Bernardino County, California, permits STRs, defined as rentals of less than 30 days, by zoning in the "Mountain Region" by special use permit exempting multifamily condominium units in fee simple and timeshares with a previous land-use approval. The development standards include code compliance, maximum occupancy based on floor area per occupant and the number of beds, off-street parking requirements, and signage specifications. Conditions of operations address the contents of the rental agreement, posting of the property within the unit with all the conditions of use, and details of fire safety and maintenance, even including a prohibition on the use of extension cords.

Miami Beach, Florida, prohibits STRs in all single-family homes and in many multifamily buildings in certain zoning districts.

Registering all these STRs can be burdensome. Since May 1, 2015, Nashville has issued 1,000 permits, and staff estimates the city still has 800 illegal hotels and motels (Bailey 2015). Wait times for all types permits went from 30 minutes to four hours because of all the STR registrations (Bailey 2015).

THE MAKINGS OF WORKABLE PROGRAM

Overarching issues to consider include the nature of the activity you aim to regulate, the management structure of the STR, and the limits on STR use.

What Is the Nature of the Activity You Will Regulate?

Presumably, hosting a STR is a private enterprise and almost certainly not a commercial lodging business. It is a type of lodging that is largely advertised online, through social media, and on bulletin boards. How will you draw the line between that modest, private activity and a commercial operation?

How Is It Managed?

Does the host have to be the owner, and does the host need to be there during the rental? If not, will you regulate differently in terms of numbers of units allowed, number of days per year, or terms of occupancy?



➞ This building in downtown Boston includes a two-bedroom loft apartment that rents for \$245 per night, with a seven-night minimum stay.

What Is the Limit of Use?

Will you require the host to live in the residence at least some minimum number of days per year? Will you limit rentals to some maximum number of days per year? Will you define STR as a rental of 30 consecutive days or less and not regulate longer rentals in any way? Will you regulate whole-house, exclusive-use rentals differently, for example by only regulating when the house is rented for less than a week or two weeks? And will you regulate renting of rooms on a different schedule, for example by including room rentals only if they are less than one month and otherwise not regulating longer room rentals, which may be covered by zoning anyway, possibly under the definition of a rooming house? There are so many questions to be answered and so many lines to be drawn.

A checklist of considerations for hosts and public officials for planning, regulation, and operation might include current zoning requirements; applicable codes (sanitation, health, building, occupancy among many); business licensing; business organization (none, limited liability corporation, general or limited liability partnership, Subchapter S, etc.); home owners association covenants and restrictions; other easements, covenants, restrictions on the land; lodging to be offered (room, whole house, host-occupied, length of stay); 911 marking at the street; emergency notifications; food service (permitted? licensed?); federal, state, and local taxes; safety inspections; fire, smoke, CO₂, and other detectors; fire extinguishers; child safety; parking; insurance; emergency notifications; water and septic; safe hot water temperature; electrical and plumbing in good repair; pest/vermin-free (especially bed bugs); ventilation, heat, air conditioning adequate; no hazards; no mold or excessive moisture; working doors, windows, and screens; adequate means of egress; linen sanitation; and pool and spa maintenance.

YOU'VE MADE YOUR BED . . .

So goes the idiom from the French as early as 1590: "Comme on fait son lit, on le treuve" (As one makes one's bed, so one finds it). In planning for and regulating STRs, you will indeed be the ones making the bed, and you will have to lie in it. There are benefits and burdens in how you permit STRs and many considerations to be weighed. If you start with life-safety issues first, you can be quite certain the most important aspect of this rapidly emerging sharing economy phenomenon will be addressed. After that, it is the usual planning and politics.

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DOES YOUR COMMUNITY
REGULATE SHORT-TERM
RENTALS?

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