One and a Half Decades of Apartment Loss and Condominium Growth: Changes in Chicago's Residential Building Stock*

By

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Abstract: We use data from the Cook County Assessor to document the decline in Chicago apartments and growth in condominium units from 1989 to 2004. While the total number of housing units in Chicago remained approximately constant at a little over one million, we find that at least 44,637 and perhaps as many as 97,894 apartment units were removed from Chicago's housing stock during this period. Over the same period 102,408 condominium units have been added to the housing stock. We provide tables and maps that show the changes by in small apartments (less than six units), large apartments (7+ units) and condominiums by community area. Loss of small and large apartment buildings has been widespread across the entire city. Condominium growth has been most intense on the Northeast, Near South and Near West Sides. Some, but not all, of the community areas that lost large numbers of apartments gained condominiums. On average, across the city as a whole, for each 1,000 additional condominium units a community area gained, it lost 27 small apartment buildings and about 6 large apartment buildings.

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Introduction

Like many other big cities, Chicago experienced several decades of population decline beginning in the early 1960s. In recent years, the tide has turned and Chicago's population has been essentially unchanged over the last fifteen years or so. The stability of Chicago's total population masks enormous demographic, social and economic change. Between 1990 and 2000 a ten percent decline in the population over 65 years of age was compensated for by an increase in the younger population. The white and African American populations both fell slightly while the Asian and Hispanic populations rose rapidly. The never-married and married populations increased while the separated and widowed populations declined. Median family income grew by about \$2,200 after correcting for inflation (about \$12,000 without an inflation correction) and the number of families in poverty declined about ten percent.

It is probably not surprising that these enormous changes in the city have been accompanied by substantial changes in the way the population is housed. While some of the recent changes seem appealing—more new construction, for example—others, such as increased housing prices, are threatening, at least to certain groups. The vast majority of Chicagoans are housed in single family homes (including townhouses), condominiums or rental apartments.

For most households, the choice of living arrangements is a complex function of social and economic factors. Single family homes are generally larger than condos or rental units and often provide greater access to lawns and residential communities. While single family units are usually more expensive than condo or rental units they also provide certain tax advantages compared to rental housing. Like single-family housing, condo units may require a large down payment and substantial monthly expenditures for

mortgage, maintenance and taxes but, compared to rental housing, they may provide a tax advantage and investment vehicle. Supply side factors also may influence housing arrangements. Developers may find that condominium construction or conversion has become more appealing than rental developments because of changes in expected appreciation, financial markets or regulation of the housing market.

The analysis that follows uses parcel level data collected for the purpose of assessing property taxes by the Cook County Tax Assessor in 1989-1990, 1995-1997, 2002 and 2004. The data provided by the Assessor's office are the most reliable available because they are based upon frequent, legally-consequential, parcel-by-parcel assessments made by trained observers. Some further details about the data are included in Appendix 1. Our narrow purpose in this short report is to use these data to provide quantitative measures of the change in rental, single-family owner-occupied and residential condominium parcels by neighborhood in Chicago. We leave it to future research, by ourselves or others, to explore the reasons for, and consequences of, the changes described here.

City-wide changes in housing parcels and dwelling units

Table 1 describes yearly data about the class codes of residential and mixed-use parcels in the City of Chicago. Despite the virtual absence of population growth, the number of residential parcels in the city grew by 81,600 because small parcels, especially condominiums, replaced large parcels, especially apartment units. In fact, condominiums are the only category of parcels that have increased in number—all others declined. The raw data are somewhat misleading, however, because a one parcel decline in single family homes connotes the loss of a single dwelling unit while a one parcel decline in the 7+ Unit Apartment category implies the loss of at least seven dwelling units.

Unfortunately, the data available from the Assessor's office do not contain information about the precise number of dwelling units in multi-unit buildings. Therefore, we cannot count the precise number of rental dwelling units lost between 1989 and 2004.

At a minimum we know that at least 21,558 (=2*10,779) rental dwelling units have been lost from small (2-6 unit Apt) apartment buildings and at least 23,079 (=7*3,297) rental dwelling units have been lost from large (7+ unit Apt) apartment buildings. This total of 44,637 (=21,558+ 23,079) provides a <u>lower</u> bound on the loss of apartment units in the Chicago between 1989 and 2004.

An upper bound is difficult to quantify. Although we know that there were slightly over one million households in Chicago in 2004 we do not know the number of households in Chicago in 1989, or the precise number of dwelling units in either 1989 or 2004.2 However, we expect little change in the total number of households because there has been little change in the total population and average household size changes very slowly over time. Thus, a reasonable presumption is that the total number of dwelling units in Chicago did not change substantially between 1989 and 2004. If this is true, the addition of 102,408 condominium units must have been compensated for by the decline of a similar number of units of other types of housing.³ Since the number of single family homes fell by 4,514, the number of rental and other non-condominium dwelling units must have fallen by about 97,894 (=102,408-4,514). We think this provides a reasonable <u>upper</u> bound on the number of rental dwellings lost between 1989 and 2004. To summarize, the data suggest that somewhere between about 45,000 and 100,000 rental apartments were replaced by condominiums in Chicago's housing market between 1989 and 2004. This represents between about four and a half and ten percent of the occupied dwellings in the city.

Since the Assessor's data do not explicitly tell us the number of dwelling units, we focus on the number of parcels in the remainder of this report. For each type of parcel (small apartment buildings, large apartment buildings and condominiums) we present data about the geographic dispersion of change.

Loss of Small Apartment Buildings

The City of Chicago lost almost 10,800 (about eight percent) of its small (2-6 unit) buildings between 1989 and 2004. As shown in Table 2 only a few community areas saw increases, while most areas experienced small (1% to 15%) percentage decreases. A handful of neighborhoods on the Northeast, Near West, and Mid-South Sides, however, saw more significant losses. Figure 1 shows a map of community areas in Chicago while Figure 2 maps the absolute and percentage changes in small apartment buildings.

Northeast Side

Uptown, Lake View, Lincoln Park, and the Near North Side experienced the largest percentage losses for small apartment buildings, losing about 20-30% of their small apartment building stock. Lake View and Lincoln Park both had relatively large amounts of small rental buildings in 1989, but lost 1,056 and 1,141 buildings respectively—the biggest net losses in the city. Lincoln Park also had the largest percentage loss of small buildings in Chicago at almost 31%.

West and Near Northwest Sides

Many community areas on the City's Near West and Near Northwest Sides have large numbers of small apartment buildings, with West Town having over 7,000 of them in 1989. As a result, even relatively large net losses in small apartment buildings by 2004 (when compared to losses in other areas) represent less dramatic percentage losses.

Logan Square and West Town, for example, lost 573 and 733 buildings respectively, yet that only amounts to about 10% of their buildings. In addition, North Lawndale experienced a decline of 470 buildings, which was roughly 13% of its 1989 small rental stock. The Near West Side, on the other hand, had substantial net and percentage decreases, losing 412 buildings or 26% of its small rental stock.

Mid-South Side

Douglas, Fuller Park, Grand Boulevard, Kenwood, Washington Park, and Hyde Park all lost between 20% and 30% of their small apartment buildings between 1989 and 2004. In Kenwood, this translates to a decrease of 54 buildings, while in Grand Boulevard it means a loss of 380 buildings.

New City and Englewood also experienced relatively substantial net losses in their small apartment building stock. New City lost 759 buildings (15%) and Englewood lost 604 buildings (around 17%).

Loss of Large Apartment Buildings

Overall, the City of Chicago lost over 3,000 of its large (7+ units) buildings, or about 31% of its large rental buildings. As shown in Table 3, most of Chicago's community areas saw significant decreases in the number of their larger rental buildings and some lost 50% or more of their buildings between 1989 and 2004. We show a map of the absolute and percentage changes in large apartment buildings in Figure 3.

Northeast Side

The community areas on Chicago's Northeast Side typically have more large apartment buildings than other areas in the city. In 1989, Rogers Park had 655 of these

buildings—the most in Chicago—and Uptown had 512. Yet, these areas are also among those that experienced not only large net losses of buildings by 2004 but significant percentage losses as well. The losses in large apartment buildings in Rogers Park, West Ridge, Uptown, Lincoln Square, and the Near North Side all outpaced the City averages. Rogers Park, West Ridge, and Lincoln Square all lost more than a third of their large apartment buildings. Uptown experienced a loss of 219 buildings (43%), and the Near North Side lost over half of its large apartments (135 buildings).

Northwest Side

While the Northwest Side community areas of Edison Park, Norwood Park, and Jefferson Park saw few major changes in their small apartment housing between 1989 and 2004, they did experience larger than average percentage losses in large apartment buildings. While it is important to note that all three neighborhoods had less than 100 large apartments in 1989, Edison Park and Norwood Park both saw a 56% reduction in these buildings and Jefferson Park experienced a 60% reduction.

West Side

The Near West Side, West Garfield Park and East Garfield Park all had around 100 large apartment buildings in 1989 and all experienced larger than average losses.

The Near West Side lost a third of its large rentals, East Garfield Park lost 48%, and West Garfield Park lost over half of its large rental stock.

Mid-South and South Sides

Oakland, Kenwood, Washington Park, Woodlawn and Englewood also saw some significant losses in the large apartment building stock between 1989 and 2004. While Oakland only had 45 large rental buildings in 1989, this number was reduced by 75% to 11 by 2004. Kenwood lost more than a third of its larger rentals, and Woodlawn lost

over half of its stock—going from 230 buildings in 1989 to 103 in 2004. Englewood went from 156 buildings in 1989 to 87 in 2004 (a 44% reduction), and Washington Park experienced a 65% reduction, going from 182 large rentals to only 63.

Condominium Growth

Our data clearly indicate a condominium boom since the late 1980s. Citywide, the number of condominium dwelling units increased from 71,800 in 1989 to 174,200 in 2004—a 140% jump. As we show in Table 4, each of the 56 community areas that had at least one condominium in 1989 had an increase in the number of condos except for Englewood which had 11 condo units in 1989 but only seven in 2004 and Hegewisch which had 18 condo units in both years. Figure 4 displays six maps that illustrate the dispersion of condominium units across Cook County over time. As shown in the maps, in 1989 most condominium units were clustered in a few North Side neighborhoods of the city. By 1995 there was noticeable growth on Northwest and South Sides and in suburban areas. The 2002 and 2004 maps indicate continued condominium growth on the North and South Sides and intense growth on the Near West Side.

The 102,408 condominium units that the city added during the period were located in almost 5,000 new condominium buildings. The vast majority of Chicago neighborhoods had an increase in the number of condominium buildings (i.e. a building housing one or more condominium units) as shown in Table 5. The growth in condominium buildings has been even more dramatic than the increase in condominium units, increasing nearly 200% from 2,500 buildings in 1989 to 7,450 buildings in 2004. The average size of condominium buildings has decreased over time and that newer condominium developments have fewer units than those built in the past (see Figure 5).

The largest number of condominiums can be found along the northern lakeshore and on the City's West Side. These areas, in addition to the Near South Side, are also those that experienced the greatest amount of growth in condominiums. We show a map of the absolute and percentage changes in condominium dwelling units in Figure 6.

Northeast Side

The community areas of Rogers Park, West Ridge, Edgewater, Uptown, Lincoln Square, North Center, Lake View, Lincoln Park, and the Near North Side all experienced significant condominium growth between 1989 and 2004. In 1989, these communities already had large numbers of condominiums when compared to other areas. They held 68% of Chicago's condominium buildings and 77% of the City's condo units. Yet by 2004, these communities gained between 120 and 786 buildings and between 1,200 and 22,000 units apiece. Uptown, Lincoln Square, North Center, and the Near North Side more than doubled their number of condominium units, with North Center having only 18 units in 1989 but more than 1,900 units by 2004.

West and Near Northwest Sides

Logan Square, West Town, and the Near West Side experienced some of the most dramatic condominium growth in Chicago between 1989 and 2004. In 1989, these three community areas had only 458 units in 31 buildings; by 2004, they had nearly 22,000 units in more than 1,300 buildings. When combined, the percentage of the City's condos contained in these three community areas went from only .6% in 1989 to almost 13% in 2004. Avondale also saw significant growth. Avondale had no condominiums in 1989 but had 660 units in 40 buildings by 2004.

Mid-South Side

While the Mid-South has far fewer condo units than other areas of the city, four community areas saw substantial growth. Armour Square, Douglas, and Grand Boulevard, while having a combined total of only 170 units in 1989, had almost 3,000 units in 2004 (almost 2% of Chicago's stock that year). In addition, the Near South Side has experienced a residential transformation since 1989. The Near South Side had no condominium units in 1989, but had almost 6,800 units in 2004. This represents a 2004 condo density of nearly 3,800 units per square mile. As we will see below, contrary to the trends in other rapidly growing condominium markets, much of the condominium development in the Near South Side has been in high-rise buildings.

Trends in the Size of Condominium Developments

Overall, the City of Chicago saw a slight reduction in the size of condominium buildings from 28.7 units per building in 1989 to 23.4 units per building in 2004. This suggests that developers may be shifting from large high-rise developments along the lakeshore and commercial corridors to smaller, lower-density projects along primarily residential streets. Edgewater, Lake View, Uptown, and Kenwood, in particular, illustrate these trends (see Figure 7). Each of these areas saw a reduction in the average size of their condominium buildings. Edgewater experienced the most significant reduction, going from 64.8 units per building in 1989 to 32.6 units per building in 2004.

Other community areas, however, strayed from this trend. Logan Square,
Dunning, the Near West Side and the Near South Side all saw somewhat substantial
increases in the size of their condominium buildings (see Figure 8). The size of
condominium buildings in the Near South Side has more than doubled since 1995, and
Near West Side buildings have grown from an average of 25.7 units per building in 1989

to 45.0 units per building in 2004. It is interesting to note, however, that the size of Near West Side buildings appears to have peaked in 1997 at 55.3 units per building, suggesting that condo buildings developed after 1997 in that neighborhood have been much smaller in scale.

In general, those community areas with little to no condominiums in 1989 were those most likely to experience an increase in the size of their condo buildings.

Communities with well established condominium development in 1989 usually saw reductions in their average condominium size.

Areas with Little to No Condominium Development

There are a significant number of community areas with no condo units. In 1989, 21 Chicago community areas had zero units.⁴ Many of these areas are found on the City's Far-South Side. However, by 2004 there were some condominiums in 10 of these 21 community areas. Of those communities, some gained only a handful of units, such as Oakland with 52 units in seven new buildings, while others gained thousands, like the Near South Side with almost 6,800 units in 64 new buildings.

Relationship between Apartment Losses and Condominium Growth

The vast majority of community areas in Chicago experienced a loss of rental buildings, large and small, between 1989 and 2004. In general, however, communities had a smaller percentage loss in their small apartment buildings than in their large apartment buildings. We examine the relationship between the growth in the number of condominiums and the decline in the number of small and large apartment buildings in Figures 9 and 10. While the relationship is certainly not perfect, community areas that gained condominiums generally lost apartment buildings. On average, over the whole

city for each 1,000 additional condominium units a neighborhood gained it lost about 27 small (2-6 unit) apartment buildings. Similarly, for each 1,000 additional condominium units a neighborhood gained it lost about 6 large (7+ unit) apartment buildings.

Community areas on the Northeast Side (specifically Rogers Park, West Ridge, Uptown, Lincoln Square, Lincoln Park, and Lake View) frequently saw both significant increases in condominiums and significant losses in small and/or large apartment buildings. Uptown, for example, experienced losses of both large and small apartment buildings along side substantial condo growth. To the West and South Sides, Logan Square, West Town, the Near West Side, Douglas, and Grand Boulevard also experienced simultaneous condominium growth and apartment decline. While further research would be needed to determine the impact of condominium conversions or new construction, the data suggest that the residential tenure and character of these communities are undergoing a significant transformation as rental properties decline and owner-occupied properties increase.

Other community areas experienced losses in the number of rental buildings within their borders but did not experience a simultaneous increase in condominiums. Communities like West Garfield, East Garfield, Englewood, New City, Washington Park, Woodlawn, and North Lawndale lost a significant number and/or a significant percentage of their small and large apartment buildings but saw relatively little growth in condominiums. Many of these communities have been historically lower-income, and additional research is needed to determine if other types of housing (such as single family homes or subsidized housing) have replaced any of the lost rental stock or if these neighborhoods are seeing an overall decrease in available housing.

Conclusion

The Cook County Assessor data used in our analyses emphatically confirm the widespread public perception that Chicago's housing stock has been transformed in recent years. The stock of both large and small apartment buildings has been greatly diminished and the stock of condominium units has been greatly increased. The loss of apartments has been geographically widespread but the growth of condominiums has been more concentrated although it appears to be spreading rapidly.

Within the narrow confines of this report we have not yet explored either the causes or implications for these phenomena, but clearly this sort of research is needed. What economic, social and legal factors led to the reduction in apartment units? Is the reduction in apartment units caused by the same set of factors that led to increases in condominiums? Why has growth of condominiums been relatively concentrated up until now while the loss of apartments has been widespread?

The implications of these changes are also not yet well understood. What will happen to the housing stock in the future? Will lost apartments be replaced by condominiums or some other sort of housing, especially in poor west side neighborhoods? How has the change in housing stock affected housing affordability? How has it affected housing quality and overcrowding? Will changes in housing finance (e.g. the apparent collapse of the subprime lending market) result alter the forces that have led to condominium growth?

We hope that the facts we have presented in this report will assist and stimulate further research on these and related topics.

Appendix 1 Methodological Limitations and Need for Additional Research

As mentioned in the text our analyses use data complied by the Cook County
Assessor. The assessor's office assigns each parcel in Cook County a 14-digit property
identification number (PIN) and a class code that signifies the type of property and its
use. The class code assigned to a parcel is consequential because it determines the
assessment ratio (assessment divided by market value) and eventual property tax
payment. The PINs allowed us to map parcels by blocks (and higher geographic
aggregations) while the class codes allow us to determine whether a parcel was an owneroccupied single family house, rental property, owner-occupied condominium or other.
We also created counts and other statistics of buildings of condominiums by aggregating
14-digit condominium unit PINs to 10-digit condominium building PINs.

It is important for readers to understand the limitations of our analyses. One limitation is the quality of the data. As mentioned in the text, the data used in this paper is the best available. Unlikely survey data from, for example the US Census, the data we use is legally-consequential in the senses that mis-coding of the data (e.g. from residential to retail) would have implications for the property tax payment due. The owner of a property would have an incentive to correct the description of his or her property if it resulted in a higher tax payment. Nonetheless, when attempting to classify over 1.7 million properties each year, it is not surprising that mistakes are made and buildings are misclassified. Mistakes are especially likely to persist when they have no tax consequences. Thus, we are confident that the variable that identifies whether a parcel is a single-family home or a retail property is correct in almost all cases but we are less

confident that the variable which tells us whether a parcel is a two to six unit apartment or an "other residential" is correct.

Second, due to changes in the Cook County Tax Assessor's classification of mixed-use buildings and inconsistencies in the data itself, it is not possible to accurately compare mixed-use apartments by size over time. As a result, our counts of small and large apartment buildings cannot include the mixed-use apartment buildings commonly found in the downtown area or along neighborhood commercial corridors. However, since we know the total number of mixed-use buildings in the city is relatively small (less than 13,000 in 2004) we do not believe our results would be significantly altered even if we had complete information on these units.

Third, our counts of apartment buildings do not include any not-for-profit housing or housing that is publicly subsidized. As a result, we did not include them in this study and cannot determine if there have been any changes in the presence or availability of subsidized housing in this study. Also excluded are rented condominium units and rented single-family or town homes. These types of rentals constitute only a small portion of Chicago's rental market, and their small size make them difficult to compare with multi-unit rental buildings.

Tables and Figures

Table 1 Citywide changes in the number of residential pins by use category

								Total Net	Total Percent
	1989	1990	1995	1996	1997	2002	2004	Change	Change
Single Family Home,									
Row/Townhome	285,856	286,191	288,215	288,541	288,794	278,047	281,342	-4,514	-1.6
2-6 Unit Apt; no retail	135,858	135,820	134,515	134,076	133,345	124,860	125,079	-10,779	-7.9
7+ Unit Apt; no retail	10,493	10,385	9,896	9,752	9,519	7,510	7,196	-3,297	-31.4
Condominium Unit	71,819	73,054	83,987	88,756	93,857	145,492	174,227	102,408	142.6
Other Residential	17,205	16,888	14,664	14,644	14,105	15,331	14,994	-2,211	-12.9
City Total Residential or Mixed Use	521,231	522,338	531,277	535.769	539,620	571.240	602,838	81,607	15.7

Table 2 Number of small (2-6 unit) apartments by community area for selected years

Number of small	(2-	o unit) apart	ments	by co	mmun	nty are	a for	seiecte	a years
COMMUNITY	CA	1989	1990	1995	1996	1997	2002	2004	Total Net Change	Total Percent Change
ROGERS PARK	1	1,101	1,103	1,093	1,093	1,088	996	982	-119	-10.8
WEST RIDGE	2	2,869	2,870	2,866	2,857	2,849	2,726	2,696	-173	-6.0
UPTOWN	3	1,097	1,096	1,057	1,037	1,019	910	876		-20.1
LINCOLN SQUARE NORTH CENTER	4 5	2,588 3,659	2,591 3,667	2,574 3,634	2,568 3,636	2,562 3,638	2,362 3,159	2,350 3,143		-9.2 -14.1
LAKE VIEW	6	4,934	4.926	4,829	4,780	4,697	3,159	3,143		-14.
LINCOLN PARK	7	3,695	3,674	3,421	3,383	3,237	2,639	2,554		-30.9
NEAR NORTH SIDE	8	401	396	376	381	361	283	289		-27.9
EDISON PARK	9	176	177	175	175	175	168	170		-3.4
NORWOOD PARK	10	738	743	758	762	769	734	744		0.8
JEFFERSON PARK	11	1,418	1,426	1,453	1,447	1,451	1,403	1,414		-0.3
FOREST GLEN NORTH PARK	12	224 694	224 694	234 694	237 693	237 691	228 648	231 650	7 -44	3.1 -6.3
ALBANY PARK	13 14	2,408	2,408	2,422	2,420	2,420	2,282	2,271	-137	-5.7
PORTAGE PARK	15	3,226	3,236	3,295	3,304	3,325	3,214	3,258	32	1.0
IRVING PARK	16	3,338	3,340	3,359	3,364	3,373	3,204	3,208		-3.9
DUNNING	17	706	715	792	797	800	785	804		13.9
MONTCLARE	18	350	352	359	357	360	351	356	6	1.7
BELMONT CRAGIN	19	3,549	3,549	3,611	3,610	3,706	3,564	3,637	88	2.5
HERMOSA	20	1,373	1,375	1,389	1,391	1,383	1,319	1,348	-25	-1.8
AVONDALE	21	3,344	3,345	3,385	3,376	3,376		3,229	-115	-3.4
LOGAN SQUARE HUMBOLDT PARK	22	6,455 4,485	6,434 4,488	6,417 4,480	6,406 4,472	6,379 4,461	5,865 4,222	5,882 4,280	-573 -205	-8.9 -4.6
WEST TOWN	24	7,270	7,257	7,277	7,309	7,316	6,591	6,537	-205	-4.6
AUSTIN	25	6,985	6,983	6,971	6,960	6,937	6,613	6,700		-10.1
WEST GARFIELD PARK	26	2,268	2,265	2,209	2,193	2,167	2,051	2,051	-217	-9.6
EAST GARFIELD PARK	27	2,156	2,152	2,060	2,025	1,992	1,837	1,830	-326	-15.1
NEAR WEST SIDE	28	1,580	1,577	1,385	1,367	1,348	1,211	1,168	-412	-26.1
NORTH LAWNDALE	29	3,771	3,761	3,608	3,569	3,522	3,307	3,301	-470	-12.5
SOUTH LAWNDALE	30	5,028	5,029	5,066	5,069	5,081	4,874	4,965	-63	-1.3
LOWER WEST SIDE	31	2,795	2,797	2,856	2,868	2,885	2,815	2,807	12	0.4
LOOP	32	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		75.0
NEAR SOUTH SIDE ARMOUR SQUARE	33 34	722	7 686	5 706	5 710	5 708	677	680	-6 -42	-75.0 -5.8
DOUGLAS	35	419	428	382	378	371	309	301	-118	-28.2
OAKLAND	36	130	131	119	118	111	108	107	-23	-17.7
FULLER PARK	37	423	424	393	386	378	337	329	-94	-22.2
GRAND BOULEVARD	38	1,412	1,411	1,302	1,285	1,224	1,068	1,032	-380	-26.9
KENWOOD	39	231	231	208	207	194	182	177	-54	-23.4
WASHINGTON PARK	40	779	775	709	689	642	580	572	-207	-26.6
HYDE PARK	41	344	345	304	302	289	269	270		-21.5
WOODLAWN SOUTH SHORE	42 43	1,919 2,372	1,914 2,375	1,867 2,349	1,857 2,345	1,831 2,334	1,708 2,255	1,693 2,265	-226 -107	-11.8 -4.5
CHATHAM	44	1,545	1,543	1,539	1,536	1,530	1,501	1,508	-37	-2.4
AVALON PARK	45	216	216	216	216	213	208	206	-10	-4.6
SOUTH CHICAGO	46	2,598	2,597	2,575	2,558	2,544		2,441		-6.0
BURNSIDE	47	112	112	113	110	111	107	111	-1	-0.9
CALUMET HEIGHTS	48	451	450	448	447	451		453		0.4
ROSELAND	49	1,618	1,615	1,588	1,578	1,572	1,522	1,537	-81	-5.0
PULLMAN	50	249	250	255	252	245	233	233		-6.4
SOUTH DEERING EAST SIDE	51 52	296 768	298 769	307 778	308 778	308 788	300 778	303 792	7 24	2.4
WEST PULLMAN	53	1,114	1,111	1,082	1,081	1,070	1,006	1,007	-107	-9.6
RIVERDALE	54	1,114	1,111	18	1,001	1,070	1,000	1,007		-9.0
HEGEWISCH	55	267	266	276	277	282	280	288		7.9
GARFIELD RIDGE	56	336	341	375	373	380	382	381	45	13.4
ARCHER HEIGHTS	57	640	644	670	676	689	676	693	53	8.3
BRIGHTON PARK	58	3,503	3,506	3,565	3,560	3,568	3,479	3,542	39	1.1
MCKINLEY PARK	59	1,260	1,260	1,258	1,260	1,268	1,213	1,239		-1.7
BRIDGEPORT NEW CITY	60	2,750	2,755	2,845	2,843	2,854	2,742	2,748 4.071		-0.1
WEST ELSDON	61 62	4,830 324	4,827 326	4,631 333	4,567 332	4,471 333	4,093 330	4,071 339	-759 15	-15.7 4.6
GAGE PARK	63	1,478	1,480	1,502	1,503	1,508		1,490		0.8
CLEARING	64	427	430	442	445	454	446	446		4.4
WEST LAWN	65	507	510	511	510	511	511	515		1.6
CHICAGO LAWN	66	2,264	2,268	2,276	2,275	2,271	2,224	2,240	-24	-1.1
WEST ENGLEWOOD	67	2,518	2,513	2,422	2,398	2,359	2,214	2,232	-286	-11.4
ENGLEWOOD	68	3,595	3,602	3,409	3,370	3,281	3,007	2,991	-604	-16.8
GREATER GRAND CROSSING	69	2,677	2,677	2,632	2,623	2,599	2,490	2,492	-185	-6.9
ASHBURN	70	202	203	204	203	205	205	208 2.446		3.0 -2.9
AUBURN GRESHAM	71 72	2,519 211	2,517 211	2,482 209	2,480 209	2,474 205		2,446 202		-2.9 -4.3
					487	489	481	481		-1.6
BEVERLY WASHINGTON HEIGHTS			480	487						
WASHINGTON HEIGHTS	73	489	489 29	487 38						
			489 29 252	38 249	38 248	39 244	38	38 251	11	40.7
WASHINGTON HEIGHTS MOUNT GREENWOOD	73 74	489 27	29	38	38	39	38	38	11 -1	40.7 -0.4
WASHINGTON HEIGHTS MOUNT GREENWOOD MORGAN PARK	73 74 75	489 27 252	29 252	38 249	38 248	39 244	38 236	38 251	11 -1 -36	40.7
WASHINGTON HEIGHTS MOUNT GREENWOOD MORGAN PARK OHARE	73 74 75 76	489 27 252 428	29 252 429	38 249 426	38 248 426	39 244 425	38 236 408 1,721	38 251 392	11 -1 -36 -217	-0.4 -0.4 -8.4 -11.3

Table 3 Number of large (7+ unit) apartments by community area for selected years

Number of large (7	ı u	mi) aj	arum	CIIIS	by cc	1111111	annty	arca		
COMMUNITY	CA	1989	1990	1995	1996	1997	2002	2004	Total Net Change	Total Percent Change
ROGERS PARK	1	655	652	635	628	622	471	438	-217	-33.
WEST RIDGE	2	436	436	428	427	423	292	283	-153	-35.
UPTOWN	3	512	507	442	441	425	312	293	-219	-42.
LINCOLN SQUARE	4	431	432	415	412	407	283	272	-159	-36
NORTH CENTER	5	102	101	100	100	100	87	83	-19	-18
LAKE VIEW	6	633	629	597	586	577	525	504	-129	-20
LINCOLN PARK	7	229	223	213	209	195	165	159	-70	-30
NEAR NORTH SIDE	8	253	248	189	180	165	128	118	-135	-53
EDISON PARK	9	27	27	29	29	29	12	12	-15	-55
NORWOOD PARK	10	93	92	90	88	85	44	41	-52	-55
JEFFERSON PARK	11	58	57	56	53	50	24	23	-35	-60
FOREST GLEN	12	12	12	11	11	11	3	4	-8	-66
NORTH PARK	13	89	89	90	90	90	71	70	-19	-21
ALBANY PARK	14	286	285	280	279	275	213	198	-88	-30
PORTAGE PARK	15	174	173	167	165	159	122	120	-54	-31
RVING PARK	16	310	310	302	301	300	248	230	-80	-25
DUNNING	17	43	43	44	44	41	246		-22	-20
								21		
MONTCLARE	18	28	28	28	29	29	18	16	-12	-42
BELMONT CRAGIN	19	172	173	171	171	170	146	140	-32	-18
HERMOSA	20	69	69	69	69	69	66	63	-6	-8
AVONDALE	21	115	114	115	115	114	106	102	-13	-11
LOGAN SQUARE	22	289	286	276	275	266	230	221	-68	-23
HUMBOLDT PARK	23	156	151	132	129	123	107	106	-50	-32
WEST TOWN	24	163	156	159	156	157	142	139	-24	-14
AUSTIN	25	433	421	389	377	363	318	318	-115	-26
WEST GARFIELD PARK	26	106	104	90	78	65	49	49	-57	-53
EAST GARFIELD PARK	27	113	112	112	116	119	71	59	-54	-47
NEAR WEST SIDE	28	111	98	102	103	104	65	74	-37	-33
NORTH LAWNDALE	29	156	150	132	127	124	110	107	-49	-31
SOUTH LAWNDALE	30	28	28	30	30	28	24	22	-6	-21
OWER WEST SIDE	31	13	15	18	19	20	19	19	6	46
LOOP	32	44	43	41	39	33	34	33	-11	-25
NEAR SOUTH SIDE	33	18	18	13	13	14	9	10	-11	-44
ARMOUR SQUARE	34	10	10	10	12	12	9	10	-0	-42
	_	-	_				_			
DOUGLAS	35	37	37	36	35	33	25	26	-11	-29
DAKLAND	36	45	42	39	39	38	11	11	-34	-75
FULLER PARK	37	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
GRAND BOULEVARD	38	187	184	161	159	163	152	145	-42	-22
KENWOOD	39	125	123	115	112	109	88	80	-45	-36
WASHINGTON PARK	40	182	180	146	133	119	75	63	-119	-65
HYDE PARK	41	179	179	174	170	168	153	150	-29	-16
WOODLAWN	42	230	222	193	179	165	116	103	-127	-55
SOUTH SHORE	43	573	566	544	539	533	423	402	-171	-29
CHATHAM	44	333	332	329	329	328	288	284	-49	-14
AVALON PARK	45	28	28	28	28	28	28	27	-1	-3
SOUTH CHICAGO	46	94	94	87	88	87	73	72	-22	-23
BURNSIDE	47	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	0	
CALUMET HEIGHTS	48	16	16	16	16	16	15	15	-1	-6
ROSELAND	49	59	59	58	58	57	56	55	-4	-6
PULLMAN	50	6	5	5	5	5	3	4	-2	-33
SOUTH DEERING	51	2	2	2	2	2	1	1	-1	-50
	52	12	12	13			12	12		
EAST SIDE	_				13	13			0	(
WEST PULLMAN	53	18	18	17	17	17	16	16	-2	-11
RIVERDALE	54	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
HEGEWISCH	55	5	5	5	5	4	4	4	-1	-20
GARFIELD RIDGE	56	45	45	41	39	38	19		-26	
ARCHER HEIGHTS	57	18	18	17	17	17	0			
BRIGHTON PARK	58	7	7	9	9	9	7	6		-14
MCKINLEY PARK	59	21	21	39	39	17	13	13		
BRIDGEPORT	60	17	17	20	19	20	16	17	0	
NEW CITY	61	19	17	16	15	17	12	15		-21
WEST ELSDON	62	19	19	20	20	20	0	0	-19	-100
GAGE PARK	63	64	64	69	68	67	52	52	-12	-18
CLEARING	64	104	104	103	103	103	60	56	-48	-46
VEST LAWN	65	44	44	44	43	43	20	14		
CHICAGO LAWN	66	211	211	211	212	215	178	174		-17
WEST ENGLEWOOD	67	59	60	56	55	54	46	47	-12	-20
NGLEWOOD	68	156	155	136	131	116	97	87	-69	
GREATER GRAND CROSSING	69	242	242	235	232	228	207	201	-41	-16
ASHBURN	70	37	37	37	37	37	15	15		
	_									
AUBURN GRESHAM	71	253	252	248	247	248	218	215	-38	-1:
BEVERLY	72	50	50	48	47	45	38	37	-13	
WASHINGTON HEIGHTS	73	42	42	42	42	42	45	45	3	
MOUNT GREENWOOD	74	11	11	11	11	9	2		-9	
MORGAN PARK	75	53	53	53	53	50	25	23		-56
OHARE	76	59	59	59	59	55	22	18		-69
EDGEWATER	77	462	459	437	424	418	332	311	-151	-32
						9,519	7,510	7,196	-3,297	

Table 4
Number of residential condominiums by community area for selected years

Number of resid	CIIII	ai com	JOHIIII	tums t	y con	IIIIuIII	ty arca	1 101 5		Jears
COMMUNITY	CA	1989	1990	1995	1996	1997	2002		Change	Total Percent Change
ROGERS PARK	1	2,457	2,418	2,519	2,560	2,581	3,891	4,653	2,196	
WEST RIDGE	2	3,628	3,692	3,764	3,742	3,803	4,360	4,829	1,201	33.1
UPTOWN	3	4,307	4,368	5,262	5,397	5,729	8,858	9,887	5,580	129.6
LINCOLN SQUARE	4 5	746 18	774 18	933 405	1,012 493	1,094 641	2,071 1,261	2,463 1,902		230.2 10,466.7
NORTH CENTER LAKE VIEW	6	11.116	11,310	12,550	13.245	13,794	19,435	21,418	,	92.7
LINCOLN PARK	7	9,124	9,479	11,136	11,412	11,717	14,266	14,814	5,690	62.4
NEAR NORTH SIDE	8	16,819	16,960	19,912	21,158	22,336	32,157	38,908	22,089	131.3
EDISON PARK	9	490	490	543	543	543	570	581	91	18.6
NORWOOD PARK	10	708	743	763	793	813	1,027	1,123	415	58.6
JEFFERSON PARK	11	388	396	490	540	578	690	744	356	91.8
FOREST GLEN	12	49	55	60	60	60	64	64	15	30.6
NORTH PARK	13	166	166	257	397	449	673	676	510	307.2
ALBANY PARK	14	75	75	37	73	90	723	1,094	1,019	1,358.7
PORTAGE PARK	15	583	602	637	651	687	829	883	300	51.5
IRVING PARK	16	537	547	549	579	602	990	1,354	817	152.1
DUNNING	17	270	358	786	822	981	1,419	1,491	1,221	452.2
MONTCLARE	18	49	49	85	97	96	131	248	199	406.1
BELMONT CRAGIN	19	42	42	28	28	37	114	141	99	235.7
HERMOSA	20	0	0	0	0	0	20	26	26	
AVONDALE	21	0	0	12	12	12	406	633	633	
LOGAN SQUARE	22	19	19	71	235	301	1,818	2,435	2,416	12,715.8
HUMBOLDT PARK	23	8	8	8	8	32	59	63	55	687.5
WEST TOWN	24	77	205	974	1,294	1,683	5,668	7,541	7,464	9,693.5
AUSTIN	25	541	515	512	521	514	540	556	15	
WEST GARFIELD PARK	26	4	4	4	18	24	17	17	13	
EAST GARFIELD PARK	27	21	21	21	21	21	108	248	227	1,081.0
NEAR WEST SIDE	28	362	411	609	897	1,383	7,873	11,967	11,605	3,205.8
NORTH LAWNDALE	29	9	9	10	10	13	28	41	32	355.6
SOUTH LAWNDALE	30	0	0	0	0	0	6	6	6	
LOWER WEST SIDE	31	0	0	1	2	2	10	95	95	
LOOP	32	3,298	3,299	3,768	4,364	4,655	7,110	8,761	5,463	165.6
NEAR SOUTH SIDE	33	0	0	87	189	553	3,774	6,782	6,782	
ARMOUR SQUARE	34	106	130	238	249	247	568	652	546	515.1
DOUGLAS	35	42	42	46	46	46	1,460	1,491	1,449	3,450.0
OAKLAND	36	0	0	0	0	0	21	52		
FULLER PARK	37	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	_	
GRAND BOULEVARD	38	20	20	26	32	50	361	816		
KENWOOD	39	1,308	1,308	1,338	1,438	1,495	1,831	1,965	657	50.2
WASHINGTON PARK	40 41	14	14	12	12	12	180	276	262	1,871.4
HYDE PARK WOODLAWN	42	2,811	2,845	3,275	3,302	3,298	3,538	3,566 717	755 717	26.9
SOUTH SHORE	43	1,317	1,353	30 1,376	1,394	56 1,394	365 1,806	2,494	1,177	89.4
CHATHAM	44	266	272	272	272	272	280	2,494	1,177	
AVALON PARK	45	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
SOUTH CHICAGO	46	111	111	111	111	111	170	170	59	
BURNSIDE	47	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
CALUMET HEIGHTS	48	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	0	
ROSELAND	49	9	9	9	9	9	9	9		
PULLMAN	50	0	0	3	0	0	0	0		
SOUTH DEERING	51	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
EAST SIDE	52	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
WEST PULLMAN	53	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
RIVERDALE	54	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
HEGEWISCH	55	18	18	18	18	18	18	18	0	0.0
GARFIELD RIDGE	56	81	81	113	141	141	232	245	164	202.5
ARCHER HEIGHTS	57	0	0	0	0	0	114	114	114	
BRIGHTON PARK	58	6	6	6	6	6	6	6		
MCKINLEY PARK	59	0	0	0	0	0	0	9	9	
BRIDGEPORT	60	18	18	18	18	18	61	90		
NEW CITY	61	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
WEST ELSDON	62	138	138	138	138	138	163	163		
GAGE PARK	63	8	8	8	8	8	8	8		
CLEARING	64	429	429	462	528	540	687	758		
WEST LAWN	65	396	396	396	396	396	574	652	256	64.6
CHICAGO LAWN	66	0	0	0	0	0	37	42	42	
WEST ENGLEWOOD	67	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
ENGLEWOOD	68	11	11	11	11	11	7	7	-4	
GREATER GRAND CROSSING	69	6	6	6	6	6	30	39	33	
ASHBURN	70	132	132	132	132	132	155	155	23	
AUBURN GRESHAM	71	92	92	70	71	72	108	110		
BEVERLY	72	82	82	110	118	134	158	167	85	
WASHINGTON HEIGHTS	73	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
MOUNT GREENWOOD	74	16	16	31	31	93	197	197	181	
MORGAN PARK	75	145	145	145	145	227	385	385	240	
OHARE	76	1,185	1,185	1,239	1,247	1,276	1,435	1,859	674	
EDGEWATER	77	7,131	7,144	7,545	7,664	7,817	9,552	10,262	3,131	43.9
					88,756					
City of Chicago	'	71,819	73,054	83,987		93,857	145,492	174,227	102,408	142.6

Table 5
Number of residential condominium buildings by community area for selected years

of residential cond	OII	IIIIIu	ш	uman	ngs	by co	J111111	umi	y arca	TOT SCIECT
COMMUNITY	CA	1989	1990	1995	1996	1997	2002	2004	Total Net Change	Total Percent Change
ROGERS PARK	1	195	192	199	203	204	298	342	147	75.4
WEST RIDGE	2	203	204	216	218	226	276	327	124	61.1
UPTOWN	3	152	162	240	260	288	439	502	350	230.3
LINCOLN SQUARE	4	112	113	135	145	154	243	286	174	155.4
NORTH CENTER	5	3	3	9	13	17	127	190	187	6,233.3
LAKE VIEW	6	306	319	425	491	566	925	1092	786	256.9
LINCOLN PARK	7	449	464	556	583	612	804	861	412	91.8
NEAR NORTH SIDE	8	173	179	205	215	230	340	383	210	121.4
EDISON PARK	9	28	28	33	33	33	35 47	37	9	32.1
NORWOOD PARK JEFFERSON PARK	10 11	30 26	32 27	34 33	36 40	38 45	59	54 66	24 40	80.0 153.8
FOREST GLEN	12	4	7	9	9	9	10	10	6	150.0
NORTH PARK	13	25	25	29	32	32	40	41	16	64.0
ALBANY PARK	14	8	8	7	9	11	61	91	83	1,037.5
PORTAGE PARK	15	29	31	32	34	37	53	60	31	106.9
IRVING PARK	16	35	35	35	36	39	78	111	76	217.1
DUNNING	17	20	22	33	35	38	48	60	40	200.0
MONTCLARE	18	4	4	6	7	7	10	17	13	325.0
BELMONT CRAGIN	19	3	3	2	2	3	10	14	11	366.7
HERMOSA	20	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	2	000.7
AVONDALE	21	0	0	1	1	1	14	40	40	
LOGAN SQUARE	22	4	4	9	13	18	126	204	200	5,000.0
HUMBOLDT PARK	23	3	3	3	3	4	7	8	5	166.7
WEST TOWN	24	13	18	52	69	95	569	840	827	6,361.5
AUSTIN	25	25	24	22	24	23	27	28	3	12.0
WEST GARFIELD PARK	26	1	1	1	7	8	6	6	5	500.0
EAST GARFIELD PARK	27	2	2	2	2	2	10	42	40	2.000.0
NEAR WEST SIDE	28	14	15	19	22	25	175	266	252	1,800.0
NORTH LAWNDALE	29	2	2	2	2	3	6	9	7	350.0
SOUTH LAWNDALE	30	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	
LOWER WEST SIDE	31	0	0	1	1	1	4	7	7	
LOOP	32	20	20	23	26	28	44	53	33	165.0
NEAR SOUTH SIDE	33	0	0	2	3	7	44	64	64	
ARMOUR SQUARE	34	41	42	47	47	47	58	64	23	56.1
DOUGLAS	35	1	1	2	2	2	18	22	21	2,100.0
OAKLAND	36	0	0	0	0	0	3	7	7	
FULLER PARK	37	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
GRAND BOULEVARD	38	3	3	4	5	7	54	101	98	3,266.7
KENWOOD	39	48	48	53	55	58	88	100	52	108.3
WASHINGTON PARK	40	3	3	2	2	2	18	33	30	1,000.0
HYDE PARK	41	164	167	176	178	178	185	187	23	14.0
WOODLAWN	42	0	0	1	1	2	30	68	68	
SOUTH SHORE	43	71	73	77	79	79	109	130	59	83.1
CHATHAM	44	20	21	21	21	21	21	21	1	5.0
AVALON PARK	45	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
SOUTH CHICAGO	46	7	7	7	7	7	12	12	5	71.4
BURNSIDE	47	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
CALUMET HEIGHTS	48	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	0.0
ROSELAND	49	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	0.0
PULLMAN	50	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	
SOUTH DEERING	51	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
EAST SIDE	52	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
WEST PULLMAN	53	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
RIVERDALE	54	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
HEGEWISCH	55	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	0.0
GARFIELD RIDGE	56	9	9	12	13	13	19	21	12	133.3
ARCHER HEIGHTS	57	0	0	0	0	0	3	3	3	0.0
BRIGHTON PARK	58	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	0.0
MCKINLEY PARK BRIDGEPORT	59	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	500.0
	60	2	2	2	2	2	8	12	10	500.0
NEW CITY	61	0 12	0	0 12	0 12	0 12	0 14	0	0	10.7
WEST ELSDON	62		12		12		14	14	2	16.7
GAGE PARK CLEARING	63	1	1	1		1			0	0.0
	64	43	43	46	50	50	59	65	22	51.2
WEST LAWN CHICAGO LAWN	65	5	5	5 0	5 0	5 0	8 1	12	7 2	140.0
WEST ENGLEWOOD	66 67	0	0	0	0	0	0	2		
ENGLEWOOD	68	0	3	3	3	3	2	0	-1	-33.3
GREATER GRAND CROSSING	69	1	1	1	ა 1	1	3	5	4	400.0
ASHBURN	70	10	10	10		10	12		2	
	71	10		10	10 4	10		12	1	20.0
AUBURN GRESHAM BEVERLY	72	4	4	8	9	12	5 15	5 16		25.0 300.0
WASHINGTON HEIGHTS	73	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	300.0
MOUNT GREENWOOD	74	2	2	4	4	6	10	10	8	400.0
MORGAN PARK	75	6	6	6	6	9	14	14	8	133.3
OHARE	76	40	40	44	45	47	56	79	39	97.5
EDGEWATER	77	110	110	148	158	169	267	315	205	186.4
LDOLWAILK	' '	110	110	140	100	109	207	315	205	100.4
City of Chicago		2 502	2,568	3,076	3,298	3,555	6,034	7,452	4,949	198
ony or ormoayo	1	_∠,∪∪3	000رے	5,070	J,290	ა,ააა	0,034	7,40∠	+,949	190

Rogers Edisor West Park Ridge Norwood Park Edgewater North Park Jefferson Lincoln Uptown Albany Park Portage OHare Irving Park North Park Dunning Lake View Avondale Montelare Belmont Cragin Lincoln Park Logan Square Near North West Town Humboldt Park Austin W. Garfield E. Garfield Loop Near West Side Park Near N. Lawndale South ower West Side Side Bridgeport of the state of the S. Lawndale Douglas McKinley Park Oakland Brighton Grand Archer Kenwood New City Blvd. Heights West Gage Park Washington Garfield Ridge Elsdon W. Englewood Pa<u>rk</u> Woodlawn Clearing Chicago West Lawn Greater South Shore Grand Crossing Avalon South Chicago Ashburn Auburn Chatham Park Gresham Burnside Calumet Heights Washington Heights Rullman East Beverly Side Roseland South Deering Morgan Park Greenwood Chicago W. Pullman Community Areas Hegewisch miles

Figure 1.
Map of Chicago Community Areas

Figure 2. Map of the Absolute and Percentage Change in Small (2-6 unit) Apartments by Community Area, 1989-2004

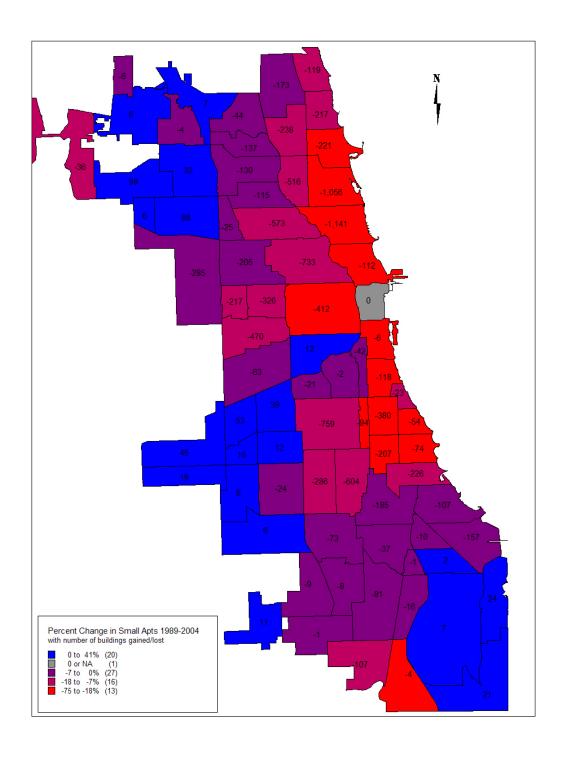


Figure 3. Map of the Absolute and Percentage Change in Large (7+ unit) Apartments by Community Area, 1989-2004

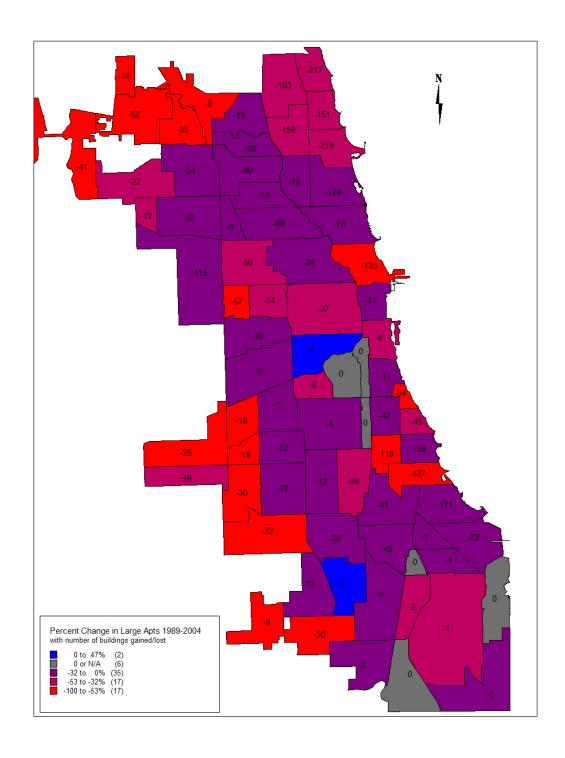
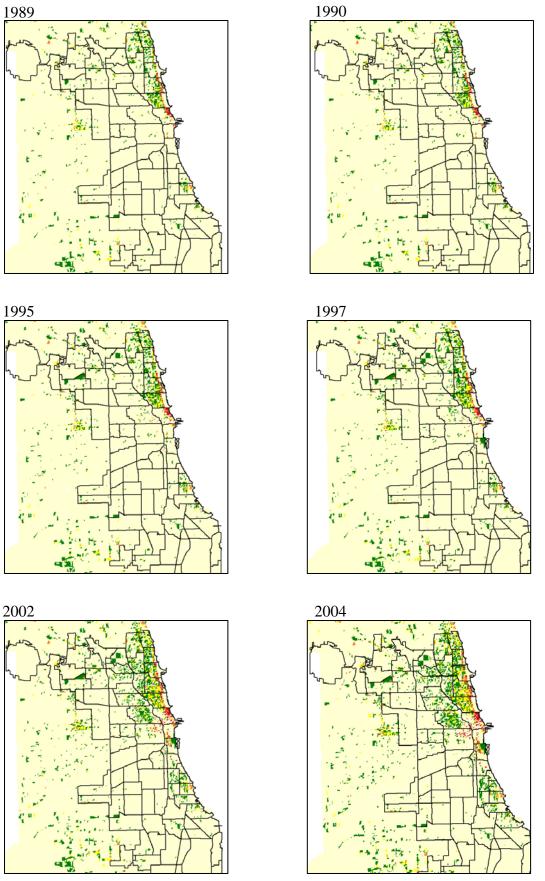


Figure 4. Maps of Condominium Dispersion for Selected Years⁵



 $Figure \ 5.$ Average size of Chicago Condominium Buildings by Year

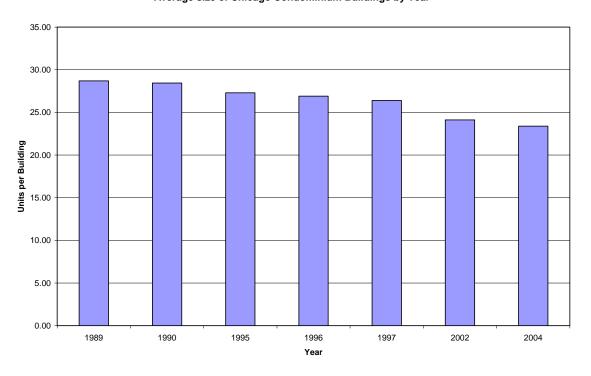
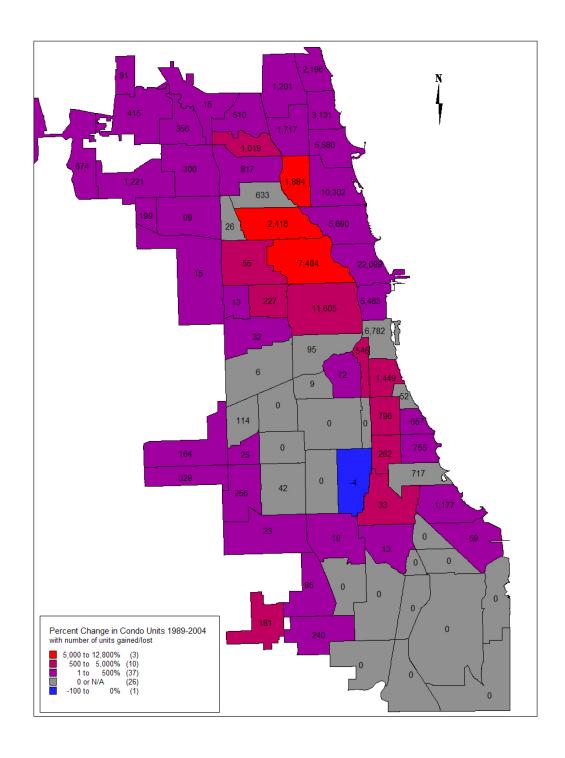


Figure 6. Map of the Absolute and Percentage Change in Condominium Units by Community Area, 1989-2004



Figure~7. Average Size of Chicago Condominum Buildings by Year in Selected Neighborhoods with Trend Toward Lower Density

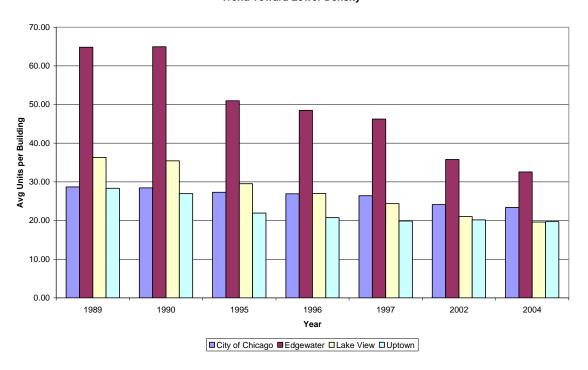
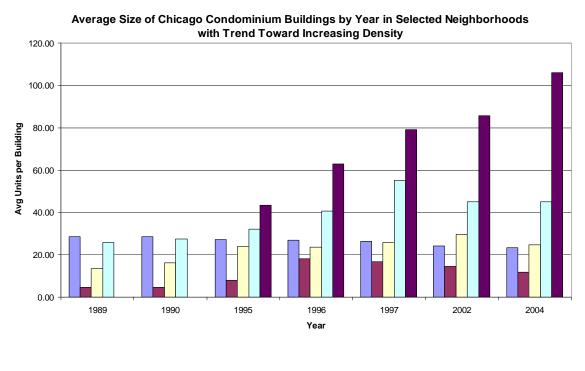


Figure 8.



☐ City of Chicago ☐ Logan Square ☐ Dunning ☐ Near West Side ☐ Near South Side

 $Figure\ 9.$ Change in condo units vs. change in small apartment buildings by neighborhood

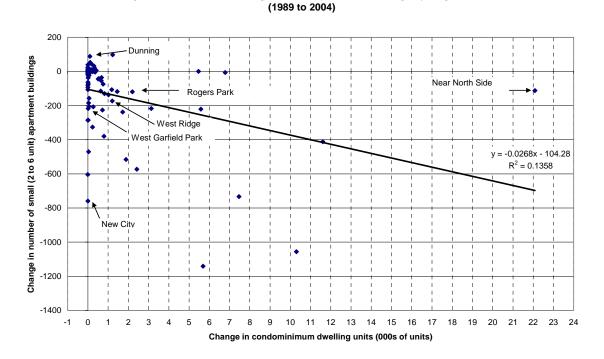
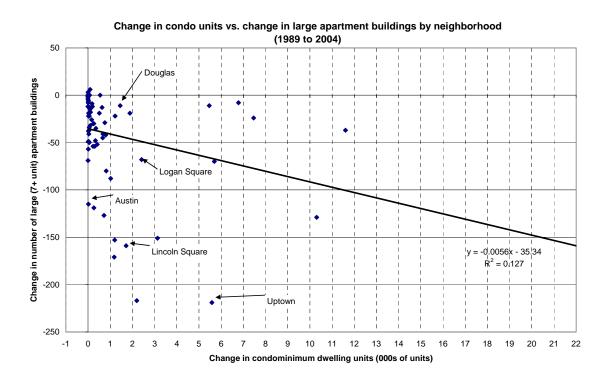


Figure 10.



⁴ These were Hermosa, Avondale, South Lawndale, Lower West Side, Near South Side, Oakland, Fuller Park, Woodlawn, Avalon Park, Burnside, Pullman, South Deering, East Side, West Pullman, Riverdale, Archer Heights, McKinley Park, New City, Chicago Lawn, West Englewood, and Washington Heights. ⁵ These maps present data on the number of condominium units per block per acre (to standardize for blocks of different sizes) for each selected year. Blocks were identified using the first seven digits of each PIN. The legend for these maps is the same for every year:

ndomir Acre	ium L	Inits	by BI	ock	
188 to	589				
62 to	188				
20 to	62				
7 to	20				
0 to	7				
0 to	0				

Statistics in the above paragraph are based on comparison of the 1990 and 2000 Census. See Metro Chicago Information Center (MCIC) web site

⁽http://info.mcfol.org/www/datainfo/mapreports/mapreports.asp) for details.

² The US Census Bureau reports that there were 1,008,855 household in Chicago in 2004 http://factfinder.census.gov/servlet/ADPTable? bm=y&-context=adp&qr_name=ACS_2004_EST_G00_DP4&-ds_name=&-tree_id=304&-redoLog=false&-all_geo_types=N&geo_id=16000US1714000&-format=&-_lang=en but does not report a number for either 1989 or 1990.

³ This would have occurred, for example, if the average large apartment complex had 31 dwelling units, the average small apartment had 5 dwelling units and the average other residential property had 3 dwelling units.