The Socioeconomic Change of Chicago's Community Areas (1970-2010)

Gentrification Index

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A report of the Nathalie P. Voorhees Center for Neighborhood and Community Improvement—a research and technical assistance unit, established in 1978, in the College of Urban Planning and Public Affairs at the University of Illinois at Chicago. Voorhees' mission is to improve the quality of life for all residents of the metropolitan area by assisting community organizations and local government entities to revitalize the many and varied communities in the City of Chicago and surrounding area.

Prepared following the work of Nancy Hudspeth. "Interpreting Neighborhood Change in Chicago" Nathalie P. Voorhees Center for Neighborhood and Community Improvement. April 4, 2003. Available at www.voorheescenter.com.

Introduction

The purpose of this research is to develop and interpret an index capable of identifying Chicago neighborhoods (defined as the city's community areas) that show signs of neighborhood change. Specifically, we seek to identify communities that have undergone "gentrification." The index we developed is built from a set of thirteen empirically tested socioeconomic variables related specifically to gentrification. These variables measure shifts in poverty and wealth using five decades of US Census data. We seek to understand how neighborhood change has occurred over time by analyzing changes in index scores over four decades: 1970 to 1980, 1980 to 1990, 1990 to 2000, and 2000 to 2010.

Central to our findings is a deepening of inequality over time among Chicago's neighborhoods, with some neighborhoods growing wealthier while many others have grown poorer. At the same time, the number of middle-class neighborhoods has diminished. Although much attention has been given to neighborhood upgrading (gentrification), our analysis illustrates that decline is more prevalent in the City of Chicago as a whole. It is our hope that our findings will prompt elected officials, policy makers, philanthropists, community members, and others invested in improving Chicago's neighborhoods to come together to find creative solutions that strike a balance between healthy neighborhood development and quality-of-life improvement.

Background

The variables associated with gentrification and neighborhood upgrading have been discussed widely in the literature (for more detail see Hudspeth 2003). The index developed here includes factors empirically established as important determinants of a neighborhood's socioeconomic status with regard to gentrification. Figure 1 outlines the thirteen variables included in the index.

Figure 1: Variables Included in Index

	Variables
	Population
1	% White (Non-Hispanic)
2	% Black
3	% Latino
4	% Elderly (Age 65+)
5	% Children (Age 5-19)
6	% College Education (Bachelor's degree or higher)
7	Median Family Income (Adjusted for inflation)
8	% Owner Occupied
9	Median House Value (Adjusted for inflation)
10	% Families Below Poverty
11	% Manager Occupations
12	% Female Households with Children
13	% Private School Attendance (Pre-K through 12)

Substantive work by Ley (1992) popularized the analysis of average family incomes, percent of low-income families, average dwelling value, and percent of the population aged over 65 as indicators of gentrification.[1] Using the number of workers in managerial, technical and professional occupations (or the so called white-collar jobs) in conjunction with the percent of the population that has

[1] David Ley, "Gentrification in Recession: Social Change in Six Canadian Inner Cities, 1981-1986," *Urban Geography* 13, no. 3 (1992): 230–56.

completed at least a bachelor's degree, other studies have made links between the rise of service-oriented occupations as major drivers of revitalization around the central business district (CBD).[2]

Although the relationship is not clearly linked, neighborhood socioeconomic status is also correlated with the proportion of owners versus renters.[3] Moreover, in the extensive gentrification research, most studies have associated a large percentage of non-Hispanic Whites with neighborhoods of higher socioeconomic status, while neighborhoods of lower socioeconomic status are more likely to be majority Black and Hispanic.[4] Further, high percentages of female-headed households with children have been negatively associated with the presence of affluent households.[5] In addition, while the image of the 'gentry' has been perpetuated as single or couples with no children, today there is a growing number of gentrifying families that are raising children in urban areas.[6] As a group, families with incomes above the average tend to show a strong preference for private rather than public schools.[7]

Previous research on gentrification has employed discriminate analysis in order to differentiate group membership. We chose instead to use an index, also known as a composite score, because it is more transparent in construction and can be "deconstructed" to examine specific variables of interest in a community, across time, or across the city. In developing this index, none of the aforementioned variables could be considered *a priori* in identifying a neighborhoods socioeconomic status and thus, capable of determining in a cause and effect way that a neighborhood has upgraded or declined over time. With that in mind, this study uses a multivariate analysis in order to first, determine if a neighborhood shows characteristics associated with high socioeconomic status (or vice versa), and second, determine if the socioeconomic status of a neighborhood has remained stable, declined or increased since the 1970s.

Data Sources

Data for this study come from the 1970, 1980, 1990, 2000 and 2010 Decennial Census, as well as the 2008-2012 Five Year American Community Survey. All dollar amounts are reported in 2010 dollars and adjusted for inflation using the Bureau of Labor Statistics' Consumer Price Index.[8]

Research Question

Our research question is twofold:

1) What has been the socioeconomic status of Chicago's community areas in each decade since 1970?
2) Which community areas have remained stable, which ones have declined, and which ones have upgraded since 1970?

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[2]Daniel J. Hammel and Elvin K. Wyly, "A Model For Identifying Gentrified Areas With Census Data," *Urban Geography* 17, no. 3 (1996): 248-268; Daniel J. Hammel. (1999) "Re-establishing the Rent Gap: An Alternative View of Capitalised Land Rent," *Urban Studies* 36, no. 8 (1999):1283-1293.; and Scott J. South and Dudley L. Poston, "The U.S. Metropolitan System Regional Change, 1950-1970." *Urban Affairs Review* 18, no. 2 (1982): 187-206.

[3] Elvin K. Wyly and Daniel J. Hammel, "Gentrification, Segregation, and Discrimination in the American Urban System," *Environment and Planning A* 36, no. 7 (2004): 1215–41.

[4] Daniel J. Hammel and Elvin K. Wyly, "A Model for Identifying Gentrified Areas with Census Data," *Urban Geography* 17. no. 3 (1996): 248–68; and Lance Freeman, "Displacement or Succession? Residential Mobility in Gentrifying Neighborhoods," *Urban Affairs Review* 40, no. 4 (2005): 463–91.

[5] Caroline Glendinning and Jane Millar, *Women and Poverty in Britain* (Brighton, Sussex: Imprint unknown, 1987).

[6]Lia Karsten. "From Yuppies to Yupps: Family Gentrifiers Consuming Spaces and Re-Inventing Cities," *Tijdschrift Voor Economische En Sociale Geografie* 105, no. 2 (2014): 175–88.

[7] Nicole Garnett, "Affordable Private Education and the Middle Class City," *Scholarly Works*, 2010.

[8] "Consumer Price Index (CPI)," *Bureau of Labor Statistics*, Accessed June 26, 2014, http://www.bls.gov/cpi/.

Methods

Composite Index Scores

The index value, or composite score assigned to each community area was calculated by comparing a community area's performance in each of the thirteen variables identified above relative to the average for the City of Chicago. If a community area outpaced or outperformed the city, it received a score of +1 for that particular variable. If a community area underperformed in that variable relative to the city average, it received a score of -1. As identified in the literature, certain variables (i.e. median home value) are positively associated with high socioeconomic status. Therefore, those communities that reported home values higher than the city average received a score of +1 in that category, while those with home values below the city average received a score of -1. Conversely, certain variables (i.e. poverty) are negatively associated with high socioeconomic status. Community areas with high poverty rates relative to the city average received a score of -1 in that category, while those with rates lower than the city average received a score of +1. Values equal to that of the city average were assigned a score of 0.

To calculate the composite index for each community area, its scores for each of the thirteen variables were simply added together. Potential composite index scores range from a high of +13 to a low of -13. Using this scoring methodology allows us to take into account changes occurring in the city overall while still comparing neighborhoods in a meaningful way. Even if the overall socioeconomic status of the city as a whole changed over time, community areas are still compared to one another based on their performance relative to the city.

Figure 2 summarizes the scores assigned (either +1 or -1) based on position above or below the city average. Figure 3 reports the City averages in each decade for the variables of interest.

Figure 2: Variable Score Assignments

Variables	Type of Association
% White (Non-Hispanic)	Above City Average, Positive (+1)
% Black	Above City Average, Negative (-1)
% Latino	Above City Average, Negative (-1)
% Elderly (Age 65+)	Above City Average, Negative (-1)
% Children (Age 5-19)	Above City Average, Negative (-1)
% College Education (Bachelor's degree or higher)	Above City Average, Positive (+1)
Median Family Income (Adjusted for inflation)	Above City Average, Positive (+1)
% Owner Occupied	Above City Average, Positive (+1)
Median House Value (Adjusted for inflation)	Above City Average, Positive (+1)
% Families Below Poverty	Above City Average, Negative (-1)
% Manager Occupations	Above City Average, Positive (+1)
% Female Households with Children	Above City Average, Negative (-1)
% Private School Attendance (Pre-K through 12)	Above City Average, Positive (+1)

Figure 3: City Averages

City of Chicago					
	1970	1980	1990	2000	2010
Population	3,369,359	3,005,072	2,783,726	2,896,016	2,691,922
% White (Non-Hispanic)	58.2	43.2	37.9	31.3	31.7
% Black	32.7	39.8	38.6	36.8	32.9
% Latino	7.3	14.0	19.6	26.0	28.9
% Elderly (Age 65+)	10.5	11.4	11.9	10.3	10.3
% Children (Age 5-19)	26.9	24.3	21.3	21.6	19.1
% College Education (Bachelor's degree or higher)	8.1	13.8	19.0	25.5	33.6
Median Family Income (Adjusted for inflation)	57,560	39,873	51,232	54,101	51,479
% Owner Occupied	34.8	38.9	41.0	43.8	44.9
Median House Value (Adjusted for inflation)	119,144	100,240	130,135	167,658	235,410
% Families Below Poverty	10.6	16.8	18.3	16.6	18.3
% Manager Occupations	17.8	19.9	24.9	33.5	37.4
% Female Households with Children	10.0	16.8	17.4	16.7	16.0
% Private School Attendance (Pre-K through 12)	24.5	22.6	20.5	16.7	15.9

Data Sources: 1970, 1980, 1990, 2000 and 2010 Decennial Census; 2008-2012 Five-Year American Community Survey

Typology Development

To characterize neighborhood conditions, it is necessary to understand both the current socioeconomic status of a neighborhood as well as how that status has changed over time. Gentrification refers to a specific process of neighborhood change whereby low or moderate income neighborhoods upgrade to ones of high socioeconomic status. However, we also know that many neighborhoods undergo decline, while others remain unchanged as consistently high, middle, or low-income neighborhoods throughout the decades. To characterize these specific neighborhood conditions in Chicago, we developed a set of nine neighborhood typologies. In creating a typology, community areas are grouped together based on elements they have in common. Typology development provides a meaningful way to discuss similarities and differences among neighborhoods. Neighborhoods were grouped into typologies based on two elements: (1) a neighborhood's current index score (socioeconomic status) and (2) the change in the index score over time (upgrading, downgrading, or no change).

Current Index Score

Based on their most recent index score, communities were divided into four groups: those of 'High,' 'Middle,' 'Low,' and 'Very Low' socioeconomic status. Community areas with scores greater than +7 were characterized as having 'High' socioeconomic status. Those between +1 and +7 were deemed of 'Middle' socioeconomic status. Those between -1 and -7, 'Low,' and those with index scores under -7 as 'Very Low.'

- High: More than +7
- Middle: +1 to +7
- Low: -1 to -7
- Very Low: Less than -7

This categorization allows us to understand which communities are performing strongly and which are lagging. Understanding neighborhood change, however, requires bringing in an additional layer of information: how scores have changed over time.

Change in Index Score
To understand if and how neighborhoods have transformed, we examined the change in a neighborhood's index score over the four decade period. Neighborhoods were divided into three groups based on this figure: (1) those that experienced positive change, (2) those reporting negative change, and (3) those that did not change. A neighborhood was said to have undergone change if its index score increased or decreased by more than four points.[9]

- Positive Change: Growth in score exceeds +4
- No Change: Change in score within -4 to +4
- Negative Change: Decline in score exceeds -4

Typologies
Based on a community's index score and the change in that score, communities were grouped into one of nine typologies.

No Change: Type 1 to Type 4
Communities that did not undergo significant change (as defined as a change in score of more than four points) were identified as either Type 1: Upper Class, Type 2: Middle Class, Type 3: Poverty, or Type 4: Extreme Poverty communities based on their index score. (See Figures 4 and 5). These neighborhoods represent a mix of areas that were of high, middle, or low socioeconomic in 1970 and continued to be by 2010.

Positive Change: Type 5 & 6
If a community area experienced significant growth in its index score (more than 4 points), pushing it into the highest socioeconomic status bracket (a score of more than 7 points), it was identified as an area that has gentrified (a Type 6 community). If a neighborhood underwent upgrading (a change of more than 4 points), but still remained in the moderate or low-income socioeconomic status bracket (scoring 7 or fewer points), this neighborhood was identified as having undergone upgrading, but had not yet been 'gentrified.' These Type 5 communities may be at risk of full gentrification in the upcoming decade if current trends continue. (See Figures 4 & 5).

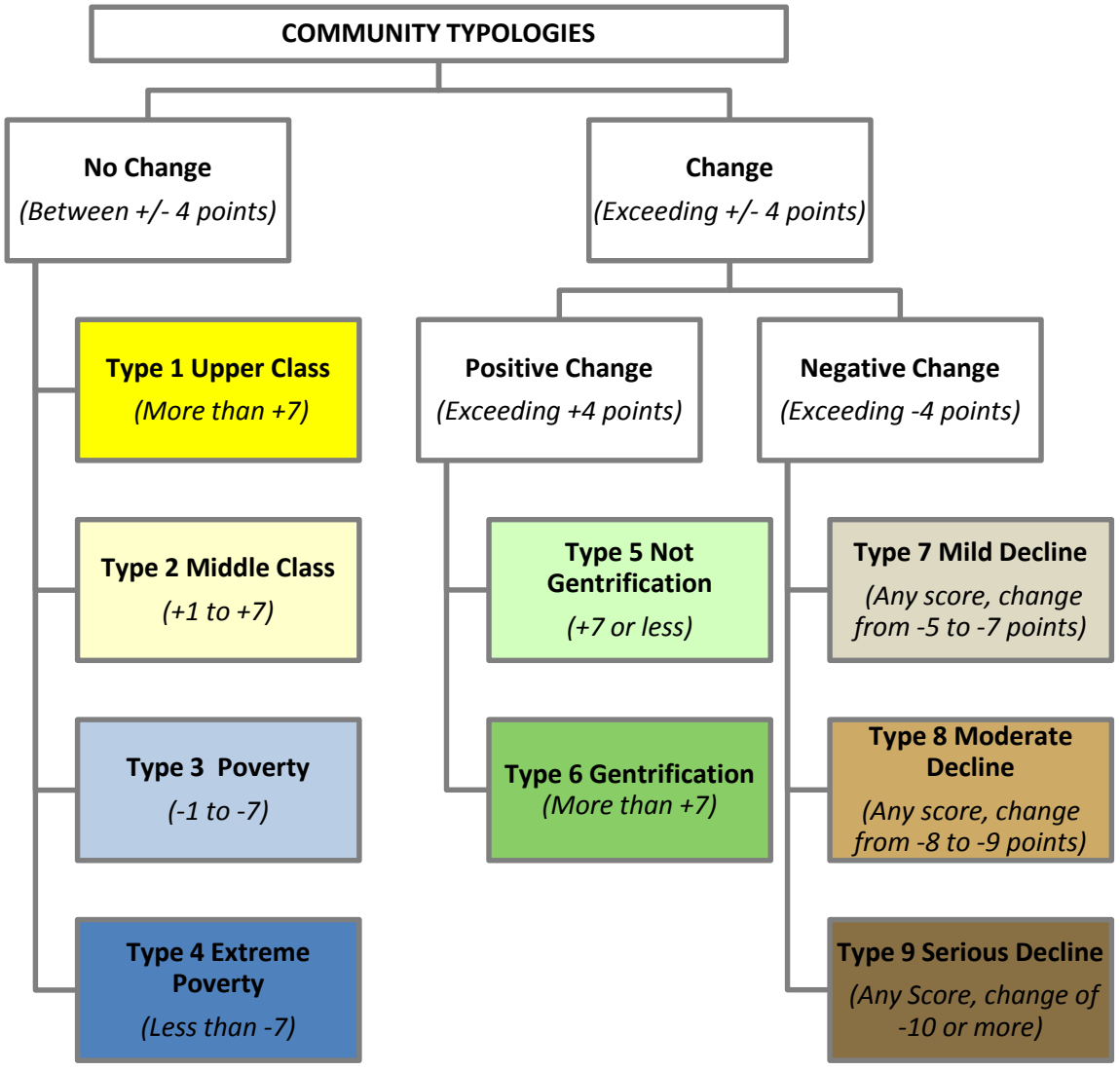
Negative Change: Type 7 to 9
Communities that underwent significant negative change (a drop of more than 4 points) were classified into three groups based on the severity of that decline. Those dipping 5 to 7 points were identified 'Mild Decline' areas (Type 7). Those dropping 8 to 9 points were deemed 'Moderate Decline' areas (Type 8). Those dropping 10 or more points (Type 9) were identified as 'Serous Decline' neighborhoods. Type 7, 8, and 9 community areas represent a range of low, middle, and high socioeconomic status neighborhoods in 1970 that have since declined. (See Figures 4 & 5).

[9] A range exceeding -4 to +4 was chosen because it represents a change of more than 30% of the 13 variables considered. For the creation of these typologies, change was considered over a period of 40 years from 1970-2010.

Figure 4: Community Typologies

Community Type	Overall Average Score	Change from 1970-2010
No Change		
Type 1 No Change, Upper Class	More than +7	Between +/- 4 points
Type 2 No Change, Middle Class	+1 to +7	Between +/- 4 points
Type 3 No Change, Poverty	-1 to -7	Between +/- 4 points
Type 4 No Change, Extreme Poverty	Less than -7	Between +/- 4 points
Positive Change		
Type 5 Positive Change, Not Gentrification	+7 or less	More than +4 points
Type 6 Positive Change, Gentrification	More than +7	More than +4 points
Negative Change		
Type 7 Negative Change, Mild Decline	From +13 to -13 (any)	Between -5 to -7 points
Type 8 Negative Change, Moderate Decline	From +13 to -13 (any)	Between -8 to -9 points
Type 9 Negative Change, Serious Decline	From +13 to -13 (any)	Between -10 or more

Figure 5: Chart of Community Typologies



Limitations

With any classification scheme there are limitations to consider. In this case, the simplicity of the method was intended to facilitate communication and decision making among stakeholders. Decisions made in the interest of simplicity do not reduce the value of the index but do need to be considered when interpreting the results.

1. Weighting: In the construction of this index, all the variables are weighted the same. For example, we assume that family income is an equally important determinant of social-economic status as is percent of families with children. However, in real terms, family income might be more important than the percent of children in a household in determining socioeconomic status. We choice to leave them unweighted; however, others using the data produced here can choose to add weights to suit their preferences.

2. Magnitude of change: Using dichotomous variables only takes into account two values: above or below city average. This approach does not allow us to account for the magnitude of what we are observing. For example, a community with a poverty rate 1% higher than the city average received the same score as the community with a poverty rate 10% higher than the city average. With the actual values (see appendix) finer gradation can be determined and applied.

3. Source of overall change: Because we are comparing relative positions, absolute changes are not observed. For instance, a community might have done very well compared to its past performance along some variables, but because of the initial gap between the city averages, that improvement might not show up in the index scores. There are ways to do account for this–and it is in the "raw" scoring for each community at each point in time. In its current form, the score is a simple and succinct method to quickly communicate whether a community area has experienced change or not, and then through further classification if it has upgraded or declined.

4. Spatial unit of analysis: The community area cannot capture the localized impacts of gentrification. Although using census tracts (or ideally, census blocks) would solve this problem, for the purposes of simplicity and to be able to communicate the data to Chicago residents, this study uses city's official community area boundaries as the geography of analytical inquiry.

5. Correlation: This analysis assumes that predictor variables are random as well as the relationships between them and across space. Because some neighborhoods have like characteristics, there may be autocorrelation as well as multicollinearity or redundancy at play. However, the index development process assumes that some variables are correlated within the index so these are not a concern.

Results

Composite Scores

As discussed above, community areas were assigned a composite score based on their performance relative to the city average in 13 variables of interest. Figure 6 provides a summary of the number of community areas (out of 77 total) receiving each score in each decade. Figure 7 reports the percentage of community areas scoring above and below the city average. These figures illustrate shifts in the status of geographic neighborhoods over time.

Figure 6: Community Area Score Distribution

Score	1970		1980		1990		2000		2010	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
High (7 to 13)	18	23%	27	35%	25	32%	20	26%	23	30%
Middle (1 to 6)	30	39%	15	19%	19	25%	16	21%	9	12%
Neutral	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	1	1%	0	0%
Low (-1 to -6)	13	17%	16	21%	11	14%	13	17%	18	23%
Very Low (-7 to -13)	16	21%	19	25%	22	29%	27	35%	27	35%

Total Number of Community Areas: 77

Figure 7: Percent of Community Areas Above & Below City Average

	Percent of Community Areas				
Score Type	**1970**	**1980**	**1990**	**2000**	**2010**
Above City Average	62%	55%	57%	47%	42%
Below City Average	38%	45%	43%	52%	58%

While Figures 6 and 7 look at the number of community areas receiving each index score, Figures 8 and 9 look specifically at the total number of residents living in these areas. This analysis sheds light on neighborhood population shifts. While the number of community areas analyzed remains unchanged over the 40 year period, residents have moved in and out of neighborhoods, with some growing in population relative to the city average while others shrank.

Figure 8: Index Score Population Distribution

Score	1970		1980		1990		2000		2010	
	Pop.	%	Pop.	%	Pop.	%	Pop.	%	Pop.	%
High (7 to 13)	669,009	20%	936,870	31%	823,216	30%	797,961	28%	1,038,687	38%
Middle (1 to 6)	1,164,523	35%	442,082	15%	603,118	22%	586,656	20%	262,602	10%
Neutral	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	9,509	0%	0	0%
Low (-1 to -6)	688,114	20%	684,625	23%	374,828	13%	459,992	16%	505,971	19%
Very Low (-7 to -13)	847,455	25%	941,495	31%	982,564	35%	1,041,898	36%	891,576	33%
Total Population	**3,369,101**		**3,005,072**		**2,783,726**		**2,896,016**		**2,698,836**	

Figure 9: Population Distribution Relative to City Average

	Percent of City Population				
Score Type	**1970**	**1980**	**1990**	**2000**	**2010**
Above City Average	55%	46%	52%	48%	48%
Below City Average	45%	54%	48%	52%	52%

The figures above illustrate several notable trends, specifically, growing neighborhood polarization and erosion of the city's middle class in recent decades. In 1970, a majority (62%) of community areas scored above the city average. 55% of residents lived in neighborhoods above the city average. By 1980 these figures had dropped significantly. The drop in the number of middle-status neighborhoods (from 30% of all community areas in 1970 to 15% by 1980) is particularly telling. Prior scholarly research suggests this reflects middle-class flight to the suburbs, coinciding with the

suburbanization of jobs during this period.[10]

The 1990s and 2000s were marked with slight rebounds to these figures. The number of 'middle' neighborhoods increased, as did the total number of residents living in areas scoring above the city average. However, recent years illustrate growing polarization in Chicago—where upper class residents are increasingly concentrated in a handful of neighborhoods while a growing number of neighborhoods are becoming poorer. By 2010, the number of middle-status neighborhoods had dwindled to nine and the proportion of residents living in these neighborhoods dropped to just 10% of the city total. In addition to the continued suburbanization of the middle class, this also reflects nationwide trends of declining socioeconomic status among middle class families.[11]

Also notable is growth in the number of neighborhoods of low and very low socioeconomic status—from a combined total of 29 community areas in 1970 to 45 by 2010. Over the 50-year period, we observe growth in the proportion of residents living in the city's lowest socioeconomic status neighborhoods, peaking at 36% of the city's total population in 2000 before dipping to 33% by 2010. Aside from modest upticks in the 1990s, neighborhood decline has been more prevalent than upgrading over the five-decade period. 2010 also saw a significant uptick in the number of residents living in the city's highest-status neighborhoods. High socioeconomic status neighborhoods made up 30% of the city's community areas in 2010, but house 38% of all residents, illustrating a growing concentration of wealth.

Examining individual community scores reflects this trend of increased neighborhood polarization. Figure 10 shows the number of community areas receiving each index score in each decade. From 1970 to 1990, the highest score received was +11. No community area had received a perfect score of +13, outperforming the city average in all variable categories. It was not until 2000 that one community (Near South Side) achieved a maximum score of +13. By 2010, North Center had joined its ranks. On the other side of the spectrum, the number of communities receiving very low scores has been increasing over the 40-year period. 2000 and 2010 were marked by a significant uptick in the number of communities receiving scores of -11.

[10] Douglas S. Massey and Nancy A. Denton, "Suburbanization and Segregation in U.S. Metropolitan Areas," *American Journal of Sociology* 94, no. 3 (1988): 592–626.

[11] Joseph David, *The Shrinking American Middle Class* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012).

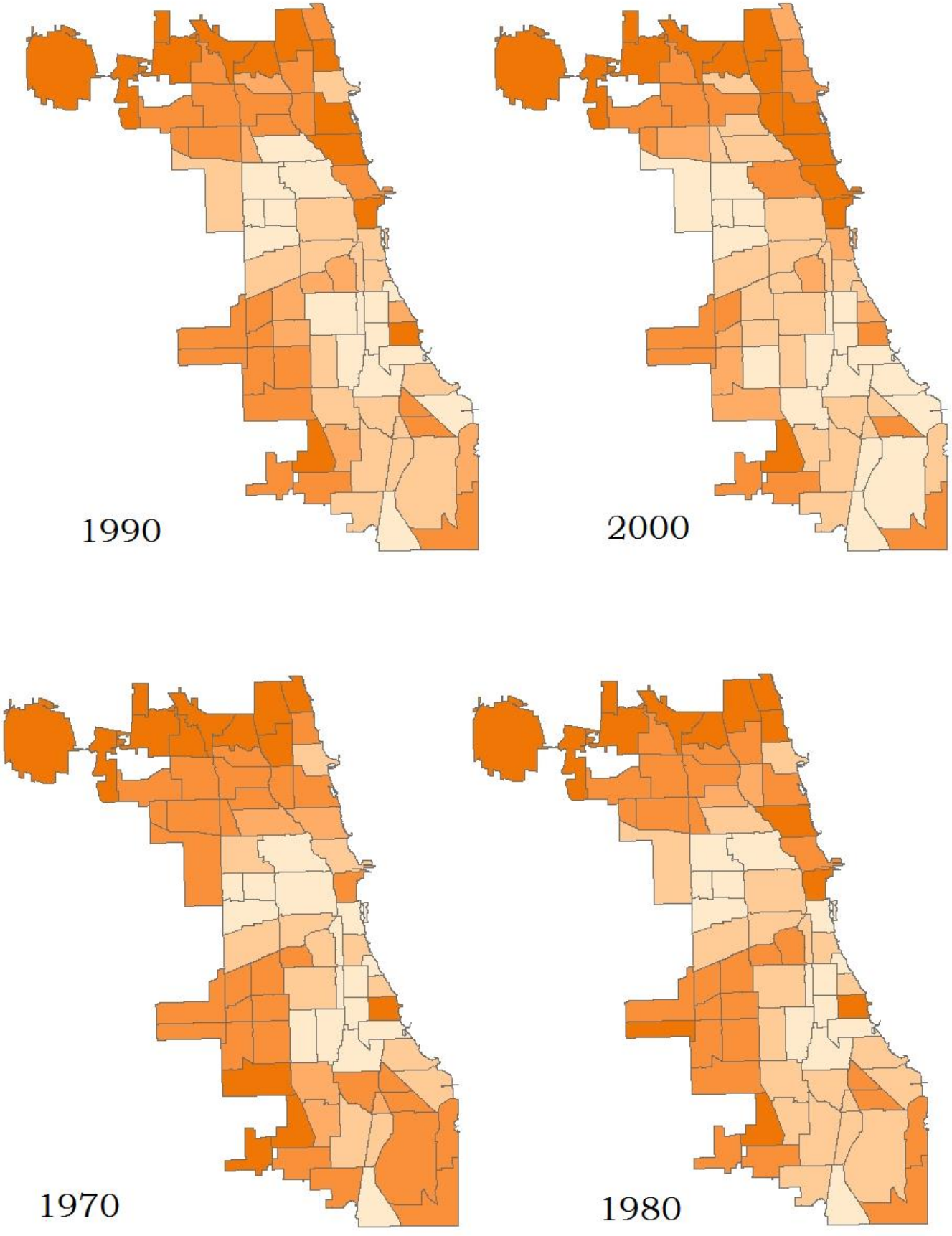
Figure 10: Score Distribution

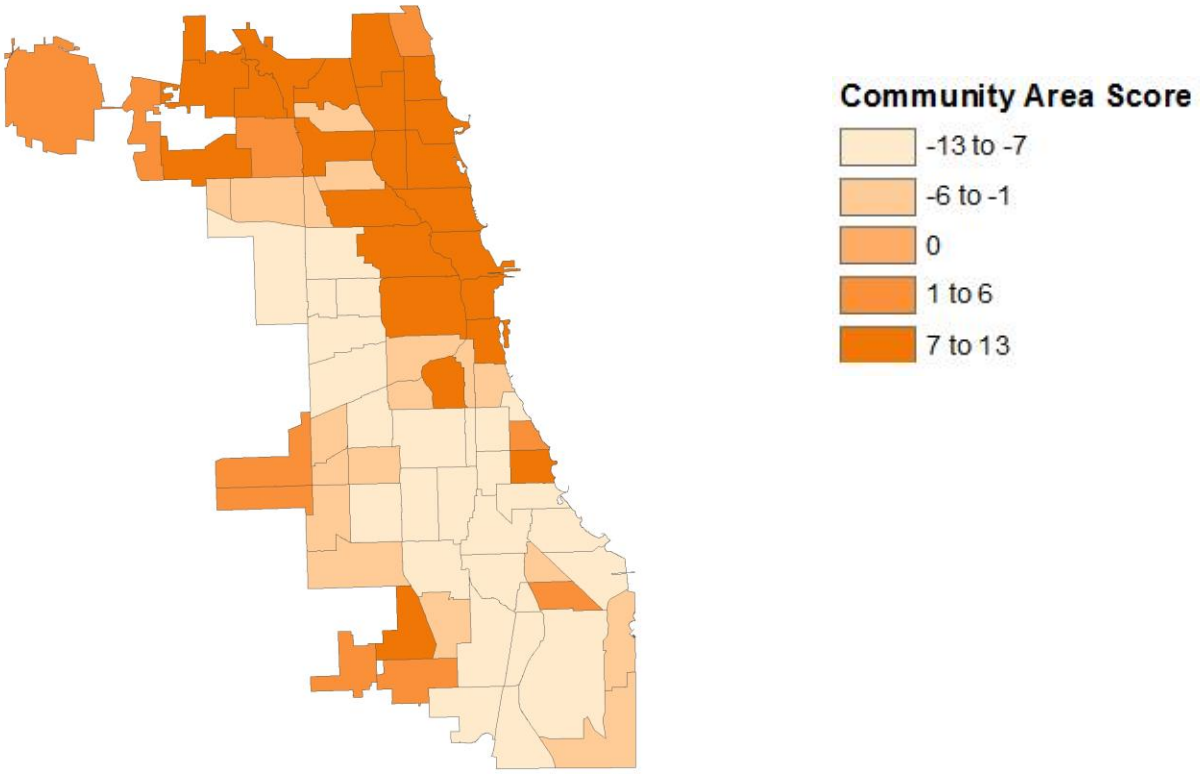
	Number of Community Areas				
Score	**1970**	**1980**	**1990**	**2000**	**2010**
13	0	0	0	1	2
12	0	0	0	0	0
11	3	6	8	8	9
10	1	0	0	0	0
9	8	7	4	3	9
8	1	0	0	1	0
7	5	14	13	7	9
6	1	0	0	0	0
5	20	7	6	4	3
4	0	0	0	0	0
3	4	6	3	5	1
2	0	0	1	0	0
1	5	2	9	7	5
0	0	0	0	1	0
-1	8	4	2	3	5
-2	0	0	0	0	0
-3	3	7	5	7	7
-4	0	0	0	0	0
-5	2	4	4	2	6
-6	0	1	0	1	0
-7	4	5	6	9	2
-8	0	0	0	0	0
-9	9	10	11	9	15
-10	1	0	0	1	0
-11	2	4	5	8	10
-12	0	0	0	0	0
-13	0	0	0	0	0
Total	77	77	77	77	77

Geographic Trends

Figure 11 shows index scores for each community area in each decade. The darkest portions of the maps represent community areas with the highest number of variables associated with high socioeconomic status. Conversely, lighter areas represent areas with the lowest number of variables associated with high socioeconomic status. These maps capture geographic upgrading and decline of neighborhoods over the decades. We observe the upgrading of the Loop and its neighboring communities on the North and West sides of the City as well as upgrading along the city's Red and Blue CTA train lines. Conversely, the maps also capture the hollowing out of large tracts of the city's South and West sides. 2010 illustrates a city starkly divided, with high-scoring neighborhoods concentrated almost exclusively on the North and near-West sides of the city and low scores concentrated on the city's South Side.

Figure 11: Community Area Index Scores





2010

Neighborhood Change

A community area is considered to have undergone change if its composite score either increased or decreased by four or more points over a particular decade. If the change in a community area's score was less than this four-point threshold, it is classified as a "no change" community. Figure 12 examines community area change from decade to decade, identifying communities that experienced 'no change,' 'positive change,' and 'negative change' in each ten-year period. Figure 13 provides a map of community areas by typology.

1970-1980: From 1970 to 1980, two communities—the Loop and Lincoln Park—underwent neighborhood upgrading, with Lincoln Park experiencing the greatest degree of positive change (+10 points total, moving from +1 to +11). Six community areas reported neighborhood downgrading, the greatest degree of which was reported in Austin (dipping -12 points from a score of +5 to -7).

1980-1990: The 1980s were marked by little movement in community scores. Only three communities experienced any sort of change—the degree of which was relatively moderate. North Center underwent upgrading while Rogers Park and New City dropped. This marked the second consecutive decade of decline for New City.

1990-2000: In the 1990s, a significant number of Chicago's neighborhoods experienced decline. All but one of these nine communities were located on the city's South Side. Chicago Lawn reported the largest drop in score, dipping from +2 in 1990 to -9 by 2010. At the same time, three neighborhoods underwent upgrading: West Town, Near South Side, and Lincoln Square. Near South Side and West Town were low- and very low-status communities respectively in 1990 that by 2000 had entered the ranks of middle-status communities. Lincoln Square also reported positive score growth, jumping

from a score of +5 to +11.

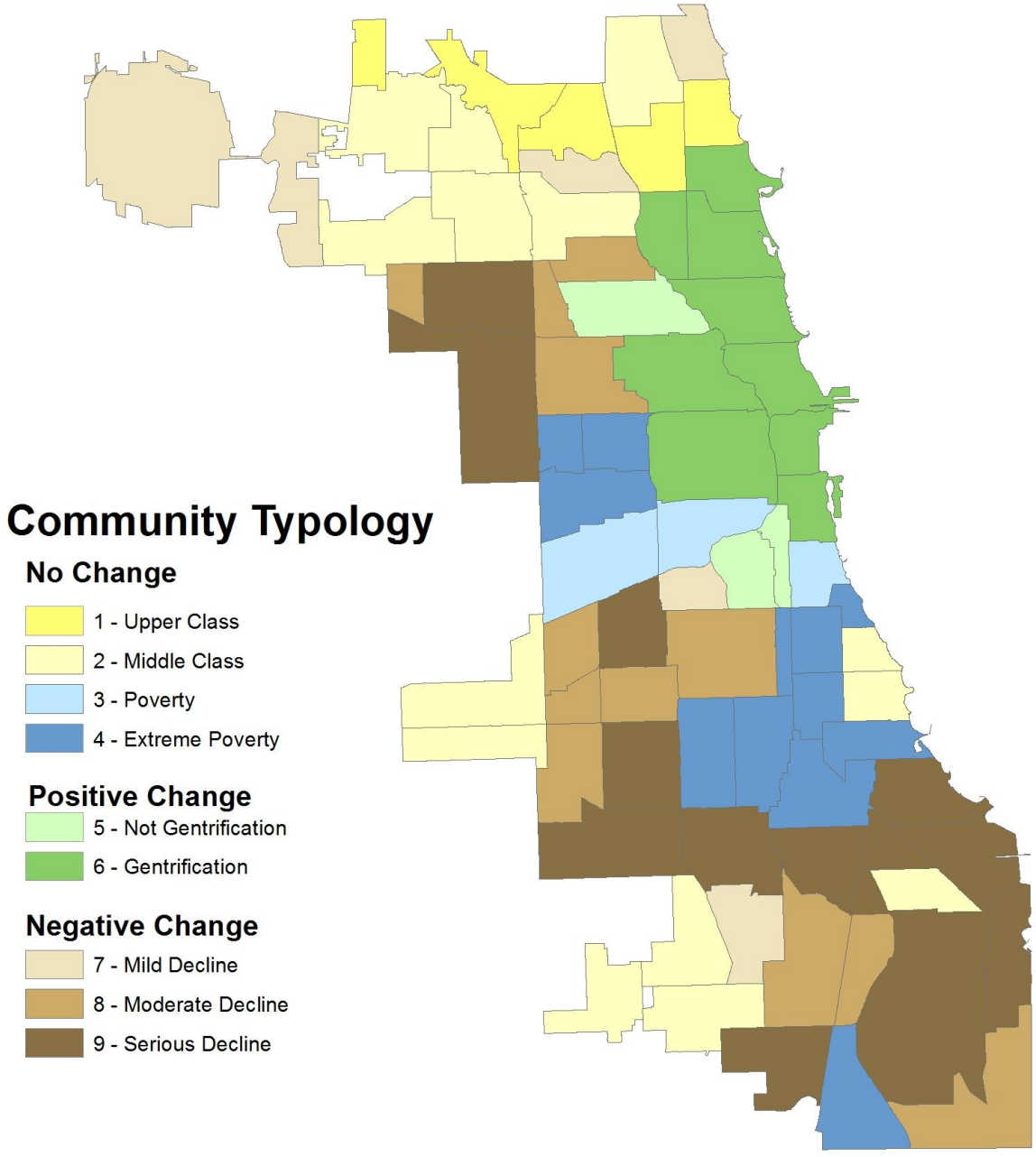
2000-2010: For the first time, more communities underwent positive change than negative change with six communities upgrading and five downgrading from 2000 to 2010. Near West Side reported the greatest degree of upgrade, moving from -3 to +11 from 2000 to 2010. This was likely fueled by significant new housing construction in this area during this period. Near South Side and West Town reported their second consecutive decade of growth, pushing these community areas into the ranks of the upper-class. Logan Square also underwent upgrading (from -5 in 2000 to +7 by 2010). It was the only community area to report negative change in one decade (1970 to 1980) and positive change in another (2000 to 2010). This trend is consistent with the gentrification literature showing that a community experiences a process of decline first, followed by upgrading.[12]

Figure 12: Index Score Change in Each Decade

Number of Community Areas				
	1970-1980	**1980-1990**	**1990-2000**	**2000-2010**
No Change	70 Communities	74 Communities	65 Communities	65 Communities
Positive Change	2 Communities	1 Community	3 Communities	7 Communities
	Lincoln Park 10 (1 to 11) Loop 5 (6 to 11)	North Center 6 (1 to 7)	West Town 12 (-9 to 3) Near South Side 7 (-7 to 0) Lincoln Square 6 (5 to 11)	Near West Side 14 (-3 to 11) Near South Side 13 (0 to 13) Logan Square 12 (-5 to 7) West Town 8 (3 to 11) Bridgeport 6 (1 to 7) Uptown 6 (3 to 9) Douglas 5 (-6 to -1)
Negative Change	5 Communities	2 Communities	9 Communities	5 Communities
	Austin -12 (5 to -7) West Pullman -10 (5 to -5) Chatham -8 (5 to -3) Humboldt Park -6 (-3 to -9) Logan Square -6 (1 to -5) New City -5 (-1 to -6)	Rogers Park - 6 (9 to 3) New City -5 (-6 to -11)	Chicago Lawn -11 (2 to -9) Avalon Park -8 (7 to -1) South Deering -6 (-5 to -11) Gage Park -6 (1 to -5) Auburn Gresham -6 (-3 to -9) Pullman -6 (-3 to -9) Ashburn -6 (7 to 1) West Lawn -6 (7 to 1) Avondale -6 (3 to -3)	Archer Heights -6 (3 to -1) Belmont Cragin -6 (1 to -5) Garfield Ridge -6 (7 to 1) Hegewisch -6 (3 to -3) Montclare -6 (5 to -1)
Total	77	77	77	77

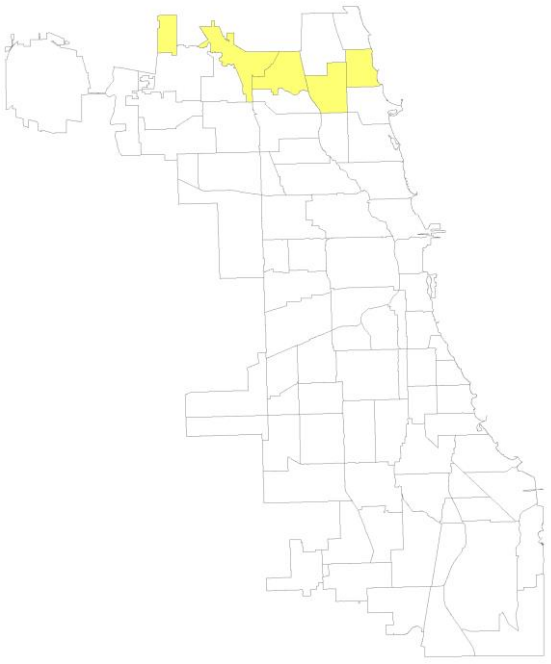
[12] Neil Smith, *The New Urban Frontier : Gentrification and the Revanchist City* (London: Routledge, 1996).

Figure 13: Community Typology Map



Neighborhoods with No Change

As discussed in the methodology above, this study identified four types of community areas that did not change significantly in 40-year period.



Criteria: Average score above +7;
Change in 40 years with +/- 4 points

Type 1. Upper Class

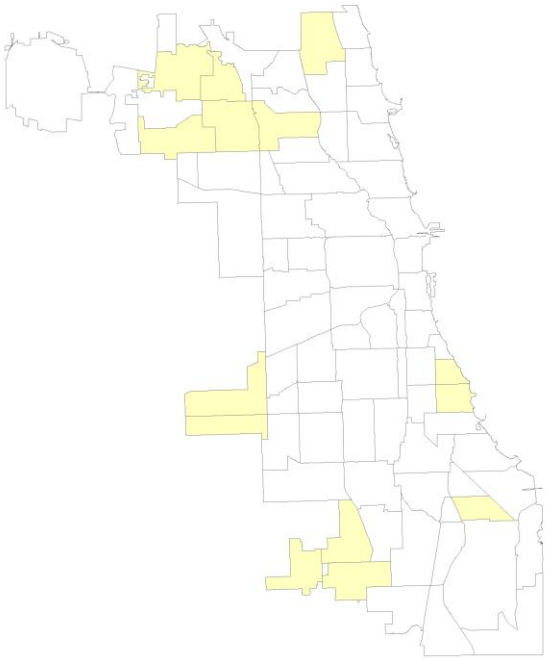
There are five community areas in this category, all located on the far North Side of the City. Edison Park, Lincoln Square, and North Park all received scores of 11, and are outpaced by only two communities—Near South Side and North Center, both of which received scores of 13 and are categorized as Type 6 or "Gentrified" communities. Lincoln Square is an outlier in this grouping as it experienced decline from 1970-1990 and upgrading from 1990-2010. That being said, based on the last few decades of data this community has been gentrifying, but because the index takes into account change over the entire four-decade period, it qualifies as a Type 1 community.

In 2010, a Type 1 community area is on average 66% White, 5% Black and 14% Hispanic. The average income among these four communities is $81,658 (+/- $18,786) in 2010, and home values average $331,453 (+/- $57,096). Homeownership rates are on average 58%, but the standard deviation is high at 23%, meaning homeownership figures varry significantly from community to community. About 48% (+/- 6%) of residents work in managerial positions, and about 50% hold a college degree. Older residents (over 65 years old) constitute 14% (+/- 4%) of the population on average, while those aged 5 to 19 years old account for 16% (+/- 4%). 33% (+/-14%) of school-aged children attend private schools. Female-headed households with children constitute 6% (+/- 2%) of all families (the lowest of any typology group) and the poverty rate is 6% (+/- 5%), also the lowest of any typology group.

Type 1 Index Scores

No.	*Community Area*	*1970*	*1980*	*1990*	*2000*	*2010*	*1970-2010*
9	Edison Park	10	9	11	11	11	1
4	Lincoln Square	9	7	5	11	11	2
13	North Park	9	11	11	11	11	2
77	Edgewater	7	9	9	7	9	2
12	Forest Glen	11	11	11	11	9	-2

Type 1 Variable Averages	Mean	Std. Deviation
Population	28,759	18,786
% White	66.1	16.9
% Black	4.6	6.0
% Latino	14.3	6.0
% Elderly	14.3	4.0
% Children	15.7	4.2
% College Education	49.9	7.2
Median Family Income	$81,658	$20,948
% Owner Occupied	58.1	22.8
Median House Value	$331,453	$57,096
% Private Schools	32.8	13.6
% Families Below Poverty	7.6	4.5
% Manager Occupations	47.5	6.4
% Family Female Households with Children	8.0	1.9



Criteria: Average score +1 to +7;
Change in 40 years with +/- 4 points

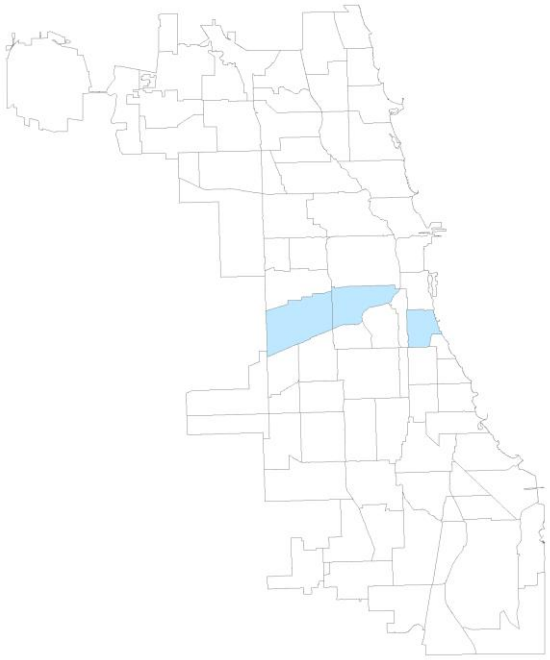
Type 2. Middle Class

Type 2 community areas are those that showed stability over 40 years but their overall score is lower than Type 1, ranging from +1 to +7. Type 2 communities are clustered on Chicago's far North and Southwest sides, with some dispersed in parts of the South Side. Note that most of these communities have experienced negative, albeit small, changes in their scores since 1970. If this slight decline trend continues, some of these may enter the ranks of negative change communities.

On average, these communities are 50% (+/- 23%) White, 20% Hispanic (+/-16%) and 24% Black (+/-32%). These areas reported the highest average homeownership rates among all the types at 65% (+/-18%). Home values as well as incomes (and their standard deviations) are lower that Type 1 communities at $249,440 and $72,090, respectively (+/- $43,415 and +/- $14,342). Poverty rates are higher than Type 1 at 10% (+/- 5%), with a larger standard deviation. These communities are increasingly working class in comparison to Type 1 communities, with 37% (+/-13%) of people working in managerial positions and 34% (+/-15%) with college degrees. Elderly and youth populations are comparable to Type 1 at 14% and 18%, respectively (+/- 4% and +/- 3%). Similar to Type 1, 31% of students attend private schools. The percentage of female-headed households is higher than Type 1 at 10% (+/- 5%), as is the poverty rate at 9% (+/-5%).

Type 2 Index Scores							
No.	*Community Area*	*1970*	*1980*	*1990*	*2000*	*2010*	*1970-2010*
72	Beverly	9	9	9	9	7	-2
17	Dunning	7	7	7	7	7	0
41	Hyde Park	9	9	11	7	7	-2
16	Irving Park	5	7	5	5	7	2
11	Jefferson Park	8	7	7	7	7	-1
10	Norwood Park	9	9	9	8	7	-2
2	West Ridge	11	11	11	11	7	-4
74	Mount Greenwood	9	7	7	7	5	-4
15	Portage Park	7	7	7	7	5	-2
48	Calumet Heights	5	5	7	5	1	-4
64	Clearing	5	9	7	5	1	-4
56	Garfield Ridge	5	7	7	7	1	-4
39	Kenwood	-3	-3	1	1	1	4
75	Morgan Park	5	3	3	3	1	-4

Type 2 Variable Averages	Mean	Std. Deviation
Population	33,585	18,116
% White	50.3	23.4
% Black	23.6	31.6
% Latino	19.6	16.7
% Elderly	14.1	3.8
% Children	18.4	2.5
% College Education	34.1	14.5
Median Family Income	$72,090	$14,342
% Owner Occupied	64.8	18.0
Median House Value	$249,440	$43,415
% Private Schools	31.0	14.3
% Families Below Poverty	9.0	4.9
% Manager Occupations	37.0	13.1
% Family Female Households with Children	10.4	5.3



Criteria: Average score of -1 to -7;
Change in 40 years with +/- 4 points

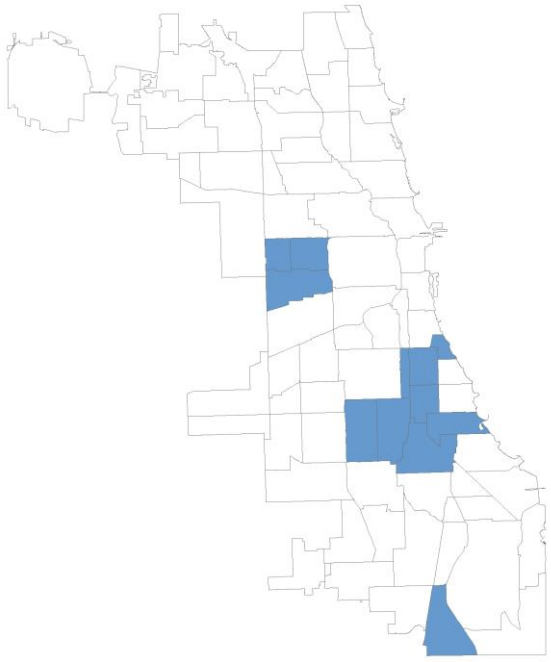
Type 3. Poverty

The third category of 'no change' communities contains those that have remained largely low-income over the past forty years and have exhibited little change in terms of 'upgrading' or 'downgrading.' These communities are located in Chicago's West Side and South Side. Although its poverty rate remains above the city average, it is important to note that Douglas experienced a significant jump in its score from 2000 to 2010, indicating the community has upgraded in the past decade. Its change overall since 1970 remained relatively stable, keeping it out of the Type 5, Positive Change community typology.

These areas on average are 29% (+/- 37%) Black, 56% (+/-46%) Hispanic and 10% (+/- 5%) White. The standard deviation between Blacks and Hispanics is very large, meaning that most of these communities are either majority Black or majority Hispanic. College educated residents constitute roughly 21% (+/- 17%) of the population, while 27% (+/-19%) work as managers. Incomes are around $39,705 (+/- $10,086) and home price averaged $222,642 (+/- $49,174). 26% of households are homeowners. Poverty is higher than the city average at 27% (+/- 4%), and female-headed households constitute about 19% of all families. 9% (+/- 6%) of the population is above age 65, while youth constitute 21% (+/-5%) of residents. 12% (+/-9%) of school-aged children attend private school.

Type 3 Index Scores							
No.	*Community Area*	*1970*	*1980*	*1990*	*2000*	*2010*	*1970-2010*
35	Douglas	-5	-5	-5	-6	-1	4
31	Lower West Side	-5	-7	-7	-7	-5	0
30	South Lawndale	-3	-7	-7	-7	-7	-4

Type 3 Variable Averages	Mean	Std. Deviation
Population	44,432	31,433
% White	9.6	4.5
% Black	28.8	37.4
% Latino	56.4	46.3
% Elderly	9.1	5.6
% Children	20.58	4.8
% College Education	20.8	616.8
Median Family Income	$39,7015	$10,086
% Owner Occupied	26.1	6.1
Median House Value	$222,642	$49,174
% Private Schools	12.2	9.1
% Families Below Poverty	26.9	3.7
% Manager Occupations	27.3	19.4
% Family Female Households with Children	19.2	7.5



Criteria: Average score of -7 or lower;
Change in 40 years with +/- 4 points

Type 4. Extreme Poverty

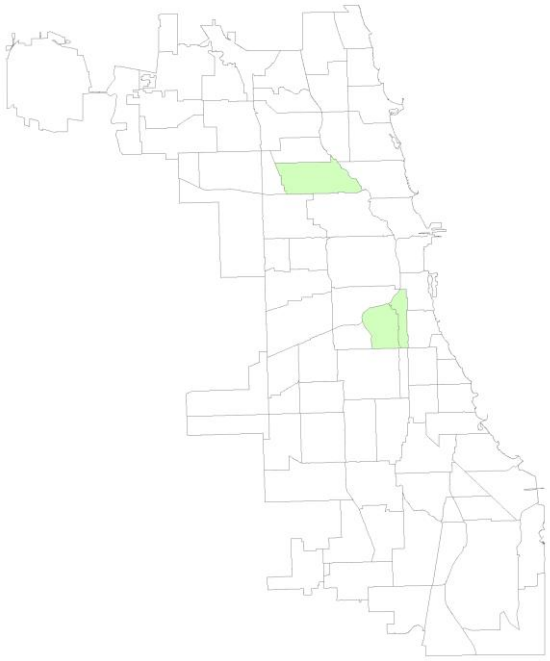
Type 4 communities have consistently reported high poverty rates and low incomes, changing little since 1970. All are located on Chicago's West and South Sides. Figures for Type 4 communities are similar to Type 8 and 9 communities (described below), which have declined since 1970. Also important to note is the relatively low standard deviation figures reported among this typology, which indicates that there is little variation from neighborhood to neighborhood among this typology group.

These communities are primarily African American neighborhoods (95% in 2010 with a standard deviation of +/-3%), with very few Whites and Hispanics. Incomes on average are $28,574 (+/-$6,136)—the lowest among all community areas types. Home values are $162,009 (+/- $48,006), with a low rate of homeownership (26%, +/-9%). The proportion of female-headed households with children is the largest among all groupings at 36% (+/- 8%), as is the poverty rate at 38% (+/- 8%). About 10% (+/- 3%) of people are over 65, which is comparable to the city average. However, these neighborhoods have the highest proportions of children of any typology at 26.3% (+/- 3.7%) of the total population. Only 14% (+/- 8%) of adult residents have earned a college degree. About 24% (+/-8) work in management, and roughly 8% (+/- 5%) of students attend private school—the lowest of any typology grouping. In some communities such as Riverdale, most residents live in public housing.

Type 4 Index Scores							
No.	*Community Area*	*1970*	*1980*	*1990*	*2000*	*2010*	*1970-2010*
27	East Garfield Park	-9	-9	-9	-10	-9	0
38	Grand Boulevard	-11	-11	-11	-9	-9	2
29	North Lawndale	-9	-9	-9	-9	-9	0
36	Oakland	-9	-9	-9	-7	-9	0
54	Riverdale	-9	-9	-9	-9	-9	0
40	Washington Park	-9	-11	-9	-9	-9	0
67	West Englewood	-7	-7	-7	-7	-9	-2
26	West Garfield Park	-9	-9	-9	-9	-9	0
68	Englewood	-9	-9	-9	-11	-11	-2
37	Fuller Park	-9	-11	-11	-11	-11	-2
69	Greater Grand	-7	-9	-9	-11	-11	-4
42	Woodlawn	-9	-11	-11	-11	-11	-2

Type 4 Variable Averages	Mean	Std. Deviation
Population	20,679	11,859
% White	2.1	1.9
% Black	94.5	3.2
% Latino	2.5	1.5
% Elderly	10.6	3.2
% Children	26.3	3.7
% College Education	14.3	7.6
Median Family Income	$28,574	$6,136
% Owner Occupied	26.2	8.7
Median House Value	$162,009	$48,006
% Private Schools	8.2	4.7
% Families Below Poverty	38.0	8.1
% Manager Occupations	24.3	8.4
% Family Female Households with Children	35.8	8.1

Neighborhoods with Positive Change



Criteria: Average score less than +7;
Change in 40 years greater than +4 points

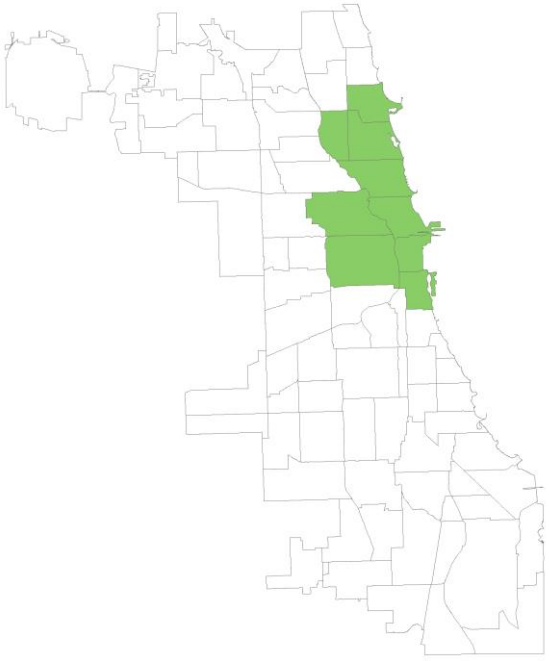
Type 5. Positive Change, Not Gentrification

Using the criteria for change described above (exceeding +/- 4 points), this study identified three community areas that experienced positive change. However, the extent of change in these five communities did not propel them above the +7 score threshold for higher-income communities. Two of these communities are on the South Side and one is on the West Side. After a jump from 1970 to 1980, index scores for Armour Square have remained largely unchanged. If current trends of upward change continue, Logan Square and Bridgeport are likely to be classified as gentrified in the next decade.

Each differs in its racial makeup. Logan Square is largely White and Hispanic. Bridgeport is equal parts White, Latino, and Asian, and Armour Square is majority Asian. Incomes average $49,113 (+/- $16,823), and home values are $293,981 (+/- $68,946). Poverty in these communities remains high at 23% (although a standard deviation of 10% indicates variation between communities). 32% (+/-6%) of residents hold management positions, and homeownership averages 37% (+/- 4%). 30% (+/- 13%) of adults hold bachelor's degrees, and 19% (+/- 2%) of school-aged children attend private school. Female-headed households with children constitute 11% (+/- 3%) of all families.

Type 5 Index Scores							
No.	*Community Area*	*1970*	*1980*	*1990*	*2000*	*2010*	*1970-2010*
60	Bridgeport	-1	3	1	1	7	8
22	Logan Square	1	-5	-9	-5	7	6
34	Armour Square	-7	-3	-1	-3	-1	6

Type 5 Variable Averages	Mean	Std. Deviation
Population	39,654	30,828
% White	28.7	15.7
% Black	7.2	5.3
% Latino	27.0	21.5
% Elderly	11.5	6.4
% Children	16.1	1.2
% College Education	29.6	12.8
Median Family Income	$49,113	$16,823
% Owner Occupied	37.1	4.3
Median House Value	$293,981	$68,946
% Private Schools	19.2	1.8
% Families Below Poverty	23.2	9.8
% Manager Occupations	32.3	9.1
% Family Female Households with Children	10.9	3.0



Criteria: Average score greater than +7;
Change in 40 years greater than +4 points

Type 6. Positive Change, Gentrification

Nine community areas demonstrated significant positive change over the 40-year period and had high index scores in 2010. All are located on the city's North and West sides, have convenient access to downtown and the lakefront, and are considered by many to be highly desirable areas. Although the minimum threshold for change was set at +4 points, change among these communities ranged from +5 (Loop) to +23 (Near South Side). In 2010, eight of the nine Type 6 community areas had a score of +11 or higher. Each of these communities experienced huge gains in score since 1970. However, the timing and factors driving this trend differ from neighborhood to neighborhood. Gains in the Near South Side and Near West Side are likely driven in part by large amounts of new high-end construction. Much of the upgrading for Lincoln Park occurred in the 1980s, while West Town and Uptown experienced more recent gentrification over the past 10 to 15 years.

If current trends continue, West Town, Near West Side, Logan Square and Uptown may continue to increase in terms of wealth. However, some community areas north of Chicago's downtown such as Lakeview and North Center have experienced less socioeconomic growth than the rest of the communities in this group during these four decades, due largely to the fact these communities have never been high-poverty areas like some of their counterparts. This suggests that for some Type 6 gentrifying communities, the rise in socioeconomic status may be more subtle in years to come and

may even stabilize.

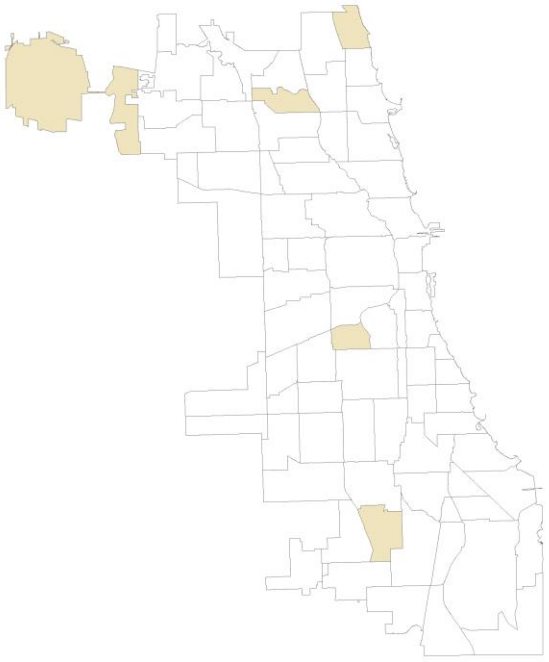
These communities taken as a group are majority White (64%, +/-15%) with moderate percentages of Hispanics (14%, +/-7%) and Blacks (14%, +/- 11%). The percent of elderly residents is lower than for any other type at about 9% (+/- 2%), as well as the percent of children at 9% (+/- 3%)—a trend consistent with the literature on gentrification. The vast majority of residents hold at least a bachelor's degree (70%, +/- 10%) and work in management occupations (61%, +/- 6%), which is higher than any other community type and in also accordance with gentrification literature. Single female households with children make up 8% (+/- 4%) of all families. Poverty among families is low at 9% (+/- 6%), but not lower than Type 1 Upper Class communities. In comparison, households in Type 6 gentrification communities on average make about $34,000 more than households in Type 1 communities ($115,972 vs. $81,658). Home values in Type 6 communities are also the highest in Chicago at $385,981 (+/- $75,298). Of the children in these communities, about 40% (+/- 17%) attend private school—seven percentage points higher than for Type 1 communities.

Type 6 Index Scores							
No.	*Community Area*	*1970*	*1980*	*1990*	*2000*	*2010*	*1970-2010*
33	Near South Side	-10	-9	-7	0	13	23
5	North Center	5	1	7	11	13	8
6	Lake View	5	7	11	11	11	6
7	Lincoln Park	1	11	11	11	11	10
32	Loop	6	11	11	13	11	5
8	Near North Side	-1	3	7	9	11	12
28	Near West Side	-11	-7	-3	-3	11	22
24	West Town	-7	-9	-9	3	11	18
3	Uptown	-1	-1	-1	3	9	10

Type 6 Variable Averages	Mean	Std. Deviation
Population	57,131	25,662
% White	63.5	15.3
% Black	13.5	11.0
% Latino	10.5	4.7
% Elderly	8.5	2.4
% Children	9.2	2.7
% College Education	69.3	10.2
Median Family Income	$115,972	$31,816
% Owner Occupied	41.4	5.8
Median House Value	$385,981	$75,298
% Private Schools	39.6	16.9
% Families Below Poverty	8.7	5.6
% Manager Occupations	61.3	6.1
% Family Female Households with Children	8.4	4.1

Neighborhoods with Negative Change

This study identified three levels of neighborhood decline: 'Mild' (declines of -5 to -7 points), 'Moderate' (declines of -8 to -9 points) and 'Serious' (declines of -10 or more points). These categories are based on change alone and not the overall score of the community. Whether these communities had high index scores or low index scores in 1970, they are classified by the magnitude of the drop in their scores. A total of 31 community areas experienced decline of -5 points or more over the 40-year period. The majority of these communities (14 of them) are Type 9/serious decline communities. Five are classified as Type 7/mild decline areas, and the remaining 12 are Type 8/moderate decline communities.



Type 7. Mild Decline

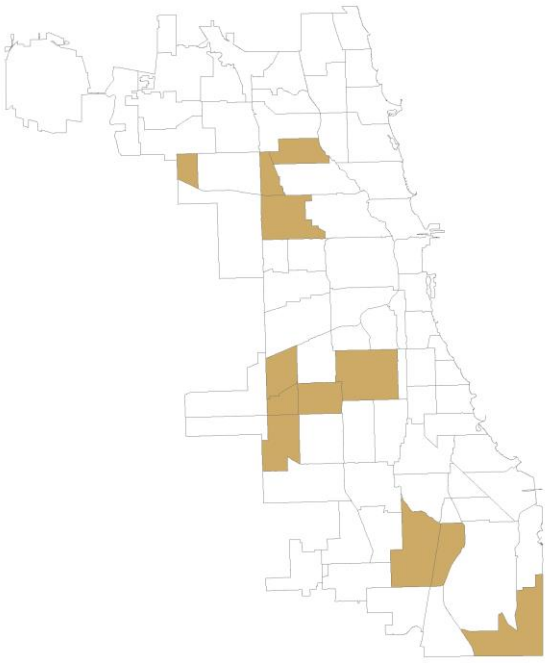
Mild decline is defined as a change in -5 to -7 points over the period 1970 to 2010. The five communities in this typology are diverse ethnically and racially, located in the North, West and South sides of the City.

Family income among these communities averages $48,488 (+/- $4,174), with 29% (+/- 7%) of workers employed in management. The elderly population stands at 18% (+/- 5%), with children comprising 18% (+/-5%) of all residents. Average median home value is $208,744 (+/- $43,184), with 47% (+/-15%) of households owning their homes. Female-headed households with children comprise 13% (+/- 4%) of all families, and 18% (+/- 3%) of all families are below the poverty level.

Criteria: Decline between -5 and -7 points;
Any index score

Type 7 Index Scores							
No.	*Community Area*	*1970*	*1980*	*1990*	*2000*	*2010*	*1970-2010*
76	O'Hare	11	11	9	9	5	-6
1	Rogers Park	9	9	3	1	3	-6
59	McKinley Park	5	3	1	-1	-1	-6
14	Albany Park	3	5	1	-1	-3	-6
73	Washington Heights	1	-1	1	-3	-5	-6

Type 7 Variable Averages	Mean	Std. Deviation
Population	32,239	25,766
% White	32.0	10.0
% Black	27.0	43.9
% Latino	30.8	40.1
% Elderly	11.2	5.4
% Children	18.0	3.5
% College Education	25.8	19.7
Median Family Income	$48,488	$18,274
% Owner Occupied	46.6	23.2
Median House Value	$208,744	$73,468
% Private Schools	15.9	11.8
% Families Below Poverty	17.7	5.7
% Manager Occupations	28.7	16.8
% Family Female Households with Children	12.8	3.4



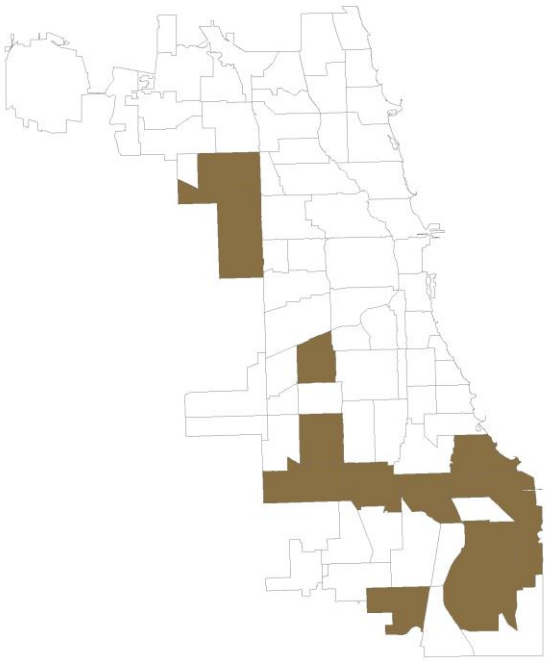
Criteria: Decline between -8 and -9 points; Any index score

Type 8. Moderate Decline

Moderate decline is defined as a decrease of -8 to -9 points over the four decade period. Similar to Type 7 communities, these areas as a group are highly diverse racially and ethnically. The proportion of residents with college degrees and working in management is the lowest of any typology group at 13% (+/- 6%) and 20% (7%) respectively. The proportion of older residents is low compared to other groupings at 10% (+/- 4%), while children make up a large proportion of residents (24%, +/- 3%). Average income is $43,035 (+/- $6,458) and average home value is $189,498 (+/- $49,883). A large proportion of residents are homeowners at 54%, though this figure varies by community as evidenced by a standard deviation of 15%. Female-headed households with children comprise 16% (+/- 6%) of all families, and 20% (+/- 6%) of all families live below the poverty level. As a whole, this grouping is very similar to Type 7 communities.

Type 8 Index Scores							
No.	*Community Area*	*1970*	*1980*	*1990*	*2000*	*2010*	*1970-2010*
18	Montclare	7	7	7	5	-1	-8
57	Archer Heights	5	5	5	3	-3	-8
21	Avondale	5	1	3	-3	-3	-8
55	Hegewisch	5	7	5	3	-3	-8
20	Hermosa	5	3	1	-3	-3	-8
62	West Elsdon	5	7	5	1	-3	-8
65	West Lawn	5	7	7	1	-3	-8
63	Gage Park	3	5	1	-5	-5	-8
61	New City	-1	-6	-11	-7	-9	-8
50	Pullman	-1	-3	-3	-9	-9	-8
49	Roseland	-1	-3	-3	-7	-9	-8
23	Humboldt Park	-3	-9	-11	-11	-11	-8

Type 8 Variable Averages	Mean	Std. Deviation
Population	28,710	16,355
% White	16.8	12.8
% Black	24.0	34.0
% Latino	57.7	28.9
% Elderly	9.7	3.9
% Children	24.0	3.1
% College Education	13.3	5.5
Median Family Income	$43,935	$6,458
% Owner Occupied	53.8	15.2
Median House Value	$189,498	$49,883
% Private Schools	10.3	4.3
% Families Below Poverty	19.1	6.4
% Manager Occupations	19.6	7.1
% Family Female Households with Children	15.6	6.2



Criteria: Decline exceeding -10 points;
Any index score

Type 9. Serious Decline

Serious decline is defined as downward mobility of -10 points or more over the 40-year period. Most of the communities in this typology are located on Chicago's West and far South sides. These communities are majority African American and/or Latino. The elderly population constitutes about 12% (+/- 4%) of total population, and youth make up 24% (+/- 3%). The percent of children attending private school is the second lowest of all types (9%, +/- 4%). Poverty rates for families are high at 24% (+/- 6%), while the percentage of single female-headed households is 20% (+/- 6%). Home values are lower than any other typology at $155,985 (+/- $32,662). However, homeownership rates are higher than the city average at 52% (+/- 16%). Income is the third lowest ($41,602, +/-$9,515). Only 9% (+/- 4%) of children attend private school. In addition, only 15% (+/- 5%) of adults hold a bachelor's degree, which is the second lowest after Type 4 extreme poverty communities. About 23% (+/- 7%) of adults hold managerial jobs.

Type 9 Index Scores							
No.	*Community Area*	*1970*	*1980*	*1990*	*2000*	*2010*	*1970-2010*
70	Ashburn	9	7	1	1	-1	-10
45	Avalon Park	5	5	7	-1	-5	-10
19	Belmont Cragin	7	7	5	1	-5	-12
52	East Side	5	5	1	-3	-5	-10
58	Brighton Park	3	3	1	-3	-7	-10
71	Auburn Gresham	1	-3	-3	-9	-9	-10
47	Burnside	1	-1	-5	-7	-9	-10
66	Chicago Lawn	5	5	2	-9	-9	-14
53	West Pullman	5	-5	-3	-7	-9	-14
25	Austin	5	-7	-7	-9	-11	-16
44	Chatham	5	-3	-5	-7	-11	-16
46	South Chicago	-1	-5	-9	-11	-11	-10
51	South Deering	3	-1	-5	-11	-11	-14
43	South Shore	-1	-3	-7	-11	-11	-10

Type 9 Variable Averages	Mean	Std. Deviation
Population	40,325	25,9.3
% White	5.7	6.2
% Black	65.6	37.6
% Latino	27.5	31.7
% Elderly	12.3	4.2
% Children	23.8	2.5
% College Education	14.6	5.3
Median Family Income	$41,602	$9,515
% Owner Occupied	52.4	16.1
Median House Value	$155,985	$32,662
% Private Schools	9.0	3.8
% Families Below Poverty	23.7	5.8
% Manager Occupations	23.2	7.0
% Family Female Households with Children	20.3	6.1

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