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CHPC
NEW YORK CITY

MAKING NEIGHBORHOODS

STUDY SUMMARY AND HIGHLIGHTS

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MAKING NEIGHBORHOODS

CHPC has undertaken a study that measures neighborhood change across New York City by putting people at the center of its analysis.

INTRODUCTION

All New Yorkers can recognize changes to their neighborhood and their city. Old neighbors move away; new people arrive; unfamiliar languages are suddenly heard on the streets; subway stops are more crowded with new faces; favorite shops are replaced by new ones, which quickly become part of the landscape.

Some communities experience change through absence and loss, others through gains and discovery. And New Yorkers recognize these changes without the benefit of demographic studies. They know that their neighborhoods aren't defined by maps of community districts or legislative lines. It is the people living in a neighborhood who shape its identity—they *make* the neighborhood.

Photo: Harold Shultz

And yet policymakers entirely depend on artificial government-drawn boundaries when trying to understand the issues of our population and our neighborhoods. Data about the population will be broken down by community district or by sub-borough area, for example, which can obscure wider trends that cross those boundaries.

A clearer understanding of New York City's changing population, residential patterns, and how they shape our neighborhoods, is critical in order to spot trends, identify pressing issues, allocate scarce resources, and intercede to address emerging problems.

Because of this, CHPC and lead researcher Raisa Bahchieva conducted the **Making Neighborhoods** study. This study is based on a 2008 study that analyzed changes between 1990 and 2000.[1]

Making Neighborhoods uses cluster analysis, a common strategy in economic and marketing studies, as a way of parsing large amounts of data into groups with shared traits. Using 16 variables to measure race, age, foreign birth, household/family type, education level, and poverty, our model identified 14 "clusters" of census tracts where populations share these characteristics. First, we identified the locations of all of these population clusters in 2000 and then we tracked these clusters 10 years later.

The results reveal whether these population types grew in number or geographic size or moved into new areas; if their numbers declined or they retreated from their neighborhoods and were replaced by others; or if groups remained relatively unchanged in a decade. By following groups of people with shared characteristics, we see a different portrait of a changing city. It is one that New Yorkers will recognize, as it reflects the neighborhoods they make for themselves.

This report summarizes the analysis and findings of the full study:

1. **What cluster analysis tells us**
2. **The major trends revealed**
3. **The housing conditions that impact the clusters**
4. **What this means for NYC neighborhoods**

We also invite you to explore the interactive map created to help visualize these changes at the citywide, neighborhood, and block levels. This map (available at **www.chpcny.org/making-neighborhoods-map/story**) by VanDam, Inc. provides a multi-dimensional view of the city and brings the findings described below into sharper focus.

1. Bahchieva, Raisa, Anna Livak, Peter Lobo, and Joseph Salvo. "Utilizing neighborhood context to examine housing changes in New York City 1990-2000." Working paper. Office of Preservation Services, New York City Department of Housing Preservation; and Development and Population Division, New York City Department of City Planning. 2008.

One aspect of neighborhood change that this study does not encompass is the effect of Superstorm Sandy on housing in New York City. CHPC, among other organizations, has done some analysis of the housing types most affected by the storm, as well as of the government programs that have struggled to help homeowners and residents get back on their feet. Yet because the storm struck after the study period, its effects are not seen in these data.

And of course we remind the reader that Making Neighborhoods looks back in time to 2010, to people and places that are changing still. This work may reveal a transition at its end, mid-stream, or just beginning. In New York, where a population greater than that of San Francisco moved into or within the city in the last decade, this ongoing change continues to reshape our neighborhoods. We look forward to feedback from our readers that will help us provide a better view of how New Yorkers are making their own neighborhoods.

Photo: Corey Smithson

CLUSTER ANALYSIS

Cluster methodology is common in economic and marketing analyses as a way of parsing large amounts of data into groups with shared traits that can be compared with one another.

Using 16 census-tract level variables to measure race, age, foreign birth, household and family type, education level, poverty, and public housing tenure, our model identified the 14 clusters of census tracts that differed from each other on those 16 parameters in 2000.

Next, we identified the location of those 14 population clusters 10 years later.

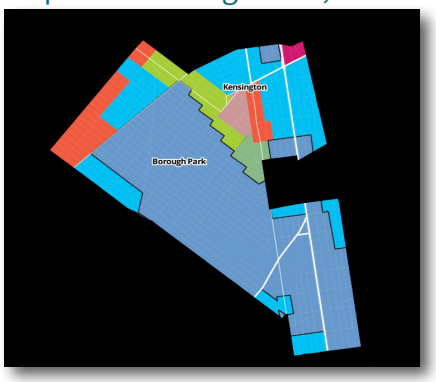
The population data for this study derive from the 2000 and 2010 federal decennial censuses, the 2011 American Community Survey (ACS), and New York City Housing Authority (NYCHA) administrative records. Not all of the data for the 2000 and 2010 censuses were a one-to-one match (for example, the number of census tracts in New York City declined from 2,217 to 2,168). To make effective comparisons, we used the Census Bureau's tract relationship file to convert 2000 tract-level data into 2010 tracts; we also excluded tracts that were sparsely populated or had high group-home populations. Among limitations of census data are the definitions of race categories, which are very broad (limited to black, white, Hispanic, Asian…) and rely on the self-identification of respondents. Those with mixed racial backgrounds continue to be poorly reflected in these categories, for example.

To perform the housing analysis, we used data from the 2010 U.S. census, the NYC Department of Finance (DOF), as well as *lis pendens* and code violation data from the NYC Department of Housing Preservation and Development (HPD).

WHAT CAN CLUSTER ANALYSIS TELL US?

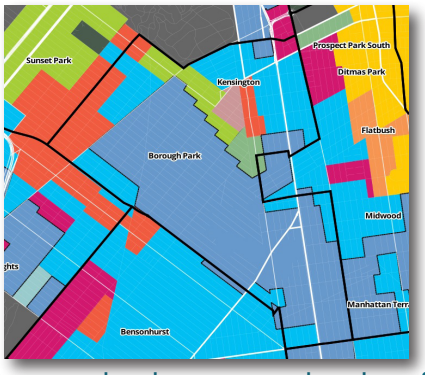
1. Clusters vs. Community Districts

Studying neighborhoods only through the lens of static geographic boundaries such as community districts is an important tool but it can also obscure wider trends that cross those boundaries.[2] For example, two images of Brooklyn Community District 12, which mostly encompasses Borough Park, in 2010 are shown on this page.



Brooklyn Community District 12 in 2010

Viewed through the lens of its community district boundary, as shown above, the district appears to be a highly homogeneous neighborhood of largely white, upper-middle-income families (the dark blue population cluster). However, considered in tandem with neighboring areas—as the second image shows—it becomes clear that this district is part of several distinct demographic groups.



Brooklyn Community District 12 in 2010 with context of surrounding area

In the Brooklyn CD 12 example, the western border of the district obscures a substantial Asian population that extends into Sunset Park and Bensonhurst. So rather than a community that appears homogeneous, it is one that sits within a dynamic area of Brooklyn with populations that cross borders.

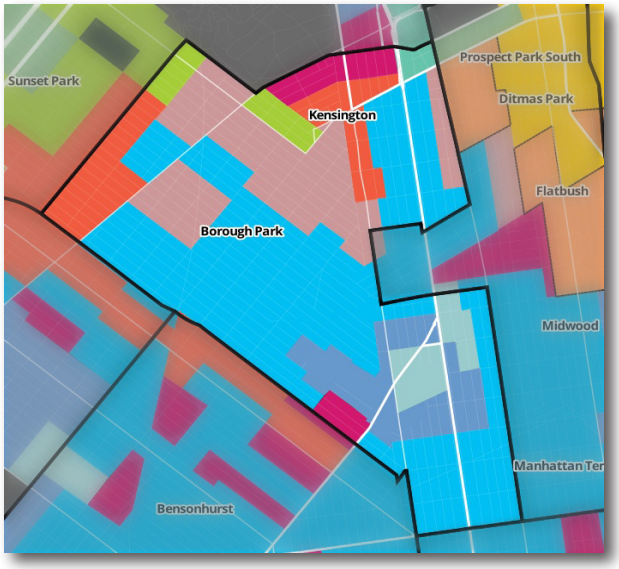
2. The community district is one of the many ways of organizing NYC geographically. The U.S. Census Bureau also divides the same land area into census tracts or public use microdata areas (PUMAs) and sub-borough areas based on them, for example. Although these geographic divisions are rarely coterminous, the NYC Department of City Planning devised Neighborhood Tabulation Areas to help make municipal and federal data mutually intelligible.

2. Clusters vs. one-variable analysis

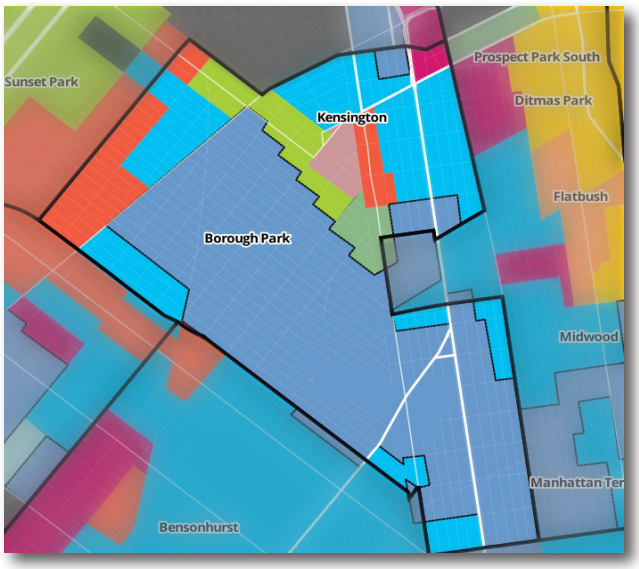
Cluster analysis makes it possible to compare groups on the basis of more than one characteristic. Rather than simply mapping people by race groups or by income, for example, population clusters reveal more of the complexity of a neighborhood's residents. In most cases where one population cluster replaced another, the changes signified a shift that encompassed more than one demographic trait.

The map below left shows Brooklyn CD 12 in 2000, also with its neighborhood context. Comparing the left image (2000) with the right (2010) demonstrates the nature of the changes over time that our study captures. These shifts do not occur along only one trait, though: we observe changes along a combination of factors including the race, income, and types of households living there.

The mauve population clusters—representing middle-class households with no racial majority—in 2000 gave way mostly to dark blue in 2010, which indicates a shift toward high-income households, a greater proportion of white families, an older population, and a higher proportion of singles. Where light blue transitioned to dark blue, the proportion of white households increased as well as household income. Meanwhile, the shrinking orange and pink clusters on the 2010 map indicate a diminished presence of Asian households in the northern reaches of Kensington.



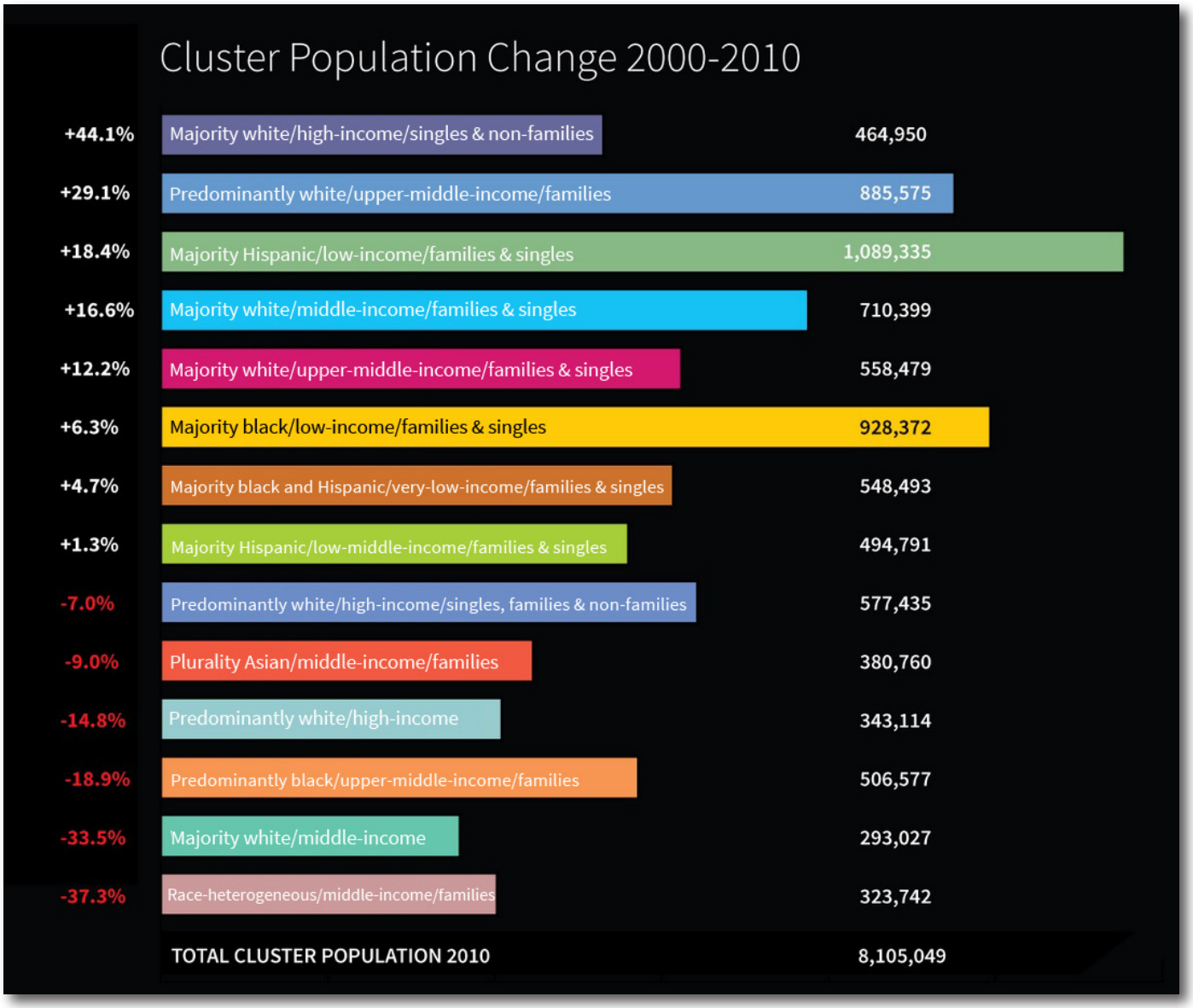
Brooklyn Community District 12 in 2000 with context of surrounding area



Brooklyn Community District 12 in 2010 with context of surrounding area

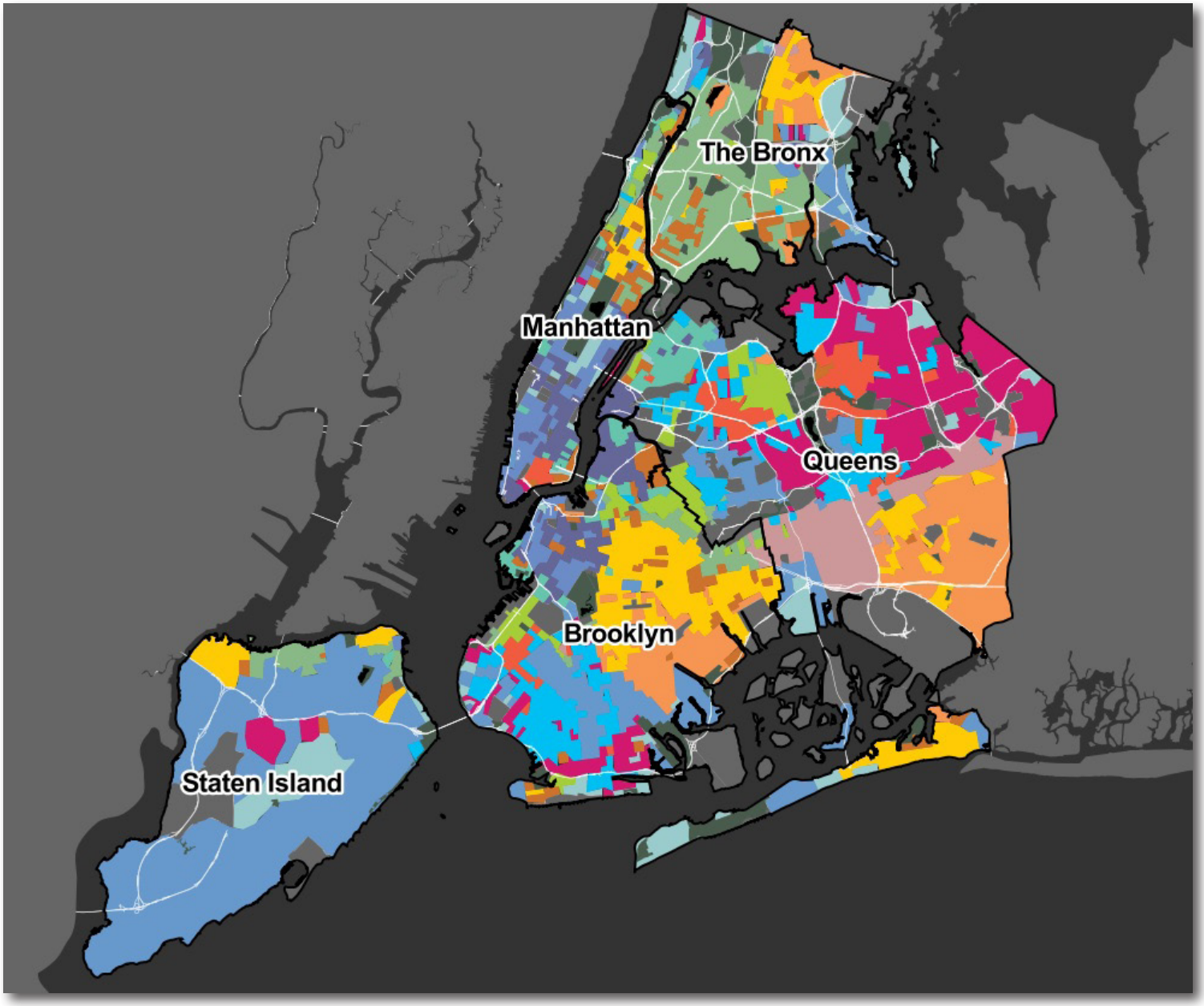
CLUSTER POPULATION CHANGE 2000-2010

The list below ranks the 14 population clusters in descending order by the percentage change in population between 2000 and 2010. For example, the *Majority white/high income/single & non-families* cluster had the highest percentage change in population from 2000 to 2010.



CLUSTER LOCATIONS IN

This map displays the geographic distribution of the 14 population clusters in 2010. For more detail about the demographic characteristics of each population cluster, as well as the housing stock and tenure types, see the appendix table of this report.



MAJOR TRENDS 2000-2010

MAJOR TRENDS: MAKING NEIGHBORHOODS 2000-2010

Our cluster names:

Our population clusters are named to describe their overarching characteristics. Their names follow a general formula of "dominant race group/dominant income level/dominant household type." One cluster name indicates an age distinction, flagging that cluster as significantly older than others.

Keep in mind that the race definitions in this study come from U.S. Census Bureau convention, which is sometimes problematic for analyzing a city as diverse as New York. For example, the census does not offer a category for residents of mixed racial background (see more on this in our note on methodology). Our formula leads to some long names, but given the nuances that distinguish some of them from others, shorter, catchier names were not appropriate.

One major pattern emerges when observing neighborhood formation and changes across the city: ***race and income are the most significant factors determining New York City's population clusters.*** This reflects the fact that those two factors varied more than the other characteristics in our model.

Between 2000 and 2010, ***the population clusters at the low and high ends of the income spectrum grew in both population and geographic area while those in the middle contracted.*** This was most pronounced in neighborhoods like South Williamsburg, Far Rockaway, and Parkchester, where the cluster of middle-income households with no majority race group disappeared. This cluster ended up experiencing the largest percentage population loss of all clusters. By 2010 it could only be found in southern Queens and northern Bronx neighborhoods like South Ozone Park, Woodhaven, and Wakefield.

Meanwhile, ***many neighborhoods also experienced shifts along racial lines***. High-income white homeowner areas that included a mix of other races in 2000 became less racially diverse by 2010. For example, brownstone Brooklyn neighborhoods witnessed a geographic consolidation of white households. By 2010, higher-income households contributed to the growth of middle-income, majority-white clusters in neighborhoods like Sunnyside and Jackson Heights. Many low-income Hispanic areas, on the other hand, have witnessed a growth of Hispanics due to higher birth than death rates. At the same time, they experienced an outflow of households (of all races) at higher income levels from 2000 to 2010.

Two types of areas witnessed an increase in racial diversity between 2000 and 2010. The first set comprised high-income rental neighborhoods like Williamsburg. Second, neighborhoods across all income bands where there was a greater mix of renters and homeowners, like Queens Village, saw a similar change by 2010.

The following five trends stand out among the many that emerged from our study:

1. By 2010 the city's low-income Hispanic cluster became the largest population cluster—the only one with over 1 million people.

The main population clusters that this change affected were *Majority Hispanic/low-income/families & singles* and *Majority Hispanic/low-middle-income/families.*

- ***Majority Hispanic/low-income/families & singles* in 2010 was the largest population cluster and the only group with over 1 million residents**. Meanwhile, it is important to note that Hispanic households were the only racial group not represented by a cluster characterized as middle- or high-income. And while the Hispanic population in New York City as a whole grew by 8% within the study period, this particular population cluster grew more in terms of both population (13%) and the geographic area that it occupied in 2010 (18%). In 2010 this population cluster—prevalent throughout much of the South Bronx and expanding into East New York—also had the highest percentage of single-parent families and included the highest percentage of adults without college degrees (9%).

- **Some neighborhoods dominated by Hispanic households, like East Elmhurst and Sunset Park, did see modest upward economic change**, with some *Majority Hispanic/low-income/families & singles* areas in 2000 transitioning to the *Majority Hispanic/low-middle-income/families* cluster by 2010. Research by the NYC Department of City Planning suggests that this trend of upward mobility might be the result of an influx of middle-income Asian and white households, which also helped raise the overall income level in the areas where this population cluster was found in 2010. Most of these areas had an outflow of the Hispanic population but this outflow was outweighed by a high ratio of births to deaths among the Hispanic population.

Geographic Increase in Low-Income Hispanic Cluster 2000-2010

2000

2010

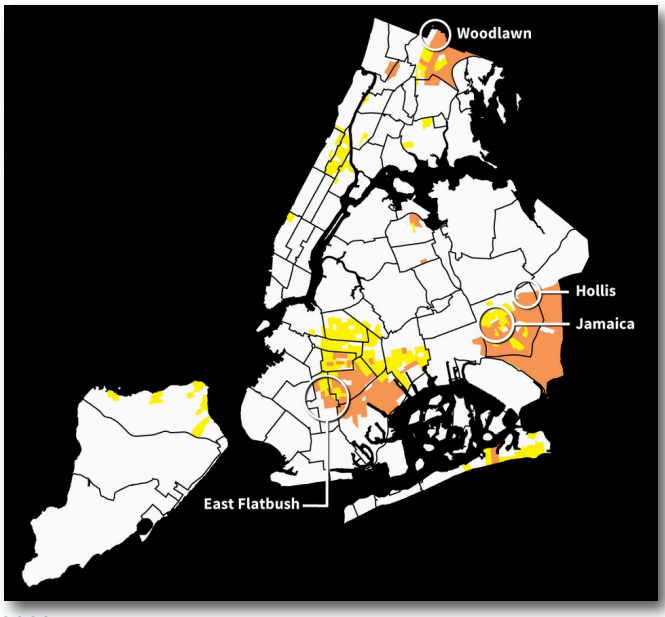
Map Key:

Majority Hispanic/low-income/families & singles
Majority Hispanic/low-middle-income/families

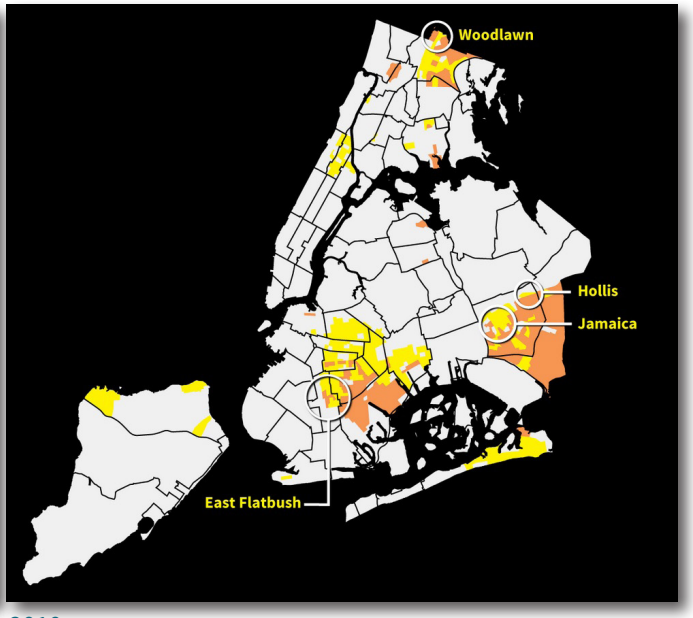
2. *The black middle class is receding.*

The main population clusters that this change affected were *Predominantly black/upper-middle-income/families* and *Majority black/low-middle-income/families & singles.*

Between 2000 and 2010 the city experienced a 5% drop in its black population. However, our study shows that this loss was concentrated in the population clusters—such as in Woodlawn or Hollis—that were home to more high-income black households in 2000. By 2010 these areas experienced a growth in the population cluster that included more low-income black households. The shift towards a poorer black population along with a decrease in higher-income black households was especially apparent along the geographic edges of higher-income clusters in Jamaica and East Flatbush.



2000



2010

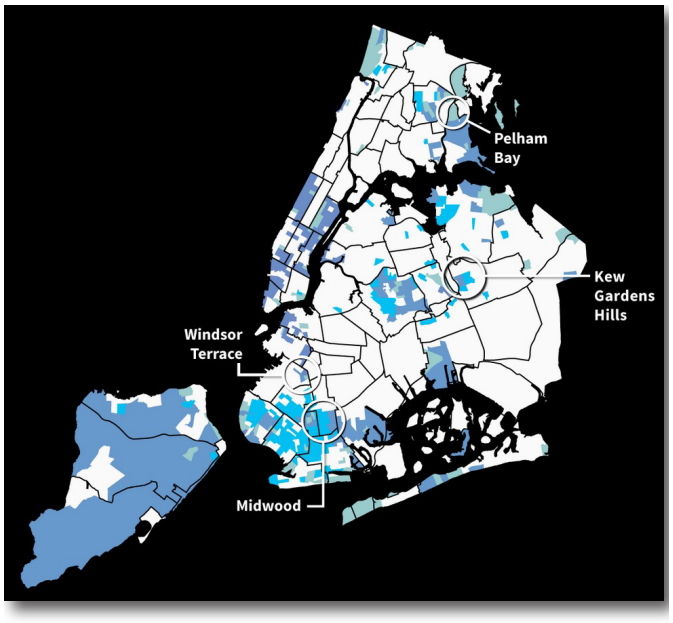
Map Key:

Predominantly black/upper-middle-income/families
Majority black/low-middle-income/families & singles

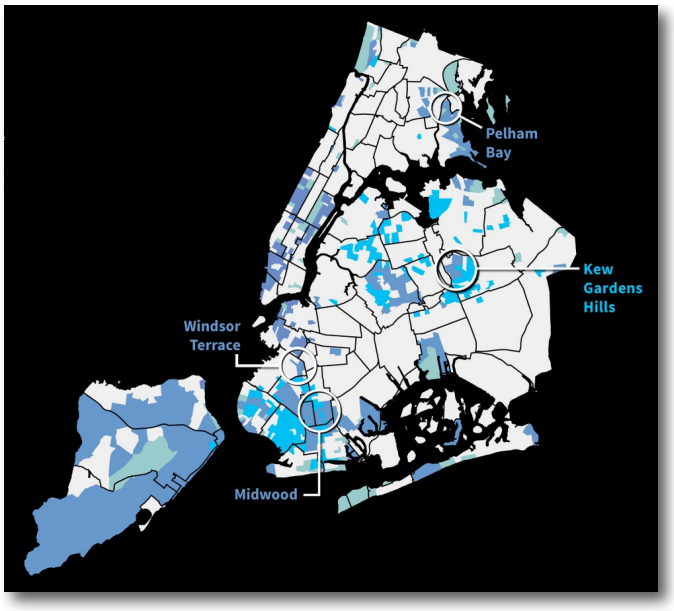
3. White upper-middle class families consolidated in their neighborhoods.

The main population clusters that this change affected were *Predominantly white/upper-middle-income/families* and *Majority white/middle-income/families & singles.*

The white population in NYC decreased by 3% between 2000 and 2010—a smaller decline than this population saw in preceding decades. The *Majority white/middle-income/families & singles* cluster lost over one-third of its population. Meanwhile, predominantly white population clusters increased in number where incomes were higher and homeownership more prevalent, such as Midwood, Brooklyn, and Pelham Bay in the Bronx. This suggests a trend towards a geographic concentration of this population cluster.



2000



2010

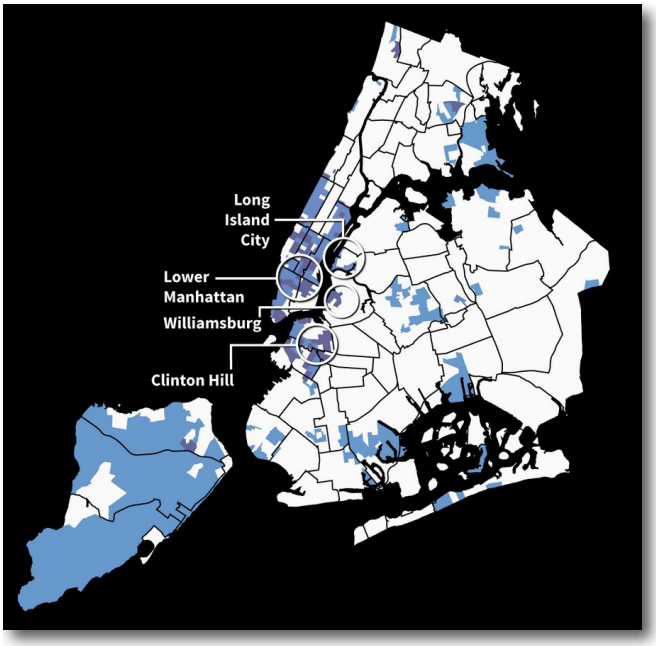
Map Key:

Predominantly white/upper-middle-income/families
Majority white/middle-income/families & singles

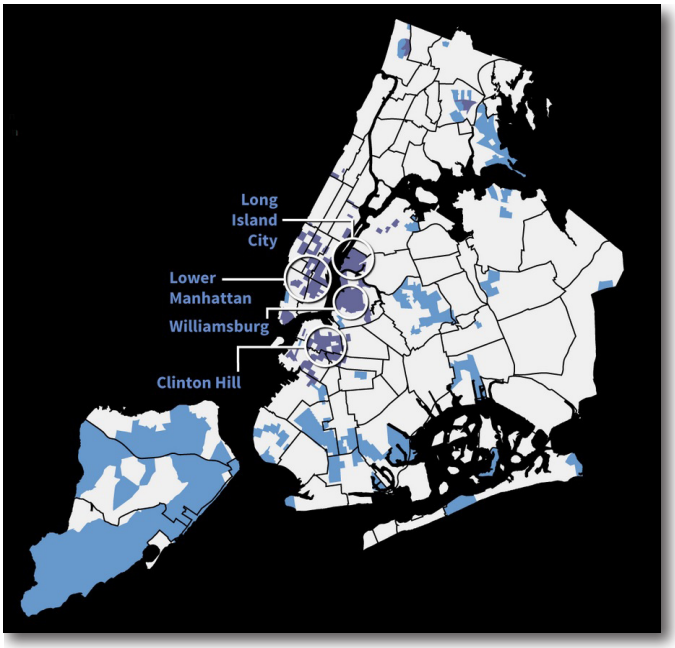
4. *High-income white, largely single, households moved into racially diverse neighborhoods.*

The main population clusters that this change affected were *Majority white/high-income/singles & non-families* and *Predominantly white/high-income/singles, families, & non-families.*

This trend is distinguished from the previous by the household types involved. The *Majority white/high-income/singles & non-families* cluster exhibited the largest percentage growth of all population clusters, with a 32% increase in geographic area and a 44% increase in population. A significant portion of this growth occurred in areas that were in the *Majority white/middle-income/families & singles* cluster in 2000. This expansion occurred in neighborhoods like Long Island City and parts of Brooklyn, like Williamsburg and Downtown, where new residential construction was common.



2000



2010

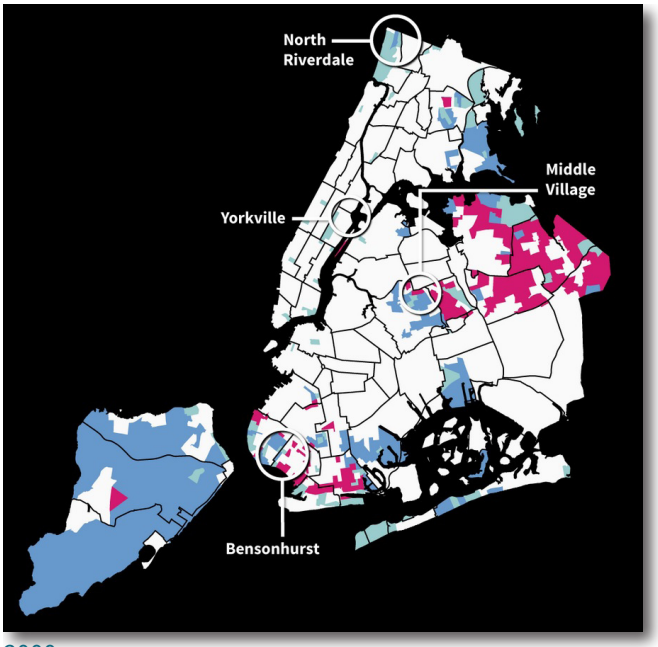
Map Key:

Majority white/high-income/singles & non-families
Predominantly white/high-income/singles, families, & non-families

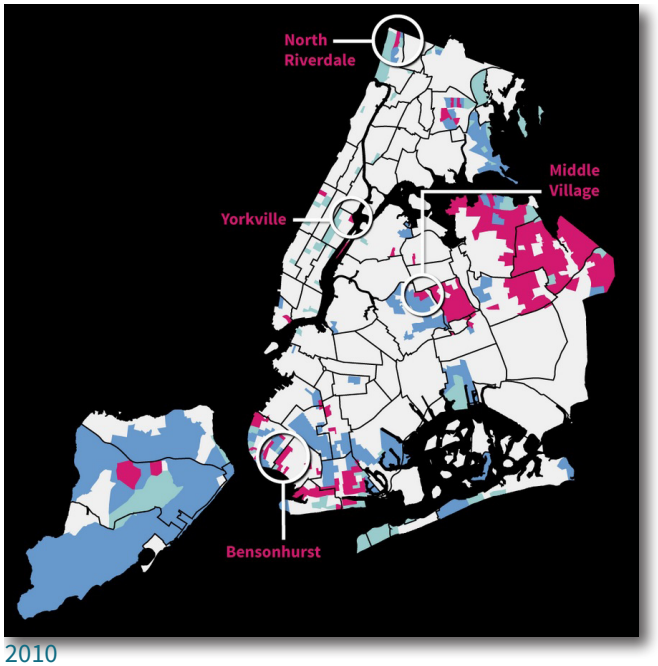
5. NYC's Asian population expanded by 2010 into areas that had been predominately white population clusters in 2000.

The main population clusters that this change affected were *Majority white/upper-middle-income/families & singles*, *Plurality Asian/middle-income/families*, *Predominantly white/high-income/middle-aged & elderly/families & singles*, and *Predominantly white/upper-middle-income/families*.

NYC's Asian population increased from 9% of the city's residents in 2000 to 12% in 2010. The *Plurality Asian/middle-income/families* population cluster—the only one in which Asians were the largest race group—shrank in population in areas like downtown Flushing and Manhattan's Chinatown. Meanwhile, some white population clusters in 2000 gained a notable presence of Asian-American households by 2010, particularly in those neighborhoods with high owner-occupancy rates. This has occurred in areas like Bensonhurst and Middle Village, or Willowbrook in Staten Island.



2000



2010

Map Key:

Majority white/upper-middle-income/families & singles
Predominantly white/high-income/middle-aged & elderly/families & singles
Predominantly white/upper-middle-income/families

HOUSING CONDITIONS BY CLUSTER

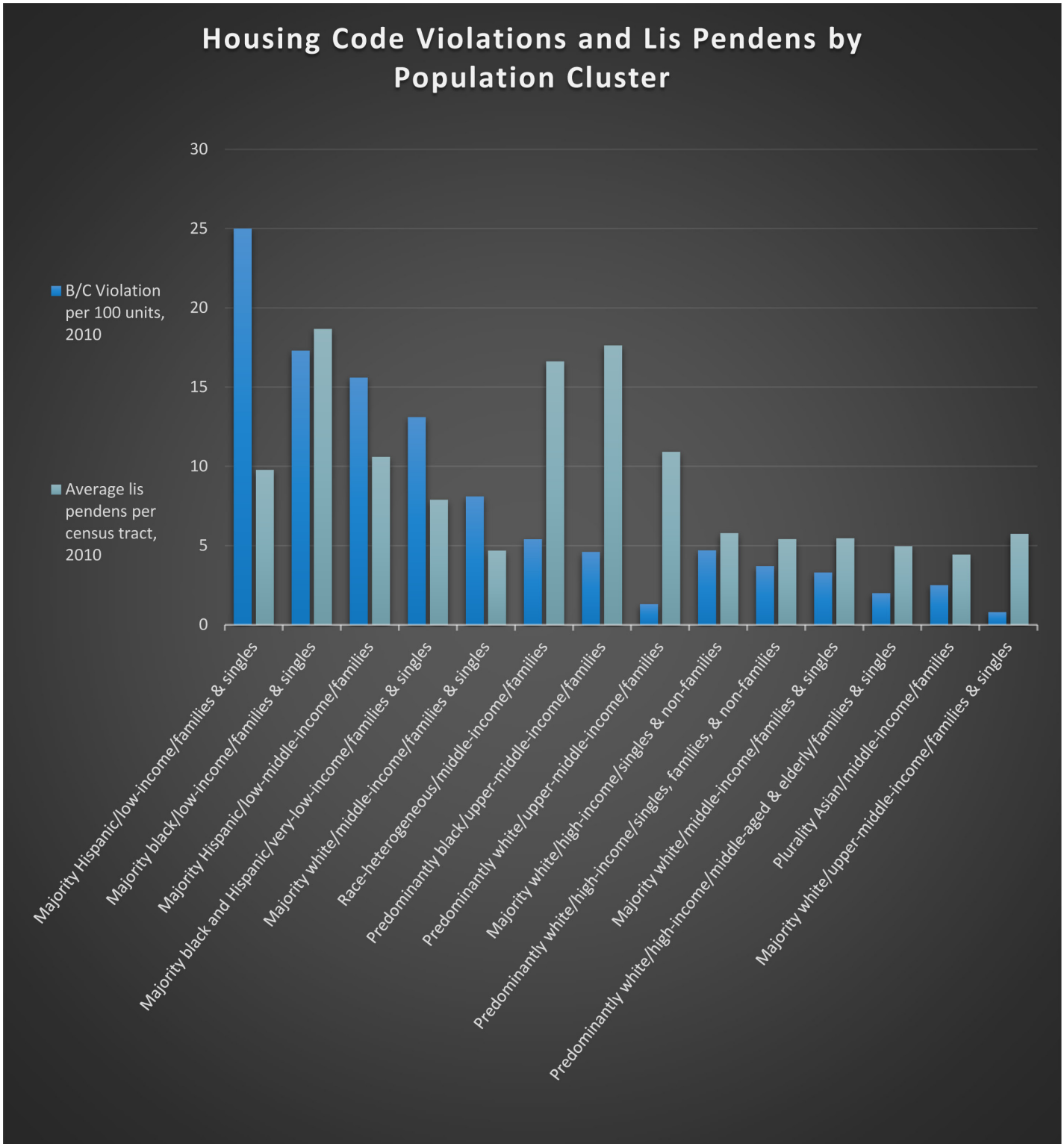
HOUSING CONDITIONS BY CLUSTER

The population cluster analysis allowed us to examine housing conditions that the clusters experienced in 2010. We overlaid two data sets from the NYC Department of Housing Preservation and Development that help signal housing distress: housing code violations issued in residential buildings and the filing of *lis pendens* notices, which signal the beginning of the foreclosure process.

Examining only B and C violations (more serious violations that reflect buildings' physical conditions) on a per-unit basis, our analysis unsurprisingly found that the four low-income population clusters with majority black or Hispanic population had notably higher rates of violations than the other clusters. So although NYC's multi-family housing stock is in the best condition since current measurement began in the 1960s, poor housing conditions continue to be concentrated in communities with lower income households and/or people of color. Specifically, four clusters have notably higher violation rates than the others: *Majority Hispanic/low-middle-income/families; Majority black/low-income/families & singles; Majority Hispanic/low-middle-income/families;* and *Majority black & Hispanic/very-low-income/families & singles*. Washington Heights, (both Central and East) Harlem, and central Brooklyn are among the areas with the densest concentration of these violations.

Our *lis pendens* analysis used census tract-level figures to determine where mortgage foreclosures were being initiated. We found that *lis pendens* filings spanned a range of population clusters—from those with household incomes in low to upper-middle income ranges and across many racial mixes. For example, the population cluster of *Majority black/low-income/families & singles* showed particularly high concentrations of *lis pendens* filings in population clusters located in central Brooklyn and southeast Queens neighborhoods where housing is primarily renter-occupied. In addition, the *Predominantly white/upper-middle-income/families* cluster showed fairly high rates of *lis pendens* filings across Staten Island and southern Brooklyn, where homeownership is common.

Our examination of *lis pendens* filings also highlights the damage of the recent foreclosure crisis on NYC homeowners. Southeast Queens shows high numbers of *lis pendens* filings in neighborhoods, like Queens Village, with high homeownership rates that had transitioned from the *Predominantly black/upper-middle income/ families* population cluster in 2000 to *Majority black/low-income/families & singles* in 2010. This underscores the loss of wealth that many foreclosed households underwent in the past decade.



FURTHER RESEARCH

WHAT DOES THIS MEAN FOR NYC NEIGHBORHOODS?

Interpreting the Results:

It is important to remember that although a census tract identifies with a specific population cluster, not all of its characteristics are necessarily a perfect match. Each cluster contains some variation among the individual census tracts that comprise it. So your apartment building or block may not exactly resemble the population cluster it falls into!

Also, because this study compares two decennial census years, it provides a snapshot of the continuous change New York neighborhoods are undergoing. This means that patterns that emerged between 2000 and 2010 may reflect ongoing change as well as the crystallization of population clusters that will move again in the future.

The population cluster that remains of greatest concern is *Majority Hispanic/low-income/families & singles*, the city's largest both in population and geography in 2010. Services and resources should be focused on these communities to support a growing population in need. At the same time those areas where there is dynamic upward movement of Hispanic households into higher income categories should be supported to increase this trend where possible.

Our analysis of code violations shows that there is need for increased housing preservation efforts in neighborhoods like University Heights and Bedford-Stuyvesant. The *lis pendens* analysis suggests that a significant portion of the *lis pendens* filings in this population cluster were in rental rather than owner-occupied housing, for example in East New York or Bushwick. The ramifications of concentrated foreclosures of renter-occupied housing are very troubling.

This work suggests that government should focus on neighborhoods with small owner-occupied and walk-up multi-family units where housing conditions are fragile and populations are vulnerable. Our analysis shows that the preponderance of the census tracts that changed population clusters between 2000 and 2010—at both ends of the income spectrum—tend to have large proportions of low-rise buildings and 1-to-4-unit homes. This trend poses a challenge to housing preservation strategies.

Over the last three decades, these policies have focused mostly on preserving larger multiple-dwelling buildings. Our research suggests that the City's housing programs should also focus on smaller multiple dwellings, which in many areas now house a poorer population and in buildings—either rental or owner-occupied—that are vulnerable to foreclosure, like Jamaica, Borough Park, and Morrisania.

Our study supports some neighborhood trends that have been reported over the last decade, including the economic disparity between higher- and lower-income and households at the expense of those in between. Dividing the 14 population clusters into three income pools—low, middle, and high—reveals significant disparities in population. While the middle-income clusters lost 14% of their population between 2000 and 2010, the low- and high-income groups grew by 9% and 6%, respectively.

The results of this work also echo the CHPC Making Room initiative, which identified a mismatch between the type of housing available in NYC and the city's demographics: there is a growing population of singles and a significant shortage of small housing units citywide. For example, in the *Majority white/high-income/singles & non-families* cluster—the fastest-growing in the city—nearly half of the households are singles, but only one-quarter of the housing units where the population cluster resides have one or two rooms. This dilemma is not confined to one race group, however: the *Majority black/low-income/families & singles* cluster has roughly one-third singles, though only 9% of housing units within that population cluster are small. In both of these clusters, more than 75% of the units are rentals, with the majority located in multi-family buildings.

More specifically, housing policies should be attuned and flexible enough to meet the needs of communities such as Hollis and Jamaica, where the black middle class population is shrinking and becoming poorer; East Harlem and Elmhurst, where the city's Hispanics are following divergent economic paths; Jackson Heights, where there is a burgeoning community of recent immigrants; or Astoria and Pelham Bay, where the white population is growing and consolidating. Government should also be concerned by the continuing foreclosure crisis that threatens not only homeowners at risk of losing wealth but also renters whose buildings are in flux. By targeting government intervention and resources geographically to address specific issues, greater results can be achieved more efficiently.

Further research should investigate why areas where 1-to-4 unit buildings are prevalent are the sites of so much demographic transition. Although it is quite possible that much of this change was the result of new construction, it is also possible that these changes signal a larger trend of demographic change in smaller buildings not subject to rent regulation. Housing regulations deserve scrutiny in the context of residential movement and displacement.

Finally we are eager to layer information about other policy areas—health care, education, or transportation, for example—that our report does not touch on. The movement of population clusters affects all of these areas. We are also excited that because our data are census-based, this work is easily replicable for cities around the country and for the upcoming census years. It is also possible to adjust our model to incorporate annual American Community Survey data to provide yearly updates to this work.

CHPC looks forward to continuing analyses based on this study, engaging in conversations about its application, and expanding its reach both in subject matter and geographic terms.

Appendix: Population Clusters

The following table lists all 14 population clusters and indicates the population size and geographic footprint (based on the number of census tracks they occupied).

They are ranked in descending order by the percentage change in population between 2000 and 2010.

Population cluster (Racial composition/household income/household composition)	% change in population	Population in 2010	% change in census tracts	# of census tracts 2010
10. Majority white/high-income/singles & non-families 59% White, 16% Hispanic, 14% Black median income 142% of borough median 47% singles, 19% shared non-families Housing: 21% owner-occupied; 26% 1-4 unit buildings	**+44.1%**	464,950	+36.8%	119
3. Predominantly white/upper-middle-income/families 79% white median income 136% of borough median 73% families Housing: 56% owner-occupied; 81% 1-4 unit buildings	**+29.1%**	885,575	+22.5%	256
1. Majority Hispanic/low-income/families & singles 63% Hispanic, 27% black median income 77% of borough median 72% families, 23% singles Housing: 13% owner-occupied; 29% 1-4 unit buildings	**+18.4%**	1,089,335	+12.6%	250
4. Majority white/middle-income/families & singles 67% white, 16% Hispanic, 13% Asian median income equal to borough median 68% families, 28% singles Housing: 32% owner-occupied; 54% 1-4 unit buildings	**+16.6%**	710,399	+8.5%	191
6. Majority white/upper-middle-income/families & singles 63% white, 23% Asian median income 135% of borough median 69% families, 27% singles Housing: 60% owner-occupied; 68% 1-4 unit buildings	**+12.2%**	558,479	+13.6%	159
2. Majority black/low-income/families & singles 74% black median income 79% of borough median 65% families, 30% singles Housing: 23% owner-occupied; 49% 1-4 unit buildings	**+6.3%**	928,372	+6.9%	233
7. Majority black and Hispanic/very-low-income/families & singles 50% black, 40% Hispanic median income 50% of borough median 69% families, 28% singles Housing: 7% owner-occupied; 14% 1-4 unit buildings	**+4.7%**	548,493	+0.9%	110
9. Majority Hispanic/low-middle-income/families 69% Hispanic, 14% white, 10% Asian median income 84% of borough median 75% families Housing: 20% owner-occupied; 54% 1-4 unit buildings	**+1.3%**	494,791	+2.0%	102

5. Predominantly white/high-income/singles, families, & non-families 78% white median income 162% of borough median 53% singles, 34% families, 13% shared non-families Housing: 35% owner-occupied; 15% 1-4 unit buildings	**-7.0%**	577,435	-9.0%	101
11. Plurality Asian/middle-income/families 47% Asian, 27% white, 23% Hispanic median income 94% of borough median 72% families Housing: 32% owner-occupied; 55% 1-4 unit buildings	**-9.0%**	380,760	-13.1%	86
12. Predominantly white/high-income/families & singles 78% white median income 156% of borough median 66% above 35 years old 54% families, 41% singles Housing: 54% owner-occupied; 26% 1-4 unit buildings	**-14.8%**	343,114	-20.6%	85
8. Predominantly black/upper-middle-income/families 79% black median income 136% of borough median 77% families Housing: 59% owner-occupied; 89% 1-4 unit buildings	**-18.9%**	506,577	-13.3%	196
14. Majority white/middle-income/families & singles 53% white, 29% Hispanic median income 97% of borough median 55% families, 33% singles Housing: 17% owner-occupied; 35% 1-4 unit buildings	**-33.5%**	293,027	-31.4%	81
13. Race-heterogeneous/middle-income/families 35% Hispanic, 31% white, 15% black, 14% Asian median income equal to borough median 79% families Housing: 47% owner-occupied; 87% 1-4 unit buildings	**-37.3%**	323,742	-30.3%	108

For complete details of each population cluster's characteristics, refer to Appendix 2 of the Making Neighborhoods research paper: http://chpcny.org/assets/MakingNeighborhoodsApp2.pdf

CHPC's mission, since 1937, is to advance practical public policies by better understanding New York City's most pressing housing and neighborhood needs across the five boroughs.

We are a Council of leading professionals from every industry that shapes the residential built environment. We share the conviction that by working together we can promote solutions for the long-term progress of the city.

CHPC speaks as a trusted and impartial voice to improve housing for all New Yorkers.

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