PlaNYC and the Bloomberg Administration's Rezoning Efforts in Retrospect, 2002-2026

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Introduction

PlaNYC: A Greener, Greater New York's land use and housing component[1] represented an ambitious effort to position New York City for record population growth and an adequate and affordable housing stock. The plan set the stage for two decades of zoning changes, transforming many neighborhoods within the five boroughs with new mid- and high-rise apartment buildings. After Mayor Michael Bloomberg left office at the end of 2013, his successors undertook their own new land use initiatives, also intended to spur housing growth. However, at the end of 2025, the city remained in a housing supply crisis.

Bloomberg and his successors pursued a policy of "transit-based growth," in which new housing would be concentrated in neighborhoods within walking distance of the subway and existing and proposed commuter rail stations. This policy was intended to minimize car ownership and use among a growing population in a crowded city that was no longer building highways and was under mandates to improve air quality. It had great success in facilitating housing growth in select locations, but two negative implications. First, most of the city's land area, distant from rail transit and largely occupied by small homes, would be off-limits to housing growth. Second, "transit-based growth" could be undercut by anti-development community activists and anti-growth elected officials, even in neighborhoods where transit service was excellent. Both low-density and some affluent high-density neighborhoods would be protected from growth by restrictive zoning, and also in some cases by designation of individual landmarks and historic districts.

As a result of the tension between the priority for transit-based growth and community preservation activism in established neighborhoods, many of the most successful rezonings during the Bloomberg administration occurred in what had heretofore been manufacturing zones, off-limits to new housing. This in turn led to a demand among industrial-growth advocates that the city identify the manufacturing zones that it would *not* rezone. Such areas could then function as sanctuaries for industrial investment. This made yet another large slice of the city's land off-limits for housing growth.

Throughout the 24 years of the Bloomberg, Bill de Blasio and Eric Adams mayoralties, strong support existed among community boards and elected officials for including the

[1] City of New York, *PlaNYC: A Greener, Greater New York,* 2007, https://www.nyc.gov/content/climate/pages/planyc-getting-sustainabilty-done, 17-27.

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maximum possible number of "affordable" (below-market) housing units as a component of rezoning. Since the city depended on private investment to achieve its development goals, developers had to be compensated for subsidizing rents on affordable units. This typically occurred through long term tax exemptions that had to be approved by the state legislature. The often-tenuous economics of mixed-income housing, and the legislature's practice of allowing tax incentives to expire periodically, served as a further impediment to adequate housing supply.

In 2024 and 2025, widespread frustration with the ongoing housing crisis, combined with shifts in the electorate, caused all the certitudes of New York City land use planning to be called into question. In late 2024, the City Council approved a citywide zoning amendment, "City of Yes for Housing Opportunity," that among other pro-housing changes would, for the first time in decades, facilitate housing growth in low-density areas. In November 2025, voters approved City Charter changes that created a shortened land use review process, cutting out the role of the City Council entirely, for certain types of zoning changes. These included rezonings that would facilitate affordable or mixed-income housing in the 12 community districts that, on a five-year rolling basis, allowed the fewest new affordable housing units; and, in effect, rezonings that would facilitate new housing in all the city's low-density zoning districts. Also, in 2025 the NYC Department of City Planning published studies advocating for scaling back the city's commitment to preserve manufacturing-zoned land for its still-declining industrial sector and calling into question the policy of widespread mapping of historic districts in prime housing-market areas. A new mayor, Zohran Mamdani, took office at the beginning of 2026, with the potential to take advantage of these new tools and conceptual frameworks to mitigate the city's housing supply crunch.

Background to PlaNYC

NYC Population and Housing Growth Trends to 2000

Bloomberg and his Deputy Mayor for Economic Development and Rebuilding, Dan Doctoroff, took office in January 2002 at a time of fiscal and economic challenges, in the wake of the 9/11 attacks. In the housing sector, however, it was a time of rising demand and increased construction. The housing boom buoyed the city's economy as it escaped the post-9/11 recession and set the stage for the land use component of PlaNYC.

New York City's population had crossed the eight million threshold in the 2000 Census, a milestone the city's planners had long thought unlikely (Table 1). The prior population peak had come in 1970, at 7.9 million. By 1980 the population had fallen steeply, to 7.1 million, with the decline driven by job losses and massive outmigration. New York City in 1980 had experienced widespread housing abandonment, and tens of thousands of occupied housing units had been seized by the city for non-payment of property taxes. The

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city also owned thousands of vacant lots, and in the most devasted parts of the city, large tracts of vacant land.

Table 1

New York City, Decennial Census Population

Year	Population
1940	7,454,995
1950	7,891,957
1960	7,781,984
1970	7,894,862
1980	7,071,639
1990	7,322,564
2000	8,008,288

Source: U.S. Decennial Censuses

By the 1980's employment had begun to recover and with it, population. The city's demographers attributed increased population after 1980 to a lower rate of domestic out-migration, compared to the 1970's, as well as increased immigration and positive natural increase (more births than deaths).[2]

In 2000, Queens and Staten Island were at their all-time population peaks, at 2.23 million and 444,000, respectively. Manhattan, at 1.54 million, was well below its 1910 peak of 2.33 million. The Bronx and Brooklyn, at 1.33 and 2.47 million, were also below their respective peaks in 1970 and 1950 of 1.47 and 2.74 million,[3]

In 1980, at its population nadir, New York City had 2.95 million enumerated housing units. By 2000, this had increased to 3.2 million.[4]

The city had estimated that the 1990 Census undercounted the population by about a quarter of a million people.[5] To improve on what was widely acknowledged to be a flawed Census, the U.S. Census Bureau, in preparing for the 2000 Census, for the first time engaged in partnerships with local governments to improve the list of addresses identifying each community's stock of housing units. New York City submitted 370,000 addresses that had

[2] City of New York, Department of City Planning (NYC DCP), "NYC 2000: Results from the 2000 Census, Population Growth and Race/Hispanic Composition," Summer 2001, https://www.nyc.gov/assets/planning/download/pdf/data-maps/nyc-population/census2000/nyc20001.pdf, 7.
[3] NYC DCP, "NYC 2000," 9.
[4] U.S. Census Bureau, Decennial Censuses, compiled by NYC DCP, https://www.nyc.gov/assets/planning/download/pdf/data-maps/nyc-population/historical-population/nyc_total_hu_1940-2010.pdf.
[5] NYC DCP, "NYC 2000," 41.

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not been previously identified by the Census Bureau.[6] This led to many households receiving Census questionnaires that would not otherwise have been included in the mail-out. Many of the newly enumerated occupied housing units were created through the subdivision of small homes without proper permits.

Over the two decades from 1980 to 2000, with funding from the Federal, state and city governments, as well as private investment, abandoned housing had largely been brought back into occupancy, city-foreclosed residential buildings returned to private ownership and much of the vacant city-owned land sold off and redeveloped.

With the improving economy and the exhaustion of the stock of vacant residential buildings available for rehabilitation, new housing permits had begun to escalate. Only 70,204 new housing units were issued permits in the decade from 1990-99.[7] However, in 2000 the number of new housing permits passed 15,000, and that figure would continue to rise through 2008.[8]

Zoning Changes Before Bloomberg's Tenure

With the rise in housing demand, the inadequate zoned capacities of the city's 1961 zoning plan, which had been masked by population decline, became glaring. The 1958 planning study in preparation for the enactment of a new Zoning Resolution in 1961 had forecast that the city would achieve a "population plateau" at 8.34 million by 1975.[9] However, the study failed to anticipate falling average household size, which decreased from 3.2 in 1950 to 2.49 in 1980.[10] This meant that the city would need many more housing units than the 2.854 million forecast.[11] The 1961 zoning, in comparison to the prior zoning dating from 1916, greatly reduced zoned densities, particularly outside Manhattan. This had resulted in a sharp reduction in new housing completions after the expiration of the "grace period" in which developments that had permits under the old zoning in 1961 were allowed to continue construction for several years.[12]

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[6]NYC DCP, "NYC 2000," 3.
[7] Citizens Budget Commission (CBC), "Strategies to Boost Housing Production in the New York City Metropolitan Area," August 26, 2020, https://cbcny.org/research/strategies-boost-housing-production-new-york-city-metropolitan-area, Figure 1.
[8] City of New York, Rent Guidelines Board (NYC RGB), *2025 Housing Supply Report*, May 22, 2025, https://rentguidelinesboard.cityofnewyork.us/wp-content/uploads/2025/05/2025-HSR.pdf, 21
[9] Voorhees, Walker, Smith & Smith, *Zoning New York City,* August 1958, https://www.nyc.gov/assets/planning/downloads/pdf/zoning/zoning-nyc/zoning_nyc.pdf, 5.
[10] NYC DCP, Population Division, "Declines in Household Size & Ramifications for Growth: New York City, 2010 to 2020," January 14, 2022, https://storymaps.arcgis.com/stories/95d48fee08084089941fc598641bb713.
[11] Voorhees, Walker, Smith & Smith, 5-6.
[12] CBC, "Strategies to Boost."

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In response to growing housing demand, a series of significant zoning amendments occurred before Bloomberg took office, beginning in the administration of Mayor Edward Koch.[13] These amendments had begun the process of updating the 1961 zoning to meet contemporary needs, but much remained to be done. For example, while high-rise residential buildings had begun to be constructed in New Jersey communities on the west side of the Hudson, New York City's East River waterfront in Brooklyn and Queens remained largely characterized by derelict industrial properties.

In Mayor Rudolph Giuliani's second term, from 1998-2001, several actions occurred that would have important ramifications for the incoming Bloomberg administration in 2002:

- In 2001, the "Group of 35," a panel convened by Senator Charles Schumer, issued its report, recommending a commercial development strategy for New York City.[14] To meet the city's projected future need for office space, the report recommended the expansion of existing Central Business Districts in Long Island City, Queens and Downtown Brooklyn, and the creation of a new business district on the Far West Side of Manhattan. The city rezoned the core area of Long Island City in 2001, centered on Queens Plaza and Court Square.[15] Consistent with the expectations created by the Group of 35 report, the rezoning's environmental review projected 3.9 million square feet of office development but only 300 new housing units over a ten-year period.[16] The Department of City Planning was preparing additional rezonings for Downtown Brooklyn and the Far West Side when Bloomberg took office.
- While in the private sector prior to assuming the deputy mayor position under Bloomberg, Doctoroff led the "NYC2012" bid to host the 2012 Olympics. That ultimately unsuccessful proposal would have constructed the Olympic stadium over the western portion of the Long Island Rail Road's Caemmerer West Side Storage Yard on the Far West Side of Manhattan, and extended the #7 subway line to 11th Avenue and West 34th Street to serve the facility and related new development. The bid also highlighted the need for redevelopment along the East River waterfront in

[13] Some of the significant zoning amendments (and City Planning Commission (NYC CPC) reports, https://a030-cpc.nyc.gov/html/cpc/index.aspx) include the Quality Housing citywide zoning text amendments (N 870385A ZRY, June 17, 1987) under Koch and the Sixth Avenue (C 950318 ZMM, September 13, 1995), Chelsea (C 990453 ZMM, July 21, 1999), and Downtown Flushing (C 960566 ZMQ, August 19, 1998) rezonings under Rudoph Giuliani.
[14] Group of 35, "Preparing for the Future: A Commercial Development Strategy for New York City," June 2001, https://www.scribd.com/document/442779437/Group-of-35-Report-2001-Schumer-Et-Al.
[15] NYC CPC, C 000406A ZMQ, May 23, 2001.
[16] NYC DCP, *Long Island City Rezoning: Final Environmental Impact Statement,* 00DCP055Q, May 11, 2001, https://a002-ceqraccess.nyc.gov/ceqr/. 1-17.

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Brooklyn and Queens by proposing to site the Olympic Village and additional athletic venues in that area.[17]

- In 1999 two activists, Joshua David and Robert Hammond, formed Friends of the High Line, with the aim of turning the derelict elevated freight rail line on the West Side of Manhattan into a public park.[18] This unlikely plan would require the support of the rail viaduct's owner, CSX Transportation, the adjacent property owners (many of whom wanted the viaduct demolished), and the city.

Bloomberg Administration Land Use Agenda Before PlaNYC

Upon taking office, the Bloomberg administration pursued four major rezoning projects, building on the work of the Group of 35, the NYC2012 Olympic bid, and the activism of Friends of the High Line. The first to be enacted was the Downtown Brooklyn rezoning in 2004.[19] In its environmental review, the city projected 4.6 million square feet of office construction over a ten-year period but fewer than 1,000 new housing units.[20]

The first six months of 2005 saw a succession of well-publicized and highly consequential zoning changes approved by the City Council. In January, the council approved the Hudson Yards rezoning, a massive redevelopment plan for the Far West Side of Manhattan.[21] Concurrently, the Metropolitan Transportation Authority approved the extension of the #7 subway line from Times Square to a new station at West 34th Street and 11th Avenue. The subway project would be funded by city revenues generated by the new Hudson Yards developments.[22] The plan for a West Side stadium was turned down, however, by the state Public Authorities Control Board. Since the Long Island City and Downtown Brooklyn rezoning areas were shaping up to be far more successful in attracting residential than commercial construction, the Hudson Yards zoning plan was designed to ensure construction of an office core.[23] Reflecting the large size of the rezoning area, in addition to

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[17] Mitchell L. Moss, "How New York City Won the Olympics," NYU Rudin Center for Transportation Policy and Management, Robert F. Wagner Graduate School of Public Service, November 2011, https://wagner.nyu.edu/files/faculty/publications/Olympics_in_NYC_2012_REPORT_110711.pdf, 6-10.
[18] NYC Department of Parks and Recreation, "The High Line: History," https://www.nycgovparks.org/parks/the-high-line/history, accessed December 24, 2025.
[19] NYC CPC, C 040171 ZMK, May 10, 2004.
[20] NYC Office of the Deputy Mayor for Economic Development and Rebuilding, *Downtown Brooklyn Development: Final Environmental Impact Statement,* April 2004, 03DME016K, https://a002-ceqraccess.nyc.gov/ceqr/, Table 1-5, 1-25.
[21] NYC CPC, N 040500(A) ZRM, November 22, 2004.
[22] A minimum amount of commercial floor area was required before any residential floor area could be built on a zoning lot in the "Commercial Core" subdistrict. NYC Zoning Resolution, https://zoningresolution.planning.nyc.gov/, §93-21.
[23] Metropolitan Transportation Authority and NYC CPC, *No. 7 Subway Extension - Hudson Yards Rezoning, Final Generic Environmental Impact Statement,* November 2004, 03DCP031M, https://a002-ceqraccess.nyc.gov/ceqr/, 2-21.

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30 million square feet of office development, the environmental review projected nearly 13,000 new housing units over a twenty-year period.[24]

In May, the council approved the Greenpoint-Williamsburg rezoning.[25] This followed years of discussion with community activists and local elected officials, including adoption of a community-sponsored plan in 2002.[26] The plan would transform a largely derelict waterfront once used for shipping and warehousing, as well as formerly industrial upland areas. The environmental review projected 8,257 new housing units over a ten-year period.[27]

In June, the council adopted the West Chelsea zoning plan.[28] The zoning plan facilitated the conversion of the High Line rail viaduct to a park by allowing owners of development rights above the railroad easement to transfer those rights to other properties within the area. In addition, the zoning change allowed residences in what had been a manufacturing zone prohibiting housing. That made the High Line development rights and the surrounding properties much more valuable. The environmental review projected 4,809 new housing units over a ten-year period.[29]

Two little-heralded rezonings, later also to prove consequential, received City Council approval in 2004 and 2005. The 2004 Hunters Point Subdistrict Rezoning in Queens[30] brought new mid-rise housing into an area south and west of the 2001 Long Island City rezoning. The Port Morris Rezoning in the Bronx,[31] approved in March 2005, allowed high-rise residential development in an industrial area on the Harlem River waterfront south of the Park Avenue bridge carrying Metro-North trains to and from Grand Central Terminal in Manhattan.

The Downzoning Bargain

Long-time city planners were stunned at the success of the Bloomberg administration's zoning proposals; we had rarely seen such a run of hugely consequential zoning changes within a short time. There was, however, a downside to the Bloomberg administration's

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[24] NYC CPC, N 050110(A) ZRK, March 14, 2005.
[25] NYC DCP, "Community Board 1 – Borough of Brooklyn, Williamsburg Waterfront 197-a Plan, as Modified and Adopted by the City Planning Commission and the City Council," Spring 2002, https://www.nyc.gov/assets/planning/downloads/pdf/our-work/plans/brooklyn/197a/bk1_williamsburg_197a.pdf.
[26] NYC CPC, *Greenpoint-Williamsburg Rezoning: Final Environmental Impact Statement,* March 4, 2005, 04DCP003K, https://a002-ceqraccess.nyc.gov/ceqr/, Table 1-1, 1-15-16.
[27] NYC CPC, N 050161(A) ZRM, May 25, 2005.
[28] NYC CPC, *Final Environmental Impact Statement, Special West Chelsea District Rezoning and High Line Open Space EIS,* May 16, 2005, 03DCP069M, https://a002-ceqraccess.nyc.gov/ceqr/, 1-26.
[29] NYC CPC, C 040273 ZMQ, June 23, 2004.
[30] NYC CPC, C 050120 ZMX, January 31, 2005.
[31] The "lot coverage" is the percentage of a lot a building covers, when viewed from above.

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land use successes. To put together a coalition of councilmembers in favor of the administration's priorities, it had committed concurrently to a program of "downzonings" -- reductions in permitted zoned densities – affecting large areas of the city, particularly those characterized by small homes. There would be a radically unbalanced pattern of development in the remainder of the Bloomberg administration and for decades to come, in which some of the city's 59 community districts would see a great deal of growth, and others very little. This pattern would change the city's demography and political alignments, ultimately undercutting the political bargain that created it.

To understand how this bargain emerged, and why planners found it acceptable, one needs to return to the 1961 zoning resolution, which represented a massive downzoning of the areas of the Bronx, Brooklyn and Queens close to subway lines and characterized by apartment buildings, as well as other, less-densely-developed areas where new apartment buildings had also been allowed. That, in turn, was a consequence of another political bargain, negotiated by Mayor Robert F. Wagner and City Planning Commission Chair James Felt; their highest priority, shared with Manhattan real estate developers, was to increase the maximum permitted lot coverage[32] of a commercial or residential tower from the 25 percent permitted under the 1916 zoning to 40 percent. That seemingly technical change brought forth a burst of construction after 1961 that dramatically changed the development pattern in Midtown and other areas of Manhattan south of 96th Street.

Outside of Manhattan, the one borough that had development-friendly zoning after 1961 was Staten Island, which still had large tracts of vacant land. Staten Island rapidly developed after the opening of the Verrazzano-Narrows Bridge in 1964. The evolving development pattern on Staten Island was of small homes that, because they were relatively small and close together, achieved a much higher unit density than a typical suburban county. The borough's households exhibited high levels of auto ownership and use, more characteristic of the suburbs than the other boroughs. The city and state constructed new highways but failed to improve public transit.

The year 1985 was the strongest of the 1980's for new housing permits in New York City, with a total of 20,332, boosted by 12,079 units permitted in Manhattan, as developers rushed to beat one of the periodic expiration dates for the Section 421-a property tax exemption program. In that year, Staten Island had 3,711 units permitted, outpacing the much larger boroughs of the Bronx, Brooklyn and Queens.[33] This pattern persisted through the 1980's, as traffic congestion worsened and older neighborhoods experienced redevelopment with new, denser housing. Controls on growth became an important political issue for the borough's politicians.

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[32] NYC RGB, "2025 Housing Supply Report," 21.
[33] NYC CPC, CP-21965A, January 17, 1973.

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A related issue arose in Queens. While the borough had little new housing construction in the 1980's, much of the new housing that did get built utilized "infill" zoning regulations that had been enacted in 1973 in one of the early efforts by planners to mitigate the consequences of the 1961 zoning resolution[34]. By the 1980's these provisions were encouraging demolition and redevelopment of small homes. Neighborhood groups objected to the way communities were changing, and politicians took up their cause.

These demands led to two significant zoning amendments. The "R4 and R5 Districts Text Amendments"[35] in 1987 significantly curtailed the applicability of more permissive "infill" zoning and was drafted in a way that would have more impact in Queens than in Brooklyn, where teardowns of small homes were less controversial. The "Lower Density Contextual Zoning" amendments in 1989 reduced the permitted size and height of new homes, instituted urban design regulations intended to reduce neighborhood impacts, and created new single- and two-family zoning districts that could be used to control neighborhood change.[36] The city immediately began mapping these new zoning districts, restricting new buildings with three or more housing units. The pace greatly accelerated after Bloomberg took office, as such restrictive rezonings were integral to crafting a council majority enacting his development-inducing plans.

New housing permits on Staten Island fell sharply as the economy weakened after 1989, but recovered by the late 1990's, hitting a new peak of 2,667 in 2000. That revived the anti-development movement, and politicians found a favorable reception in City Hall. This led, in addition to the mapping of restrictive zoning districts, to the "Lower Density Growth Management" zoning amendments of 2004.[37] These changed the as-of-right provisions of existing zoning districts to ensure that little new housing would be built on Staten Island. A 2024 Citizens Housing and Planning Council (CHPC) report notes that the plan "increased parking requirements and minimum lot sizes, and [made] numerous other changes that reduced what could be built in most of the borough. Housing completions in Staten Island dropped by more than two-thirds after these changes."[38]

CHPC notes that between 2002 and 2015, New York City adopted "more than 80 neighborhood-scale downzonings, covering more than 30,000 acres of low-density land...In practice, they became a program for the widespread elimination of multifamily zoning from low-density areas."[39] The trade made sense in the short run – citywide new housing units

[34] NYC CPC, N 880172 ZRY, October 21, 1987.
[35] NYC CPC, N 890552 ZRY, June 7, 1989.
[36] NYC CPC, N 040414 ZRY, July 28, 2004.
[37] Citizens Housing and Planning Council (CHPC), "Unplanned Shrinkage: How New York City's Low-Density Zoning Became So Restrictive," July 2024, https://chpcny.org/wp-content/uploads/2024/10/Unplanned-Shrinkage-101824.pdf, 3.
[38] CHPC, "Unplanned Shrinkage," 4.
[39] NYC RGB, "2025 Housing Supply Report," 21.

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permitted scaled up rapidly until 2008, and then crashed because of the ensuing recession, before recovering in the mid-2010's.[40] The problem was that the zoning changes created a sharp bifurcation between rapidly growing neighborhoods and those that were not growing at all. This was politically untenable and stored up trouble for the future. The city needed to grow continuously and could not rely in the long term on a limited number of high-production rezonings.

Landmarking as an Alternative Land Use Restriction

Local anti-development activists who did not obtain all the relief they sought from the zoning process often turned to the Landmarks Preservation Commission (LPC) to create historic districts as an alternative mechanism of growth control. When the Bloomberg administration took office, historic districts were widely mapped in several high-income neighborhoods of the city, notably the Upper East and Upper West Sides, Chelsea, Greenwich Village, Soho, Noho and Tribeca in Manhattan; and brownstone areas in Brooklyn.[41] To this existing base, the Bloomberg administration added many new historic districts and extensions. Many of these were small, but some were large (Table 2).

Table 2

Major New Historic Districts and Extensions During Bloomberg Administration

District (Borough)	Year	Number of Lots
Crown Heights North (BK)	2007	431
Sunnyside Gardens (QNS)	2007	616
Prospect Heights (BK)	2009	855
Crown Heights North II (BK)	2011	613
Addisleigh Park (QNS)	2011	457
Park Slope Extension (BK)	2012	584
Bedford-Stuyvesant/Expanded Stuyvesant Heights	2013	742

[40] Ingrid Gould Ellen, Brian J. McCabe and Eric Edward Stern, "Fifty Years of Historic Preservation in New York City," NYU Furman Center, March 7, 2016, https://furmancenter.org/files/NYUFurmanCenter_50YearsHistoricPresNYC_7MAR2016.pdf, Table 2.1, 11.

[41] The Sunnyside Gardens Historic District was mapped as part of a political agreement to remove the Special Planned Community Preservation District, a poorly-drafted zoning district that also had preservation of the existing planned community as its goal. See NYC CPC, N 080253 ZRQ, April 22, 2009, https://www.nyc.gov/assets/planning/download/pdf/about/cpc/080253.pdf. Addisleigh Park is a neighborhood of small homes in southeast Queens, that was not experiencing development pressure at the time of landmarking comparable to the Brooklyn areas.

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Source: Ingrid Gould Ellen, Brian J. McCabe and Eric Edward Stern, "Fifty Years of Historic Preservation in New York City," NYU Furman Center, March 7, 2016, 89-90.

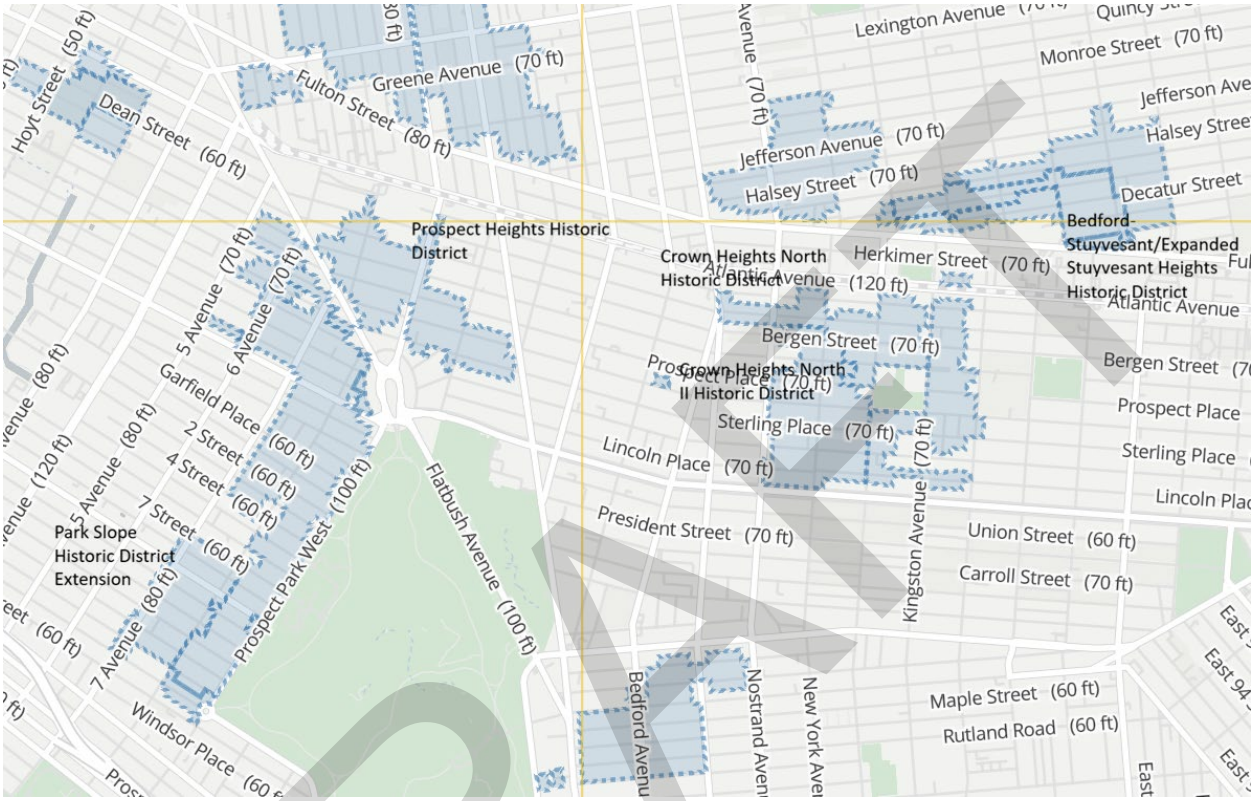
Certainly, the LPC has a responsibility under the City Charter to identify and map historic districts in appropriate locations. However, one cannot ignore LPC's focus primarily on emerging strong-housing-market areas in northern Brooklyn (Figure 1). [42] A 2016 study by NYU's Furman Center found that lots within historic districts are much less likely to be redeveloped than lots outside such districts[43] -- a logical consequence of LPC's preservation mission. The likely result of these designations is that the growth from Bloomberg administration upzonings was in part substituting for new housing that might otherwise have been constructed within these new historic district boundaries.

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[42] Ellen, McCabe and Stern, "Fifty Years of Historic Preservation," Figure 4.9, 46.
[43] New York State Urban Development Corporation d/b/a Empire State Development Corporation, *Atlantic Yards Land Use Improvement and Civic Project Modified General Project Plan,* December 8, 2006, https://esd.ny.gov/sites/default/files/media/document/AYP-2006-GPP.pdf.

Figure 1

Major Brooklyn Historic Districts Enacted During Bloomberg Administration



Source: NYC DCP, Zoning and Land Use Map, https://zola.planning.nyc.gov/

ESDC Actions

Most of the Bloomberg administration's zoning initiatives were approved via the city's Uniform Land Use Review Process (ULURP), requiring approval by the City Planning Commission and the City Council, as well as advisory reviews by affected community boards, borough boards and Borough Presidents. An important exception was the Atlantic Yards redevelopment plan, proposed for approval by the New York State Empire State Development Corporation (ESDC) board and the state Public Authorities Control Board. These processes were controversial, viewed by many local elected officials and community activists as end-runs around them.

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Atlantic Yards (later renamed Pacific Park) was originally proposed in 2003 by the real estate developer Forest City Ratner and approved by the ESDC board in 2006.[44] The project included a sports arena (now the Barclays Center), 16 residential towers, and eight acres of public open space. Using its powers under state law, ESDC would override zoning and undertake eminent domain to assemble the development sites.[45]

Atlantic Yards was structurally complex and might have had difficulties with implementation even if it had been approved by the City Planning Commission and the City Council via ULURP. However, the plan's shortcomings, discussed below, served as a cautionary tale for governors and mayors, and not a precedent for additional large-scale residential developments.

The Affordable Housing Issue

As the major first-term Bloomberg administration zoning initiatives entered public review the need became apparent for a regulatory structure that ensured proposed new housing would include a minimum percentage of below-market units. Many community boards and elected officials supported a mandatory zoning requirement – every new building would be required to include affordable housing. [46] Most of the senior DCP planning staff – including me – were opposed to a mandatory zoning requirement, on the grounds that the political process would likely be able to agree only on a requirement so onerous as to be economically infeasible. At one point in internal city discussions, Doctoroff seemed amenable to a mandatory requirement, believing that this would facilitate City Council approvals of the administration's major first-term initiatives. The city's private Real Estate Board, getting word of this, mobilized its connections to Bloomberg. At a key City Hall meeting, the mayor's chief of staff, Peter Madonia, delivered the verdict: there would be no mandatory affordable housing requirement.

Having this guidance, DCP, along with the city's Commissioner of Housing Preservation and Development (HPD), Shaun Donovan, and then-HPD Deputy Commissioner (later Commissioner) Rafael Cestero crafted a voluntary "inclusionary zoning" incentive program, providing a 33 percent zoning floor area bonus in exchange for making 20 percent of the units in a new building affordable.[47] This framework was incorporated into the Greenpoint-Williamsburg rezoning, portions of the Hudson Yards rezoning area, and the

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[44] Dr. Eugenie Birch, Amanda Lloyd, MCP and Penn Institute for Urban Research, "Case Study: Atlantic Yards, Brooklyn New York," September 15, 2020, https://penniur.upenn.edu/uploads/media/Atlantic_Yards_Case_Study_September_2020.pdf, 7.
[45] Brooklyn Speaks, "Atlantic Yards," https://brooklynspeaks.net/atlanticyards, accessed December 24, 2025.
[46] David Brand, "New Atlantic Yards housing plan takes shape, with taller towers, higher income levels," *Gothamist,* December 8, 2025, https://gothamist.com/news/new-atlantic-yards-housing-plan-takes-shape-with-taller-towers-higher-income-levels.
[47] New York State Real Property Tax Law, §421-a.

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later stages of the West Chelsea rezoning after most High Line development rights had been used.

In Atlantic Yards, the development approved by ESDC included 2,250 of the 6,400 proposed units as below-market housing. In 2005, the developer signed a Memorandum of Understanding with a community organization, Association of Community Organizations for Reform Now (ACORN) specifying the units that would be constructed to be affordable at different levels of income. ESDC ultimately did not hold the developer, and its successors, to this agreement, and the failure to achieve agreed-upon affordable housing goals remained controversial.[48] As of December 2025, 900 affordable units remained unbuilt, and the portion of the project on a platform over the Long Island Rail Road storage yards also had not been built. A new developer was proposing substantial changes to the project, that would increase the number of units to 9,000.[49]

Inclusionary Zoning and Section 421-a Tax Exemptions

As the city implemented its new "inclusionary zoning" incentive, property tax exemptions, not zoning floor area bonuses, emerged as the most important inducement ensuring that below-market units were included in new residential buildings. The "Section 421-a" property tax exemption program[50] was first enacted in state law in 1971. The version in effect in Bloomberg's first mayoral term specified an as-of-right ten-year tax exemption for new multifamily residential buildings. However, in Manhattan between 14th and 96th Streets, defined as the Geographic Exclusion Area (GEA), new buildings, to obtain the tax exemption, had to provide below-market units onsite or, more commonly, purchase "certificates" of eligibility from developers of low-income housing in lower-cost parts of the city.[51]

In 2007 the program was revised to expand the GEA boundaries to include all of Manhattan, substantial parts of northern Brooklyn and small areas in the Bronx and Queens. Below-market housing had to be onsite. In a 2020 report, I found that the expanded GEA was

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[48] Samuel Stein and Debipriya Chatterjee, "Five Decades of Fighting Over 421-a," The Gotham Center for New York City History, May 3, 2022, https://www.gothamcenter.org/blog/five-decades-of-fighting-over-421-a.
[49] Eric Kober, "Zoning, Taxes, and Affordable Housing: Lessons from Bloomberg's Final Term," Manhattan Institute, May 20th, 2020, https://manhattan.institute/article/zoning-taxes-and-affordable-housing-lessons-from-bloombergs-final-term.
[50] NYC DCP, *NYC Industrial Plan: Draft Report,* September 2025, https://www.nyc.gov/assets/planning/downloads/pdf/our-work/plans/citywide/nyc-industrial-plan/industrial-plan-draft-sept2025.pdf, 18.

[51] NYC DCP, Population Division, "New York City Population Projections by Age/Sex & Borough," December 2006, https://www.nyc.gov/assets/planning/download/pdf/data-maps/nyc-population/projections_briefing_booklet.pdf.

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effective in inducing housing developers to provide affordable housing, use the "inclusionary" floor area bonus and obtain a tax exemption. Outside the GEA, the floor area bonus alone was not effective in inducing housing developers to provide affordable housing. Instead, they tended to build smaller buildings that took advantage of the availability of an as-of-right tax exemption even without below-market units.[52]

Industrial Business Zones

Many of the first-term Bloomberg administration rezonings were in manufacturing zones, where new housing was prohibited under the 1961 zoning resolution. By 2005 the administration saw the need to mollify industrial-sector businesses and advocates, who feared that every remaining manufacturing zone would be a rezoning target. The city therefore designated Industrial Business Zones – 21 by the end of 2025 (Figure 2).[53]

> Industrial Business Zones (IBZs) were established ... as the locations that could best support strong industrial business districts. In addition to making tax incentives available to businesses relocating from within New York City to an IBZ, the [Bloomberg] administration ... committed not to advance applications to rezone to allow residential use within the IBZs. Although the IBZs are officially administered as tax policy, subsequent administrations have reaffirmed the commitments not to rezone them to allow new residential use.[54]

As committing not to rezone an area is always easier politically than to argue in favor of its rezoning, the land within designated IBZs included areas with few jobs and limited industrial investment interest. The over-designation of IBZs was thus a constraint on future rezoning with few public benefits.

Figure 2

NYC Industrial Business Zones (as of 2025)

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[52] City of New York, *PlaNYC,*18.

[53] Paul Krugman, "No Bubble Trouble?," *The New York Times,* January 2, 2006, https://www.nytimes.com/2006/01/02/opinion/no-bubble-trouble.html.

[54] City of New York, *PlaNYC,* 12.



Source: NYC DCP, Zoning and Land Use Map

PlaNYC Land Use and Housing Component

Genesis of PlaNYC

PlaNYC began as a strategic planning exercise initiated by Deputy Mayor Doctoroff in 2005. In the Giuliani years and Bloomberg's first term, New York City had rezoned the "low-hanging fruit" -- areas that were obviously ripe for redevelopment, if the constraints of obsolete zoning were removed. There was a consensus view within the administration that the city's population growth had forward momentum, and that many more areas of the city would need to be rezoned to allow housing growth.

The strategic planning exercise began with population projections prepared by the Department of City Planning (DCP)'s Population Division. How much might the city's population grow in the coming decades, and what were the implications for housing, jobs and infrastructure?

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The forecast of the city's future population up to 2030 would allow planners to estimate the number of housing units that would be needed to house this population, above and beyond those already in construction. This, in turn, would lead to an analysis of the appropriate locations that should be rezoned to accommodate this projected housing growth.

Population Forecast

DCP's Population Division prepared population "projections" for the decennial census years up to 2030.[55] Preparing population forecasts for New York City is surprisingly chancy. Future populations are influenced by external factors over which the city has no control, such as economic cycles and immigration policies. The Division's careful researchers thus made clear they had produced a "projection," a mathematical extrapolation from the 2000 population based on specific assumptions. Nonetheless, the projections were treated as a forecast for strategic planning purposes.

The projections were prepared using a "cohort components model" that "take[s] existing men and women in different age groups ("age/ sex cohorts") and move[s] them forward through time using assumptions on future births, deaths, and migration." Such assumptions were based on historical rates and known trends; if those changed, the projections would diverge from the actual enumerated population. As an additional check on how realistic the projections might be, the Department of City Planning independently projected the future housing stock, based on existing zoned capacity and expected changes. This, too, could prove inaccurate if there were significant reductions in average household size, as there were after 1961.

The summary population projections table is shown in Table 3. By 2030, New York City would attain a population of 9.1 million. Queens and Staten Island would have record-high populations, and the Bronx and Brooklyn would be nearly at their respective historic highs, in 1970 and 1950. Manhattan would remain well below its historic peak population of 2.3 million in 1910.

[55] City of New York, *PlaNYC,* 20.

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Table 3

New York City Population by Borough, 2000-2030

	2000	2010	2020	2030
New York City	**8,008,278**	**8,402,213**	**8,692,564**	**9,119,811**
Bronx	1,332,650	1,401,194	1,420,277	1,457,039
Brooklyn	2,465,326	2,566,836	2,628,211	2,718,967
Manhattan	1,537,195	1,662,701	1,729,530	1,826,547
Queens	2,229,379	2,279,674	2,396,949	2,565,352
Staten Island	443,728	491,808	517,597	551,906

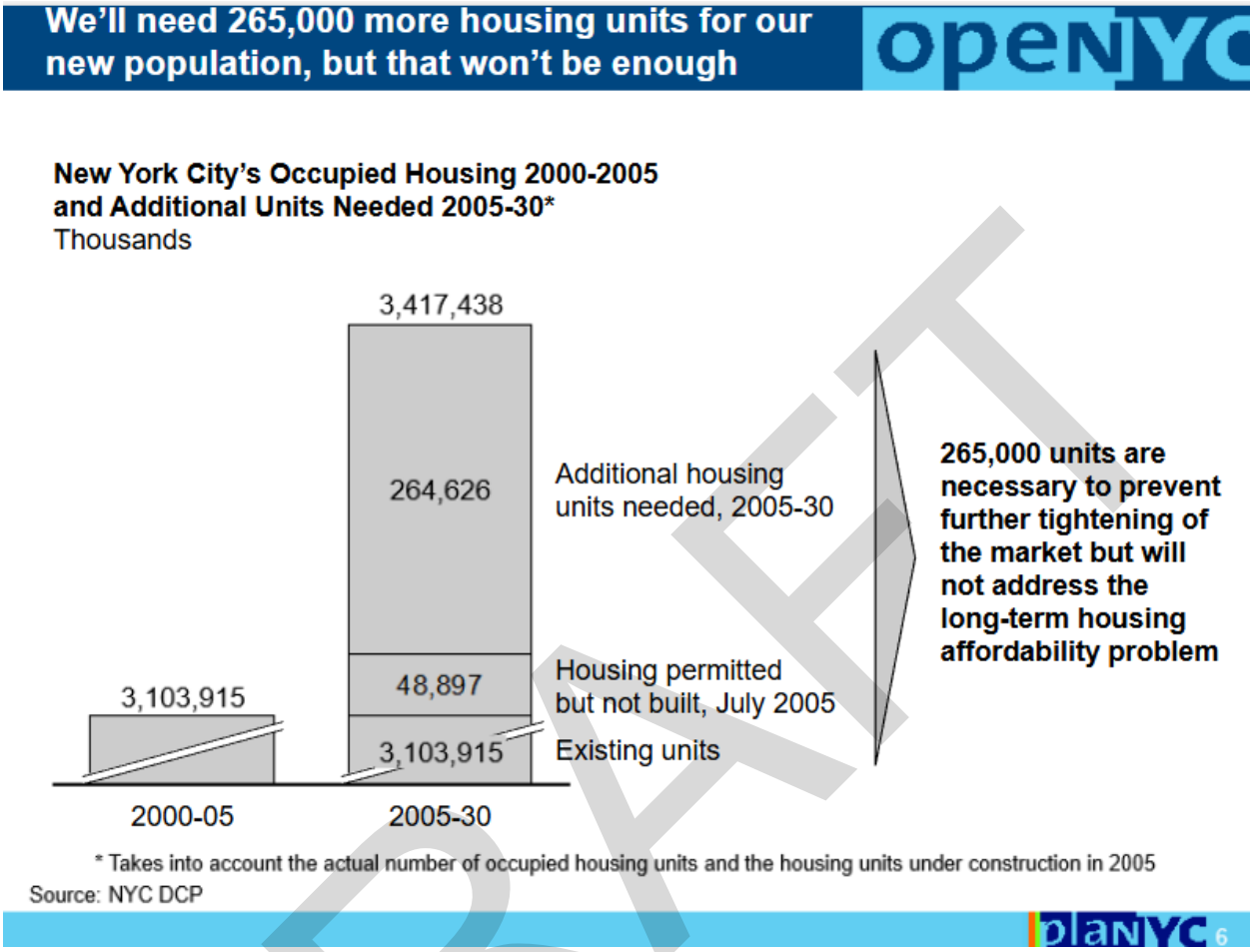
Source: New York City Department of City Planning, Population Division, "New York City Population Projections by Age/Sex & Borough, 2000–2030".

Housing Forecast

DCP estimated a need for 265,000 additional housing units by 2030 to accommodate population growth, above and beyond the estimated 3.1 million existing occupied housing units in July 2005 and the 49,000 units that had received permits at that time but were not yet completed (Figure 3). DCP allocated the needed units by borough and compared those figures to the estimated existing zoned capacity, assuming 75% of a borough's zoned capacity could feasibly be developed (Figure 4). That exercise determined that the city had sufficient capacity to accommodate the needed housing units, except in Manhattan.

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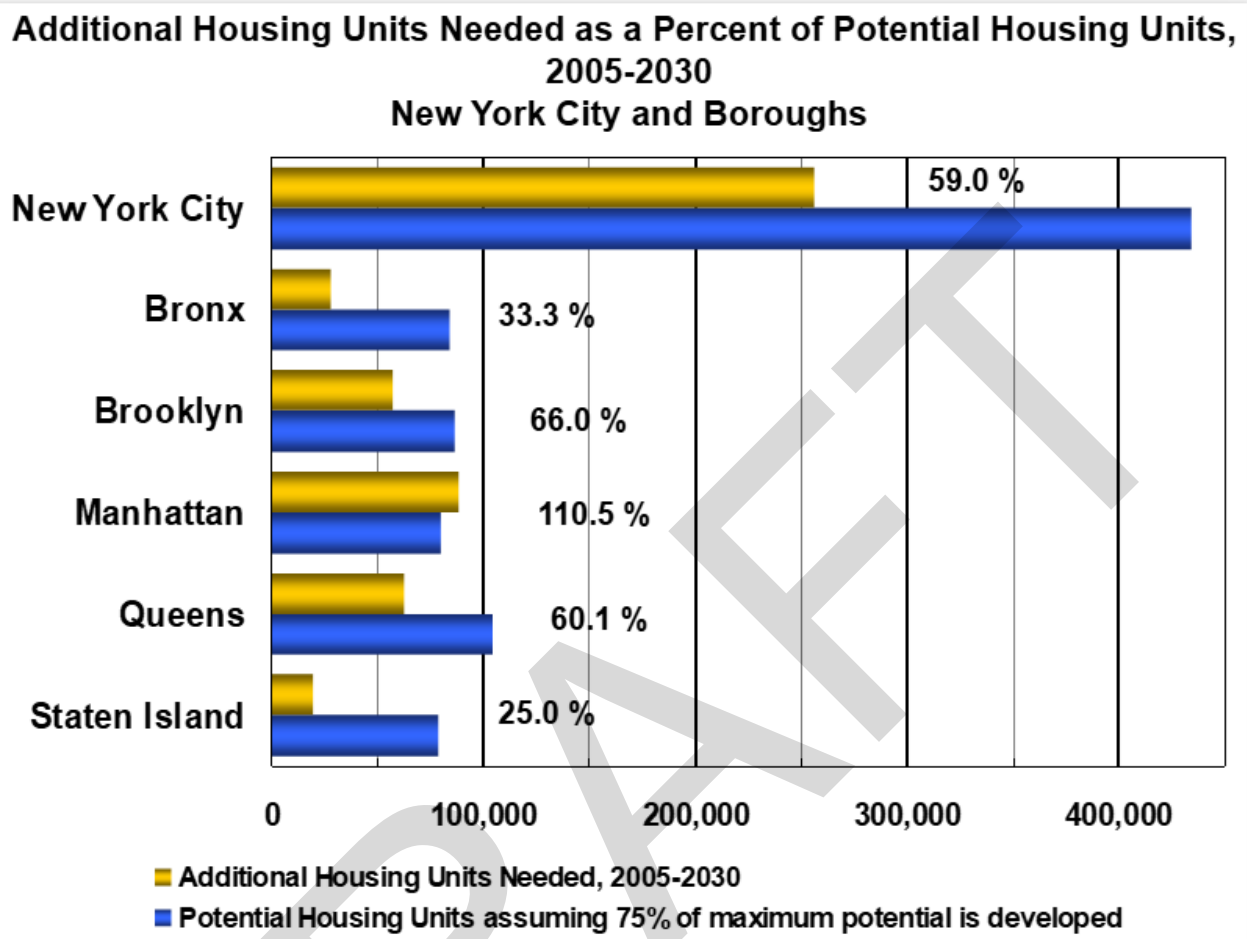
Figure 3



Source: NYC DCP, Author's files, December 11, 2006

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Figure 4



Source: NYC DCP, Author's files, April 3, 2006

Doctoroff was concerned, however, by data indicating that as the number of vacant parcels in the city fell with the post-fiscal crisis economic recovery, the price of vacant land had risen sharply.[56] The high and rising price of land zoned for residential development indicated that much more zoned capacity was needed. A greatly increased residential zoned capacity would cause developers to bid down the price of land over time, making new housing more affordable. This view was influenced by economist Paul Krugman, who hypothesized that the U.S. housing market was divided between what he called "Flatland" in the interior of the country and the "Zoned Zone" on the coasts, including the New York metropolitan area. In "Flatland," there was plenty of room to build new houses, and new housing prices generally reflected construction costs, plus a profit markup for the developer. In the "Zoned Zone," in contrast, development restrictions prevented housing

[56] NYC DCP, "Where is housing being added in New York City?", March 4, 2025, https://storymaps.arcgis.com/stories/079066aeb25741b78344098e1f4aef24.

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construction from responding to increased demand with increased output. Thus, these areas were subject to much wider swings in home values.[57] Doctoroff wanted to make New York City more like "Flatland." That analysis, and interpretation of the data, led to this carefully edited passage in the *PlaNYC* report:

> To meet the needs of a growing population, we'll need 265,000 more housing units by 2030. We have the capacity to accommodate this growth, but without action our city's housing stock won't be as affordable or sustainable as it should be.
>
> That's why we will expand our supply potential by 300,000 to 500,000 units to drive down the price of land...[58]

The Plan

The plan would create 318,400–497,300 additional zoned capacity for housing units through the approval of large private rezoning applications, publicly-initiated rezonings, new housing on public land, and rezoning of "areas of opportunity" (Table 4).

Table 4

Expansion of Zoned Housing Capacity

	LARGE PRIVATE APPLICATIONS	PUBLICLY-INITIATED REZONINGS	NEW HOUSING ON PUBLIC LAND	AREAS OF OPPORTUNITY
TIME FRAME	2007–2030	2007–2009	2007–2013	2010–2030
Bronx	1,900	5,200–11,500	2,800	68,000–104,000
Brooklyn	4,500-5,000	11,200–25,300	8,600–10,700	86,000–174,000
Manhattan	13,800–14,500	11,100–15,600	7,100–8,100	18,000–22,000
Queens	5,500–6,200	25,400–26,900	9,500–19,000	29,000–39,000
Staten Island	700	1,100	1,400	7,600
SUBTOTAL	26,400–28,300	54,000–80,400	29,400–42,000	208,600–346,600
TOTAL				318,400–497,300

Source: NYC Department of City Planning

Source: PlaNYC: A Greener, Greater New York, 2007, p. 25.

A map[59] showed the general locations of these proposed capacity changes. Most were located within a half mile of a subway station and could thus be characterized as "transit-

[57] NYC RGB, "2025 Housing Supply Report." 24.
[58] Minjee Kim and Hyojung Lee, "Upzoning and gentrification: Heterogeneous impacts of neighbourhood-level upzoning in New York City," Urban Studies, 62 no. 10, (2025), https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/10.1177/00420980241298199, 2014.
[59] Kim and Lee, "Upzoning and gentrification," 2018.

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oriented" development. The map was consistent with the Bloomberg Administration's policy of making zoning in low-density parts of the city, beyond the half-mile radius, more restrictive. This discounted the potential for enhanced bus service and subway-to-bus transfers and, not coincidentally, took key Council members' districts "off the table" for rezonings.

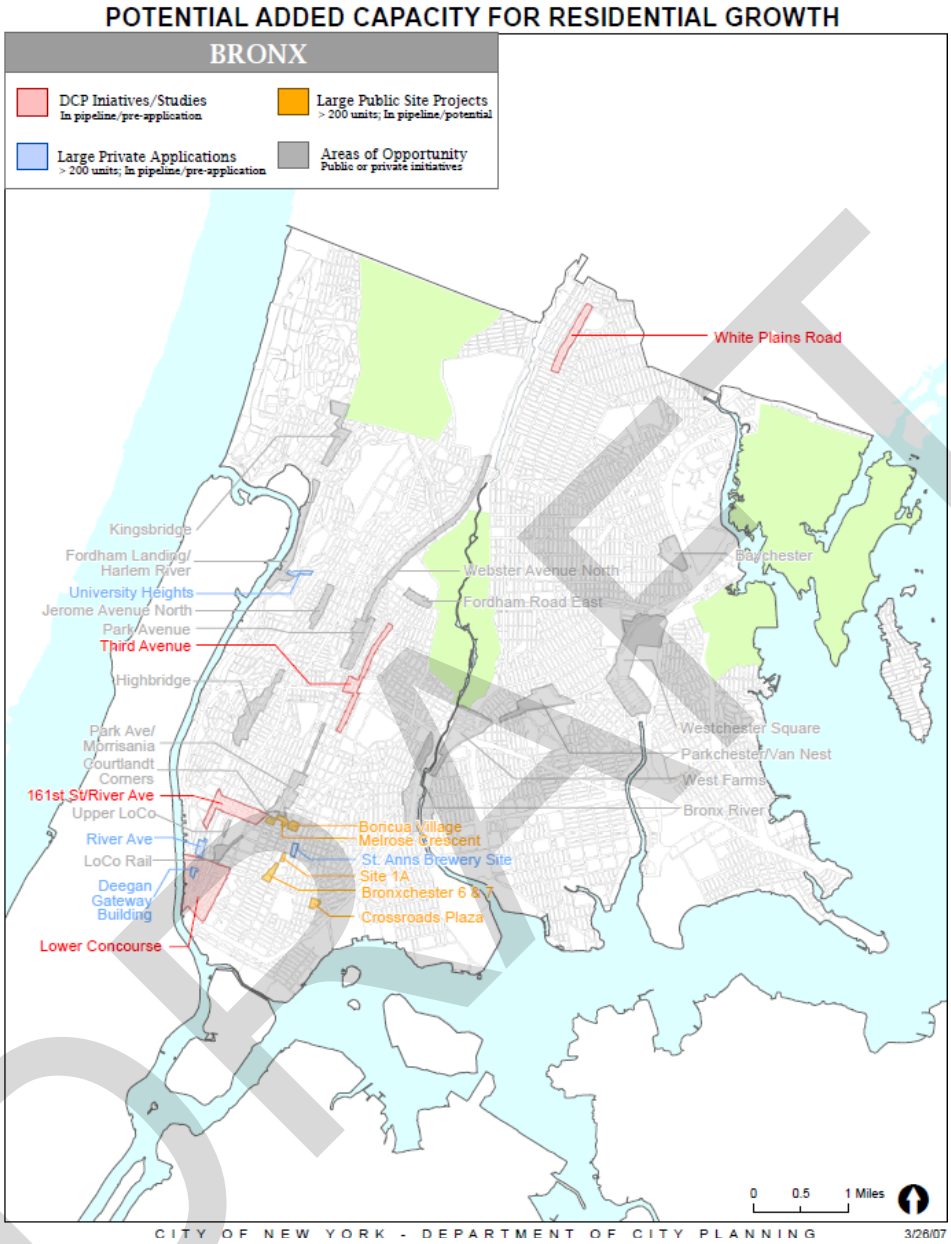
Because CPC Chair Amanda Burden was concerned that the map of proposed zoned capacity changes had not been fully vetted with relevant City Council members and community boards, the published map depicted these areas at a high level of abstraction, and exact boundaries could not be readily identified. The published map did not subsequently prove controversial.

However, the map was based on detailed borough maps prepared by the DCP borough offices. These maps (Figures 5-9) influenced DCP's rezoning work, not only in the remainder of the Bloomberg administration, but in the subsequent administrations of Bill de Blasio and Eric Adams. Appendix Tables 1-5 list the potential changes found on the maps and rezonings that occurred by the end of 2025.

As the appendix tables indicate, many of the "areas of opportunity" identified have yet to be rezoned. The reasons are varied: Some areas fell victim to political opposition, while others languished due to a lack of staff and funding for the environmental review required by state law. In other cases, resources were diverted to areas that had political support or seemed more promising for housing construction.

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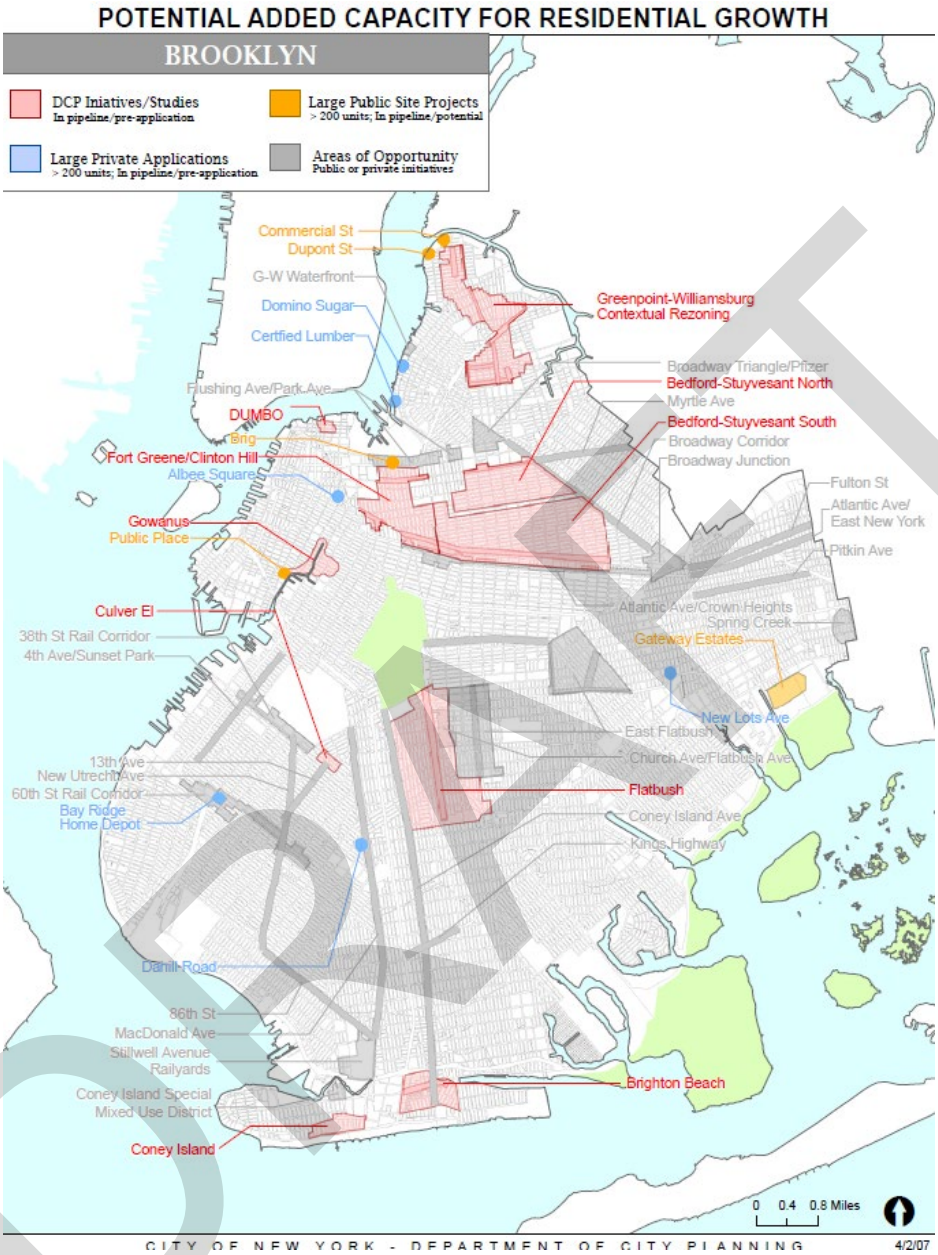
Figure 5



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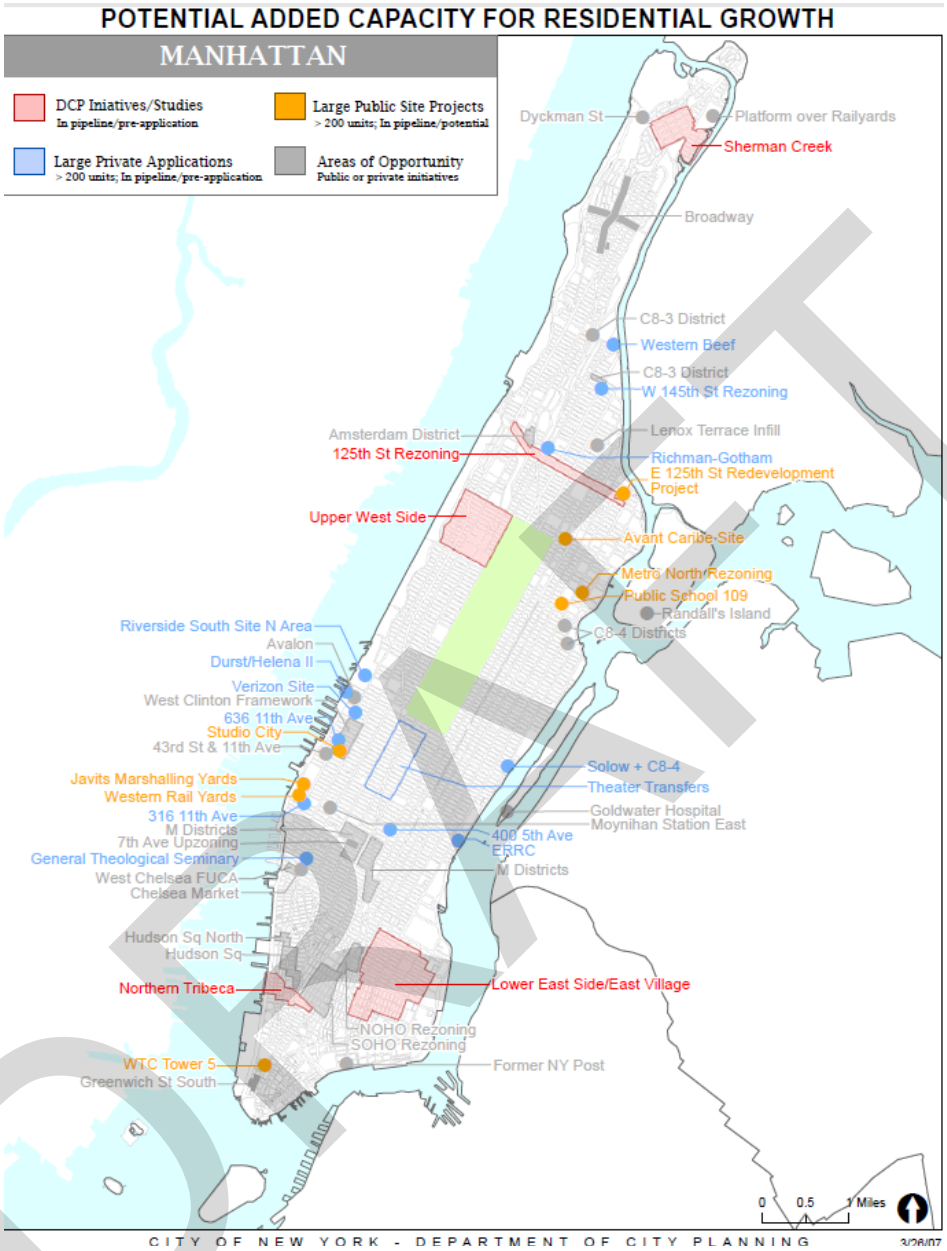
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Figure 6



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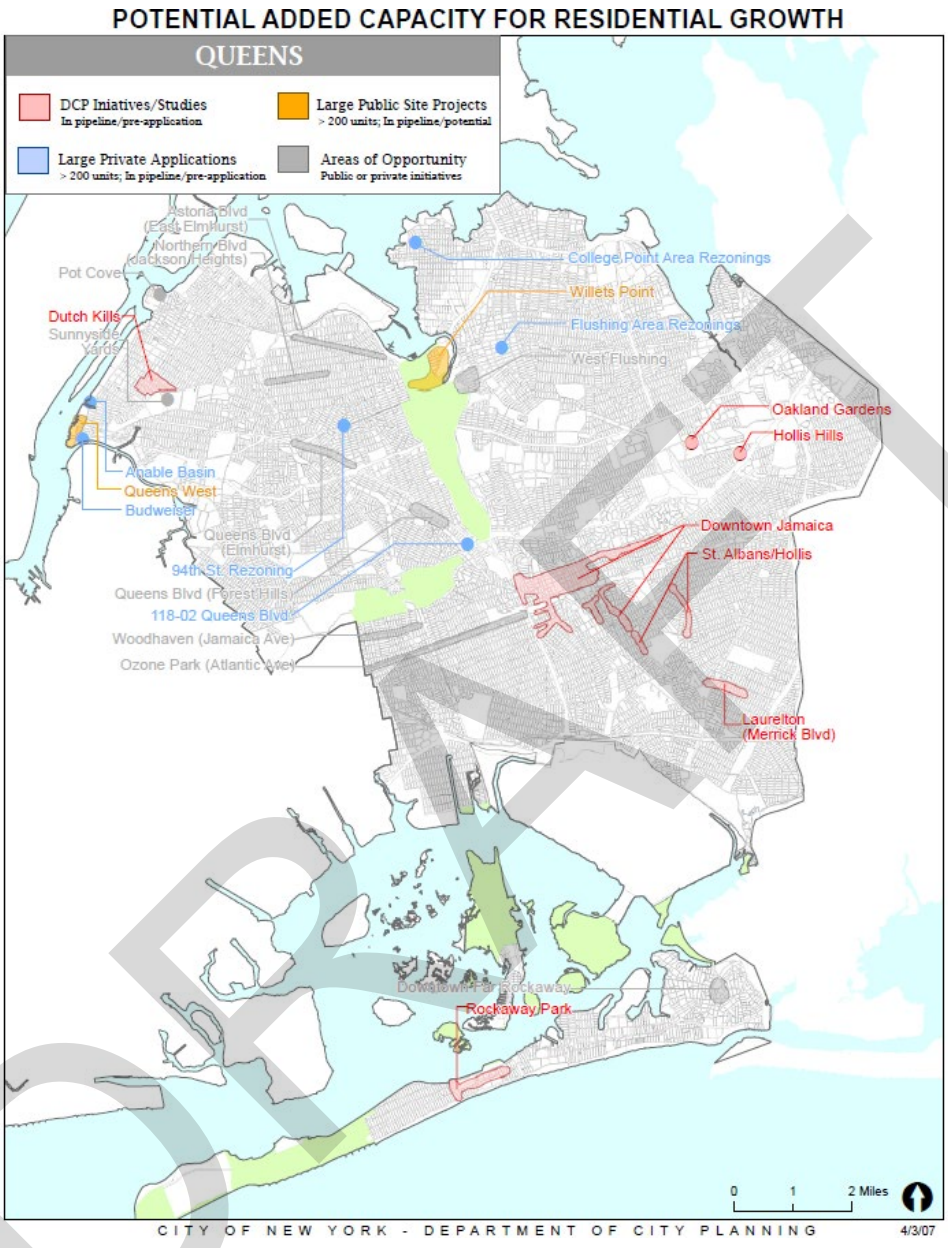
Figure 7



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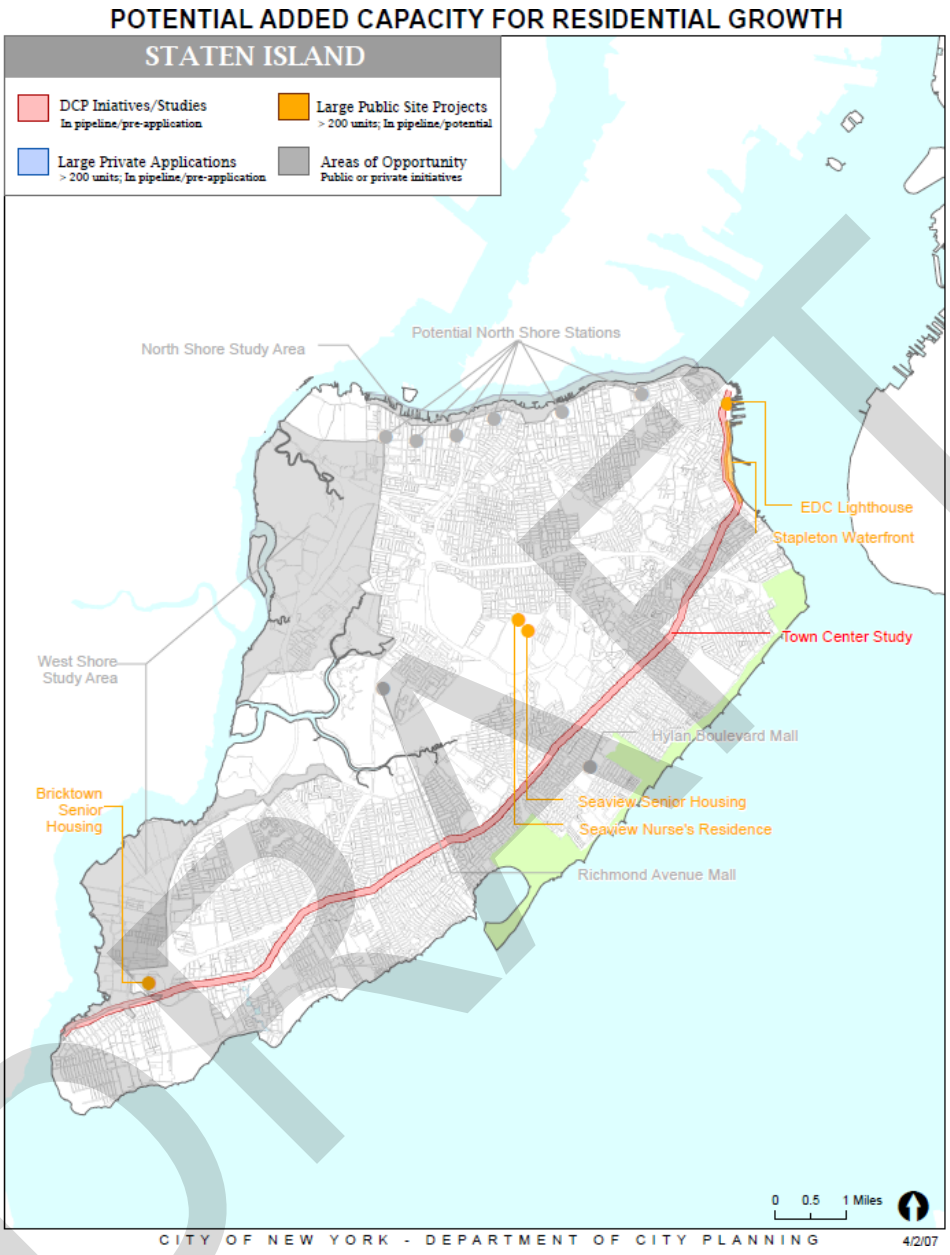
Figure 8



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Figure 9



Source: NYC Department of City Planning, Author's files, April 3, 2007

Post-PlaNYC Land Use Planning

Extent of Bloomberg-era Rezonings

In 2012 DCP published a map showing 119 rezonings since the beginning of 2002, covering 36 percent of the city's land area (Figure 10). The map does not distinguish between up- and down-zonings. An earlier, slightly different version of the map shows widespread downzonings in the east Bronx, eastern Queens and Staten Island (Figure 11). Many other rezoning areas are diagonally striped, indicating a combination of up- and down-zonings.

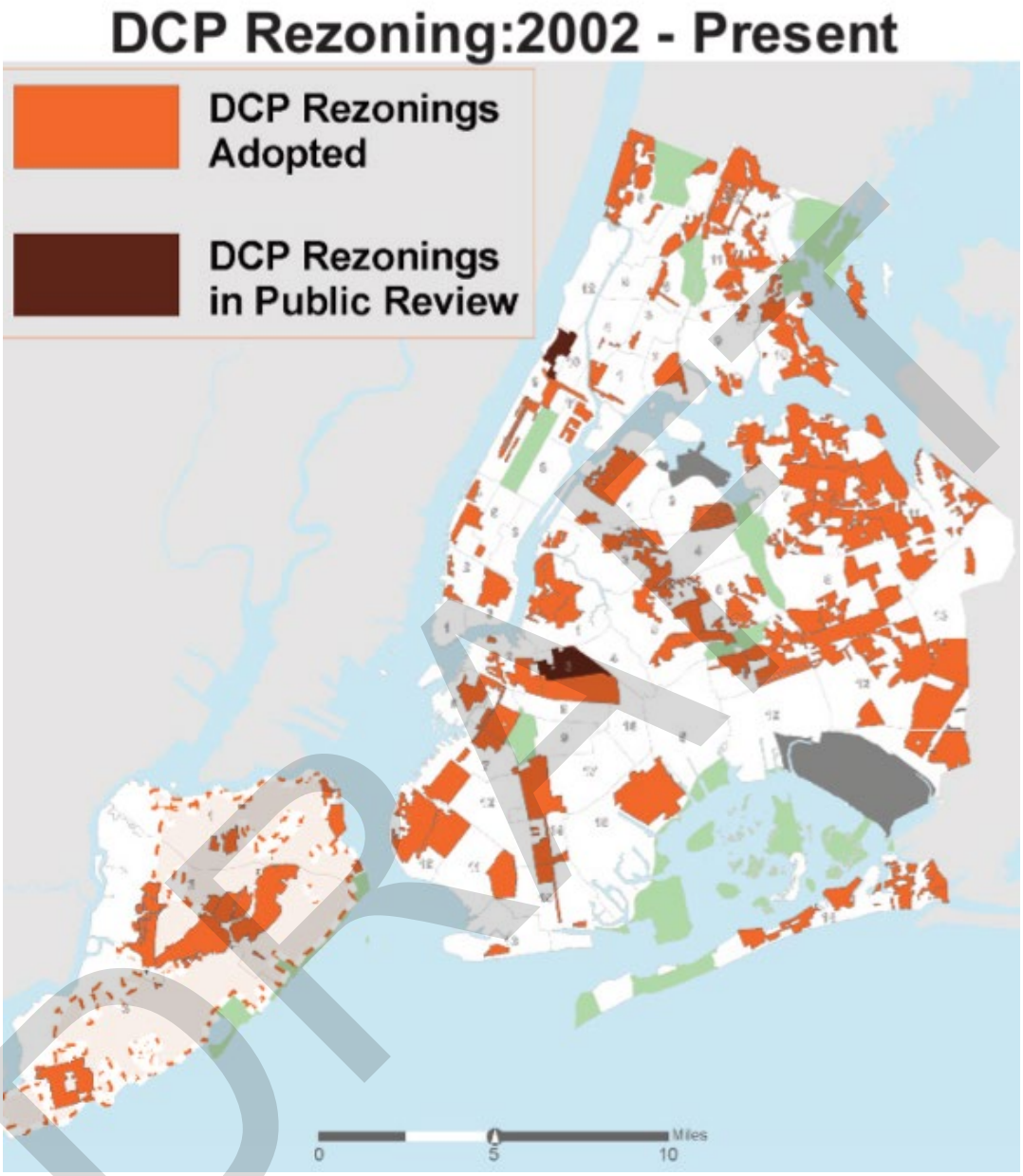
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The Figure 11 map omits the West Harlem and Bedford-Stuyvesant North rezonings, which occurred late in Bloomberg's term and are shown as "in public review" in Figure 10.

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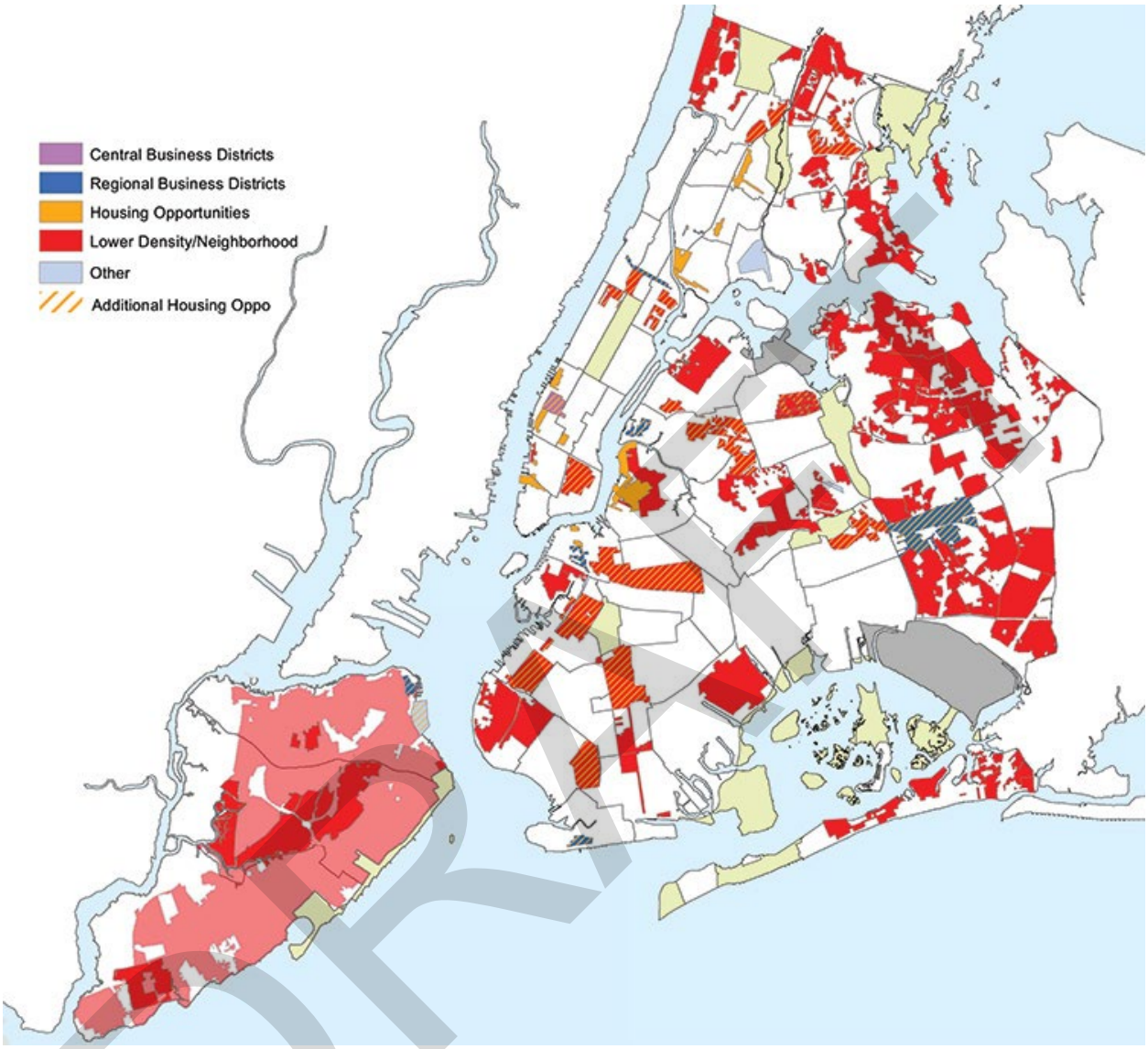
Figure 10



Source*: City of New York, Mayor's Management Report: Fiscal Year 2012*, *https://www.nyc.gov/site/operations/performance/mmr.page*, *Department of City Planning, 157.*

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Figure 11



Source: NYC DCP, from "The Omnibus Roundup – Clinton on Cities, FLW Comes to NYC, NAC Profiles DCP, Corona Embraces Ped Plaza, and Freedom of Assembly," Urban Omnibus, webpage, September 7, 2012, https://urbanomnibus.net/2012/09/the-omnibus-roundup-169/.

Housing Production Resulting from Bloomberg-Era Rezonings

As of the end of August 2025, Bloomberg-era rezonings had resulted in the completion of 113,964 new housing units, and permits for an additional 16,326, for a total of 130,290 (Table 5). The Greenpoint-Williamsburg rezoning was the top producer at 11,810 units, with Downtown Brooklyn second at 9,759. Of the top 20 rezonings in terms of new housing units, four others predated PlaNYC (Hudson Yards, West Chelsea/High Line, Hunters Point Subdistrict and Port Morris/Bruckner Blvd.) and fourteen occurred afterwards. The most productive post-PlaNYC rezonings were the Jamaica (Queens) Plan,

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with 8,301 units, the Astoria (also Queens) rezoning with 6,162 units and the Bedford-Stuyvesant South (Brooklyn) rezoning with 4,583 units. Astoria had not been identified in the PlaNYC maps. The 2010 Astoria rezoning was "intended to preserve the scale and character of Astoria's blocks and ensure that future residential development would be more consistent with the surrounding neighborhood's building patterns ... [while also providing] opportunities for moderate growth."[60] Just 883 new units were projected over a ten-year period.[61] Driven by demographic changes bringing in a more affluent young-adult population, actual housing growth greatly exceeded this level.

Because of the economic downturn after 2008, much of the development enabled by Bloomberg-era rezonings occurred after Bloomberg himself left office. In 2025, the Department of City Planning published an analysis of the net change in housing units by community district for the years 2010-24. Five community districts stood out, adding the largest number of units (between 14,000 and 29,746): Manhattan 4, Brooklyn 1 and 2 and Queens 1 and 2.[62] All were locations of major Bloomberg-era rezonings (Queens 2 was also the location of the 2001 Long Island City rezoning).

An analysis by the Downtown Brooklyn Partnership provides a case study of the effects of land use changes including the 2004 Downtown Brooklyn rezoning and Pacific Park. [63] Over 22,000 new housing units had been completed by early 2026. The population in 18 census tracts comprising the Downtown Brooklyn area had increased from about 30,000 to over 64,000.

Photos of the Downtown Brooklyn rezoning area from 2004 depict blocks of dingy low-rise commercial buildings and parking lots (Figure 12). As the Partnership documents, these have been replaced by a forest of high-rise towers.

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[60] NYC DCP, *New York City Mandatory Inclusionary Housing: Promoting Economically Diverse Neighborhoods*, September 2015, https://www.nyc.gov/assets/planning/downloads/pdf/our-work/plans/citywide/mandatory-inclusionary-housing/mih_report.pdf, 8.
[61] New York City Housing Development Corporation, *Market and Financial Study: NYC Mandatory Inclusionary Housing*, September 2015, https://www.nyc.gov/assets/planning/downloads/pdf/our-work/plans/citywide/mandatory-inclusionary-housing/bae_report_092015.pdf, 49-51.
[62] NYC DCP, "Mandatory Inclusionary Housing," https://www.nyc.gov/content/planning/pages/our-work/plans/citywide/mandatory-inclusionary-housing, accessed December 24, 2025.
[63] Stein and Chatterjee, "Five Decades of (Fighting Over) 421-a."

Figure 12

Downtown Brooklyn, 2004



Willoughby Street, south side between Jay and Lawrence Streets 11



Albee Square West/Gold Street, west side south of Willoughby Street 12

Source: NYC Office of the Deputy Mayor for Economic Development and Rebuilding, Downtown Brooklyn Development: Final Environmental Impact Statement, April 2004, 03DME016K, https://a002-ceqraccess.nyc.gov/ceqr/, Figure 8-7, 8-21.

It is important to recognize that the housing construction under the Bloomberg rezonings, while large, was not entirely additive to the city's earlier levels of construction. The downzonings had a concurrent negative effect. This was particularly apparent on Staten Island, where new housing completions fell sharply from a peak of 3,482 in 2003. In the

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post-2008 period, to 2024, new housing completions in the borough exceeded 1,000 only once, in 2016.[64]

Pursuant to a local law enacted by the City Council, the Department of City Planning has produced "lookback reports" for rezonings in 2009, 2010 and 2011. One such report looks at the experience of the 2011 South Jamaica rezoning[65], which is typical of the Bloomberg-era neighborhood "downzonings". The lookback study notes that the South Jamaica rezoning (Queens Community District 12) was intended to "preserve the established lower-density character of the rezoning area and ensure that future development will more closely reflect the area's existing land use and development patterns."[66] In the ten years prior to the rezoning, 1,492 new housing units received permits in the rezoning area; in the ten years after, 192 units, a decrease of 87 percent.

As the result of zoning and other development restrictions, some preceding Bloomberg's mayoralty and others imposed during it, some community districts hardly grew at all. This is indicated by Appendix Table 6, which compares the population and number of housing units by community district for the 2000 and 2020 Censuses. In the Bronx, for example, the predominantly low-density CD 11 saw only a three percent gain in its housing units. In Brooklyn CD 14, also largely low-density, increased its housing by only four percent, and lost population. In Manhattan, the housing stock increased only two percent in CDs 8 and 12. In Queens, low-density CD 10 increased its housing by only one percent, while CDs 6 and 13 increased by two percent and CD 11 three percent.

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[64] Kenneth K. Lowenstein, "New York's 421-a Tax Exemption for New Residential Buildings is Back," Holland & Knight, April 17, 2017, https://www.hklaw.com/en/insights/publications/2017/04/new-yorks-421a-tax-exemption-for-new-residential-b.

[65] City of New York, Department of Finance, *Annual Report on Tax Expenditures: Fiscal Year 2026,* https://www.nyc.gov/site/finance/about/annual-report-on-tax-expenditures.page, i.

[66] New York City's capital budget finances improvements with utility that lasts beyond the current fiscal year. Most capital spending is financed by borrowing or State and Federal aid. In contrast, the expense budget funds expenditures, such as salaries and supplies, that must be renewed each year.

Table 5

New Housing Construction Resulting from Bloomberg Administration Rezonings

(Through August 2025)

Areawide Rezoning (Community District)	Effective Date	Permitted	Completed	Grand Total
GREENPOINT-WILLIAMSBURG (BK 1)	5/16/2005	496	11314	**11810**
DOWNTOWN BKLYN DEVELOPMENT (BK 2)	7/6/2004	1350	8409	**9759**
THE JAMAICA PLAN (Q 12)	9/17/2007	1032	7269	**8301**
ASTORIA REZONING (Q 1)	5/31/2010	769	5393	**6162**
HUDSON YARDS (M 4)	1/19/2005	307	4498	**4805**
BEDFORD-STUYVESANT SOUTH (BK 3)	11/3/2007	760	3823	**4583**
GATEWAY ESTATES II (BK 5)	4/7/2009	818	3472	**4290**
BEDFORD-STUYVESANT NORTH (BK 3)	10/17/2012	296	3840	**4136**
FLATBUSH REZONING (BK 14)	8/3/2009	996	2834	**3830**
GREENPOINT-WILLIAMSBURG CONTEXTUAL (BK 1)	8/3/2009	511	3250	**3761**
WEST CHELSEA/HIGH LINE (M 4)	6/28/2005	34	3553	**3587**
HUNTERS POINT SOUTH (Q 2)	11/18/2008	0	3251	**3251**
LOWER CONCOURSE (BX 4)	7/5/2009	1217	1808	**3025**
FORT GREENE/CLINTON HILL (BK 2)	8/30/2007	124	2787	**2911**
DUTCH KILLS (Q 1)	10/14/2008	445	2069	**2514**
HUNTERS POINT SUBDISTRICT REZONING (Q 2)	8/17/2004	346	2228	**2574**
WILLIAMSBRIDGE/BAYCHESTER REZONING (BX 12)	10/11/2011	314	2057	**2371**
CONEY ISLAND COMPREHENSIVE PLAN (BK 13)	8/3/2009	699	1636	**2335**
PORT MORRIS/BRUCKNER BLVD REZONING (BX 1)	3/14/2005	0	2329	**2329**
CROWN HEIGHTS WEST REZONING (BK 8)	9/30/2013	283	1823	**2106**
ALL OTHER		5529	36321	**41850**
Grand Total		**16326**	**113964**	**130290**

Source: NYC Department of Buildings, complied by NYC Department of City Planning, December 2025

Research on Effects of the Bloomberg-era Rezonings

A research study (Kim and Lee, 2025) examines the effects of Bloomberg-era rezonings on the socioeconomic characteristics of the rezoned areas. The authors identify 122 rezoning initiatives in the Bloomberg era, which they divide into

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> (1) 30 initiatives that primarily increased residential development capacity; (2) 23 initiatives that combined upzoning with downzoning or other zoning amendments; (3) 66 initiatives that either primarily downzoned or locked in existing density restrictions; and (4) two initiatives that did not change residential development capacity.[67]

The authors focus on the 53 rezonings in the first two categories, comparing characteristics in the 2000 and 2020 Census, both for the upzoned areas and a comparable set of areas that were not rezoned. They find that

> When we compare all upzoned block groups with the matched control group, we find that upzoning is positively associated with demographic and socio-economic changes ... [B]lock groups affected by upzoning were likely to have a greater share of non-Hispanic whites (4.6 percentage points, hereafter pp.) and a lower share of black population (- 6.0 pp.) in 2020 compared to the non-upzoned block groups that had similar characteristics in 2000. In terms of socio-economic status, the upzoned block groups had greater shares of college graduates (4.7 pp.) and workers with a high occupational status (6.6 pp.) and higher median household income (17.0%)... [D]ifferences in educational attainment and household income levels between the upzoned and non-upzoned block groups are much more pronounced in the case of intense upzoning.[68]

Liao (2026) examines residential mobility patterns in 22 identified upzoning areas initiated during the Bloomberg administration. She finds that

> incumbent residents living in the upzoned area prior to upzoning are modestly more likely to move to a different neighborhood or leave the metropolitan area after upzoning. In the long term, the increase in overall mobility is primarily driven by residents in multifamily homes or larger rental buildings, who are more likely to be renters and thus more vulnerable to changes in housing cost than homeowners. However, incumbent residents moving after upzoning on average do not move to lower-income neighborhoods compared to out-migrants from the control area. Overall, there is no evidence of displacement to more economically disadvantaged

[67] City of New York, Independent Budget Office, "Fiscal History: Housing Preservation and Development," https://www.ibo.nyc.gov/content/publications/2025-hpd, accessed December 24, 2025.
[68] City of New York, *Mayor's Management Report, Fiscal Year 2014,* https://www.nyc.gov/site/operations/performance/mmr.page, 274.

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> areas among incumbent residents, regardless of their race or the type of building they live in.[69]

Davis, Song and Chapple (2026)[70] study

> three research questions. First, how does upzoning impact the residential mobility of low-income renters? Second, how does the intensity of the upzoning impact the residential mobility of this same population? Third, to what extent do housing assistance programs, such as public housing, stem out-migration?

The researchers examine the results of city initiated upzonings between 2006 and 2013. Their data set ends in 2019, prior to the Covid-19 pandemic.

> We find slight increases in the overall probability of a move, with displacement risks increasing as the intensity of the upzoning increases for renter households and to an even greater degree for low-income renters. However...[u]pzonings implemented in the second half of the study period (2010–2013) were associated with lower observed out-migration risks within a six-year follow-up window, which may reflect differences in neighborhood characteristics, limited redevelopment capacity, or insufficient time for displacement effects to materialize. Further, we find a negative and statistically significant association between out-migration among low-income households and living in public housing or tract-level voucher prevalence, but a null effect among low-income households living in [Low Income Housing Tax Credit] buildings...

The three studies indicate that the areas rezoned for more housing experienced observable demographic and socioeconomic changes, becoming more White non-Hispanic, better educated, and affluent. These areas also exhibited tenant turnover, and changes were more significant than those taking place in the city's neighborhoods generally. The changes, which seemed obvious to some observers by the close of Bloomberg's tenure[71], contributed to a political backlash against market-rate housing and market-rate developers. The backlash was exacerbated by the paucity of upzonings in affluent parts of the city, many of which were protected from redevelopment by restrictive zoning and the mapping of historic districts by the Landmarks Preservation Commission.

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[69] City of New York, *Mayor's Management Report: Fiscal Year 2024,* 419.
[70] See NYC CPC, Self-Storage Text Amendment, N 170425 (A) ZRY, November 1, 2017; M1 Hotels Text Amendment, N 180349 ZRY, October 17. 2018; and Citywide Hotels Text Amendment, N 210406 ZRY, October 20, 2021.
[71] NYC CPC, C 170358 ZMM, October 2, 2017.

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Planning and Zoning After Bloomberg

Mandatory Inclusionary Housing and Expanded Tax Incentives

Bill de Blasio ran for Mayor in 2013 on a platform advocating for "mandatory" inclusionary zoning, in contrast to Bloomberg's "voluntary" program of floor area bonuses and tax incentives as inducements for developers to participate. Once elected, his administration proceeded to enact such a program. In September 2015, the Department of City Planning published a policy study, laying out the rationale for mandating below-market units within privately developed and owned housing. According to the report:

> Because of the technical requirements of dense development, scarcity of sites, cost of land, and high costs of materials and labor, producing new multifamily housing is expensive in New York City. This cost structure means that unsubsidized new construction occurs at housing prices that are accessible only to more affluent households. As a consequence, new housing cannot be created for lower-income New Yorkers through private investment alone.

By mandating the inclusion of below-market units in new construction, the city would be

> maintaining neighborhood economic diversity – with a housing supply affordable to households at a variety of income levels across different neighborhoods – [which] provides many families with greater access to the full range of opportunities available in the city's diverse neighborhoods. This includes employment, transit, parks, schools, social services, diverse retail, and the myriad of other social, economic, and cultural opportunities that exist in each of the city's neighborhoods.[72]

The problem with these high-minded aspirations was financial: Mandatory affordability was effectively a tax on new housing, and like any tax, had the potential to deter investment. In this case, private real estate developers could take their equity and build outside the city or make alternative investments outside the real estate industry. Both alternatives would provide the city with no new affordable housing, or any new housing at all.

Understanding the issue, the city commissioned a financial feasibility study by a team of consultants. The study, also published in September 2015, created a Composite Housing Market Conditions Index, dividing the parts of the city with zoning allowing new apartment buildings into Very Strong, Strong, Middle, Moderate and Weak housing markets (Figure 13). The Very Strong and Strong markets included the affluent areas of Manhattan (Community Districts 1-8), parts of West, Central and East Harlem, parts of Brownstone

[72] NYC CPC, C 160035 ZMK (Corrected), February 24, 2016.

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Brooklyn that had also become affluent by the 1980's, plus emerging post-rezoning markets in Long Island City, Greenpoint-Williamsburg and Downtown Brooklyn.

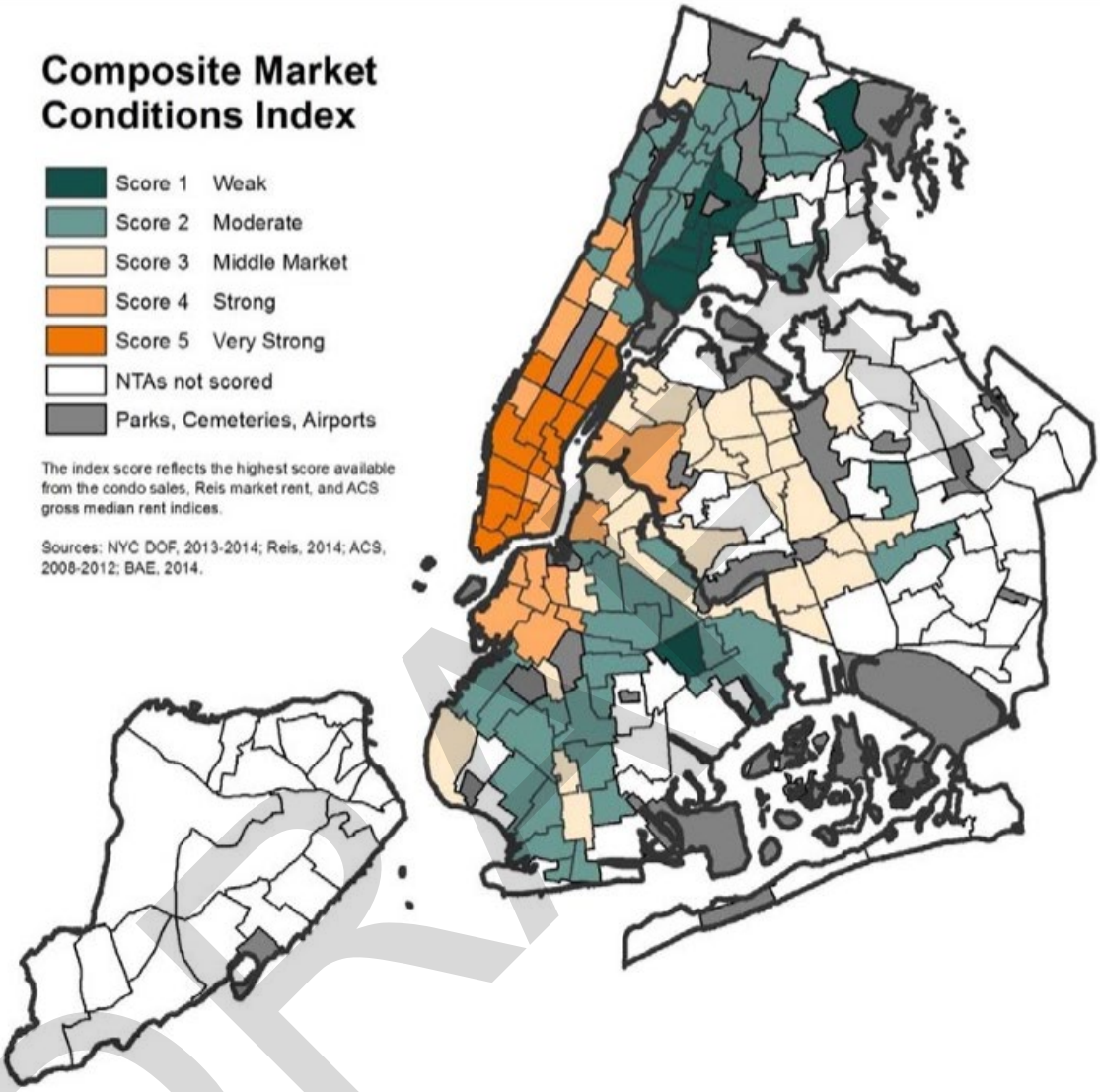
The study concluded that in Very Strong and Strong markets, new rental housing would be feasible at the levels of mandatory affordability under study, but only with continued Section 421-a tax exemptions. Rental projects in Moderate and Weak markets would be feasible only with subsidies, and projects in Middle market areas would be most sensitive to the percentages of below-market units to be set aside and the permitted income levels in the "affordable" units. [73]

The Mandatory Inclusionary Housing (MIH) program, approved by the City Council in March 2016, mandated set-asides of 20-30 percent of the units in new buildings with more than ten units in rezoned areas.[74] As forecast by the financial feasibility study, its capacity to produce new housing with a mix of market-rate and below-market units was dependent on the continuation of property-tax exemption programs. The 2007 version of the 421-a program expired in 2015 and was ultimately renewed in 2017. This 2017 program has accounted for most of the mixed-income MIH projects completed by the end of 2025. (The city has also imposed MIH restrictions on publicly funded, 100% affordable projects that are eligible for tax exemptions under other provisions of law that do not expire.)

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[73] NYC CPC, C 180051 (A) ZMX, January 17, 2018.
[74] NYC CPC, C 170243 (A) ZMQ, July 10, 2017.

Figure 13



Source: New York City Housing Development Corporation, Market and Financial Study: NYC Mandatory Inclusionary Housing, September 2015, 18.

The 2017 changes to 421-a[75] required that below-market units be provided onsite and limited the use of tax exemptions by condominiums. In addition, tax exemption periods were extended to 35 years, making participation in the MIH program more feasible for new developments.

The 2017 law also eliminated the General Exclusion Area but created a comparable restriction in Manhattan south of 96th Street. In other parts of the city, the law created an option for a 35-year tax exemption, if 30 percent of the units were affordable at 130

[75] NYC CPC, C 210177 ZMK, September 22, 2021.

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percent of AMI.[76] That income level was high enough to permit market rents in much of the city. While the pre-de Blasio "voluntary" inclusionary housing program continued to exist, the ability to secure a generous tax exemption in most of the former GEA without providing below-market units served as an incentive not to use the floor area bonus after 2015. By the city's 2026 fiscal year (ending June 30, 2026), the 421-a tax exemption was costing $2.1 billion annually.[77]

Capital Spending Under de Blasio

De Blasio notably undertook a rapid expansion of HPD's capital spending[78]. The agency's capital expenditure was $428 million in City Fiscal Year (FY) 2014, which began under Bloomberg on July 1, 2013 and extended into the first six months of de Blasio's first term. By FY 2019 HPD capital spending was $1.681 billion. Adams continued this trend, raising spending to $2.701 billion in FY 2024.[79]

That increase resulted in a substantial increase in the number of affordable housing starts. In FY 2014, new construction starts totaled 5,887 and "preservation" starts (rehabilitation of existing housing) 7,394.[80] By FY 2024, new construction starts had risen to 14,654 and preservation starts to 10,612.[81]

Rezonings Under de Blasio

The de Blasio administration determined that it would no longer bargain for City Council approval of pro-housing-production rezonings by "downzoning" politically sensitive residential areas. While de Blasio's appointees were opposed to this in principle as encouraging socioeconomic exclusion and racial and ethnic segregation, as a practical matter so much downzoning had already occurred in residential areas that council members mostly looked to other forms of zoning restriction, involving non-residential uses.

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[76] NYC CPC, C 210422 ZMM, October 20, 2021.
[77] NYC CPC, N 160049 ZRY, February 3, 2016.
[78] City of New York, Open Data, Affordable Housing Production by Project, October 29, 2025, https://data.cityofnewyork.us/Housing-Development/Affordable-Housing-Production-by-Project/hq68-rnsi/about_data.
[79] NYC RGB, "2025 Housing Supply Report." 24.
[80] NYC DCP, "NYC Housing Production Snapshot," March 17, 2026, https://storymaps.arcgis.com/stories/1c9138dc24064b2e8142ff156345a719.

[81] New York State Homes and Community Renewal, "Housing Stability & Tenant Protection Act of 2019," October 2, 2019, https://hcr.ny.gov/system/files/documents/2021/08/rent-laws-overview-english-10-2019.pdf.

The administration thus paid its political debts with zoning amendments restricting mini-storage and hotels.[82]

However, at the behest of local elected officials, including then-City Council speaker Melissa Mark-Viverito, the de Blasio administration did undertake a peculiar type of upzoning that was effectively a downzoning, in East Harlem[83]. In that case, MIH was used effectively to prevent new unsubsidized, market-rate housing construction moving north from areas adjoining the Upper East Side.[84] The East Harlem housing market could not support the rents needed to make mixed-income housing subsidized only by 421-a tax exemptions feasible. Because new development under MIH would require additional public subsidies, there would be less of it.

The demise of the residential-downzoning trading tactic resulted in a slowdown in rezonings. The administration also evinced little interest for most of de Blasio's tenure in the MIH program's ostensible potential for mixed-income housing, instead pursuing rezonings in low-income areas where new housing would be 100 percent affordable and heavily subsidized: East New York in Brooklyn[85], the Jerome Avenue Corridor in the Bronx[86], Far Rockaway in Queens[87].

Late in de Blasio's second term, stung by criticism that it was building housing only in poor minority communities, the administration pursued two rezonings in strong-market areas: Gowanus in Brooklyn[88] and Soho-Noho in Manhattan[89]. Gowanus, undertaken at the behest of then-council member, and later Comptroller, Brad Lander, has been the most

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[82] NYC Department of Housing Preservation and Development (NYC HPD), "2023 New York City Housing and Vacancy Survey: Selected Initial Findings," February 2024, https://www.nyc.gov/assets/hpd/downloads/pdfs/about/2023-nychvs-selected-initial-findings.pdf, 21.
[83] NYC HPD, "Selected Initial Findings of the 2017 New York City Housing and Vacancy Survey," February 9, 2018, https://www.nyc.gov/assets/hpd/downloads/pdfs/about/2017-hvs-initial-findings.pdf, Table 6, 15.
[84] Eric Kober, "Hochul's Housing Deal Will Help New York's Affordable Housing Crisis, but Not Solve It," Manhattan Institute, May 29th, 2024, https://manhattan.institute/article/hochul-housing-deal-will-help-new-york-affordable-housing-crisis-but-not-solve-it.
[85] NYC CPC, N 240290 ZRY, September 25, 2024. The City Council changes are described in VHB, "City of Yes for Housing Opportunity Revised Technical Memorandum 002," December 13, 2024, 24DCP033Y, https://a002-ceqraccess.nyc.gov/ceqr/.
[86] The 485-x tax exemption complemented the UAP, but only for buildings up to 99 units in size. For larger buildings, the mandated "prevailing wages" for construction workers made utilization of the UAP floor area bonus much less likely.
[87] NYC CPC, C 250014 ZMK, March 19, 2025.
[88] NYC CPC, C 250185 ZMM, June 18, 2025.
[89] NYC CPC, C 250176 ZMQ, September 3, 2025 and C 250172 ZMQ, August 13, 2025, respectively.

successful of the de Blasio rezonings at attracting private investment in new housing construction.[90]

De Blasio's administration also pushed through a citywide zoning amendment, called Zoning for Quality and Affordability (ZQA) in 2016.[91] Notably, that amendment created revised, more workable rules for low-income senior housing that included a citywide floor area bonus. The amendment, combined with increased public subsidies, led to a burst of senior housing construction. The city housing department reported starts on 17,152 senior housing units from the City Council's vote to approve the amendment on March 22, 2016, through October 2025.[92]

The combination of mandatory affordability in rezonings, continued applicability of the rezonings that took place before de Blasio took office and ramped-up on- and off-budget subsidies has resulted in new housing construction increasing overall. The highest number of new housing units completed in any year under Bloomberg was 26,454 in 2007. This number was exceeded in 2018 and 2021 under de Blasio and in 2023 and 2024 under Adams.[93] Data released by the Department of City Planning for 2025[94] indicate that 38,682 new housing units were completed, not only exceeding the 2007 figure again, but also the highest number of completions since the 1960's. The 2025 housing completions reflect the large volume of new housing permits issued in 2022, when the 2017 421-a program expired.

Housing Stability and Tenant Protection Act of 2019

The political swing to the left in New York City represented by de Blasio's election in 2013 was replicated in the state legislature after Democrats took control of both the state Assembly and Senate in the 2018 election. One significant consequence was the passage in 2019 of the Housing Stability and Tenant Protection Act (HSTPA). The law made rent

[90] Eric Kober, "On the Ballot: NYC Charter Revision Commission's Housing Revolution," Manhattan Institute, August 21, 2025, https://manhattan.institute/article/on-the-ballot-nyc-charter-revision-commissions-housing-revolution.

[91] Eric Kober, "New York City's Election Marks the Rise of the Left-YIMBY," *City Journal,* November 7, 2025, https://www.city-journal.org/article/new-york-city-election-charter-zoning-housing.
[92] NYC DCP, *NYC Industrial Plan: Draft Report,* 41-42; Eric Kober, "Outdated Zoning Rules Choke New York City's Housing Growth," *City Journal,* September 24, 2025, https://www.city-journal.org/article/new-york-city-housing-manufacturing-zoning.
[93] NYC DCP, *NYC Industrial Plan: Final Report,* December 2025, https://www.nyc.gov/assets/planning/downloads/pdf/our-work/plans/citywide/nyc-industrial-plan/nyc-industrial-plan-final.pdf, 91.
[94] NYC DCP, *The Manhattan Plan,* December 2025, https://manhattanplan.nyc/wp-content/uploads/2025/12/20251220_The_Manhattan_Plan_Pages.pdf, 57.

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stabilization permanent and removed most of the avenues previously available that allowed landlords to raise rents close to market levels.[95]

An important objective of the law was to enable rent-stabilized tenants to remain in place, rather than having to move because of sharply rising rents. However, this in turn caused the city's rental vacancy rate to fall, as fewer rent-stabilized units became available to new tenants. This effect became apparent to the public when the triennial NYC Housing and Vacancy Survey (HVS) was released in early 2024. The 2023 survey found a rental vacancy rate of just 1.4 percent.[96] This compares to rental vacancy rates of 3.12%, 3.45% and 3.63% in 2011, 2014 and 2017, respectively, the last surveys before both the enactment of HSTPA and the Covid-19 pandemic, which made the 2021 HVS results difficult to interpret.[97] Those much higher rental vacancy rates had been viewed as woefully inadequate, prompting the surge in HPD capital spending under de Blasio.

Rezonings Under Adams

The shock of the 2023 HVS substantially altered the political environment in 2024 -- not in favor of a reconsideration of HSTPA but inducing both the state legislature and city council to approve measures that might alleviate the housing supply shortfall. The most recent version of the Section 421-a tax exemption program had expired in June 2022, setting off a rush to vest building permits under the law's generous terms. In 2022, the city issued building permits for 69,077 new housing units, the most since the early 1960's, when developers were also rushing to vest rights under the pre-1961 zoning. The legislature had been content to let tax exemptions lapse for new permit applications in 2022 and 2023, but in April 2024 enacted a new tax exemption known as Section 485-x. This was significantly less generous, particularly for buildings of 100 units or more, which would have to pay specified "prevailing wages" to construction workers to qualify for the exemption.[98]

In addition, the Adams administration faced a more receptive political environment in 2024 for pro-housing zoning changes than had prevailed only a few years before. In that year, the administration undertook a citywide zoning amendment, "City of Yes for Housing Opportunity (COYHO)," that in some ways sharply diverged from Bloomberg's and de Blasio's policies. In other ways, the administration built on the policies of its predecessor.

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[95] New York City unsuccessfully challenged the Census results, citing evidence that the populations in Brooklyn and Queens were undercounted by about 67,000. See NYC DCP, Population Division, "New York City's Census Challenge," 2013, https://www.nyc.gov/assets/planning/download/pdf/planning-level/nyc-population/census2010/dcp-2010-census-population-adjustment.pdf.
[96] NYC DCP, "Declines in Household Size & Ramifications for Growth."
[97] NYC RGB, "2025 Housing Supply Report," 29. The "net change" includes completions, demolitions and alterations of existing buildings that change the number of units.
[98] NYC DCP, "New York City's Population Estimates and Trends," March 2026, https://s-media.nyc.gov/agencies/dcp/assets/files/pdf/data-tools/population/population-estimates/new-york-city-population-estimates-and-trends-march-2026.pdf, 4.

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COYHO, approved with City Council modifications late in 2024[99], included changes that, for the first time in decades, reversed some of the post-1961 restrictions in low-density areas. These changes allowed additional density along commercial corridors, in locations well-served by transit, and on large sites. Another component, known as the Universal Affordability Preference (UAP), created a citywide "voluntary" zoning bonus for new housing developments that include affordable units. The UAP was a recognition that the voluntary zoning floor area bonus mechanism, combined with tax exemptions, was a viable technique to encourage inclusion of affordable units in new housing. Where the tax exemption made utilization of the bonus economically attractive, mixed-income housing would result. Where the tax exemption was insufficient to make utilization of the bonus profitable, a smaller, purely market-rate development might nonetheless contribute to alleviating the city's housing crunch.[100]

Despite this recognition, the Adams administration continued to impose MIH requirements when it changed the map of zoning districts to permit housing at a higher density. The uncertain interplay of MIH and Section 485-x made the ultimate achievement of the housing targets in these rezonings questionable. The ambitious rezonings approved late in the Adams administration included Atlantic Avenue, Brooklyn,[101] Midtown South in Manhattan[102] and Long Island City and Jamaica in Queens.[103]

2025 City Charter Land Use Amendments

In 2025, a Charter Revision Commission established by Mayor Adams proposed amendments to the provisions of the city charter governing approvals of land use actions. These proposals were approved by voters in a November referendum.

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[99] CBC, "A Building Crisis: The Quality-of-Life, Population, and Economic Effects of Housing Underproduction," June 27, 2024, https://cbcny.org/building-crisis.

[100] Mohamed Obaidy, James Parrott, and Apurva Mehrotra, "Wage Compression or Wage Divergence? Real Wage Growth Comparison between New York City and the U.S., 2019-2023," The New School, Center for New York City Affairs, October 2024, https://www.centernyc.org/reports-briefs/wage-compression-or-wage-divergence-real-wage-growth-comparison-between-new-york-city-and-the-us-2019-2023, 13.

[101] Kenan Center of Private Enterprise, UNC Kenan-Flagler Business School, "American Growth Project Dashboard," https://kenaninstitute.unc.edu/american-growth-project/data/, accessed December 24, 2025.

[102] NYC Office of the Mayor, "Mayor Adams Unveils 'Get Stuff Built,' Bold Three-Pronged Strategy to Tackle Affordable Housing Crisis, Sets "Moonshot" Goal of 500,000 New Homes," December 8, 2022, https://www.nyc.gov/mayors-office/news/2022/12/mayor-adams-get-stuff-built-bold-three-pronged-strategy-tackle-affordable-housing.

[103] Mamdani's housing campaign platform is described In Claire Fahy and Alyce McFadden, "A Look at Zohran Mamdani's Stances on Key Issues," *The New York Times,* June 25, 2025, https://www.nytimes.com/2025/06/25/nyregion/mamdani-policies-stances.html.

The charter proposals effectively shifted power over some land use actions from the City Council to the Mayor.[104] The referendum's approval reflected political shifts in which the onetime dominant anti-development coalition comprising preservationists, largely based in Manhattan, and low-density homeowners in the four other boroughs had lost political power. A new political coalition had emerged, based in the high-growth neighborhoods along the East River in Brooklyn and Queens that largely owed their existence to Bloomberg-era rezonings, as well as the 2001 Long Island City rezoning. That new coalition supported Democratic candidate Zohran Mamdani for the mayoralty as well as the city charter amendments. The pro-charter amendment coalition also included neighborhoods whose residents had previously supported downzonings. That perhaps reflected generational change, and voters' frustration with city leaders' inability to ameliorate the housing supply crisis.[105]

Questioning Some Long-Standing Land Use Policies

Also late in 2025, the city's planning department released two reports questioning some long-held policies that placed other land use priorities above the need for housing. A draft industrial plan called into question some of the Bloomberg-era commitments not to rezone certain manufacturing zoning districts where industrial activity had continued to decline.[106] The department's final plan backed off some of these changes in policy but held its position in other areas, particularly Long Island City and Sunnyside in Queens.[107] Since manufacturing zones have long proven politically easier to rezone than existing residential neighborhoods, this revised viewpoint seemed likely to result in followup rezoning actions. However, despite the charter changes, rezonings in former industrial areas would still require the support of the City Council as well as the new mayor.

A second report, the "Manhattan Plan," discussed public outreach on ways to increase new housing construction specifically in Manhattan, the borough with the best transit infrastructure and short commutes to major job centers. One notable set of suggestions touched on the need to grapple with the long-term effects of widespread mapping of historic districts:

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[104] Downtown Brooklyn Partnership, "Downtown Brooklyn: Twenty Years of Growth," February 2, 2026, https://storymaps.arcgis.com/stories/fd7bebf0949e4a7f96615a9b41e91dfe.
[105] For example, Manhattan Community Board 4 took this position in its review of the Hudson Yards rezoning; NYC CPC, N 040500(A) ZRM, 64. A similar position was taken by Brooklyn Community Board 1 in its review of the Greenpoint-Williamsburg rezoning; NYC CPC, N 050110(A) ZRK, 53.
[106] Abigail Savitch-Lew, "Community Boards Reflect on their Votes For, and Against, Bloomberg Rezonings," *City Limits,* February 14, 2017, https://citylimits.org/community-boards-reflect-on-their-votes-for-and-against-bloomberg-rezonings/.
[107] NYC DCP, "South Jamaica LL 162 Rezoning Lookback Report 2011," December 9, 2025, https://storymaps.arcgis.com/stories/2622189acd2f44c5b7738baa33691751.

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> Overall, there was strong interest in exploring ways to expand housing production in historic districts while still maintaining the underlying goals of their regulations. Some people shared specific suggestions, including removing buildings from historic districts that lack qualifying features, [and] changing zoning to reduce the need for use and bulk waivers...[108]

Conclusions

Evaluating the PlaNYC Population and Housing Projections Two Decades Later

With the economic downturn after 2008, New York City's population growth slowed and in the 2010 Census, the city undershot DCP's 2005 projection by over 200,000 (Table 6).[109] Following economic recovery and rapid growth in the decade after 2010, this trend reversed. By 2020, NYC had exceeded PlaNYC's population projection for that year by over 100,000 persons and was close to the PlaNYC projected number of occupied housing units needed for 2030 (within 50,000).

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[108] Hudson Yards Infrastructure Corporation, *2008 Annual Report,* https://www.nyc.gov/assets/hyic/downloads/hyic-annual-report-08.pdf, "Organizational Overview," 6-7.
[109] Hsi-Ling Liao, "The effect of rezoning on local housing supply and demand: Evidence from New York City," *Regional Science and Urban Economics 117* (2026), 2.

Table 6

New York City Population and Occupied Housing Units, 2010 and 2020

Year		Population	Occupied Housing Units
2010	New York City	8,175,133	3,109,784
	Bronx	1,385,108	483,449
	Brooklyn	2,504,700	916,856
	Manhattan	1,585,873	763,846
	Queens	2,230,722	780,117
	Staten Island	468,730	165,516
2020	New York City	8,804,190	3,370,448
	Bronx	1,472,654	522,450
	Brooklyn	2,736,074	1,009,804
	Manhattan	1,694,251	817,782
	Queens	2,405,464	847,210
	Staten Island	495,747	173,202

Source: NYC Department of City Planning, Population Division, "2020 Census Results for New York City: Key Population and Housing Characteristics," August 2021

As in 1961, NYC DCP had underestimated the number of housing units that would be needed to meet the demand of the city's growing population. The number of persons per household had declined from 2.59 in 2000 to 2.55 in 2020.[110] This seemingly small change meant that to accommodate 8.58 million people in households[111], the number of housing units needed would increase by about 52,000.

NYC's Rent Guidelines Board estimates the net change in Class A multiple dwellings (three or more-unit buildings) for the years 2020 to 2024 at nearly 145,000.[112] There had been sufficient rezoning, during the Bloomberg administration and thereafter, to meet, and exceed, the PlaNYC housing goals for 2030 by the end of 2024.

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[110] Yipeng Su, Will Curran-Groome, and Yonah Freemark, "How Big Upzonings Affect Housing Supply: An Examination of Recent Regulatory Reforms on Construction and Permitting in New York City and Philadelphia," Urban Institute, April 15, 2026, https://www.urban.org/research/publication/how-big-upzonings-affect-housing-supply.

[111] A 2015 memo from consultant George M. Janes, AICP to the East Harlem community board (Manhattan 11) criticized the 2003 rezoning of portions of East Harlem. While the rezoning had met housing production goals, Janes wrote, the rezoning lacked affordability provisions (it predated the post-2005 inclusionary housing floor area bonus). As a consequence, the number of rent-stabilized units in the rezoning area had fallen faster than in the community board as a whole. George M. Janes, AICP, "Performance of the 2003 Rezoning," https://embed.documentcloud.org/documents/3461484-George-Janes-Analysis-of-2003-Rezoning-East-Harlem/.

[112] NYC CPC, C 110145 ZMQ, March 30, 2011, https://www.nyc.gov/assets/planning/download/pdf/about/cpc/110145.pdf.

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PlaNYC and the Persistence of the Housing Supply Shortfall

The Census Bureau's latest population estimate, for July 1, 2025, has New York City's population at 8.585 million, down from 8.8 million in 2020.[113] Notwithstanding this ostensible population decline, New York City's housing market conditions at the end of 2025 were widely perceived as in dire crisis. Market rents were at or near record highs, rental vacancy rates at historic lows, and the housing supply shortage appears to be a significant impediment to economic growth.[114]

The city's persistent inability to bring housing demand and supply into balance has multiple causes. The long-term effects of the 1961 zoning, and the inadequacy of subsequent efforts to remedy 1961's shortcomings, are among the most important. The Bloomberg administration's rezoning agenda was extraordinarily ambitious and transformed multiple neighborhoods into dense residential districts. However, the administration was subject to cross-pressures and competing priorities. Downzonings and industrial area preservation were politically expedient in the short term and problems in the long term, after Bloomberg left office.

De Blasio and Adams had their own accomplishments – the steep increase in publicly-funded housing, the mixed-income success of Gowanus and the potential of "City of Yes" and the series of ambitious neighborhood rezonings late in 2025. However, these did not add up to a comprehensive solution, and housing production continued to be hindered by the economically dubious combination of Mandatory Inclusionary Housing and backdoor subsidies through property tax exemptions.

Other actions and trends boosted housing demand, exacerbating the effects of the supply shortage. By preventing regulated rents from reaching market levels through HSTPA, the legislature suppressed the price signal that previously had induced some households to move, either to a cheaper unit within the city or to a less expensive place to live outside the city. Another spur to housing demand comes from the expanded stock of publicly assisted housing with below-market rents. That induced another group of households to stay in the city -- the affordable housing lottery winners -- that might otherwise have been forced to leave.

[113] 2020 Census; the remaining 2020 population resided in group quarters.

[114] The amount of floor area permitted on a lot is calculated under zoning in accordance with the Floor Area Ratio (FAR) for the zoning district. The FAR is a multiple of the lot area. For example, on a 10,000 s.f. lot, an FAR of 9 would permit 90,000 s.f. of floor area. The 33 percent "Inclusionary housing" bonus would increase the FAR to 12, or 120,000 s.f. of permitted floor area. Of this, 20 percent, or 24,000 s.f., would need to be provided at below-market rents.

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Yet another driver of housing demand is the divergence of wage growth between higher- and lower-income workers.[115] Disproportionately high wage growth at the high end of the labor market reflects the concentration of finance, media and technology firms in the city, among others, who can pay top salaries to hire the workers they seek. Those wage differentials likely help explain the runup in market rents and the decline in average household size.

Finally, there is housing demand created by people who want to move to New York City. NYC sits at the core of a high-productivity metropolitan area, measured by output per worker. As of July 2025, among the 50 largest U.S. metropolitan areas, the New York City area's productivity, at $192,000 (adjusted to 2017 dollars) was exceeded only by the San Francisco Bay Area's $276,000 and the Seattle area's $216,000.[116]

All things being equal, American workers would flock to the New York City area to take advantage of the higher wages made possible by its high-productivity economy. That they do not and instead tend to move to less productive, but nonetheless rapidly growing metropolitan areas such as Nashville, Orlando and Phoenix surely relates to the relatively lower cost of housing in those areas. Even earning less, workers in low-housing-cost metropolitan areas can enjoy a higher living standard.

Thus, New York City's challenge is to produce a housing supply adequate to keep existing renters in the city, allow for a high level of income diversity, and yet accommodate the large existing and latent demand to live in the city among relatively well-paid workers. That makes the housing supply increment needed to raise the rental vacancy rate and materially lower asking rents very large, under typical economic conditions when the national economy is not in recession. The size of that necessary increment is further enlarged by the long-term tendency for persons per household to fall, as the population ages and becomes more affluent.

How large that increment must be is difficult to calculate, but it is an order of magnitude higher than the city has achieved since the 1960's. In 2022, Mayor Adams set a "moonshot" goal of 500,000 new housing units over 10 years,[117] but never proposed a realistic path to achieve that goal. Less ambitiously, in 2023 Governor Kathy Hochul proposed state legislation that would set a three percent housing unit increase target for each of the city's

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[115] NYC CPC, *Environmental Assessment Statement for Astoria Rezoning,* January 22, 2010, https://a002-ceqraccess.nyc.gov/Handlers/ProjectFile.ashx?file=MjAxMFwxMERDUDAxOVFcZWFzXDEwRENQMDE5UV9FQVNfMDEyMjIwMTAucGRm0&signature=39a94bee6b098a4806e0cf7c6f2d75ddca93e652, Attachment 1, 7.
[116] New York City Economic Development Corporation, "Industrial Business Zones," https://edc.nyc/industry/industrial-and-manufacturing, accessed March 2, 2026.
[117] Jenna Davis, Taesoo Song and Karen Chapple, "How Does Upzoning Impact Residential Mobility Among Low-Income Households? Evidence from New York City," *Housing Policy Debate, April 16, 2026,* https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/10511482.2026.2649483#abstract.

59 community districts, over a three-year period. New York City has about 3.7 million housing units, according to the Census Bureau's 2023 American Community Survey. Thus, the goal amounted to about 37,000 units a year for the city as a whole. Hochul 's proposal failed to pass the state legislature.

What seemed clear at the end of 2025 is that New York City needs to ratchet up its housing-growth ambitions considerably. However, the principal lesson of PlaNYC, and the past quarter-century in which New York City had successfully accelerated housing growth, is that the city has never achieved political consensus on pro-housing reforms sufficiently ambitious to meet the challenge.

An achievable plan for a large increase in housing construction likely needs to give up some of the countervailing ambitions that have constrained housing production in the past. These may include the preservation of the historic scale of low-density neighborhoods, both those designated by the Landmarks Preservation Commission, and those merely influential enough politically in the past to secure downzoning. The city also needs to reduce the amount of land in manufacturing zones considered off-limits to new housing. Additionally, the city needs to rethink its policy of forcing private developers to include below-market-rent units in new apartment buildings.

At the end of 2025, Mayor-elect Zohran Mamdani was organizing his administration and preparing to take on New York City's never-ending housing supply crisis. His campaign promise to freeze rent-stabilized rents would exacerbate the problems created by HSTPA. His pledge to spend yet more on subsidies for below-market housing would likely have only a small impact on the housing-supply shortfall.[118] Much rested on his administration's position on zoning reform, which would become known in the coming months.

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[118] *Environmental Assessment for Astoria Rezoning,* Attachment 2, p. 11.

Appendix Table 1

Bronx Areas Identified for Potential Zoned Capacity Increases in Figure 5

CD	Project Name from Figure 3 (Project name in CPC report, if different)	Date of Enactment of Zoning Map Change	City Planning Commission Report	Notes
1. DCP Initiatives in the pipeline but not yet approved				
1	Lower Concourse	6/30/2009	N 090302 ZRX	
4	161st Street Rezoning	9/30/2009	C 090365 ZMX	
3 & 6	3rd Ave Rezoning (Third Ave. - Tremont Ave. Corridors)	10/13/2010	C 100407 ZMX	
12	Wakefield/White Plains Road (Williamsbridge-Baychester Rezoning)	10/5/2011	C110384 ZMX	
2. Large Private Applications (>200)				
1	Deegan Gateway Building (DGB)			Included in Lower Concourse Rezoning
3	St. Anns Brewery Site (St. Ann's Avenue Development)	7/23/2008	C 050018 ZMX	
4	River Avenue	Not rezoned		
7	Landing Road (University Heights Rezoning)	1/9/2008	C 060320 ZMX	
3. Large Public Site Projects (>200)				
1	Bronxchester 6 & 7 (La Central)	9/14/2016	C 160268 HAX	
1	Via Verde (Site 1A)	12/18/2008	C 080522 HAX	
1	Crossroads Plaza	5/31/2012	C 120164 HAX	
3	Courtlandt Corners I, II & III	4/16/2008	C 080223 HAX	I & II only
3	Boricua Village	6/15/2007	C 070275 HUX	
3	Melrose Crescent (Melrose Commons North)	3/11/2015	C 150153 HUX	
4. Areas of Opportunity				
1	Lower Concourse Rail Deck	Not rezoned		
3 & 4	Morrisania/Park Avenue	Not rezoned		
3 & 9	Bronx River (Crotona Park East/West Farms, 1460-1480 Sheridan Boulevard and Whitlock and 165th St. Rezonings)	10/05/2011, 9/28/2023 and 7/20/2017	C 100310 ZMX, C 230291 ZMX, C 170087 ZMX	Portions of area; other portions not rezoned
4	Upper Lower Concourse (Concourse Village West)	11/16/2016	C 150312 ZMX	

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4 & 5	Highbridge (Jerome Avenue)	3/22/2018	C 180051 (A) ZMX	
5 & 6	Park Avenue	Not rezoned		
5	Jerome Ave North			Included in Jerome Avenue Rezoning
6	Fordham Road East (East Fordham Road)	10/9/2013	C 130273 ZMX	
6 & 7	Webster Avenue North (Webster Ave./Bedford Park/Norwood)	3/23/2011	C 110085 ZMX	
6 & 11	West Farms	Not rezoned		
7 & 8	Fordham Landing/Harlem River	Not rezoned		
8	Kingsbridge (Broadway Plaza and 5602-5604 Broadway Rezonings)	3/24/2009 and 9/10/2025	C 090146 ZMX and C 240278 ZMX	Portions of area; other portions not rezoned
9 & 11	Parkchester/ Van Nest (Bronx Metro-North Station Areas Study)	8/15/2024	C 240015 ZMX	
11	Westchester Square			Portions of area included in Bronx Metro-North Station Areas Study

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Appendix Table 2

Brooklyn Areas Identified for Potential Zoned Capacity Increases in Figure 6

CD	Project Name from Figure 4 (Project name in CPC report, if different)	Date of Enactment of Zoning Map Change	City Planning Commission Report	Notes
1. DCP initiatives- in the pipeline but not yet approved				
1	Greenpoint-Williamsburg Contextual	7/29/2009	C 090334 ZMK	
2	DUMBO	7/29/2009	C 090310 ZMK	
2	Fort Greene/Clinton Hill	7/25/2007	C 070430 ZMK	
3	Bedford-Stuyvesant South	10/29/2007	C 070447 ZMK	
3	Bedford-Stuyvesant North	10/11/2012	C 120294 ZMK	
6	Gowanus	11/23/2021	C 210177 ZMK	
12	Culver El	10/27/2010	C 100345 ZMK	
13	Coney Island	7/29/2009	C 090272 ZMK	
13	Brighton Beach	Not rezoned		
14	Flatbush	7/29/2009	C 090336 ZMK	
2. Large Private Applications (>175 Units)				
1	Domino Sugar (The New Domino)	7/29/2010	C 100187 ZSK	
1	Certified Lumber (Rose Plaza on the River)	4/14/2010	C 080340 ZSK	
10	Bay Ridge Home Depot (Bay Ridge Mixed Use Development)	10/17/2007	C 060354 ZSK	
12	Dahill Road	2/27/2008	C 050236 ZMK	
16	New Lots Avenue (Ebenezer Plaza)	9/07/2017	C 170189 ZMK	
3. Large Public Site Projects (>150 units)				
1	Dupont Street (Greenpoint Landing)	5/11/2005	C 140019 HAK	Sale of city-owned land in an area rezoned in 2005 (Greenpoint-Williamsburg Rezoning)
1	Commercial Street (77 Commercial Street)	5/11/2005	C 140047 ZSK	Sale of city-owned development rights in an area rezoned in 2005 (Greenpoint-Williamsburg Rezoning)
1, 3	Broadway Triangle (Broadway Triangle Urban Renewal Area)	12/21/2009	C 090415 HUK	

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2	Albee Square	Not rezoned		
2	Brig (Navy Green)	9/30/2009	C 090446 HAK	
5	Gateway Estates (Gateway Estates II)	4/2/2009	C 090078 HUK	
5	Spring Creek (HPD)	Not rezoned		
6	Public Place			Part of Gowanus rezoning
4. Areas of Opportunity				
1	G-W waterfront - Con Ed/NYPA sites (River Ring)	12/15/2021	C 220062 ZMK	
17	E. Flatbush	Not rezoned		
4, 5, 16	Broadway Junction, Atlantic Avenue – East New York, Fulton St. - East New York, Pitkin Avenue Corridor (East New York Community Plan)	4/20/2016	C 160035 ZMK	
2, 3, 8, 16	Atlantic Avenue - Crown Heights (Atlantic Avenue Mixed-Use Plan)	5/28/2025	C 250014 ZMK	Portion of area of opportunity
7	Sunset Park / 4th Avenue (Sunset Park Rezoning)	9/30/2009	C 090387 ZMK	
7, 12, 13, 14, 15	Coney Island Avenue	Not rezoned		
9	Empire Boulevard	6/26/2014	C 100202 ZMK	Portion of area of opportunity
12, 14, 15	McDonald Avenue corridor	Not rezoned		
14	Church Ave/Flatbush Ave			Part of Flatbush rezoning
4	Broadway corridor	Not rezoned		
12, 14	Kings Highway corridor	Not rezoned		
11, 12	New Utrecht Avenue corridor	Not rezoned		
12	13th Avenue corridor	Not rezoned		
11, 15	86th Street corridor	Not rezoned		
4	Myrtle Avenue - Bushwick	Not rezoned		
1, 2, 3	Flushing-Park Avenue M zone	Not rezoned		
13	Coney Island mixed use district	Not rezoned		
7	38th Street rail cut / M zone	Not rezoned		
10, 11, 12	60th Street rail cut / M zone	Not rezoned		
13	Stillwell Avenue railyard	Not rezoned		
various	Decks over expressway cuts	Not rezoned		

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Appendix Table 3

Manhattan Areas Identified for Potential Zoned Capacity Increases in Figure 7

CD	Project Name from Figure 5 (Project name in CPC report, if different)	Date of Enactment of Zoning Map Change	City Planning Commission Report	Notes
1. DCP initiatives- in the pipeline but not yet approved				
1	North Tribeca	10/13/2010	N 100370(A) ZRM	
3	Lower East Side/East Village (East Village/Lower East Side)	11/19/2008	C 080397(A) ZMM	
7	Upper West Side	9/25/2007	C 070427 ZMM	
9, 10,11	125th Street	4/30/2008	N 080100(A) ZRM	
12	Sherman Creek (Inwood)	8/08/2018	C 180204(A) ZMM	
2. Large Private Applications (>50 Units)				
3	NY Post Site	Not rezoned		
4	Durst 57th Street	2/06/2013	C 120397 ZSM	
4	Verizon	Not rezoned		
4	636 11th Avenue	Not rezoned		
4	316 11th Avenue	Not rezoned		
4	General Theological Seminary	Not rezoned		
5	400 Fifth Avenue (Tiffany 74-711)		C 070469 ZSM	CPC Special Permit
	Theater District Transfers			CPC Chair's Certification, no CPC action required
6	ERRC / Con Ed (East River Realty)	3/26/2008	C 070531(A) ZSM	
7	Riverside South Parcel N (Riverside Center)		C 100296(A) ZSM, M 920358(D) ZSM	CPC Special Permits
8	Solow / E 61st Street (61st Street-York Avenue Rezoning)	11/15/2007	C 000198 ZMM	
10	Richman-Gotham	Not rezoned		
10	West 145th Street Rezoning	3/28/2007	C 050414 ZMM	
10	Western Beef	Not rezoned		
3. Large Public Site Projects (>50 units)				
1	WTC Tower 5			Part of ESDC-approved General Project Plan
4	Studio City			Part of West Clinton Rezoning
4	Javits Marshalling Yards			Potential ESDC project; no approved General Project Plan
4	Western Rail Yards	12/21/2009	C 090433 ZMM	
11	Uptown New York (East 125th Street Development)	10/07/2008	C 080332 HUM	
11	PS 109		C 090145 HAM	Conversion of city-owned former school building to affordable housing

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11	Metro North Rezoning	Not rezoned		
11	Avant Caribe (Sendero Verde)	11/30/2017	C 170363 HAM	
4. Areas of Opportunity				
1	Greenwich Street South	Not rezoned		
2	Hudson Square	3/30/2015	N 120381(A) ZRM	
2	Soho	12/15/2021	C 210422 ZMM	
2	Noho			
2	Hudson Square North	Not rezoned		
4	West Chelsea FUCA (Special West Chelsea District Expansion)		C 150101 ZMM	Non-residential rezoning
4	Chelsea Market		N 120142 ZRM	Non-residential rezoning
4	West Clinton	6/14/2011	C 110177 ZMM	
4	Moynihan Station East	Not rezoned		
4	43rd St. And 11th Ave.			Part of West Clinton rezoning
4	Avalon	Not rezoned		
5	M Districts (Midtown South Mixed-Use Plan)	8/14/2025	C 250185 ZMM	
6	Roosevelt Island Goldwater Hospital (Cornell NYC Tech Campus)		N 130077 ZRM	Non-residential rezoning
8	C8-4 districts	Not rezoned		
9	Randalls Island	Not rezoned		
9	Amsterdam M District (West Harlem Rezoning)	11/13/2012	C 120309 ZMM	
10	Lenox Terrace Infill	Not rezoned		
10	C8-3 District (One45)	7/14/2025	C 250115 ZMM	
10	C8-3 District	Not rezoned		
12	Upzoning Broadway, 181st, C8 and M	Not rezoned		
12	Dyckman St.	Not rezoned		
12	Railyards 208 St	Not rezoned		

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Appendix Table 4

Queens Areas Identified for Potential Zoned Capacity Increases in Figure 8

CD	Project Name from Figure 5 (Project name in CPC report, if different)	Date of Enactment of Zoning Map Change	City Planning Commission Report	Notes
1. DCP initiatives- in the pipeline but not yet approved				
1	Dutch Kills	10/07/2008	N 080428 ZRQ	
11	Oakland Gardens (Auburndale-Oakland Gardens-Hollis Hills)	10/27/2010	C 100409 ZMQ	
11	Hollis Hills			
12	Downtown Jamaica	9/10/2007	C 070314 (A) ZMQ	
12	St. Albans/Hollis	10/29/2007	C 070472 ZMQ	
13	Laurelton	9/4/2008	C 080462 ZMQ	
14	Rockaway Park (Rockaway Neighborhoods)	9/14/2008	C 080371 ZMQ	
2. Large Private Applications				
1	Anable Basin (Long Island City Neighborhood Plan)	11/22/2025	C 250176 ZMQ	
1	Budweiser (Hunters Point South)	11/13/2008	N 080363 ZRQ	
4	94th St. (94th St. - Corona Ave. Rezoning)	7/29/2010	C 050522 ZMQ	
6	118-02 Queens Blvd. (Queens Boulevard Rezoning)	4/29/2010	C 060550 ZMQ	
7	Flushing Area (35th Avenue Rezoning; Solow Center; Flushing Meadows East)	7/29/2010 6/29/2011 3/13/2013	C 030223 ZMQ C 070210 ZMQ C 070352 ZMQ	
7	College Point Area	7/01/2008	C 070174 ZMQ	
3. Large Public Site Projects				
1	Queens West			Part of Hunters Point south rezoning
7	Willets Point	11/13/2008	N 080382 ZRQ	
4. Areas of Opportunity				
1	Pot Cove (Astoria Cove)	11/25/2014	C 140323 (A) ZSQ	
2	Sunnyside Yards	Not rezoned		
3	Astoria Blvd. (East Elmhurst Rezoning)	10/30/2013	C 130344 ZMQ	
3	Northern Blvd.	Not rezoned		
4	Queens Blvd.	Not rezoned		
6	Queens Blvd. (Forest Hills)	3/24/2009	N 090103 ZRQ	
7	West Flushing	Not rezoned		
9	Woodhaven, Jamaica Ave. (Woodhaven-Richmond Hill)	7/25/2012	C 120195 ZMQ	
9	Ozone Park, Atlantic Avenue			
14	Downtown Far Rockaway	9/7/2017	C 170243 (A) ZMQ	

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Appendix Table 5

Staten Island Areas Identified for Potential Zoned Capacity Increases in Figure 9

CD	Project Name from Figure 5 (Project name in CPC report, if different)	Date of Enactment of Zoning Map Change	City Planning Commission Report	Notes
1. DCP initiatives- in the pipeline but not yet approved				
1-3	Town Center Study	Not rezoned		
2. Large Private Applications				
3. Large Public Site Projects				
1	EDC Lighthouse (St. George)	10/27/2008	N 080425 ZRR	
1	Stapleton Waterfront	10/25/2006	C 060471 ZMR	
2	Seaview Senior Housing		C 040278 PPR	Disposition of city-owned property and CPC authorizations
2	Seaview Nurse's Residence	Not rezoned		
3	Bricktown Senior Housing	Not rezoned		
4. Areas of Opportunity				
1	North Shore Study Area	Not rezoned		
1	Potential North Shore Stations	Not rezoned		
1-3	West Shore Study Area	Not rezoned		
2	Richmond Avenue Mall	Not rezoned		
2	Hylan boulevard Mall	Not rezoned		

Source: Author's files, March 16, 2007; NYC DCP, Zoning and Land Use Map and Zoning Maps Archive; NYC City Planning Commission Reports

Appendix Table 6

Population and Housing Unit Change, New York City Community Districts

2000-2020

Borough	CD Number	CD Name	2000 Population	2020 Population	Pct. Change 2000-2020	2000 Total Housing Units	2020 Total Housing Units	Pct. Change 2000-2020
Bronx	1.	Melrose, Mott Haven, Port Morris	82,159.	100,929	23%	29,167	36,896	26%
Bronx	2.	Hunts Point, Longwood	46,824.	54,454	16%	14,446	19,240	33%
Bronx	3.	Morrisania, Crotona Park East	68,574.	93,755	37%	24,473	34,360	40%
Bronx	4.	Highbridge, Concourse Village	139,563.	150,436	8%	48,011	54,022	13%
Bronx	5.	University Hts., Fordham, Mt. Hope	128,313.	132,584	3%	42,691	45,814	7%
Bronx	6.	East Tremont, Belmont	75,688.	89,216	18%	26,471	32,821	24%
Bronx	7.	Bedford Park, Norwood, Fordham	141,411.	146,813	4%	50,579	53,180	5%
Bronx	8.	Riverdale, Kingsbridge,	101,332.	106,924	6%	43,077	45,144	5%

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		Marble Hill						
Bronx	9.	Soundview, Parkchester	167,859.	188,249	12%	63,459	68,576	8%
Bronx	10.	Throgs Nk., Co-op City, Pelham Bay	115,948.	130,763	13%	50,515	54,738	8%
Bronx	11.	Pelham Pkwy, Morris Park, Laconia	110,706.	119,666	8%	43,416	44,864	3%
Bronx	12.	Wakefield, Williamsbridge	149,077.	163,489	10%	56,002	60,856	9%
Brooklyn	1.	Williamsburg, Greenpoint	160,338.	204,125	27%	58,692	89,974	53%
Brooklyn	2.	Brooklyn Heights, Fort Greene	98,620.	130,021	32%	45,556	66,998	47%
Brooklyn	3.	Bedford Stuyvesant	143,867.	174,960	22%	58,162	72,904	25%
Brooklyn	4.	Bushwick	104,358.	120,747	16%	33,928	47,292	39%
Brooklyn	5.	East New York, Starrett City	173,198.	200,293	16%	59,529	72,381	22%
Brooklyn	6.	Park Slope, Carroll Gardens	104,054.	113,933	9%	48,945	53,365	9%
Brooklyn	7.	Sunset Park, Windsor Terrace	120,063.	133,230	11%	40,831	45,683	12%
Brooklyn	8.	Crown Heights North	96,076.	108,259	13%	40,485	49,525	22%
Brooklyn	9.	Crown Heights South, Wingate	104,014.	102,000	-2%	38,324	41,694	9%
Brooklyn	10.	Bay Ridge, Dyker Heights	122,542.	136,071	11%	53,568	55,768	4%
Brooklyn	11.	Bensonhurst, Bath Beach	172,129.	198,870	16%	66,214	71,074	7%
Brooklyn	12.	Borough Park, Ocean Parkway	185,046.	205,377	11%	59,869	62,782	5%
Brooklyn	13.	Coney Island, Brighton Beach	106,120.	108,905	3%	43,922	46,672	6%
Brooklyn	14.	Flatbush, Midwood	168,806.	164,568	-3%	59,614	62,254	4%
Brooklyn	15.	Sheepshead Bay, Gerritsen Beach	160,319.	169,632	6%	64,359	67,322	5%
Brooklyn	16.	Brownsville, Ocean Hill	85,343.	98,506	15%	30,780	36,951	20%
Brooklyn	17.	East Flatbush, Rugby, Farragut	165,753.	162,446	-2%	59,045	62,636	6%
Brooklyn	18.	Canarsie, Flatlands	194,653.	204,095	5%	69,036	72,361	5%
Manhattan	1.	Battery Park City, Tribeca	34,420.	78,390	128%	17,998	41,977	133%
Manhattan	2.	Greenwich Village, Soho	93,119.	92,445	-1%	56,028	58,418	4%
Manhattan	3.	Lower East Side, Chinatown	164,407.	163,141	-1%	72,681	82,589	14%
Manhattan	4.	Chelsea, Clinton	87,479.	131,351	50%	55,125	84,357	53%
Manhattan	5.	Midtown Business District	44,028.	63,600	44%	30,588	42,323	38%
Manhattan	6.	Stuyvesant Town, Turtle Bay	136,152.	155,614	14%	91,189	99,371	9%
Manhattan	7.	West Side, Upper West Side	207,699.	222,129	7%	120,504	126,397	5%
Manhattan	8.	Upper East Side	217,063.	231,983	7%	135,898	138,922	2%
Manhattan	9.	Manhattanville, Hamilton Heights	111,724.	110,458	-1%	42,695	44,900	5%
Manhattan	10.	Central Harlem	107,109.	130,440	22%	53,261	61,629	16%
Manhattan	11.	East Harlem	117,743.	125,771	7%	45,964	54,738	19%
Manhattan	12.	Washington Heights, Inwood	208,414.	180,206	-14%	73,230	74,722	2%
Queens	1.	Astoria, Long Island City	211,220.	196,803	-7%	80,506	90,547	12%

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Queens	2.	Sunnyside, Woodside	109,920.	137,981	26%	42,943	60,766	42%
Queens	3.	Jackson Heights, North Corona	169,083.	179,134	6%	54,784	59,119	8%
Queens	4.	Elmhurst, South Corona	167,005.	181,025	8%	52,087	57,748	11%
Queens	5.	Ridgewood, Glendale, Maspeth	165,911.	178,178	7%	64,674	69,416	7%
Queens	6.	Forest Hills, Rego Park	115,967.	120,955	4%	55,483	56,695	2%
Queens	7.	Flushing, Bay Terrace	242,952.	269,587	11%	92,035	102,836	12%
Queens	8.	Fresh Meadows, Briarwood	146,594.	161,402	10%	56,243	59,385	6%
Queens	9.	Woodhaven, Richmond Hill	141,608.	152,839	8%	47,587	50,877	7%
Queens	10.	Ozone Park, Howard Beach	127,274.	129,411	2%	42,751	43,252	1%
Queens	11.	Bayside, Douglaston, Little Neck	116,404.	122,211	5%	45,912	47,357	3%
Queens	12.	Jamaica, St. Albans, Hollis	223,602.	256,278	15%	75,111	84,092	12%
Queens	13.	Queens Village, Rosedale	196,284.	199,218	1%	64,825	66,259	2%
Queens	14.	The Rockaways, Broad Channel	106,686.	124,173	16%	41,610	47,975	15%
Staten Island	1.	Stapleton, Port Richmond	162,609.	189,663	17%	60,986	69,066	13%
Staten Island	2.	New Springville, South Beach	127,071.	140,795	11%	47,253	51,599	9%
Staten Island	3.	Tottenville, Woodrow, Great Kills	152,908.	164,723	8%	55,286	62,782	14%

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2020 Redistricting Data (Public Law 94-171) and 2020 Census Demographic and Housing Characteristics File (DHC) Demographic Profile; and 2000 Census SF1, compiled by NYC DCP.

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