

A Summary of Housing Related Concerns from the Residents of East Bayside

Compiled for the Portland Housing Committee's April 13, 2016 Meeting

Gathering feedback on housing issues has proved a monumental task given the diversity inherent in our neighborhood and the obstacles encountered when attempting community outreach within the short timeframe available between receiving an invitation to speak to the Housing Committee and the scheduled meeting for our presentation. Nonetheless, we received a number of written comments and held a number of telephone conversations in addition to discussions held by EBNO board members. Several themes have repeatedly arisen during these encounters. The following is our attempt to summarize these themes and to represent our diverse neighborhood.

Diversity

East Bayside residents value the diversity present in our neighborhood and would like to see that diversity broaden.

Race We are clearly quite diverse in our neighborhood when it comes to ethnicity, languages spoken, and countries of origin. According to data mined for the Area Brownfields Planning Grant, 55% of East Bayside residents are considered minorities. The majority of East Bayside residents would like to see this racial diversity remain strong and hope that housing will be available for all who seek to live in Portland, particularly immigrants who are new to our country.

Zoning We also have great diversity in the types of zoning present in our little neighborhood. There are at least seven zones in East Bayside, including ILB, B5, B2b, B1b, R6, R7, and ROS (industrial, business, and residential). The broad range of zones make East Bayside a vibrant community, but the competing interests can add to conflicts on occasion. Many in East Bayside value the diversity in zones, but would like to see the city provide more guidance and regulation that help ease tension between the business zones, industrial zones and residential zones. Two recent examples involve conflicts between Hammond Street homeowners and a business (Allstate) and a developer (Avesta Housing), both located on Washington Avenue. Allstate hung a bright blue neon sign in its back window and Avesta installed stairwell lighting for four floors that remains on 24/7. Both of these resulted in unacceptable levels of light spillover into the back windows of a number of Hammond Street homes. Eventually, some alterations were voluntarily made to the 24/7 lights by Avesta Housing, and, after multiple calls to the City code enforcement officer, the neon sign was removed by Allstate. As development continues on Washington Avenue, other areas of East Bayside, and City-wide, "City zoning ordinances should be amended to include and clarify protections for residential property owners who's properties border business and industrial zones in order to help mitigate conflicts involving lighting, parking, noise and pollution."

Income One area where East Bayside is lacking in diversity is income. According to 2015 ESRI Community Analyst data, the median household income of residents of East Bayside is \$25,592. This is substantially below the city's median household income of \$41,197 and roughly half of the county's 2014 median household income of \$59,560 (from 2014 5-yr ACS Census data). The majority of East Bayside residents who cited lack of diversity in income levels support mixed income housing and support the building of "market-rate" housing, but were adamant that East Bayside not go the way of Munjoy Hill where the workforce housing has been greatly decimated. A common thread from many residents is that we must not gentrify in the same way as other areas of the peninsula. Diversity of income levels is welcomed, but not at the expense of housing for our low and lower middle income working classes. One major concern is that East Bayside will become polarized with heavily subsidized housing alongside unaffordable "market-rate" and luxury housing, but little to no housing that is actually affordable for our current workforce residents. Several cited that the gentrification of East Bayside has already begun, as many of us have had friends and neighbors who have been priced out of their apartments and rental homes. This is causing concern for our continued future as a neighborhood where the workforce of Portland can afford to live.

Age Another area which some cited as a housing concern is the lack of diversity in the ages of our residents. In fact, we are very young neighborhood with a median age of 28.5 (from 2014 5-yr ACS Census data). We lack middle aged and elderly residents. Respondents expressed a desire for improved housing policies and transportation options that would be supportive to older residents in East Bayside. Policies that facilitate accessory apartments, property tax relief, home repair financing, increased transit routes and stops with shelter and benches, etc., would assist older residents to remain in their homes ("age in place").

Diversity Summary: We want to see housing policies that will facilitate the development of mixed housing construction that includes all of these elements of diversity within our neighborhood and other Portland neighborhoods.

Housing Insecurity and Affordability

Many raised concerns about the affordability of rental units in East Bayside and Portland. We are largely a neighborhood of renters with 85.5% of our residences occupied by renters while only 14.5% of our residences are owner occupied. Renters who spoke about their experiences of renting in East Bayside were reluctant to put anything in writing, and those who did, wanted to do so anonymously. That, in itself, speaks to the problem of housing insecurity and the fear tenants face of no-cause evictions. One renter shared the struggles that she faced finding any place to live in Portland, let alone a place that she could afford. Just recently, she and her roommates faced the dreaded predicament of their rent being raised by their landlord to an amount which they could not afford. However, because they knew their rights as tenants, they

knew their landlord hadn't given them the required number of days' notice, so they were able to sign on for another year. But now, they are aware that their landlord intends to raise the rent and that relocation is likely imminent. This tension between landlord and tenant is occurring all across the city, and East Bayside is no exception.

Gentrification is already happening in East Bayside. Most support the addition of "market-rate" apartment projects in East Bayside, such as Redfern's 89 Anderson Street, as welcoming to increased income diversity within our neighborhood. However, given the current housing shortage and high demand, the resulting "market-rate" housing units are not affordable for the vast majority of current residents of East Bayside, or for the majority of all current Portland peninsula residents. We are witnessing that, as new development occurs on the peninsula, rents and property taxes increase, and so does displacement of current residents. So, while new developments may increase income diversity at higher income levels, we are decreasing diversity at lower and middle, non-subsidized, income levels in East Bayside. Clearly, this does not support, and seriously undermines, our neighborhood's goals for sustainable, multi-faceted diversity. We are passionate about maintaining, and expanding housing for current, and new, lower and middle income, working class residents in East Bayside. Many in East Bayside would like to see action that ensures that those who work in Portland can afford to live in Portland.

A common reaction, to learning about the City planning department's definition for "workforce" housing, is a deep concern that the income levels referenced are based upon 100% Of the area (county) median family income of "about \$75,000" and the economic unit referenced is a family of four. Neither of these demographic targets is reflective of current peninsula residents.

One commenter researched the demographic data for the eight Portland peninsula census tracts using the American Community Survey (ACS) 2014, 5-year, combined data. She calculated the median family income for peninsula residents at approximately \$38,097, and the median household income at approximately \$31,641. The 2014 median family income and the median household income for Census Tract 5 (East Bayside/India Street areas) was \$25,353 and \$26,303, respectively. She learned that 69% of peninsula households are "non-family" households and that the average household size ranges from 1.41 to 2.55 people. Her worksheet analysis is included for your review as an attachment to this PDF file.

Many are concerned "that City planning policy discussions are not yet formulated around an effort to retain current residents" and suggest that: the City's policies for workforce housing and inclusionary zoning "should target the income levels of Portland's current workforce that need support in order to afford housing in Portland." One person suggested "that policy income level targets should be based on single incomes, with multipliers applied for additional family members. This would make the policies and planning discussions more accessible and understandable for the general public." For example, using HUD discount/multiplier guidelines, the \$75,000 - family of four area (county) median family income translates to a \$52,500 area (county) single median income. This person suggested that the City's policies for workforce and

inclusionary zoning should target single area median income levels between 60-100% of area median income, about \$31,500-\$52,500.

One person stated, “Gentrification doesn't necessarily need to result in displacement.” This was a common theme, but many fear that if we just let the free market take the reins, then our friends and neighbors will be displaced. The same resident summed up the concern of many East Baysiders by stating, “I think that most people in East Bayside value our neighborhood's diversity, affordability and family-friendly nature, and we share a healthy concern that, in the absence of policy changes at City Hall, what happened to Munjoy Hill – the rapid transition from a renter-dominated, working-class neighborhood to a neighborhood of wealthy homeowners – could very well spill down into our neighborhood.” There are ways to accomplish this, such as appropriately targeted inclusionary zoning ordinances, instituting tax incentives and home repair financing programs that foster rent stabilization, and formulating effective, loophole free, affordable housing replacement ordinances.

AirBnB

Several shared concerns about the rise of AirBnb rentals in East Bayside. The overriding concern we are seeing is empty houses and empty apartments as a result of this. The owners are hoping that by renting their homes out as AirBnbs, they will earn more money than they could with longer-term tenants. This is the wrong direction! We are having a housing crisis in Portland, a crisis which is being exacerbated with the rise of the AirBnb. Many in East Bayside think the city needs to take a look at this new trend and come up with some way to regulate it, so that it does not result in a further decrease of housing options.

Density/ Urban Infill

This concern leads right into the question of increased density and urban infill. Residents of East Bayside are mostly supportive of increased density and urban infill, but want this done in a responsible manner. There is a general consensus that the recently revised R-6 zoning is suitable for East Bayside, and that it does a decent job of balancing the need for more housing in the city with supporting the maintenance of the existing pattern of neighborhood housing structures. Many recalled the recent attempt (spring of 2014) by the city to rezone our entire residential neighborhood into the very permissive R-7 zone. This attempt caused unnecessary conflict in East Bayside and in some cases pit neighbor against neighbor. Furthermore, rezoning an entire neighborhood was unprecedented in the history of zoning in Portland. Many in East Bayside think the attempt was ill-advised and hope to never see a repeat. Most are accepting of the changes made to the R-6 ordinance and feel it is adequate for most of East Bayside and some think it should be extended to off-peninsula neighborhoods, as well.

Regarding any higher density and/or larger structures, most prefer to see these projects located along the edges of our neighborhood, along transit corridors, such as Franklin Street, Washington Avenue, Marginal Way, and Congress Street. If high density housing complexes

are located along the edges of the community, the resulting heavier traffic patterns could be kept out of the interiors of our neighborhood. Many want City policies that encourage and incentivize the maintenance, and replacement, when necessary, of the remaining single, two, and three-family structures that occupy so **very few** streets in East Bayside. As one resident stated, “Streetscapes with these types of housing structures are the “bedrock” of stability, continuity, and connection within a neighborhood. The folks who live in and/or own these structures are much more likely to put down roots, engage in their neighborhoods, volunteer as board members or active participants in their neighborhood organizations, and actually care about their community and its residents. If these types of structures are replaced with large, multi-unit, high density apartment complexes, they will be gone forever, and so will the connective fabric of the peninsula’s neighborhood communities.” Some comments were supportive of increased smaller scale development, rather than seeking fewer, larger projects. For example, rather than looking for huge developments like the Midtown Project, some prefer numerous, smaller lots, with a diversity of development over time – adding more streetscapes of predominantly single, two, and three-family structures, in areas, like Bayside, where few exist currently.

Several mentioned a desire to maintain “green spaces” in East Bayside. One resident stated, “The properties here in East Bayside do not have a lot of ‘green space’ but most were originally built to include a traditional, back or side yard in order to provide some sense of privacy and relief from the urban streets.” The fear is that with the rise of large, four, or more, story developments with very little space, the green areas of East Bayside will be lost. Others expressed a desire to make sure our R-OS zones stay intact, and a further desire to see more small parks and gardens in East Bayside.

Architecture

Concern about the quality of architectural design was raised by some in the neighborhood. One resident stated, “Regarding future real-estate developments, it would be nice to see the city consider in earnest the serious effect of architecture on the city and citizens. Developers don’t need more red tape to jump through but they must be held to higher design standards. Urban architecture is in large part a public experience and it dramatically affects the community it purports to house and even those it doesn’t. Developers need to be pushed and incentivized towards innovation and smarter design solutions and away from design that only reflects developer interest in maximizing profit and minimizing risk.” He further states, “Imagine a development process wherein design standards were mandated by the city to reflect a common-sense vision of community and health for all of Portland’s residents. This would not have to compromise financial viability but instead possibly improve it. People travel for design. Good architecture inspires, motivates, and uplifts people towards better versions of themselves. Imagine a building with a variety of outdoor spaces that encourage community interaction and active lifestyles and a variety of units for diverse demographics including millennials, the

elderly, as well as luxury units, all in the same development. This is a healthier way to build and strengthens social fabric rather than further separating citizens by income bracket. There are many examples of successful developments of this kind based around healthy shared ideals based on common-sense community values and it would be nice to see Portland make an effort to build and develop in this direction.”

Landlords

There were concerns raised about absentee landlords and the untenable conditions that some renters in East Bayside are forced to endure. Neighbors are concerned about trash, unsafe living conditions and rowdy tenants, circumstances which are generally due to landlords who live “away”. Many would like see more clear regulations from the city about conditions for rental units and would like to see more strenuous code enforcement of rental units. Airbnb is a related issue (see above).

On the other hand, some landlords spoke up and said that laying the burden of a lack of affordable housing at the feet of landlords, most of whom are really just small business people, is not much of a solution. One landlord for example just put in \$6,000 worth of fire doors in one of his buildings. He did this in response to the Noyes street fire. In order to get his money back in three years he would have to increase the rents \$30 per month per apartment (6 units). He is not taking into account other expenses. At this point, he has not raised the rent, so currently he is out \$6,000. There needs to be a balance about what is expected of the landlords and some incentives for landlords to keep their rents reasonable and rental properties up to code. Could the City provide tax relief to landlords for rental unit improvements?

Landlords also expressed frustration about how difficult it is to complete the administrative tasks required by the city. One landlord states, “As a landlord in East Bayside, it would be nice if all matters of city commerce, bills, taxes, fees, etc. could be dealt with in a single online platform. As it is now, I receive individual paper bills from each department requiring separate checks sent in separate directions at various times annually. As banking increasingly moves online, the city would do well to adjust accordingly and centralize its online system, reducing waste and logistical confusion while providing the city an efficient online resource to contact its citizens directly.”

Parking, Transit and Pedestrians

There are mixed views about parking in East Bayside. Some feel that providing off-street parking just makes residents more likely to own cars and others feel that we haven’t yet provided sufficient transit options for residents to ditch their cars. One interesting fact is that 27.2% (according to 2014 5-yr ACS Census data) of East Bayside households are without a vehicle. That is actually a greater percentage of car free households than the rest of the city of Portland. For that reason, many in East Bayside would like to see more transportation options available,

particularly bus and car share services. People would like to see more bus stops in East Bayside, and increased frequency of service in order to make taking the bus more functionally possible. We also need improvements to our sidewalks, sheltered benches, curb ramps, bicycle lanes and crosswalks. If the city made it easier to get around without a car, then more people would ditch their cars, thus decreasing the need for providing off-street parking, an obstacle for some developers.

Other residents feel strongly that developers need to provide off-street parking in order to keep our streets safer and less congested. In fact, one resident stated, “Parking garages for these new high rises are imperative. We need easy access to off-street parking for residents so pedestrians, bikers, cars and school busses can safely navigate our neighborhood.” Those who rent tend to be more attracted to rentals with off-street parking, and said it plays a role in their decision-making about renting. No one, especially older residents, wants the hassle of moving their on-street, parked car to far away parking areas during the frequent, seasonal parking bans.

The issue of parking is clearly one where there is little agreement and large impact for both housing policies and neighborhood livability. A gradual transition to less City land devoted to parking must be supported by sufficiently increased and improved transportation alternatives.

Brownfields

A major concern for those living in East Bayside is the high level of contamination in the soil. East Bayside is largely built on fill from the great fire of 1866, so has a lot of coal ash (full of lead and polycyclic aromatic hydrocarbons (PAHs)). We also have a great deal of lead contamination, and to a lesser degree, asbestos and heavy metals, due to the city demolishing homes in the 1960s in order to build the Franklin Arterial. The hazardous building materials from these homes were not carted off; the houses were just collapsed, thus leaching dangerous chemicals into the soil in East Bayside. This soil is still contaminated (source: EB Area Wide Brownfields Planning Grant FY15). This leads to all sorts of problems when developers want to build, as digging is not always an option. Every effort should be made to communicate to developers that help is available for Brownfields Remediation through the GPCOGs Brownfield Assessment and Clean-up Programs and through the GPCOG’s and the City’s Brownfield Revolving Loan Fund Programs.

Summary

In summary, we will share statements from a couple of our residents. Their quotes will serve to share both the fear and excitement that is shared among the residents of East Bayside as we are watching our corner of the peninsula change rapidly. Says one resident: “As a current and

long-time resident/homeowner in East Bayside, I am very concerned about the rapid pace of housing development happening in our neighborhood. I recognize the inevitability of change and growth in the city and am aware that there is a need for more housing in Portland, especially for lower and middle income residents. East Bayside presents an attractive choice to developers, thanks to its mix of aging, single family homes and apartment buildings, as well as some business and industrial areas. The neighborhood has a long history of being populated by working class and immigrant families. My concern is that this exact group of people, myself and my husband included, will no longer be able to live, work and enjoy the very qualities that have made this corner of Portland a vibrant and livable neighborhood.”

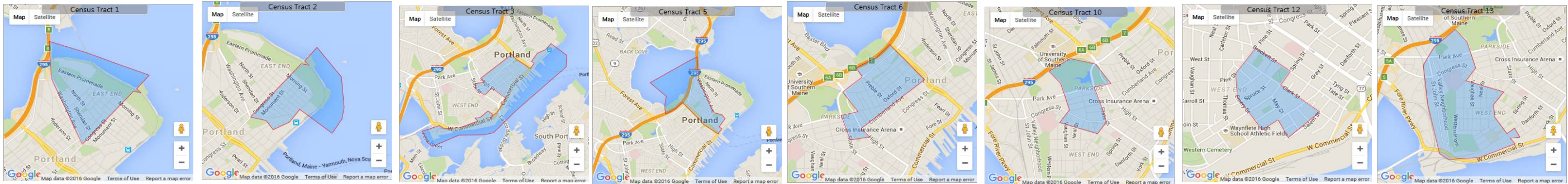
Another resident states, “As a longtime Portland resident living with my family in East Bayside, I have watched with great interest as our neighborhood has gone from neglected to selected; selected by every high-end condo and apartment developer who wants to make lots of money. I know that in our "free market" system there are limits on what the City can do to prevent over gentrification, but more needs to be done, unless we are comfortable with subsidized housing, high-end condos, and very little in the middle; I am not! I am not an expert on mechanisms to cool down an overheated real estate market and foster the development of more affordable housing, but if we don't, I fear we will lose the mixed neighborhoods that add vibrancy to life in our community. I know there are no easy solutions, but there are many residents who share my concerns, which can translate to significant support for taking bold action to keep Portland affordable and improve our housing stock at the same time.”

In closing, one East Baysider shared this. “I like this quote from Tom MacMillan of the Portland Tenants Union- ‘Free market is not going to ensure that Portland maintains its unique character and charm or provides enough affordable housing for everyone.’ Portland has a City motto, ‘Yes, Life's good here.’ What makes life good here (in Portland and East Bayside) could be lost without a vision and the ability to hold on to what makes us great.”

Respectfully submitted,

Representatives of East Bayside,
EBNO Board Members,
Ellen Bailey and Cynthia Cochran

DATA SOURCE:
American Community Survey (ACS)
2014 - 5YR Combined Data



| Subject | Cumberland County, Maine | | Census Tract 1, | | Census Tract 2, | | Census Tract 3, | | Census Tract 5, | | Census Tract 6, | | Census Tract 10, | | Census Tract 12, | | Census Tract 13, | | Peninsula Tracts Totals | | Peninsula Tracts Totals | |
|--|--------------------------|---------|-----------------|---------|-----------------|---------|-----------------|---------|-----------------|---------|-----------------|---------|------------------|---------|------------------|---------|------------------|---------|-------------------------|---------|-------------------------|---------|
| | Estimate | Percent | Estimate | Percent | Estimate | Percent | Estimate | Percent | Estimate | Percent | Estimate | Percent | Estimate | Percent | Estimate | Percent | Estimate | Percent | Estimate | Percent | <> \$75,000 | Percent |
| INCOME AND BENEFITS (IN 2014 INFLATION-ADJUSTED) | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Total households | 117,406 | | 117,406 | | 1,228 | 1,228 | 1,181 | 1,181 | 1,681 | 1,681 | 985 | 985 | 1,352 | 1,352 | 1,394 | 1,394 | 709 | 709 | 1,798 | 1,798 | 10,328 | 100.0% |
| Less than \$10,000 | 7,216 | 6.1% | 203 | 16.5% | 148 | 12.5% | 478 | 28.4% | 211 | 21.4% | 367 | 27.1% | 173 | 12.4% | 66 | 9.3% | 310 | 17.2% | 1,956 | 18.9% | 8,518 | 82.5% |
| \$10,000 to \$14,999 | 6,490 | 5.5% | 58 | 4.7% | 40 | 3.4% | 209 | 12.4% | 110 | 11.2% | 120 | 8.9% | 236 | 16.9% | 108 | 15.2% | 180 | 10.0% | 1,061 | 10.3% | | |
| \$15,000 to \$24,999 | 10,121 | 8.6% | 66 | 5.4% | 95 | 8.0% | 274 | 16.3% | 147 | 14.9% | 201 | 14.9% | 210 | 15.1% | 107 | 15.1% | 258 | 14.3% | 1,358 | 13.1% | | |
| \$25,000 to \$34,999 | 10,804 | 9.2% | 130 | 10.6% | 168 | 14.2% | 178 | 10.6% | 143 | 14.5% | 123 | 9.1% | 184 | 13.2% | 75 | 10.6% | 187 | 10.4% | 1,188 | 11.5% | | |
| \$35,000 to \$49,999 | 15,318 | 13.0% | 242 | 19.7% | 194 | 16.4% | 125 | 7.4% | 175 | 17.8% | 132 | 9.8% | 209 | 15.0% | 97 | 13.7% | 366 | 20.4% | 1,540 | 14.9% | | |
| \$50,000 to \$74,999 | 21,261 | 18.1% | 216 | 17.6% | 166 | 14.1% | 192 | 11.4% | 115 | 11.7% | 186 | 13.8% | 234 | 16.8% | 115 | 16.2% | 191 | 10.6% | 1,415 | 13.7% | | |
| \$75,000 to \$99,999 | 15,856 | 13.5% | 103 | 8.4% | 182 | 15.4% | 140 | 8.3% | 36 | 3.7% | 130 | 9.6% | 66 | 4.7% | 25 | 3.5% | 79 | 4.4% | 761 | 7.4% | 1,810 | 17.5% |
| \$100,000 to \$149,999 | 17,329 | 14.8% | 130 | 10.6% | 140 | 11.9% | 46 | 2.7% | 39 | 4.0% | 57 | 4.2% | 49 | 3.5% | 76 | 10.7% | 65 | 3.6% | 602 | 5.8% | | |
| \$150,000 to \$199,999 | 6,529 | 5.6% | 39 | 3.2% | 28 | 2.4% | 23 | 1.4% | 9 | 0.9% | 0 | 0.0% | 0 | 0.0% | 15 | 2.1% | 73 | 4.1% | 187 | 1.8% | | |
| \$200,000 or more | 6,482 | 5.5% | 41 | 3.3% | 20 | 1.7% | 16 | 1.0% | 0 | 0.0% | 36 | 2.7% | 33 | 2.4% | 25 | 3.5% | 89 | 4.9% | 260 | 2.5% | | |
| Median household income (dollars) | 59,560 | (X) | 43,125 | (X) | 47,729 | (X) | 21,792 | (X) | 26,303 | (X) | 24,545 | (X) | 28,723 | (X) | 34,915 | (X) | 32,750 | (X) | | | 31,641 | |
| Mean household income (dollars) | 80,328 | (X) | 59,094 | (X) | 56,442 | (X) | 37,884 | (X) | 33,312 | (X) | 41,968 | (X) | 40,879 | (X) | 57,245 | (X) | 55,803 | (X) | | | 46,203 | |
| With earnings | 92,627 | 78.9% | 929 | 75.7% | 995 | 84.3% | 1,123 | 66.8% | 741 | 75.2% | 897 | 66.3% | 1,053 | 75.5% | 641 | 90.4% | 1,248 | 69.4% | 7,627 | 73.8% | | |
| Mean earnings (dollars) | 80,863 | (X) | 63,257 | (X) | 57,443 | (X) | 43,842 | (X) | 36,135 | (X) | 50,794 | (X) | 47,437 | (X) | 51,526 | (X) | 59,791 | (X) | | | | |
| With Social Security | 34,405 | 29.3% | 247 | 20.1% | 183 | 15.5% | 373 | 22.2% | 197 | 20.0% | 217 | 16.1% | 193 | 13.8% | 91 | 12.8% | 325 | 18.1% | 1,826 | 17.7% | | |
| Mean Social Security income (dollars) | 17,431 | (X) | 16,222 | (X) | 17,278 | (X) | 15,086 | (X) | 10,171 | (X) | 9,778 | (X) | 13,357 | (X) | 8,696 | (X) | 14,885 | (X) | | | | |
| With retirement income | 20,471 | 17.4% | 61 | 5.0% | 64 | 5.4% | 158 | 9.4% | 54 | 5.5% | 80 | 5.9% | 35 | 2.5% | 27 | 3.8% | 159 | 8.8% | 638 | 6.2% | | |
| Mean retirement income (dollars) | 22,662 | (X) | 22,267 | (X) | 13,245 | (X) | 21,728 | (X) | 8,424 | (X) | 18,968 | (X) | 11,077 | (X) | 24,004 | (X) | 20,960 | (X) | | | | |
| With Supplemental Security Income | 5,283 | 4.5% | 99 | 8.1% | 37 | 3.1% | 219 | 13.0% | 201 | 20.4% | 222 | 16.4% | 116 | 8.3% | 70 | 9.9% | 243 | 13.5% | 1,207 | 11.7% | | |
| Mean Supplemental Security Income (dollars) | 9,778 | (X) | 8,545 | (X) | 8,114 | (X) | 7,801 | (X) | 7,933 | (X) | 8,680 | (X) | 8,926 | (X) | 5,923 | (X) | 10,554 | (X) | | | | |
| With cash public assistance income | 4,543 | 3.9% | 45 | 3.7% | 60 | 5.1% | 171 | 10.2% | 191 | 19.4% | 197 | 14.6% | 153 | 11.0% | 58 | 8.2% | 210 | 11.7% | 1,085 | 10.5% | | |
| Mean cash public assistance income (dollars) | 3,870 | (X) | 398 | (X) | 1,652 | (X) | 2,469 | (X) | 3,830 | (X) | 4,651 | (X) | 4,750 | (X) | 4,071 | (X) | 3,254 | (X) | | | | |
| With Food Stamp/SNAP benefits in the past 12 months | 14,793 | 12.6% | 229 | 18.6% | 250 | 21.2% | 523 | 31.1% | 559 | 56.8% | 524 | 38.8% | 359 | 25.8% | 160 | 22.6% | 491 | 27.3% | 3,095 | 30.0% | | |
| Families | 71,982 | | 71,982 | | 369 | 369 | 499 | 499 | 290 | 290 | 517 | 517 | 396 | 396 | 242 | 242 | 242 | 242 | 615 | 615 | 3,170 | 100.0% |
| Less than \$10,000 | 2,365 | 3.3% | 8 | 2.2% | 84 | 16.8% | 39 | 13.4% | 98 | 19.0% | 81 | 20.5% | 63 | 26.0% | 15 | 6.2% | 134 | 21.8% | 522 | 16.5% | 2,255 | 21.8% |
| \$10,000 to \$14,999 | 1,844 | 2.6% | 28 | 7.6% | 11 | 2.2% | 18 | 6.2% | 54 | 10.4% | 17 | 4.3% | 40 | 16.5% | 97 | 40.1% | 39 | 6.3% | 304 | 9.6% | | |
| \$15,000 to \$24,999 | 3,665 | 5.1% | 0 | 0.0% | 0 | 0.0% | 40 | 13.8% | 101 | 19.5% | 27 | 6.8% | 42 | 17.4% | 27 | 11.2% | 94 | 15.3% | 331 | 10.4% | | |
| \$25,000 to \$34,999 | 5,430 | 7.5% | 76 | 20.6% | 59 | 11.8% | 13 | 4.5% | 81 | 15.7% | 58 | 14.6% | 42 | 17.4% | 18 | 7.4% | 11 | 1.8% | 358 | 11.3% | | |
| \$35,000 to \$49,999 | 8,196 | 11.4% | 54 | 14.6% | 64 | 12.8% | 24 | 8.3% | 65 | 12.6% | 18 | 4.5% | 27 | 11.2% | 25 | 10.3% | 62 | 10.1% | 339 | 10.7% | | |
| \$50,000 to \$74,999 | 13,322 | 18.5% | 40 | 10.8% | 76 | 15.2% | 29 | 10.0% | 69 | 13.3% | 81 | 20.5% | 3 | 1.2% | 31 | 12.8% | 72 | 11.7% | 401 | 12.6% | | |
| \$75,000 to \$99,999 | 11,677 | 16.2% | 32 | 8.7% | 77 | 15.4% | 77 | 26.6% | 40 | 7.7% | 68 | 17.2% | 11 | 4.5% | 3 | 1.2% | 34 | 5.5% | 342 | 10.8% | 915 | 8.9% |
| \$100,000 to \$149,999 | 14,324 | 19.9% | 69 | 18.7% | 86 | 17.2% | 21 | 7.2% | 0 | 0.0% | 19 | 4.8% | 7 | 2.9% | 6 | 2.5% | 41 | 6.7% | 249 | 7.9% | | |
| \$150,000 to \$199,999 | 5,511 | 7.7% | 39 | 10.6% | 22 | 4.4% | 13 | 4.5% | 9 | 1.7% | 0 | 0.0% | 0 | 0.0% | 10 | 4.1% | 57 | 9.3% | 150 | 4.7% | | |
| \$200,000 or more | 5,648 | 7.8% | 23 | 6.2% | 20 | 4.0% | 16 | 5.5% | 0 | 0.0% | 27 | 6.8% | 7 | 2.9% | 10 | 4.1% | 71 | 11.5% | 174 | 5.5% | | |
| Median family income (dollars) | 77,157 | (X) | 53,482 | (X) | 52,250 | (X) | 66,042 | (X) | 25,353 | (X) | 39,583 | (X) | 17,500 | (X) | 18,167 | (X) | 43,036 | (X) | | | 38,097 | |
| Mean family income (dollars) | 98,398 | (X) | 87,267 | (X) | 67,565 | (X) | 86,457 | (X) | 33,608 | (X) | 62,139 | (X) | 31,808 | (X) | 51,800 | (X) | 90,033 | (X) | | | 60,921 | |
| Per capita income (dollars) | 33,844 | (X) | 31,444 | (X) | 27,606 | (X) | 25,307 | (X) | 13,097 | (X) | 20,551 | (X) | 23,356 | (X) | 27,389 | (X) | 30,342 | (X) | | | | |
| Nonfamily households | 45,424 | | 45,424 | | 859 | 859 | 682 | 1,391 | 468 | 468 | 956 | 956 | 1,152 | 1,152 | 467 | 467 | 1,183 | 1,183 | 7,158 | 100% | 6,263 | 60.6% |
| Median nonfamily income (dollars) | 35,533 | (X) | 39,327 | (X) | 38,056 | (X) | 19,743 | (X) | 25,294 | (X) | 16,959 | (X) | 31,250 | (X) | 40,481 | (X) | 30,736 | (X) | | | 895 | 8.7% |
| Mean nonfamily income (dollars) | 48,919 | (X) | 45,706 | (X) | 48,304 | (X) | 27,757 | (X) | 31,003 | (X) | 32,439 | (X) | 42,660 | (X) | 59,448 | (X) | 37,226 | (X) | | | 43,603 | |
| Median earnings for workers (dollars) | 32,484 | (X) | 27,853 | (X) | 26,050 | (X) | 21,062 | (X) | 20,697 | (X) | 22,058 | (X) | 23,358 | (X) | 22,397 | (X) | 24,172 | (X) | | | | |
| Median earnings for male full-time, year-round workers (dollars) | 51,380 | (X) | 40,038 | (X) | 41,538 | (X) | 40,893 | (X) | 26,548 | (X) | 37,732 | (X) | 30,000 | (X) | 39,063 | (X) | 32,367 | (X) | | | | |
| Median earnings for female full-time, year-round workers | 42,388 | (X) | 34,493 | (X) | 36,250 | (X) | 32,875 | (X) | 22,837 | (X) | 31,096 | (X) | 28,884 | (X) | 33,958 | (X) | 41,456 | (X) | | | | |
| HOUSEHOLDS BY TYPE | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Total households | 117,406 | | 117,406 | | 1,228 | 1,228 | 1,181 | 1,181 | 1,681 | 1,681 | 985 | 985 | 1,352 | 1,352 | 1,394 | 1,394 | 709 | 709 | 1,798 | 1,798 | 10,328 | 100% |
| Family households (families) | 71,982 | 61.3% | 369 | 30.0% | 499 | 42.3% | 290 | 17.3% | 517 | 52.5% | 396 | 29.3% | 242 | 17.4% | 242 | 34.1% | 615 | 34.2% | 3,170 | 31% | | |
| With own children under 18 years | 31,073 | 26.5% | 171 | 13.9% | 217 | 18.4% | 90 | 5.4% | 304 | 30.9% | 206 | 15.2% | 135 | 9.7% | 128 | 18.1% | 248 | 13.8% | 1,499 | 15% | | |
| Married-couple family | 56,038 | 47.7% | 260 | 21.2% | 352 | 29.8% | 191 | 11.4% | 222 | 22.5% | 208 | 15.4% | 110 | 7.9% | 155 | 21.9% | 445 | 24.7% | 1,943 | 19% | | |
| With own children under 18 years | 21,185 | 18.0% | 103 | 8.4% | 109 | 9.2% | 19 | 1.1% | 133 | 13.5% | 35 | 2.6% | 70 | 5.0% | 66 | 9.3% | 129 | 7.2% | 664 | 6% | | |
| Male householder, no wife present, family | 4,761 | 4.1% | 55 | 4.5% | 20 | 1.7% | 13 | 0.8% | 49 | 5.0% | 32 | 2.4% | 79 | 5.7% | 31 | 4.4% | 38 | 2.1% | 317 | 3% | | |
| With own children under 18 years | 3,019 | 2.6% | 48 | 3.9% | 7 | 0.6% | 0 | 0.0% | 30 | 3.0% | 32 | 2.4% | 38 | 2.7% | 21 | 3.0% | 30 | 1.7% | 206 | 2% | | |
| Female householder, no husband present, family | 11,183 | 9.5% | 54 | 4.4% | 127 | 10.8% | 86 | 5.1% | 246 | 25.0% | 156 | 11.5% | 53 | 3.8% | 56 | 7.9% | 132 | 7.3% | 910 | 9% | | |
| With own children under 18 years | 6,869 | 5.9% | 20 | 1.6% | 101 | 8.6% | 71 | 4.2% | 141 | 14.3% | 139 | 10.3% | 27 | 1.9% | 41 | 5.8% | 89 | 4.9% | 629 | 6% | | |
| Nonfamily households | 45,424 | 38.7% | 859 | 70.0% | 682 | 57.7% | 1,391 | 82.7% | 468 | 47.5% | 956 | 70.7% | 1,152 | 82.6% | 467 | 65.9% | 1,183 | 65.8% | 7,158 | 69% | | |
| Householder living alone | 34,823 | 29.7% | 560 | 45.6% | 356 | 30.1% | 1,153 | 68.6% | 307 | 31.2% | 703 | 52.0% | 759 | 54.4% | 234 | 33.0% | 972 | 54.1% | 5,044 | 49% | | |
| 65 years and over | 13,325 | 11.3% | 154 | 12.5% | 75 | 6.4% | 212 | 12.6% | 50 | 5.1% | 92 | 6.8% | 51 | 3.7% | 39 | 5.5% | 188 | 10.5% | 861 | 8% | | |
| Households with one or more people under 18 years | 33,082 | 28.2% | 185 | 15.1% | 217 | 18.4% | 90 | 5.4% | 351 | 35.6% | 228 | 16.9% | 135 | 9.7% | 128 | 18.1% | 258 | 14.3% | 1,592 | 15% | | |
| Households with one or more people 65 years and over | 31,126 | 26.5% | 214 | 17.4% | 127 | 10.8% | 286 | 17.0% | 116 | 11.8% | 137 | 10.1% | 82 | 5.9% | 58 | 8.2% | 285 | 15.9% | 1,305 | 13% | | |
| Average household size | 2.35 | (X) | 1.89 | (X) | 2.09 | (X) | 1.41 | (X) | 2.55 | (X) | 1.86 | (X) | 1.78 | (X) | 2.17 | (X) | 1.81 | (X) | | | | |
| Average family size | 2.92 | (X) | 2.75 | (X) | 2.71 | (X) | 2.42 | (X) | 3.42 | (X) | 2.95 | (X) | 2.85 | (X) | 2.98 | (X) | 2.68 | (X) | | | | |