

M A K I N G



NEIGHBORHOODS

DEMOGRAPHIC CHANGE IN THE NEW YORK METROPOLITAN REGION, 2000 - 2010



MAY 2018



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NEW YORK CITY

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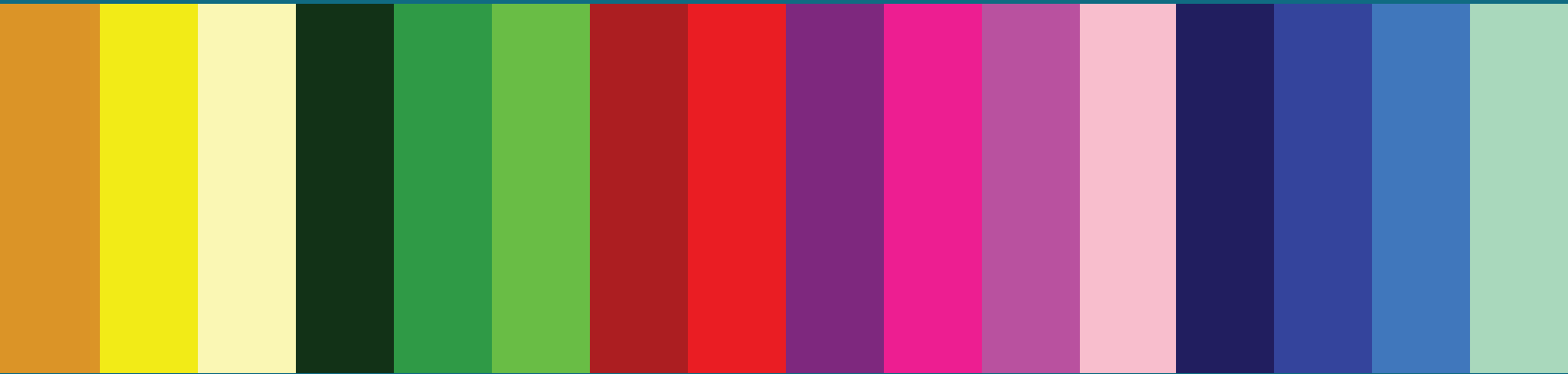
MISSION

CHPC's mission, since 1937, is to develop and advance practical public policies to support the housing stock of the city by better understanding New York's most pressing housing and neighborhood needs.

ABOUT US

Our agenda is practical, not political. Our work always begins with questions, not answers. It is the data, our analysis, and its relevance to the real world, that drive our conclusions. Our goal is to help decision-makers, inside and outside of government. We map out realistic steps that can result in positive change for the housing stock and the neighborhoods of New York City.

We are a Council of 90 leading professionals from every industry that shapes housing development and management across the city. CHPC speaks as a trusted and impartial voice to improve housing for all New Yorkers.



ACKNOWLEDGMENTS



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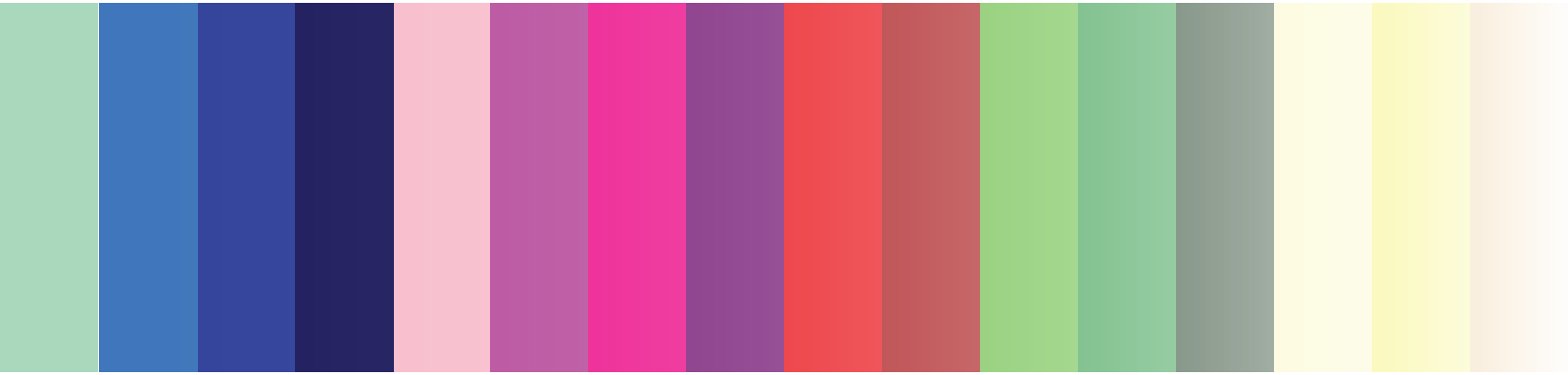
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The New York Community Trust



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NEW YORK CITY

MAKING NEIGHBORHOODS



New York City is home to an incredibly diverse population of over 8 million people. It serves as the catalyst of a dynamic region of roughly 17 million. Viewed through that lens—particularly as the driver of a regional housing marketplace—the city looks very different than when looking at its five boroughs in a vacuum.

In 2014, CHPC released the first *Making Neighborhoods* report and interactive map studying demographic change in New York City in the decade spanning 2000 to 2010. Since then, we have expanded our work to include the metropolitan area surrounding the city. Our report and interactive map are available at www.makingneighborhoods.org.

The chart below (Table 1) shows several interesting outcomes—for example, the decline of the white and black populations in the region and the growth of the Hispanic population into just shy of a full quarter of the region’s 16.7 million. But without further information about those changes, the usefulness of such analysis is limited for policymakers. *Making Neighborhoods* takes a unique approach that allows a much deeper understanding of the dynamics of the region than by focusing solely on race, income, or other demographic traits. Our methodology uses all of these simultaneously.

Table 1: NY Region Population Growth by Race, 2000-2010

	2000 Total	2010 Total	% Change
Total population	16,278,010	16,705,980	+3%
White, non-hispanic	8,014,650	7,426,251	-7%
	49.2%	44.5%	
Black, non-hispanic	3,054,618	2,985,336	-2%
	18.8%	17.9%	
Asian, non-hispanic	1,290,328	1,776,917	+38%
	7.9%	10.6%	
Hispanic	3,460,507	4,117,600	+19%
	21.3%	24.6%	

Source: U.S. Census

At the heart of *Making Neighborhoods* is a statistical method known as cluster analysis. Our cluster analysis method finds commonalities between census tracts across race, income, age, educational attainment, foreign birth, household and family type, and presence of public housing. Our model identified 16 population “clusters” of census tracts that differed from each other for the year 2000.

If there was one overarching takeaway from our original 2014 *Making Neighborhoods* study of the five boroughs, it was that the formal, government-drawn boundaries are inadequate for measuring changes in the housing marketplace. The analysis of New York City’s five boroughs showed us many instances where significant demographic groups straddled boundary lines, effectively splitting them and neutralizing their importance to their “official” neighborhoods.

There were also interesting changes happening along the Queens-Nassau County border and along the Bronx-Westchester County border. Those transitions compelled us to answer the question of what was happening just beyond city limits.



Using the *Making Neighborhoods* methodology, we are able to see where clusters of populations shrink or grow. From the thousands of small changes we observed, several distinct trends emerged. By applying the *Making Neighborhoods* method to the entire regional housing market, five trends mirrored what we saw when we focused only on the city:

- The region lacks a consolidated middle class Hispanic population cluster. Overall, the region's Hispanic population was the second-fastest-growing, at 19 percent—faster than either of our two population clusters with a Hispanic majority. The clusters that emerged with a Hispanic majority were at low and low-middle income levels, whereas the region's middle-class Hispanic households are found in clusters where the majority race might be black or white.
- In some parts of the region, tracts that in 2000 were home to the upper-middle-income majority black population cluster gave way to a majority black cluster at a lower income level, such as in southeast Queens, the northern Bronx, Hempstead, and Newark.
- Neighborhoods that had a white majority in 2000 saw a further consolidation of white households by 2010, such as Dyker Heights, Maspeth, Jericho, and Norwalk.
- Some neighborhoods with majority white population clusters in 2000 transitioned to an Asian majority by 2010, such as in northern Queens, southern Brooklyn, Plainsboro, and Hicksville.
- Population clusters with no race majority largely dispersed, giving way to clusters with a clear majority—either Hispanic, Asian, or white—in 2010, such as in Kensington and Bay Ridge, Brooklyn, and Astoria and Woodhaven, Queens.

There were also new trends that emerged unique to this wider regional study:

- A low-income, majority white population cluster, which did not emerge from our study of the five boroughs, was the fastest growing cluster between 2000 and 2010, found in Brooklyn and pockets of the suburbs in Middlesex County, NJ, and Rockland County, NY.
- Some tracts that were home to a lower income black population cluster transitioned to a higher income black cluster, contradicting another trend revealed earlier, but mostly occurring in the same or adjacent areas.
- Some areas in urban neighborhoods or straddling urban and suburban areas transitioned from a white majority to a Hispanic majority. This happened in denser suburbs like Clifton, NJ, Bridgeport, CT, and in Ridgewood, Queens.

This report details the methods and results of this innovative approach to studying demographic change. The *Making Neighborhoods* study measures change from 2000 to 2010, as well as presents our thoughts on the implications of the results for the regional housing market looking forward.



WHAT IS THE NEW YORK CITY REGIONAL HOUSING MARKET?

For the purpose of this study, we thought of the region in terms of a housing marketplace focused on New York City. We defined our region by relying mostly on commuter rail ridership data, drawing the border where ridership dropped significantly. There were some exceptions, however, as Danbury, CT, Morristown, NJ, and Newburgh, NY, are places beyond that drop-off where ridership once again spikes, indicating that people either live there so that they can commute to New York City, or travel there from nearby towns where there is no commuter transit service to get them to work. We included those cities, as you will see.

Of course, there is no single, perfect definition of the metro region. The federal government alone offers data for a handful of different “regions:” there are “urban areas,” “metropolitan” and “micropolitan statistical areas,” and “combined statistical areas,” to name a few. Some accounts of the region include cities like Bridgeport, while other times those municipalities serve as the locus for their own “regions.” We know there are individuals who commute daily to Manhattan from eastern Pennsylvania, for example. Those super-commuters are left out of this analysis, but what we do include is what anyone from the region would recognize as part of this metro area.

Of the 21 counties below, only four are partially included in our study: Morris and Monmouth in New Jersey and Orange and Suffolk in New York. Each of the others is included in its entirety.

Table 2: The counties included in our regional analysis

<u>New York City:</u> Bronx Kings (Brooklyn) New York (Manhattan) Queens Richmond (Staten Island)	<u>New Jersey:</u> Bergen Essex Hudson Middlesex Monmouth (partial) Morris (partial) Passaic Somerset Union
<u>New York State:</u> Nassau Orange (partial) Putnam Rockland Suffolk (partial) Westchester	<u>Connecticut:</u> Fairfield

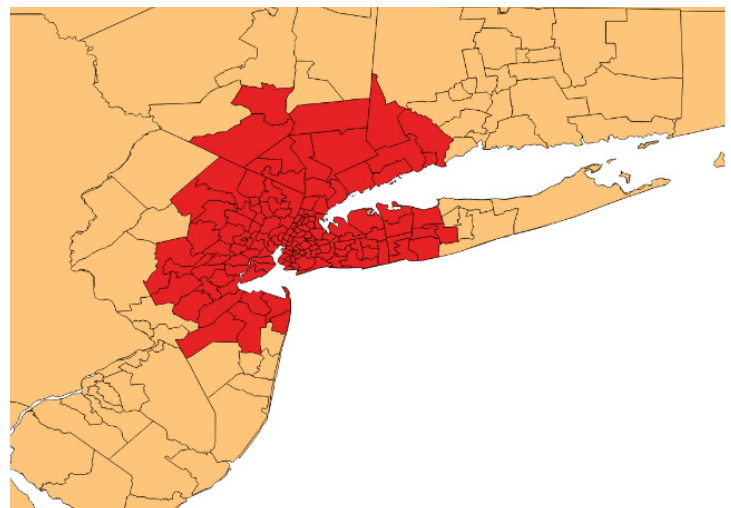


Figure 1. The Making Neighborhoods regional study area shown in red. Image: CHPC

2010 MAKING NEIGHBORHOODS: REGION

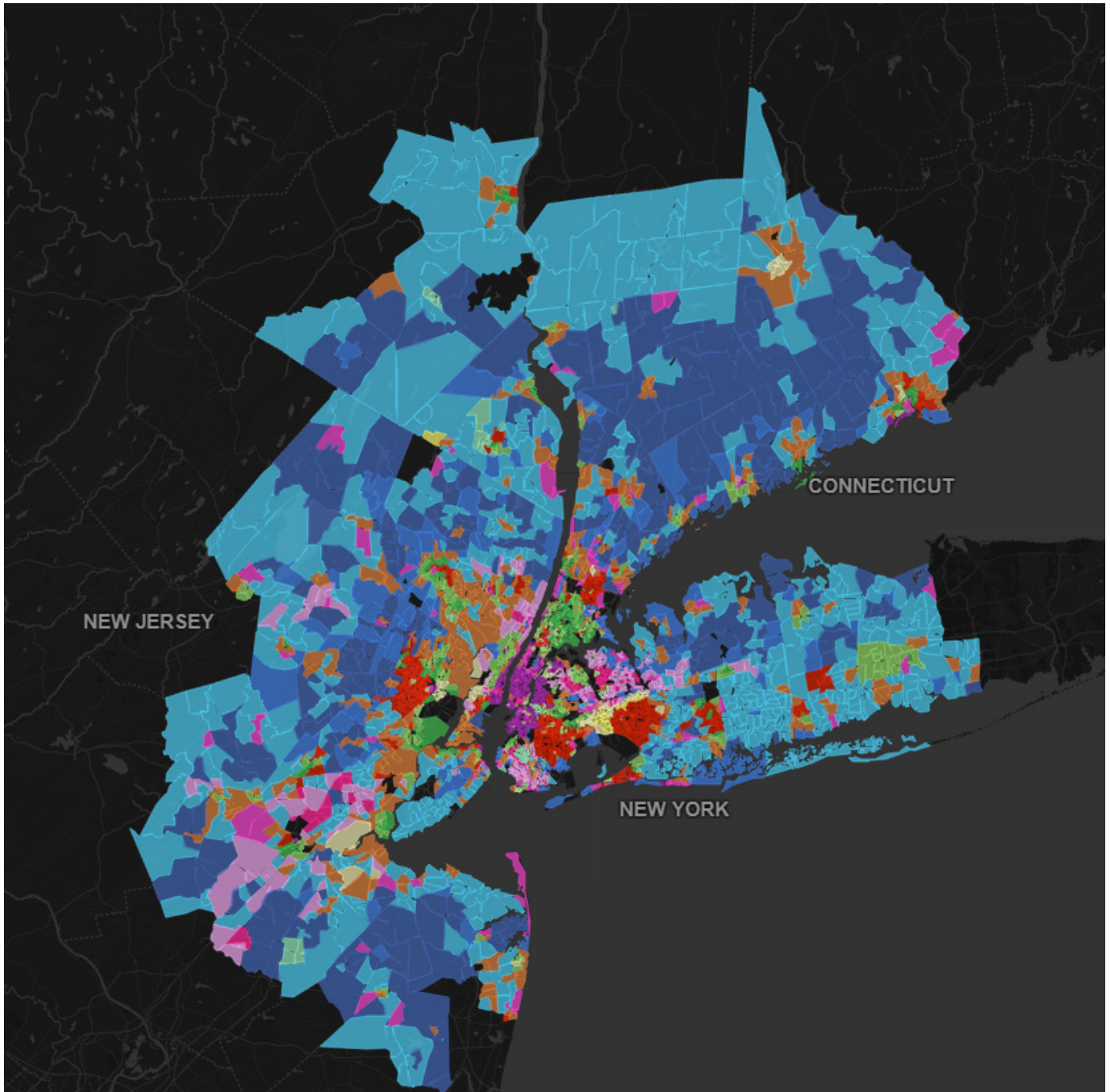


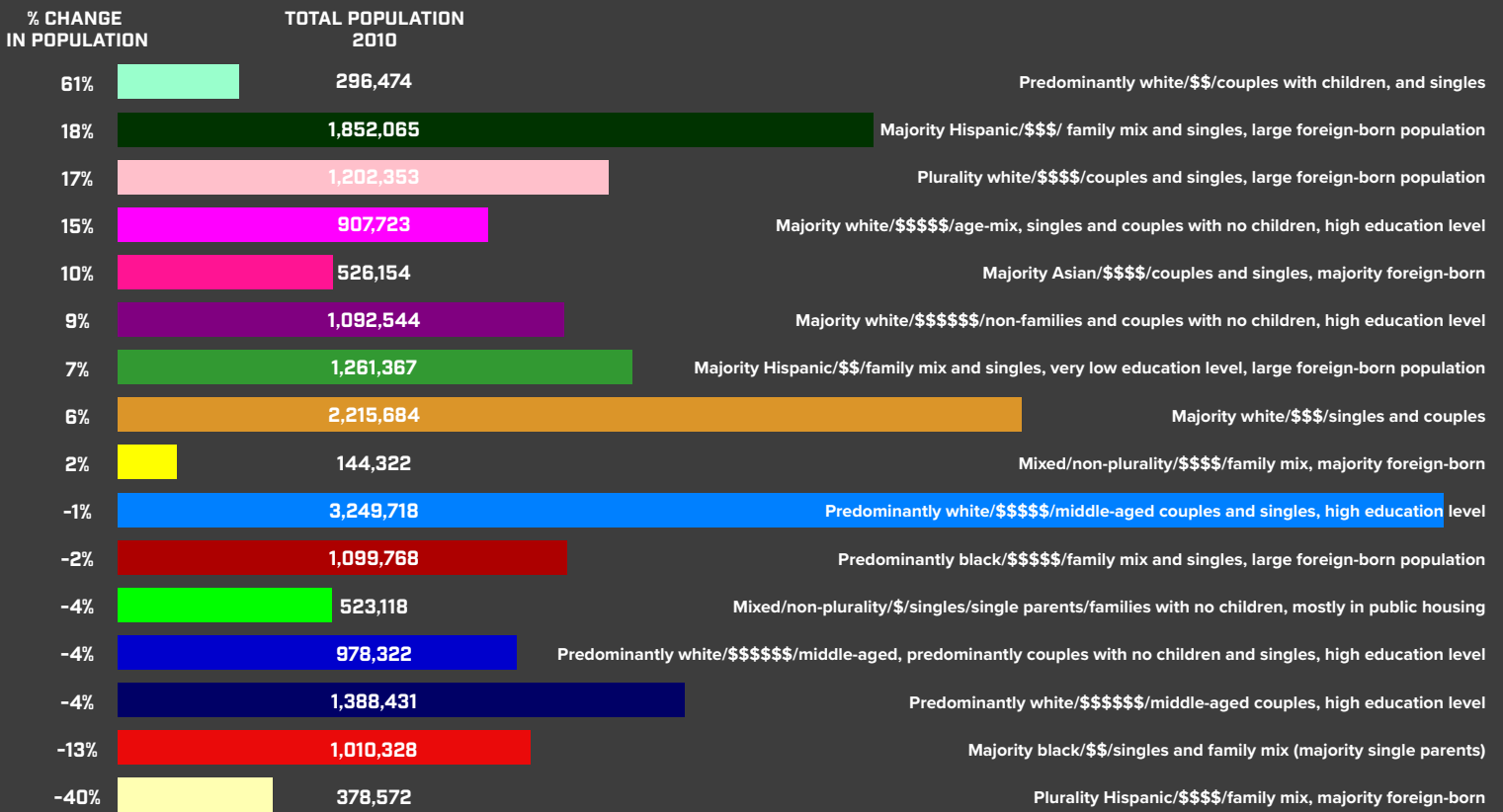
Figure 2. Making Neighborhoods Regional map with all 16 clusters in 2010

WHAT POPULATION CLUSTERS EMERGED FROM MAKING NEIGHBORHOODS AT THE REGIONAL LEVEL?

The primary drivers of a census tract’s cluster identity were the race and household income in that tract. That is not to say that education, household type, and foreign-born status do not play a role—they certainly do. But of the list of ingredients that flavor our clusters, race and income were the most influential.

We labeled clusters “predominantly” one race if that race made up 75 percent or more of the cluster’s population, “majority” if it was between 50 and 75 percent one race, “plurality” if there was no majority but a single largest race group, and “mixed/non-plurality” if the demographics were so evenly split that there is no single identifying group. The clusters can be grouped as follows:

CLUSTER POPULATION CHANGE 2000-2010



\$ KEY:

- \$: VERY LOW INCOME
- \$\$: LOW INCOME
- \$\$\$: LOW-MIDDLE INCOME
- \$\$\$\$: MIDDLE INCOME
- \$\$\$\$\$: UPPER-MIDDLE INCOME
- \$\$\$\$\$\$: HIGH INCOME



APPLYING CLUSTER ANALYSIS TO THE REGIONAL HOUSING MARKET





APPLYING CLUSTER ANALYSIS TO THE REGIONAL HOUSING MARKET

At the heart of *Making Neighborhoods* is a statistical method known as cluster analysis. The cluster analysis method finds commonalities between census tracts across variables from the federal government that capture race, income, age, educational attainment, foreign birth, household and family type, and presence of public housing. Our model identified 16 “clusters” of census tracts that differed from each other for the year 2000.¹ Using the same mean values for the clusters, each census tract then gets a cluster identity for the year 2010. By mapping the census tracts with their population cluster identity for the two years, we are able to see if, and where, each distinct cluster shifted geographically. For a thorough treatment on the cluster analysis model, refer to the methodology discussion of our full paper.

There have been many studies of demographics and demographic change at the metropolitan level. What makes *Making Neighborhoods* stand out is that it analyzes all of the variables in the data set simultaneously. The method we employ here does not simply measure the location of where black, white, Hispanic, or Asian Americans live; nor poor and rich; nor those with and without college degrees. Instead, each census tract in the metro region is assigned an identity—its “population cluster”—based on how closely its characteristics match the clusters that emerged from our data set.

Conceptually, using the *Making Neighborhoods* model to analyze the regional housing marketplace was more complex than in New York City alone for one main reason: government-drawn boundaries. Just as community districts tend to obscure important communities that straddle boundary lines within the five boroughs, county lines do the same at the regional level. With the large geographic scale of this study, the arbitrariness of many existing boundaries simply scales up the complexity of understanding the regional housing market. Geographers refer to this as the “modifiable areal unit problem.”

Take Essex County, New Jersey, as an example. Essex County, roughly the size of Queens and Manhattan combined, contains municipalities as different as “Brick City” Newark and leafy-green Livingston. The county’s boundaries are drawn in a way that, if one were to isolate the county from its surroundings, one would see a jurisdiction that has two halves: a wealthy, mostly white side to the west and a poorer, mostly black and Hispanic side to the east. That is precisely what our *Making Neighborhoods* map shows. Whether that means jurisdictions like Essex County are “segregated” or “diverse” is a different question, subject to intense philosophical debate and federal court cases related to fair housing.

¹ For 12 of our 14 variables, the data sources were the 2000 and 2010 decennial censuses. The U.S. Census Bureau’s American Community Survey and administrative data from the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development were used to flesh out two variables: percent foreign-born (ACS) and percent of housing units in public housing (HUD).

The eastern portion of Essex County, which contains municipalities like East Orange, Nutley, Bloomfield, Belleville, and Newark, has more in common with its neighbors to the north and east in Passaic, Hudson, and southern Bergen Counties than it does with the western portion of Essex County. Those differences extend beyond race and income, as well—to housing typologies, homeownership rates, and education rates. Taking averages, then, for places like Essex County is not very informative from a public policy perspective.

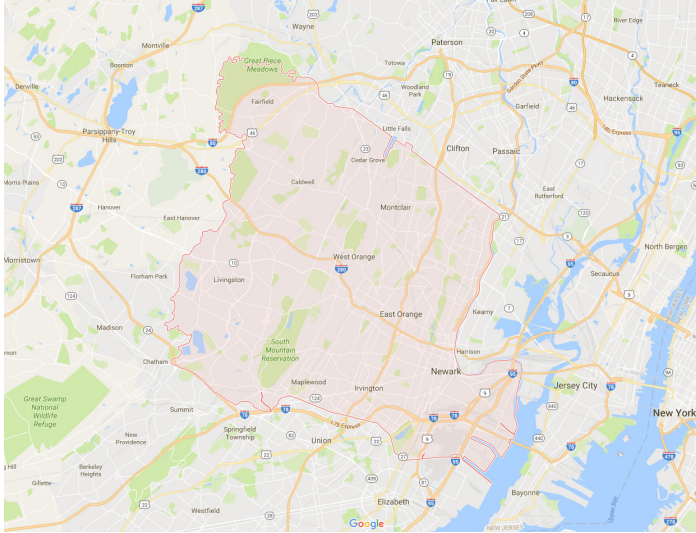
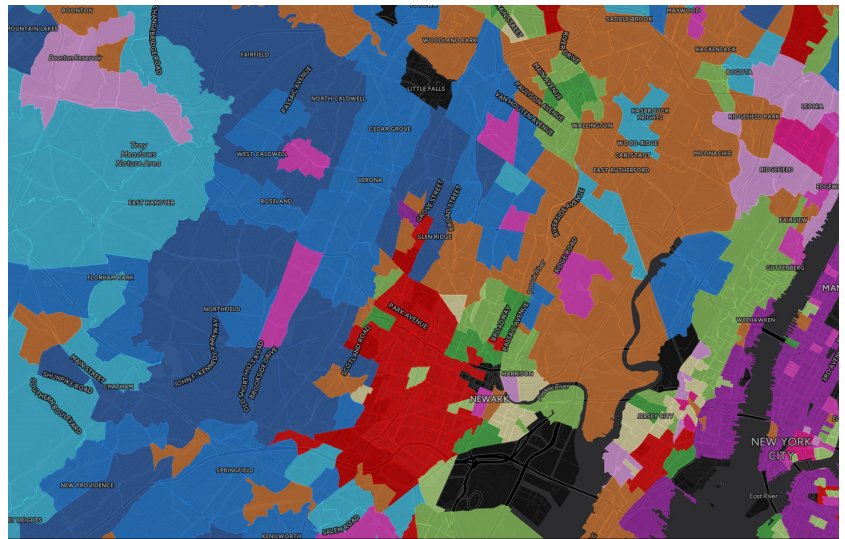


Figure 3. Essex County, New Jersey, shaded in red. Image: Google

Figure 4. Can you outline Essex County on the Making Neighborhoods map? Image: CHPC



Thanks to the *Making Neighborhoods* analysis model, it is possible to examine the region as its neighborhoods naturally form and change. Rather than relying on county lines or other government-drawn boundaries that obscure patterns that spill over those boundaries, policymakers can use this tool to see how their decisions to allocate resources or services affect the broader communities they serve.



TRENDS ACROSS THE REGION

There were several trends that mimicked the results of the 2014 study of the city's five boroughs:

- 1. The region lacks a consolidated middle class Hispanic population cluster. Overall, the region's Hispanic population was the second-fastest-growing, at 19 percent—faster than either of our two population clusters with a Hispanic majority. The clusters that emerged with a Hispanic majority were at low and low-middle income levels, whereas the region's middle-class Hispanic households are found in clusters where the majority race might be black or white.**
- 2. In some parts of the region, tracts that in 2000 were home to the upper-middle-income majority black population cluster gave way to a majority black cluster at a lower income level, such as in southeast Queens, the northern Bronx, Hempstead, and Newark.**
- 3. Neighborhoods that had a white majority in 2000 saw a further consolidation of white households by 2010, such as Dyker Heights, Maspeth, Jericho, and Norwalk.**
- 4. Some neighborhoods with majority white population clusters in 2000 transitioned to an Asian majority by 2010, such as in northern Queens, southern Brooklyn, Plainsboro, and Hicksville.**
- 5. Population clusters with no race majority largely dispersed, giving way to clusters with a clear majority—either Hispanic, Asian, or white—in 2010, such as in Kensington and Bay Ridge, Brooklyn, and Astoria and Woodhaven, Queens.**

There were also new trends that emerged from the regional context of this study:

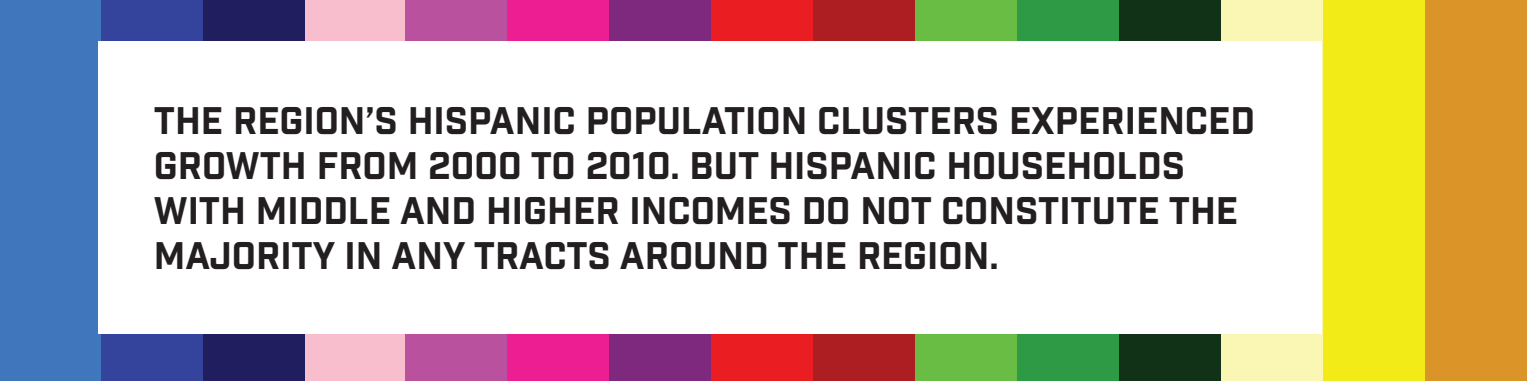
- 6. A low-income, majority white population cluster, which did not emerge from our study of the five boroughs, was the fastest growing cluster between 2000 and 2010, found in Brooklyn and pockets of the suburbs in Middlesex County, NJ, and Rockland County, NY.**
- 7. Some tracts that were home to a lower income black population cluster transitioned to a higher income black cluster, contradicting another trend revealed earlier, but mostly occurring in the same or adjacent areas.**
- 8. Some areas in urban neighborhoods or straddling urban and suburban areas transitioned from a white majority to a Hispanic majority. This happened in denser suburbs like Clifton, NJ, Bridgeport, CT, and in Ridgewood, Queens.**

TRENDS THAT MIRRORED OUR 2014 STUDY OF THE FIVE BOROUGHES

1. THE REGION LACKS A CONSOLIDATED MIDDLE CLASS HISPANIC POPULATION CLUSTER. THE CLUSTERS THAT EMERGED WITH A HISPANIC MAJORITY WERE AT LOW AND LOW-MIDDLE INCOME LEVELS.

Just as we saw with our 2014 study of the five boroughs, there were two population clusters that had a majority Hispanic population. Both clusters were at lower income levels, which leaves the Hispanic population as the only race group not associated with a middle-class area. Meanwhile, the Hispanic population was the region's second-largest in 2010, making up one-quarter of the region, and Hispanic was the region's second-fastest-growing race group. Using the interactive map to toggle between 2000 and 2010, one can see that the low-middle-income Hispanic cluster contracted in NYC neighborhoods like Washington Heights, Red Hook, Sunset Park, and East Williamsburg. Meanwhile, it expanded in denser suburbs like Islip, NY, Stamford, CT, and the segment of New Jersey from Paterson to Newark.

What are the maps telling us?



THE REGION'S HISPANIC POPULATION CLUSTERS EXPERIENCED GROWTH FROM 2000 TO 2010. BUT HISPANIC HOUSEHOLDS WITH MIDDLE AND HIGHER INCOMES DO NOT CONSTITUTE THE MAJORITY IN ANY TRACTS AROUND THE REGION.

2. IN SOME PARTS OF THE REGION, TRACTS THAT IN 2000 WERE HOME TO THE UPPER-MIDDLE-INCOME BLACK POPULATION CLUSTER GAVE WAY TO A MAJORITY BLACK CLUSTER AT A LOWER INCOME LEVEL.

Our 2014 study of the five boroughs found that there were population clusters identified with upper-income, predominantly black households. Homeownership was common with that cluster, but it ceded territory around its borders with a poorer, majority black cluster that was predominantly renter households. We found a similar trend this time while studying the regional housing market.

In this study, there were two population clusters associated with a majority-black population: the *majority black, low-income, singles and family mix* cluster, and the *predominantly black, upper-middle-income, family mix and singles* cluster—the latter being roughly analogous to, but at a lower income level than, the upper-income predominantly black cluster from the prior study.

The low-income majority black cluster gained nearly eight percent of the tracts that, in 2000, were part of the upper-middle-income predominantly black cluster. This “downward” economic trend was prevalent in the areas where the two black population clusters bordered each other in 2000: Crown Heights and Brownsville, Brooklyn; South Jamaica, Queens; and Wakefield and Williamsbridge in the Bronx. Outside New York City, this trend was apparent primarily in the inner suburbs—in central parts of Mount Vernon and Hempstead, NY, and the outskirts of Newark, Plainfield, and Paterson, NJ.

In the census tracts where this transition occurred, housing traits were more similar to those in the low-income cluster than the upper-middle income cluster.

What are the maps telling us?



THE REGION'S MAJORITY-BLACK POPULATION CLUSTERS EXPERIENCED A “DOWNWARD” ECONOMIC TREND.

3. NEIGHBORHOODS THAT HAD A WHITE MAJORITY IN 2000 SAW A FURTHER CONSOLIDATION OF WHITE HOUSEHOLDS BY 2010.

Given that seven of our 16 population clusters were primarily associated with white households (either predominantly or majority), it is natural that there were several different types of trends amongst them. In many places, though, areas that were white in 2000 became whiter by 2010.

There was a transition of tracts from the *predominantly white, upper-middle-income, middle-aged couples and singles, high education level* population cluster to two predominantly white clusters at the higher, upper-income level: one with middle-aged couples, and one with a mix of singles and couples with no children. This shift happened exclusively in less dense, suburban areas like Bellerose Manor, Queens; Westerleigh, Staten Island; and towns like Jericho and Woodbury, NY, Pompton Lakes, NJ, and parts of Norwalk and Stamford, CT, along the Merritt Parkway. Even with those transitions, the predominantly white, upper-middle-income cluster was by far the most populous of the 16 in our study, with over three million residents, in 2010.

Our analysis also showed tracts from the *majority white, upper-middle-income, age-mix, singles and couples with no children* population cluster transitioning to *predominantly white, upper-income, couples with no children and singles*. This transition occurred in pockets of the region where those two clusters bordered in 2000: Dyker Heights and Windsor Terrace, Brooklyn; Maspeth and Whitestone, Queens; Morris Park in the Bronx; and eastern Yonkers and New Jersey towns like Edgewater, Clark, and Red Bank.

What are the maps telling us?



IN THE AREAS HIGHLIGHTED HERE, POPULATION CLUSTERS TRANSITIONED TO MAKE NEIGHBORHOODS THAT HAD A WHITE MAJORITY IN 2000 EVEN WHITER IN 2010.

4. SOME NEIGHBORHOODS WITH MAJORITY WHITE POPULATION CLUSTERS IN 2000 TRANSITIONED TO AN ASIAN MAJORITY BY 2010.

Our analysis of the region, as with our earlier work, showed a growth of Asian households in areas that were previously either predominantly or majority white. In the regional context, though, this trend included areas that in 2000 had no majority race group. This trend occurred in all parts of the region. It was notable in northern Queens, from Sunnyside to Bayside, southern Brooklyn, from Bensonhurst to Sheepshead Bay, central New Jersey towns like Plainsboro and Piscataway, and the Nassau County towns of Hicksville and Manhasset Hills. Interestingly, this transition type included increases in both foreign-born population and college graduates in the census tracts where it occurred.

It is important to note here that our study relies on the U.S. Census Bureau’s definition of “Asian.” This includes any background from Chinese to Pakistani to Korean to name a few. So, although the demographics in Fort Lee or Edison, NJ, Jackson Heights, Queens, or Bay Ridge, Brooklyn, appear similar on our *Making Neighborhoods* map, on the ground they certainly are not.

What are the maps telling us?



THE PLURALITY WHITE, MIDDLE-INCOME POPULATION CLUSTER EXPERIENCING HUGE GROWTH IN THE REGION IS NEARLY ONE-THIRD ASIAN HOUSEHOLDS. NEARLY HALF OF THE RESIDENTS OF THAT CLUSTER ARE FOREIGN-BORN.

5. POPULATION CLUSTERS WITH NO RACE MAJORITY LARGELY DISPERSED, GIVING WAY TO CLUSTERS WITH A CLEAR MAJORITY IN 2010.

The greatest number of transitions occurred in areas that, in 2000, lacked a majority race group. Those areas moved toward having majority race groups. The *plurality Hispanic, middle-income, family mix, majority foreign-born* population cluster's 40 percent contraction in population made it by far the fastest-shrinking cluster.

We tend to believe that this consolidation of race groups is cyclical and that these results reflect the point-A-to-point-B snapshot nature of the study. A 2008 study, which compared New York City census data from 1990 to 2000 and served as a precursor to *Making Neighborhoods*, found large increases for the one population cluster that lacked a race majority. The reverse was true in our 2014 study of the five boroughs from 2000 to 2010. In this regional study, the two clusters identified as "mixed/non-plurality" (one was middle-income and the other poor) transitioned in several ways: to *Majority Hispanic low-middle income*; *Majority white, low-middle income*; *Majority white, upper-income*; and *Majority Asian, middle-income*.

The latter result is particularly interesting in the context of other outcomes highlighting the region's Asian population. In addition to that "mixed/non-plurality"-to-majority Asian transition, we found that the *plurality white, middle-income, couples and singles, nearly half-foreign born* cluster is one-third Asian and grew by 2010 as a result of adding tracts transitioning from predominantly white, majority white, and plurality Hispanic clusters. In tandem, these outcomes suggest a consolidation of the region's Asian population.

What are the maps telling us?



THE POPULATION CLUSTER WITH NO ASSOCIATED RACE MAJORITY TRANSITIONED TO CLUSTERS WITH MAJORITIES OF HISPANIC, ASIAN, AND WHITE HOUSEHOLDS.

NEW TRENDS THAT EMERGED FROM THE REGIONAL CONTEXT

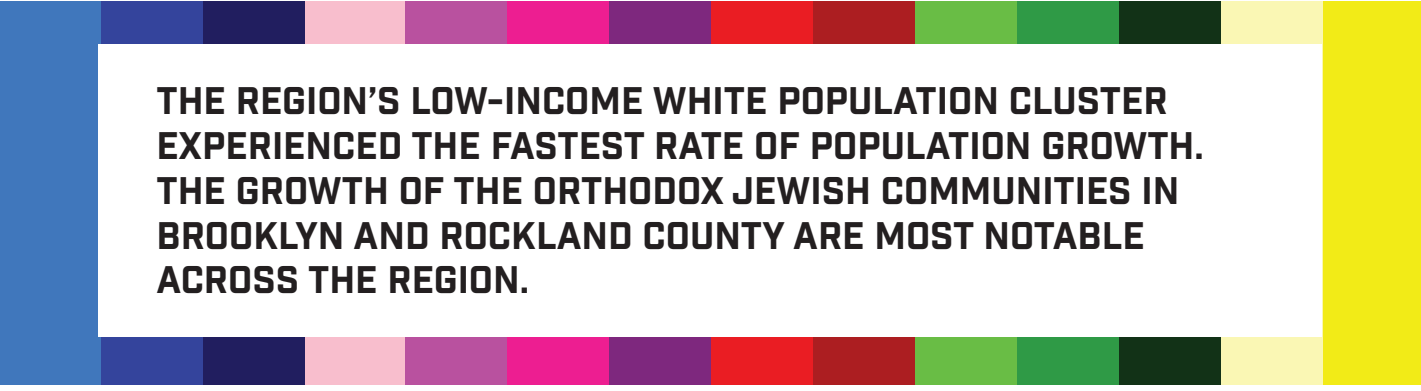
6. A LOW-INCOME, MAJORITY WHITE POPULATION CLUSTER, WHICH DID NOT EMERGE FROM OUR STUDY OF THE FIVE BOROUGHES, WAS THE FASTEST GROWING CLUSTER BETWEEN 2000 AND 2010.

One of the population clusters that emerged from this study was a *predominantly white, low-income, couples with children and singles* cluster. This cluster had the second-smallest population but was the fastest growing of the 16 clusters.

Where it did exist in significant numbers in 2000, it gained more tracts by 2010 in places like Borough Park and South Williamsburg, Brooklyn; Far Rockaway, Queens; and Ramapo and Monroe, NY, in Rockland and Orange Counties, respectively. This cluster also expanded in places like Passaic and Monroe, New Jersey (in Passaic and Middlesex Counties), and Shrub Oak, in Westchester County.

Looking deeper, we find two explanations for this cluster's growth: on one hand, the expansion of orthodox Jewish neighborhoods; and on the other, the location of planned, age-restricted retirement communities. Both of those populations tend to have mostly white populations with relatively low income (though household assets, on the other hand, might differ).

What are the maps telling us?



THE REGION'S LOW-INCOME WHITE POPULATION CLUSTER EXPERIENCED THE FASTEST RATE OF POPULATION GROWTH. THE GROWTH OF THE ORTHODOX JEWISH COMMUNITIES IN BROOKLYN AND ROCKLAND COUNTY ARE MOST NOTABLE ACROSS THE REGION.

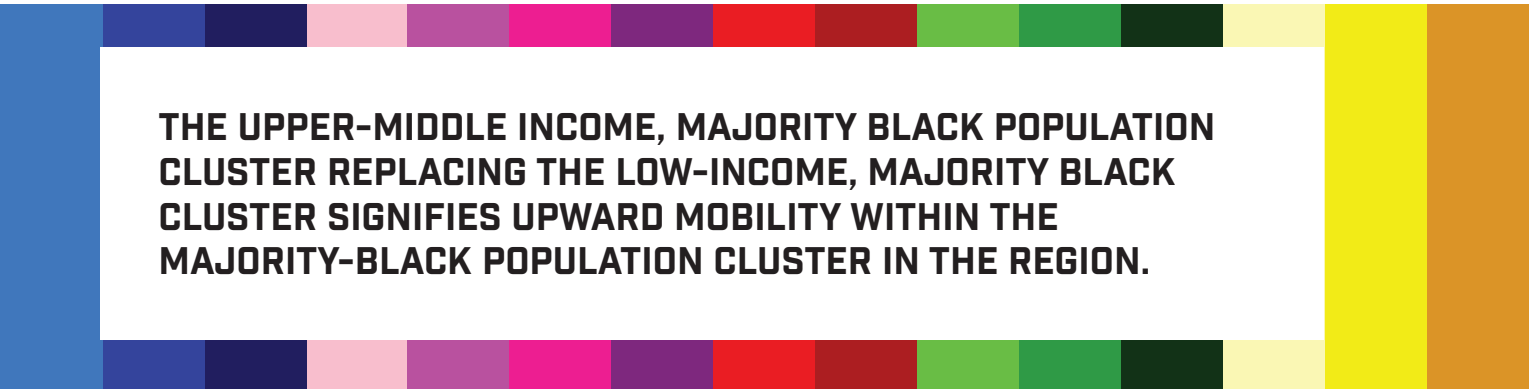
7. SOME TRACTS THAT WERE HOME TO A LOWER INCOME BLACK POPULATION CLUSTER TRANSITIONED TO A HIGHER INCOME BLACK CLUSTER.

Our analysis showed an upward shift from some of the low-income majority black population cluster to upper-middle-income predominantly black. This counters trend #2 discussed above. In our analysis, 10 percent of the lower-income cluster transitioned to the higher-income group. This happened in some of the same areas of the region where the reverse trend occurred, but also the Staten Island neighborhood of Randall Manor, the Bronx's University Heights and Parkchester, and the cities of Newark and Elizabeth, NJ, and Yonkers, NY.

This result demonstrates a black population in flux, rather than proving a resurgence of the black middle class. The lower income majority-black cluster was one of the most dynamic in this study, with a significant percentage of its 2000 census tracts transitioning to a Hispanic or white majority cluster, as well. It is important to keep in mind that, as Table 2 (on page 11) shows, the upper-middle-income majority-black cluster experienced a minor two-percent loss of population between 2000 and 2010, while the low-income majority-black cluster shrank by a more significant 13 percent. Despite the upper-middle-income cluster's negligible contraction, it still gained 10 percent of the low-income cluster's population. That fact means that it must have undergone a more significant contraction elsewhere.

It is worth reiterating that the census tracts that made the transition described here, just as with the reverse trend, share more housing traits with the low-income cluster than with the upper-middle income cluster.

What are the maps telling us?



THE UPPER-MIDDLE INCOME, MAJORITY BLACK POPULATION CLUSTER REPLACING THE LOW-INCOME, MAJORITY BLACK CLUSTER SIGNIFIES UPWARD MOBILITY WITHIN THE MAJORITY-BLACK POPULATION CLUSTER IN THE REGION.

8. SOME AREAS IN URBAN NEIGHBORHOODS OR STRADDLING URBAN AND SUBURBAN AREAS TRANSITIONED FROM A WHITE MAJORITY TO A HISPANIC MAJORITY.

The *majority white, low-middle-income population* cluster, discussed earlier as having gained tracts that transitioned from higher-income white clusters, was at the center of a large-scale transition from majority white to majority Hispanic households. More than 10 percent of the tracts from the majority white cluster transitioned to the majority Hispanic cluster.

This trend was apparent in neighborhoods and towns that, in 2000, were situated between places where the majority Hispanic population cluster was found. This includes cities like Clifton and Belleville, NJ; Stamford, CT; Huntington and Yonkers, NY; and New York City neighborhoods like Ridgewood, Queens, and Stapleton, Staten Island.

An examination of the housing characteristics of the two population clusters showed that they were quite similar: they both had a mix of owner-occupied and rental housing more characteristic of the denser parts of the region; a majority of 1-to-4 family buildings, but with at least one-fifth large buildings (with 20 or more apartments); and a higher than average share of small units (with two or fewer rooms).

This trend is likely the result of a combination of the overall growth of Hispanic population in our region and a consolidation of the households living here in 2000. It will be very interesting to follow the evolution of this trend in 2020 census data—and especially to see if a middle-income Hispanic cluster emerges.

What are the maps telling us?



IN THE CENSUS TRACTS AROUND THE REGION WHERE A MAJORITY-HISPANIC POPULATION CLUSTER REPLACED A MAJORITY-WHITE CLUSTER, THE HOUSING STOCK TENDS TO BE MORE SIMILAR TO DENSER URBAN NEIGHBORHOODS THAN THE SUBURBS NEARBY.



DRAWING CONCLUSIONS ABOUT GENTRIFICATION AND SEGREGATION FROM THE MAKING NEIGHBORHOODS MAP

The results of CHPC’s *Making Neighborhoods* research inevitably lead to questions about residential segregation and displacement. The study does not provide the why behind those main trends, but it does hold a mirror to the city, showing how demographic patterns changed from the year 2000 to 2010.

Everyone who looks at the *Making Neighborhoods* map will see the same thing, but several different interpretations will emerge. On one hand, the New York region is as diverse a place as one can find in the United States. Every race, income level, household type, and so on, is represented in the region. On the other hand, certain neighborhoods are more homogeneous than others. Neither Flushing nor Astoria is representative of the full demographic variation of Queens, for example. So the question ultimately becomes at what geographic level one wants to talk about diversity—in other words, whether the metropolitan region should mimic the demographics of the country, each borough or county should mimic the demographics of the region, or so on until one compares individual blocks or residential buildings to the demographics of their respective census tracts, neighborhoods, or municipalities.

The region’s cities are centers of black and Hispanic population clusters that appear isolated from the majority-white suburbs. That does not mean that white households do not live in the region’s cities or, conversely, that black households do not live in the suburbs. Indeed, there are majority- or predominantly-white clusters at low, moderate, and high income levels that appear in both the densely populated city and the suburbs. What the *Making Neighborhoods* map shows is that black or Hispanic households are not the majority in most suburban communities.

Looking more closely at the housing typologies of the clusters helps illuminate this discussion. In general, it appears that there are white clusters, whether majority or predominantly white at a range of income levels, scattered among the region’s dense, urban areas as well as the suburban areas where single family homes, large housing units, and owner occupancy are common. The same cannot be said about the region’s black and Hispanic populations, which are concentrated in denser parts of the region beyond the five boroughs—from Bridgeport to Newburgh to Paterson—and tend to live in larger buildings and smaller units, more often renting than owning.

New York City adopted one of the nation’s first anti-discrimination laws in 1957, setting the example for the federal legislation that followed. Those laws outlawed practices such as redlining, but the damage had already been done. Nor did such legal mechanisms impede later occurrences such as white flight or predatory mortgage lending. There is no doubt that the effects of racist policies and practices are visible in the *Making Neighborhoods* map. As public policy continues to combat segregation and discrimination, this study is a reflection of the city’s demographics and how they changed in the first decade of the 21st Century.

Making Neighborhoods does not include information about choices, or lack thereof—why a household lives where it does, why it moved there, or how its choices were restricted. That information would be critical to a clearer, more granular understanding of the dynamics behind the results of this study. It is simply not available in the census data that this study is built on. New York City has long been at the forefront of attempts to combat racism and discrimination. However, it has not been immune to its pernicious effects. In a region as diverse (in some ways) as New York’s, how are we to grapple with a history of racism, as well as a history of proud ethnic enclaves that are part of what make our city great? The culture and social networks that flourish in these neighborhoods is part of what makes our City great, and there are many great examples of communities of color gaining their political and social clout by banding together. At the same time, the longstanding effects of discrimination are real and need to be addressed even in a City that prides itself on diversity and openness.

Interpretations of our map may well be as varied as New Yorkers themselves, but we hope that policymakers will find our analysis useful. CHPC’s *Making Neighborhoods* study is but one contribution to this difficult and essential conversation, and we hope we have provided a new lens to examine these thorny issues.

THE CAVEATS

By assigning each census tract a population cluster identity, the *Making Neighborhoods* model gives each location a label that includes, in most cases, a majority race. This can be somewhat misleading insofar as the name may obscure the diversity within that cluster. It is important, therefore, to remember that not every person living within a cluster matches the description of that cluster (that is to say, not everyone in a majority Hispanic cluster is Hispanic). There is variation within all 16 of our population clusters, including on race.

Making Neighborhoods confirms what New Yorkers intuitively understand about the changes our neighborhoods are undergoing. For instance, a look at the map clearly shows a majority-white, upper-income population cluster replacing clusters with a Hispanic majority and no race majority (both at lower income levels) in North Brooklyn and Astoria, respectively. Because it is only a snapshot—a reflection of change from point A to B—there is a danger in projecting or extrapolating those changes into the future. One powerful reminder is that the 2008 study that inspired *Making Neighborhoods*, which compared census data from 1990 to 2000, showed that the fastest-growing population cluster was one that did not have a majority race identity. It will be interesting to add data from the 2020 census to this work to see what types of change take place where we saw our major trends between 2000 and 2010. Change is constant in New York, and this study reflects that powerfully.



NEW YORK'S REGIONAL HOUSING MARKETPLACE MOVING FORWARD

The *Making Neighborhoods* map crystallizes the demographic change that took place in the New York region between 2000 and 2010. There are several lessons that *Making Neighborhoods* provides about the types of change we observed—without extrapolating to the future, which is not what this tool is designed for—that current policymakers need to consider.

Foremost, nearly one-quarter (23.5 percent) of the census tracts in the region experienced a change of population cluster between 2000 and 2010. This figure was consistent with our 2014 study that focused solely on New York City, and demonstrates that **demographic change is as much the norm outside the city as within**. The New York City regional housing marketplace is a very dynamic place.

The region's Hispanic population is growing, but its middle class is not geographically concentrated. That is not to say that the region is devoid of Hispanic households at middle and high income levels. But such households were not concentrated enough to constitute a distinct population cluster in our data model. We did observe a marked shift across the region from the majority white, low-middle-income population cluster to the majority Hispanic, low-middle-income cluster. This was significant because it signals a movement of the region's Hispanic population from exclusively high-density areas to those with a mix of housing types—though still not the suburban type found in much of the region. Much of the growth of the Hispanic population clusters outside New York City occurred in areas near higher-income, majority white clusters. Whether the future holds further overall expansion or more migration of Hispanic households into the suburbs, government must devote more resources and energy to supporting this population where it needs help emerging from poverty.

The region's black middle class is in flux. Both of the population clusters associated with a black population, one in the low-middle-income range and one in the upper-middle range, lost population between 2000 and 2010 (the former at a negligible rate and the latter at a significant rate). They essentially swapped some of the territory they occupied.

Preserving the city's black middle class is a topic that deserves attention and intervention from government. A close look at the changes during our study period in the *majority black, low-income, singles and family mix* cluster and the *predominantly black, upper-middle-income, family mix and singles* cluster highlights a difference that is more significant in policy terms than statistical. The low-income cluster lost tracts because it largely spread out into areas that had been occupied by majority Hispanic and majority white clusters in 2000. On the other hand, the upper-middle-income black cluster was fairly constant in total population, though it both lost and gained a large number of tracts. That is a sign that the low-income black population is dissipating throughout the region, effectively being “hidden” among majority groups in other clusters. Meanwhile, the upper-middle-income black population is more fluid but still concentrated together. Economic circumstances—the greater mobility, or “purchasing power” in the housing market, of the upper-middle-income cluster—may help explain this. Clarifying why that is happening should be a priority for policymakers as they look to neighborhoods like Hollis and St. Albans, Queens, where the traditional middle-class, homeowner black population is shrinking.

Finally, by 2010 a **population clusters with a majority race group emerged in many areas** that lacked such an identity ten years prior. These areas went in one of three directions: toward a white majority, Hispanic majority, or Asian majority. Both the majority-Hispanic and majority-Asian groups have large immigrant populations that live in mixed-density areas, but differ on other noteworthy traits like income, age, and educational attainment.

This result does not necessarily prove anything about segregation or permanent trends. Because census data captures conditions at specific points in time, the *Making Neighborhoods* analysis model reflects simply changes from 2000 to 2010. We believe it is important to remember that what the results show is that some neighborhoods are changing to a majority white, Hispanic, or Asian cluster. Those areas may, or may not, continue changing. This is one facet that will be interesting to observe when data from the 2020 census is available.

How housing policy responds to these issues will affect the outcomes of generations of households around the New York regional housing market. There are regulatory and financial levers that government can pull to stem budding problems and to help the region's poorer or historically overlooked populations succeed. Policymakers must also consider the fact that this regional housing marketplace, where one-quarter of census tracts changed their cluster identities, is a hugely dynamic place. Housing policy options include ensuring that poorer residents live in safe and decent housing conditions by raising and enforcing housing standards; preserving the housing stock that has served as a wealth-building tool; or addressing rapid housing turnover by encouraging the development of housing that fits the sizes and types of households that live across the region.

These examples are just some of the tools policymakers have at their disposal. We hope that with the insight *Making Neighborhoods* provides, policymakers find areas of alarm to focus on and investigate further with qualitative analysis, and the inspiration to respond in a manner that reflects the needs of the regional housing market.

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