

Clay says no to Soule Road senior housing plan

Clay Town Board voted 7-0 Monday night to deny a zoning change request from a developer who wanted to build a 35-unit senior housing complex on Soule Road.

CITY

Planning board does not discuss special permit proposal for apartment building Westcott Remix

REAL ESTATE

Town rejects plan for redeveloping Hinerwadel's

The town of Clay has rejected a proposal by three developers who planned to redevelop the site of the former Hinerwadel's Grove into a mix of commercial/retail and residential.

The developer needed zone changes for the 30-acre site at 5300 W. Taft Road, and the town voted in August not to grant these changes.

Home > Publications > Eagle Bulletin

Manlius Village Board rejects zone change for proposed apartments at Limestone Commons

A8 THURSDAY, JANUARY 5, 2023 THE POST-STANDARD

NEIGHBORS

CICERO

Town nixes \$100 million project that called for 278 apartments, townhomes

FAYETTEVILLE

Apartment project rejected; developer will revise plan

The Fayetteville Village Board voted unanimously to reject the proposal for apartments and a restaurant at the busy intersection of East Genesee Street (Route 5) and Highbridge Road.

Home > Publications > Baldwinsville Messenger

Van Buren: Planning board asks Crego Farm developer to nix apartments, keep townhouses

CICERO

Developer has new, smaller proposal for subdivision

After a plan to develop nearly 65 acres on Lakeshore Road between Mud Mill and Whiting roads in Cicero into homes was blocked by the town, a new proposal is now being reviewed.

The Bragman Cos. wants to develop 45 residential lots on the 64.47-acre property, known as the Horner Farmstead.

In 2021, the Bragman Cos. tried to secure a zone change from agricultural to residential to develop 115 lots for homes on that land. The Cicero Town Board rejected that zone change.

Exclusionary Zoning in Onondaga County

February 2023



The road to segregation is paved with weak intentions...Its sin is not bigotry, but blandness. Not a lack of goodwill, but a lack of will.

Senator Edward Brooke on the necessity of the Fair Housing Act, 1968

Acknowledgements

CNY Fair Housing thanks Jonnell Allen Robinson and Jackson Zimmerman of Syracuse Community Geography at Syracuse University's Maxwell School for their assistance and counsel in preparing the maps in this report.

We also thank zoning and planning officials from the Syracuse-Onondaga County Planning Agency and every village and town in Onondaga County for their assistance in procuring the official zoning codes and maps for each municipality.

Table of Contents

| | |
|---|-----------|
| Introduction | 1 |
| Fast facts | |
| Findings | 7 |
| Exclusionary Zoning is Widespread | |
| Bans on Apartments and Missing Middle Housing | |
| Onerous Permitting Requirements | |
| Land-Intensive Zoning Restrictions | |
| Exclusionary Zoning Perpetuates Segregations | |
| Recommendations | 14 |
| Allow a Greater Mix of Housing | |
| Allow Smaller Lots | |
| Allow Infill Housing in Commercial and Industrial Districts | |
| References | 17 |
| Appendices | 19 |
| Glossary | |
| Methods | |
| Maps | |

Introduction

Like many communities across the state and the nation, Onondaga County faces a housing affordability crisis. This crisis is particularly acute for County residents who rent their homes. Almost half of all renting households in Onondaga County are rent-burdened, meaning they spend at least 30% of their income on housing.¹ More than half of such cost-burdened households—that is, a quarter of all renter households in the County—are severely rent-burdened and spend at least half of their income on housing.² Although the share of homeowners that are cost-burdened is comparatively lower, still nearly 7% of owner households countywide were severely cost-burdened in 2020 while another 9% were moderately cost-burdened.³

The strain of the housing affordability crisis is not experienced equally by all County residents. Both Black and Hispanic households are more likely than white households to face high rental cost burdens. While 22% of White renter households in Onondaga County faced severe housing cost-burdens in 2020, that figure was nearly 27% for Hispanic households and over 35% for Black households.⁴

Zoning ordinances – laws that regulate whether and what type, size, and mix of housing and other land uses may be built in a given locality or neighborhood – have a dominant influence on housing costs through their impact on housing supply. The City of Syracuse created Onondaga County's first zoning ordinance in 1922. In the 100 years since Syracuse introduced zoning to Central New York, every other municipality in the County—except the Town of Otisco—has adopted its own zoning ordinance. These 34 distinct ordinances govern development on 95% of the land in Onondaga County.

Despite zoning's ubiquity, it can be difficult to assess its impact on housing construction. Each of the County's 34 zoning ordinances has its own unique district regulations, and not every ordinance is easily accessible to the public. There is neither a unified countywide zoning ordinance database nor a countywide zoning map. The lack of countywide zoning data obscures zoning's role in shaping our community.

This report seeks to shine a light on how zoning influences housing opportunities in Onondaga County. It does so by examining all 34 zoning ordinances in the County to map where such laws allow different types of housing to be built. Using those maps, it then analyzes the distinct dimensional, administrative, and other requirements applicable to residential development within each zoning district and assigns a grade to each municipalities' zoning ordinance based upon the degree to which it allows for the construction of a variety of housing types and thereby affords County residents greater and more affordable housing options.

This analysis shows that land-use regulations in Onondaga County are dominated by exclusionary zoning—a term that refers to zoning regulations that restrict housing diversity by largely prohibiting

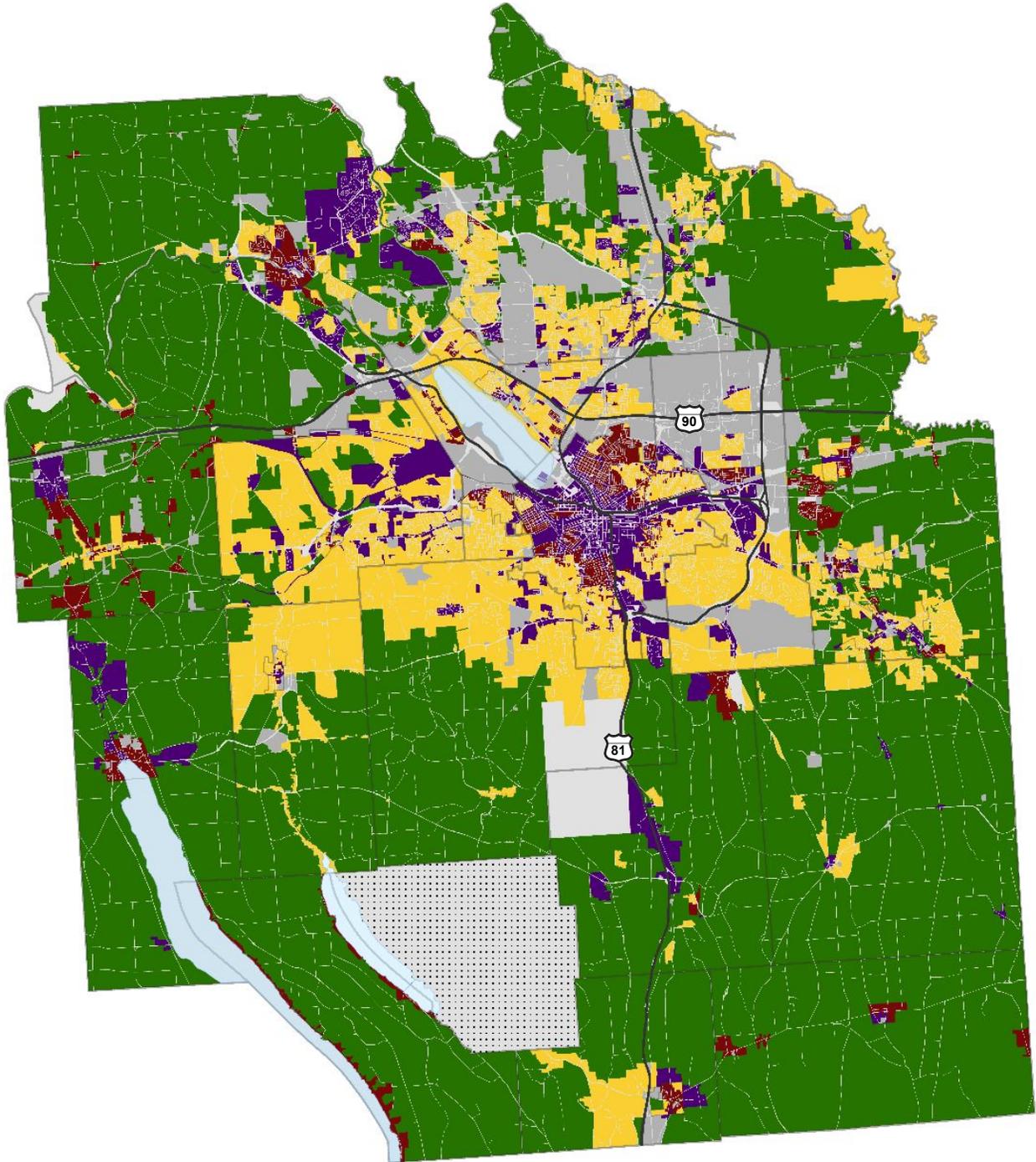
apartment buildings and other multi-unit housing and allowing only the construction of detached single-family houses. The vast majority of municipalities in the County severely constrain the construction of a more diverse and affordable array of housing types, which contributes to both residential segregation and urban sprawl. With the County expected to experience a substantial influx of new residents in the coming years, the County's municipalities must revise current zoning laws to avoid further exacerbating the existing housing affordability crisis and to accommodate a growing demand for housing in a more equitable manner.

Methodology

To evaluate the degree to which the County's 34 zoning ordinances impede more inclusive and affordable housing development, we first used GIS mapping software to create a comprehensive and previously non-existent countywide zoning map. To do so, we reviewed the official zoning maps for each of the 34 County jurisdictions that have adopted a zoning ordinance and then assigned a distinct zoning district to each parcel in Onondaga County's countywide GIS parcel file. The assigned zoning districts reflect the housing types and other land uses permitted within each district. Using this map, we calculated the total land area encompassed by each of the 355 distinct zoning districts in Onondaga County.

After creating the countywide zoning map, we then applied a 15-factor scoring rubric to each zoning district within each municipality to allow for cross-jurisdictional comparisons of restrictions on housing construction. The scoring rubric measures the exclusionary restrictions of each municipality's zoning regulations on a 100-point scale by identifying the presence and extent of zoning regulations known to drive up the cost of housing. Such regulations include additional permitting requirements, onerous dimensional restrictions, excessive parking mandates, and outright prohibitions on apartment buildings and other forms of multifamily housing. Cost-increasing regulations also include large lot size requirements for single-family housing. A complete description of the factors considered and methodology used is included in Appendix 2.

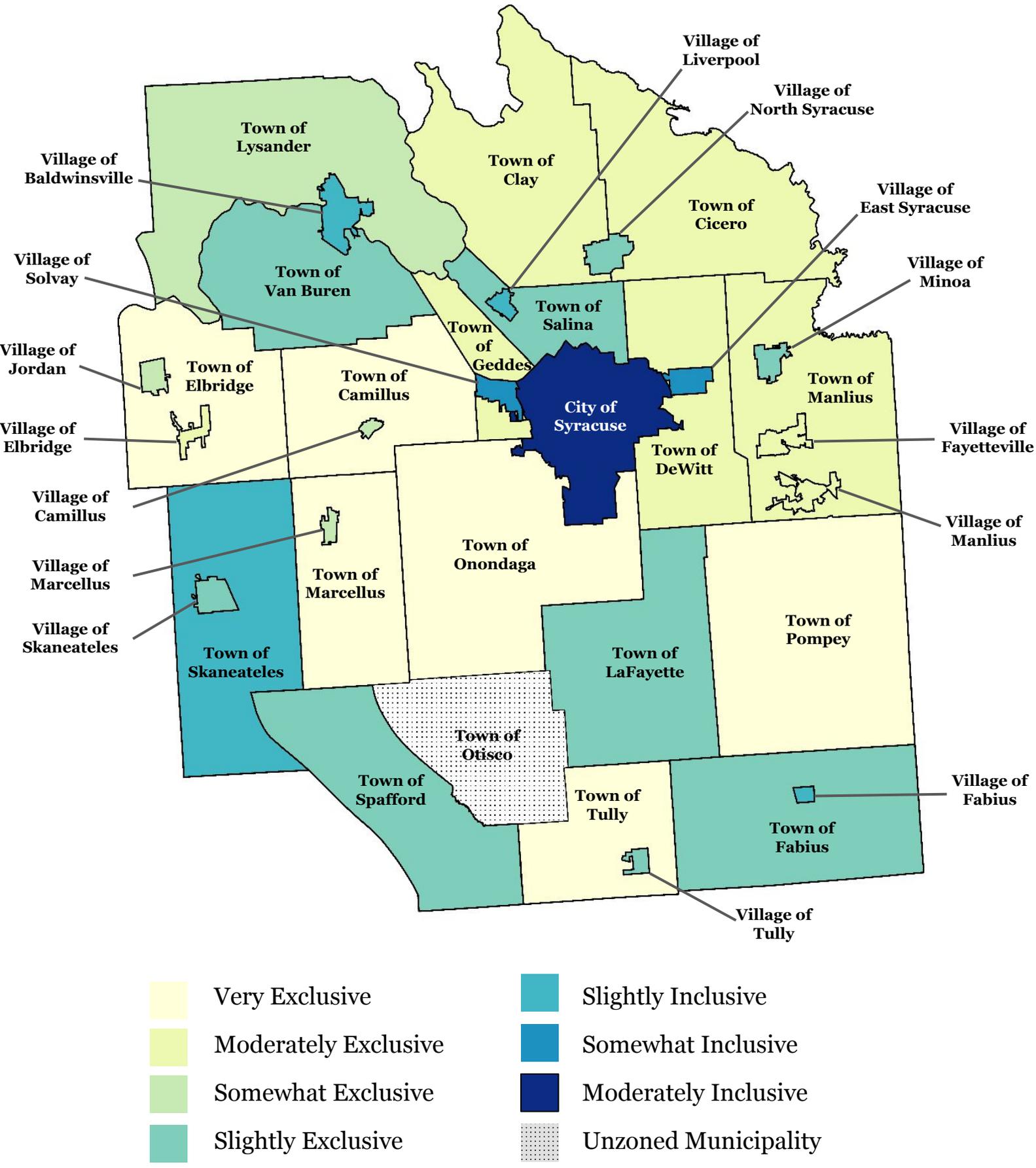
Figure 1: Countywide Zoning Map



- | | |
|--|---|
|  Rural |  Missing Middle Housing |
|  Non-Residential |  Multifamily Housing |
|  Detached Single-Family Housing |  Unzoned Municipality |

(definitions of these terms as used in this report can be found in Appendix 1)

Figure 2: Zoning Inclusivity Ratings For Onondaga County Municipalities



Fast Facts

- Overall, Onondaga County's zoning is **Somewhat Exclusive**.
- Multifamily and missing middle housing is banned in **74%** of urbanized residential land.
- Multifamily housing is allowed by-right on just **3%** of urbanized residential land. Outside the City of Syracuse, that figure drops to **1%**.
- **24%** of Onondaga County's land zoned for urbanized detached single-family housing requires each house to sit on a lot at least an acre in size.
- Just **14%** of Onondaga County's land zoned for urbanized residential use allows enough homes per acre to support walkability and transit service. Outside of the City of Syracuse, that number drops to **5%**.

| Municipalities Ranked | Score | Rating |
|-------------------------------|-------|----------------------|
| 1. City of Syracuse | 76.4 | Moderately Inclusive |
| 2. Village of East Syracuse | 64.1 | Somewhat Inclusive |
| 3. Village of Solvay | 60.7 | |
| 4. Village of Baldwinsville | 58.4 | |
| 5. Village of Fabius | 57.6 | Slightly Inclusive |
| 6. Village of Liverpool | 57.6 | |
| 7. Town of Skaneateles | 55.7 | |
| 8. Town of Spafford | 54.8 | |
| 9. Town of Lafayette | 54.5 | |
| 10. Village of Tully | 54.4 | |
| 11. Town of Van Buren | 54.0 | |
| 12. Village of North Syracuse | 53.6 | Slightly Exclusive |
| 13. Town of Salina | 53.4 | |
| 14. Village of Minoa | 52.3 | |
| 15. Village of Skaneateles | 50.8 | |
| 16. Town of Fabius | 50.4 | |
| 17. Town of Lysander | 50.0 | |
| 18. Village of Marcellus | 49.0 | Somewhat Exclusive |
| 19. Village of Jordan | 47.4 | |
| 20. Village of Camillus | 46.8 | |
| 21. Village of Elbridge | 44.8 | |
| 22. Village of Manlius | 44.6 | |
| 23. Village of Fayetteville | 44.5 | |
| 24. Town of Geddes | 44.5 | Moderately Exclusive |
| 25. Town of DeWitt | 41.9 | Exclusive |
| 26. Town of Cicero | 41.6 | |
| 27. Town of Clay | 41.0 | |
| 28. Town of Manlius | 40.2 | |
| 29. Town of Elbridge | 39.8 | |
| 30. Town of Tully | 38.2 | |
| 31. Town of Pompey | 36.9 | |
| 32. Town of Onondaga | 36.1 | |
| 33. Town of Camillus | 35.7 | |
| 34. Town of Marcellus | 32.6 | Very Exclusive |

Findings

Exclusionary Zoning is Widespread

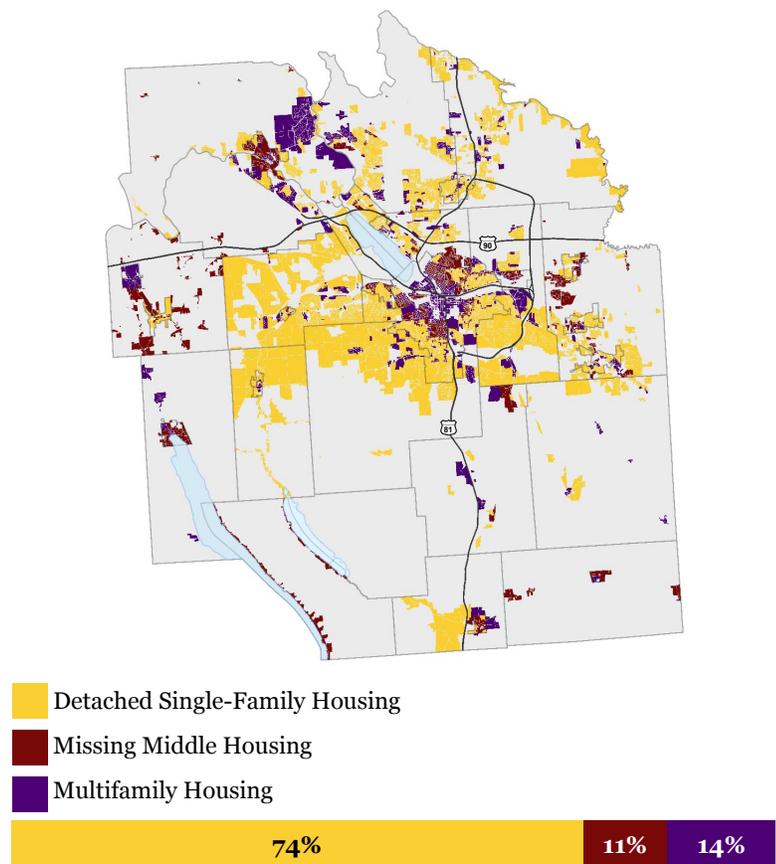
Across Onondaga County, existing zoning laws largely mandate that new housing construction take the form of detached single-family houses. With very few exceptions, the County's municipalities have adopted zoning ordinances that either prohibit or severely restrict the development of both apartment buildings and even smaller-scale inclusionary housing options, such as duplexes and rowhouses.

Bans on Apartments and Missing Middle Housing

Of all land zoned for urbanized residential use* in the County, approximately three quarters (74%) is zoned to restrict residential development to only detached, single-family homes. Conversely, development of small multi-unit housing types of a similar scale to single-family homes and commonly referred to as “missing middle” housing – including duplexes, rowhomes, mobile homes, accessory dwelling units, and small apartment buildings with fewer than 10 units – are allowed on only 26% of residentially zoned land in the County. This figure is even smaller for multifamily apartment buildings with 10 units or more. Construction of such apartment buildings is restricted to just 15% of Onondaga County's residentially zoned land. Such pervasive restrictions on any residential development other than detached, single-family homes makes housing more expensive because such housing requires more land and building material per housing unit than duplexes, townhomes, apartments, and other housing types.

Figure 3 shows where different housing types are allowed in urbanized residential zoning districts across Onondaga County. A larger version of this and other maps can be found in Appendix 3.

Figure 3: Land Zoned for Urbanized Residential Use



*As used in this report, this term refers to land zoned both exclusively for residential uses and mixed use districts such as village centers and downtown Syracuse, but not including agricultural land or rural residential districts not meant to be served by municipal utilities. A full glossary of terms used in this report is included in Appendix 1.

Onerous Permitting Requirements

Even the small percentages of land zoned to allow multifamily apartments and missing middle housing give an overgenerous impression of the opportunities to build such housing in the County. That's because even when multifamily and missing middle housing is allowed within a given district under local zoning codes, development of such housing is often subject to special permitting requirements that are not applicable to detached single-family housing, which can be developed by-right. Taking such additional permitting requirements into account, we found that missing middle housing can be developed by-right on only 12% of residentially zoned land in the County—less than half the total area where missing middle housing is listed as an allowed use. By-right development of multifamily apartments with 10 or more units is allowed on just 3% of all land zoned for residential use—less than a quarter of the total area where it is nominally allowed.

Of the 34 Onondaga County municipalities that have adopted a zoning code, 23 towns and villages – more than two thirds of all County jurisdictions – have *no* land within their boundaries on which apartment buildings with 10 or more units can be developed without a special permitting process. Another two jurisdictions allow multifamily development by-right on less than 1% of residentially zoned land. Outside of the City of Syracuse, just 1% of land zoned for urbanized residential use allows multifamily housing by-right.

Figures 4 through 6 show how discretionary approval processes constrain the availability of detached single-family, missing middle, and multifamily housing. Figure 7 shows where all three types of housing are allowed by-right in urbanized residential zoning districts. Areas that allow multiple types of housing (such as multifamily *and* detached single-family) are shown in the color corresponding to the allowed housing type that can accommodate the greatest number of households (e.g. districts that allow both detached single-family and missing middle housing are shown in brown). Larger versions of these maps can be found in Appendix 3.

Pervasive restrictions on the location of missing middle and multifamily housing, combined with more onerous permitting requirements, work together to inflate housing costs across the County. Discretionary approval processes for apartment and other multifamily housing construction increase the cost of housing because such processes commonly result in approval delays and additional expenditures on project redesigns and legal fees in order to secure project approval. In one empirical study that examined the impact of various land use regulations on housing prices, researchers found that local political pressure – a metric that included involvement by local elected officials in the approval process and the importance given to citizen opposition to residential development – inflated housing prices more than any of the other regulatory indices evaluated.⁵ The same study found that the degree of approval delays typical for residential development had the second highest inflationary impact on housing prices.

Figure 4: Detached Single-Family By-Right and Subject to Discretionary Approval

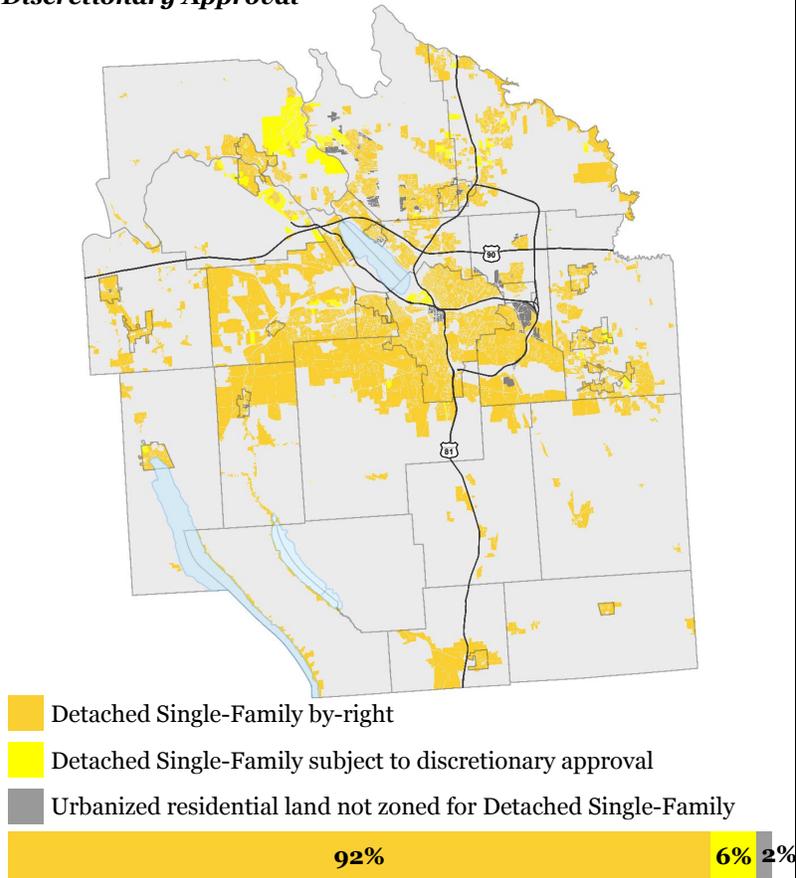


Figure 5: Missing Middle By-Right and Subject to Discretionary Approval

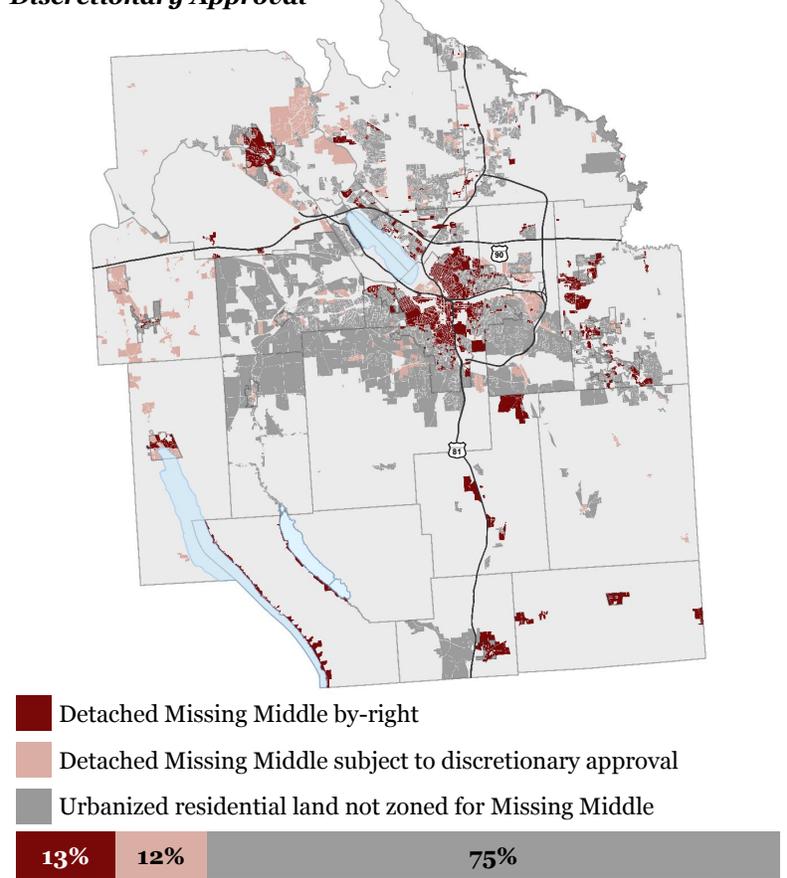


Figure 6: Multifamily By-Right and Subject to Discretionary Approval

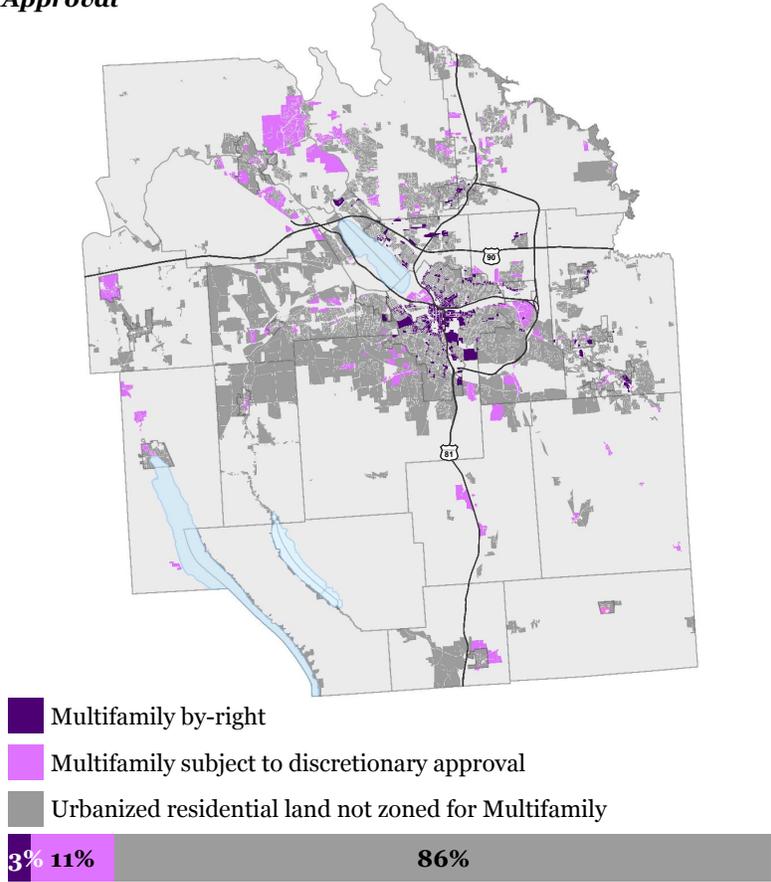
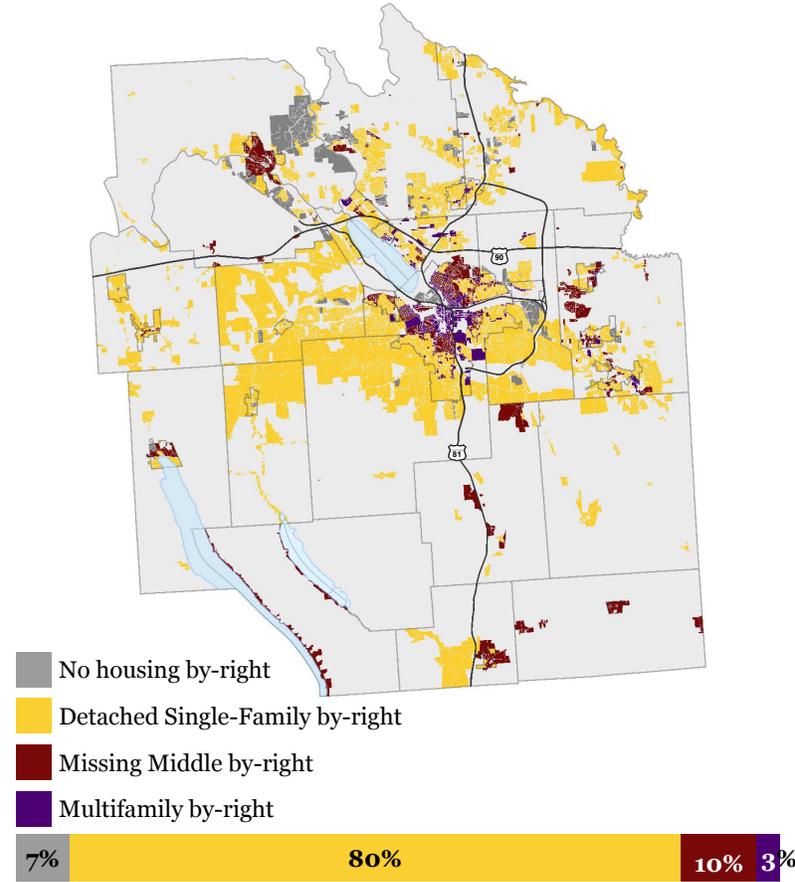


Figure 7: Land Zoned for Urbanized Residential Use by-right



Land-Intensive Zoning Restrictions

Apartment bans and other zoning restrictions based on housing type aren't the only local land use regulations that limit housing construction and increase housing prices. Excessive minimum lot size regulations, which ban new housing construction on lots below a certain square footage, also constrain housing development across Onondaga County, including development of single-family housing. Large lot size requirements inherently limit the number of housing units that can be constructed in a given area, which constrains supply and spurs sprawl.

Research has repeatedly shown that by constraining housing supply, large lot zoning drives up housing prices. While the precise impact is difficult to measure, one study by Harvard researchers found that increasing minimum lot size requirements by one-acre is associated with a 13% increase in house prices, even for comparable house types.⁶ Another study found that large lot size requirements can increase the price of single-family homes by as much as 20% and that the inflationary impact on housing prices of such requirements increases over time.⁷ Research also demonstrates that large lot size requirements drive up the cost of rental housing. In one recent study to assess the impact of minimum lot size requirements on rents nationwide, a researcher at Yale University found that doubling the minimum lot area requirement increases rents by 6%.⁸ A similar study that compared housing costs across zoning district boundaries in the Boston metro area found that average monthly rents were 12.6% lower per unit for multifamily properties located in districts with more relaxed lot area restrictions as compared to properties located immediately across the zoning boundary in the district with more stringent area restrictions.⁹

Of all County land zoned to allow urbanized detached single-family housing, just 10% (almost entirely within the City of Syracuse) allows homes to be built on lots of less than 5,000 square feet (a development pattern common in the County's historic neighborhoods). Countywide, zoning regulations require individual homes to sit on lots of at least 40,000 square feet (roughly 1 acre) on approximately a quarter (24%) of all urbanized residential land zoned to allow detached single-family houses. The spatial distribution of large-lot zoning in Onondaga County is depicted in Figure 8.

Some municipalities combine these absolute minimum lot area requirements with per-unit or per-bedroom area requirements for multifamily housing that increase housing costs for family-sized apartments. The Towns of Manlius¹⁰ and Clay,¹¹ for instance, require apartment buildings of three- and four-bedroom units to sit on larger lots than those required for buildings containing just studio and one-bedroom units.

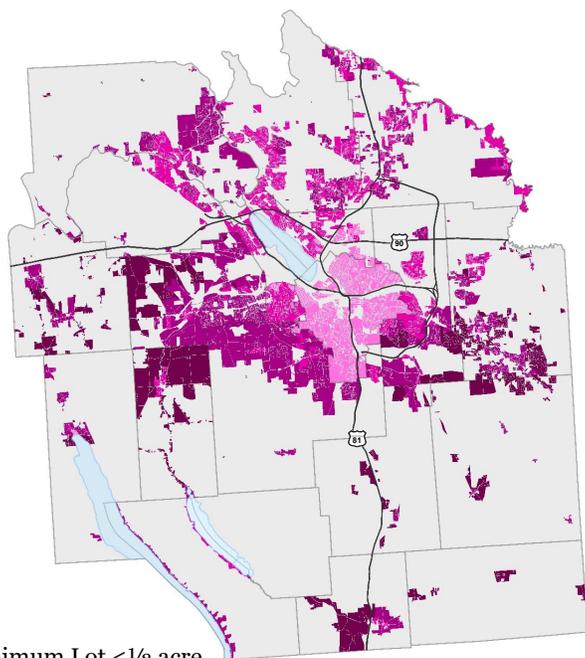
Excessive parking requirements for multifamily housing that are out of step with actual rates of car ownership are also commonly found in the County's municipal zoning codes and increase the cost of providing such housing. Despite the fact that 78% of renting households in Onondaga County own

either one or no car, as compared to 35% of homeowner households,¹² the vast majority of local codes impose either the same or greater parking requirements for multifamily housing as compared to detached single-family housing. In some instances, zoning codes require more than two parking spaces per unit, even though 87% of all households in the County own fewer than three cars.¹³ For example, the Town of Cicero requires 2 parking spaces for detached single-family homes and small apartments, but 3 parking spaces for family-sized apartments of 3 bedrooms or more.¹⁴

By reducing the number of homes that can be built in a given area, these lot size requirements spread people out so that neighborhood foot traffic can't support local businesses and public transit becomes impractical. These dynamics make for unsustainable development, and they contribute to segregation.

As shown in Figure 9, just 14% of urbanized residential land in Onondaga County is zoned to allow at least 10 housing units per net residential acre (a development pattern that would result in transit-supportive and walkable neighborhoods). Outside of the City of Syracuse, only 5% of urbanized residential land allows that many homes.

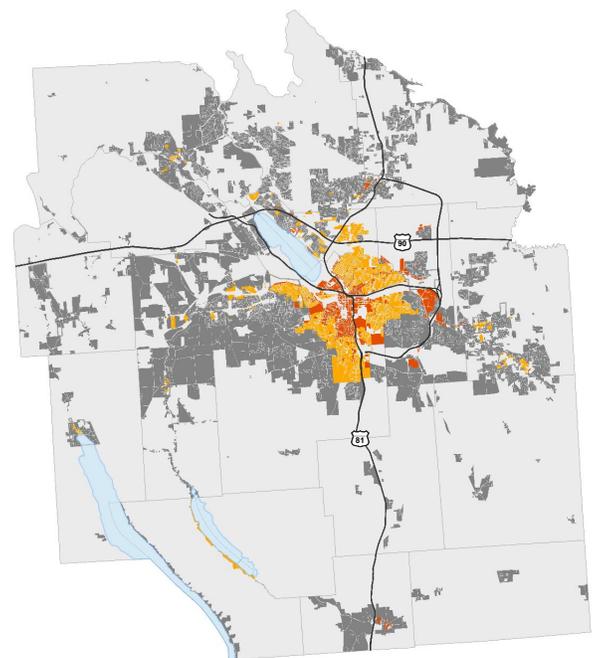
Figure 8: Minimum Lot Size for Detached Single-Family Houses



- Minimum Lot $< 1/8$ acre
- Minimum lot $1/8$ - $1/4$ acre
- Minimum lot $1/4$ -1 acre
- Minimum lot 1+ acre

10% 27% 39% 24%

Figure 9: Housing Allowed per Acre in Land Zoned for Urbanized Residential Use



- 20+ Homes Allowed per Acre
- 10-20 Homes Allowed per Acre
- Fewer than 10 Homes Allowed per Acre

4% 10% 86%

Exclusionary Zoning Perpetuates Segregation

Excessive zoning restrictions on missing middle and multifamily housing development not only increase the cost of housing, they also contribute to racial and ethnic residential segregation. Discretionary approval processes for apartments and other residential projects create opportunities for bias, prejudice, and misinformation—either from local officials or from the people who speak at zoning and planning meetings—to influence what kind of housing gets built in a neighborhood and, correspondingly, who is able to live there. Participants at zoning and planning hearings tend to be unrepresentative of the broader community. Research shows that such participants overwhelmingly oppose the construction of new housing and, as compared to the local population as a whole, are disproportionately white, older, male, and homeowners.¹⁵

Analyses of the impact of restrictions on multifamily housing construction, minimum lot size requirements, and other housing-limiting zoning measures have repeatedly demonstrated that such land use regulations increase racial segregation.¹⁶ For example, one recent study of zoning regulations in cities and counties in California concluded that areas dominated by land zoned for single-family detached homes are more likely to contain higher shares of white residents and lower shares of Black and Hispanic residents.¹⁷ Similarly, another recent study of zoning restrictions in metropolitan areas across Massachusetts reported that blocks zoned to allow multifamily housing by-right have Black and Hispanic population shares 3.4% and 5.5% higher, respectively, than single-family zoned blocks located directly across a zoning district border from them.¹⁸ More broadly, an assessment of zoning regulations in the largest 25 metropolitan areas in the U.S. estimated that anywhere from 25% to 50% of contemporary segregation is attributable to housing-limiting zoning.¹⁹

The mechanisms by which exclusionary zoning ordinances contribute to residential segregation in other communities operate similarly in Onondaga County. Compared to white residents of the County, minority residents are twice as likely to rent their homes²⁰ and almost twice as likely to live in missing middle or multifamily housing.²¹ Zoning restrictions that ban the construction of diverse housing types perpetuate the County's entrenched patterns of segregation.

Recommendations

Allow a Greater Mix of Housing

As noted above, many municipalities in Onondaga County allow just one single type of housing development on the vast majority of their residentially-zoned land—detached single-family houses. This housing monoculture hampers new residential construction, increases housing costs in a given neighborhood, and thereby contributes to both economic and racial segregation.

Local zoning codes should be amended to allow a greater variety of housing types in currently exclusionary zoning districts that allow only detached single-family housing, which presently constitute the predominant form of residential zoning in Onondaga County.

The Villages of East Syracuse and Jordan have shown how this can be done.

In East Syracuse, there is no exclusionary detached single-family-only zoning. Instead, missing middle housing, such as two-family houses, accessory dwelling units, and small apartment buildings, are allowed in every residential zoning district in the Village.

The Village of Jordan recently amended its zoning ordinance to make a similar change. It replaced three of its residential zoning districts—one for detached single-family housing, one for missing middle housing, and one for multifamily housing—with one new district that allows the construction of a wide variety of housing types including detached single-family, missing middle, and multifamily options.

Any municipality in the County could make similar changes to its zoning ordinance to allow a wider diversity of housing types and create more inclusive neighborhoods.

Allow Smaller Lots

Onondaga County's municipal zoning ordinances should allow new housing to be constructed on less land. Many suburban municipalities require detached single-family housing—their most common type of development—to be constructed on lots no smaller than a quarter acre. Even worse, many suburbanizing areas are governed by even more restrictive area regulations that require lots to be at least an acre in size. Even where these ordinances allow missing middle or multifamily housing, many require huge lot sizes and land-intensive design features such as large setbacks and excessive parking. These regulations mandate sprawl, they make public transit impractical, and they make new housing more expensive.

The County's municipalities should relax their dimensional requirements to allow more housing on smaller lots. This is already the case within the City of Syracuse. In all of its districts zoned principally for residential use, the City of Syracuse allows detached single-family, missing middle, and/or multifamily housing on 4,000 square foot lots.

Every municipality should amend its zoning ordinance to allow similarly sustainable, walkable, transit-supportive development patterns of at least 10 housing units per net acre.

Allow Infill Housing in Commercial and Industrial Districts

On their own, reforms to existing urbanized residential zoning regulations will not be enough to allow sufficient construction of new, inclusive housing simply because so much residentially zoned land is already being used for housing and is unlikely to be redeveloped. Onondaga County needs a way to make new land available for infill housing in order to expand housing opportunities while also protecting increasingly scarce rural, agricultural and environmentally sensitive land.

Fortunately, the County has ample underutilized urbanized land that is already served by municipal utilities and which could easily be used for new housing. Commercial and industrial zoning districts account for 34% of all urbanized land in Onondaga County. Due to deindustrialization and changing retail markets, many of these properties are currently underutilized, and the County's urbanized area is littered with dead malls, empty shopping strips, and crumbling factories. Zoning reform can allow new housing on this land to create inclusive housing opportunities across Onondaga County.

The Town of DeWitt, the City of Syracuse, and the Village of Camillus have demonstrated how zoning reform can allow these ailing properties to be redeveloped as much-needed mixed-use, multifamily housing. In DeWitt, the Town created a set of "Mixed-Use Village" zoning overlays that allow greater flexibility in redeveloping distressed commercial properties, and a team of local developers is already taking advantage of them to convert vacant Shoppingtown Mall into a neighborhood containing a healthy mix of housing types. Similarly, the Village of Camillus created a Planned Development zoning district on the vacant Camillus Cutlery site, and it's been redeveloped as a mix of retail and multifamily housing. The City of Syracuse does even better by allowing multifamily housing by-right in some industrial districts—thereby eliminating many of the costs and delays associated with discretionary development—and builders have converted many vacant factories into new housing.

Other municipalities in Onondaga County should take a similar approach and leverage new housing demand to redevelop distressed nonresidential properties such as Seneca Mall in Clay and Northern Lights in Salina into new housing.

References

1. Local Housing Solutions, Housing Needs Assessment Report for Onondaga County, NY (hereinafter, Onondaga County Housing Needs Report) available at: https://www.policymap.com/report_widget?type=fur&area=predefined&sid=10192&pid=696962859, last accessed Nov. 30, 2022.
2. *Id.*
3. *Id.*
4. *Id.*
5. See Robert W. Wassmer and Joshua A. Williams. 2021. “The Influence of Regulation on Residential Land Prices in United States Metropolitan Areas,” *Cityscape: A Journal of Policy Development and Research* 23(1): 9-36, available at: <https://www.huduser.gov/portal/periodicals/cityscpe/vol23num1/article1.html>.
6. Bryce Ward, Jenny Schuetz, and Edward Glaeser. 2006. “How Large Lot Zoning and Other Town Regulations Are Driving Up Home Prices, COMMONWEALTH (Jan 1. 2006), available at: <http://commonwealthmagazine.org/uncategorized/how-large-lot-zoning-and-other-town-regulations-aredriving-up-home-prices/>.
7. See Jeffrey Zabel and Maurice Dalton. 2011. “The Impact of Minimum Lot Size Regulations on House Prices in Eastern Massachusetts,” *Regional Science and Urban Economics* 41: 571-583.
8. Jaehee Song. 2021. “The Effects of Residential Zoning in U.S. Housing Markets,” Working Paper, available at: https://static1.squarespace.com/static/6160e89a75cba2217fc14866/t/61a3f4ea1898562e22cf38d8/1638135020614/Jaehee_Song_JMP_share.pdf.
9. Amrita Kulka, Aradhya Sood, and Nicholas Chiumenti. 2022. “How to Increase Housing Affordability: Understanding Local Deterrents to Building Multifamily Housing,” Federal Reserve Bank of Boston Working Paper No. 22-10, available at: https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=4082457.
10. Code of the Town of Manlius, New York §155-11(E)(2), available at: <https://ecode360.com/11049221>.
11. Code of the Town of Clay, New York §230-12(H)(4), available at: <https://ecode360.com/7207401>.
12. U.S. Census Bureau, 2021 American Community Survey 1-Year Estimates, Table S2504, Physical Housing Characteristics for Occupied Housing Units (Onondaga County, New York), available at: <https://data.census.gov/table?g=0500000US36067&tid=ACSST1Y2021.S2504>.
13. *Id.*

14. Code of the Town of Cicero, New York § 210-17(G), available at: <https://ecode360.com/12300067>.
15. See, e.g., Katherine Levine Einstein, Maxwell Palmer, and David M. Glick, 2019. “Who Participates in Local Government? Evidence from Meeting Minutes,” *Perspective on Politics*, 17(1): 28-46.
16. See, e.g., Matthew Resseger. 2022. “The Impact of Land Use Regulation on Racial Segregation: Evidence From Massachusetts Zoning Borders,” *Mercatus Working Paper*, Mercatus Center at George Mason University, Arlington, VA, available at https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=4244120; Jonathan T. Rothwell. 2010. “Racial Enclaves and Density Zoning: The Institutionalized Segregation of Racial Minorities in the United States,” *American Law and Economics Review* 13(1): 290-358, available at: https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=1161162; and Jonathan T. Rothwell and Douglas S. Massey. 2009. “The Effect of Density Zoning on Racial Segregation in U.S. Urban Areas,” *Urban Affairs Review* 44(6): 779-806, available at: <https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC4083588/>.
17. Johnathan Rothwell. 2019. “Land Use Politics, Housing Costs, and Segregation in California Cities.” *Turner Center for Housing Innovation*, available at: <https://turnercenter.berkeley.edu/research-and-policy/land-use-politics-housing-costs-and-segregation-in-california-cities/>.
18. Resseger supra note 16.
19. Rothwell supra note 16.
20. U.S. Census Bureau, 2021 American Community Survey 1-Year Estimates, Table S2502, Demographic Characteristics for Occupied Housing Units (Onondaga County, New York), available at: <https://data.census.gov/table?g=0500000US36067&tid=ACSST1Y2021.S2502>.
21. U.S. Census Bureau, 2021 American Community Survey 1-Year Estimates, Table S2504, Physical Housing Characteristics for Occupied Housing Units (Onondaga County, New York), available at: <https://data.census.gov/table?g=0500000US36067&tid=ACSST1Y2021.S2504>.
22. U.S. Census Bureau, 2021 American Community Survey 1-Year Estimates, Table S2504, Physical Housing Characteristics for Occupied Housing Units (Onondaga County, New York), available at: <https://data.census.gov/table?g=0500000US36067&tid=ACSST1Y2021.S2504>.

Appendices

Appendix 1: Glossary

By-Right: When a use is allowed in a zoning district—provided it complies with all district regulations such as setback, density, and parking requirements—without additional review or discretionary approval by some government body such as a town board or village planning commission.

Detached-Single-Family Housing: A freestanding house with yard space on all sides occupied by a single household without any other residential structures on the lot.

Exclusionary Zoning: Residential zoning regulations that privilege detached single-family housing while either banning or making it difficult to construct other diverse housing types such as missing middle and multifamily housing.

Missing Middle Housing: A set of small-scale housing types with the capacity to house more people than detached-single-family housing including rowhouses, two-family houses, mobile homes, and small apartment houses with fewer than ten apartments.

Multi-Family Housing: Apartment houses with ten or more apartments.

Residential: Zoning districts where housing is an intended use. This includes districts that ban most other uses and it includes mixed-use districts like village centers and neighborhood main streets where housing and commercial uses are intended to mix.

Rural: Zoning districts not intended to be served by municipal utilities like sewers. These districts often allow agricultural and some residential uses.

Urbanized Residential Land: Land governed by zoning districts intended for residential uses served by municipal utilities including those used exclusively for housing and also mixed-use districts such as village centers and downtown Syracuse, but not including agricultural land or rural residential districts not meant to be served by municipal utilities.

Zoning: A set of land-use regulations that determine what can be built where. Zoning governs the shape, size, type, and use of buildings. It is supplemental to safety regulations such as building and fire codes.

Appendix 2: Methods

To grade each municipal zoning ordinance, we analyzed the proportion of land in each municipality governed by different zoning regulations that influence housing opportunity.

We began by reviewing official zoning maps to assign a distinct zoning district to each parcel in the Onondaga County Parcel File. Parcel boundaries in the parcel file are updated through 2020, but many official zoning maps are either older or newer and do not reflect the exact boundaries in the Parcel File. Additionally, many zoning maps assign single parcels multiple zoning districts. In cases where zoning districts in the official zoning maps did not match the boundaries in the Parcel File, we assigned the zoning district that covered the majority of the parcel. Once we had assigned a zoning district to each parcel, we measured the total land area governed by each of the 355 distinct zoning districts in Onondaga County.

We then asked a series of 15 yes-or-no questions of each zoning district in each ordinance. These questions covered the ordinances' regulations governing land use, dimensional requirements, and administrative procedure. Based on the answers to these questions, we created a set of proportions of total land area governed by discrete rules comparable across zoning districts and ordinances. We input each proportion into a weighted rubric to generate a numeric score for each municipality. We then curved these raw scores to ensure a more even distribution on a 100-point scale.

15-question matrix:

- A. Does this district allow housing?
- B. Does this district intend housing?
- C. Does this district allow retail?
- D. Does this district allow multifamily housing?
- E. Does this district allow multifamily housing by-right?
- F. Does this district allow missing middle housing?
- G. Does this district allow missing middle housing by-right?
- H. Does this district allow detached single-family housing?
- I. Does this district allow detached single-family housing on lots of 1/4 acre or less?*
- J. Does this district allow 10 or more housing units per acre?*
- K. Does this district allow 20 or more housing units per acre?*
- L. Does this district require less than 1 parking space per housing unit?
- M. Does this district require no parking spaces per housing unit?
- N. Does this district allow group homes?
- O. Does this district allow group homes by right?

* in these measures and throughout this report, we follow the standard practice of treating 1 acre as equivalent to 40,000 square feet.

| Category | Total Possible Score | Calculation* |
|--------------------------|----------------------|--|
| Multi-Family | 25 | $((\text{Area}(A \wedge D) / \text{Area}(A) / 4) + (\text{Area}(B \wedge D) / \text{Area}(B) / 2) + (\text{Area}(A \wedge E) / \text{Area}(A) / 4) + (\text{Area}(B \wedge E) / \text{Area}(B) / 2)) / 6$ |
| Missing Middle | 10 | $((\text{Area}(A \wedge F) / \text{Area}(A) / 4) + (\text{Area}(B \wedge F) / \text{Area}(B) / 2) + (\text{Area}(A \wedge G) / \text{Area}(A) / 4) + (\text{Area}(B \wedge G) / \text{Area}(B) / 2)) / 15$ |
| Dimensional Requirements | 30 | $((\text{Area}(B \wedge I) / \text{Area}(B \wedge H) / 5) + (\text{Area}(A \wedge J) / \text{Area}(A) / 10) + (\text{Area}(B \wedge J) / \text{Area}(B) / 10) + (\text{Area}(A \wedge K) / \text{Area}(A) / 10) + (\text{Area}(B \wedge K) / \text{Area}(B) / 10)) / 2$ |
| Concentration | 10 | $((\text{Area}(A \wedge F \wedge H) / \text{Area}(A \wedge F) / 8) + (\text{Area}(A \wedge G \wedge H) / \text{Area}(A \wedge F) / 8) + (\text{Area}(B \wedge F \wedge H) / \text{Area}(B \wedge H) / 8) + (\text{Area}(B \wedge G \wedge H) / \text{Area}(B \wedge H) / 8) + (\text{Area}(A \wedge D \wedge H) / \text{Area}(A \wedge D) / 8) + (\text{Area}(A \wedge E \wedge H) / \text{Area}(A \wedge D) / 8) + (\text{Area}(B \wedge D \wedge H) / \text{Area}(B \wedge H) / 8) + (\text{Area}(B \wedge E \wedge H) / \text{Area}(B \wedge H) / 8)) / 10$ |
| Mixed Use | 10 | $((\text{Area}(A \wedge C) / \text{Area}(A) / 4) + (\text{Area}(B \wedge C) / \text{Area}(B) / 4) + (\text{Area}(A \wedge C) / \text{Area}(C) / 4) + (\text{Area}(B \wedge C) / \text{Area}(C) / 4)) / 10$ |
| Parking Requirements | 10 | $((\text{Area}(A \wedge L) / \text{Area}(A) / 4) + (\text{Area}(B \wedge L) / \text{Area}(B) / 4) + (\text{Area}(A \wedge M) / \text{Area}(A) / 4) + (\text{Area}(B \wedge M) / \text{Area}(B) / 4)) / 10$ |
| Group Homes | 5 | $((\text{Area}(A \wedge N) / \text{Area}(A) / 4) + (\text{Area}(B \wedge N) / \text{Area}(B) / 4) + (\text{Area}(A \wedge O) / \text{Area}(A) / 4) + (\text{Area}(B \wedge O) / \text{Area}(B) / 4)) / 20$ |

* Letters in these calculations refer to the corresponding question in the matrix above. The value for the calculation is equal to the total area of all parcels governed by zoning districts for which the answer to all questions in a set of parentheses is 'yes.'

Appendix 3: Maps

Figure 1: Countywide Zoning Map

Figure 2: Zoning Inclusivity Ratings for Onondaga County Municipalities

Figure 3: Land Zoned for Urbanized Residential Use in Onondaga County

Figure 4: Land Zoned for Detached Single-Family Housing By-Right and Subject to Discretionary Approval in Onondaga County

Figure 5: Land Zoned for Missing Middle Housing By-Right and Subject to Discretionary Approval in Onondaga County

Figure 6: Land Zoned for Multifamily Housing By-Right and Subject to Discretionary Approval in Onondaga County

Figure 7: Land Zoned for Urbanized Residential Use By-Right in Onondaga County

Figure 8: Minimum Lot Size for Detached Single-Family Houses

Figure 9: Housing Allowed per Acre in Land Zoned for Urbanized Residential Use

Individual Municipality Maps:

City of Syracuse Maps

Town of Camillus Maps

Town of Cicero Maps

Town of Clay Maps

Town of DeWitt Maps

Town of Elbridge Maps

Town of Fabius Maps

Town of Geddes Maps

Town of LaFayette Maps

Town of Lysander Maps

Town of Manlius Maps

Town of Marcellus Maps

Town of Onondaga Maps

Town of Pompey Maps

Town of Salina Maps

Town of Skaneateles Maps

Town of Spafford Maps

Town of Tully Maps

Town of Van Buren Maps

Village of Baldwinsville Maps

Village of Camillus Maps

Village of East Syracuse Maps

Village of Elbridge Maps

Village of Fabius Maps

Village of Fayetteville Maps

Village of Jordan Maps

Village of Liverpool Maps

Village of Manlius Maps

Village of Marcellus Maps

Village of Minoa Maps

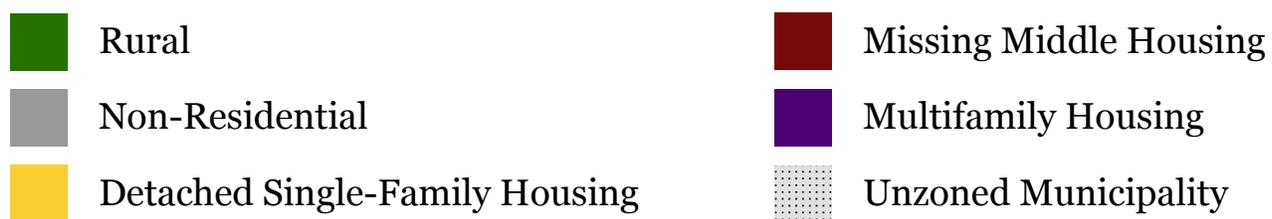
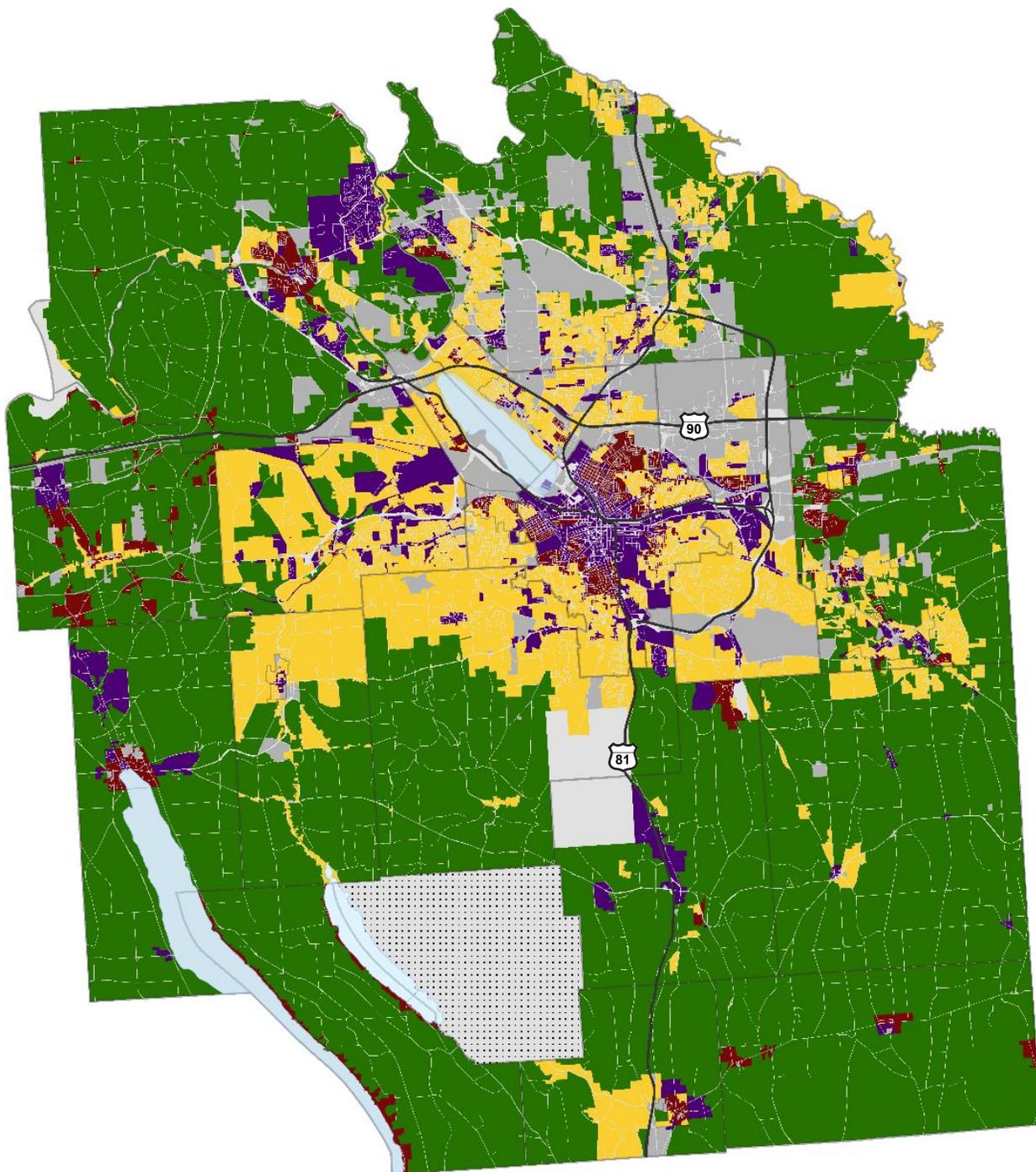
Village of North Syracuse Maps

Village of Skaneateles Maps

Village of Solway Maps

Village of Tully Maps

Figure 1: Countywide Zoning Map



(definitions of these terms as used in this report can be found in Appendix 1)

Figure 2: Zoning Inclusivity Ratings For Onondaga County Municipalities

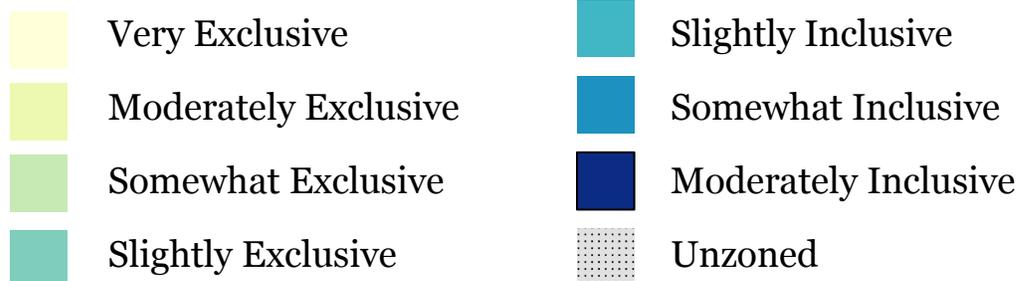
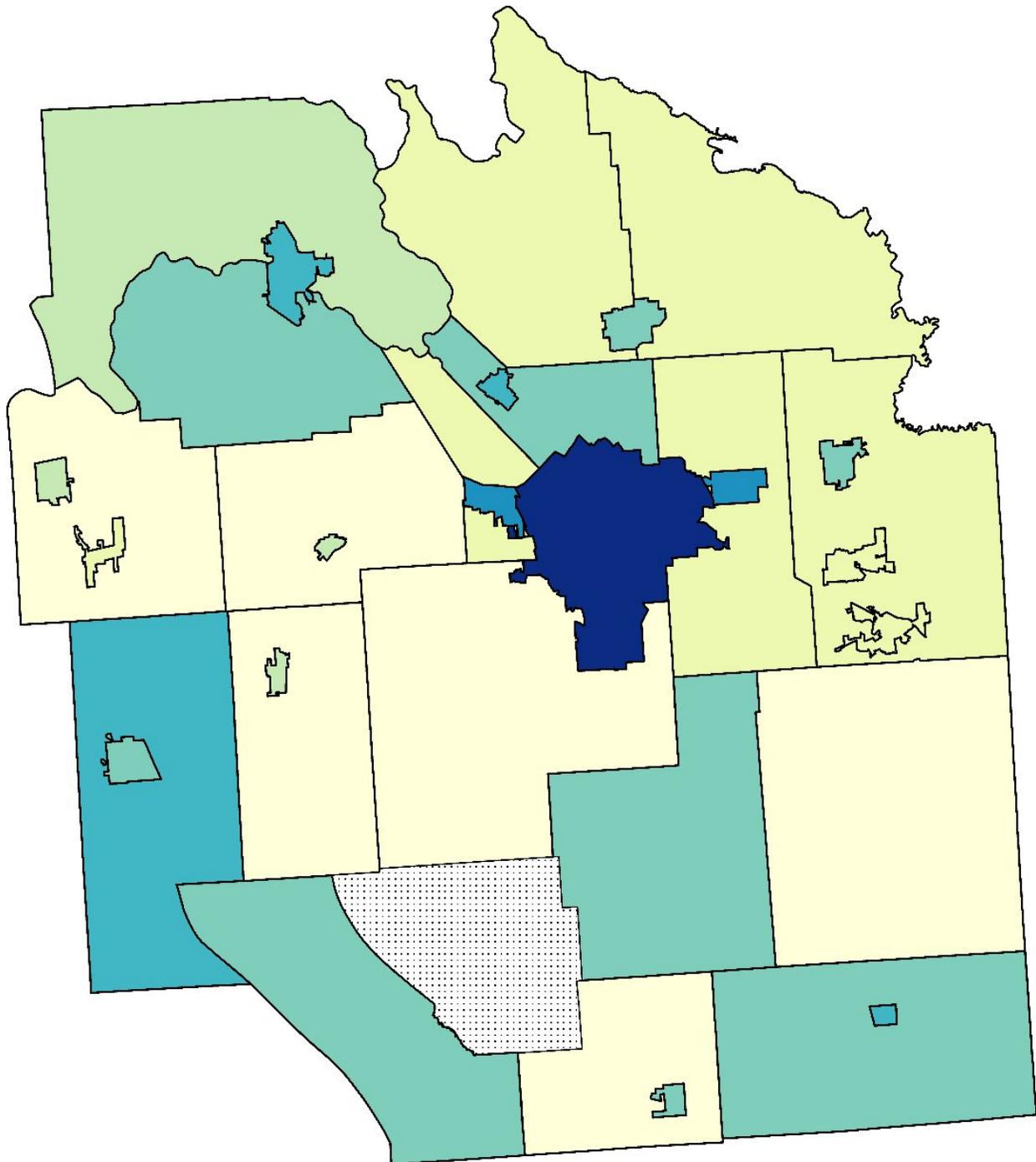


Figure 3: Land Zoned for Urbanized Residential Use In Onondaga County

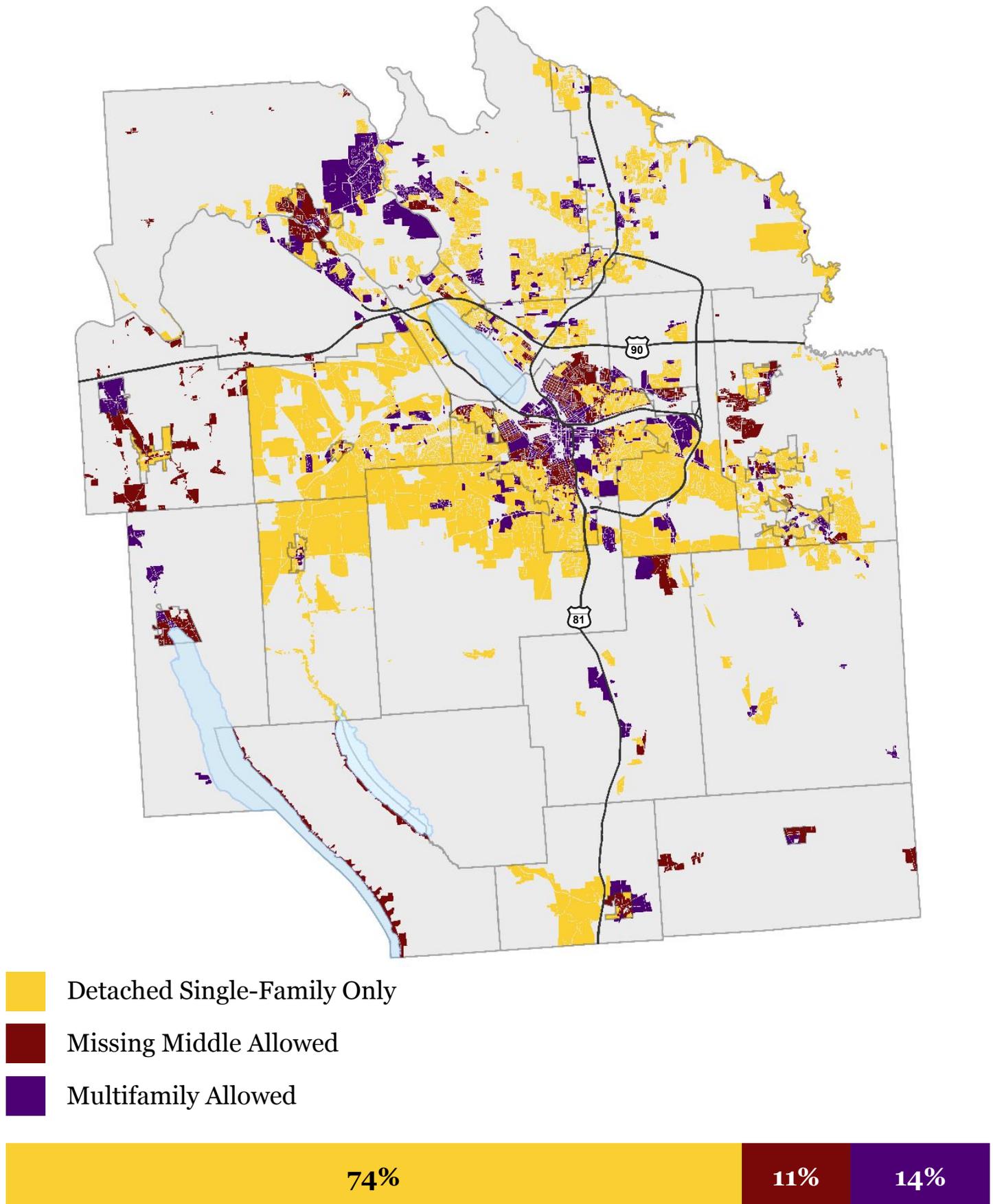
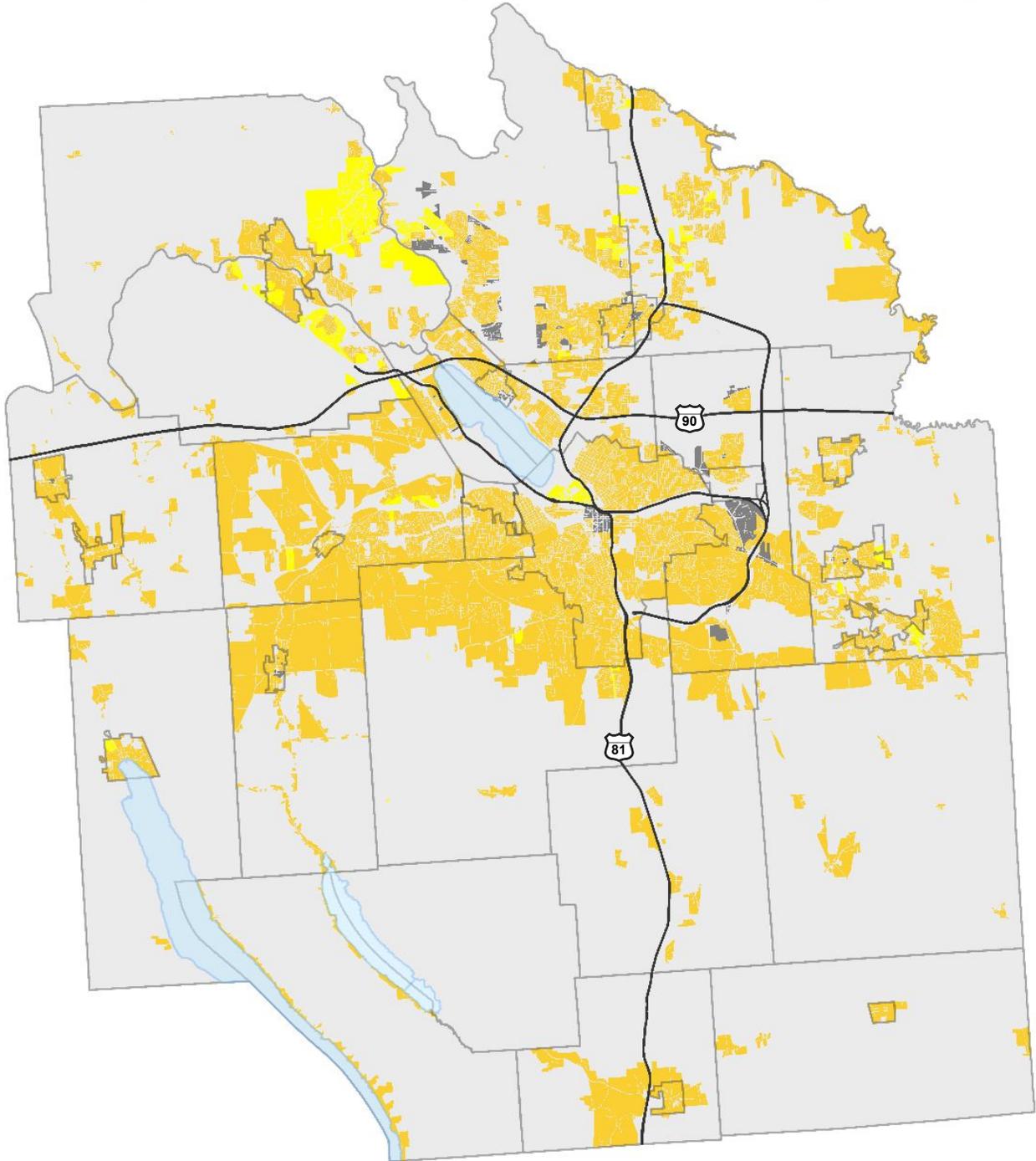


Figure 4: Land Zoned for Detached Single-Family Housing By-Right and Subject to Discretionary Approval in Onondaga County



Detached Single-Family Allowed By-Right



Detached Single-Family Subject to Discretionary Approval



Urbanized Residential Land Not Zoned for Detached Single-Family



Figure 5: Land Zoned for Missing Middle Housing By-Right and Subject to Discretionary Approval in Onondaga County

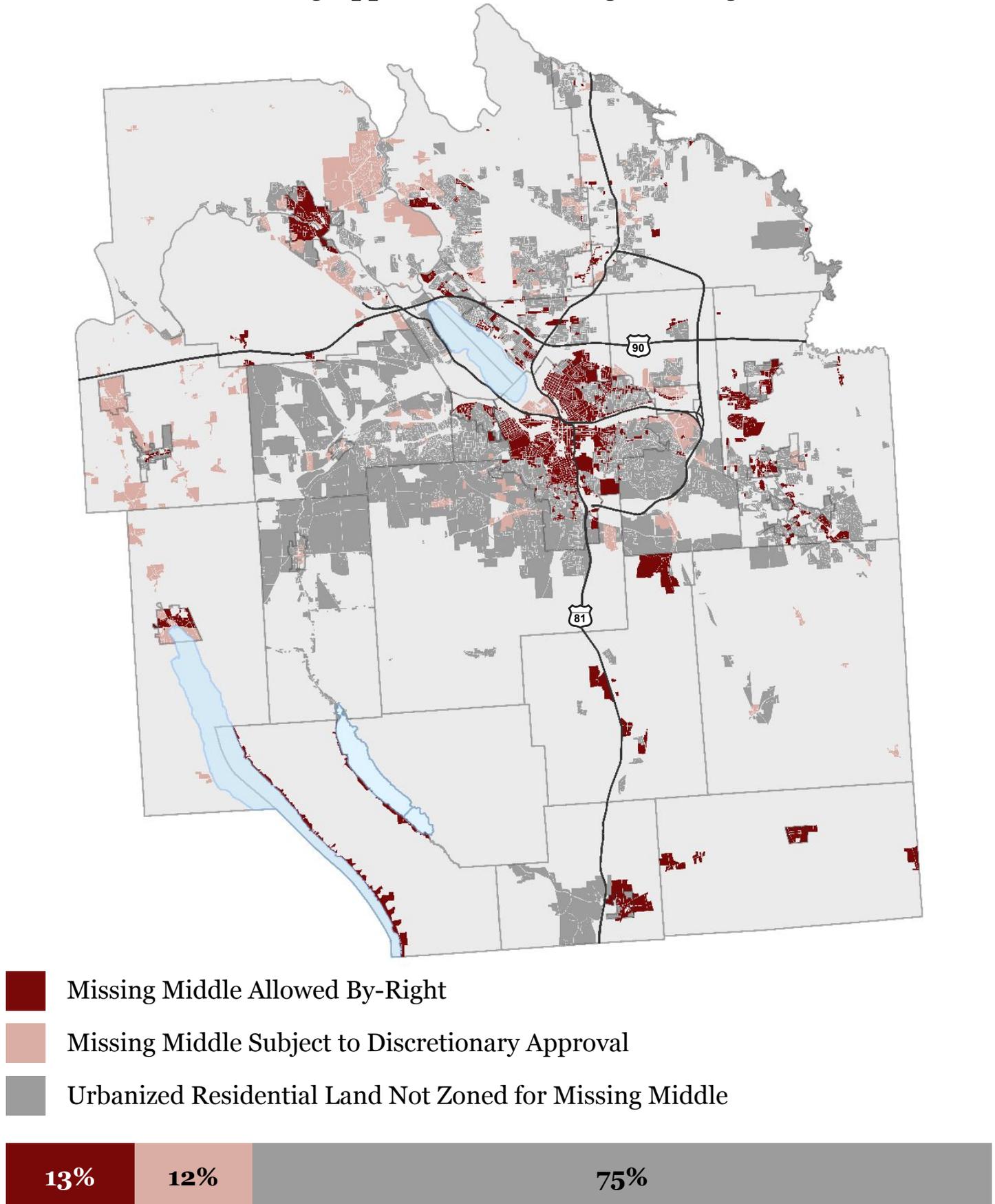
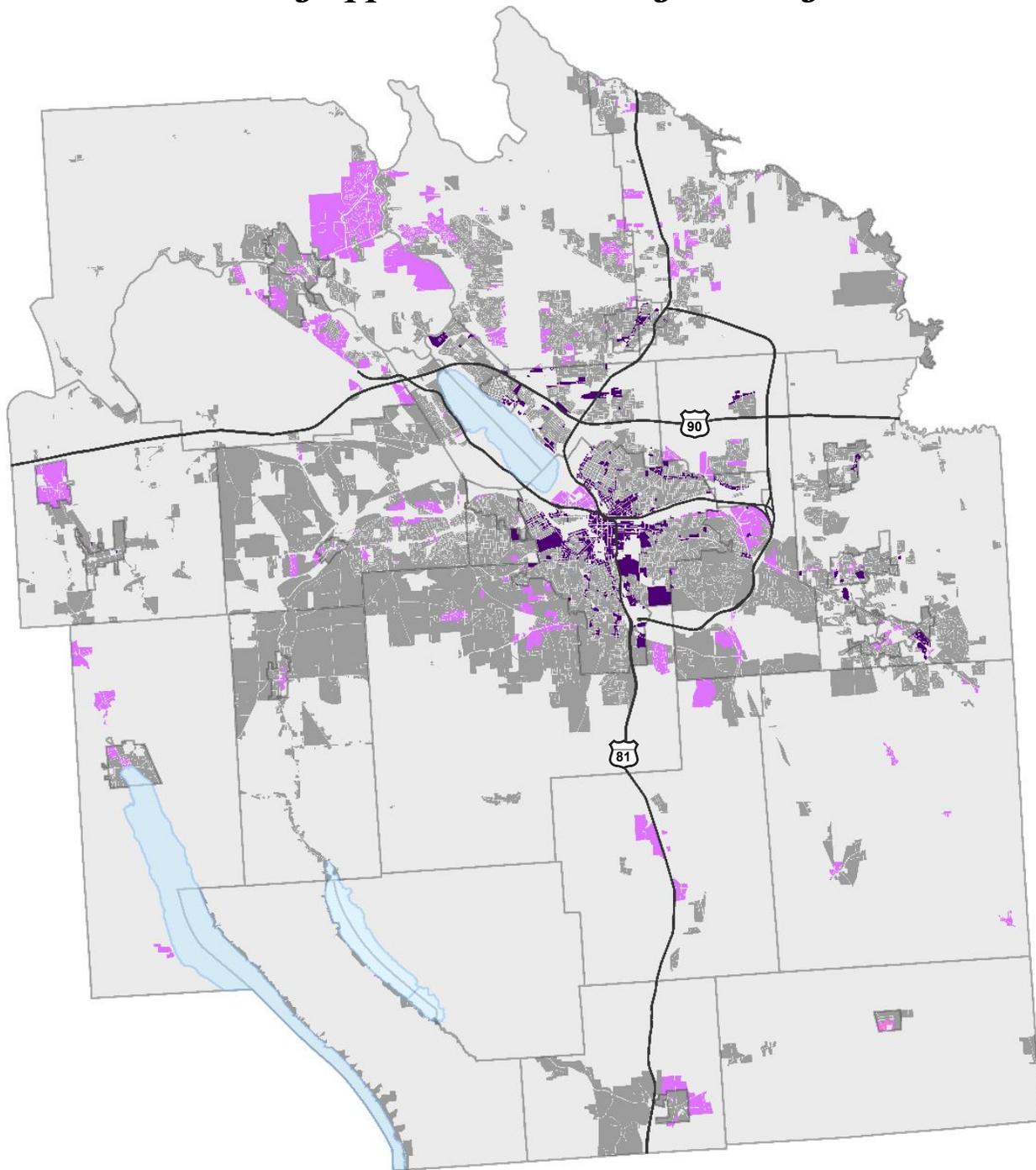


Figure 6: Land Zoned for Multifamily Housing By-Right and Subject to Discretionary Approval in Onondaga County



-  Multifamily Allowed By-Right
-  Multifamily Subject to Discretionary Approval
-  Urbanized Residential Land Not Zoned for Multifamily



Figure 7: Land Zoned for Urbanized Residential Use By-Right in Onondaga County

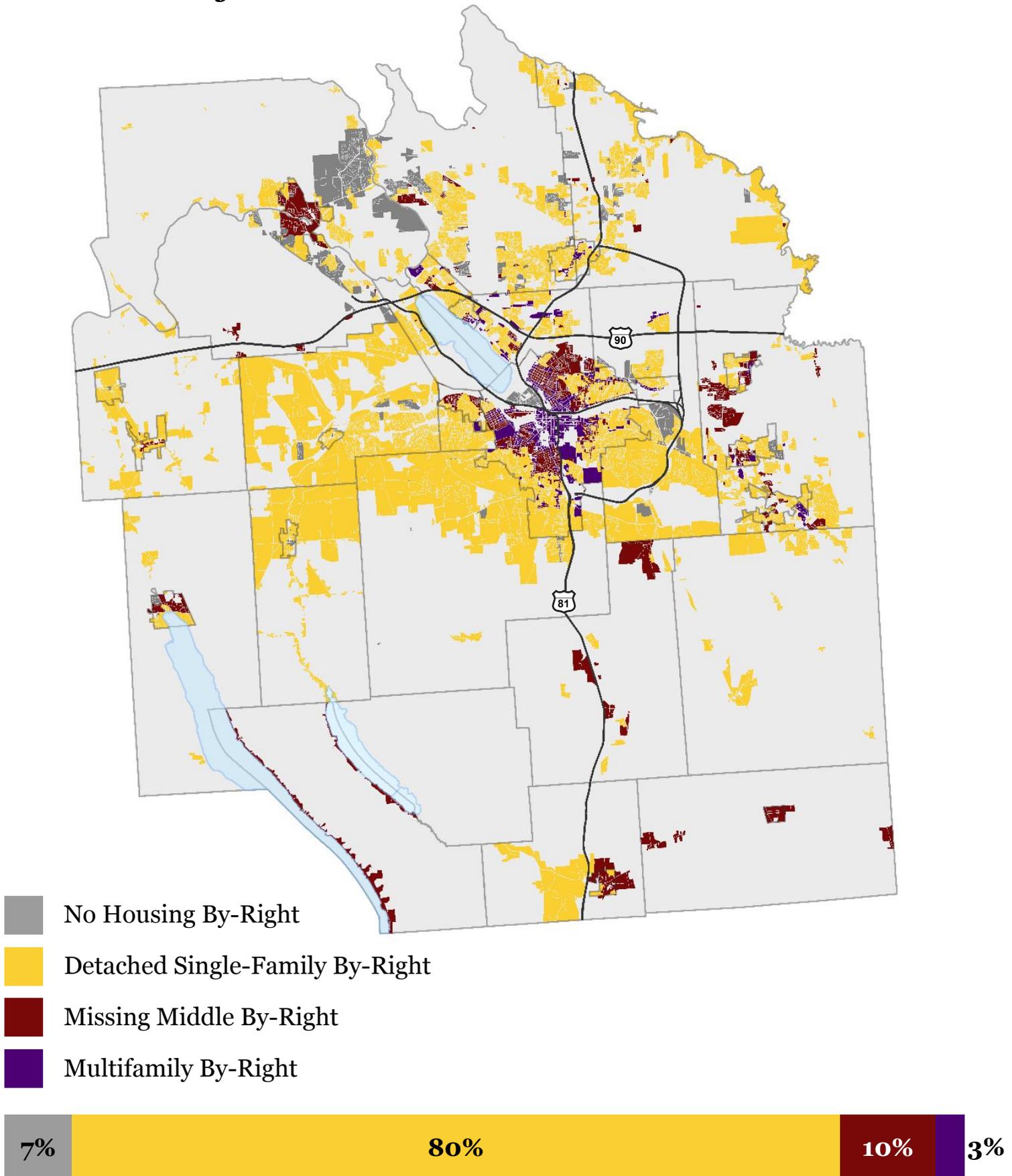


Figure 8: Minimum Lot Size for Detached Single-Family Houses

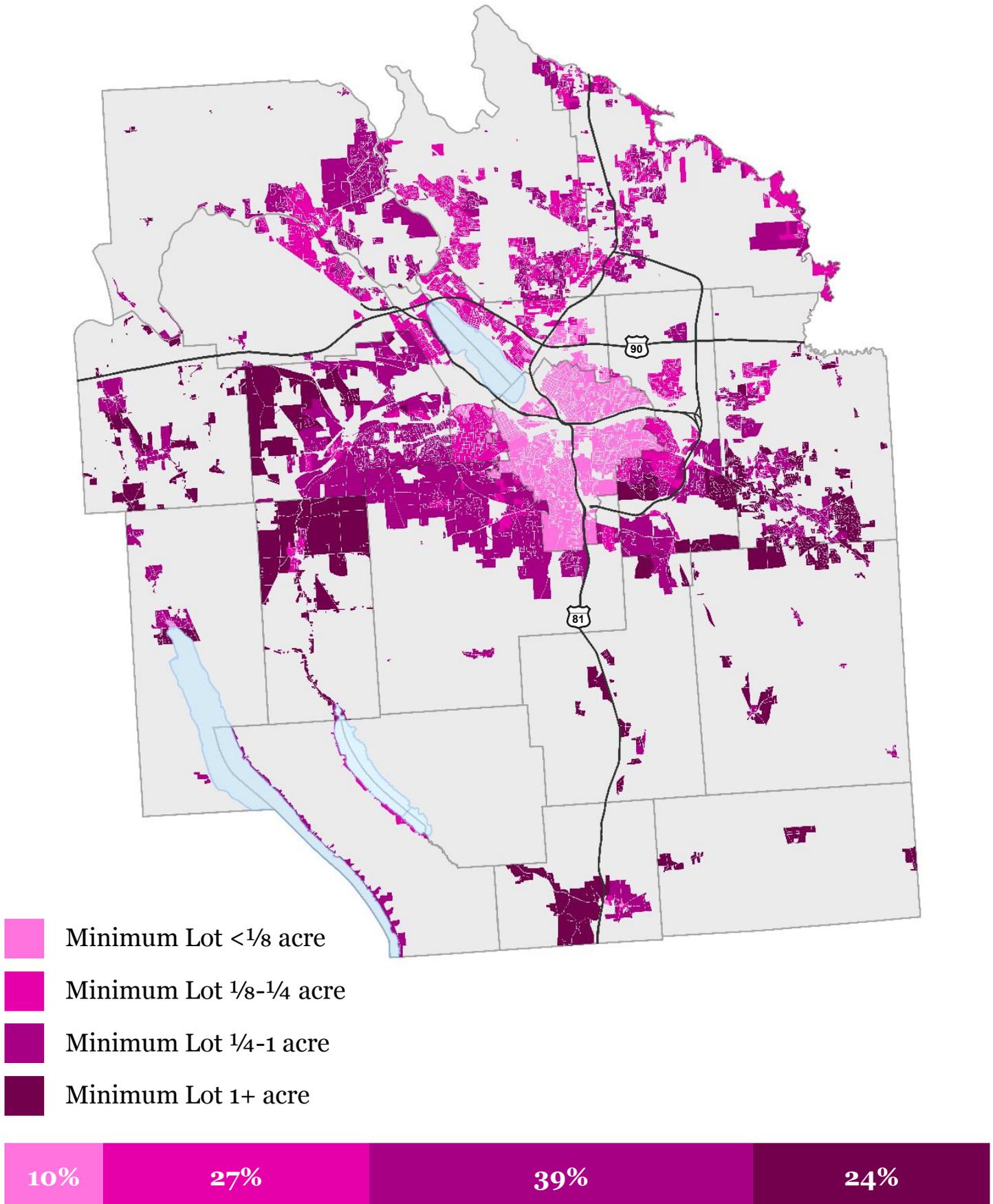
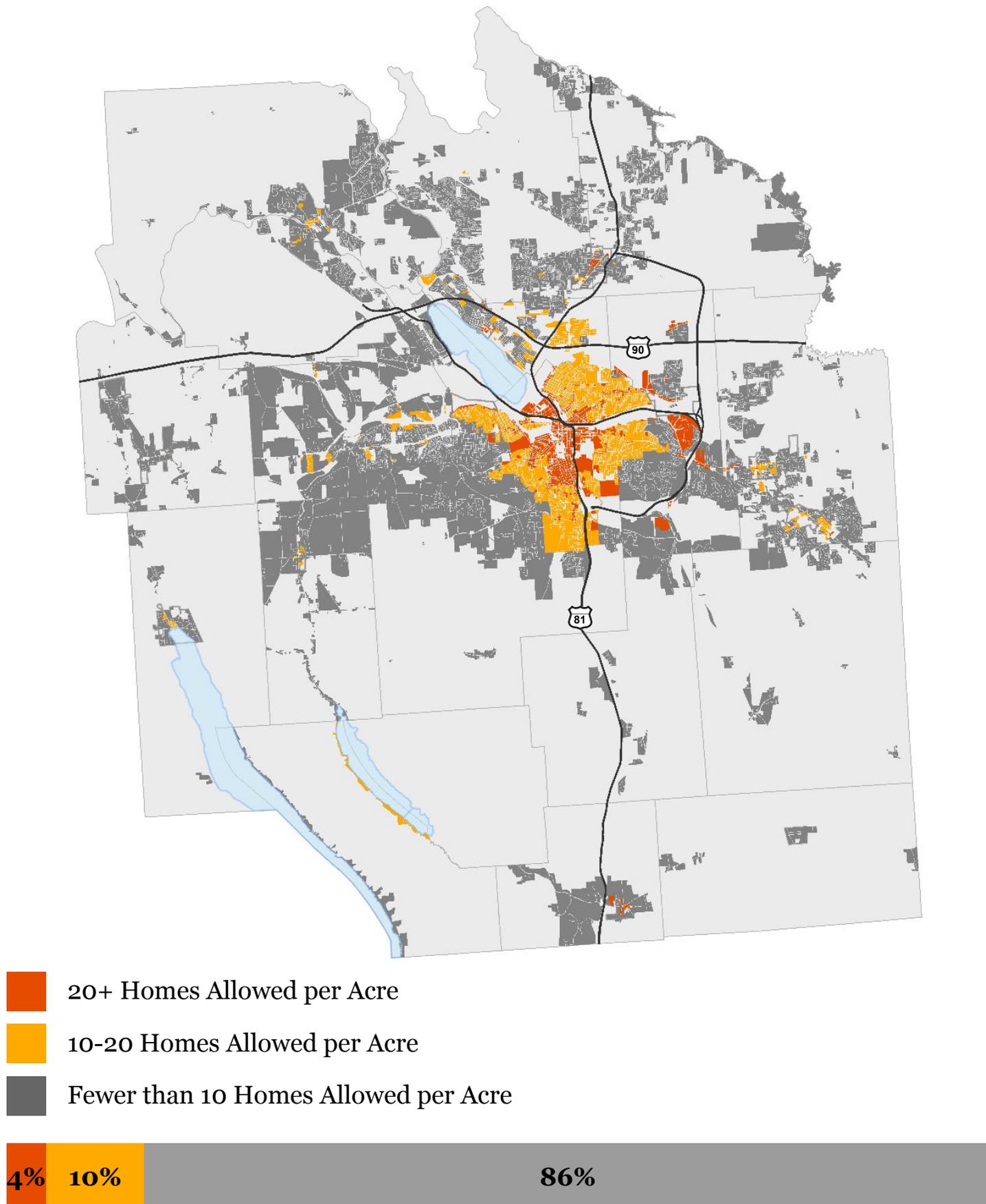
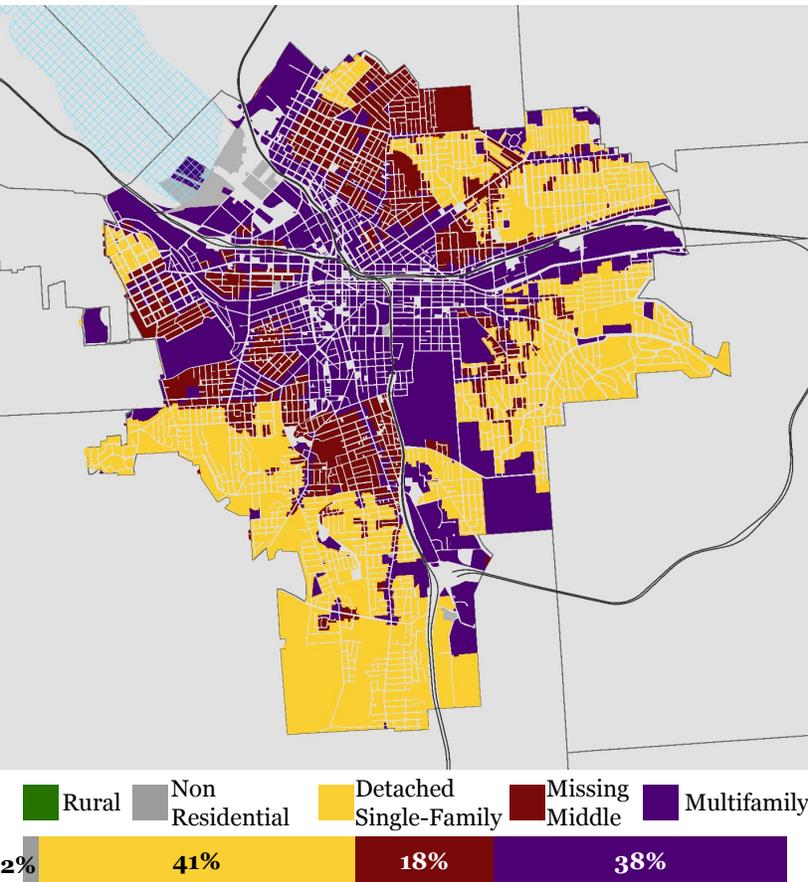


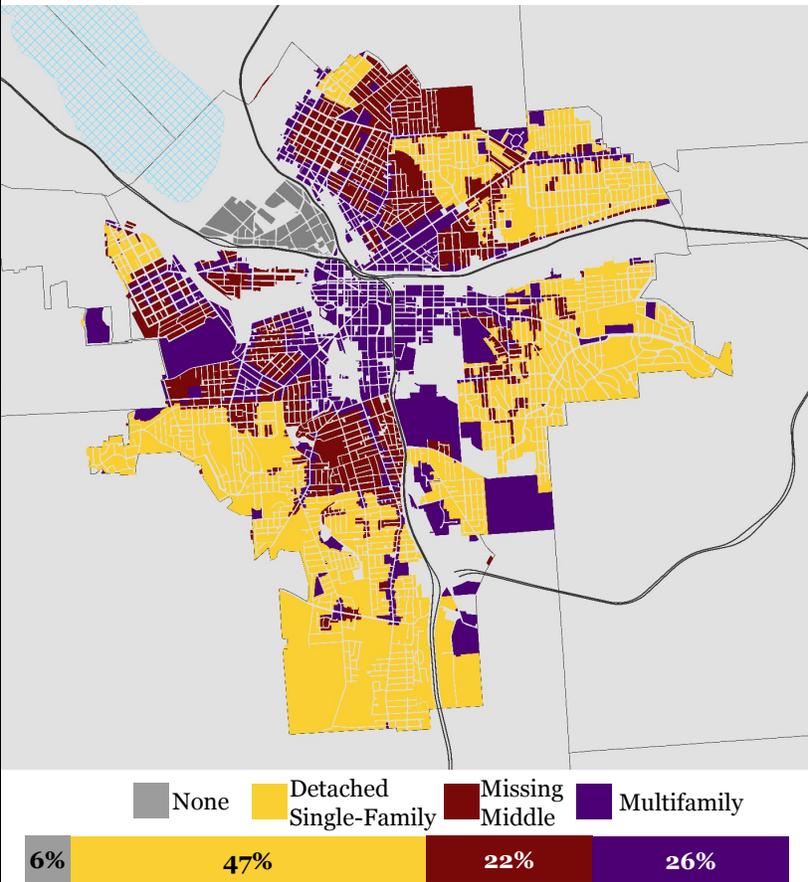
Figure 9: Housing Allowed per Acre in Land Zoned for Urbanized Residential Use



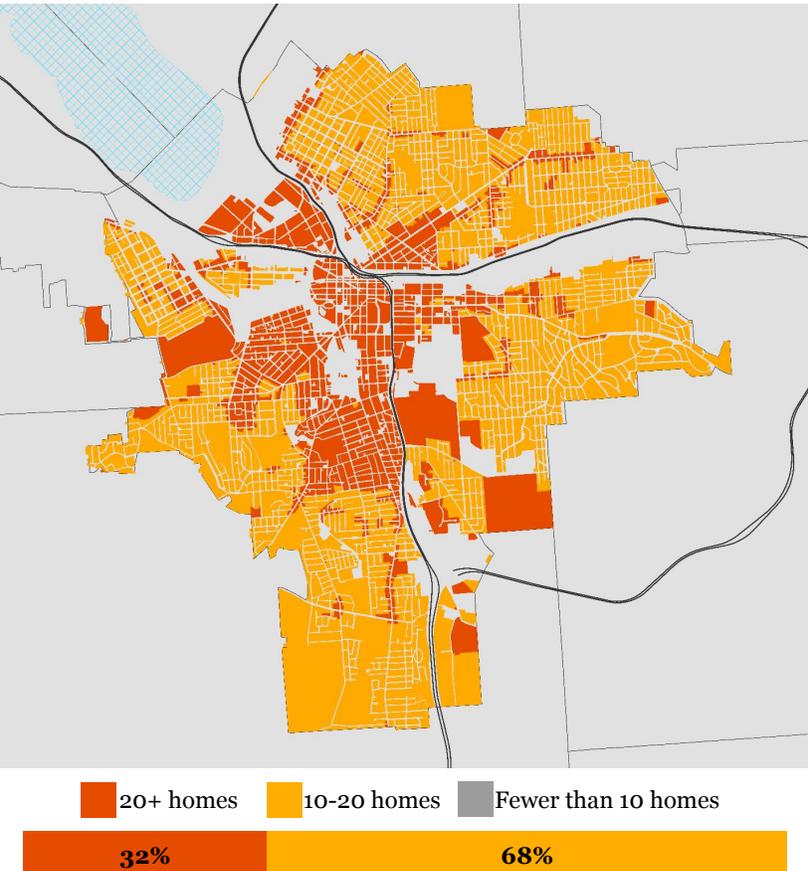
City of Syracuse Zoning Map



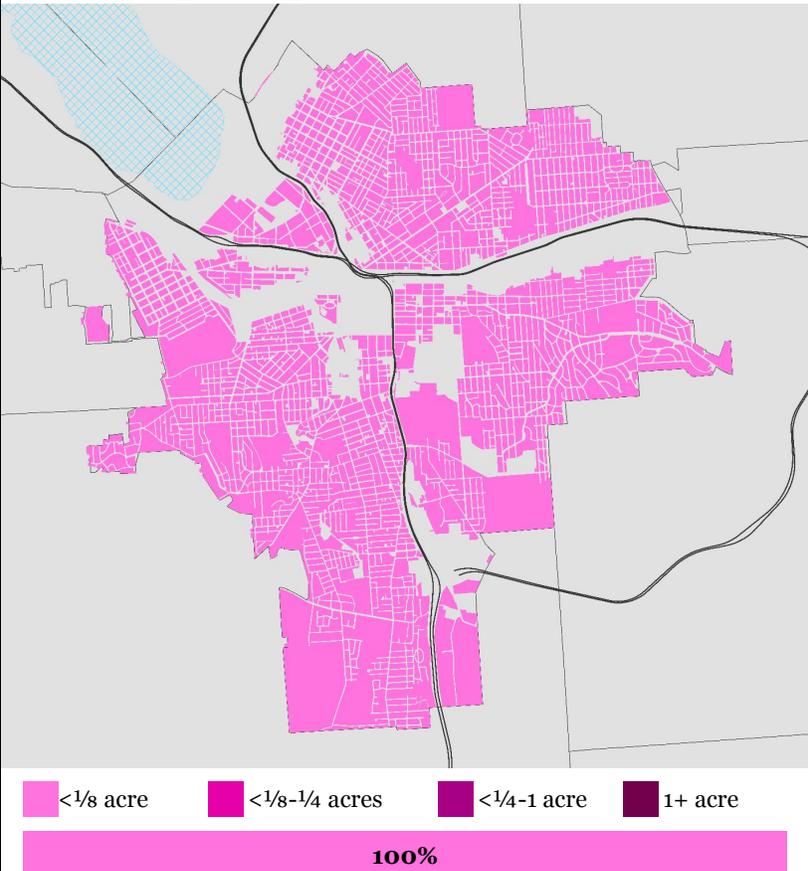
City of Syracuse Land Zoned for Urbanized Housing By-Right



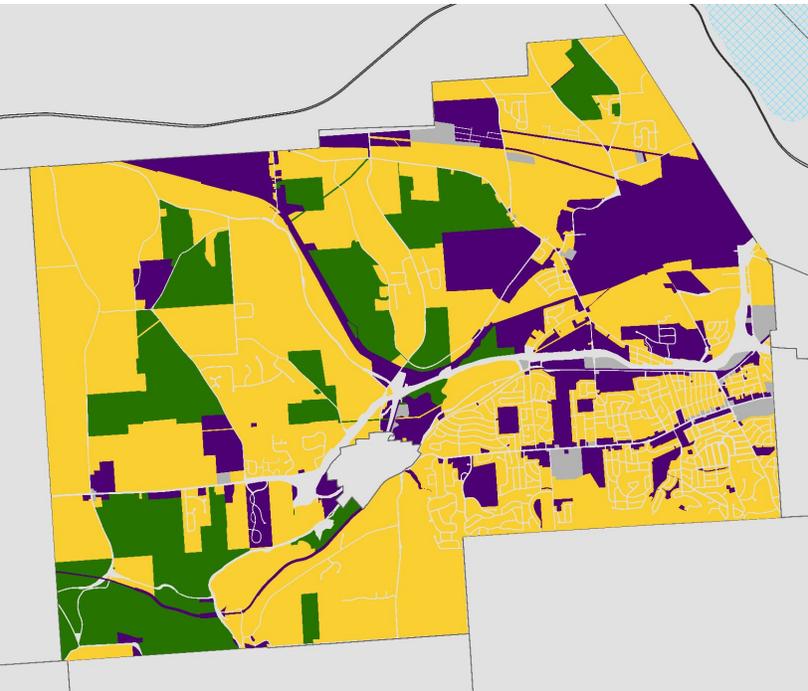
City of Syracuse Housing Allowed Per Acre



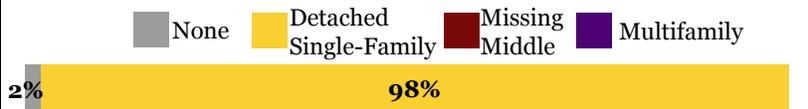
City of Syracuse Minimum Lot Size for Detached Single-Family Housing



Town of Camillus Zoning Map



Town of Camillus Land Zoned for Urbanized Housing By-Right



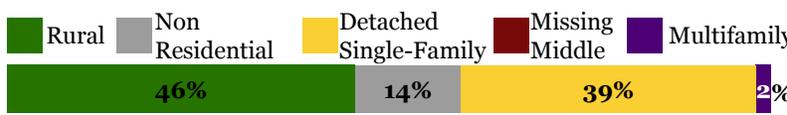
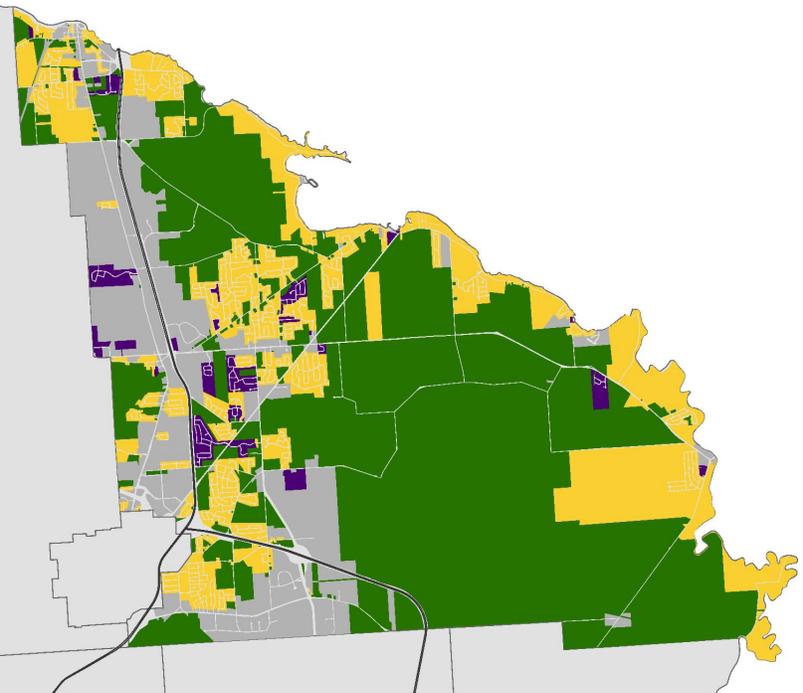
Town of Camillus Housing Allowed Per Acre



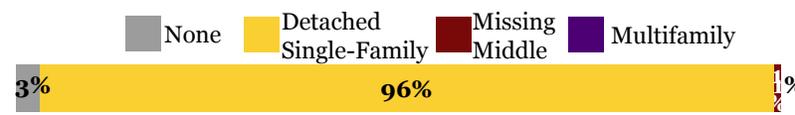
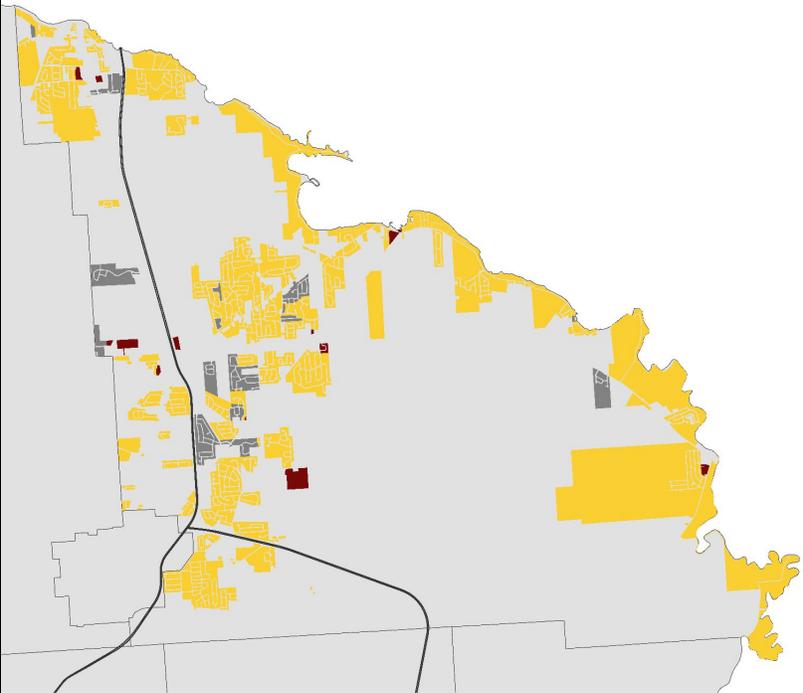
Town of Camillus Minimum Lot Size for Detached Single-Family Housing



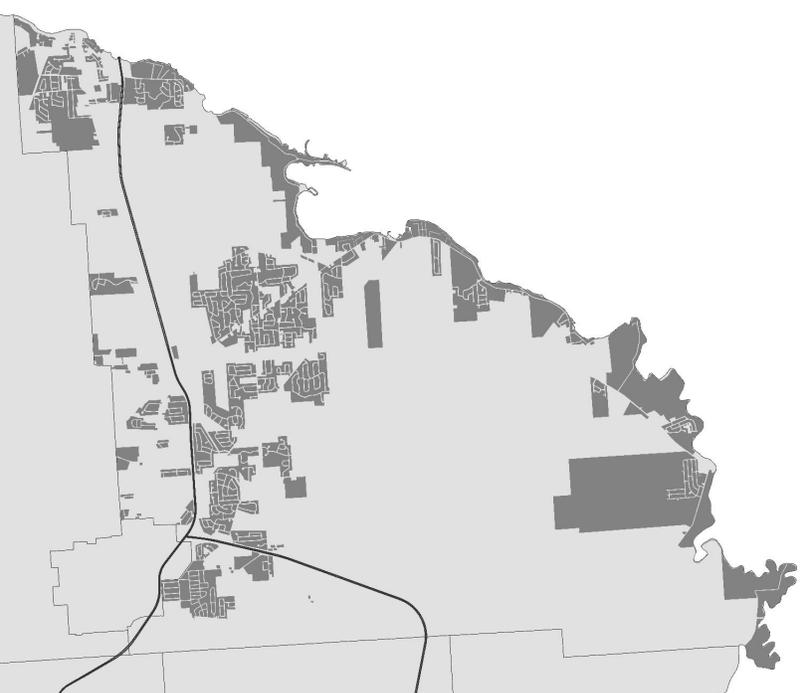
Town of Cicero Zoning Map



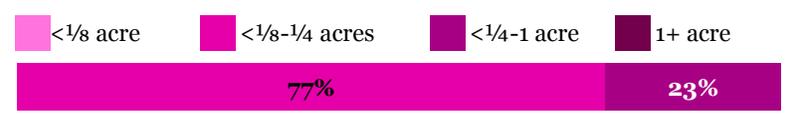
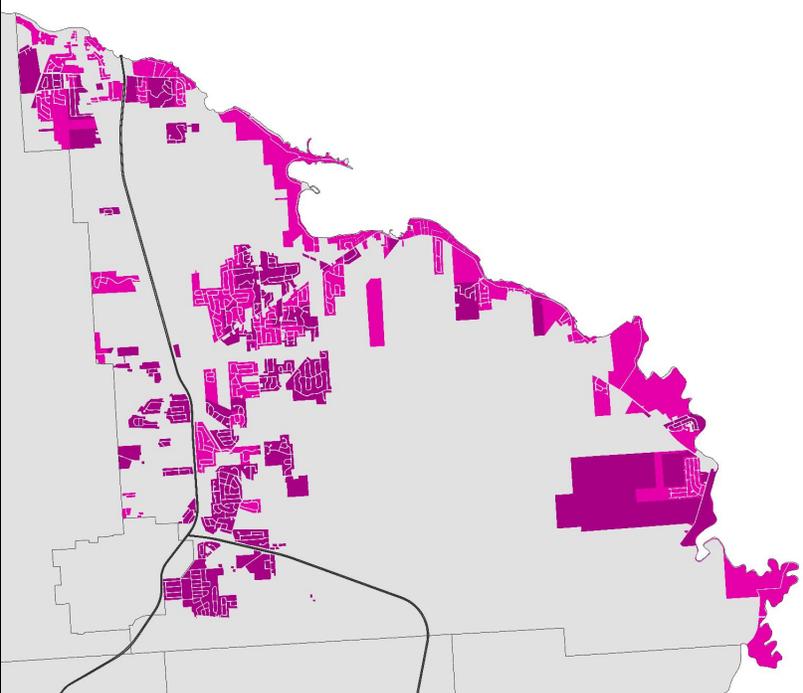
Town of Cicero Land Zoned for Urbanized Housing By-Right



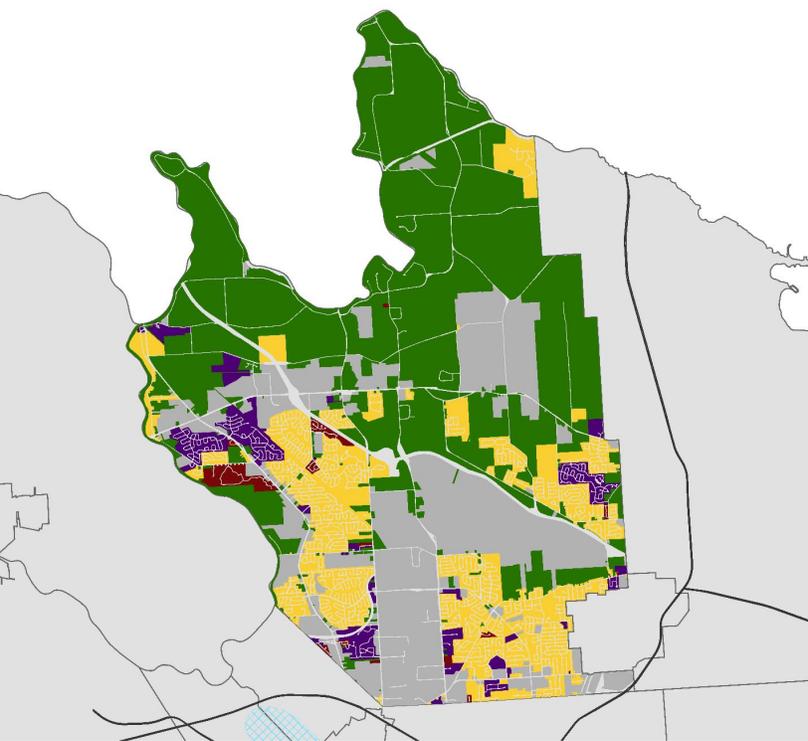
Town of Cicero Housing Allowed Per Acre



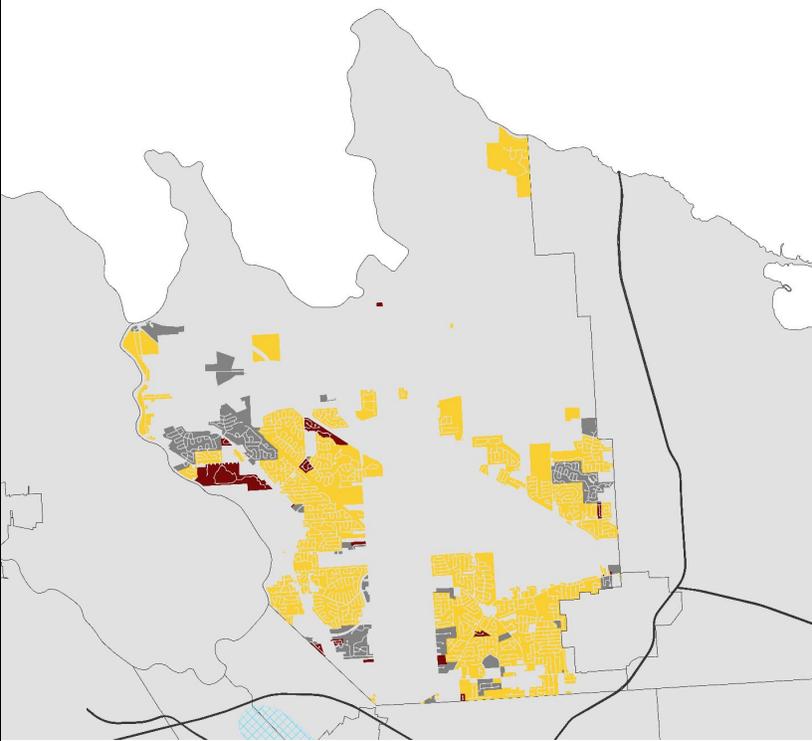
Town of Cicero Minimum Lot Size for Detached Single-Family Housing



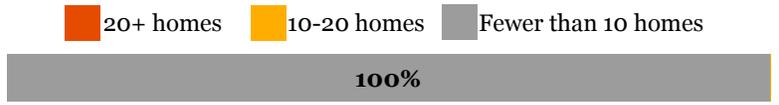
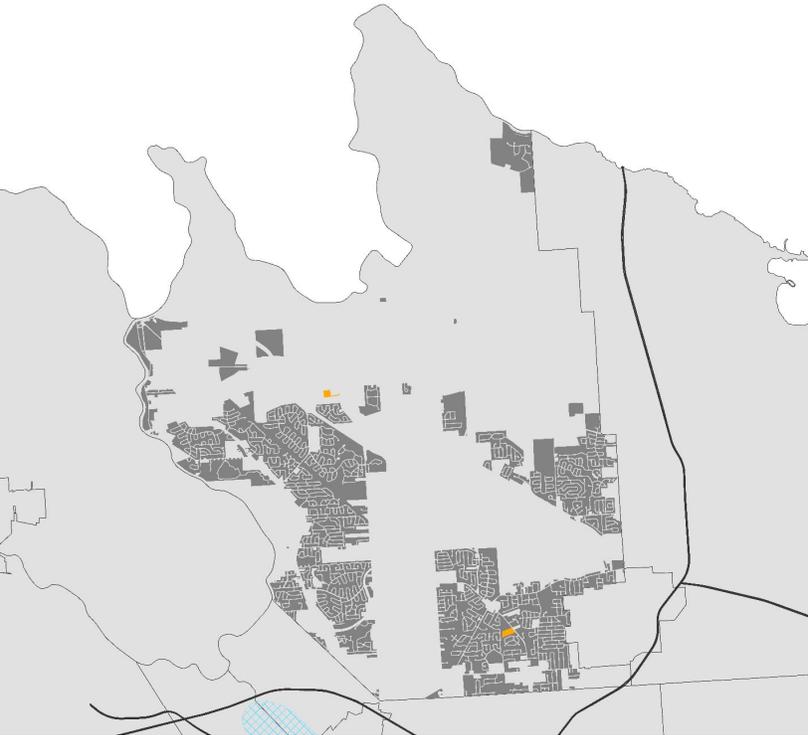
Town of Clay Zoning Map



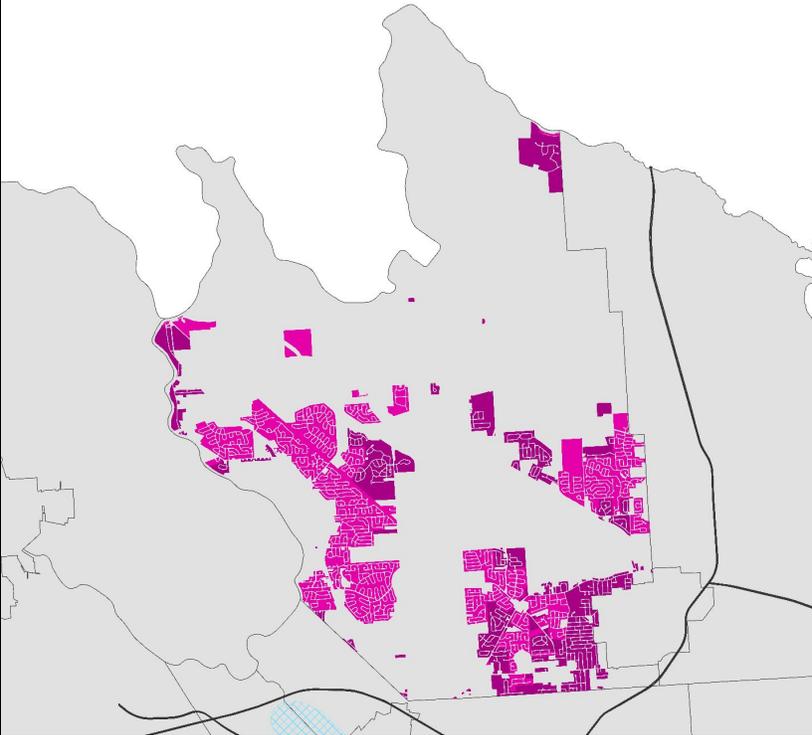
Town of Clay Land Zoned for Urbanized Housing By-Right



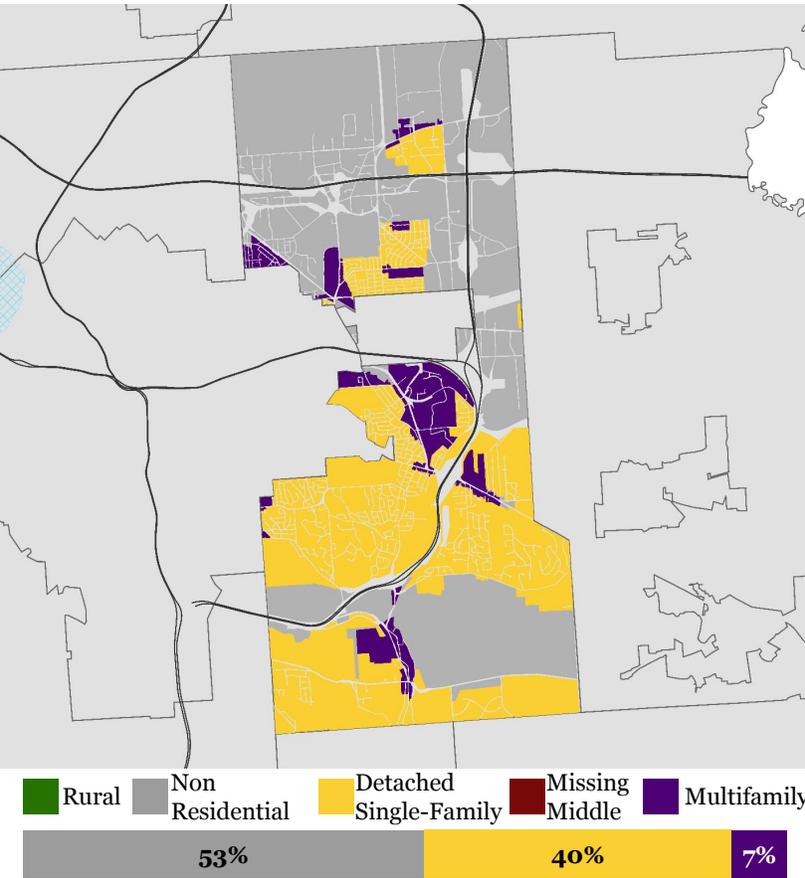
Town of Clay Housing Allowed Per Acre



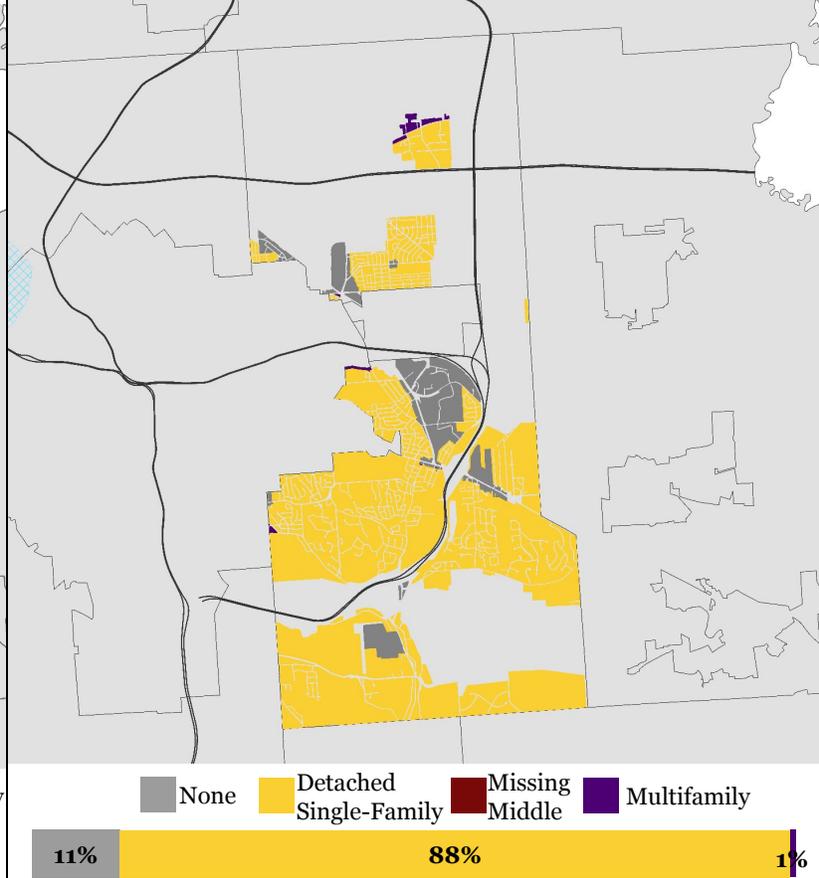
Town of Clay Minimum Lot Size for Detached Single-Family Housing



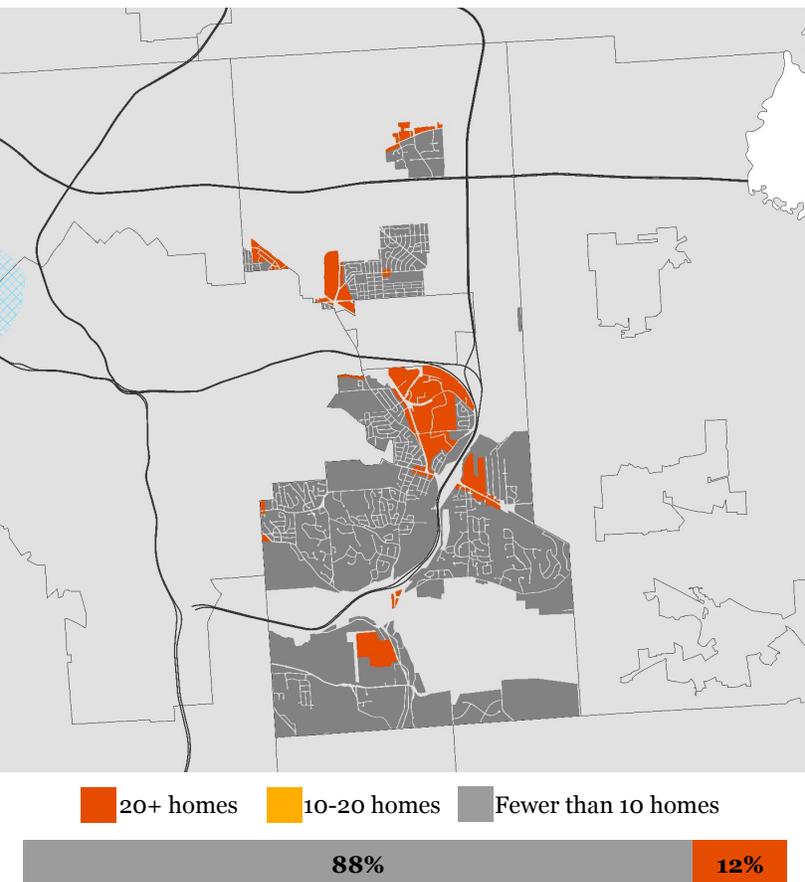
Town of DeWitt Zoning Map



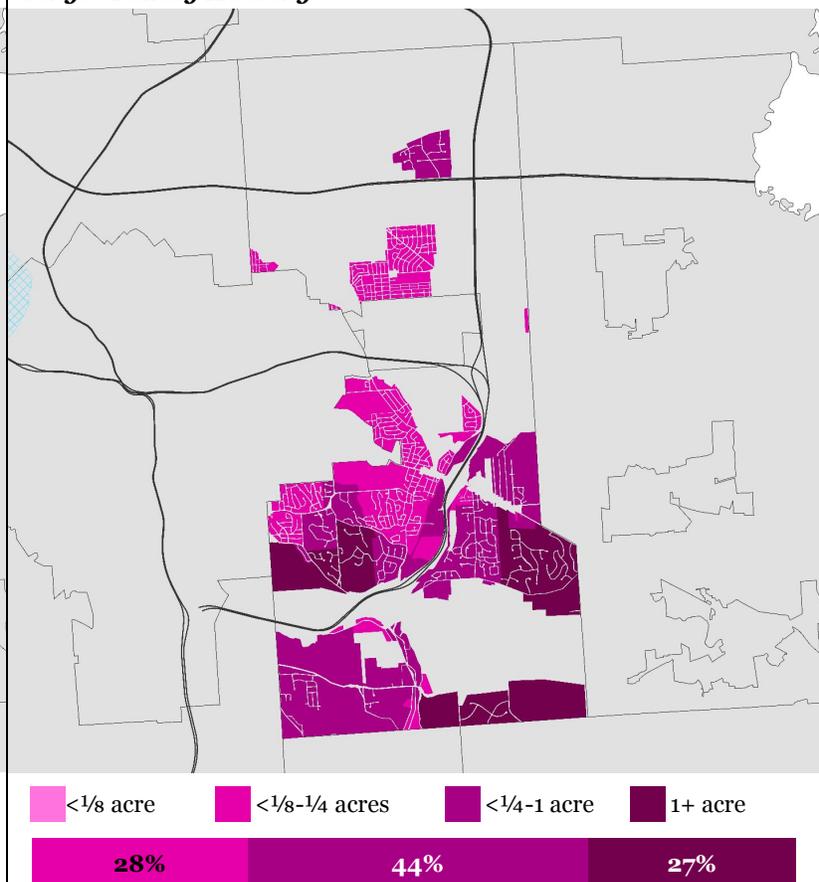
Town of DeWitt Land Zoned for Urbanized Housing By-Right



Town of DeWitt Housing Allowed Per Acre

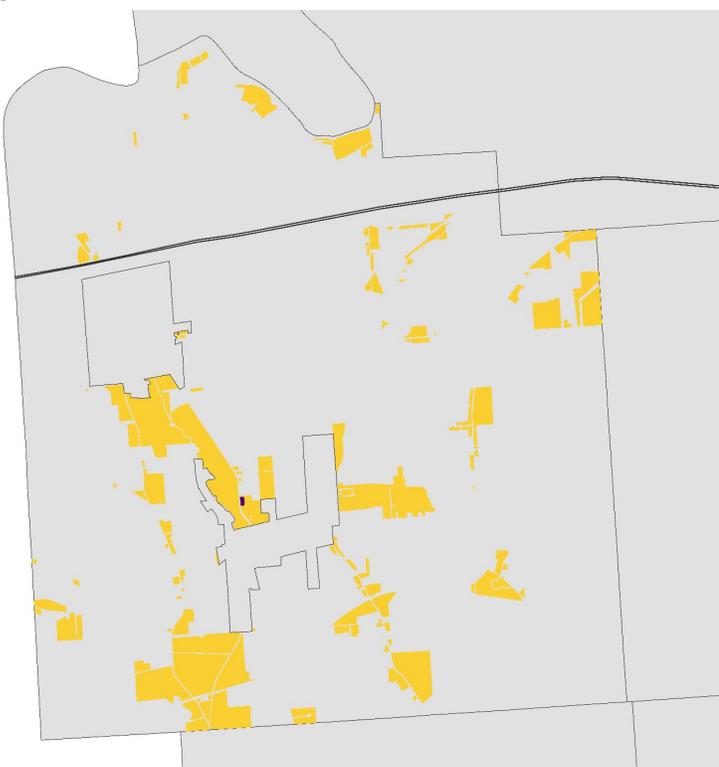
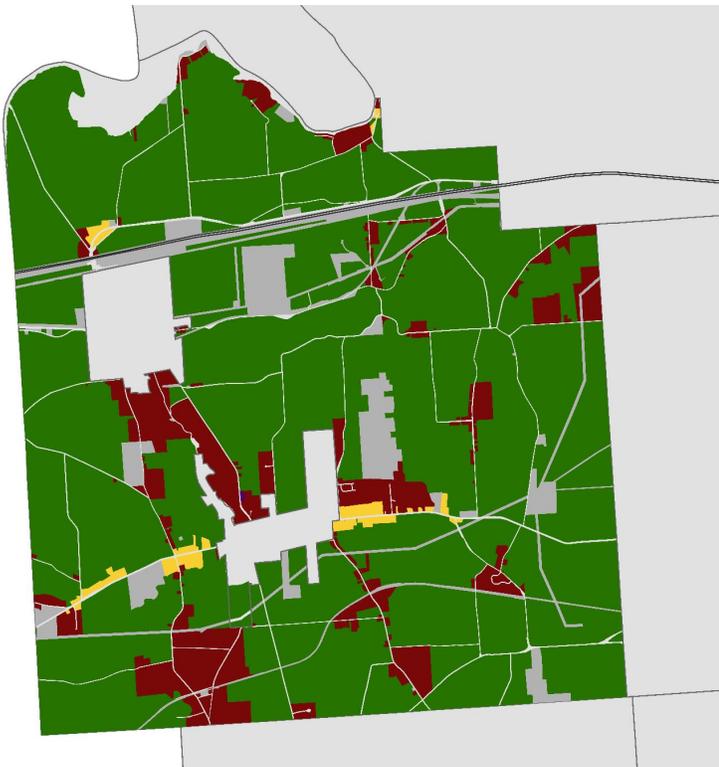


Town of DeWitt Minimum Lot Size for Detached Single-Family Housing



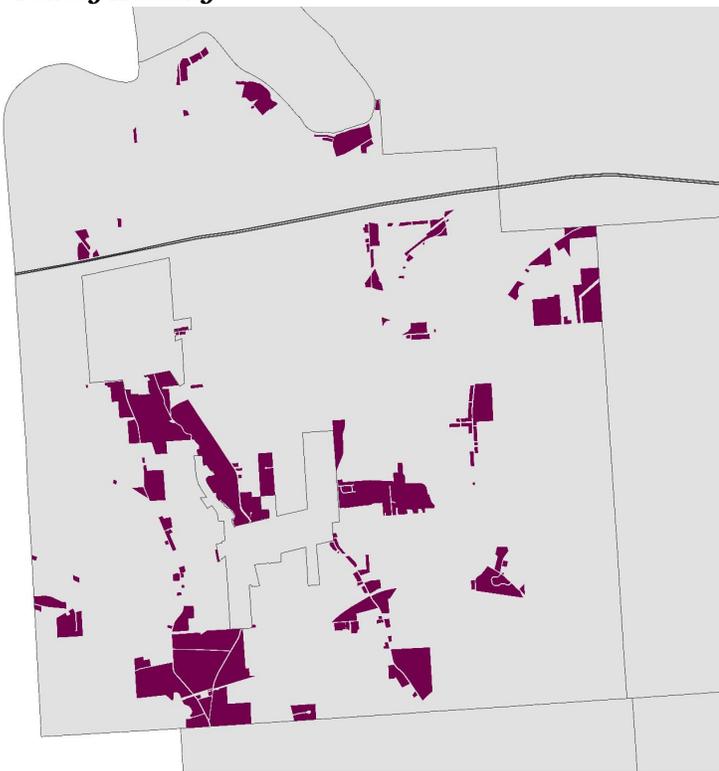
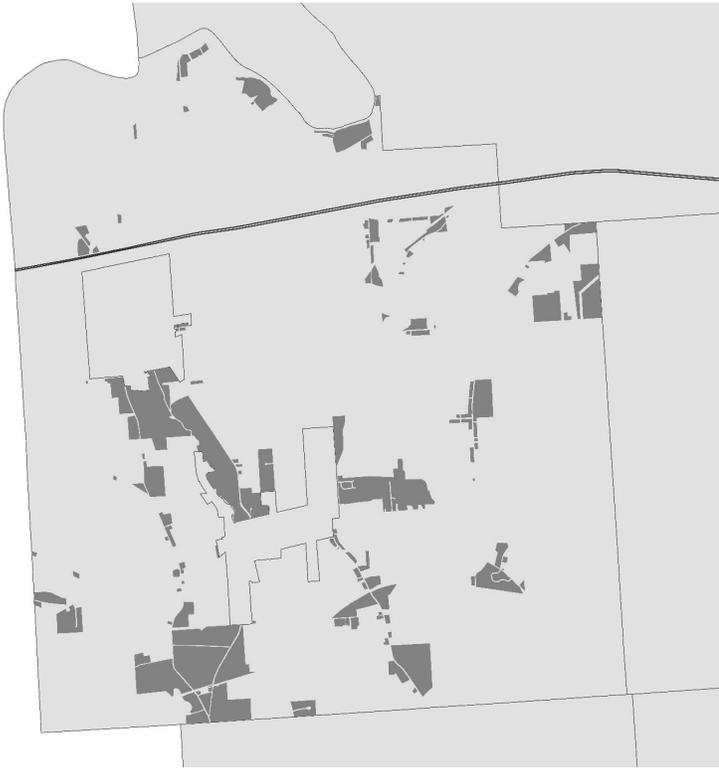
Town of Elbridge Zoning Map

Town of Elbridge Land Zoned for Urbanized Housing By-Right

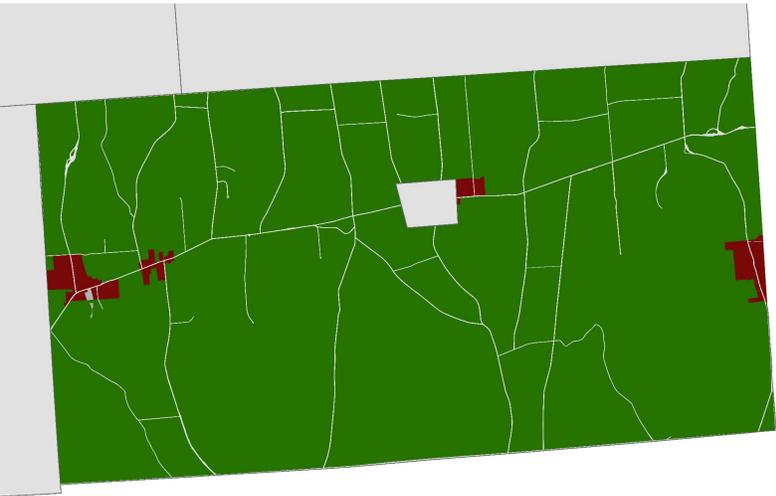


Town of Elbridge Housing Allowed Per Acre

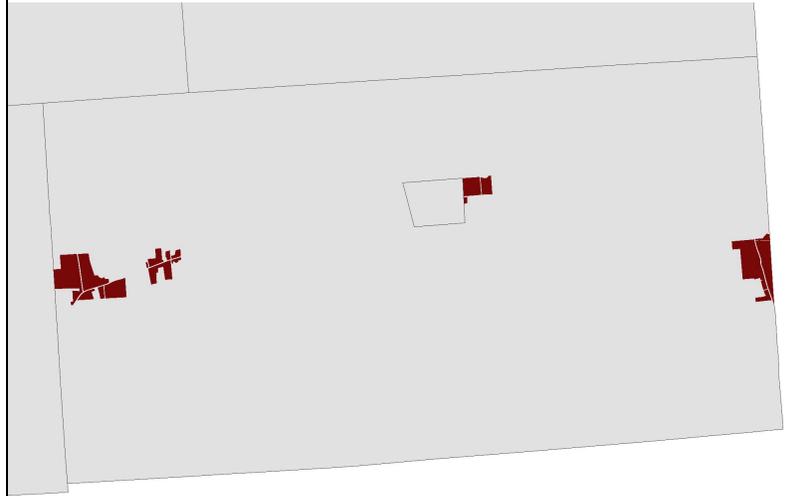
Town of Elbridge Minimum Lot Size for Detached Single-Family Housing



Town of Fabius Zoning Map



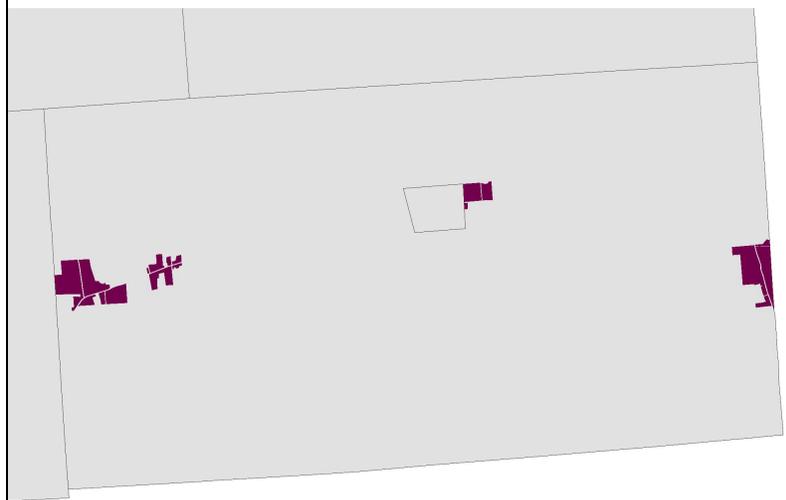
Town of Fabius Land Zoned for Urbanized Housing By-Right



Town of Fabius Housing Allowed Per Acre



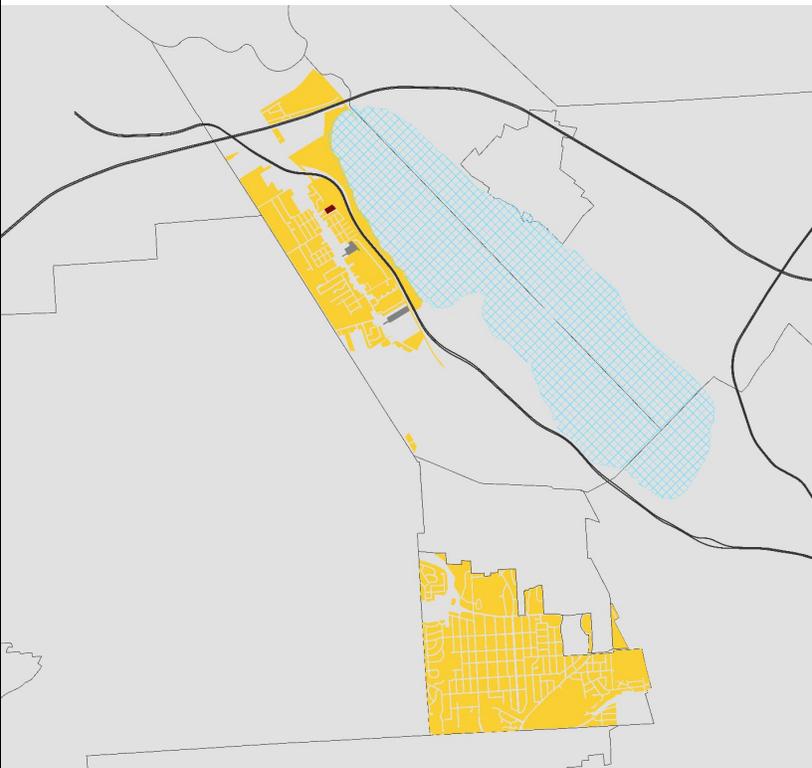
Town of Fabius Minimum Lot Size for Detached Single-Family Housing



Town of Geddes Zoning Map



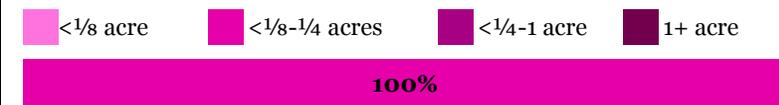
Town of Geddes Land Zoned for Urbanized Housing By-Right



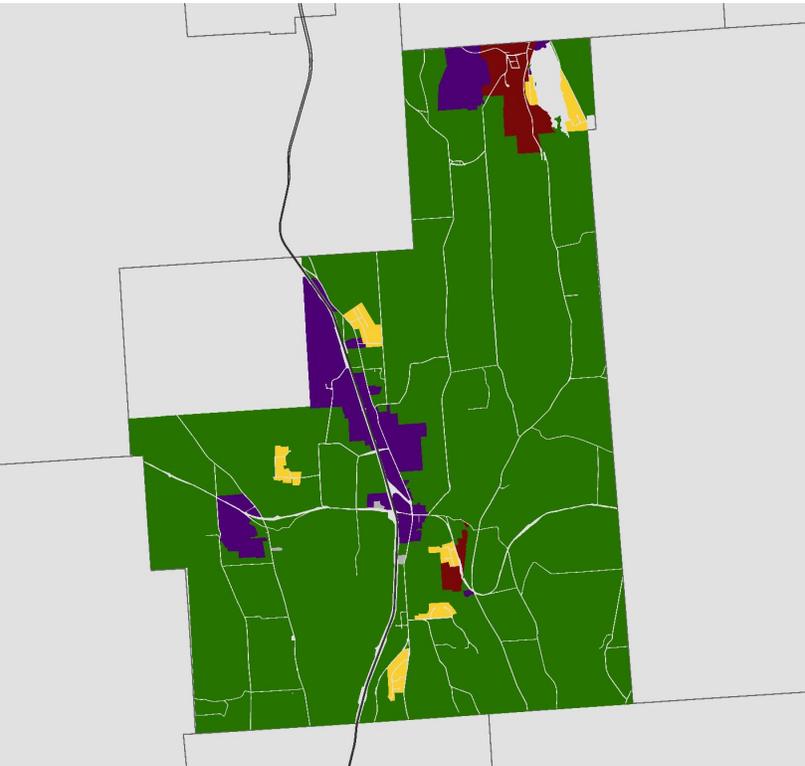
Town of Geddes Housing Allowed Per Acre



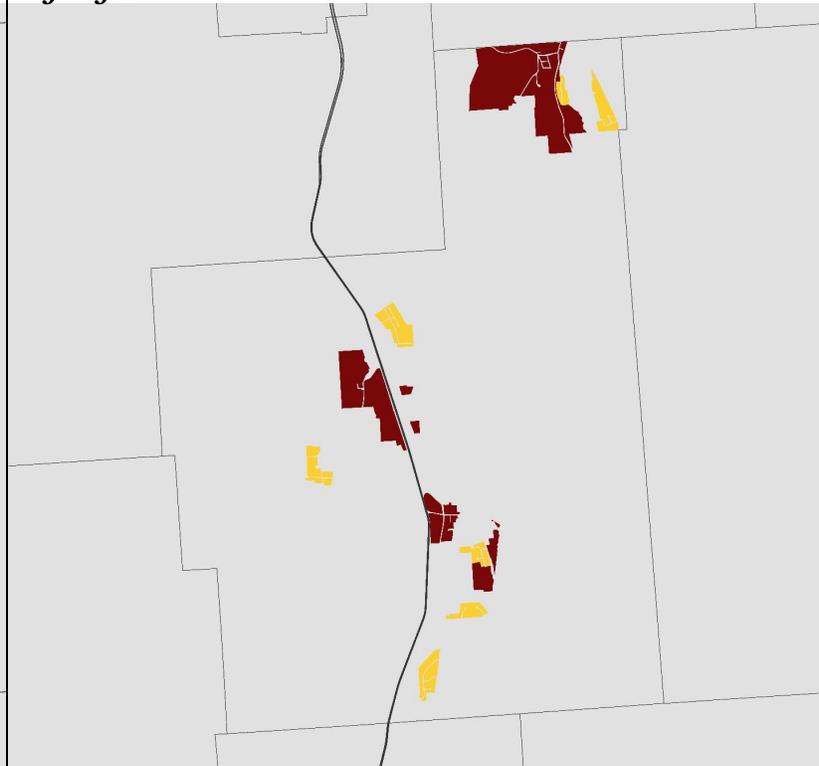
Town of Geddes Minimum Lot Size for Detached Single-Family Housing



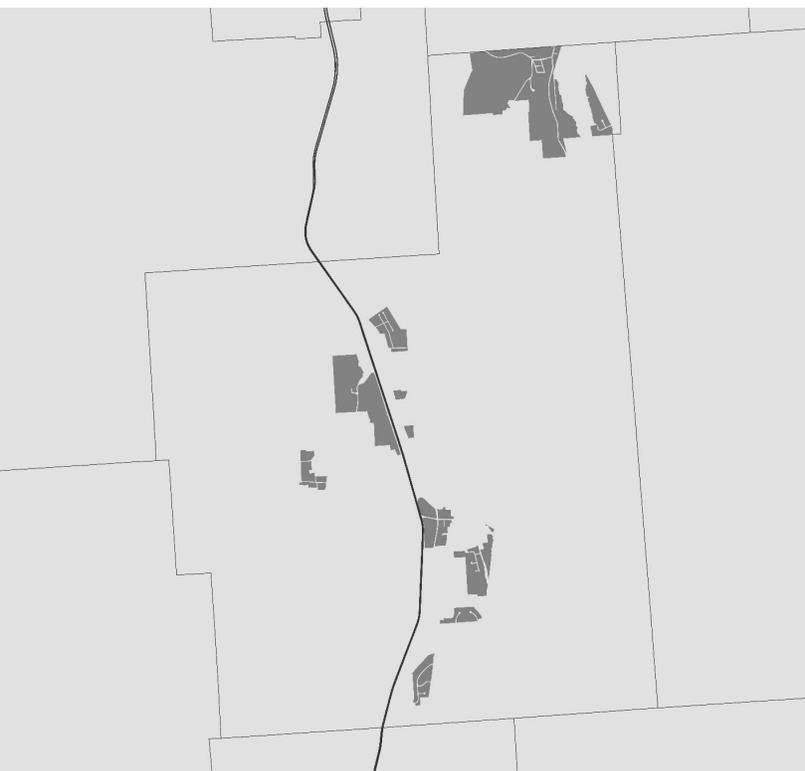
Town of LaFayette Zoning Map



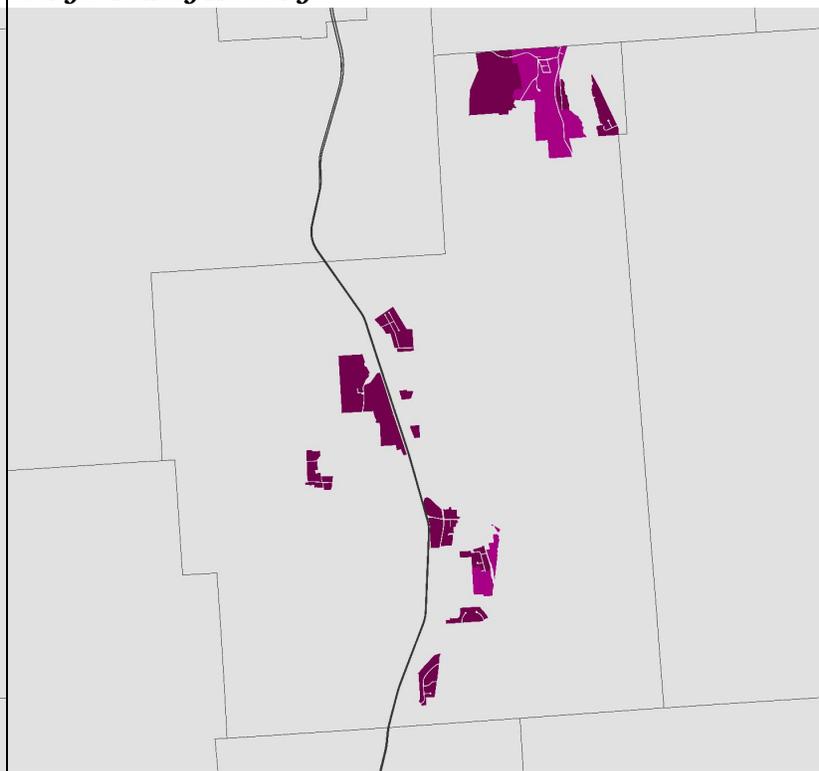
Town of LaFayette Land Zoned for Urbanized Housing By-Right



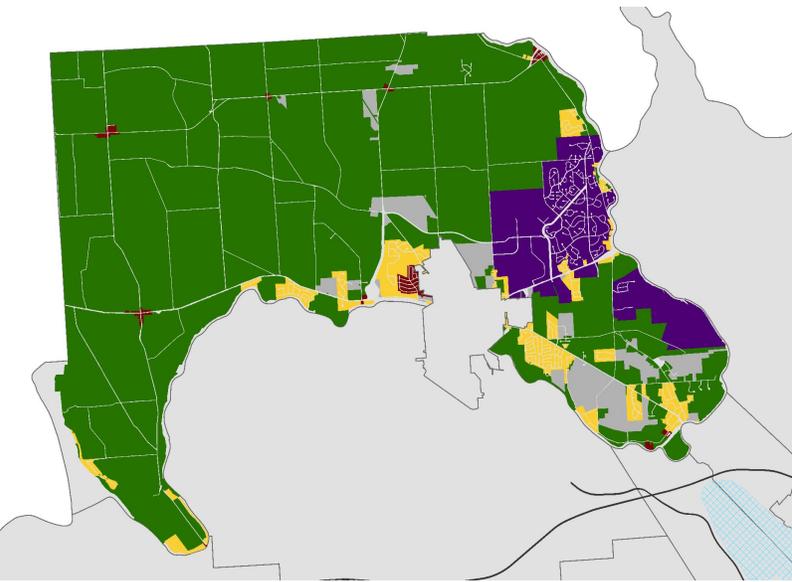
Town of LaFayette Housing Allowed Per Acre



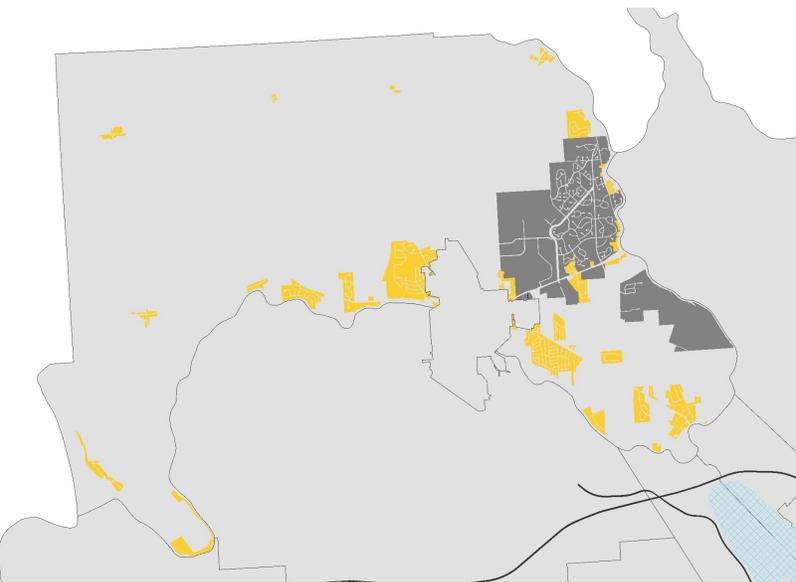
Town of LaFayette Minimum Lot Size for Detached Single-Family Housing



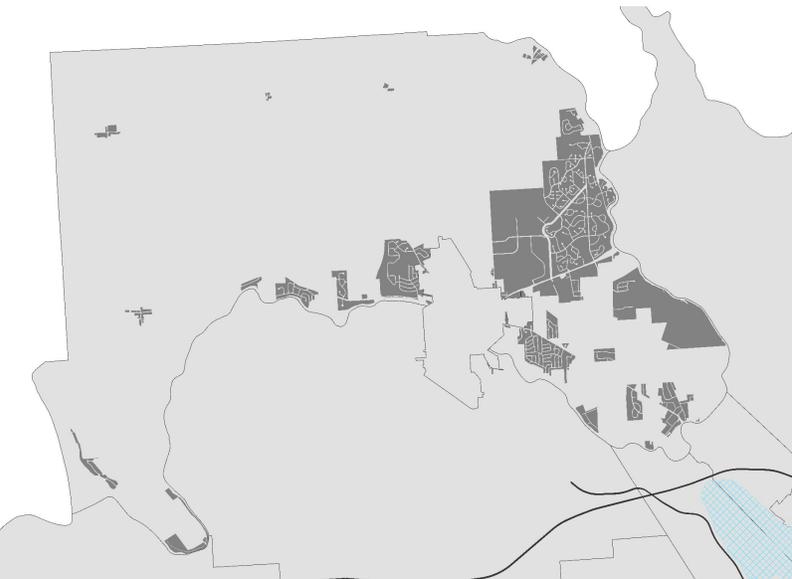
Town of Lysander Zoning Map



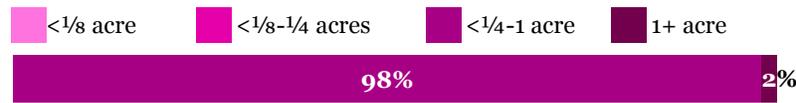
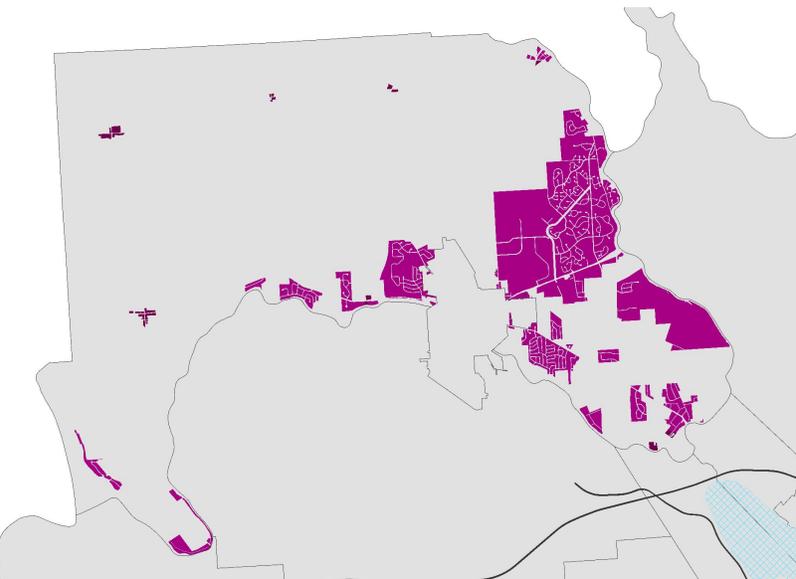
Town of Lysander Land Zoned for Urbanized Housing By-Right



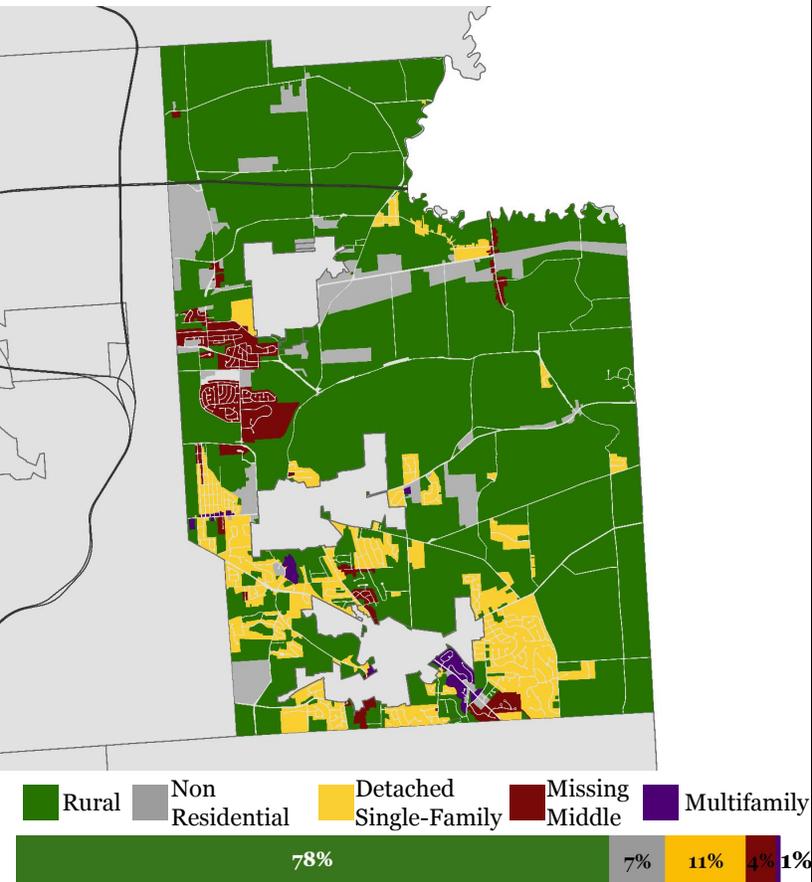
Town of Lysander Housing Allowed Per Acre



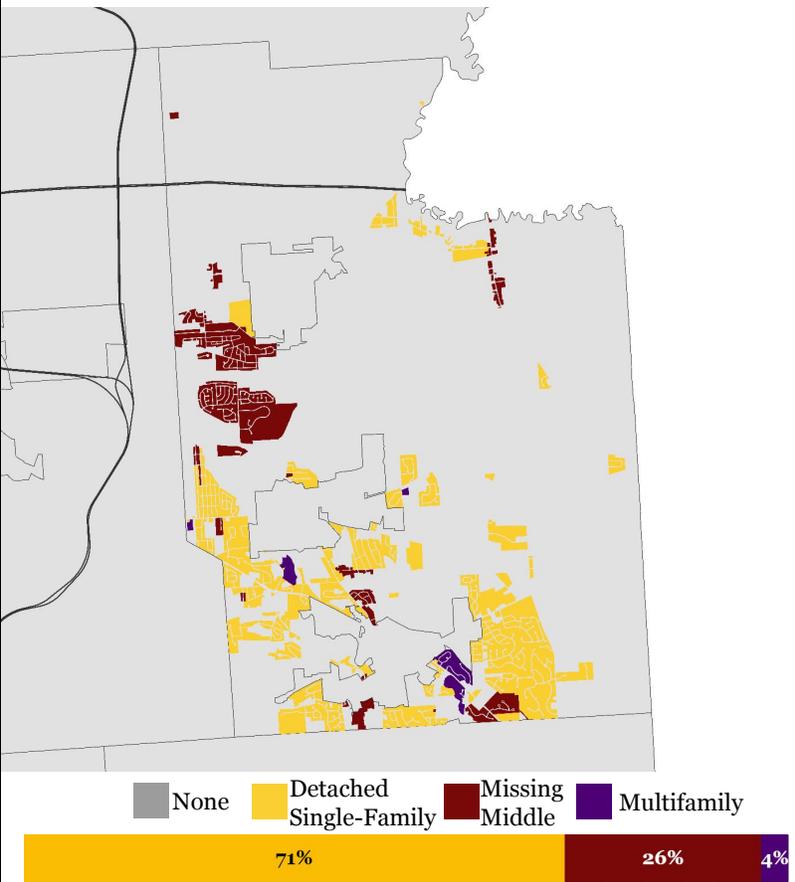
Town of Lysander Minimum Lot Size for Detached Single-Family Housing



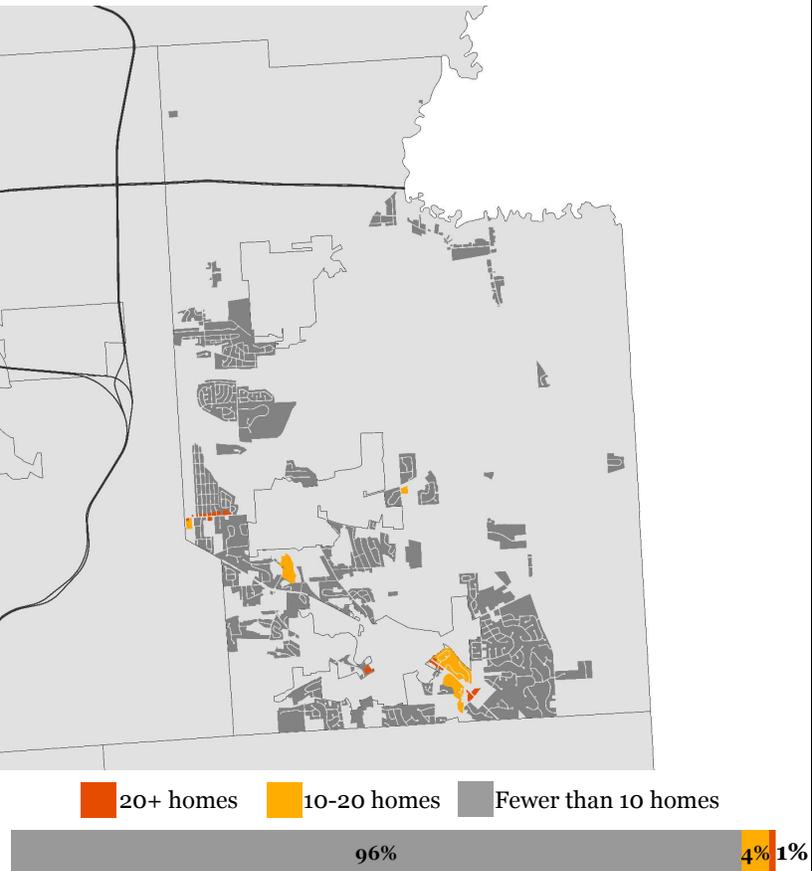
Town of Manlius Zoning Map



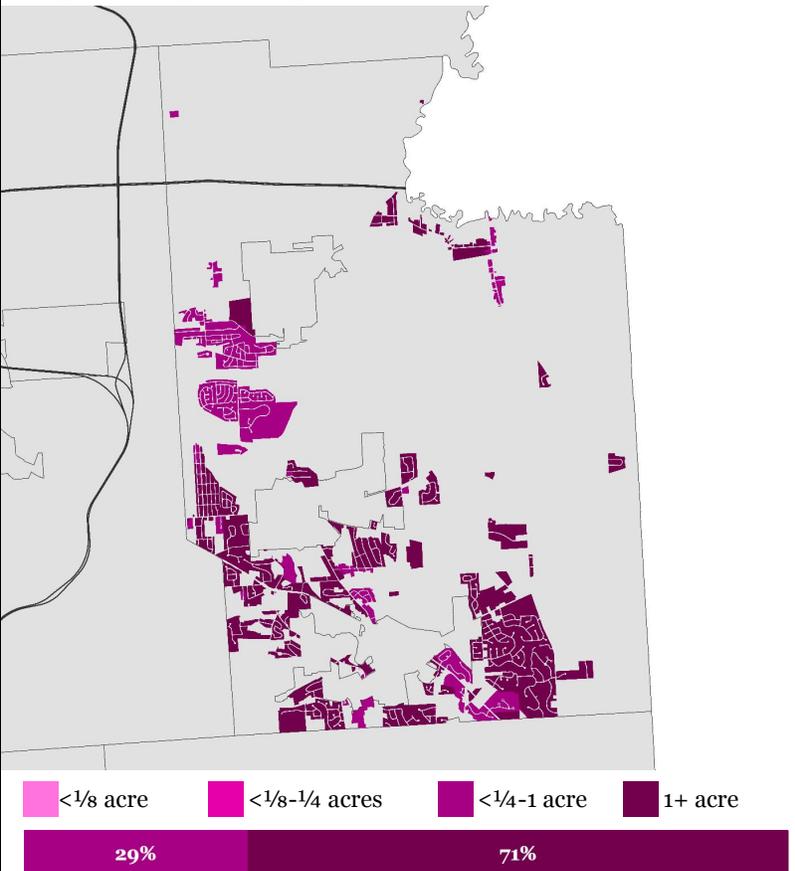
Town of Manlius Land Zoned for Urbanized Housing By-Right



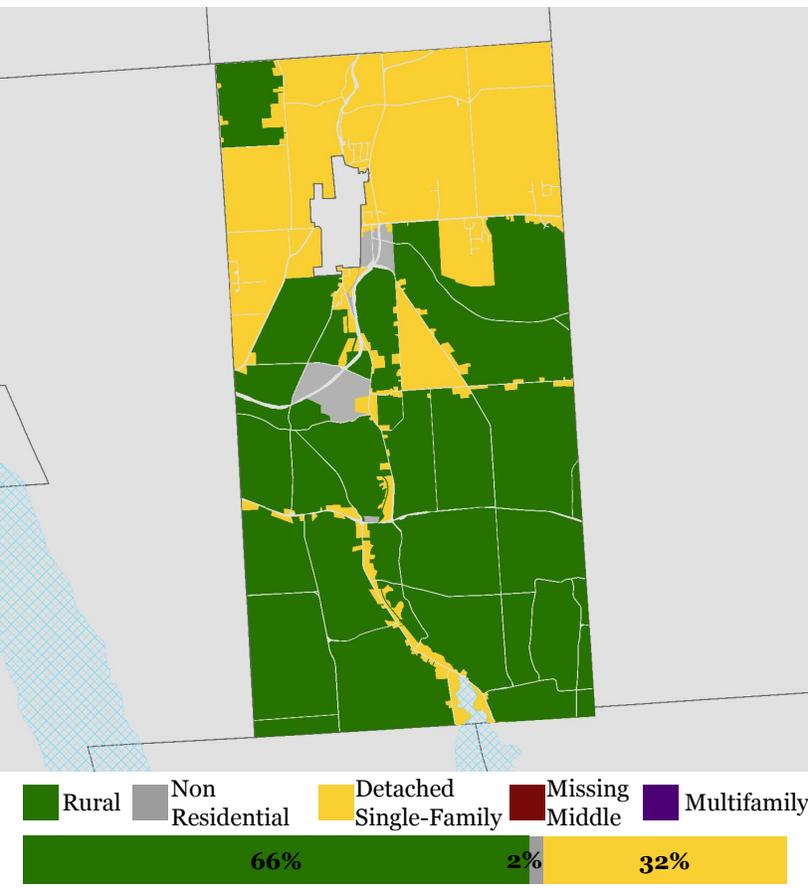
Town of Manlius Housing Allowed Per Acre



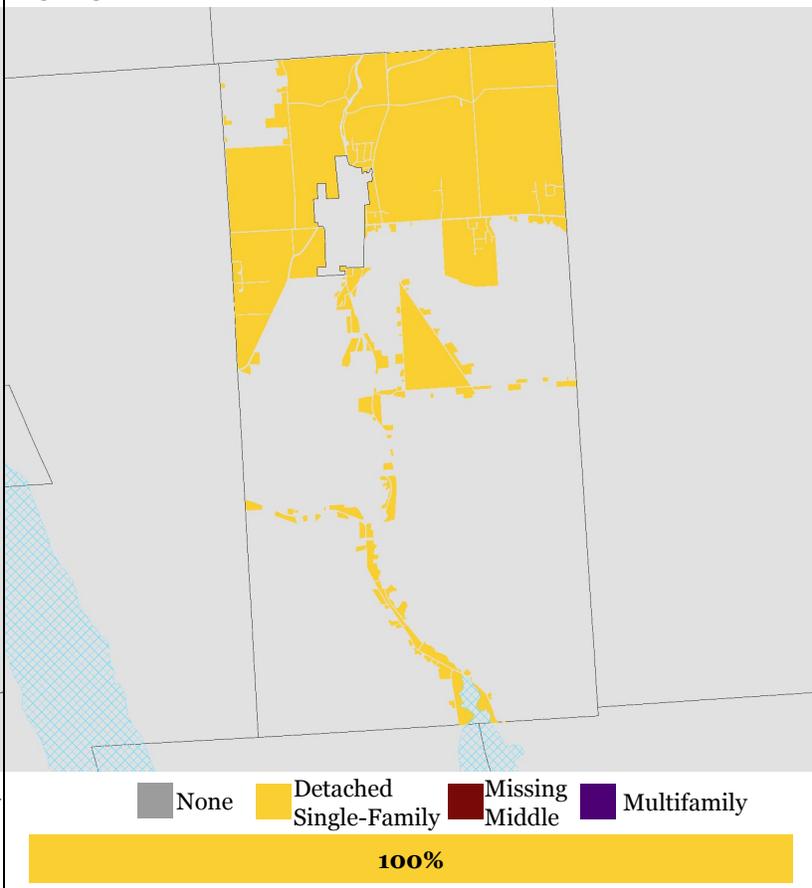
Town of Manlius Minimum Lot Size for Detached Single-Family Housing



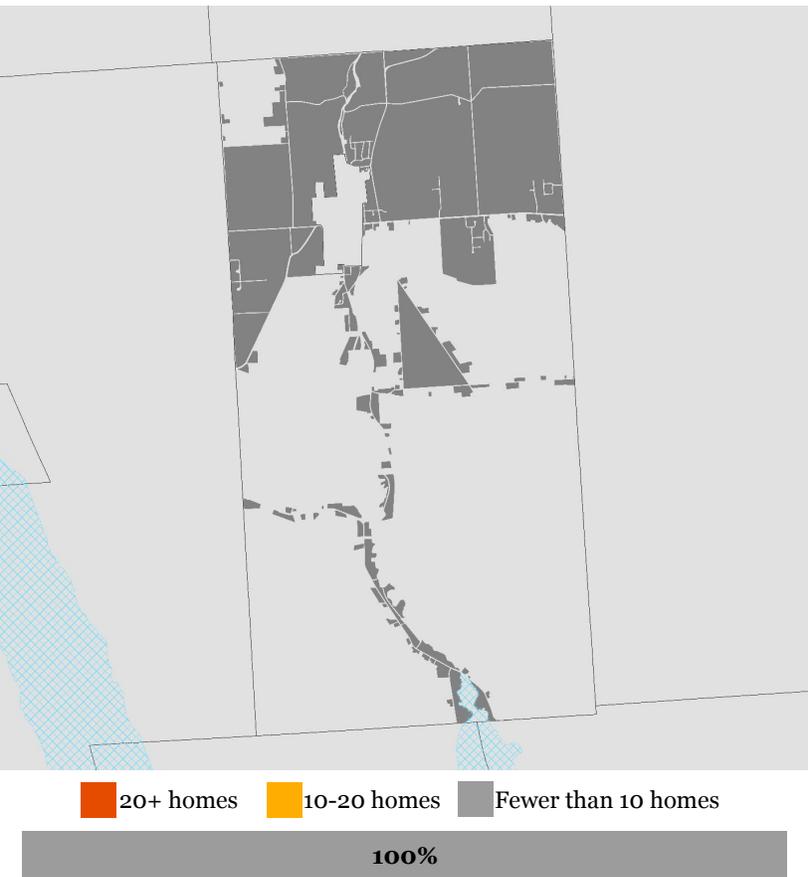
Town of Marcellus Zoning Map



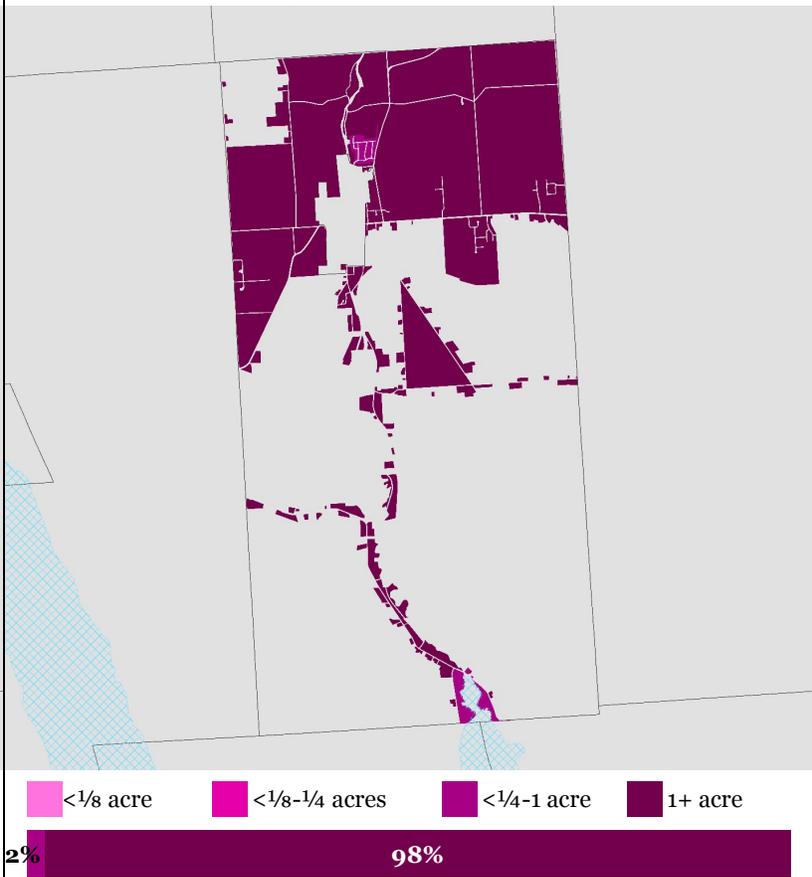
Town of Marcellus Land Zoned for Urbanized Housing By-Right



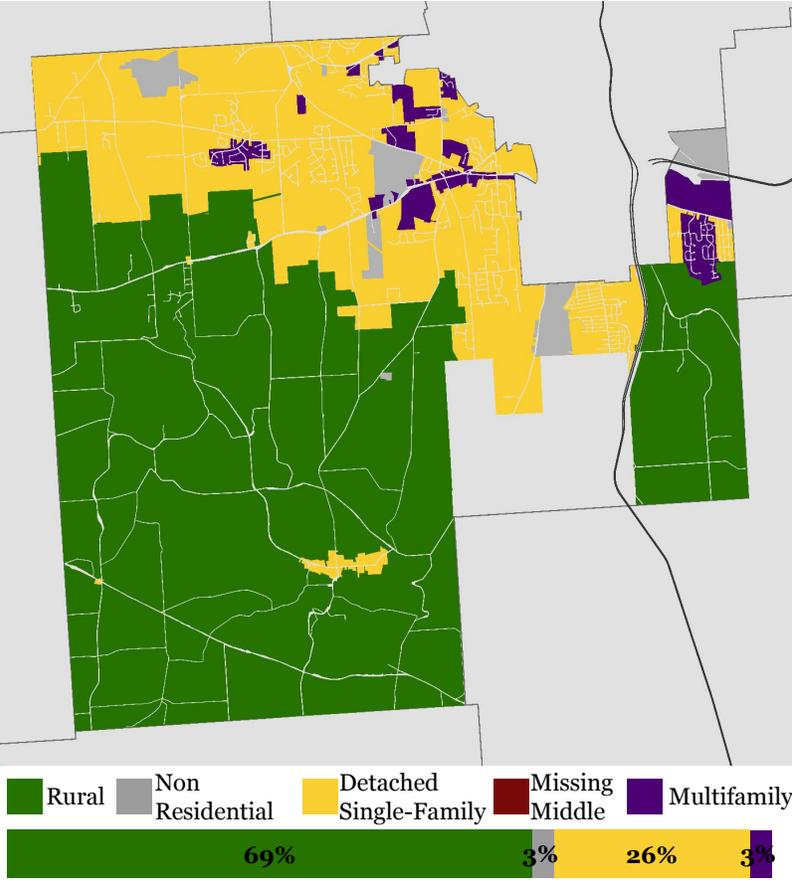
Town of Marcellus Housing Allowed Per Acre



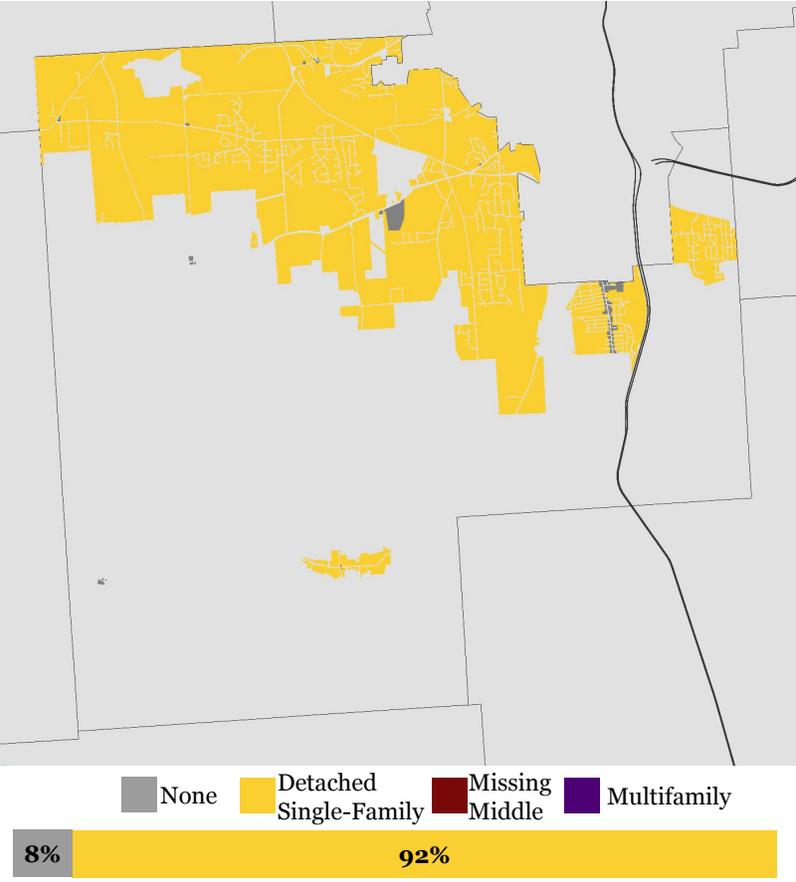
Town of Marcellus Minimum Lot Size for Detached Single-Family Housing



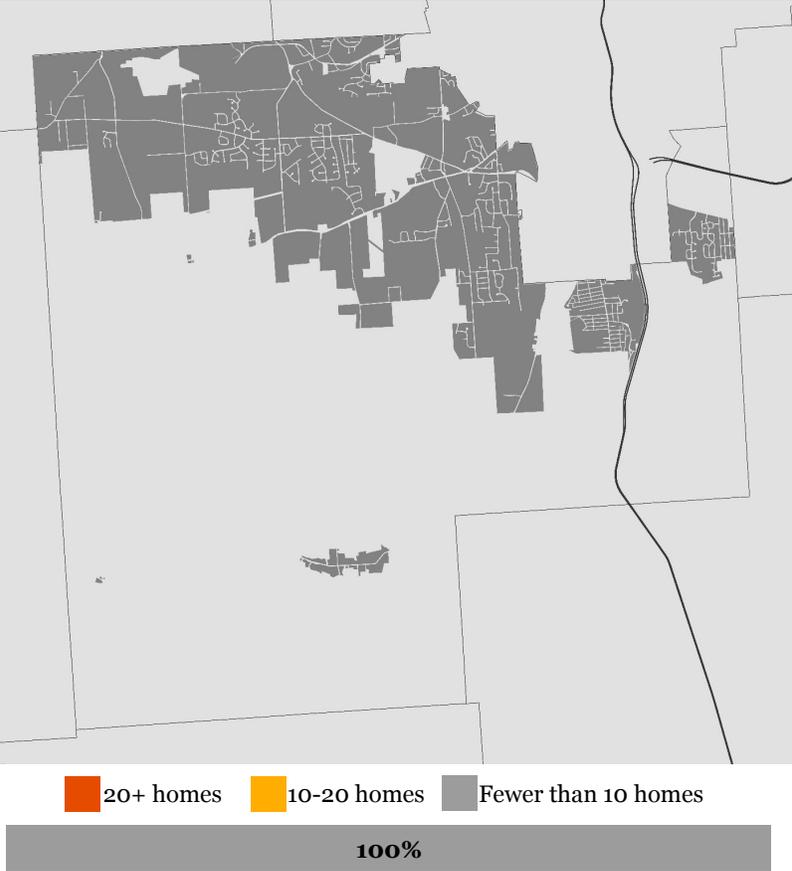
Town of Onondaga Zoning Map



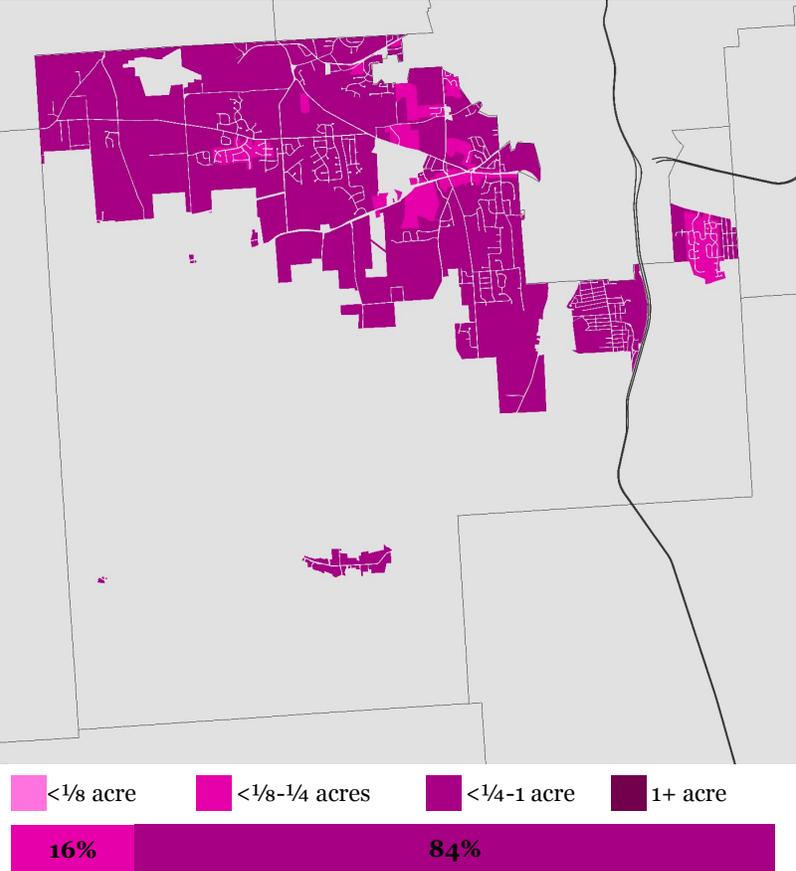
Town of Onondaga Land Zoned for Urbanized Housing By-Right



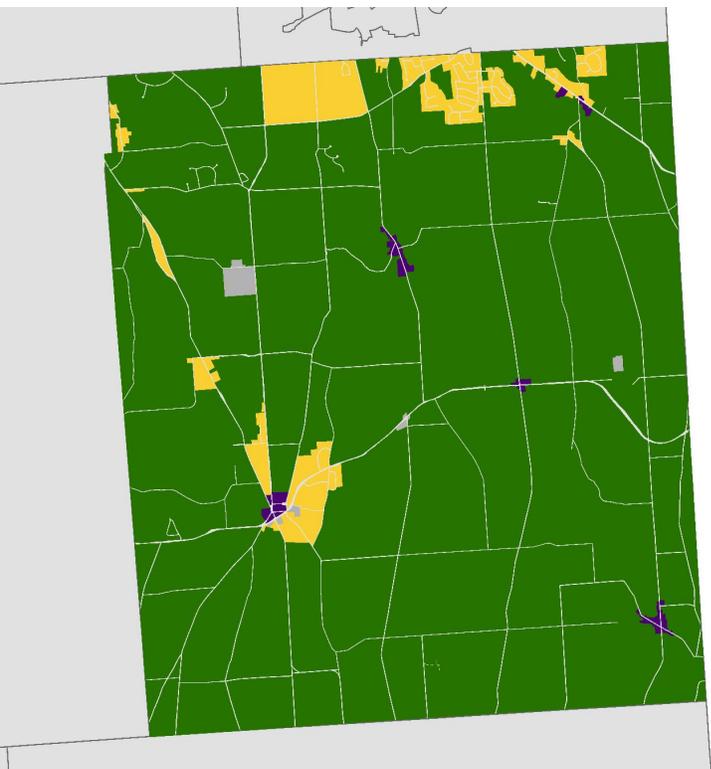
Town of Onondaga Housing Allowed Per Acre



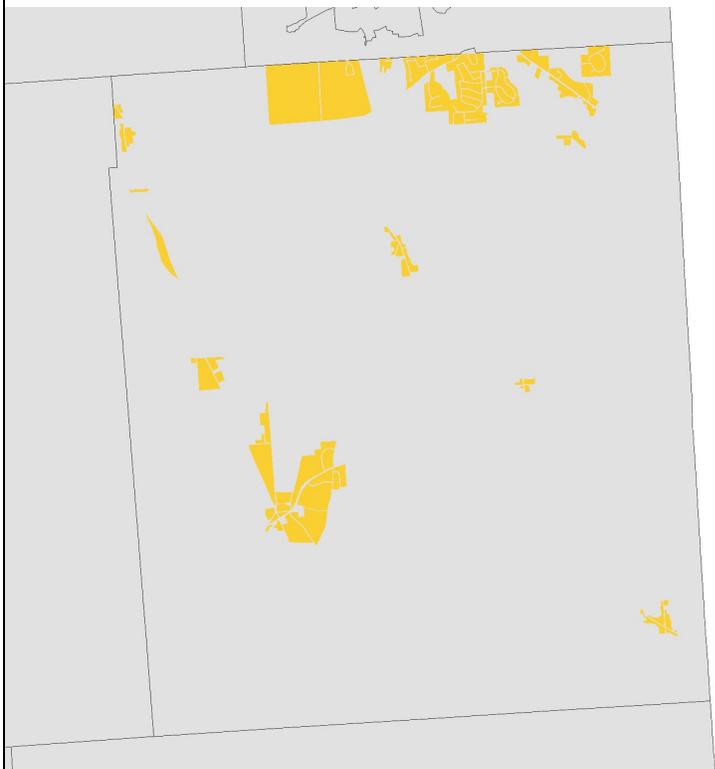
Town of Onondaga Minimum Lot Size for Detached Single-Family Housing



Town of Pompey Zoning Map



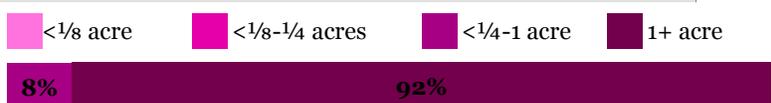
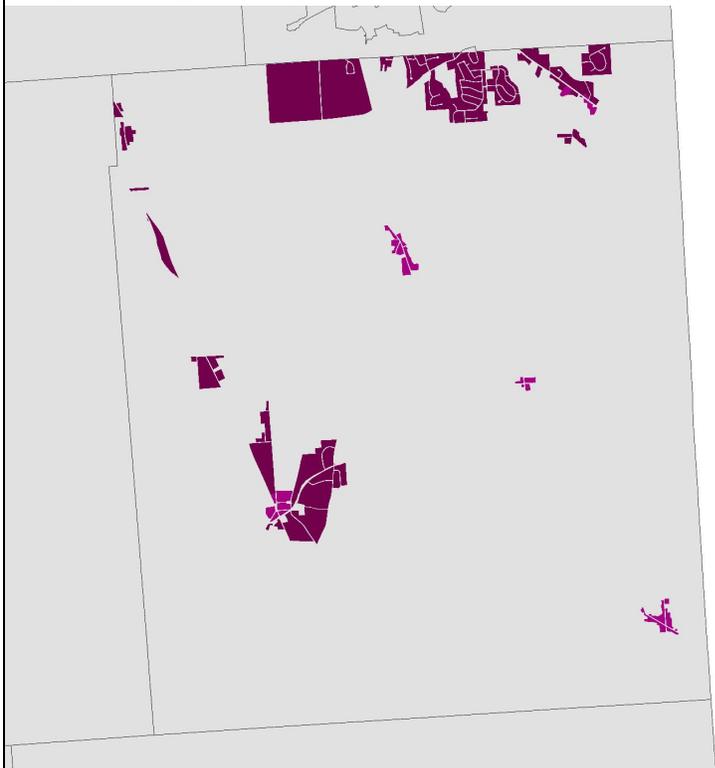
Town of Pompey Land Zoned for Urbanized Housing By-Right



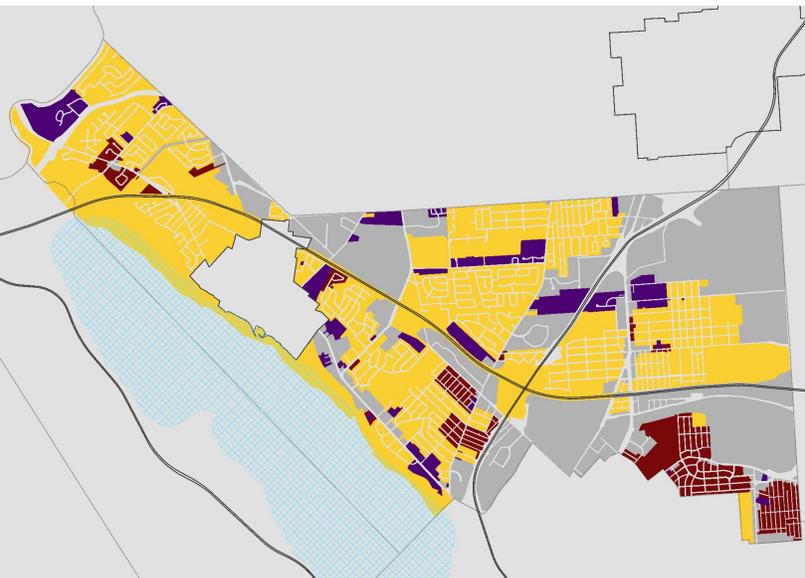
Town of Pompey Housing Allowed Per Acre



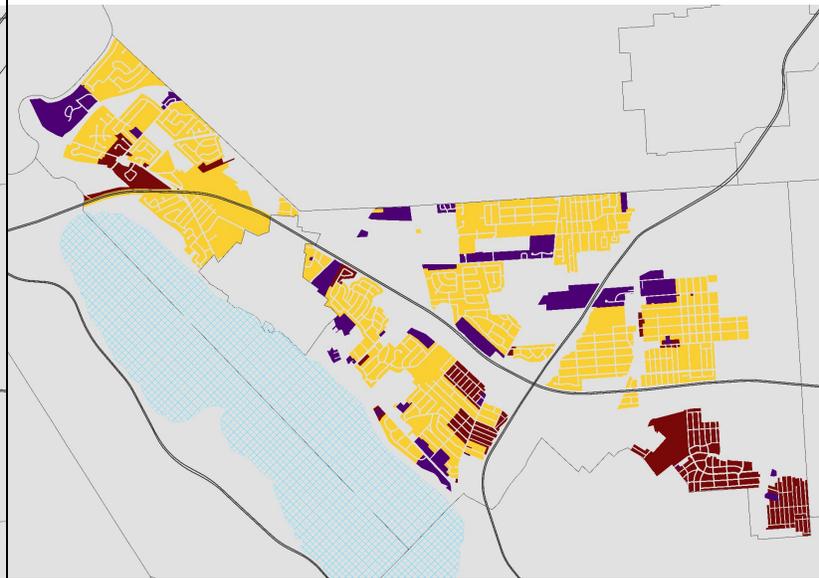
Town of Pompey Minimum Lot Size for Detached Single-Family Housing



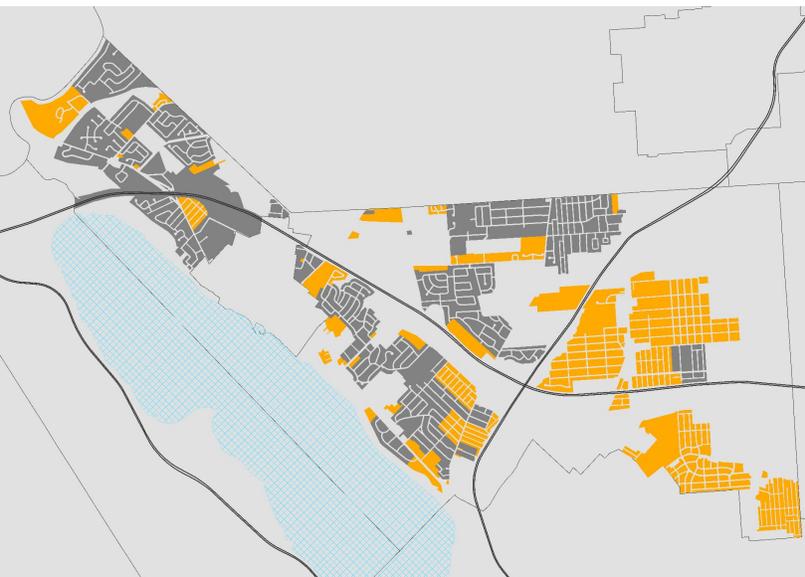
Town of Salina Zoning Map



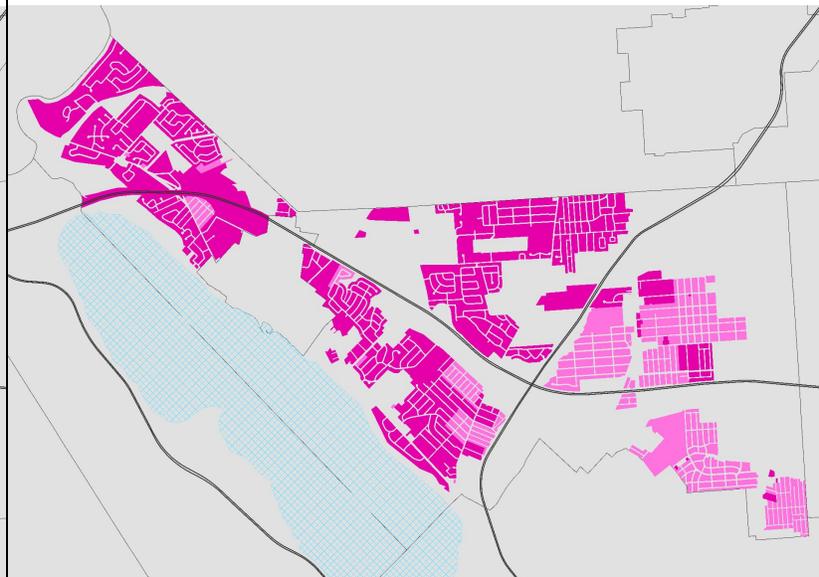
Town of Salina Land Zoned for Urbanized Housing By-Right



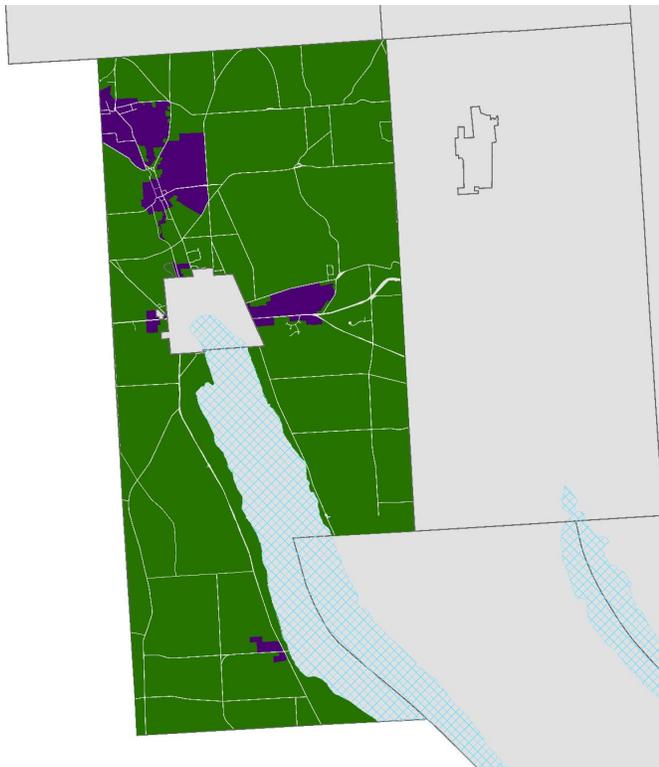
Town of Salina Housing Allowed Per Acre



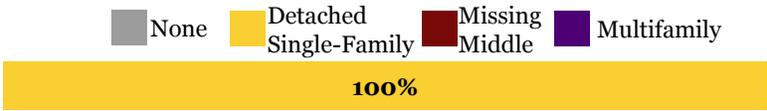
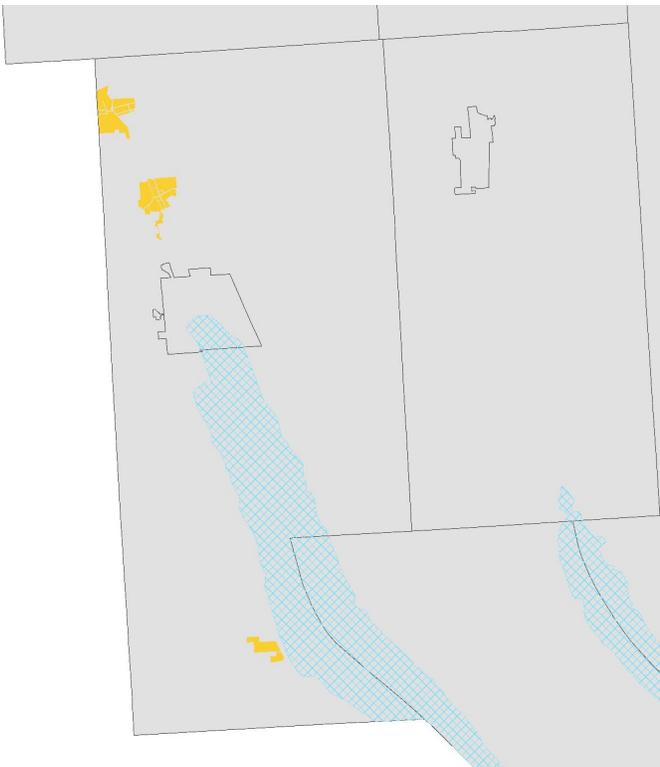
Town of Salina Minimum Lot Size for Detached Single-Family Housing



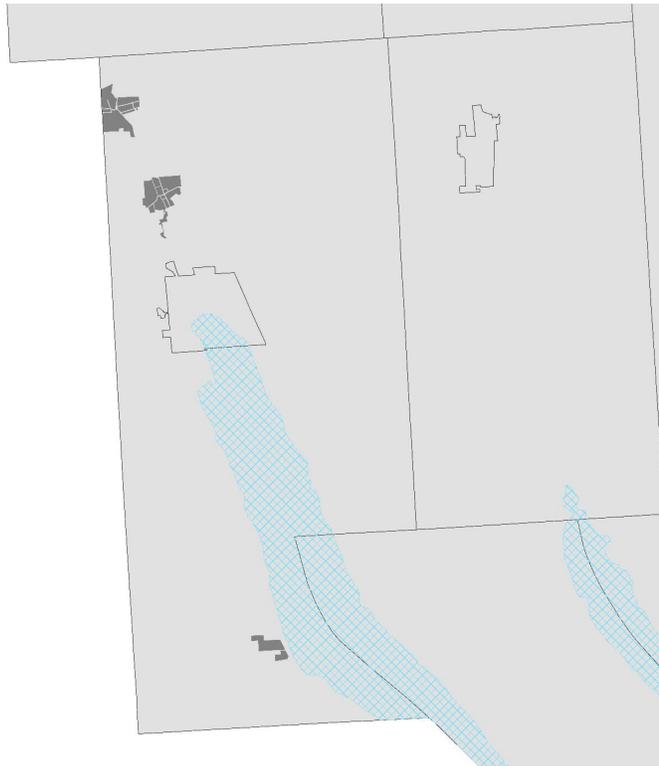
Town of Skaneateles Zoning Map



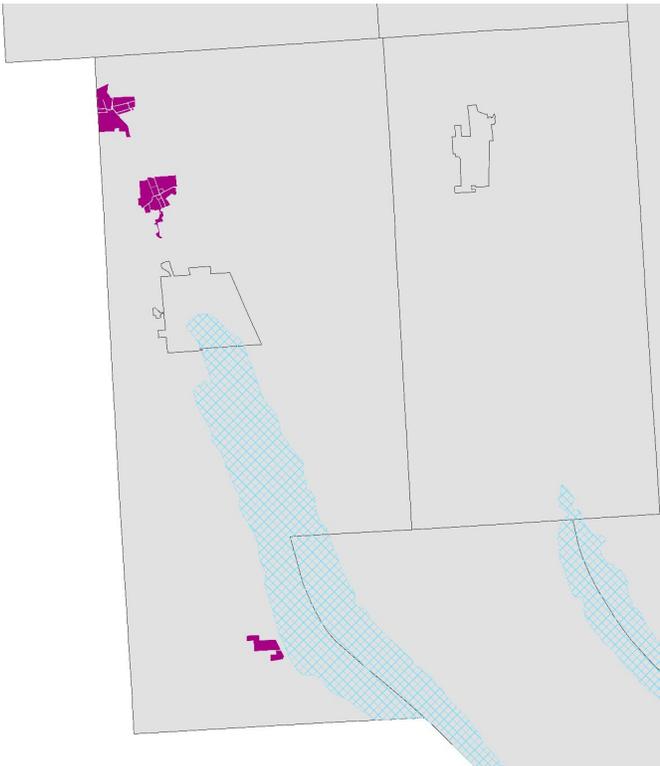
Town of Skaneateles Land Zoned for Urbanized Housing By-Right



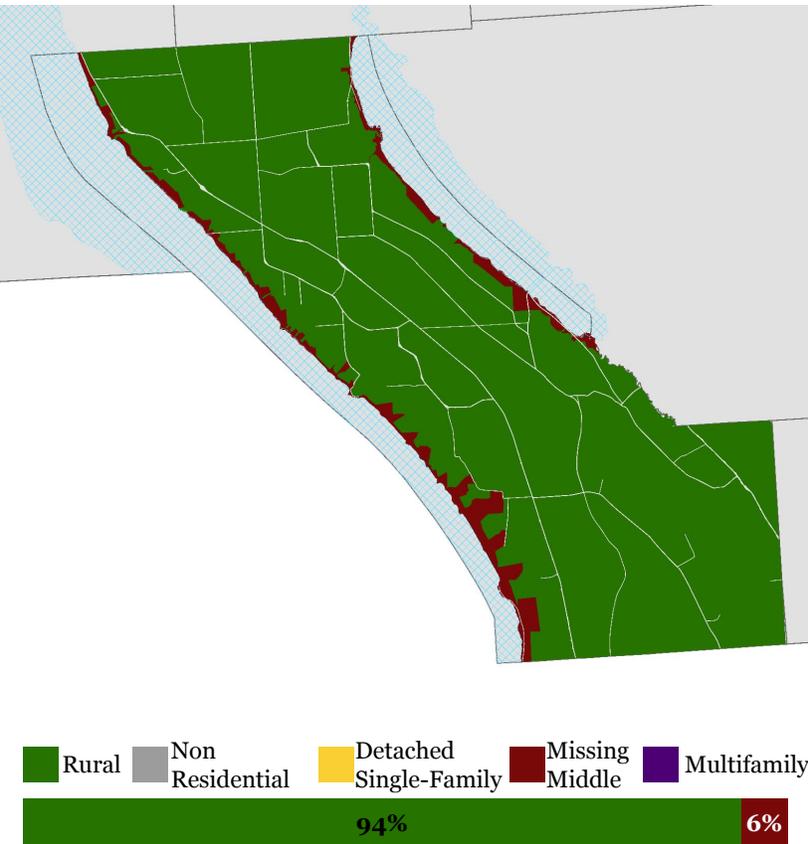
Town of Skaneateles Housing Allowed Per Acre



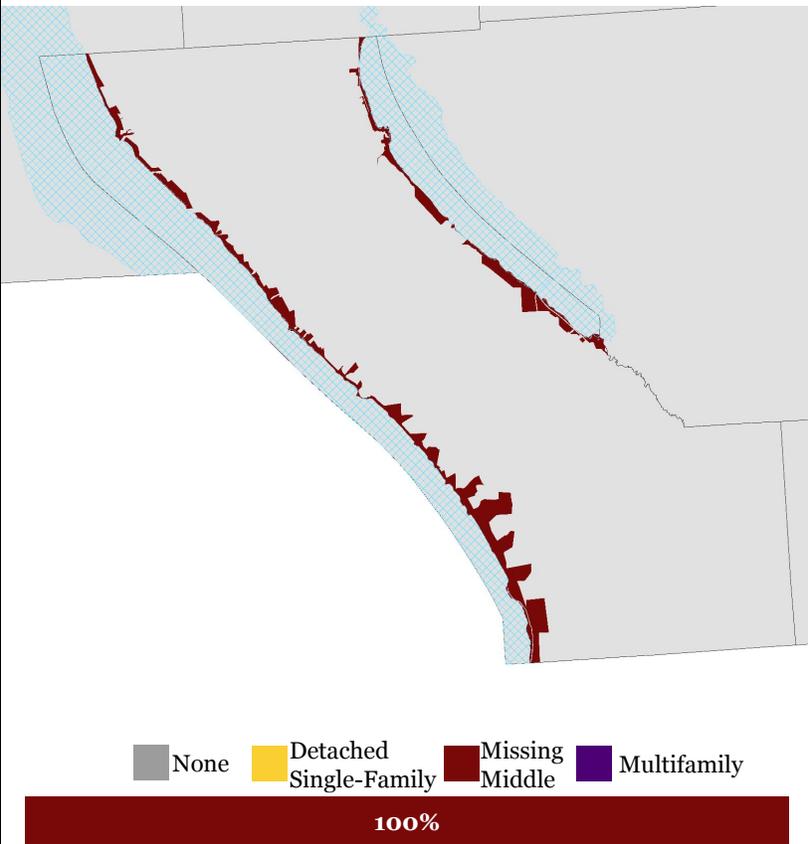
Town of Skaneateles Minimum Lot Size for Detached Single-Family Housing



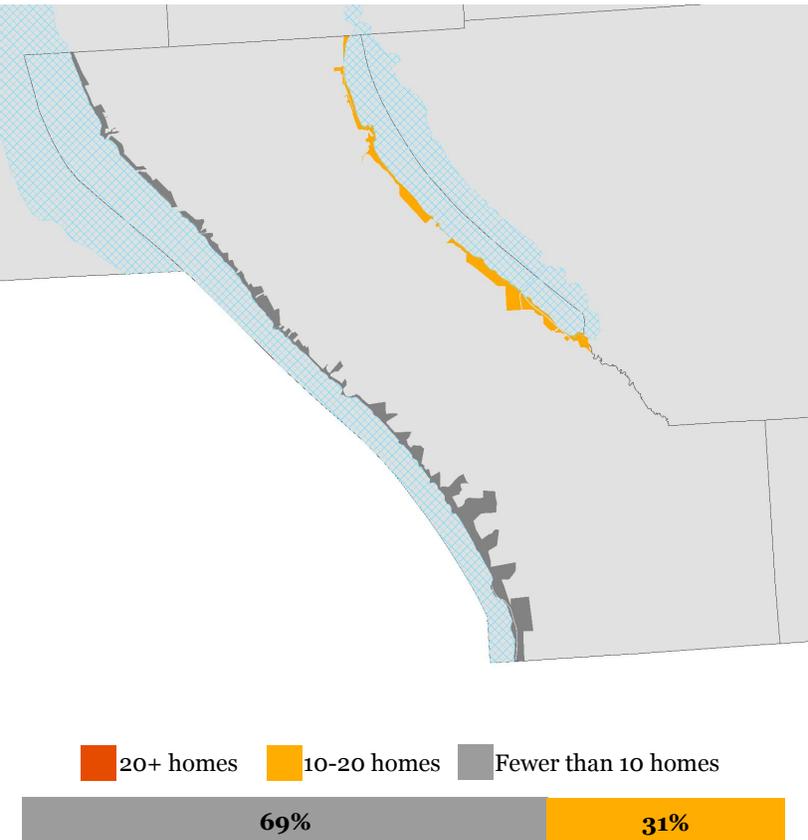
Town of Spafford Zoning Map



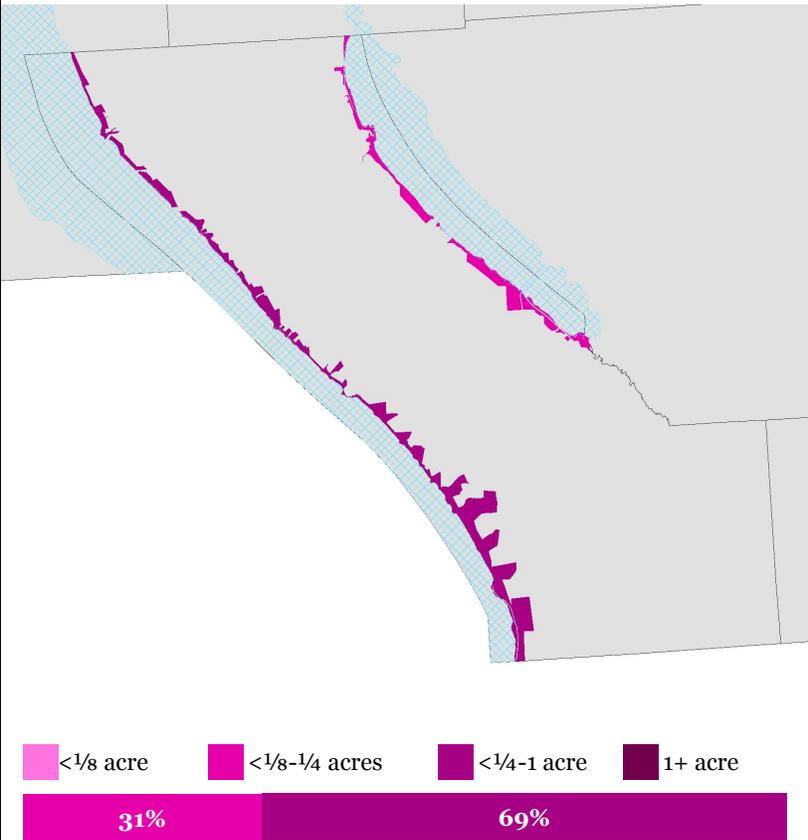
Town of Spafford Land Zoned for Urbanized Housing By-Right



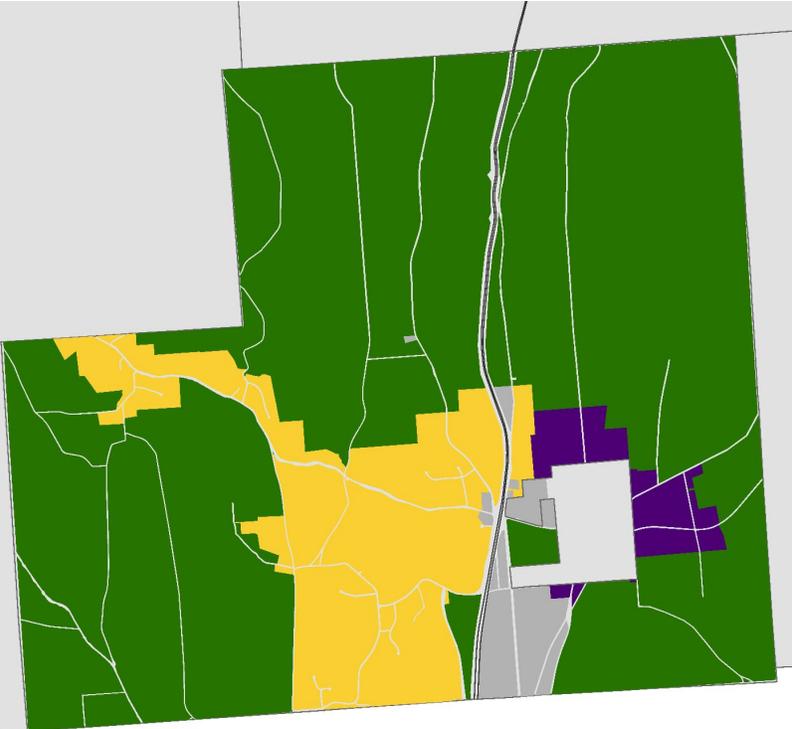
Town of Spafford Housing Allowed Per Acre



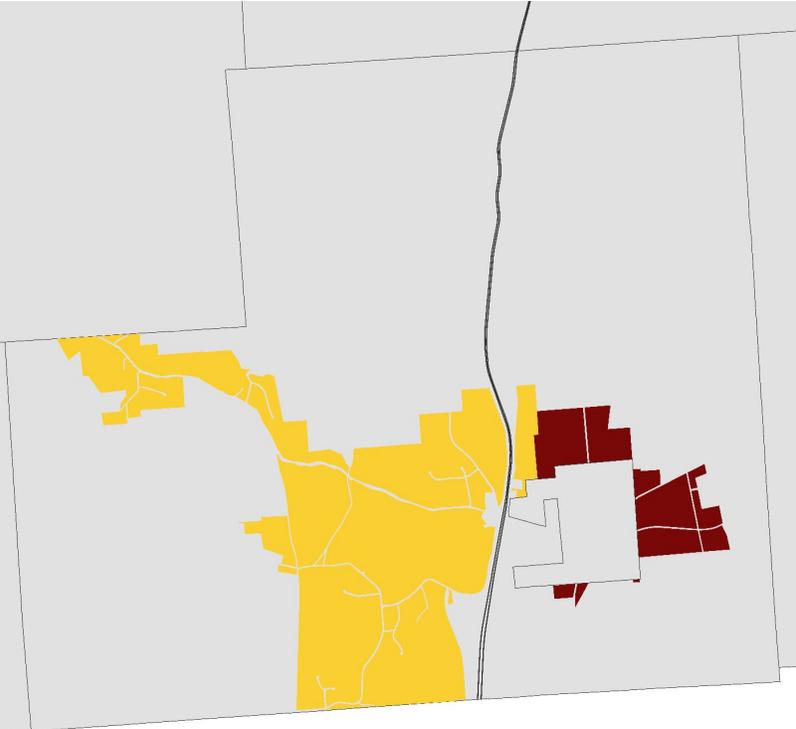
Town of Spafford Minimum Lot Size for Detached Single-Family Housing



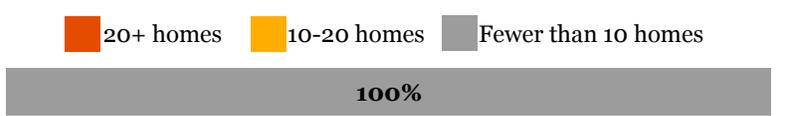
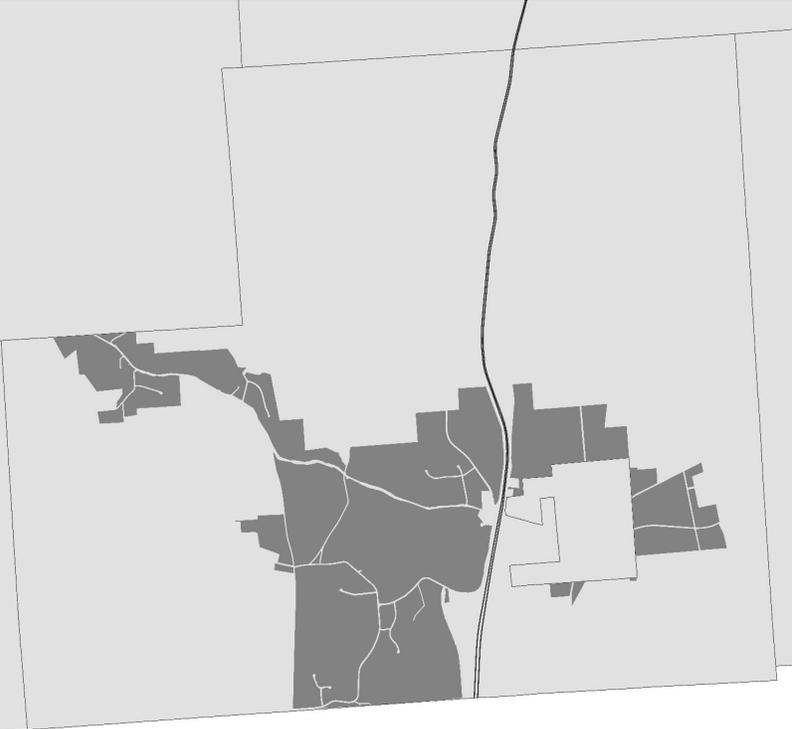
Town of Tully Zoning Map



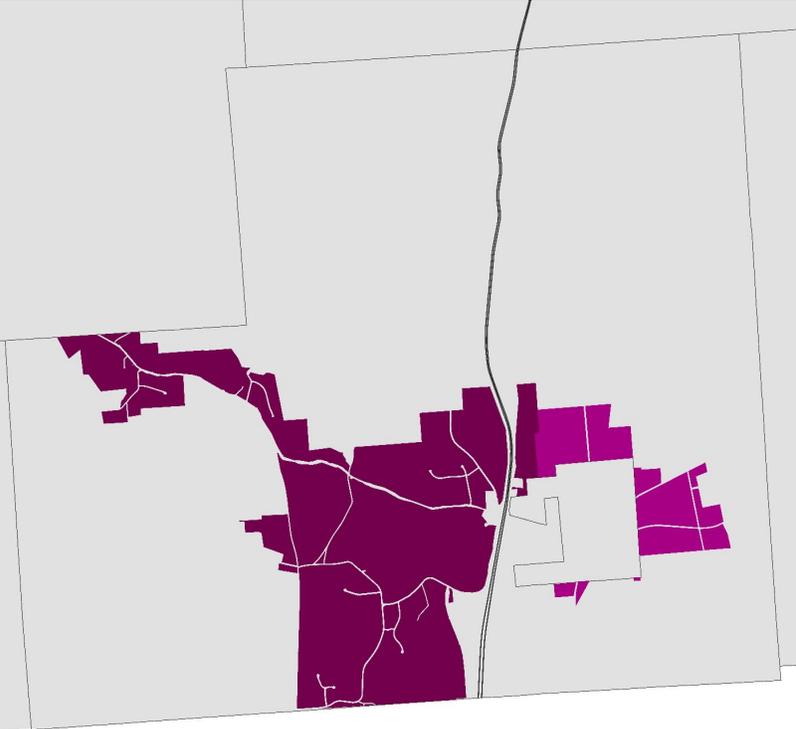
Town of Tully Land Zoned for Urbanized Housing By-Right



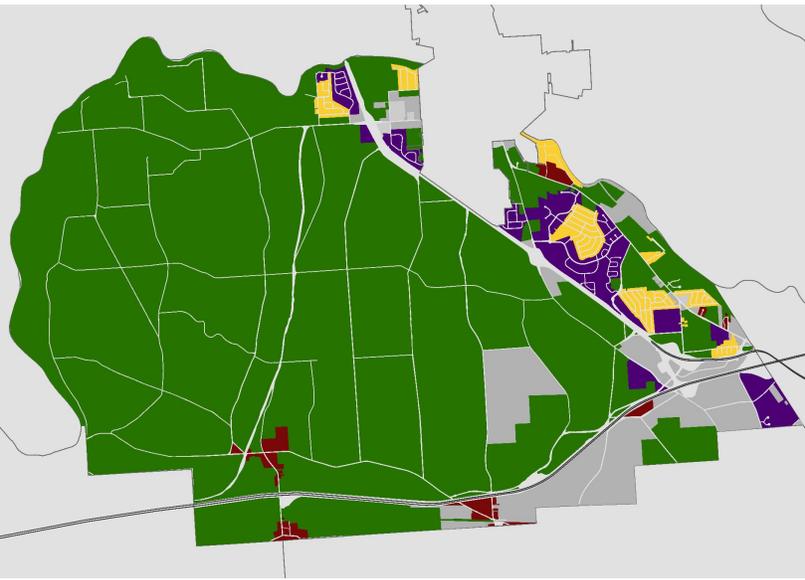
Town of Tully Housing Allowed Per Acre



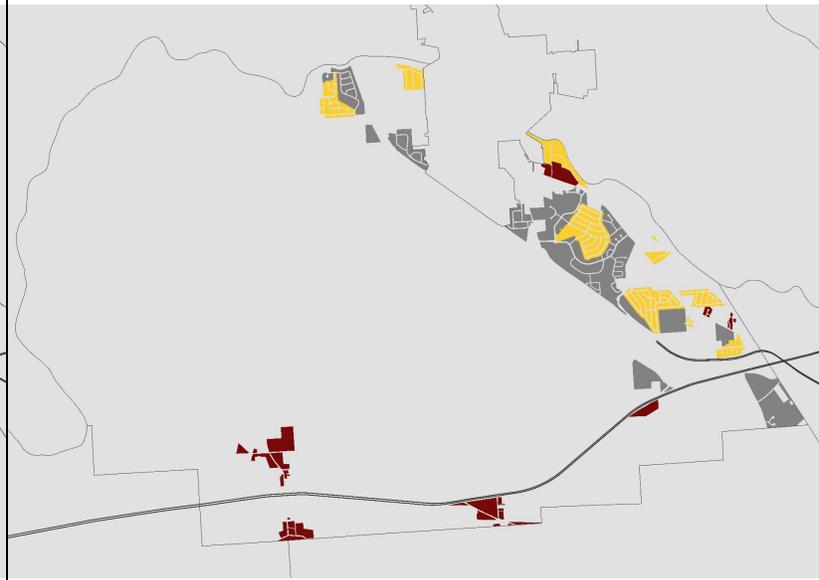
Town of Tully Minimum Lot Size for Detached Single-Family Housing



Town of Van Buren Zoning Map



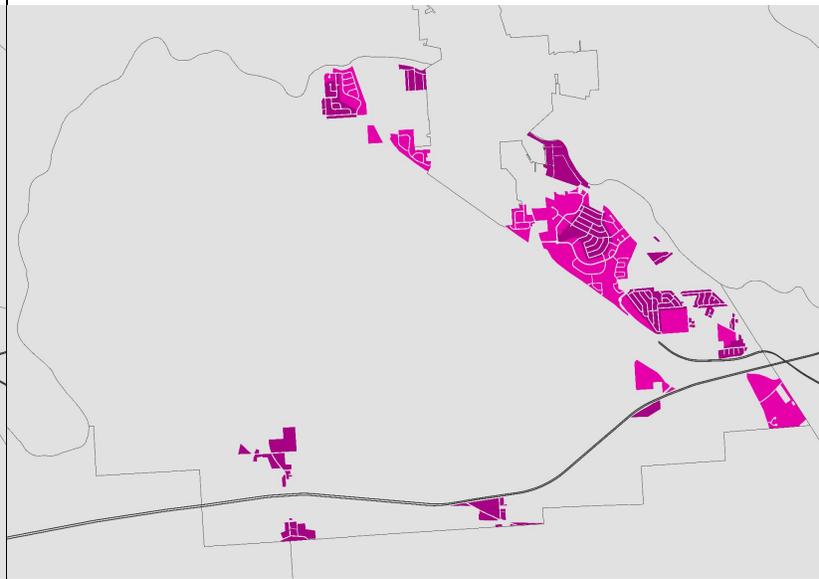
Town of Van Buren Land Zoned for Urbanized Housing By-Right



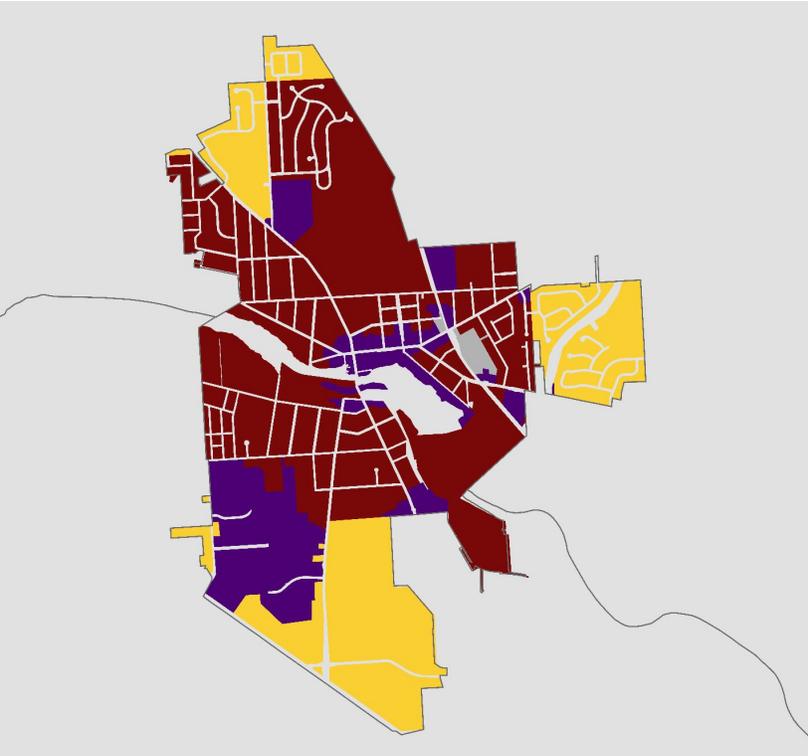
Town of Van Buren Housing Allowed Per Acre



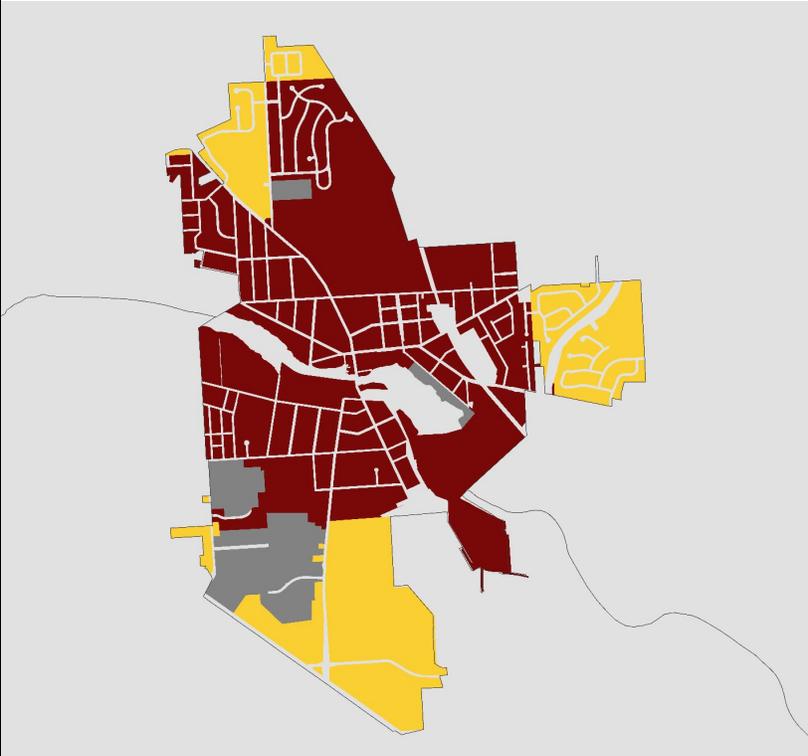
Town of Van Buren Minimum Lot Size for Detached Single-Family Housing



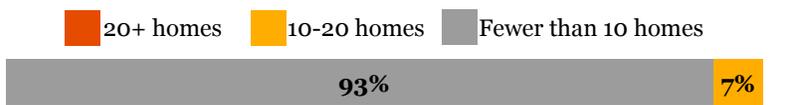
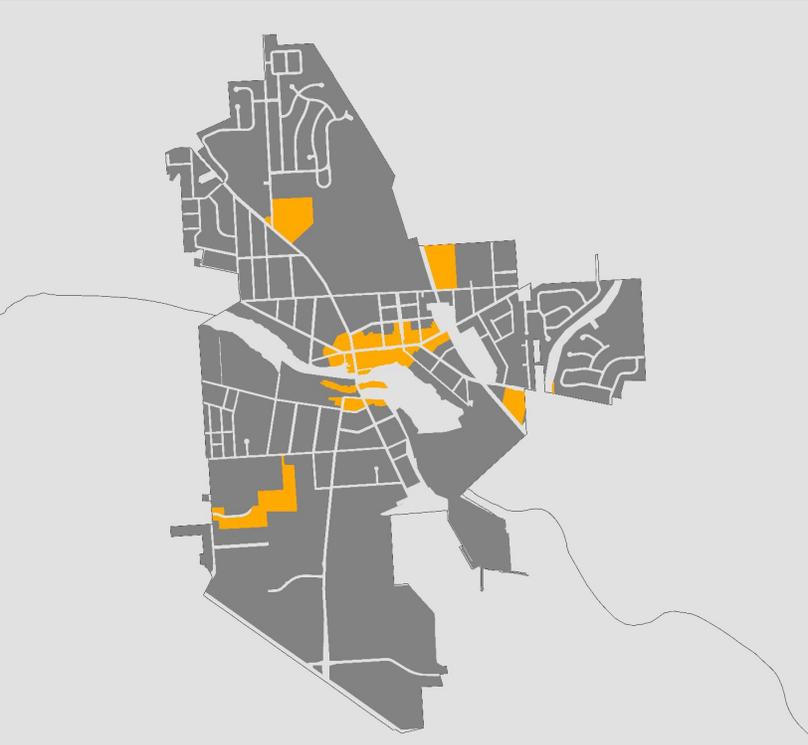
Village of Baldwinsville Zoning Map



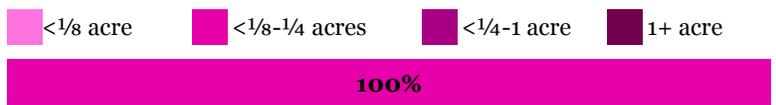
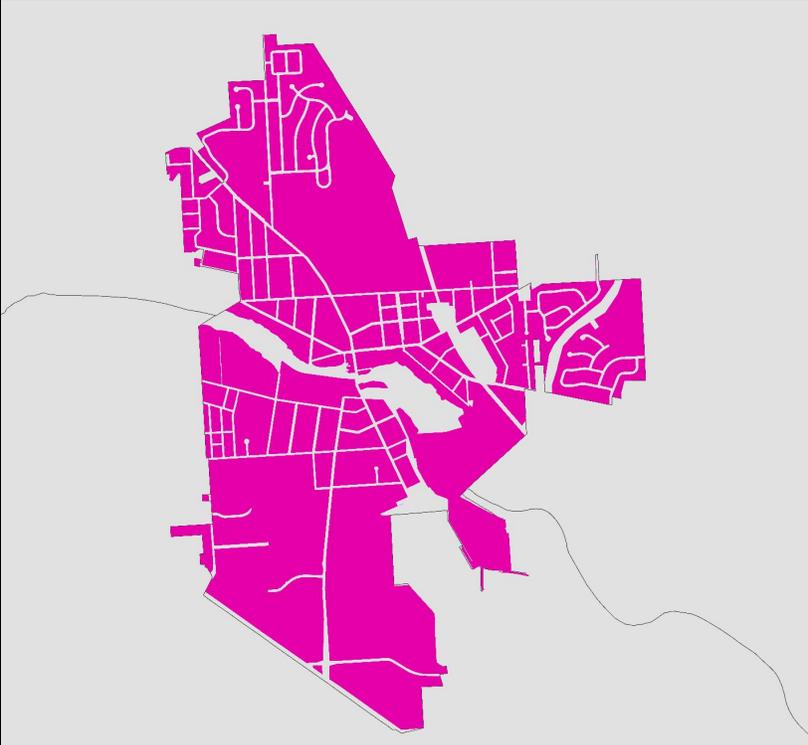
Village of Baldwinsville Land Zoned for Urbanized Housing By-Right



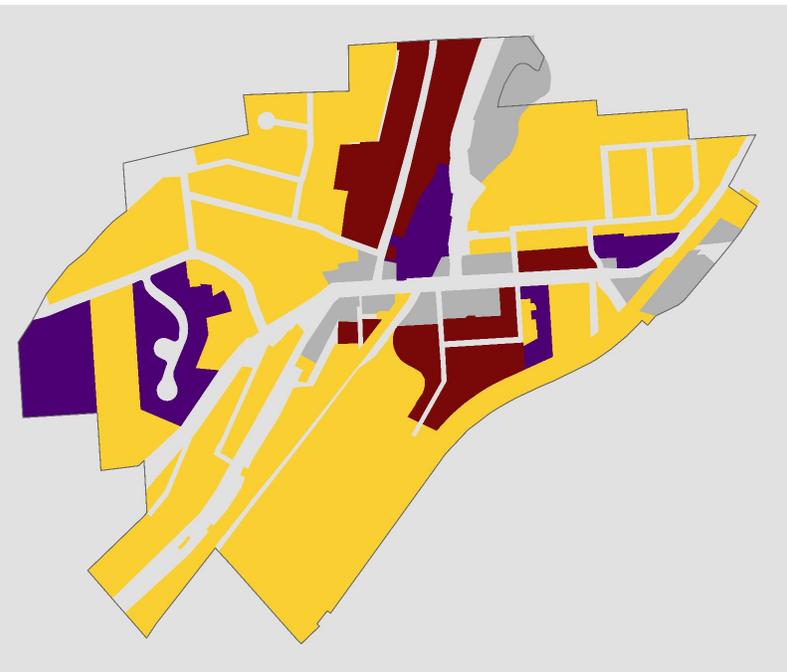
Village of Baldwinsville Housing Allowed Per Acre



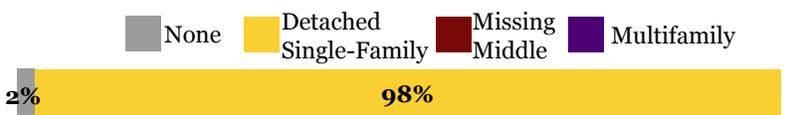
Village of Baldwinsville Minimum Lot Size for Detached Single-Family Housing



Village of Camillus Zoning Map



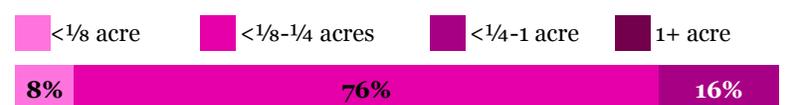
Village of Camillus Land Zoned for Urbanized Housing By-Right



Village of Camillus Housing Allowed Per Acre



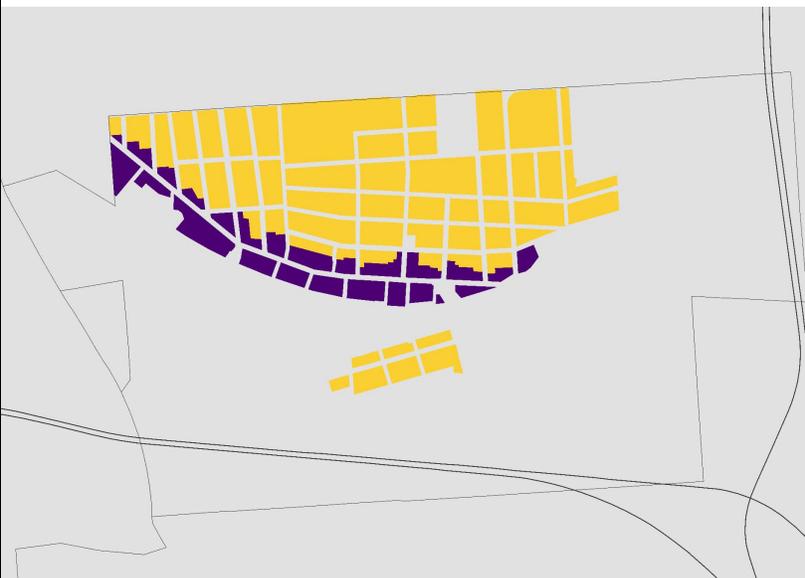
Village of Camillus Minimum Lot Size for Detached Single-Family Housing



Village of East Syracuse Zoning Map



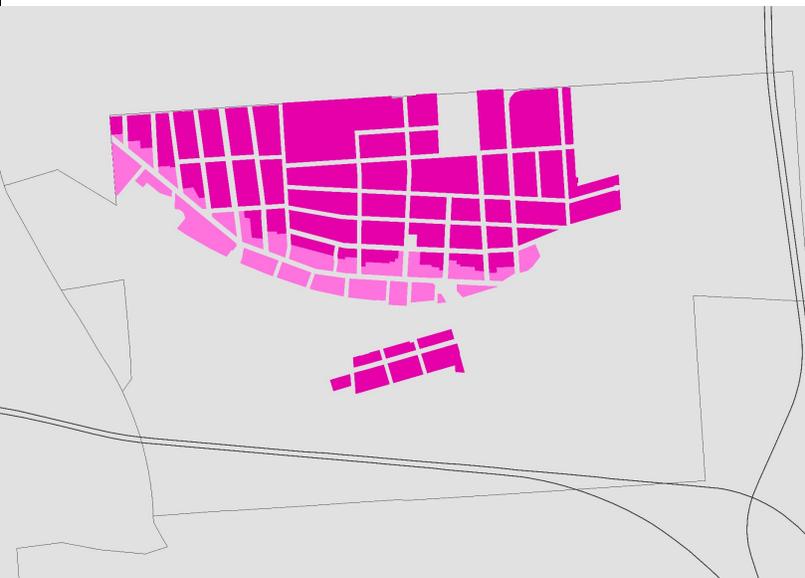
Village of East Syracuse Land Zoned for Urbanized Housing By-Right



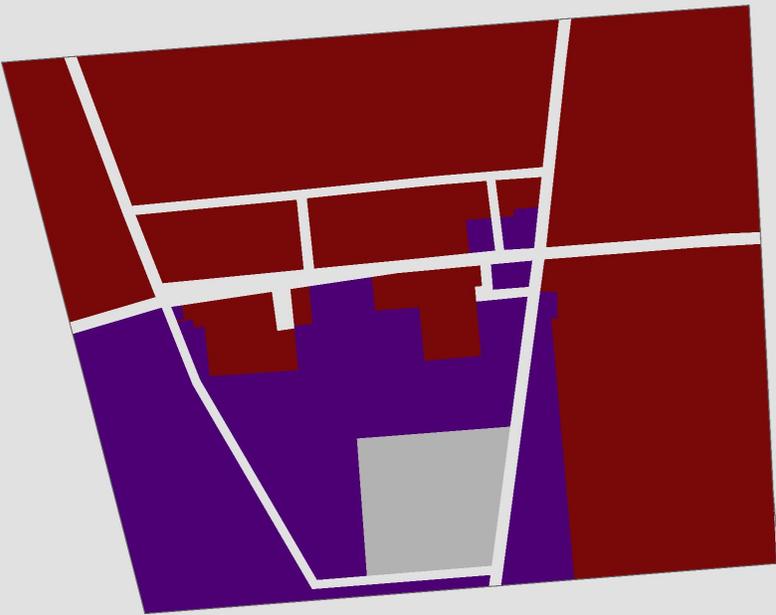
Village of East Syracuse Housing Allowed Per Acre



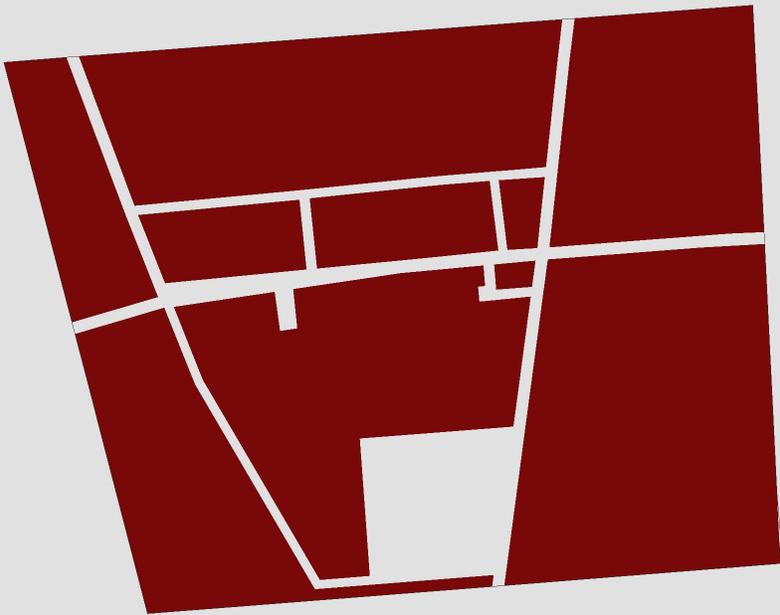
Village of East Syracuse Minimum Lot Size for Detached Single-Family Housing



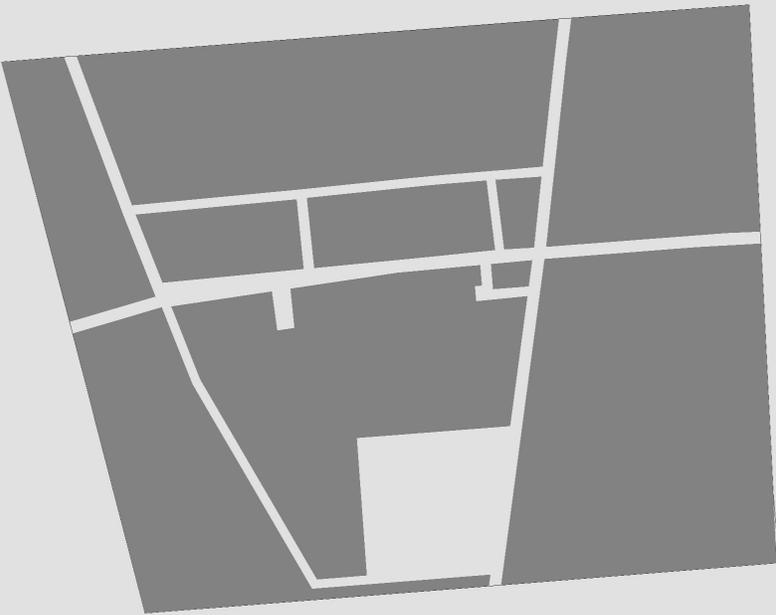
Village of Fabius Zoning Map



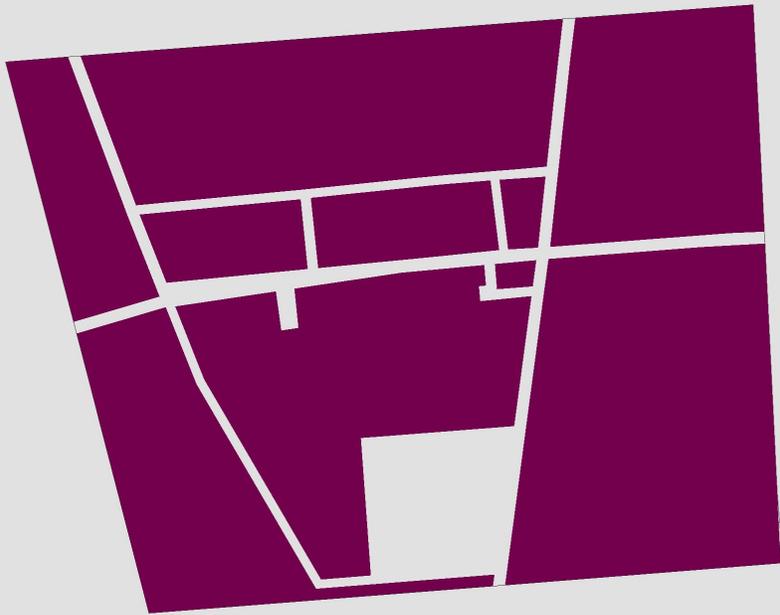
Village of Fabius Land Zoned for Urbanized Housing By-Right



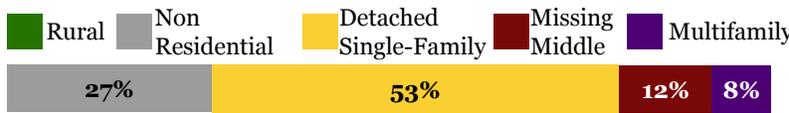
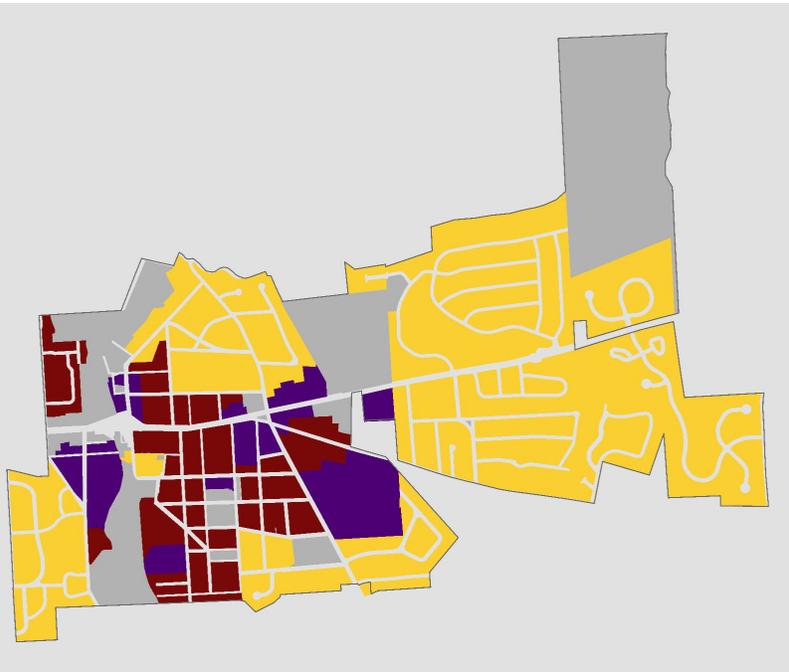
Village of Fabius Housing Allowed Per Acre



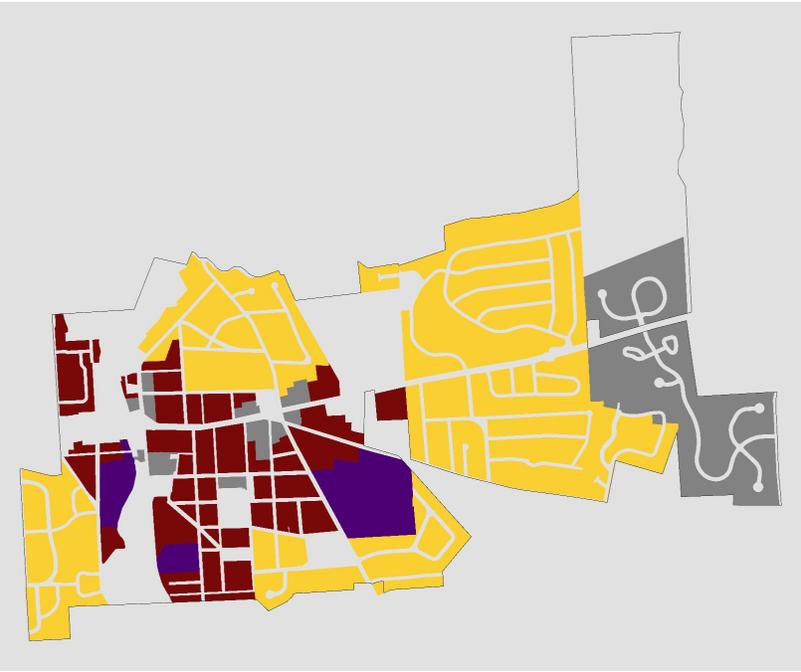
Village of Fabius Minimum Lot Size for Detached Single-Family Housing



Village of Fayetteville Zoning Map



Village of Fayetteville Land Zoned for Urbanized Housing By-Right



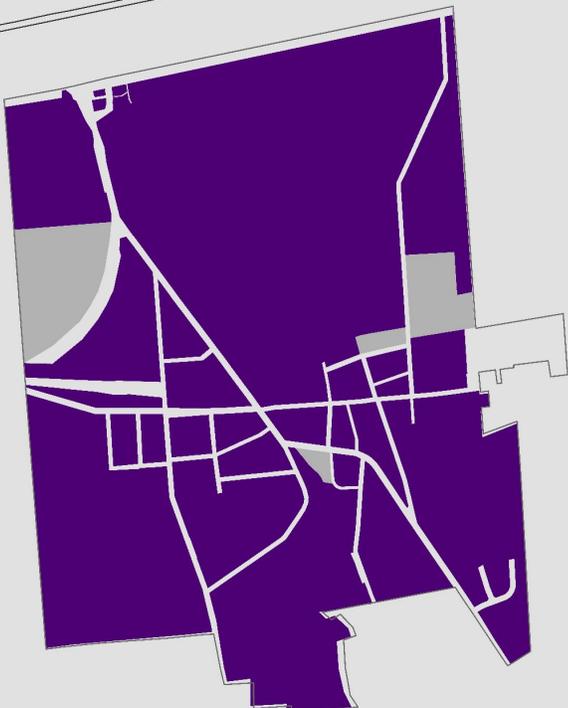
Village of Fayetteville Housing Allowed Per Acre



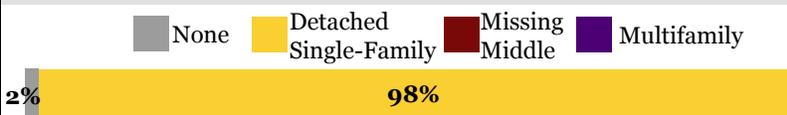
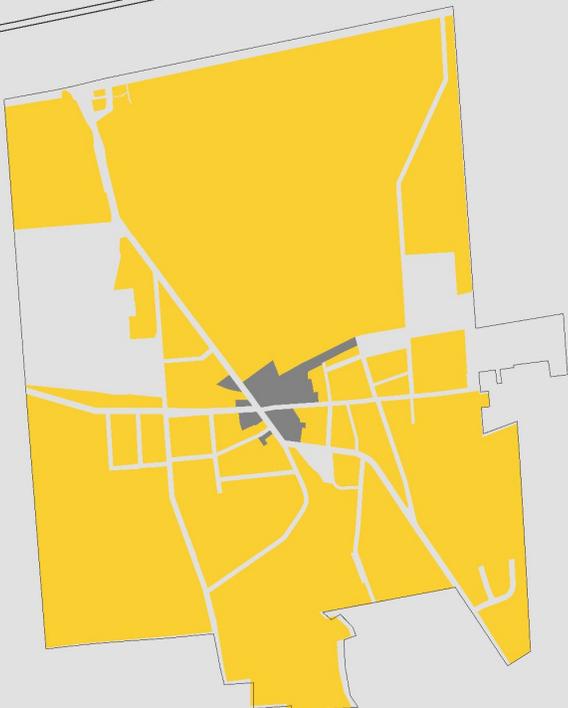
Village of Fayetteville Minimum Lot Size for Detached Single-Family Housing



Village of Jordan Zoning Map



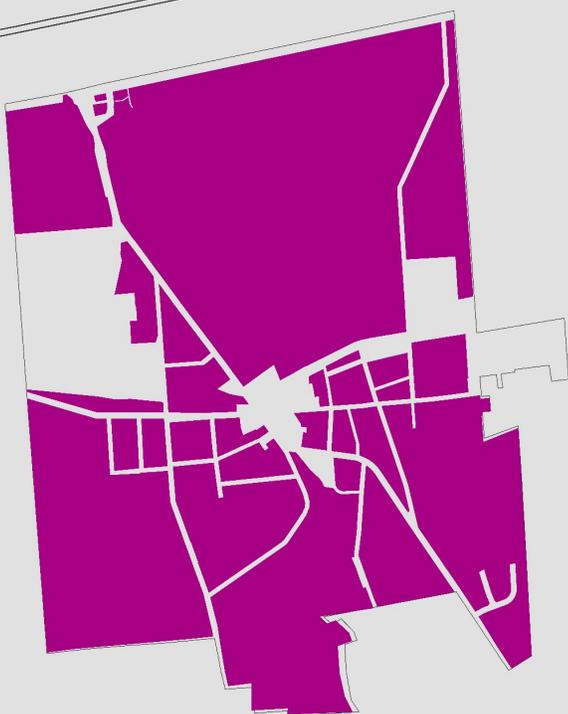
Village of Jordan Land Zoned for Urbanized Housing By-Right



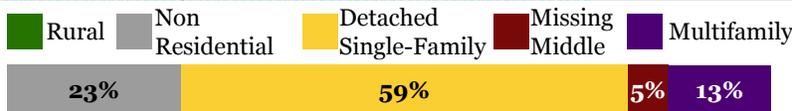
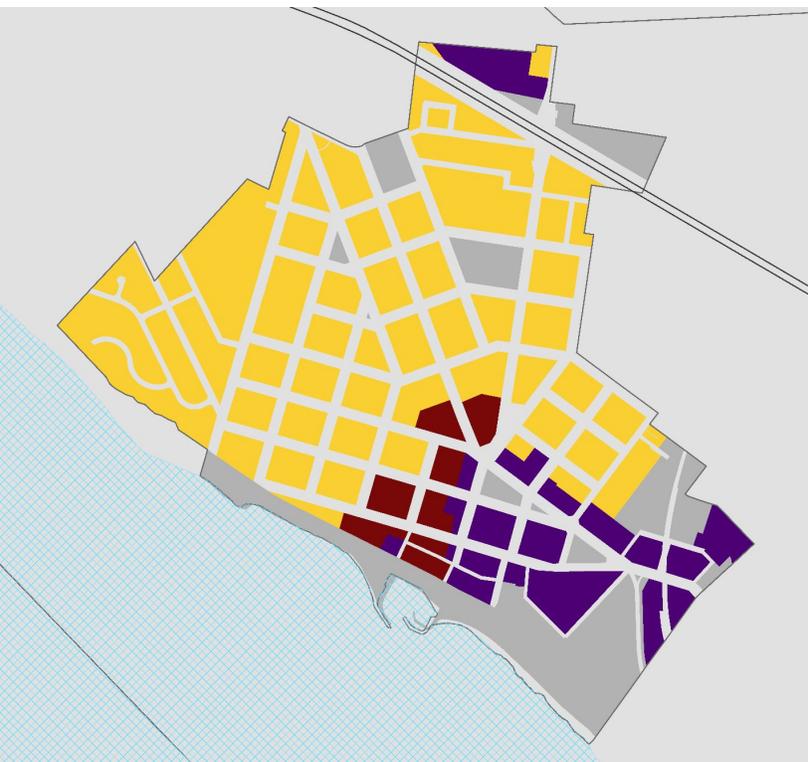
Village of Jordan Housing Allowed Per Acre



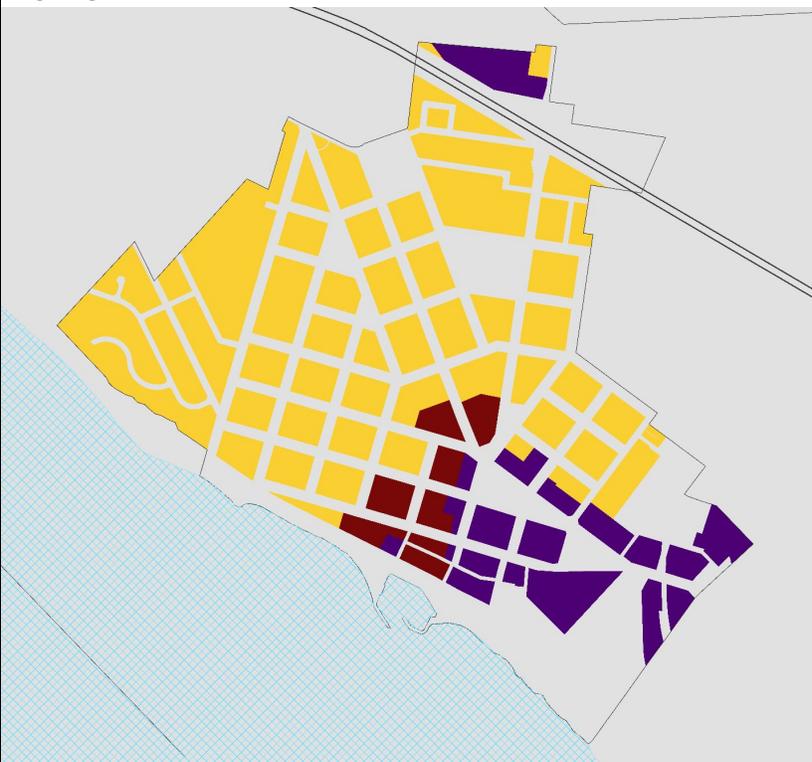
Village of Jordan Minimum Lot Size for Detached Single-Family Housing



Village of Liverpool Zoning Map



Village of Liverpool Land Zoned for Urbanized Housing By-Right



Village of Liverpool Housing Allowed Per Acre

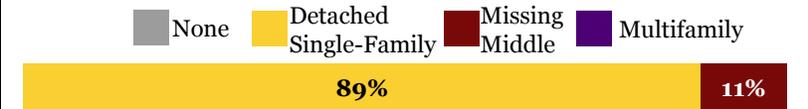
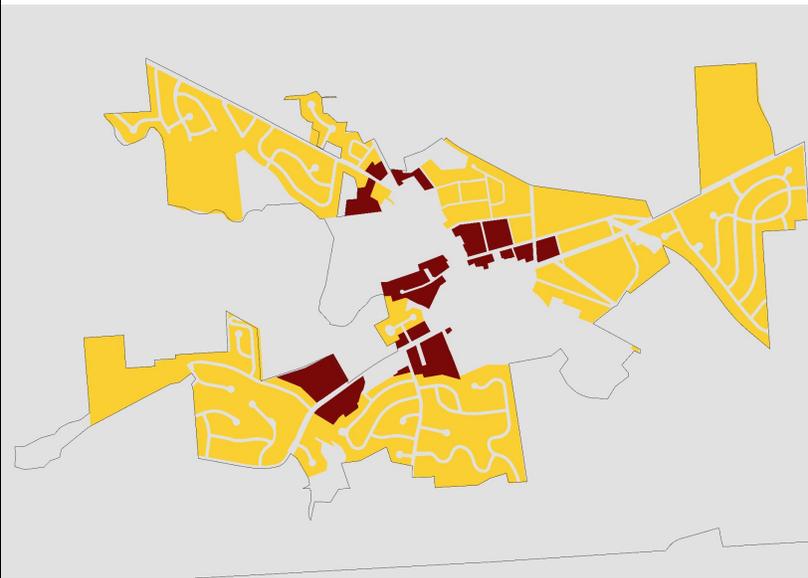
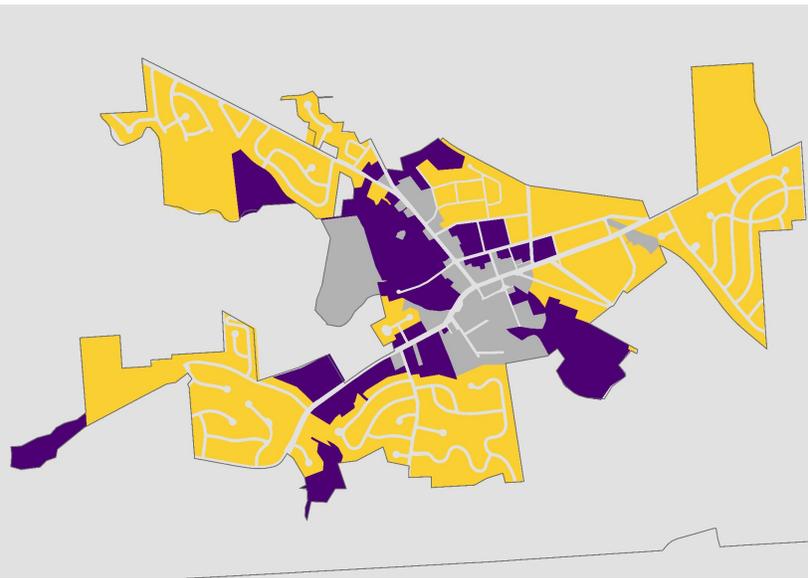


Village of Liverpool Minimum Lot Size for Detached Single-Family Housing



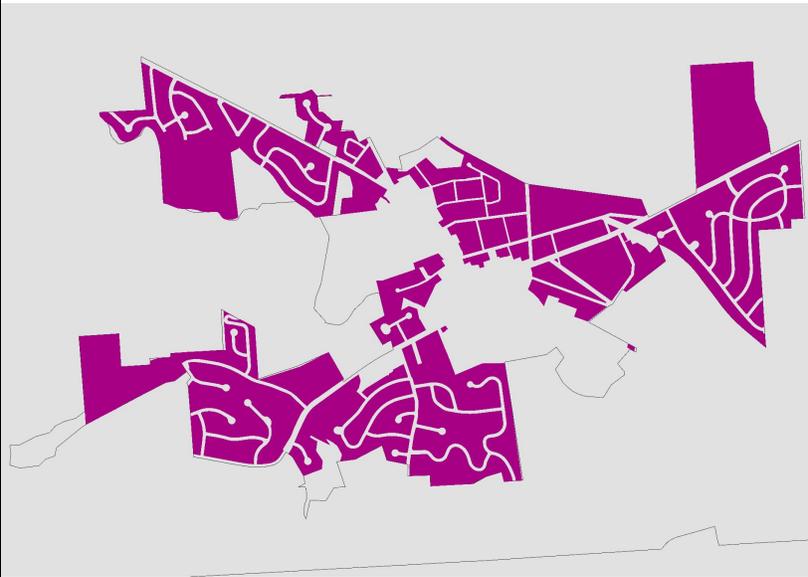
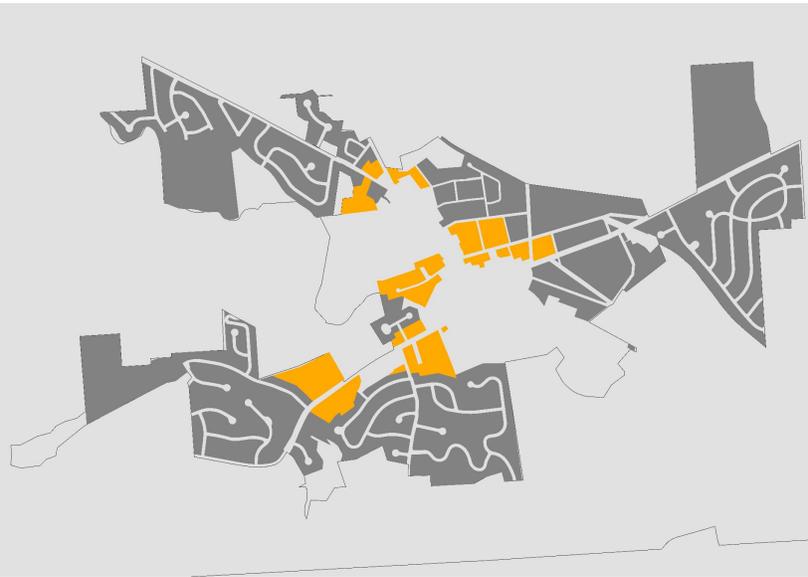
Village of Manlius Zoning Map

Village of Manlius Land Zoned for Urbanized Housing By-Right

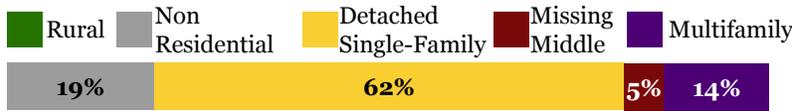
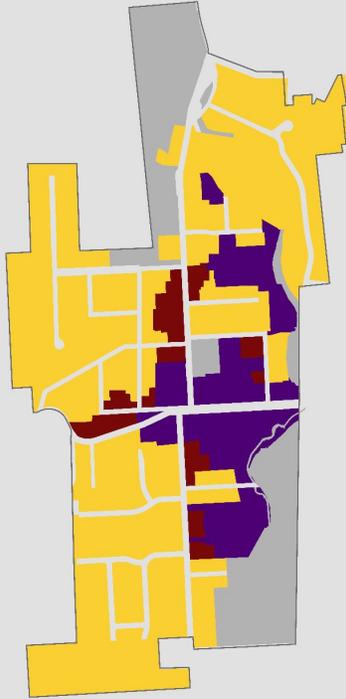


Village of Manlius Housing Allowed Per Acre

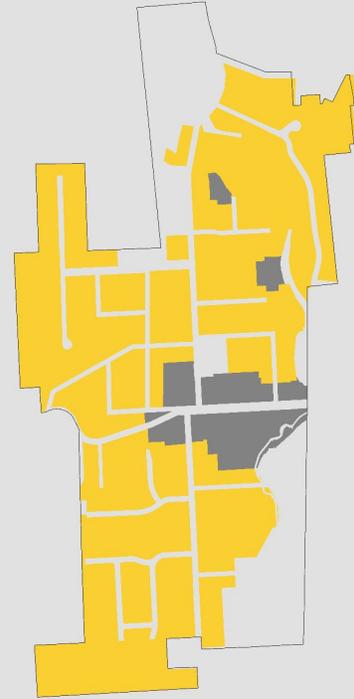
Village of Manlius Minimum Lot Size for Detached Single-Family Housing



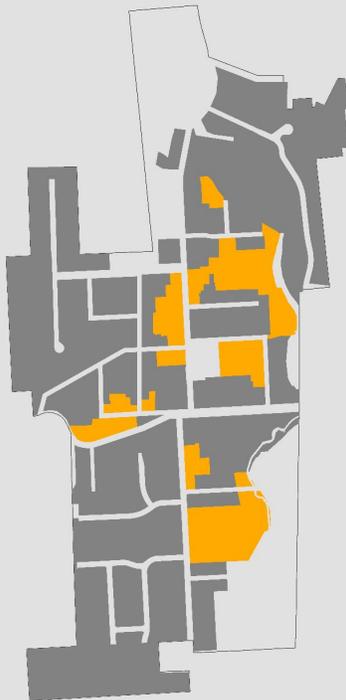
Village of Marcellus Zoning Map



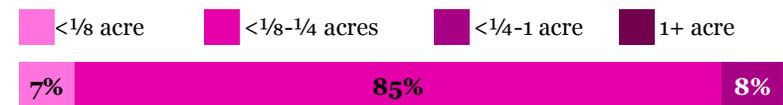
Village of Marcellus Land Zoned for Urbanized Housing By-Right



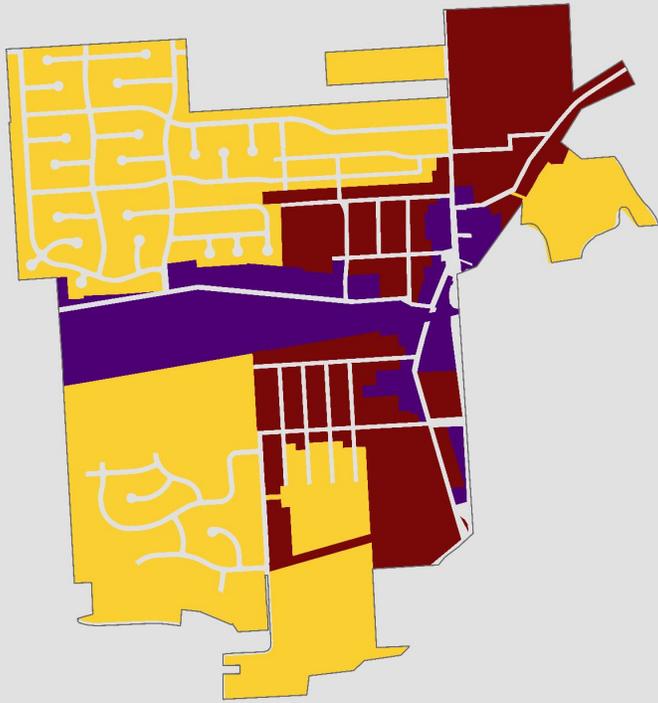
Village of Marcellus Housing Allowed Per Acre



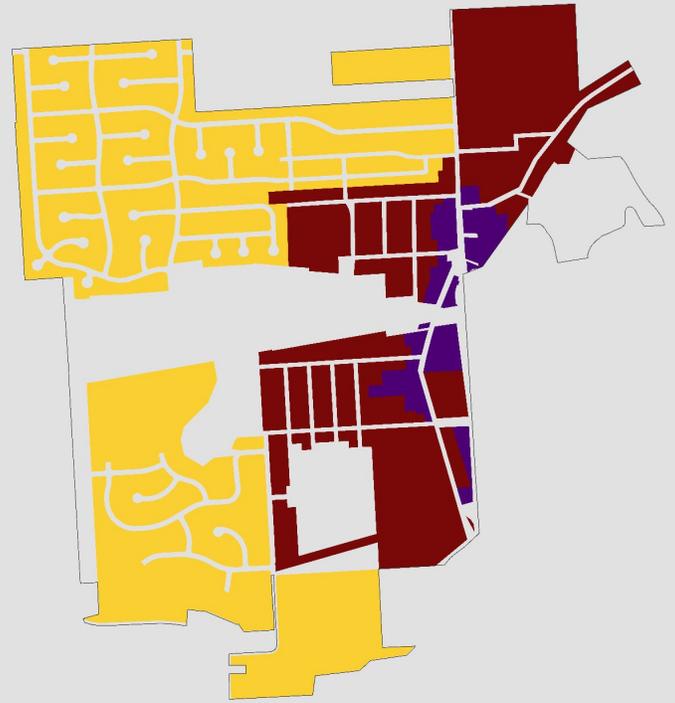
Village of Marcellus Minimum Lot Size for Detached Single-Family Housing



Village of Minoa Zoning Map



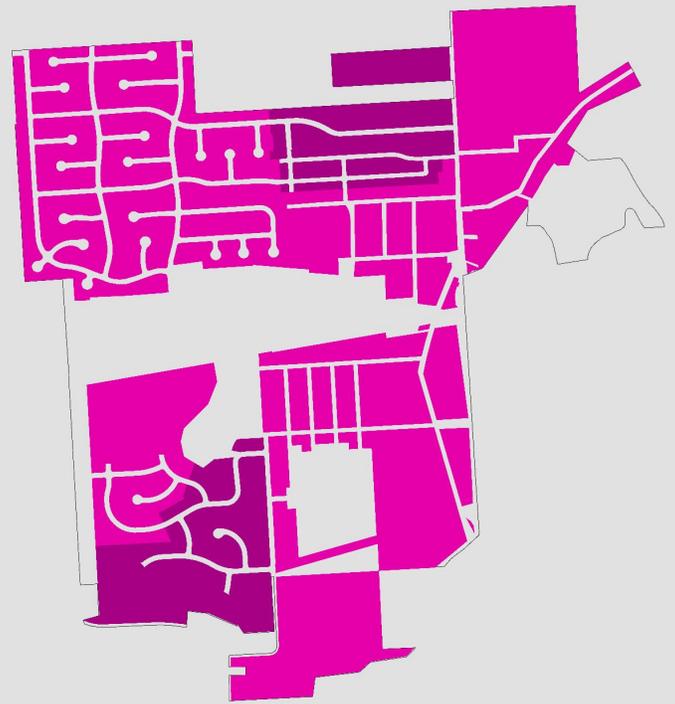
Village of Minoa Land Zoned for Urbanized Housing By-Right



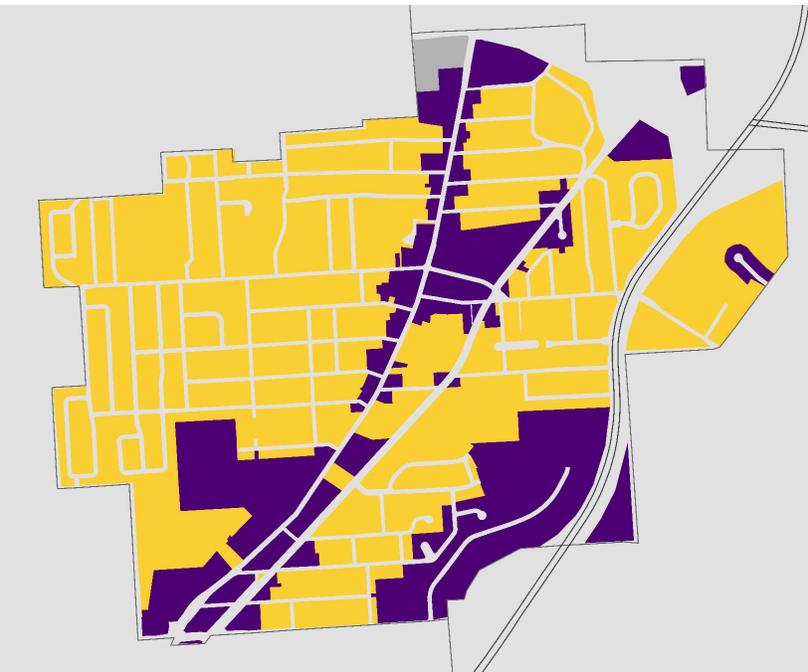
Village of Minoa Housing Allowed Per Acre



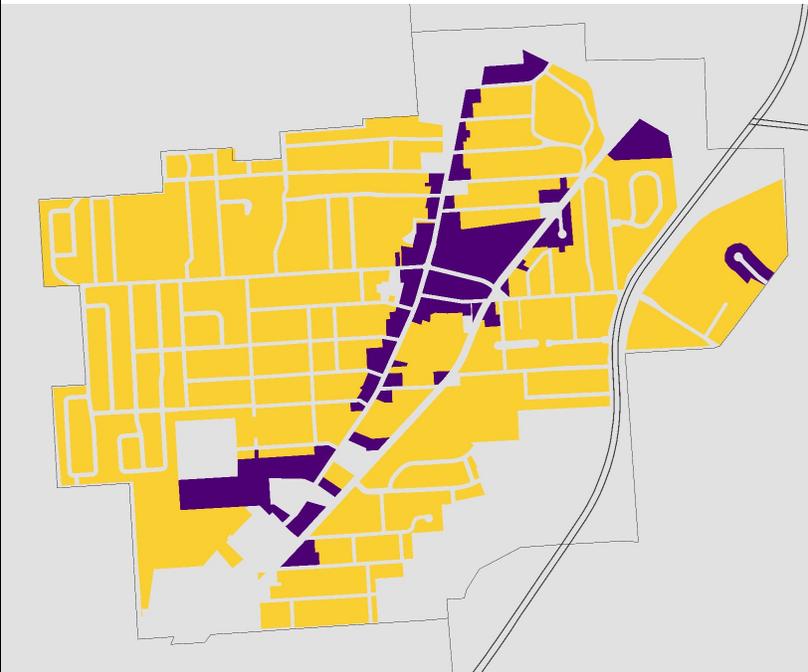
Village of Minoa Minimum Lot Size for Detached Single-Family Housing



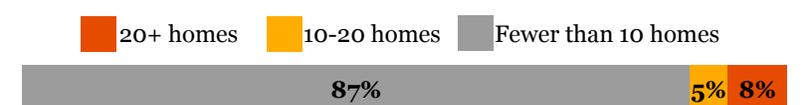
Village of North Syracuse Zoning Map



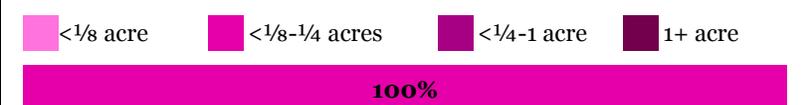
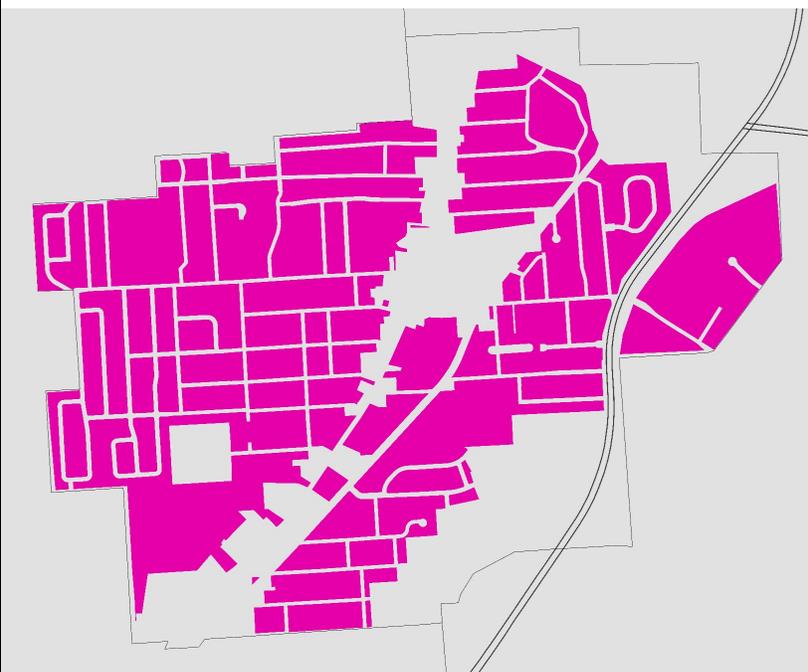
Village of North Syracuse Land Zoned for Urbanized Housing By-Right



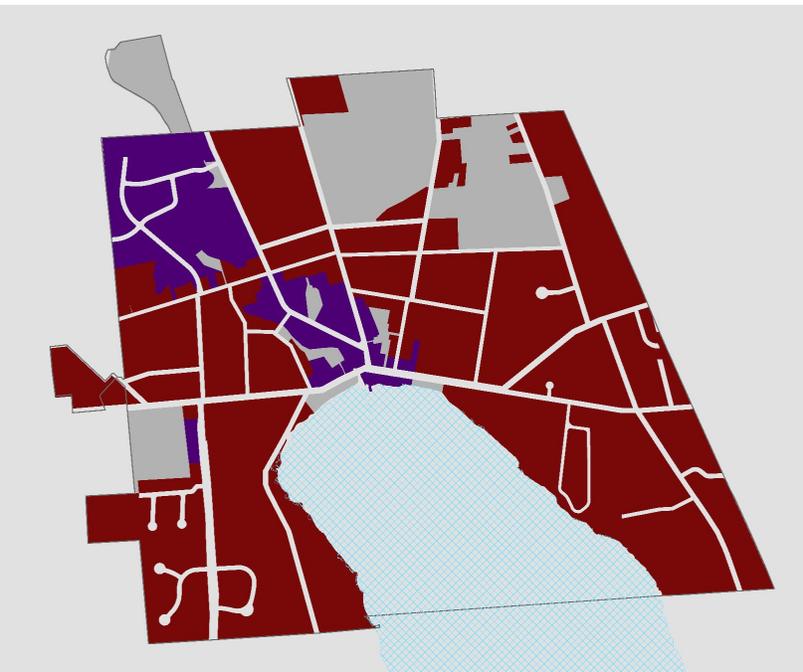
Village of North Syracuse Housing Allowed Per Acre



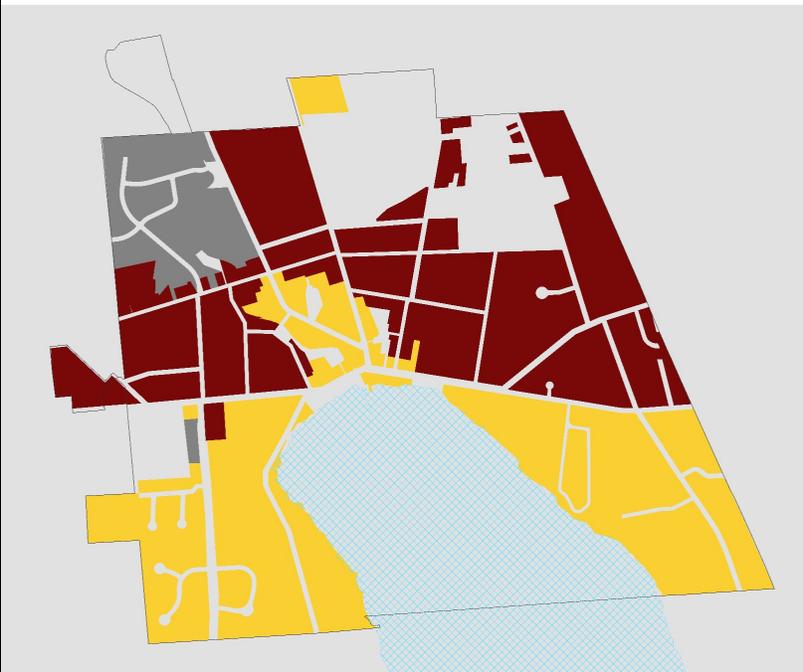
Village of North Syracuse Minimum Lot Size for Detached Single-Family Housing



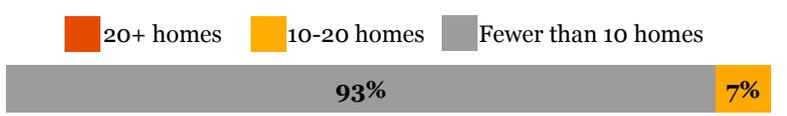
Village of Skaneateles Zoning Map



Village of Skaneateles Land Zoned for Urbanized Housing By-Right



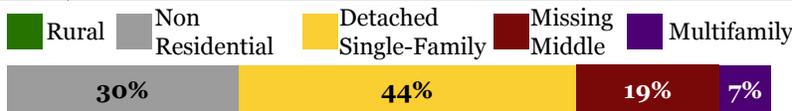
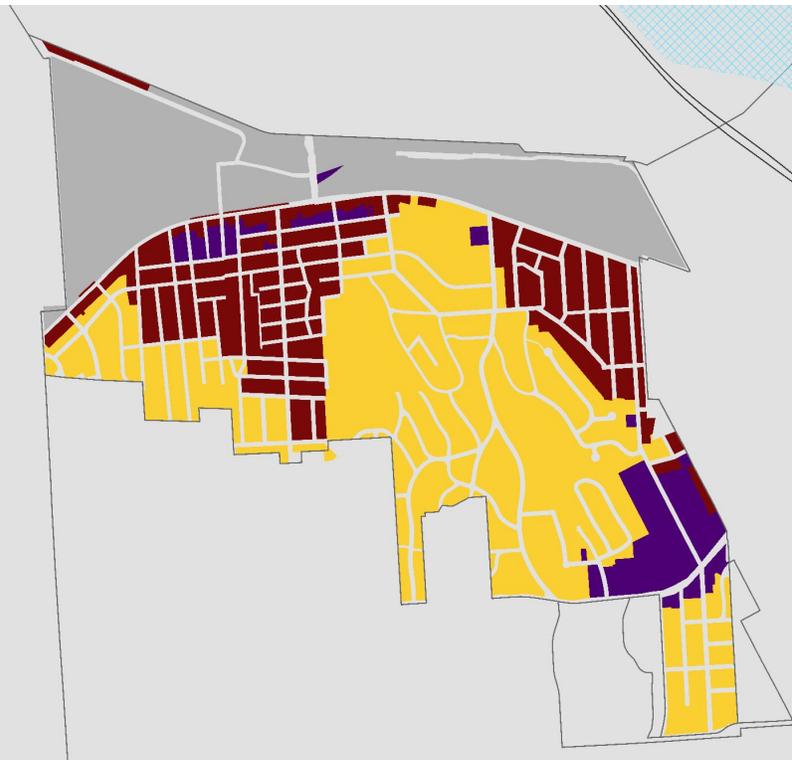
Village of Skaneateles Housing Allowed Per Acre



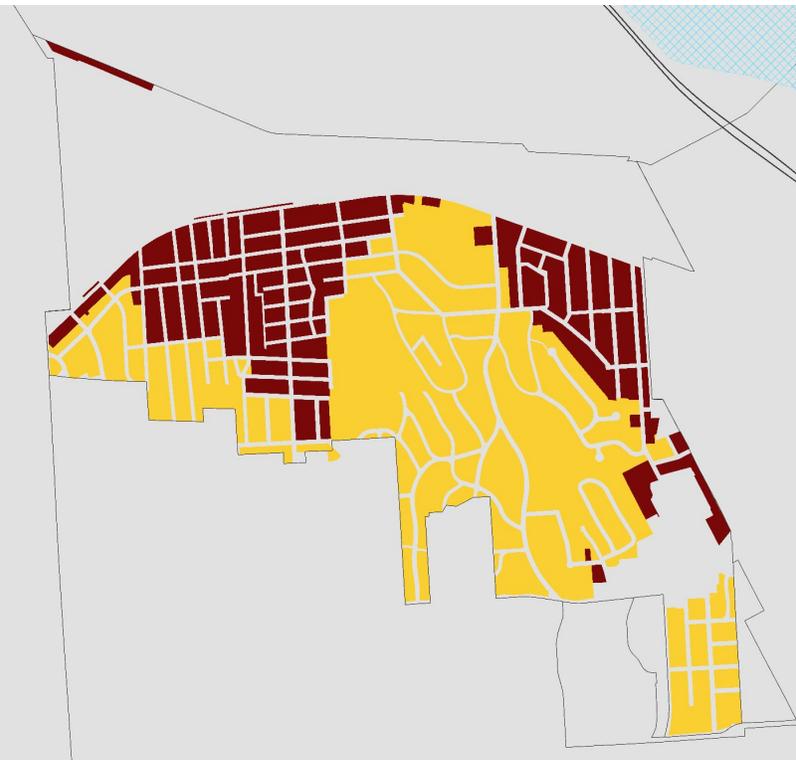
Village of Skaneateles Minimum Lot Size for Detached Single-Family Housing



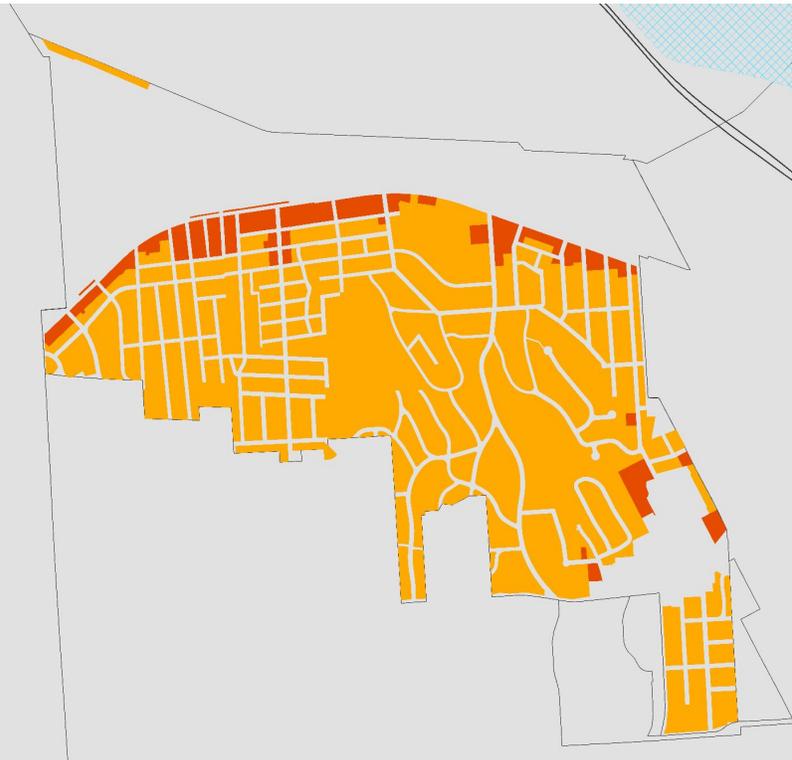
Village of Solvay Zoning Map



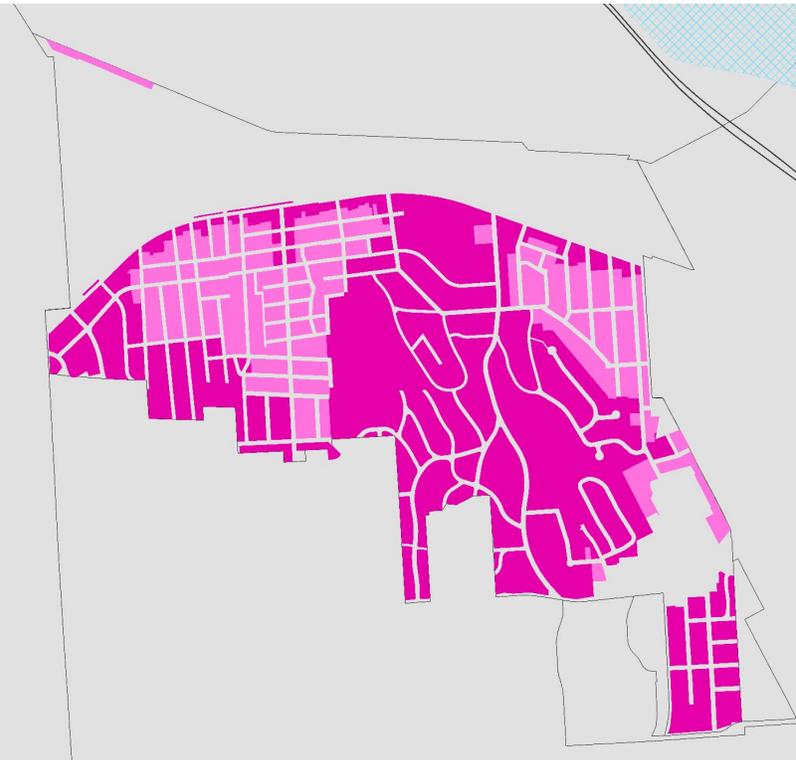
Village of Solvay Land Zoned for Urbanized Housing By-Right



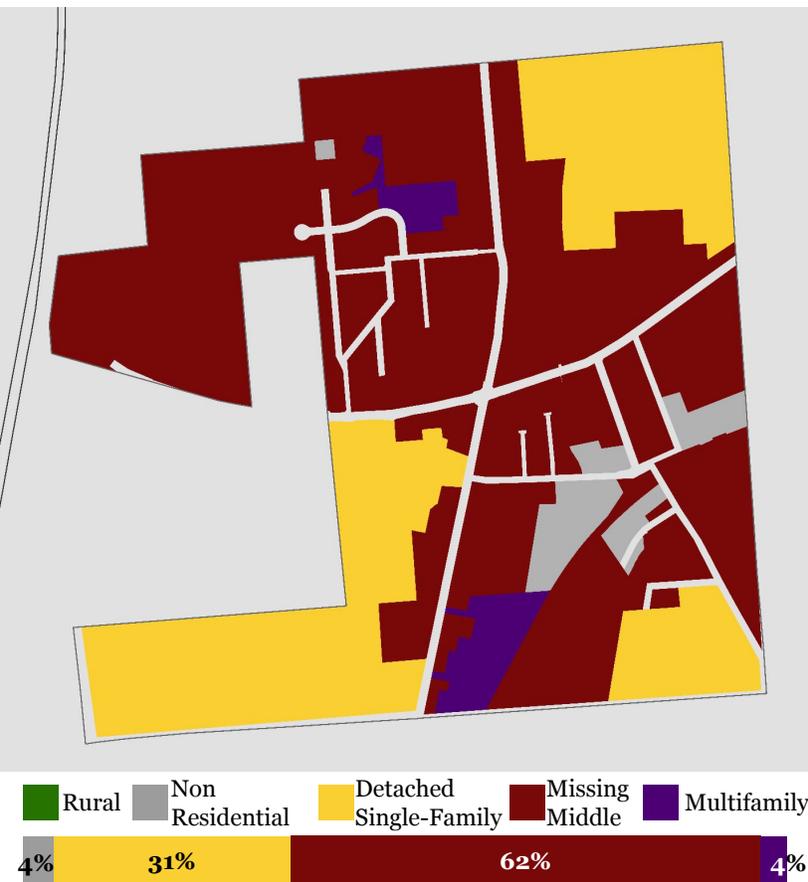
Village of Solvay Housing Allowed Per Acre



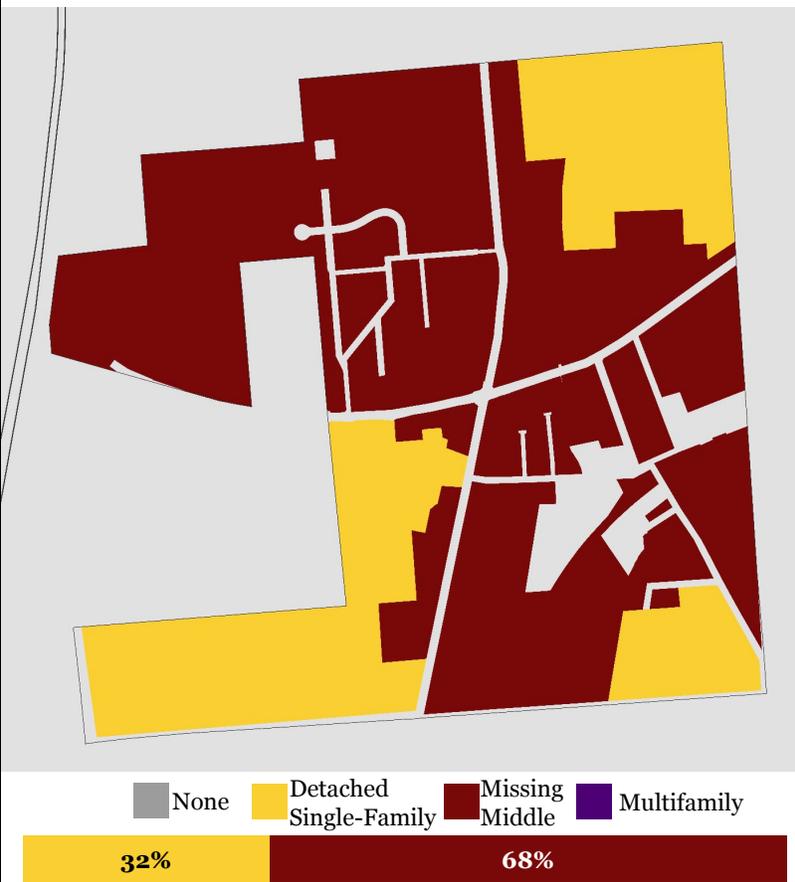
Village of Solvay Minimum Lot Size for Detached Single-Family Housing



Village of Tully Zoning Map



Village of Tully Land Zoned for Urbanized Housing By-Right



Village of Tully Housing Allowed Per Acre



Village of Tully Minimum Lot Size for Detached Single-Family Housing

