

Regulation: 40.6 Percent of the Cost of Multifamily Development

Paul Emrath, National Association of Home Builders (NAHB)

Caitlin Sugrue Walter, National Multifamily Housing Council (NMHC)

Regulation imposed by all levels of government accounts for an average of 40.6 percent of multifamily development costs, according to research by NAHB and NMHC.

Apartment development can be subject to a significant array of regulatory costs, including a broad range of fees, standards and other requirements imposed at different stages of the development and construction process. This joint research effort surveyed NAHB and NMHC members to quantify how much regulation exists and how much it is adding to the cost of developing much-needed new multifamily properties.

About NAHB

The National Association of Home Builders (NAHB) strives to protect the American Dream of housing opportunities for all, while working to achieve professional success for its members who build communities, create jobs and strengthen our economy. NAHB Multifamily provides services, benefits and opportunities to members with an interest in multifamily housing, including multifamily member meetings, newsletters, events, webinars and multifamily housing awards. It coordinates with other NAHB departments on advocacy efforts, economic studies and resources for multifamily housing. For more information, please visit NAHB Multifamily at nahb.org/nahb-community/councils/multifamily-council.

About NMHC

Based in Washington, D.C., the National Multifamily Housing Council (NMHC) is the leadership of the apartment industry. We bring together the prominent owners, managers and developers who help create thriving communities by providing apartment homes for 40 million Americans, contributing \$3.4 trillion annually to the economy. NMHC provides a forum for insight, advocacy and action that enables both members and the communities they help build to thrive. For more information, contact NMHC at 202/974-2300, e-mail the Council at info@nmhc.org, or visit NMHC's website at nmhc.org.

Introduction

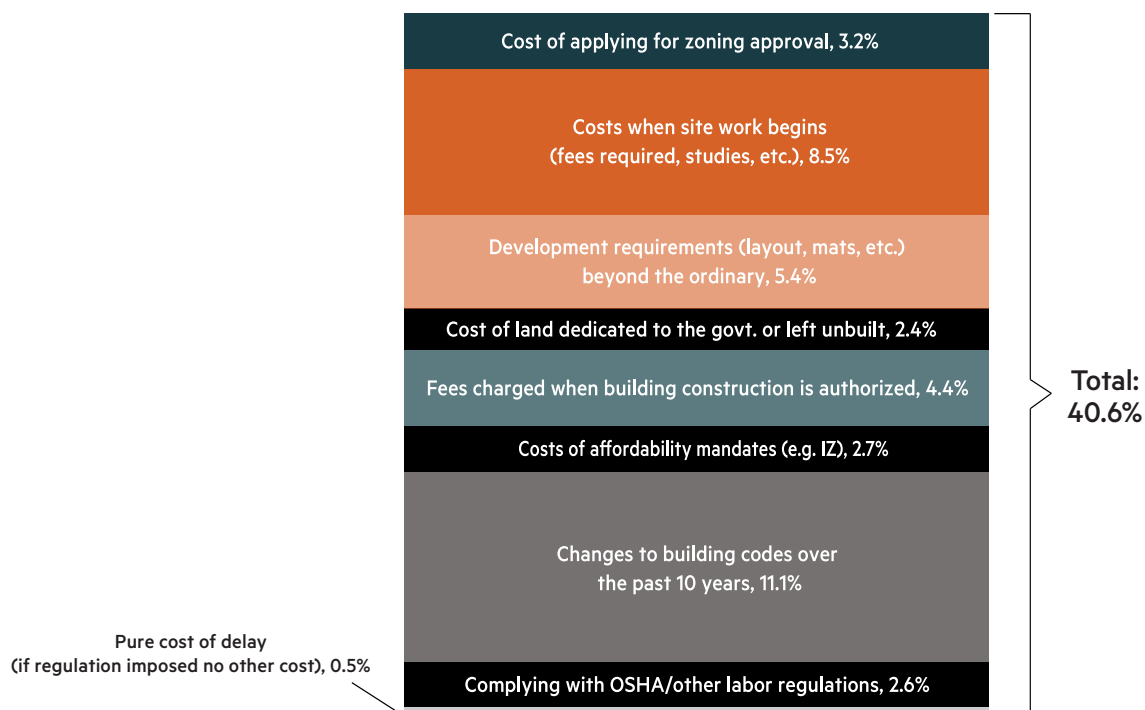
Multifamily development is subject to a variety of regulations at all levels of government. While some of these regulations are necessary to protect the health and safety of residents as well as the integrity of the building or community, it is informative to know the financial impact of each type of regulation, particularly in an era of widespread cost increases and worsening affordability problems for renters. Each added cost means the developer must increase rents for the project to remain financially feasible.

Regulations cover a wide-range of issues, and while they may be well-intentioned, the costs and burdens of any regulation must be carefully weighed against the benefits. Few would argue, for example, that basic safety standards for structures and workers are unnecessary. But, when regulation constitutes an average of 40.6 percent of a project's development costs, this raises questions about how thoroughly governments are considering the consequences of their actions. Are they aware of how much regulation currently exists? Do they realize how multiple regulations with conflicting standards can cause delays and increase costs? And do they understand the extent to which these increased costs translate into higher rents and make it difficult to build new housing that families with modest incomes can afford?

Recently, the [National Association of Home Builders](#) (NAHB) and the [National Multifamily Housing Council](#) (NMHC) undertook a joint research effort to find out how much government regulation adds to the cost of building new multifamily housing via a survey distributed to multifamily developers. (See Appendix 2).

The research finds that an average of **40.6 percent of total development costs** can now be attributed to complying with regulations imposed by all levels of government. Figure 1 shows how this percentage breaks down among the various types of regulation.

Figure 1. Average Cost of Regulation as a Percent of Total Multifamily Development Cost



Source: NAHB and NMHC

Perhaps more importantly, some of these regulatory mandates can discourage developers from building in the very marketplaces that have the greatest need for more housing. This can prove to be particularly burdensome in a world of rising costs. For example, 47.9 percent of multifamily developers said they avoid building in jurisdictions with policies such as inclusionary zoning, and a full 87.5 percent will avoid building in a jurisdiction with rent control in place.

There are also significant obstacles to development at the community level that are unrelated to governmental regulation. For instance, our research shows that “Not in My Backyard” (NIMBY) opposition to multifamily development adds an average of **5.6 percent to total development costs** and delays the delivery of new housing by an average of **7.4 months**. While most Americans agree that we need more housing and more housing affordable to middle-income households, too many change their opinion when someone proposes to put that new housing in their neighborhood. The intensity of opposition is escalated if that housing is rental housing.

About the Research

NAHB and NMHC distributed an identical survey in April 2022 to their respective memberships to access a wide range of development scales across the United States. The primary purpose was to quantify how much regulation exists for developers to contend with and how much that regulation is adding to the cost of developing new multifamily properties.

Some of these questions quantify the impact of regulations, such as inclusionary zoning and rent control, that not only may directly increase the costs of projects that are built but affect the supply and cost of housing in the community by causing some projects not to be built at all. An additional set of questions asked about the financial impact of NIMBYism, an issue that has been [widely identified as one of the major cost drivers](#) impacting affordability but where little quantifiable data currently exists.

A total of 49 usable responses were received. The responses from the survey were combined with existing public data and other survey collections to calculate the financial cost as a percent of total development cost for each regulation. A detailed description of the assumptions used in the calculations can be found in Appendix 1.

Total Cost of Regulations

Regulatory costs that exist during the multifamily development process can be divided into several categories. Table 1 shows the share of developer respondents subject to these various regulations and the average cost of each category as a percentage of the total development cost.

Table 1. Average Regulatory Costs as a Share of Total Multifamily Development

	Share With the Regulatory Cost	Regulation as a Percent of Total Development Cost	
		Average When Present*	Average Across All Properties
Cost of applying for zoning approval	93.9%	3.4%	3.2%
Costs when site work begins (fees, required studies, etc.)	98.0%	8.7%	8.5%
Dev. requirements (layout, mats, etc.) beyond the ordinary	91.8%	5.8%	5.4%
Cost of land dedicated to the government or left unbuilt	51.0%	4.7%	2.4%
Fees charged when building construction is authorized	95.9%	4.6%	4.4%
Costs of affordability mandates (e.g., inclusionary zoning)	38.8%	6.9%	2.7%
Changes to building codes over the past 10 years	100.0%	11.1%	11.1%
Complying with OSHA/other labor regulations	93.9%	2.7%	2.6%
Pure cost of delay (if regulation imposed no other cost)	95.9%	0.5%	0.5%
TOTAL COST OF REGULATION	100.0%	40.6%	40.6%

* The base is different for every percentage in this column, so the line items are not additive.

Source: NAHB and NMHC

As Table 1 indicates, the highest average regulatory cost is the result of changes to building codes over the past 10 years (11.1 percent of total development costs). The second highest are the costs imposed when site work begins (8.7 percent). The lowest average cost impact was the pure financial cost of delay, consisting of 0.5 percent when present, lower than the average cost of complying with Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA) or other labor regulations (2.7 percent when present).

The first significant interaction between a multifamily developer and the government typically occurs when the developer applies for zoning approval to allow multifamily housing to be built on a particular parcel of land. Regulatory costs at this stage can vary from costs associated with fees owed to the local jurisdiction for proceeding through the approval process to market or environmental impact studies that must be commissioned from private consultants.

In some cases, a developer can acquire land that allows for multifamily structures to be built on it without requiring rezoning or a special exemption. However, this is rare, with 93.9 percent of the respondents indicating that they must dedicate resources to rezone the land to allow multifamily construction. When they exist, these costs average 3.4 percent of the total development cost.

Once site work begins, local jurisdictions often require a variety of fees or other studies. Examples of fees could include impact fees (fees charged only on a new development to be used for capital improvements) or utility impact fees. Almost all respondents (98.0 percent) reported paying some of these costs in their typical project, representing an average of 8.7 percent of total development costs when present.

Understanding Table 1

The last column of the table shows the averages across all multifamily developments in the survey, even those not subject to a particular type of regulation (i.e., the “zeroes” are averaged in). The column to the left of that shows average costs calculated **only** for those properties that **are** subject to the regulation.

Note that because each percentage in the “Average When Present” column is calculated for a different set of properties, the rows in that column do not add up to the total. The primary reason for including this column is so readers interested in the comparatively uncommon regulations—such as requiring developers to leave some of their land unbuilt and affordability mandates such as inclusionary zoning—can see how costly these regulations tend to be when they are present.

The other categories of regulation in the table are widespread (impacting over 90 percent of multifamily developers). For them, the differences between the “Average When Present” and “Average Across All Properties” columns are negligible.

Most respondents (91.8 percent) were also required by their local jurisdiction to include certain design features in their project design that go beyond what they would ordinarily include. Examples include energy-efficiency upgrades or specific design requirements for facades. When present, complying with these requirements amounted to an average of 5.8 percent of total development costs.

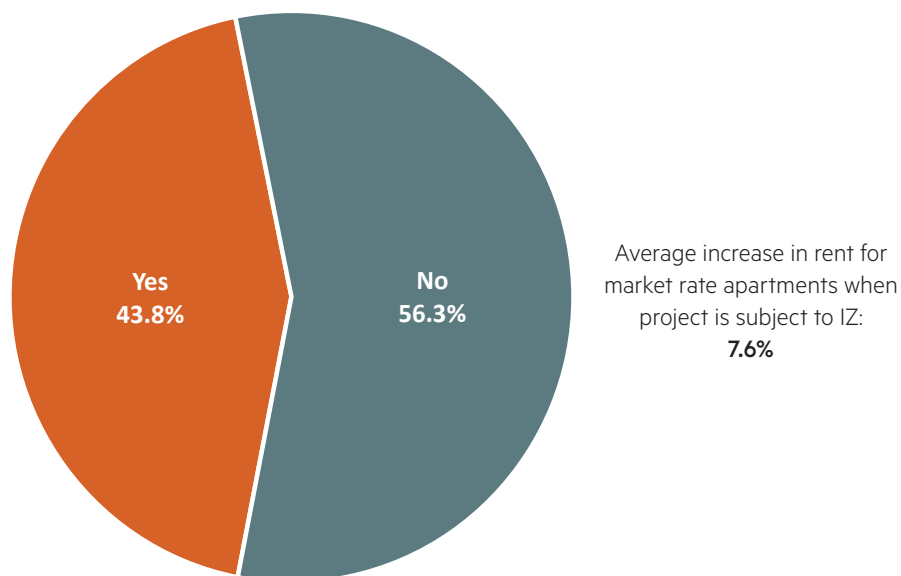
Governments can also require developers to leave a portion of the development site dedicated for government use or left unbuilt. This requirement reduces the amount of developable area, which means the revenue from that area is lost and must either be absorbed or made up for elsewhere. This requirement was present for approximately half (51.0 percent) of respondents; when present, it represented an average of 4.7 percent of total development costs.

Jurisdictions also often charge fees when site work is completed to authorize building construction. Examples of these costs include a fee when filing for a building permit or fees for additional utility hook-ups. Almost all respondents (95.9 percent) reported paying some sort of fee at this phase of development, with an average cost of 4.6 percent of total development cost when present.

Local affordability mandates are another important cost driver. These mandates are designed to increase the supply of affordable apartments. A common example is inclusionary zoning, where developers must offer a certain percentage of apartments at below-market rent levels. In many cases, a density bonus is provided to developers, which allows them to include more units in their project than ordinarily permitted by zoning to offset those lowered rents.

Unfortunately, these incentives are often inadequate and do not fully cover the lost rental revenue. In those cases, developers are forced to raise rents on the unrestricted apartments to fill the gap or to abandon the project altogether because it is no longer financially feasible.¹ These mandates were present in slightly over one-third (38.8 percent) of respondents' typical projects, and when present, they made up an average of 6.9 percent of total development costs (Figure 2). Respondents subject to inclusionary zoning report having to raise rents by an average of 7.6 percent.

Figure 2. Is Respondent's Typical Project in a Jurisdiction with Inclusionary Zoning?
(Percent of Respondents)



Source: NAHB and NMHC

¹ NAHB has developed an [Inclusionary Zoning Calculator Tool](#) to help developers and local jurisdictions determine if incentives are adequate to allow a project to be built.

The increase in costs to comply with changes to building codes over the past 10 years was the largest driver of development cost, amounting to 11.1 percent of total development costs.

Most jurisdictions have been adopting, revising and enforcing building codes for decades, and an entire industry has emerged supporting and encouraging changes to existing building codes. While building codes play an important role in protecting resident safety and building integrity, they have evolved well beyond their original purpose and now are also used to promote public policies like energy efficiency and sustainability.

Building code development and adoption are complex, and it is essential to consider impacts to housing affordability throughout the process. State and local jurisdictions adopt and enforce building codes, but federal policymakers are also active in the development of international model codes, and they promote the adoption of certain code editions. For example, the U.S. Department of Energy encourages states to adopt the most stringent versions of the model energy codes. Various policy groups, industry organizations and individual companies also advocate for code changes that promote specific goals. These changes do not always balance the needs of housing affordability and have the potential to drive up construction costs² without improving building safety or integrity.

Developers are also subject to complying with Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA) requirements and other labor regulations throughout the development process. While measures to protect the safety and health of construction workers are essential, NAHB has argued that some OSHA policies, like applying its [beryllium standards](#) to residential construction, simply drive construction costs up without impacting health or safety.

Fully 93.9 percent of respondents said they had to comply with these regulations and that they added 2.7 percent to total development costs.

Almost all respondents (95.9 percent) also reported that complying with regulations caused some sort of delay for their typical project. We estimate that “pure” cost of delay—the financial cost that taking the time to comply with that regulation would incur—would be an average of 0.5 percent of total development costs. This may not seem like a substantial number, but in an era of rising costs and diminishing affordability, any additional cost can impact project feasibility.

Affordability Mandates and Neighborhood Opposition Can Discourage Development Altogether

Aside from increasing development costs, some regulations and restrictions can impact whether development even occurs, which is incredibly harmful given the nation’s shortage of housing.

There are many factors a developer considers when choosing a potential site for a future development; primary among them is the market demand for the proposed units. Increasingly, however, developers are also forced to consider whether their chosen jurisdiction imposes affordability mandates on new development. Two of the most popular mandates are inclusionary zoning and rent control because they are wrongly deemed to be “quick and free” fixes to housing affordability challenges.

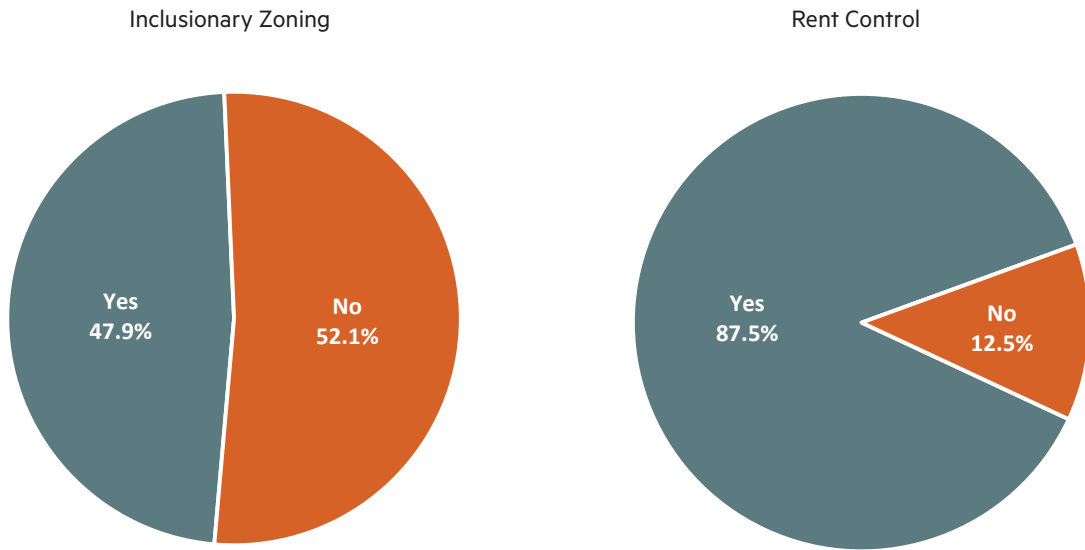
² NAHB’s subsidiary [Home Innovation Research Labs](#) has recently produced a [report](#) showing that codes adopted in 2018 increase construction costs for standard types of multifamily buildings between \$2,500 and \$25,000.

Research has shown, however, that these quick fixes, particularly rent control, [have many pitfalls](#). One major pitfall of both, as shown in Figure 3, is that it can deter development completely. Almost half of the respondents (47.9 percent) reported that they avoid building in jurisdictions with inclusionary zoning policies. The response was more acute for rent control—the overwhelming majority of respondents (87.5 percent) reported they avoid building in jurisdictions where rent control is present.

In fact, these mandates can impact the financial feasibility of a project, both in the short-term and long term. As a result, developers may simply choose to avoid jurisdictions with these mandates because of the difficulty in making a project pencil out.

Rent control regulations similarly differ depending on the local jurisdiction. In its basic form, rent control is a restriction on how much a property owner can raise a resident’s rent, ignoring market conditions. Some rent control laws exempt new construction from price controls, and others institute a cap on how much an owner can raise a resident’s rent, often tied to the Consumer Price Index (CPI).

Figure 3. Do Multifamily Developers Avoid Building in Jurisdictions with Certain Policies? (Percent Of Respondents)

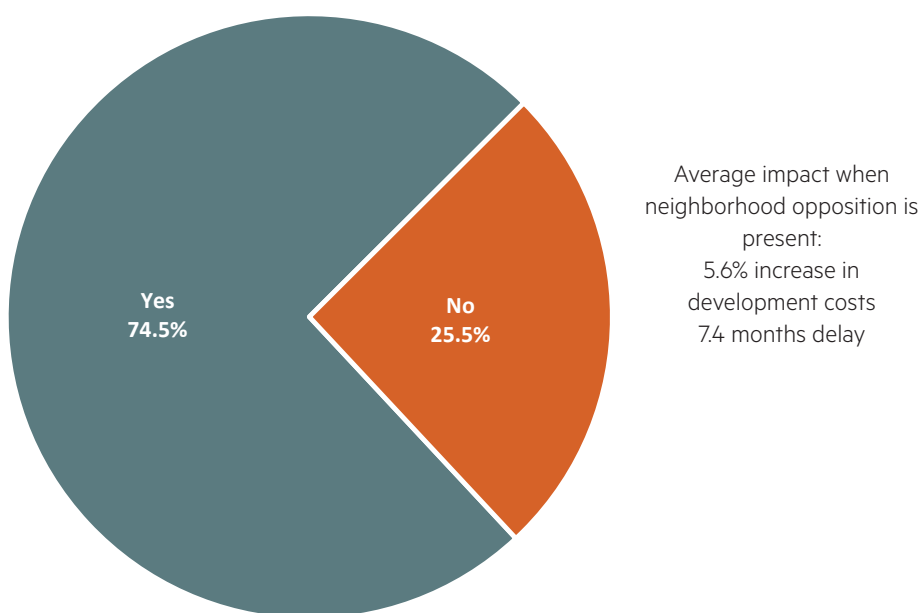


Source: NAHB and NMHC

Another major impediment to whether a project gets built can be neighborhood opposition. Opposition against multifamily development by current residents, commonly referred to as “Not in My Backyard” (NIMBY) opposition, can take many different forms. Residents may fight against rezoning attempts or may even file lawsuits to attempt to prevent development from occurring. Approximately three-quarters (74.5 percent) of respondents reported encountering neighborhood opposition to multifamily construction (Figure 4). The resources required to overcome this opposition add an average 5.6 percent increase in development costs when present. They also delay the development timeline by an

average of 7.4 months.

Figure 4. Have Developers Encountered Neighborhood Opposition To Multifamily Construction? (Percent Of Respondents)



Source: NAHB and NMHC

Conclusion

As the above discussion has demonstrated, multifamily development can be subject to many regulatory costs, including a broad range of fees, standards and other requirements imposed at different stages of the development and construction process. Because of this, it may not be surprising that regulation imposed by all levels of government accounts for 40.6 percent of multifamily development costs on average.

This research was solely restricted to the impact of regulations on total development costs. It is important to note that developers are also dealing with rapidly rising land, material, and labor costs. Combined, these costs make it virtually impossible for private sector developers to deliver housing at a price point that many working Americans can afford.

When multifamily development costs rise, it unavoidably translates to higher rents and reduced rental housing affordability. Multifamily developers cannot secure financing to build their projects unless they can demonstrate to lenders that the rents will be sufficient to cover costs and pay off the loans.

The purpose of this report is not to argue that all regulation is bad and should be eliminated, but that some of these regulations are likely duplicative as multiple levels of government impose regulations on the same project. In addition, many of these regulations do not have a relationship to resident safety or building integrity.

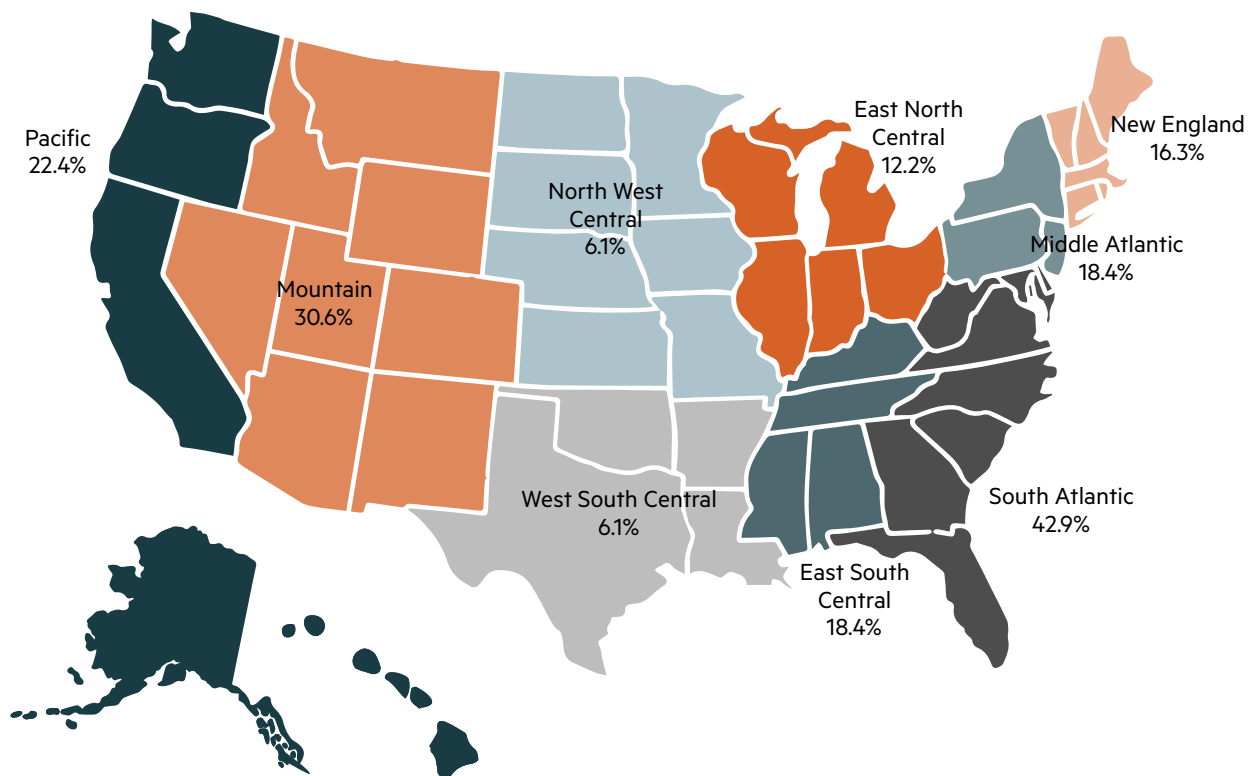
The research aims to raise awareness of how much regulation currently exists, how much it costs and to encourage governments to do a thorough job of considering the implications for housing affordability when proposing and implementing new directives. It is also to help inform local leaders that they also have the power to waive some of these duplicative costs, thus lowering the rent required for the project to remain financially feasible and improving affordability.

Respondent Profile

A total of 49 usable responses were received from multifamily developers, with a slightly higher concentration of NAHB members than NMHC members (and no duplicates). In one instance, two survey responses were accepted from one member company because the respondents represented different geographic areas.

All geographic areas in the United States were represented (see Figure 5). Respondents were able to choose more than one region of operation. The South Atlantic region (DE, DC, FL, GA, MD, NC, SC, VA, WV) had the largest representation, with 42.9 percent of respondents operating there, followed by the Mountain region (AZ, CO, ID, NM, MT, UT, NV, WY) with 30.6 percent and the Pacific region (AK, CA, HI, OR, WA) with 22.4 percent. The West North Central (IA, KS, MN, MO, NE, ND, SD) and West South Central (AR, LA, OK, TX) had the lowest representation at 6.1 percent of respondents each.

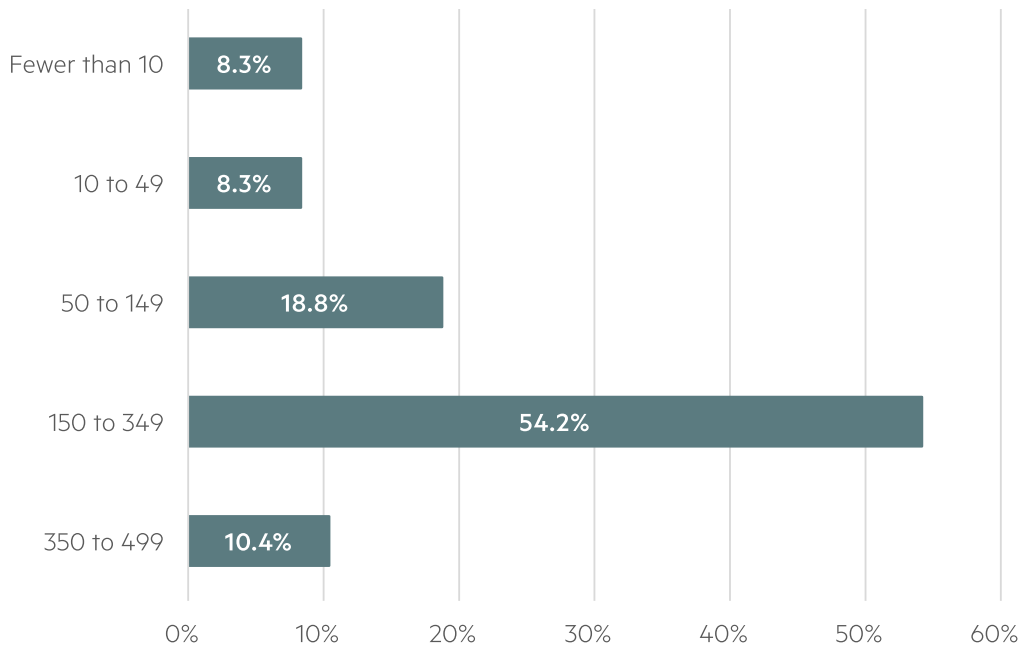
Figure 5. Share of Respondents Who Build in Each of the Nine Census Divisions



Source: NAHB and NMHC; U.S. Census Bureau

The respondents' typical project size varied widely: from fewer than 10 units to 499 (see Figure 6). The majority of respondents (54.2 percent) reported a typical project size of 150 to 349 units. Note that this is project size, not building size, meaning that each category could comprise both garden-style communities, which frequently have units spread across multiple buildings, as well as high-rise buildings, where all units are traditionally in one building.

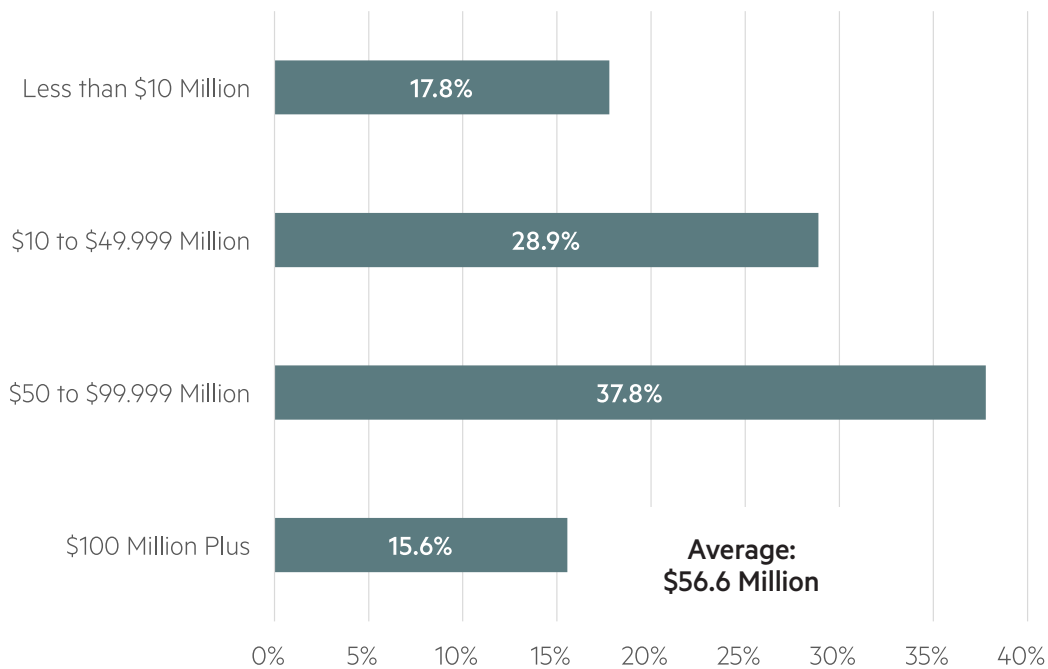
Figure 6. Number of Apartments in Respondent's Typical Project (Percent of Respondents)



Source: NAHB and NMHC

The typical total development cost varied as well but was slightly more evenly distributed (Figure 7). The average total development cost of respondents for a typical project was \$53.6 million. Barely over one-third (37.6 percent) reported a typical development cost of \$50 to \$99.99 million. Small and large projects were equally represented, with 17.8 percent of respondents reporting a cost of less than \$10 million and 15.6 percent indicating the typical project costs at least \$100 million.

Figure 7. Total Development Costs for Respondent's Typical Project (Percent of Respondents)



Source: NAHB and NMHC

Appendix 1: Assumptions Used in the Calculations

To calculate a final effect on development costs, many of the NAHB-NMHC survey responses need to be combined with additional information. Primarily these are assumptions about the terms of development and construction loans, how long construction typically takes, and how to allocate costs to different stages of the development and construction process. This appendix lists all the assumptions used in the calculations and gives the sources for each.

Loan Terms

1.1 point charged for all land acquisition, development, and construction (AD&C) loans, based on results from a Quarterly Finance Survey (QFS) that NAHB was conducting in the early to mid-2000s.

A 7.65 percent interest rate on all AD&C loans. The QFS indicates that rates are typically set one point above prime, and 6.65 percent is NAHB's estimate of the prime rate that would prevail in the long run under neutral Federal Reserve policy.

The estimates also assume that three-fourths of any category of costs are financed, based on typical AD&C loan-to-value ratios in the QFS.

Construction Lags

The source for information lags not directly collected in the NAHB-NMHC questionnaire is the [Survey of Construction](#), conducted by the Census Bureau and partially funded by the Department of Housing and Urban Development.

Preliminary estimates are taken from the published annual tables, averaged over the 2001-2016 period:

Authorization to start = 1.71 months

Start to completion = 10.87 months

If the project is 5-9 units

- Authorization to start = 1.95 months
- Start to completion = 11.64 months

If the project is 10+ units

- Authorization to start = 1.94 months
- Start to completion = 13.21 months

The NAHB-NMHC survey collected data on how much time regulation adds to the development process. To assign this to a particular phase of the development, the following assumptions are used.

The regulatory delay is split and attributed half to the lag between applying for zoning approval and the beginning of site work and half to the period after site work begins. If half of the regulatory delay exceeds the lag between applying for approval and the beginning of site work, the excess is also attributed to the period after site work begins.

It is first assumed that the resulting regulatory delay is attributable to the period between the start of site work and the start of building construction, minus three months (the assumed minimum time it would take to do site work in the absence

of regulation, based on conversations with developers). If any regulatory delay remains after being allocated to the zoning approval and site work periods, it is then attributed to the building construction period, and the start-to-completion lag is adjusted upward beyond the SOC-based average, accordingly.

The analysis assumes all loans are paid off when the buildings are completed.

Cost Breakdown

To implement the process described in the paragraph above and calculate a “pure” cost of delay (i.e., the effect regulatory delay would have even if the regulation imposed no other cost), estimates of costs incurred during different phases of the development process are needed.

The breakdown is based on the split between lot and construction costs in NAHB’s Construction Cost Surveys (averaged over surveys conducted since 2000) and the Census Bureau’s “non-construction cost factor” for raw land. The calculations also assume three-fourths of these costs are financed, based on typical AD&C loan-to-value ratios in the QFS.

Resulting assumptions:

- Only the cost of applying for zoning occurs at the very start of the development process. Financing costs associated with this are charged to the regulatory cost of the application and not counted in the pure cost of delay.
- 10.2 percent of total development represents costs financed by a land acquisition loan at the start of the site work phase.
- 10.8 percent of total development costs represent costs financed by a development loan during the site work phase, assuming draws on the loan occur on average halfway through this phase.
- 54.0 percent of total development costs represent costs incurred after building construction has started and financed with a construction loan, again assuming draws on the loan occur on average halfway through the site work phase.

Appendix 2: Survey Questionnaire

1. What regions do you build in? Please select all that apply.

- ☐ New England (CT, ME, MA, NH, RI, VT)
- ☐ Mid Atlantic (NJ, NY, PA)
- ☐ South Atlantic (DE, DC, FL, GA, MD, NC, SC, VA, WV)
- ☐ East North Central (IN, IL, MI, OH, WI)
- ☐ West North Central (IA, KS, MN, MO, NE, ND, SD)
- ☐ East South Central (AL, KY, MS, TN)
- ☐ West South Central (AR, LA, OK, TX)
- ☐ Mountain (AZ, CO, ID, NM, MT, UT, NV, WY)
- ☐ Pacific (AK, CA, HI, OR, WA)

2. How many units does your typical multifamily project have?

- ☐ 2-4 Units
- ☐ 5-9
- ☐ 10-49
- ☐ 50-149
- ☐ 150-349
- ☐ 350-499
- ☐ 500 units or more

3. What is the total dollar amount spent on development costs in your typical project?

\$_____

4. For a typical piece of land, how much does it cost to apply for zoning approval as a % of total development cost? *(Include costs of fiscal or traffic impact or other studies and any review or other fees that must be paid by the time of application. Please enter "0" if application costs are Zero percent).*

_____%

5. For a typical project, how many months does it take between the time you apply for zoning approval and the time you begin site work?

_____months

6. How much does it cost to comply with regulations when site work begins, as a % of total development costs? *(Include costs of complying with environmental or other regulations as well as the cost of hook-up or impact or other fees.) Please enter "0" if cost of complying with these regulations is Zero percent.*

_____%

7. How much do development requirements that go beyond what you would otherwise do (in terms of property layout, landscaping, materials used on building facades, etc.) add to your cost as a % of total development costs? *(Please enter "0" if the jurisdiction's requirements don't go beyond what you would normally do.)*

_____ %

8. In the typical case, what is the value of any land that must be dedicated to the local government or otherwise left unbuilt (for parks, open green space, etc.) as a % of total development cost? *(Please enter "0" if dedicating land is required infrequently.)*

_____ %

9. How many months does it take between the time you begin site work and the time you obtain authorization to begin construction of the apartment building(s)?

_____ months

10. How much extra time (in months) overall does complying with regulations add to the development process? *(Please enter "0" if regulations typically cause no delay).*

_____ months

11. When you obtain authorization to begin construction, how much do you pay in additional fees as a % of total development costs? In many cases, this will be only a permit fee but include any additional impact or hook-up or inspection fees if they kick in at this time. *(Please enter "0" if fees paid during or after construction are Zero percent).*

_____ %

12a. In the typical case, does a jurisdiction have inclusionary zoning/affordable housing requirements that apply to your project?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

12b. [If the answer to 12a is "yes"]. In the typical case, how much do these requirements (or a fee in lieu of affordable housing) cost as a % of total development cost? *(Please enter "0" if inclusionary zoning/affordable housing mandates/fees in lieu of affordable housing are encountered infrequently).*

_____ %

12c. [If the answer to 12a is "yes"]. In the typical case, how much do these additional requirements raise the rents of market-rate units?

_____ %

13. Do you typically avoid building in a jurisdiction if it has an inclusionary zoning requirement?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

14. Do you typically avoid building in a jurisdiction that has rent control?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

15. Over the past 10 years, how much have changes in construction codes and standards added to the cost of building a typical multifamily project as a % of total development costs? *(Please enter "0" if code changes have had minimal impact on costs).*

_____ %

- ☐ Please select if you have not been in operation for the past 10 years

16. How much does complying with OSHA or other labor regulations cost, as a % of total development cost? *(Please enter "0" if labor regulations have no impact on development costs).*

_____ %

17. Have you experienced added costs or delays due to neighborhood opposition to multifamily construction?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

18. In the typical case, how much costs are added to a project due to neighborhood opposition to multifamily development as a % of total development costs?

_____ %

19. In a typical case, how much extra time (in months) does it take to address neighborhood opposition to multifamily development?

_____ months

20. Comments: