BMR Housing and Local Economic Effects:
Marinwood, Dixie School District and Housing

Prepared by Marin Economic Forum

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Executive Summary

Marin County is considering the placement of 72 below-market rate housing units, alongside of 10 market-rate housing units, in the Marinwood/Lucas Valley (Marinwood) neighborhood. The discussion about the proposed Marinwood project has generated some concerns for that neighborhood and for Marin County overall. The placement of below-market rate (BMR) housing in existing communities is not an easy decision. This study, commissioned by the County of Marin, looks at perspectives on below-market rate housing entering a local neighborhood, perspectives that cut across economic, social, cultural, environmental, and political factors.

Two major concerns exist. The first is what happens to neighborhoods as a result of new BMR housing units built locally. The second area of concern is the net fiscal effects of BMR housing. There is very little literature on these effects; what does exist suggests that the fiscal effects depend on how new properties are taxed. The range of models is from community land trusts to private development. The implicit loss of property tax revenue from the proposed Marinwood units is relatively small, but positive nonetheless, as these new households come to Marinwood and more children attend public school. Local demographic change, political contention over the exact space in which the new units are placed, and effects on school quality, school funding, crime levels, and socioeconomic issues otherwise, are not resolved well in the academic literature to date.

Under the current proposal, these units will be built by a non-profit developer and the BMR units will be exempt from property taxes. There is not an exemption from parcel taxes assessed due to ballot measures, so some parcel taxes will be paid. These units would improve four parcels and augment the overall assessed value for property tax purposes. A focus of local concerns is in school district financing. A fiscal impact analysis was generated by the County of Marin. Based on the most current data available about funding levels for Dixie Schools (2013-14), this report projects an implicit loss of $3,772 in 2017. This loss is because the Dixie School District would receive these funds otherwise if the property were built by a non-exempt developer. Dixie schools are either state funded or considered basic aid schools. State funded means the school receives revenue based on local resources per average daily attendance (ADA) being below a certain threshold. Basic aid means there are enough local resources to move total resources above the threshold and receive only “basic aid”. More students attending Dixie schools without revenue coming from new households may keep Dixie state-funded, and at a lower level of resources per student than otherwise. As of the 2014-15 academic year, the Dixie schools will be state funded based on average daily attendance rising faster than local revenues; the funding threshold is $6,518 per ADA for the 2014-15 academic year. ADA growth has happened without new housing development. If this remains the case, the school district would receive revenues for each additional student from the proposed Marinwood development that would attend Dixie schools.

This study assumes that local school funding sources will grow at approximately 3.7 percent per year based on the County of Marin’s current property tax projections through 2017. If Dixie Schools are not state funded, due to projected local tax revenue growth providing more funding than the threshold amount for additional state funding, two scenarios are shown after the proposed development is occupied. Two scenarios are shown in this study as a result of new housing units.

First, if 45 new students come to the Dixie School District because of these new units becoming occupied, using the current funding level data available (2012-13) as a base and projecting forward, this difference translates to a loss of approximately $243 per year per pupil or 2.11 percent of the projected funding level would be lost. Second, if 100 students come to Dixie schools, the loss is $558 per new student per year, or 4.69 percent. Some children in these new households may also attend schools elsewhere in Marin County (private or transfer). Further, there may be some families that are currently combined in Marinwood households that would simply become single family households, occupy new space, but not change the ADA for Dixie or the overall population of Marinwood. Any gap would be made up naturally in two ways:

- The natural movement of the taxable base per Proposition 13; and
- New property tax revenues from other homes in Marinwood transferring ownership at higher values or being built otherwise.

Dixie's ADA growth may outpace its revenue growth, regardless of being basic aid or state funded, such that resources per student fall over time versus where the school would be otherwise but for the increase in unfunded students. New students may have costs beyond delivering curriculum; costs of providing lunches and transportation increase expenses without additional revenues.

Other key findings of this study Include:

- In 2012, there were 2,351 households in Marinwood and 103,152 in Marin County overall;
- In 2012, 583 of Marinwood's 2,351 households are estimated to have children in grades 1-8, less than Census 2000 when 903 households of Marinwood's households had children in grades 1-8;
- Marin County overall has a higher percentage of households with children in grades 1-8 than Marinwood (39.7 percent versus 38.1 percent);
- In 2012, Marinwood's median household income was 31.3 percent greater than Marin County's median household income;
- Marinwood has 1.7 percent vacancy in the current stock of housing, where Marin County was estimated to have 7.1 percent vacancy in its housing stock overall in 2011;
- Marinwood has 3.3 percent of its housing as apartments compared to Marin County which has 26.9 percent of its housing stock as apartments;
- Marinwood has 84.2 percent owner-occupied housing (the remainder is rental), where Marin County overall is 62.6 percent owner-occupied;
- Marinwood's population is less diverse than Marin overall, while the Dixie School District has become steadily more diverse.

No study or data exists to support a precise calculation of the number of students Dixie Schools will receive from the new units, or the type of households that will be formed. However, this study provides ways in which to frame future discourse so that it focuses on the major variables involved, rather than on arguments based on presumed, negative neighborhood effects. The academic literature suggests framing the question around the economic and social variables of interest results in better decisions and planning for shaping public resources.

BMR Housing and Local Economic Effects:
Marinwood, Dixie School and BMR Housing

Introduction

This study was commissioned by the County of Marin. This study looks at the effects of building 82 housing units in the Marinwood/Lucas Valley (Marinwood) neighborhood of Marin County. New property taxes on improvements to the parcels in question would be assessed only on 10 of the 82 new units, where 10 units would be considered "market-rate" versus the remaining 72 considered "below-market rate" (BMR). The implicit loss of property tax revenue would be juxtaposed to gains in the market-rate homes and natural financial gains based on property reassessments due to other sales, transfers, and increasing the tax roll otherwise over time. Parcel assessments based on ballot measures (school bonds, etc.) will still be paid annually regardless of the housing units' market rate or developer. Such a gap is made up through the current housing stock changing in value and the natural increase of property taxes annually allowed under Proposition 13. Local school districts will likely see an increase in students and daily attendance, as well as more expenses.

From a funding standpoint, public schools exist in two major categories: state funded and basic-aid schools. "State funded" schools are those with local tax revenue support that is relatively low to a figure determined by the State of California. This threshold figure is subject to change either up or down. Such schools receive additional financial resources from the State of California to provide equity with respect to "basic-aid" schools, which receive more relatively more income from local sources, such as property taxes. Schools in the Dixie School District are state-funded schools for the 2014-15 academic year.

A final set of concerns is more cultural: will the new households demographically and socioeconomically change Marinwood (e.g., increasing social costs, reducing public safety, increasing infrastructure costs and traffic loads) without creating social benefits, like new tax revenue. Test scores may be affected due to new students added to Dixie schools and a lack of parallel funding to directly support their academic success. If test scores fall, there may be some downward pressure to housing prices that interact with the Dixie School District. The academic literature on the effects of increasing density on student achievement and on home prices is split and somewhat inconclusive.

New households impact a local area based on the perceived demographics of those new households. If older residents without children occupy these new units, there may be little to no effect on local schools. However, there could also be a large infusion of students into Dixie's schools. Diversity may be considered beneficial and a social benefit, especially within the local schools. The demographics of new households in 2017 and beyond determine some of the effects. We now look at some demography comparisons between Marin County and Marinwood.

Demography and Marinwood

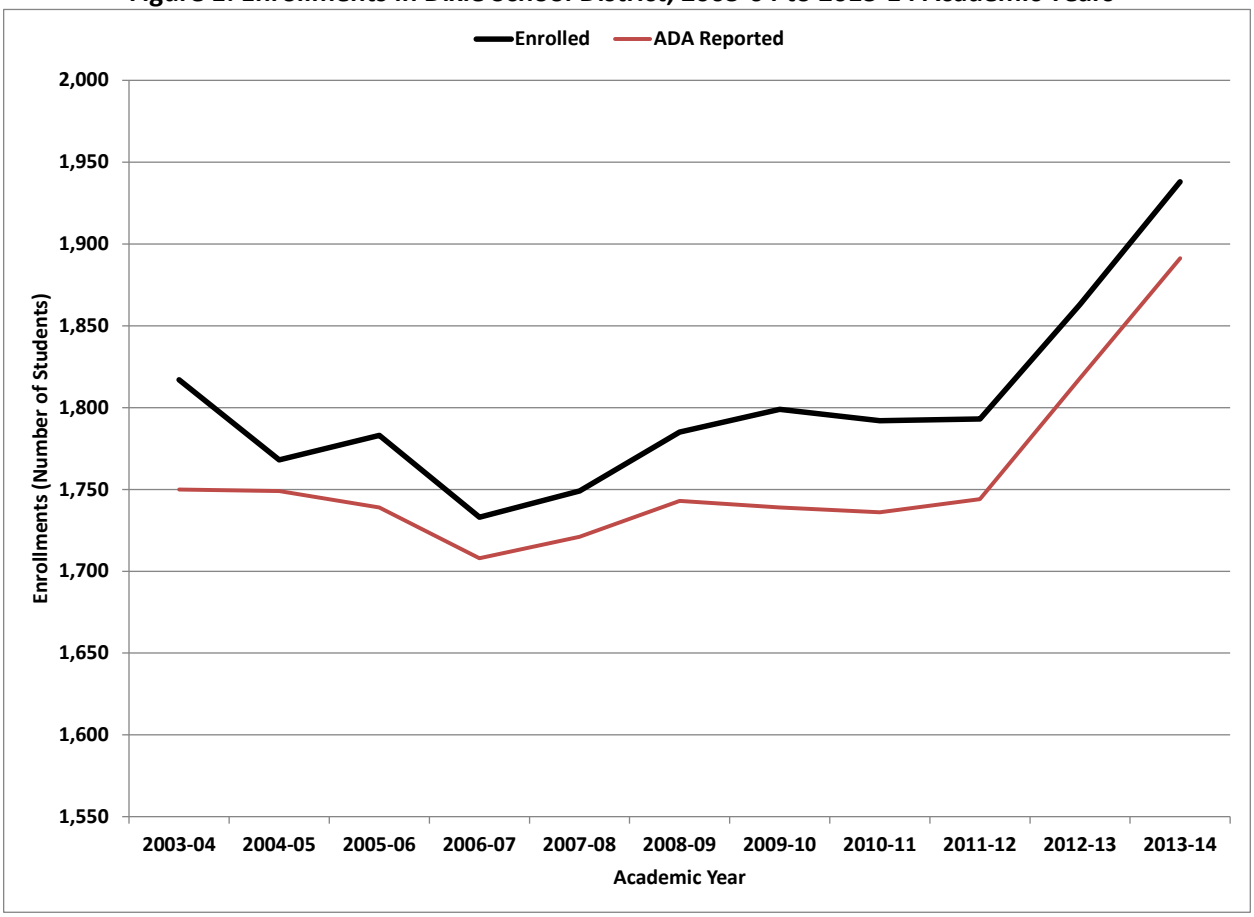
This section provides an overview of the current demography, including the housing units, in Marinwood/Lucas Valley. The American Community Survey (ACS) provides an update to the decennial Census reports in terms of a looking at Marinwood and Lucas Valley between 2008 and 2012. Census 2010 also provides a snapshot. The Appendix provides tables that highlight many demographic measures for Marinwood as reported by the Census Bureau (see factfinder2.census.gov for more information).

The estimated timeline for new residents would be 2017; this study will use 2017 in terms of economic and fiscal estimates for future impacts. The tables discussed in this section compare demographic and housing data for Marinwood versus Marin County overall. As of 2012, Marinwood represented about 2.32 percent of the county's population (in the Census as a "county-designated place and labeled "Marinwood/Lucas Valley").

Table A1 is a summary of the American Community Survey (ACS) data for Marinwood published in 2014 for the period from 2008-2012. There are four main categories of household characteristics shown here: the type of households; relationships of those inside the household with each other; the school enrollment of children in the defined area; and educational attainment of the population 25 years and older. Family households are defined as heterosexual or same-sex partners living in the same housing unit with children in the home. Some highlights from these data include the following:

- In 2012, there were 2,351 households in Marinwood and 103,152 in Marin County overall;
- In 2012, 583 of Marinwood households are estimated to have children in grades 1-8, which is lower than 2000 when 903 households or 52 percent of Marinwood's households had children in those grades;
    - Enrollments and attendance for Dixie School District have increased in trend since 2007, with some decline between 2003 and 2006, as shown in Figure 1;
- Marin County overall has a higher percentage of households with children in grades 1-8 than Marinwood (39.7 percent versus 38.1 percent); and
- The average household size in Marin County in 2012 was estimated to be 2.36 people per household (where family households were 2.95 people on average) and Marinwood was 2.45 people per household and 2.95 people per family household.

Figure 1: Enrollments in Dixie School District, 2003-04 to 2013-14 Academic Years[1]



Source: Education Data Partnership (http://www.ed-data.k12.ca.us/Pages/Home.aspx)

Table A2 compares the employment and income status of households in Marin County versus Marinwood. The Marinwood census tracts were estimated to have 5,870 residents as of 2012. With an increase of 82 households, assuming 2.45 persons per household (the 2012 Marinwood median household size), there would be a population increase of 201 people; Marinwood's population otherwise has been steadily declining since Census 2000 when Marinwood was estimated to have 6,357 people. Family income is specific to family households. Some highlights from those data include:

- In 2012, Marinwood's median household income was 42.7 percent greater than Marin County's median household income;
- In 2012, Marinwood's median family income was 17.2 percent greater than Marin County's median family income;
- Marinwood has 20.8 percent of its population over 65 years old, and Marin County overall has only 16.9 percent over 65 years old; and

[1] Note that the 2012-13 average daily attendance (ADA) figure reported in Figure 1 is projected based on the growth of enrollments. The data were not available from the California Department of Education at the time of this writing.

In Table A3, the housing demography is shown. This table describes the specific characteristics of housing units in each area. Some highlights from these 2012 data include:

- Marinwood has 1.7 percent vacancy in the current stock of housing, where Marin County was estimated to have 7.1 percent vacancy in its housing stock overall in 2011;
- Marinwood has 3.3 percent of its housing as multi-unit compared to Marin County which has 26.9 percent of its housing stock as multi-unit;
- Marinwood has 84.2 percent owner-occupied housing (the remainder is rental), where Marin County overall is 62.6 percent owner-occupied; and
- The size of rental households is 2.47 people per household in Marinwood versus 2.44 people for owner-occupied households.

Table A4 examines the population demographics in terms of sex, age, and race for Marin County overall and Marinwood.

- Marinwood's population is more female to male than Marin County overall, which is still a majority of females in 2012;
- The percentage of children under 5 years of age in 2012 was 4.1 percent of the population in 2012 for Marinwood versus 5.5 percent in 2012 for Marin County overall;
    - Children under 5 should be seen as potential entrants to Dixie schools;
- Marinwood's population is less diverse than Marin overall, while the Dixie School District has become steadily more diverse (see Table A5 in the Appendix).

The demographic data provide some similarities and differences between Marin County and Marinwood. In many ways, Marinwood is a demographic microcosm of Marin County; the age, gender, and housing choice profiles are similar. Marinwood is, at the median, more affluent than Marin County overall. Marinwood is also less ethnically diverse. Marinwood's household size is larger, as is the percentage of households with children. These data provide a context for considering the type of household that may enter Marinwood versus the type of household that comes to Marin County otherwise. The next section provides some financial data about school districts across Marin County and two scenarios to consider as a result of new housing in Marinwood.

Local Schools Scenarios

School districts in California, from a financial standpoint, are either "basic aid" or "state funded". Basic aid means the local school district receives enough revenue per pupil from local sources (property and parcel taxes being a major part of local funding) to not need state funds to support programs. Such programs are provided "basic aid" but local funding provides the school district almost all of its funding. In state-funded districts, state-level funding is added to local funding to increase the per pupil resources to a specific threshold. As of the 2014-15 academic year, Dixie schools will be state-funded schools based on enrollment rising faster than local revenues rising. The average daily attendance (ADA), property tax increases due to rising home prices, and federal gap funding all determine the school district's finances and status as either basic aid or state funded.[2]

There are two scenarios considered in this study once new housing comes to Marinwood. The first scenario is 45 new children to attend Dixie School District schools from 82 new units. This is in addition to any growth that will naturally happen to Dixie schools. The second scenario considered is 100 additional students, which is the current estimate of the school district. The student mix is assumed to be in proportion to the new housing units; 72 housing units are BMR units and thus provide 72/82 or 87.8 percent of the new students while the remaining, market-rate units will provide 12.2 percent of the new students. The school district faces unfunded costs (lunch programs, free transportation are examples) to support lower-income students that enter Dixie schools. As a result, Dixie may face higher enrollments and lower levels of financial resources per student at the same time costs are rising without additional revenues.

Because BMR housing often comes with covenants that reduce or eliminate new property tax assessments based on new construction and land improvements, there is an implicit property tax revenue loss experienced by local schools. The simple truth is BMR-specific parcels will not pay property taxes based on new residents and will benefit from using public resources and infrastructure. These properties will, however, pay parcel-specific taxes that are not general property taxes; for example, there are school bond measures from the past that are funded by parcel taxes and those payments must be made regardless of the type of housing.

Another concern relates to school achievement scores and indicators before and after BMR housing's entry into a school district. There are few studies in the social sciences literature that suggest a connection between new housing units and local school test scores or other measures of scholastic achievement. The literature is virtually non-existent in showing how an increase in housing density, or the entry of BMR housing into an area, changes school achievement results.[3] Test scores are likely used by home buyers as one of many metrics to compare and contrast areas in which to live. If 45 new students were to enter the Dixie School District test scores may or may not fall proportionately to the number of new students. Now we shift our focus to fiscal impacts and changes to school funding.

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[2] See the California Department of Education for more on local funding formulas: http://www.cde.ca.gov/fg/aa/lc/lcfffaq.asp. In May 2014, there were some changes to the funding formulas.

[3] Please see Gibbons, et al. (2013), Clapp, et al. (2008), and Dougherty, et al. (2009) for recent examples of school quality measures affecting housing markets.

The Fiscal Impacts of BMR Housing in Marinwood

As the economy grew between 2002 and 2008, there was growth in property values and thus available school funding. This growth happened to be at a time when the Dixie School District also experienced reduced enrollments. Such a situation grows the resources per student quickly for local school districts. Once the economy faltered in 2008, school revenue began to fall due to reduced property values and property-tax base rollbacks at a time when enrollment began to increase. By 2011, the housing markets in Marin County showed recovery momentum. With continued economic recovery into 2014 and beyond, property values throughout Marin County and Marinwood continue to rise. A challenge is to project enrollment and property tax revenue recognizing a potential funding gap described above may be coming due to new housing.

As of the 2014-15 academic year, Dixie is a state-funded school at over 2,000 enrolled students. Currently, Dixie Schools would need to lose 84 students to go back to being a basic aid school, as funding per pupil would rise. Dixie School District estimates 100 students will come with the new housing units by 2017, the second scenario below; this is contrasted with 45 new students that the current demography of Marinwood implies would come with new housing. The bottom line is that new students may arrive without enough new revenues to cover new costs.

Linking property values to school funding is a major element of school district finance in public schools. In theory, shifts in the value of homes, the number of students living in the exempt, BMR units, and adjustments at the school district will slowly eliminate any potential losses from new students that do not come with new revenues. The available data from the California Department of Education, a clearinghouse for information on enrollments, funding, test scores, and other characteristics of public schools, provide additional data referred to in this section as well as data provided by the County of Marin's Finance Department.

Between the 2003-04 academic year and 2007-08, school revenue per student measured by average daily attendance (ADA) grew. The ratio grew because revenues rose with the housing market and the ADA figure remained relatively flat. The 2012-13 academic year, which ended in June 2013, shows an increase in overall enrollments by 3.9 percent in one year; enrollments are now over 2,000 for Dixie as the 2014-15 academic year began. Enrollments and ADA are not necessarily the same but should be highly correlated, as shown in Figure 1; an increase in enrollments should increase the number of students served on a daily basis and what determines funding levels.

The County of Marin recently estimated the fiscal impacts of these 82 new housing units. Table 1 provides an annual breakdown of the major revenues derived from Marinwood property, parcel and other taxes from 2008 to 2013. The "Basic Tax" row in Table 2 is the focus of potential property tax loss. The property tax revenue that is generated in Marinwood, and then finds its way back to Marinwood since the 2007-08 fiscal year, follows housing markets and property reassessments.

Table 1: Property and Parcel Revenues from Marinwood by Major Revenue Category
Fiscal Years 2003-04 to 2012-13, Thousands of $

All Parcels Combined	2007/08	2008/09	2009/10	2010/11	2011/12	2012/13
Basic Tax	$16,172	$16,495	$16,825	$16,785	$16,912	$28,500
School Bonds	935	745	1,043	1,008	1,060	1,738
Marinwood Fire	6,593	6,593	6,593	6,593	6,301	9,798
LAS Gallinas Sanitary	3,030	911	1,430	1,740	1,231	4,547
Paramedic-San Rafael	3,276	3,328	3,571	3,814	3,814	3,813
Other	1,732	1,978	2,490	2,530	2,990	3,032
Totals	**$30,005**	**$28,073**	**$29,462**	**$29,940**	**$29,317**	**$48,396**

Source: County of Marin, Finance Department

Notice the "totals" row in Table 1 follows the pattern of the housing market downturn in 2008-09 and then slowly rises again as the market recovered. Also, notice the increase in 2012-13 as the market recovered more quickly and re-assessments allowed a larger amount of property taxes to be collected. The threshold number (currently $6,518 per student of resources available) between state funded and basic aid schools is likely to rise annually at approximately 5 percent per year. Given the projected property tax increases of 3.7 percent per year (see Figure 2), at some point in the future, Dixie School District may be basic aid again on average.

Table 2: Use of Parcel and Property Tax Revenue in Marinwood, 2008-09 to 2012-13, Thousands of $, All Parcels Combined

	2007/08	2008/09	2009/10	2010/11	2011/12	2012/13
Dixie School District						
Basic Tax	$4,276	$4,362	$ 4,449	$4,439	$4,472	$7,536
Dixie Schools	490	490	980	980	1,408	1,408
Totals	**4,766**	**4,852**	**5,429**	**5,419**	**5,880**	**8,944**
Marinwood CSD						
Basic Tax	986	1,005	1,026	1,023	1,031	1,737
Lighting-Marinwood	41	41	41	45	45	45
Marinwood Fire	6,593	6,593	6,593	6,593	6,301	9,798
Marinwood Park Maintenance	493	493	493	506	513	528
Totals	**$8,113**	**$8,132**	**$8,153**	**$8,167**	**$7,890**	**$12,108**

Source: County of Marin, Finance Department

Table 2 provides data for how funding is allocated in terms of both the Dixie School District (Dixie) and the Marinwood Community Services District (CSD), the primary receivers of parcel and property tax revenue generated from Marinwood parcels. Tables 1 and 2 set up a simple, fiscal impact analysis from new housing units and students entering the Dixie School District. We assume there would be 82 new units, 72 of which would be exempt from property tax (but not parcel-specific tax) collections due to a non-profit developer building the homes. If the new units were 100 percent taxable, they would generate approximately $4.267 million in improved value to be taxed. However, 72 of the 82 units would be exempt. Table 3 summarizes the effect of the new units and the loss of

property tax revenue to Dixie School District and to the CSD. The following list provides the estimate's logic:

- The total value of land improvements by building the new units would be $4.267 million;
- At a one-percent tax rate for property taxes, there would have been $42,760 in new, annual property taxes that Marinwood should receive;
- When Marinwood receives new property taxes, approximately 26.44 percent goes to the Dixie School District and 6.09 percent goes to the Marinwood CSD;
- This implies a total amount of new tax revenue of $13,915, where Dixie would have received $11,308 in total after the units were in place; thus
- Because this improved value would be exempt, and based on the most current data available about funding levels for Dixie Schools (2013-14), there would be an implicit loss of $3,772 to Dixie School District once the units are built.
    - This $3,772 is the estimated difference between what Dixie would have received if the new units were not exempt and what Dixie received in the 2012-13 academic year from the current assessed value of this property.

Notice in Table 3 that the only financial change to these districts is the implicit loss of the Basic Tax; for the CSD, the loss is explicit because the CSD will serve more units no matter the number of children in grades K through 8. The loss to Dixie is implicit because it depends on the number of new children served; as the number of new children rises, the implicit losses rise.

What makes projections tricky is that the new housing units will not be occupied until 2017; we need to pick a base year to then project to 2017 and beyond.

Table 3: Estimate of Property Tax Loss to Dixie School District and Marinwood CSD

All Parcels Combined	**2012-13**	**Implicit Tax Level**	**Difference/Loss**
Dixie School District			
BASIC TAX	$7,536	$11,308	$3,772
DIXIE SCHOOLS	1,408	1,408	0
Total	**$8,944**	**$12,716**	**$3,772**
Marinwood CSD			
BASIC TAX	$1,737	2,607	870
LIGHTING-MARINWOOD	45	45	0
MARINWOOD FIRE	9,798	9,798	0
PARK MAINT-MARINWOOD	528	528	0
Total	$12,108	$12,978	$870
Grand Totals	**$21,052**	**$25,694**	**$4,642**

Source: County of Marin, Finance Department

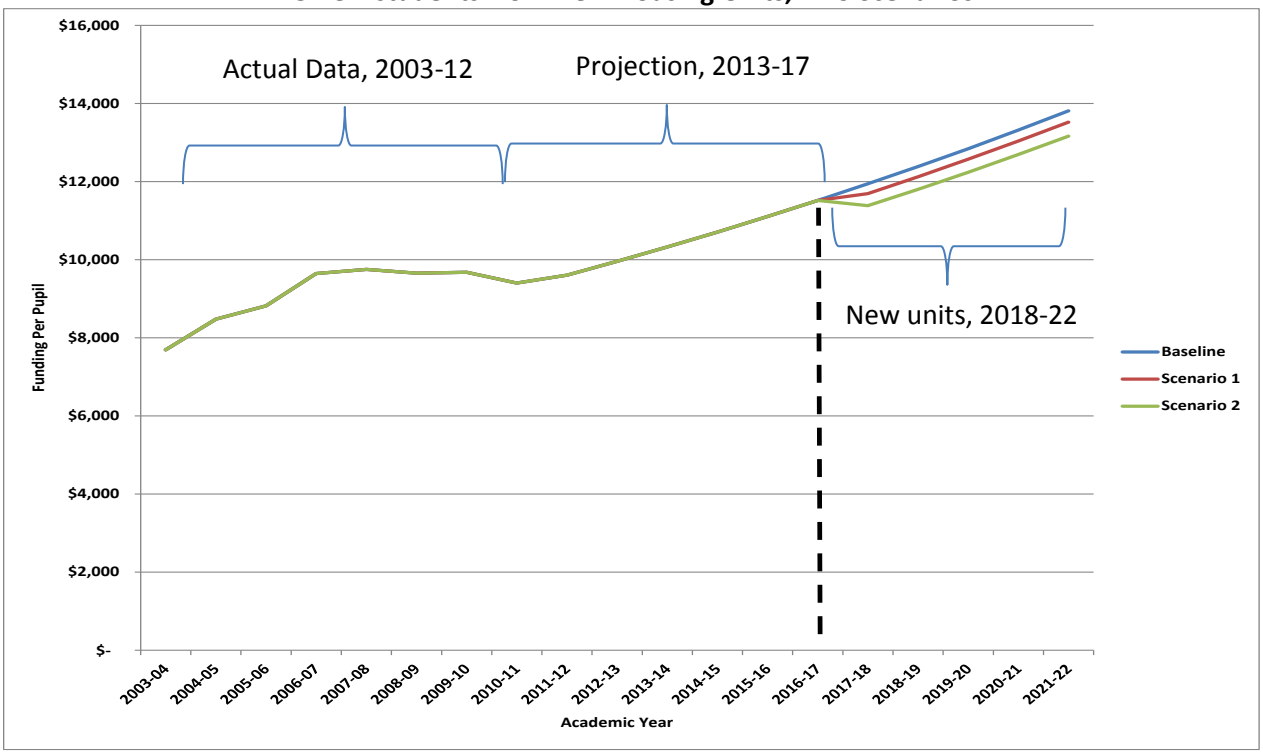
Since the 2008-09 fiscal year to the 2012-13 fiscal year, revenues have increased more slowly than enrollments and ADA. Property tax revenues are estimated to rise through 2017 based on continued economic recovery. If the new housing units increase school enrollments without

commensurate increases in revenues, given current projections of land improvements and property taxes that would come from such enrollments, there is an implicit loss of $251 per student per year. In terms of property taxes, there are multiple sources of change to the current property tax base that helps to fill the potential, implicit loss from the proposed 82 units:

- 70% of property tax base growth is from Proposition 13, and would be at 0.6 percent per year, or weighted at 0.42 percent through 2017;
- There is an expectation of 5 percent of homes selling and reassessing at 25 percent growth on average, or weighted at 1.25 percent per year to tax base through 2017; and
- There would be 25 percent of the tax base reassessed due to the rollup of previously rolled back assessment values, at 8 percent per year (weighted of 2 percent growth per year overall) through 2017.

In short, the County of Marin is assuming 3.7 percent growth in the tax base for 2013-2017, where 2017 is the year where Marinwood is projected to have new residents and students in Dixie schools. In Figure 2, Scenario 1 looks at 45 new students coming into Dixie without local revenue to assist in defraying costs of those new students; Figure 2 shows the current funding and projection as a "baseline".

Figure 2: Funding Differential after 2016-17 Academic Year, 45 new students from New Housing Units, Two Scenarios



Sources: County of Marin, California Department of Education and MEF Calculations

At 45 new students, the funding per pupil for all students would fall by $251 per year or 2.11 percent of the projected funding level in 2017. If the number of students is greater than 45, the funding

per student falls; at 100 new students, the reduction would be $559 per pupil (4.69 percent) using the same assumptions.

The two scenarios are summarized in Table 4. It is important to recognize that these are projections of trend and do not represent specific economic cycles that may come and go. The literature suggests that home prices are driven in part by the demand for high-quality local public schools. The Dixie School District does have relatively high achievement in terms of Marin County on average and California when looking only at test scores, an imperfect measure but one heavily utilized by housing markets. Further, these estimates do not include additional costs of new pupils; the estimates are for the sources of funds, not their potential uses. If uses rise, even if sources of funds goes up over time due to more property taxes or other revenues, keeping pace with new expenses may be more challenging after new students arrive at Dixie's schools.

Table 4: Two Scenarios for Entry of New Students

	Scenario 1	Scenario 2
Number of New Students Specific to Bridge Housing	45	100
Reduction in Sources of Funds per student	$243	$558
Reduction of Sources, % reduction	2.11%	4.69%

Source: Marin Economic Forum

Whether Dixie schools would be state-funded or basic aid school depend on many factors, as stated above. If property taxes continue grow more quickly than expected, Dixie schools may be basic aid schools and not receive state funding; if the increase in new students is large enough, Dixie may continue to be state funded due to enrollment growth outpacing local revenue growth.

The next section looks at some housing demography and price data more closely for Marinwood and Marin County overall.

Below-Market Rate Housing and Housing Markets

The literature on local housing market effects and the entry of BMR units is relatively limited. Measuring the success of such housing within an existing neighborhood is complicated, and only a few studies have engaged in such an effort. Some recent studies provide a simple overview of the issues and potential ways to analyze BMR housing and its economics on a community.

BMR housing represents a wide continuum of potential housing possibilities, ranging from government-subsidized housing to housing provided by an employer as a fringe benefit. Because new housing units, regardless of type, act as substitutes for other housing units, there is a perception that the entry of BMR housing into a market will reduce current housing unit values. The economics of this perspective are simple: an increase in supply of housing units will potentially depress housing prices.

However, if new single-family homes come into a market and substitute for existing homes, assuming the same external conditions exist (i.e., same neighborhood amenities, similar types of structures to existing housing stock), any pressure downward on home values depends on how many homes are available for sale versus the existing stock. Table A3 in the Appendix provides data on approximately 2,400 housing units already existing in Marinwood; the addition of 82 new units represents an increase of 3.4 percent in total housing units, assuming no other new homes are built between now and 2017.

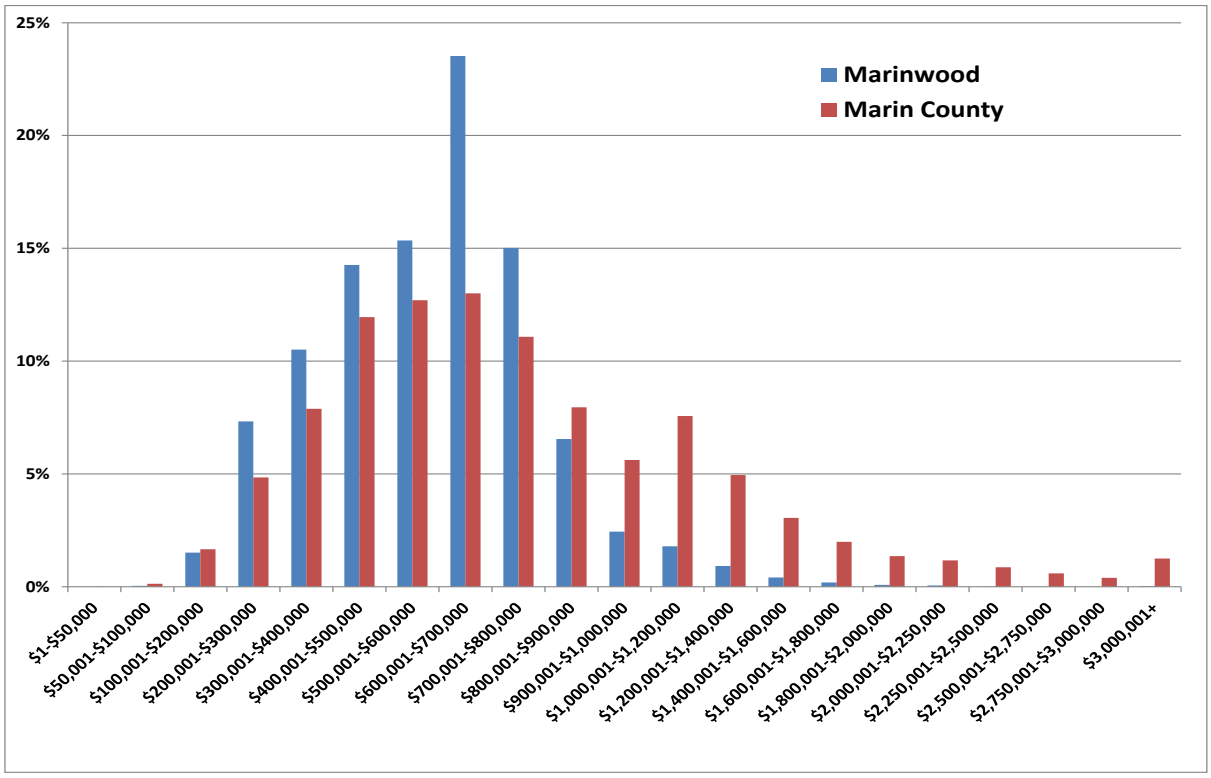
If new units are viewed as similar to existing homes and no increase in demand occurs, there would be pressure on Marinwood's overall housing prices to fall. However, if the units are 100 percent occupied and off the market relatively quickly, there is little reason to assume downward value pressure. It is also reasonable to assume that those residing in the BMR units, at least for the first years of occupancy, would not be in the market for other single-family dwellings as exist otherwise in Marinwood.

Inclusionary zoning is one way to characterize BMR housing, in which a new development is required by ordinance to designate a percentage of new units to be "affordable" or below-market rate. Recent research by Knapp, et al. (2008) was specific to northern California, and suggests that housing prices went up with such inclusionary housing once in place. One caveat here is that the proposed housing in Marinwood is not set up to be inclusionary by mandate, but acts like such housing in practice with a mix of market-rate and below market-rate housing.

Schuetz, et al. (2012) discusses fair-share housing as an alternative to inclusionary zoning. Fair-share housing is a situation where there is a spread of below-market rate units throughout a defined area. Schuetz, et al. (2012) is a recent empirical study on how BMR housing units affect local housing conditions (where they use housing permits activity as a proxy for housing prices). Their study suggests that single-family housing prices are not affected significantly in either direction based on new BMR units. However, there is a faster decline in housing prices for neighborhoods where BMR units exist when prices begin to fall. Knapp, et al. (2008) showed slightly different results than Schulz, demonstrating that BMR units generate higher prices during periods of appreciation and prices fall more slowly during downturns. In general, the literature is small and mixed on how BMR housing units affect their local markets.

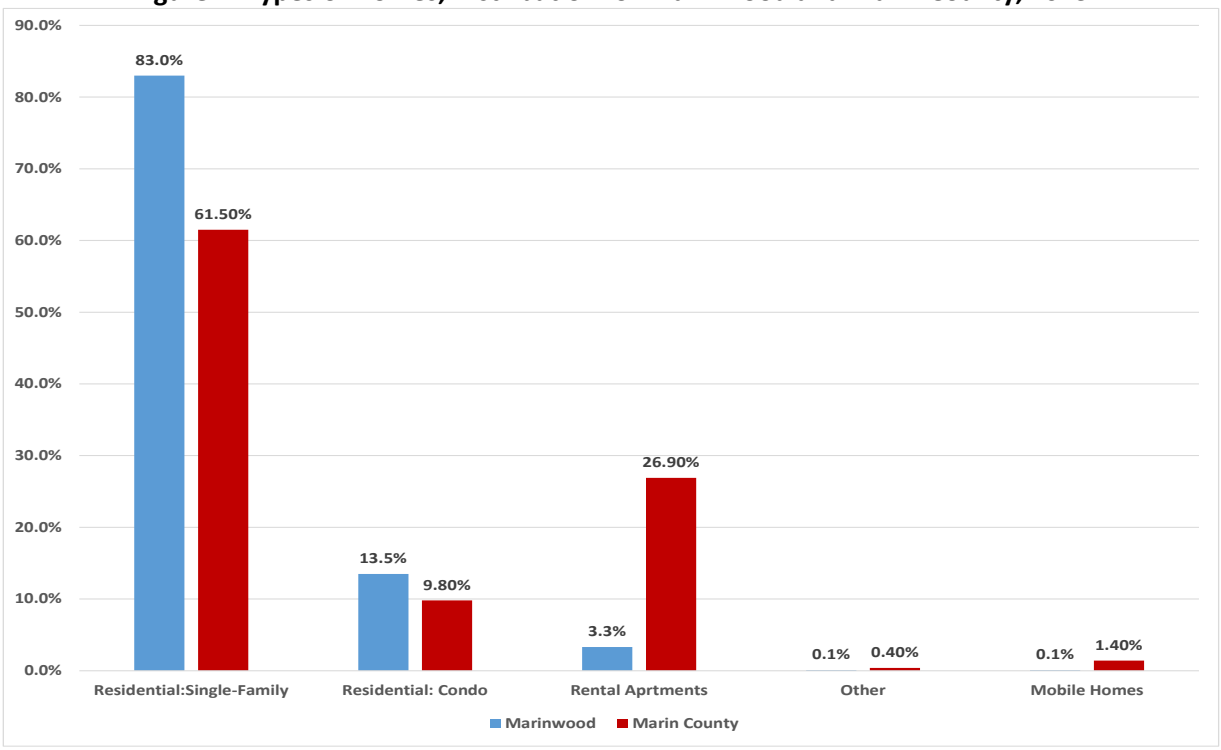
The following figures provide ways to view the Marinwood market conditions and units versus Marin County overall, where Marinwood's market is seen as a two-mile radius around the 94903 zip code postal center in Terra Linda. Figure 3 looks at the distribution of home prices in Marinwood and Marin County overall. Figure 4 shows the distribution of housing types in Marinwood and Marin County overall.

Figure 3: Housing Value as of Sept 2013 across Price Ranges, Marinwood compared to Marin County



Sources: Core Logic (www.reisource.com) and MEF

Figure 4: Types of Homes, Distribution for Marinwood and Marin County, 2013



Sources: Core Logic (www.reisource.com) and MEF

This study does not argue that every home should be considered the same; real estate markets recognize that each property is unique and rental apartments (multifamily) housing units are not complete substitutes for single-family homes. However, it is also important to recognize than macroeconomic cycles affect housing prices beyond local supply and demand conditions. The next section provides a summary of the academic literature on housing choice, housing markets, and social benefits and costs to BMR housing.

Additional Issues to Consider

A recent review article provides an outstanding, cross-disciplinary look at BMR housing across the social sciences specific to North America (see Read and Tsvetkova, 2011). The Read and Tsvetkova (2011) article examines BMR housing and the effects on neighborhood quality, homeownership, public housing as a choice versus private housing, housing quality, and homelessness. Read and Tsvetkova (2011) provide some conclusions from the literature to date.

Neighborhood effects are a major concern. Most research concerning neighborhood effects from public education has been conducted from a sociological standpoint, looking at the effects of children living in BMR housing and their access to public education. Reducing family mobility, or the number of times the family moves its residential location, is another factor in increasing positive scholastic outcomes for children living in BMR housing.

As for increasing neighborhood criminal activity, the popular consensus seems to be that reducing the concentration of BMR housing (in a sense placing BMR units in places where few currently exist) reduces incentives to engage in criminal activity. In terms of health benefits gained from living in BMR housing, most research suggests a positive relationship between moving to more affluent, stable neighborhoods from more impoverished neighborhoods because residents usually have better access to health care and improved educational and employment opportunities.

Homeownership is another factor. Read and Tsvetkova (2011) summarize that when low to moderate income households own rather than rent, there is lower household mobility and thus fewer negative effects of new households on a community. Homeownership is also linked to higher graduation rates, reduced teen pregnancy, and greater academic achievement measures. However, foreclosure rates rising in the late 2000s have confounded the national data somewhat. If sufficient resources do not exist for an owner to continue owning the home, the benefits of homeownership may be destabilized. In terms of neighborhood crime, homeownership leads to more social integration between household members and the neighborhood due to higher incentives (economic and social) in maintaining the neighborhood as a safe, valuable environment. Childhood depression, household injury, reduced stress levels, and socialized neighborhoods increase health outcomes in BMR homes using a homeowner model. The recent financial and housing crisis has now tested these otherwise positive results where it is possible that stress created by losing a home due to foreclosure or bankruptcy otherwise.

Public housing incentives and partnerships is another factor. The literature is relatively positive in the effects of academic success and the use of public housing incentives. Using a public housing

model seems to have no discernible, negative impacts on academic success factors for the households utilizing public housing. Read and Tsvetkova (2011) suggest that the conclusion to be drawn here is similar to the other major issues: locating BMR housing in stable neighborhoods adds to the possibilities of success. Concentrations of poverty, not necessarily housing, is a larger issue. Opponents tend to want to conflate poverty and BMR housing.

The final concern is housing quality. Housing quality has many definitions, and Read and Tsvetkova (2011) define housing quality with the following metrics: overcrowding, noise pollution, outward conditions of the units, graffiti, and other aesthetic attributes. Criminal activity is seen as not significantly related to housing quality alone; academic achievement is also not related significantly on its own to housing quality. However, health concerns rise significantly when overcrowding takes place (number of people per household rises significantly above expectation in the units), due to increased injuries, lack of insulation, etc.

To conflate an increase in BMR housing units (assuming we define this as units that residents would need to show they earn below 80% of the median income of the locally-defined area and are thus low to moderate income households) with a subsequent decrease in home prices in a specific subarea versus the effects of regional housing markets assumes away greater market effects and the heterogeneity of each property. BMR units may not have regional market effects on housing prices, but could affect local housing prices if perceived as substitute products with current housing choices.

Framing and Public Policy Discussions

A recent article by Nguyen, et al (2012) discusses the local debates and political frameworks around the placement of BMR housing specific to California. Their article deals a lot with "framing" in terms of housing politics. A major point Nguyen (2012) makes immediately is that proximity provides more opposition. We have seen this in Marin County. Second, a discussion of current BMR units is used to transform theoretical discussions into tangible arguments. Because public policy around BMR housing generally looks at "target" groups that housing is meant to theoretically help and support, the framing of opposition is centered on target groups. Generally, the framing begins with low to moderate income households, which are the only qualifiers for BMR housing as defined. In some cases, the arguments become more refined to criminals, groups with extreme poverty, specific ethnic groups, households with more members than the median household level, an increased number of children to increase school populations, etc.

On the public policy and proponent sides, there are also framing issues. Local governments tend to frame the question of BMR housing into target-group arguments because funding comes from the federal or state government specifically for such groups (such as low and moderate income households or households below a percentage of national median income), or there are specific agencies that stand to gain from the new units being erected. The framing should shape arguments on what is best for the community in terms of inclusion and opportunity. Nguyen, et al (2012) suggests that public officials and planning staff are generally less focused on the need to frame arguments for new housing units than both their opponents and perhaps more mobilized opposition. Framing should also try to reduce any

focus on negative stereotypes that come from opposition that can range from superfluous to racist in the worse cases.

In terms of economics, the community receiving new units will experience fiscal and economic impacts of construction and new residents. The next two sections look at the projected fiscal and economic effects of these 82 units coming into Marinwood on the local area.

The Economic Impacts of BMR Housing in Marinwood

New households provide a spending infusion where they are located. There will also be an effect from construction of these homes on the local economy. The household spending increase begins after construction ends and the new units become occupied. When investigating the economic impacts of new households, there are four key data points used to begin the estimation:

- Number of units occupied;
- Net change of population within the defined analysis area; and
- Median personal income after tax per new household; and
- Spending pattern for the typical household in the area with the income levels of the new net households in the area.

This section provides a simple algorithm and set of industries affected by the construction of housing specific to the 94903 zip code (which includes Marinwood). Construction impacts are based upon the amount of expenditures on the project; Table 5 summarizes the job supported and the business revenues gained from every $5 million spent on construction.

The assumptions for home occupancy are a bit more complex. The timing and median income levels of the occupants are then assessed. Next is to determine how many new households will be new to Marinwood; we have assumed the residents will all be new to Marinwood. Finally, the mix of these data provides a new spending impulse that enhances the local economy annually. Armed with these data points, we can use the amount of estimated spending and the number of new occupants to determine the economic impacts of new housing annually. A sample algorithm is shown below. The local tax impact of these new households is also estimated.

Construction Impacts

Table 5 shows the impacts of $5,000,000 spent on building new housing units. This provides an algorithm for any multiple of $5 million annually spent on building these homes. Notice that the new effect of $5 million in construction is a bit less than $5 million directly in Table 5 due to some leakage away from Marin County. There are two considerations about these data. The first is that these impacts only last as long as the construction effort lasts. The only annualized benefit once construction is over is property tax revenue, which will be eliminated for 72 of the 82 units in this project. Second, notice the array of businesses affected by the construction effort. It is likely that some merchants in Marinwood will see an increase in their business revenue as a result of the units' construction. The economic impacts of the units being occupied makes the impacts continue once construction ends.

Also, there will be approximately $49,000 in new sales tax revenue due to the construction efforts. Of that sales tax revenue, under the current tax rates (effective October 1, 2013), Marin County would keep 2 percent (currently, the state keeps 6.5 percent of the base county rate of 8.5 percent. This is approximately $11,529 annually during the construction project.

Table 5: New Business Revenues and Supported Jobs
Construction Efforts, Full-Time Equivalents and 2013 dollars

Industry	Total Revenue	Total Jobs
Construction of multi-family structures	$4,794,100	24.6
Rental Income for Property Owners	219,800	0
Architectural and related services	133,700	1.1
Wholesale Trade	114,200	0.7
Medical and Dental Offices	97,000	0.7
Real Estate Agencies	95,000	0.5
Private Hospitals	75,100	0.4
Insurance Brokers	67,700	0.2
Legal Services	60,100	0.4
Banks and Credit Unions	58,600	0.1
Retail Stores – Department Stores	50,100	0.8
Bars and Restaurants	45,700	0.7
Non-profit Organizations	38,500	0.4
Retail Stores – Grocery Stores	37,500	0.5
Accounting and Bookkeeping Services	36,200	0.3
Retail Stores – Health and Beauty	33,800	0.4
All Others	793,700	7.0
Totals	**$6,750,800**	**38.8**

Occupancy Impacts

To look at the effects of home occupancy, we now discuss the four major data points to consider from above in detail:

- There will be 82 units built to be rented: 10 market-rate, 72 below-market rate as BMR housing;
- This suggests 72 household earning a certain, maximum income, and 10 earning a different and assumed higher income; and
- The occupancy rate for these homes will be 100% one year after construction is finished.

An estimated median income of $129,849 for each household in Marinwood, the 2008-12 median income reported by the Census Bureau's American Community Survey for the Marinwood-Lucas Valley Census Designated Place or CDP. Because 72 of these units will be offered at below-market rents, there will be income restrictions on gaining access to those units. For the 72 household, we will use $60,000 of annual, gross income (before taxes, savings), and we will use $100,000 for the other 10 households to conform to the BMR rules and to provide an algorithm as the income levels will change with the next round of Census Bureau estimates.

There are some important reductions in this income level affect the spending from new residents. We need to consider three major reductions. Our first stop is the amount of taxes households pay to perform an after-tax income analysis. Second is savings, where we need to consider that some of this income will not be spent at all. Finally, there are retail and services leakages from Marinwood, where spending will take place somewhere else but Marinwood. We assume occupancy would begin in 2017 (with one year to occupy 100% of the 82 units):

- For 72 units, $60,000 x 70% after tax income (tax rate of 30 percent on average) x 95% (assuming a 5% savings rate) of after-tax income consumed = 72 units x $42,000 x 0.95 = $2,872,200 annual spending introduced to Marinwood; and
- For the other 10 units, $100,000 x 65% after tax income x 95% (assuming a 5% savings rate) = 10 x $65,000 x 0.95 = $617,500 of new, annual household spending.

Table 6 shows the economic impact to the 94903 zip code based on Marinwood's new residents. There are two observations here, similar to the construction impacts' observations. First, the impacts are ongoing as long as the units are occupied. If the units were 95 percent occupied and not 100 percent, the impacts should be adjusted down by 5 percent. Next, notice the array of industries affected in the 94903 zip code by these new households. Most are personal or professional services or retail. This array is a classic household spending pattern and is only dampened from the median Marin County household impact because of the BMR designation of the units.

Table 6: New Business Revenues and New Jobs: Annual Averages (Occupancy), 2013 dollars

Industry	Total Revenue	Total Jobs
Rental Income for Property Owners	$373,800	0.0
Medical and Dental Offices	190,500	1.4
Private hospitals	163,200	0.9
Real estate Agencies	148,300	0.7
Wholesale Trade	108,100	0.7
Insurance Brokers	103,600	0.2
Bars and Restaurants	76,200	1.1
Banks and Credit Unions	58,700	0.1
Medical Labs	56,300	0.3
Nursing Homes	56,200	0.8
Investment Banking	46,500	0.5
Local Government Fees	42,800	0.1
Legal services	38,300	0.2
Retail Stores – Department Stores	36,800	0.6
Nonprofit Organizations	34,400	0.4
Estate Planning	29,000	0.1
Pawn and Check Cashing	27,500	0.2
Retail Stores – Grocery Stores	27,500	0.4
All Others	559,300	6.0
Total	**$2,177,000**	**14.7**

Two additional ideas is that there will be annual sales tax increases due to these units in Marinwood which help to close the property tax gap left by the loss of new property taxes for Marin County and Marinwood (these are the sales taxes generated by merchants in the 94903 zip code); also, if Marinwood wants to capture more of the sales tax revenue from this spending, the array of industries provides some economic development targets to consider for available commercial space where the spending is coming with the occupancy of the new units. Further, there is an estimated $47,900 of new, annual sales taxes that come to the 94903 area code annually. For Marin County, this is an increase of $11,271 annually based on the assumptions above. There will be more public costs per household, where these impacts will help to offset those costs.

Conclusions

This study provides a set of perspectives on placing 82 units of new housing in the Marinwood neighborhood of Marin County. Major factors of concern in recent public dialogue and discourse include the effects on local public services, local school districts, local housing markets, and local culture. Marinwood is an affluent neighborhood in Marin County and the housing stock there is relatively heterogeneous. There are very few multi-family housing units in Marinwood, which implies very little density. Dixie School District has relatively high test score performance, a classic metric used by homebuyers in demanding a place to live. The academic literature is relatively split on the effects of below-market rate (BMR) housing on local schools, housing markets, and other factors. Public housing is seen as more detrimental to a neighborhood than housing that is built with public incentives and then becomes BMR units otherwise. The more the design can match the local area's character, the better in terms of reducing detriments to local housing markets. In short, the effects of these 82 units are unknown and will depend on how much the units act as substitutes for Marinwood's current housing stock and how much they are perceived as a completely different market.

Building BMR housing would have two sets of economic impacts, construction and occupant. The construction phase would have impacts over a specific timeframe, while the occupant phase, assuming an occupancy rate and specific household incomes of those occupants, would have economic impacts into the foreseeable future. The occupant's economic impacts are based on them being new residents to Marinwood, and that their income levels are in a specific range on average. Also, the fiscal impacts are estimated based on the BMR units not paying property taxes and thus not directly funding public resources the new households will use. Given relatively conservative growth estimates, the funding gap generated by the BMR units will likely close by 2017 and certainly by the end of this decade.

No study or data exists to make a precise estimate of the number of students Dixie Schools will receive from the new units, or the type of households that will be formed. This study provides ways to frame the future discourse in a way that focuses on the major variables involved rather than classic arguments seen in Marin County that are neighborhood-specific. The academic literature suggests that framing the question around the economic and social variables of interest and not the opinions of neighbors helps make better decisions and plan for shaping public resources.

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Data:

Real estate data was provided by Core Logic (www.reisource.com) and Marin Reports (www.marinreports.com)

Demographic data was provided by the Census Bureau (factfinder2.census.gov)

The County of Marin provided the base fiscal impact analysis

Appendix

Table A1: Household Characteristics, Marin County and Marinwood
Census 2000 and ACS 2011

	Marin 2000		Marinwood 2000		Marin 2012		Marinwood 2012	
HOUSEHOLDS BY TYPE	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Total households	100,736	100	2,355	100	103,152	100.0	2,351	100.0
Family households (families)	61,329	60.9	1,777	75.5	63,720	61.8	1,658	70.5
With own children under 18 years	28,642	28.4	902	38.3	29,837	28.9	878	37.3
Nonfamily households	39,407	39.1	578	24.5	39,432	38.2	693	29.5
Householder living alone	30,017	29.8	468	19.9	31,752	30.8	579	24.6
Average household size	2.34	(X)	2.63	(X)	2.36	(X)	2.45	(X)
Average family size	2.9	(X)	3.04	(X)	2.95	(X)	2.95	(X)
RELATIONSHIP								
Population in households	242,132	100	6,251	100	243,131	100.0	5,749	100.0
Householder	100,736	40.7	2,355	37.3	103,152	42.4	2,351	40.9
Spouse	49,953	20.2	1,477	23.4	51,210	21.1	1,445	25.1
Child	58,813	23.8	1,970	31.2	63,699	26.2	1,549	26.9
Other relatives	8,045	3.3	177	2.8	9,595	3.9	232	4.0
Nonrelatives	18,239	7.4	220	3.5	15,475	6.4	172	3.0
Other Person(s)	6,346	2.6	52	0.8	5,837	2.4	69	1.2
SCHOOL ENROLLMENT								
Pop 3 years or more and in school	57,014	100	1,707	100	58,761	100.0	1,532	100.0
Nursery school, preschool	4,797	8.4	180	10.5	5,176	8.8	121	7.9
Kindergarten	2,709	4.8	76	4.5	3,135	5.3	204	13.3
Elementary school (grades 1-8)	23,477	41.2	903	52.9	23,336	39.7	583	38.1
High school (grades 9-12)	11,518	20.2	374	21.9	11,629	19.8	366	23.9
College or graduate school	14,513	25.5	174	10.2	15,485	26.4	258	16.8
EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT								
Population 25 years and over	183,694	100	4,463	100	185,934	100.0	4,336	100.0
Less than 9th grade	6,455	3.5	77	1.7	7,873	4.2	40	0.9
9th to 12th grade, no diploma	9,625	5.2	131	2.9	6,768	3.6	38	0.9
High school graduate (incl. GED)	22,857	12.4	443	9.9	22,511	12.1	386	8.9
Some college, no degree	39,211	21.3	1,009	22.6	35,811	19.3	873	20.1
Bachelor's degree	56,549	30.8	1,547	34.7	58,767	31.6	1,592	36.7
Graduate or professional degree	37,699	20.5	1,016	22.8	42,717	23.0	1,262	29.1
Percent high school or higher	91.2	(X)	95.3	(X)	(X)	92.1	(X)	98.2
Percent bachelor's degree or higher	51.3	(X)	57.4	(X)	(X)	54.6	(X)	65.8

Source: Census Bureau (www.factfinder2.gov)

Table A2: Income Status

	Marin 2000	%	Marinwood 2000	%	Marin 2012	%	Marinwood 2012	%
	Number of HH		Number of HH		Number of HH		Number of HH	
TOTAL HOUSEHOLD INCOME	100,736	100	2,355	100	103,152		2,351	
Less than $10,000	4,884	4.8	79	3.4	3,608	3.5	56	2.4
$10,000 to $14,999	2,927	2.9	105	4.5	3,674	3.6	48	2.0
$15,000 to $24,999	6,854	6.8	97	4.1	6,691	6.5	88	3.7
$25,000 to $34,999	7,399	7.3	166	7	6,577	6.4	52	2.2
$35,000 to $49,999	12,151	12.1	239	10.1	9,731	9.4	125	5.3
$50,000 to $74,999	18,240	18.1	342	14.5	13,554	13.1	164	7.0
$75,000 to $99,999	12,947	12.9	329	14	11,570	11.2	290	12.3
$100,000 to $149,999	16,128	16	591	25.1	18,685	18.1	514	21.9
$150,000 to $199,999	7,049	7	183	7.8	10,815	10.5	479	20.4
$200,000 or more	12,157	12.1	224	9.5	18,247	17.7	535	22.8
Median household income	$71,306		$85,444		$90,962		$129,849	
Median family income (dollars)	$88,934		$95,852		$133,733		$156,720	

Source: Census Bureau (www.factfinder2.gov)

Table A3: Housing Demography

	Marin 2000	%	Marinwood 2000	%	Marin 2012	%	Marinwood 2012	%
Total housing units	104,990	100	2,377	100	111,063	100.0	2,392	100.0
Occupied Housing Units	100,650	95.9	2,353	98.9	103,152	92.9	2,399	98.3
Vacant housing units	4340	4.1	24	1.1	7,911	7.1	41	1.7
UNITS IN STRUCTURE								
Total housing units	104,990	100	2,377	100	110,937	100.0	2,399	100.0
1-unit, detached	63,666	60.6	1,986	83.6	68,183	61.5	1,987	82.8
1-unit, attached	8,452	8.1	273	11.5	11,029	9.9	354	14.8
2 units or more	30,749	29.3	118	5	29,619	26.7	58	2.4
Mobile home	1,581	1.5	0	0	1,734	1.6	0	0
Boat, RV, van, etc.	542	0.5	0	0	372	0.3	0	0
YEAR STRUCTURE BUILT								
Total housing units	104,990	100	2,377	100	111,063	100.0	2,392	100.0
Built 2000 or later					5,774	5.2	0	0
Built 1990 to 1999	7,942	7.2	202	8.4	7,640	6.9	183	7.7
Built 1980 to 1989	11,228	10.1	209	8.7	11,384	10.3	208	8.7
Built 1970 to 1979	20,129	18.1	269	11.2	20,458	18.4	310	13.0
Built 1969 or before	66,089	62.95	1,719	72.32	65,807	59.2	1,691	70.7
HOUSING TENURE								
Occupied Housing Units	100,650	100	2,353	100	103,152	100.0	2,351	100.0
Owner-occupied	55,119	54.8	1,894	80.4	64,588	62.6	1,980	84.2
Renter-occupied	45,531	45.2	459	19.6	38,564	37.4	371	15.8
Avg household size: owner-occupied					2.42		2.44	
Avg household size: renter-occupied					2.25		2.47	

Source: Census Bureau (www.factfinder2.gov)

Table A4: Population Demographics (Sex, Age and Race)

	Marin 2000		Marinwood 2000		Marin 2012		Marinwood 2012	
SEX AND AGE	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Total population	247,289	100.0	6,357	100.0	252,759	100.0	5,870	100.0
Male	122,552	49.6	3,031	47.7	124,430	49.2	2,749	46.8
Female	124,737	50.4	3,326	52.3	128,329	50.8	3,121	53.2
Under 5 years	13,396	5.4	363	5.7	13,849	5.5	243	4.1
5 to 9 years	14,338	5.8	515	8.1	14,995	5.9	512	8.7
10 to 14 years	14,356	5.8	544	8.6	14,646	5.8	367	6.3
15 to 19 years	12,077	4.9	361	5.7	13,039	5.2	360	6.1
20 to 24 years	9,633	3.9	138	2.2	10,296	4.1	52	0.9
25 to 34 years	32,015	12.9	436	6.9	24,594	9.7	313	5.3
35 to 44 years	44,586	18.0	1,074	16.9	36,465	14.4	710	12.1
45 to 54 years	45,592	18.4	1,163	18.3	42,156	16.7	1,377	23.5
55 to 59 years	16,649	6.7	418	6.6	20,996	8.3	388	6.6
60 to 64 years	11,215	4.5	338	5.3	18,949	7.5	327	5.6
65 to 74 years	16,791	6.8	597	9.4	23,538	9.3	644	11.0
75 to 84 years	12,060	4.9	337	5.3	13,037	5.2	354	6.0
85 years and over	4,581	1.9	73	1.1	6,199	2.5	223	3.8
18 years and over	197,104	79.7	4,667	73.4	200,662	79.4	4,458	75.9
21 years and over	191,291	77.4	4,546	71.5	194,048	76.8	4,369	74.4
62 years and over	39,586	16.0	1,200	18.9	53,315	21.1	1,390	23.7
65 years and over	33,432	13.5	1,007	15.8	42,774	16.9	1,221	20.8
RACE								
Total population	247,289	100.0	6,357	100.0	252,759	100.0	5,870	100.0
One race	238,710	96.5	6,169	97.0	243,813	96.5	5,595	95.3
Two or more races	8,579	3.5	188	3.0	8,946	3.5	275	4.7
White	207,800	84.0	5,646	88.8	201,272	79.6	5,026	85.6
Hispanic or Latino	27,351	11.1	267	4.2	38,605	14.9	215	3.7
Black or African American	7,142	2.9	51	0.8	7,284	2.9	119	2.0
American Indian/ Alaska Native	1,061	0.4	14	0.2	667	0.3	0	0.0
Asian	11,203	4.5	380	6.0	14,407	5.7	302	5.1
Two or more races	8,579	3.5	188	3.0	8,946	3.5	275	4.7

Source: Census Bureau (www.factfinder2.gov)

Table A5: Proportions of Ethnicity in Dixie School District Students, 2003-04 to 2012-13 Academic Years

Ethnicity	2003-04	2004-05	2005-06	2006-07	2007-08	2008-09	2009-10	2010-11	2011-12	2012-13
White	78.7%	77.8%	77.2%	73.4%	70.1%	68.0%	71.9%	71.4%	70.0%	69.5%
Hispanic	7.2%	7.5%	8.7%	8.4%	9.9%	10.9%	12.8%	12.4%	13.2%	13.7%
Asian	9.5%	9.9%	9.6%	6.6%	6.6%	7.2%	9.4%	9.4%	9.0%	8.9%
African-American	2.7%	2.5%	2.4%	1.5%	1.8%	1.6%	2.6%	2.5%	2.7%	1.9%
Other	1.9%	2.3%	2.1%	10.1%	11.6%	12.3%	3.3%	4.3%	5.1%	6.0%

Source: Educational Data Partnership (http://www.ed-data.k12.ca.us/Pages/Home.aspx)