

Covid-19 and NYC Metro Region Residential Sales Trends

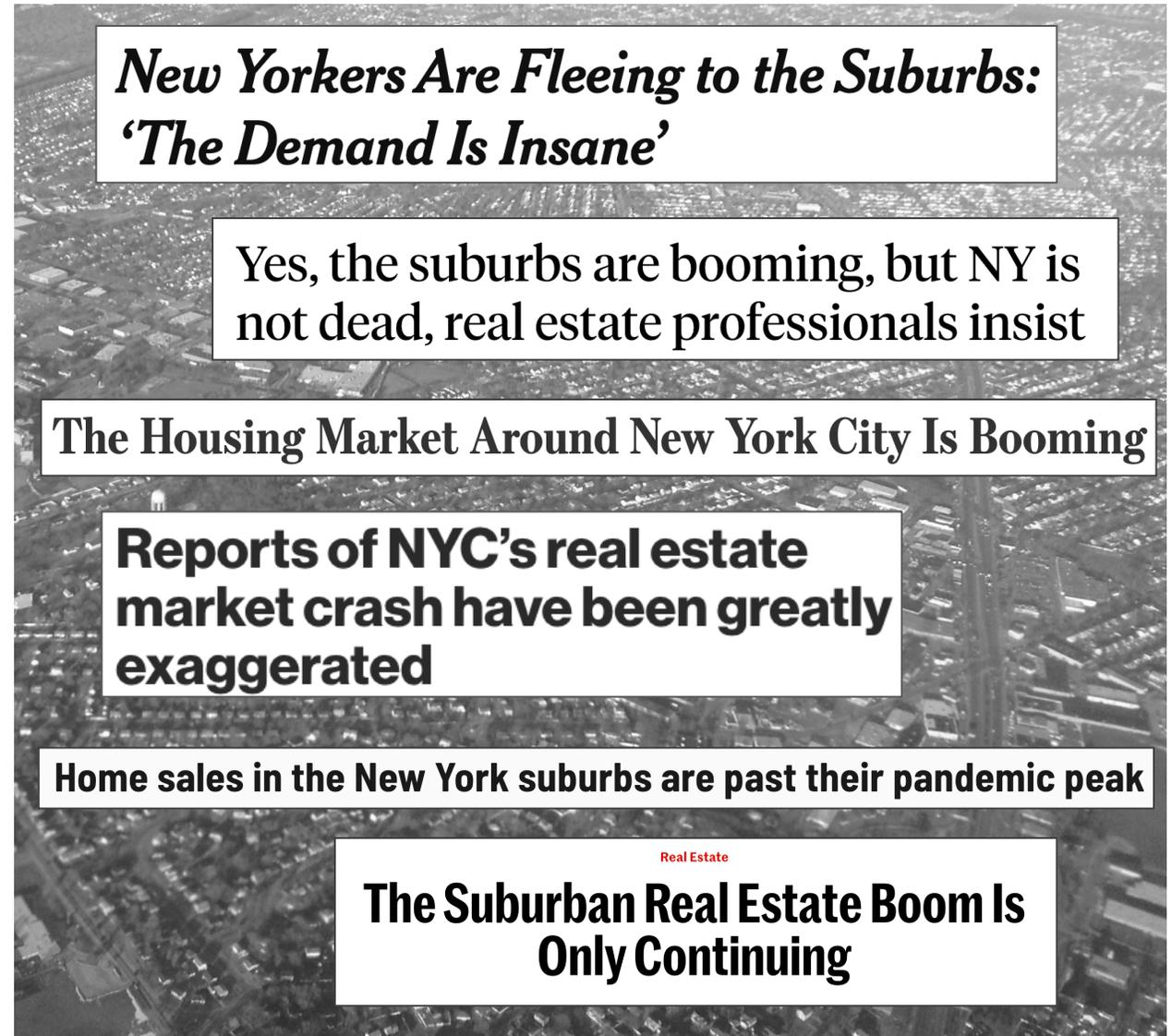
A brief look at the geography and temporal patterns of home-buying in NYC and the surrounding metropolitan region prior to and during the pandemic.

Press coverage of 2020 NYC Metro real estate trends has been confusing and at times contradictory.

Since March 2020, there has been considerable, sometimes conflicting, press coverage of the NYC metropolitan region (“NYC Metro”) residential real estate market’s performance in response to Covid-19, and reported NYC resident relocation to the surrounding suburbs.

Much of the coverage to date has relied upon a mix of qualitative information and observations obtained through interviews with real estate brokers, home buyers, moving companies and other industry stakeholders, as well as quantitative samples that describe activity in select NYC Metro markets and/or for select housing typologies.

To assess Covid-19’s broader impact on the NYC Metro housing market, the NYC Department of City Planning (“DCP”) analyzed geospatial and temporal patterns of home listings and sales data, prepared and provided by Zillow Group, Inc. (“Zillow”), to examine residential trends throughout the NYC Metro prior to and since the pandemic.

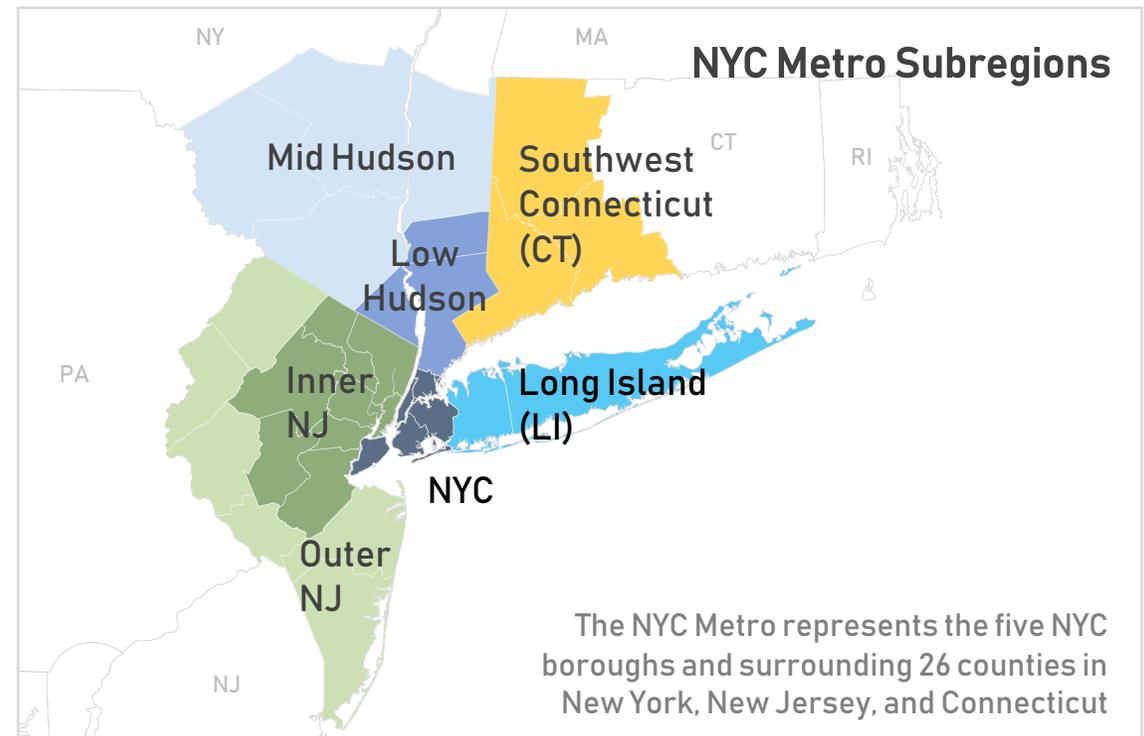


Shifts in urban and suburban real estate markets are happening nationally.

Reports of city residents relocating to their suburbs in response to Covid-19 are not unique to NYC. In February 2021, Zillow released its [2020 Urban/Suburban Report](#), a housing market analysis exploring the pandemic's impact on real estate markets in cities and their suburbs. The report found that urban and suburban housing markets were generally performing in alignment through the end of 2020, but for a few select urban markets that were adversely impacted, including New York City and San Francisco.

Using Zillow's data, DCP performed a comparable analysis of residential inventory and sales trends by NYC Metro subregion in 2019 and 2020. For detailed definitions of the geographies and metrics covered in this report, please refer to the Appendix.

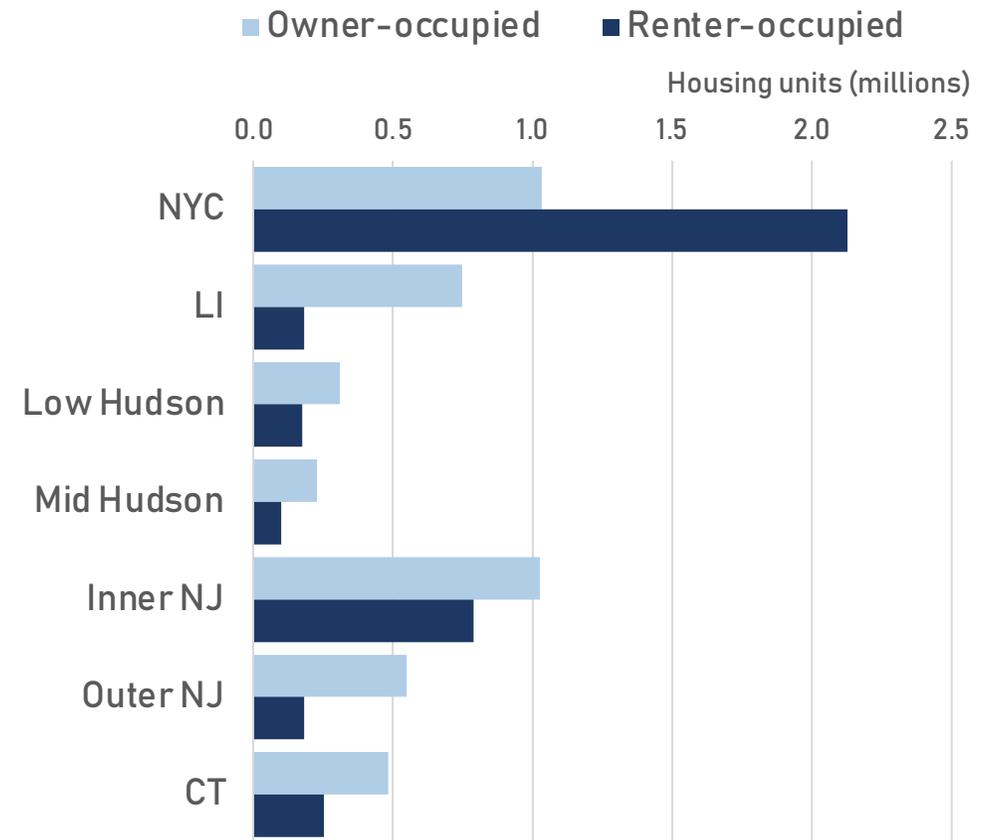
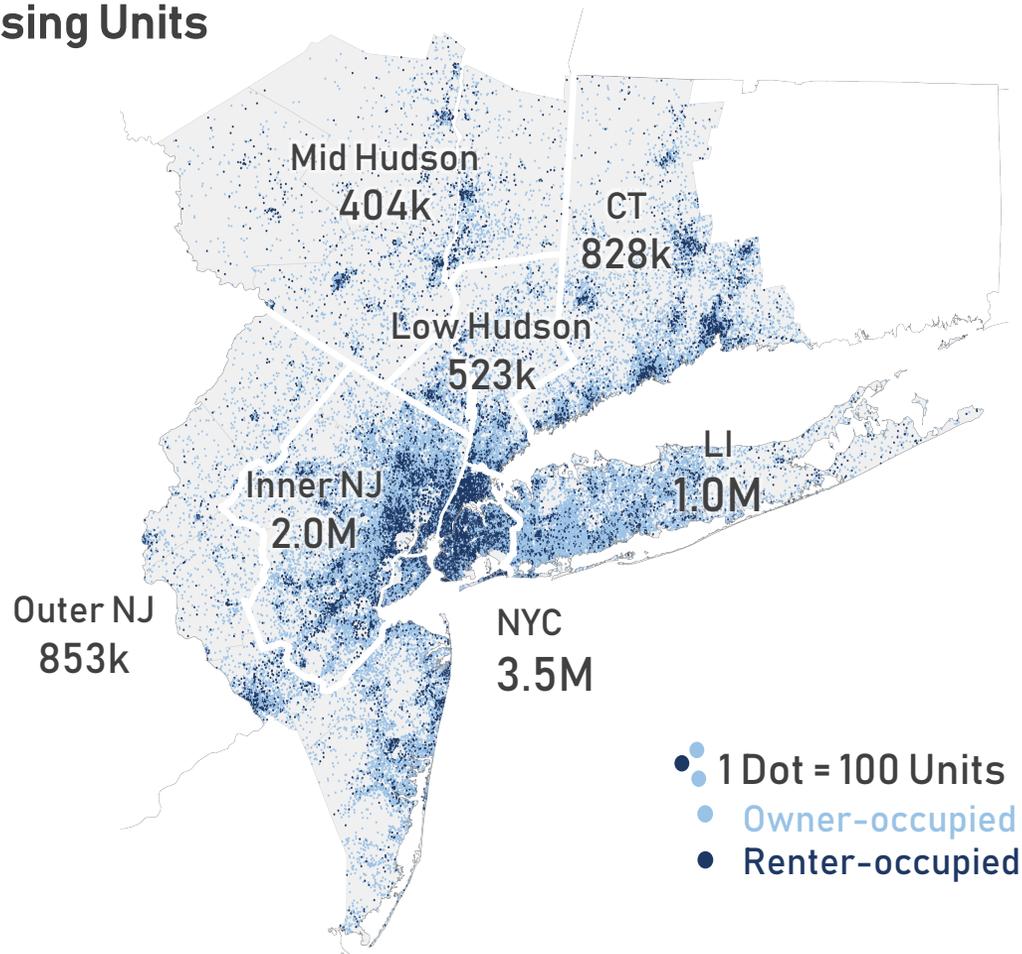
It is important to note that **this report does not capture rental activity or the effects of temporary relocations.** It provides a snapshot of the effects of Covid-19 on the NYC Metro's for-sale housing market and is **representative solely of the inventory posted on Zillow.** It therefore does not represent all housing inventory available for sale or reflect the overall distribution of housing in the NYC Metro.



Residential sales data capture a portion of market activity and are more representative of suburban locations.

There is considerable variation within NYC Metro housing markets, and sales represent differing shares of each subregion's overall housing stock. In NYC, just one-third of homes are owner-occupied, whereas on Long Island 80% of the homes are owner-occupied. Therefore, home sales are more broadly representative of residential real estate activity on Long Island than in NYC. Furthermore, owner-occupied housing represents a variety of home typologies, including single-family homes, condominiums and co-operatives in multifamily buildings that can range from below-market rate to luxury. This diversity of housing stock can be found in areas throughout the NYC Metro.

Housing Units



An interconnected regional housing ecosystem ensures the vitality of both NYC and its surrounding suburbs.

The availability of homes at different prices, types, and tenures (i.e., rent and own) is important for accommodating a range of NYC Metro residents' housing preferences, promoting the affordability of the region's housing stock, and supporting the NYC Metro's overall economic competitiveness by attracting and maintaining a diverse workforce. Despite the temporary effects of Covid-19, such as wide-scale remote work and office closures, NYC remains the region's economic engine and still holds the greatest concentration of NYC Metro jobs. NYC relies on a housing market that extends well beyond its physical boundaries as a city, sharing a dynamic exchange of residents with its suburbs who come to NYC to pursue access to economic opportunity and to use cultural and natural assets, as well as institutional and other services.

~1 Million

People live in the NYC Metro suburbs and work in NYC

~300,000

NYC residents work in jobs located in the suburbs

~155,000

People migrate between NYC and its suburbs each year



Key Insights: Residential sales trends in NYC and the NYC Metro suburbs since Covid-19

In 2020, more supply and softer demand has led to an unusual (and potentially temporary) reprieve in pressure on NYC's for-sale housing market.

NYC's housing market was under pressure for years prior to Covid-19, in part due to the city's disproportionate role in accommodating the NYC Metro's workforce growth*. While this recent slack offers a reprieve from pre-existing strain, it is important to note that sales represent a smaller portion of the city's diverse housing stock and its ability to house a dynamic population. It is also difficult to ascertain the lasting effects of this temporary disruption, particularly as central business districts remain closed or under-occupied.

Conversely, Covid-19 has exacerbated pressure on the housing market in the surrounding suburbs, further threatening the affordability of the NYC Metro region.

In the decade leading up to Covid-19, the NYC Metro suburbs were building less housing, especially in Connecticut, the Hudson Valley, and Long Island, and accommodating less of the NYC Metro's overall population, economic, and housing growth*. With less new construction, and now a decreasing supply of available housing for purchase, the NYC Metro suburbs are less well equipped to accommodate increases in demand that are in turn exacerbating regional housing pressures.

In 2020, inventory was down nation-wide while prices were up. Total sales, however, were down in the NYC Metro, but not in the U.S. overall.

As documented in Zillow's [recent study of U.S. residential sales trends in 2020](#), U.S. inventory, or the number of homes available for purchase on Zillow, was significantly down throughout 2020 and even more so by the end of the year. Inventory was also down in the NYC Metro, but less than the U.S. overall. Median list prices were up in the NYC Metro, consistent with national trends, but total closed sales in 2020 were down. Zillow reported no significant shift in cumulative sales in 2020 versus 2019, despite accelerating sales by the year's end. This suggests that Covid-19 disproportionately negatively impacted sales activity in the NYC Metro as compared to the U.S. overall.

NYC Metro 

United States 

% Change in Inventory
Year-on-Year December 2020

 **-14%**

 **-27%**

% Change in Total Sales
2019 vs. 2020*

 **-6%**

*~ No significant change**

% Change in Median List Price
Year-on-Year December 2020

 **+8%**

 **+11%**

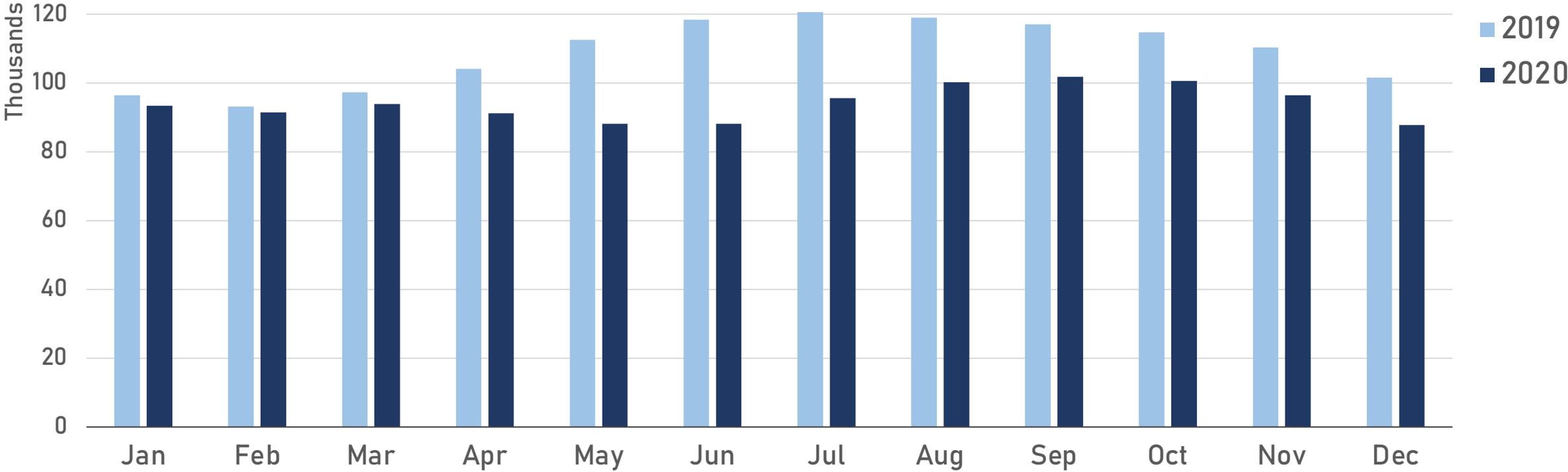
*Both years represent January through November, the most recently available data for home sales in 2020. Zillow estimates no significant shift in cumulative sales at the national level, however, precise numeric estimates were not available for the U.S. in total.

Source: Zillow, 2021; "How a Faster market Enabled More Home Sales in 2020, Despite Falling Inventory" <https://www.zillow.com/research/market-speed-sales-inventory-2020-28762/>

There were fewer homes available to buy in the NYC Metro throughout 2020, versus 2019.

According to Zillow, there was less inventory available, as represented by the number of homes listed for sale*, in the NYC Metro in each month of 2020 than in comparable months of 2019. NYC Metro inventory was lowest in June 2020, following roughly two months of State-issued restrictions on non-essential business activity. Inventory rebounded somewhat, as the gap between 2019 and 2020 lessened through the fall and winter, but inventory remained consistently below 2019 levels.

NYC Metro Inventory (For-sale Listings, thousands) by Month, 2019 vs. 2020



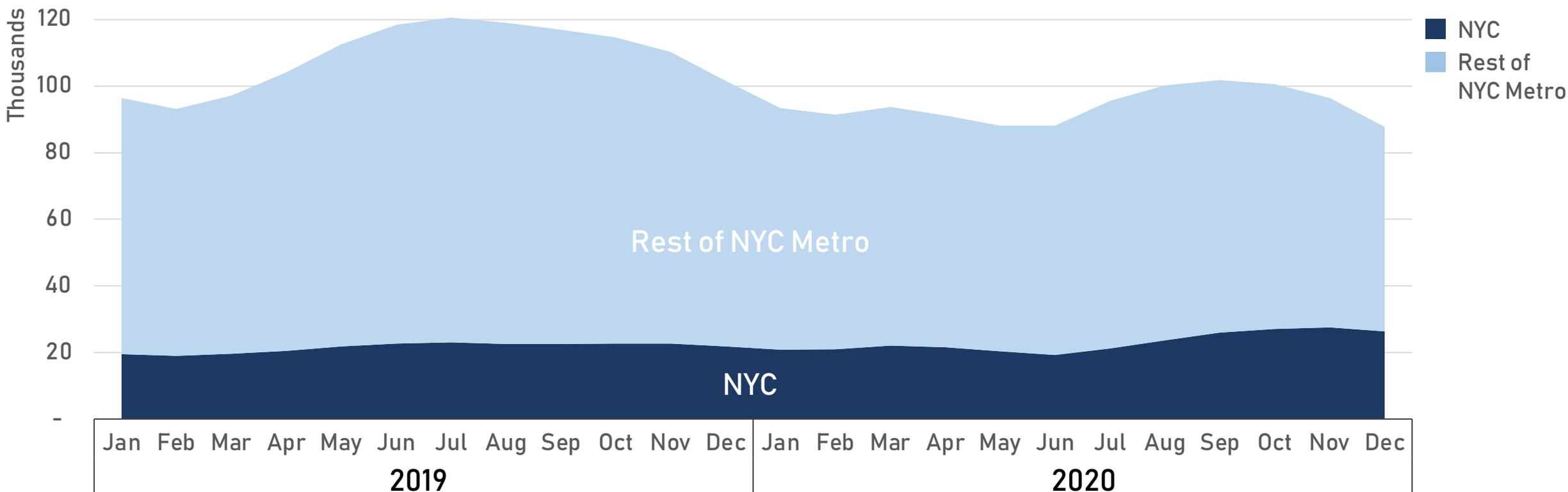
*Inventory, or the number of unique listings of homes for sale on Zillow in each month, includes single-family houses, condominium and co-operative units.

Source: Zillow, 2021

While NYC's inventory increased moderately since 2019, the more significant trend over the past two years was decreasing inventory in the surrounding suburbs.

There was a slight uptick in NYC's for-sale inventory leading up to and since the pandemic, with the city's inventory peaking in November 2020. However, the more observable patterns were the shifts in the for-sale inventory in the rest of the NYC Metro. The rest of the NYC Metro experienced more dramatic seasonal fluctuations in 2019 and less inventory overall when compared to pre-Covid-19 levels. December 2020 inventory was the lowest for the NYC Metro of any month in 2019 or 2020.

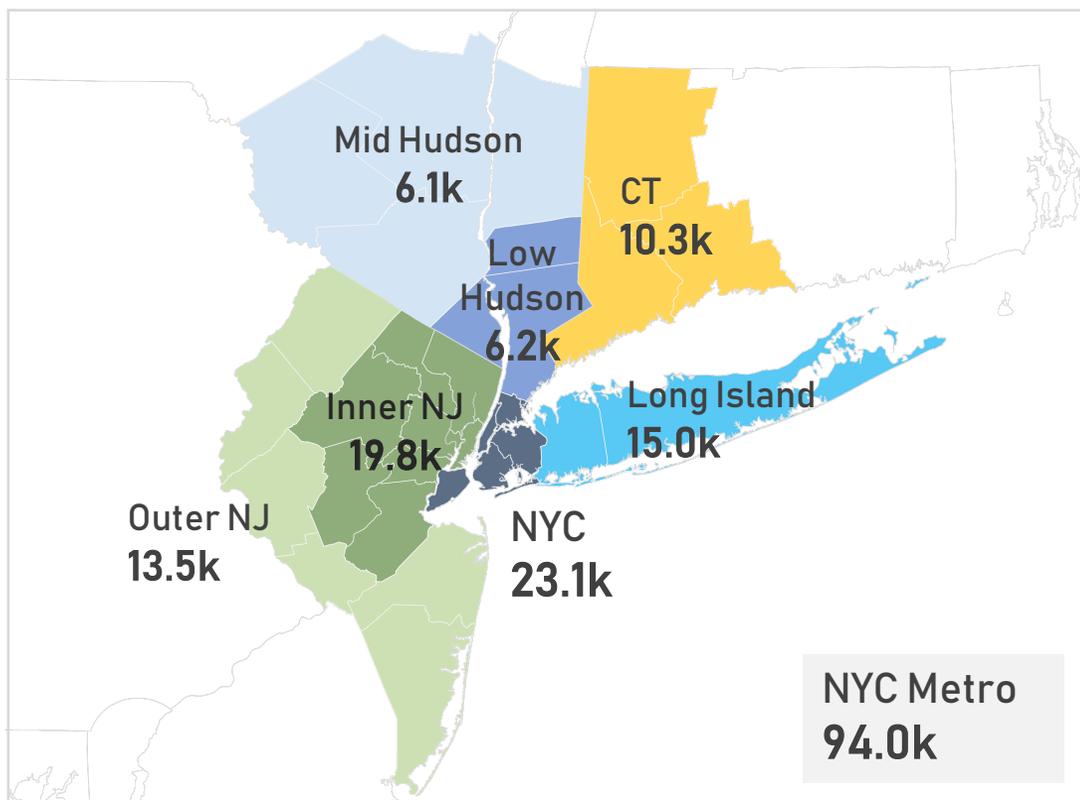
NYC Metro Inventory (For-sale Listings, thousands) in NYC vs. Rest of Metro, January 2019 to December 2020



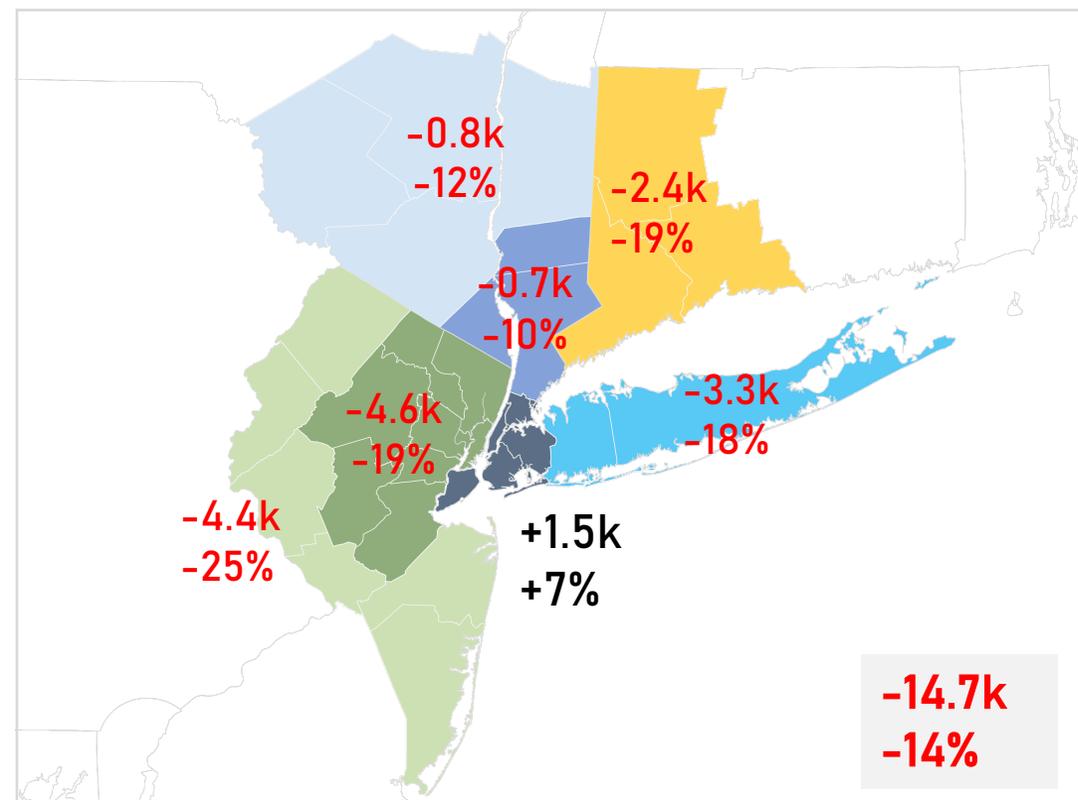
NYC had 7% more homes available for purchase, while there were 19% fewer homes available for purchase in the rest of the NYC Metro.

To adjust for seasonal fluctuations and monthly shifts, annual average inventory* illustrates how many homes were available for purchase on average during a given year. There was less inventory, or fewer homes listed for sale on Zillow, on average in 2020 than in 2019 everywhere but NYC. While inventory was down everywhere, by as much as 25% in Outer New Jersey, the Hudson Valley subregions experienced a slightly less drastic decline in inventory than other NYC Metro suburbs.

Inventory (Listings, thousands) by NYC Metro Subregion 2020 Annual Average



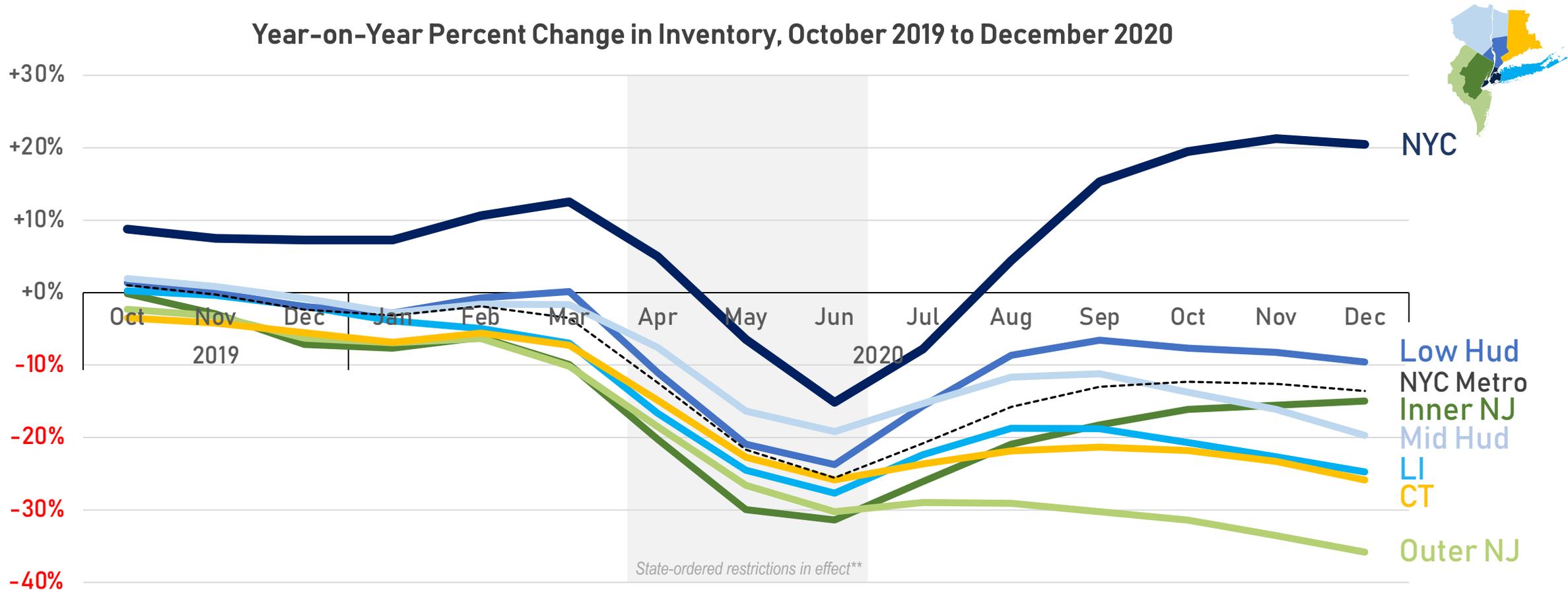
Change in Inventory (Listings, thousands) and Percent Change in Inventory, 2019 Avg. – 2020 Avg.



Covid-19 exacerbated the trend of lessening inventory in areas outside of NYC, which experienced the opposite effect.

In months prior to the pandemic, inventory in most of the NYC Metro fell marginally below inventory levels in the prior year. Government-ordered business restrictions caused inventory to drop across the NYC Metro in the spring. As activity resumed in June, inventory grew in non-NYC subregions, when compared to their June lows, but still fell below pre-Covid-19 levels by the end of 2020. NYC had more homes listed for purchase in the months leading up to Covid-19, notably after the city's housing completions peaked following mid-decade gains in new construction*. Following spring declines, NYC inventory levels were even higher by December, but seemingly leveled off.

Year-on-Year Percent Change in Inventory, October 2019 to December 2020



*DCP, [Housing Production Info Brief](#), December 2020

** New York, New Jersey, and Connecticut executive orders resulted in a halting of most in-person home showings from late March to mid-June. Economic restrictions varied by subregion.

Source: Zillow, 2021

There were fewer homes sold in 2020 throughout the NYC Metro, but NYC experienced the most significant decline in total sales.

Cumulative home sales, or the total number of homes sold in January through November* (the latest available data), were lower in 2020 than in 2019 for the NYC Metro overall. Southwest Connecticut is the only subregion where sales were higher, with more than 4,600 additional homes sold in 2020, an increase of 18%. Meanwhile, cumulative sales were down everywhere else in the NYC Metro in 2020, ranging from as much as 24% down in NYC** to 2% down in the Outer New Jersey and Mid Hudson Valley subregions.

Cumulative Home Sales, January through November (thousands)



	2019	2020	Net Change	% Change
NYC	45.2	34.3	-10.9	-24%
Long Island	38.0	34.2	-3.8	-10%
Low Hudson	14.5	13.3	-1.2	-8%
Mid Hudson	14.1	13.8	-0.3	-2%
Inner NJ	64.4	61.7	-2.7	-4%
Outer NJ	42.2	41.5	-0.7	-2%
CT	26.1	30.7	+4.6	+18%
NYC Metro	244.5	229.5	-15.0	-6%

*Home sales represent the most recent data available (i.e., through November 2020) due to lags in sales reporting.

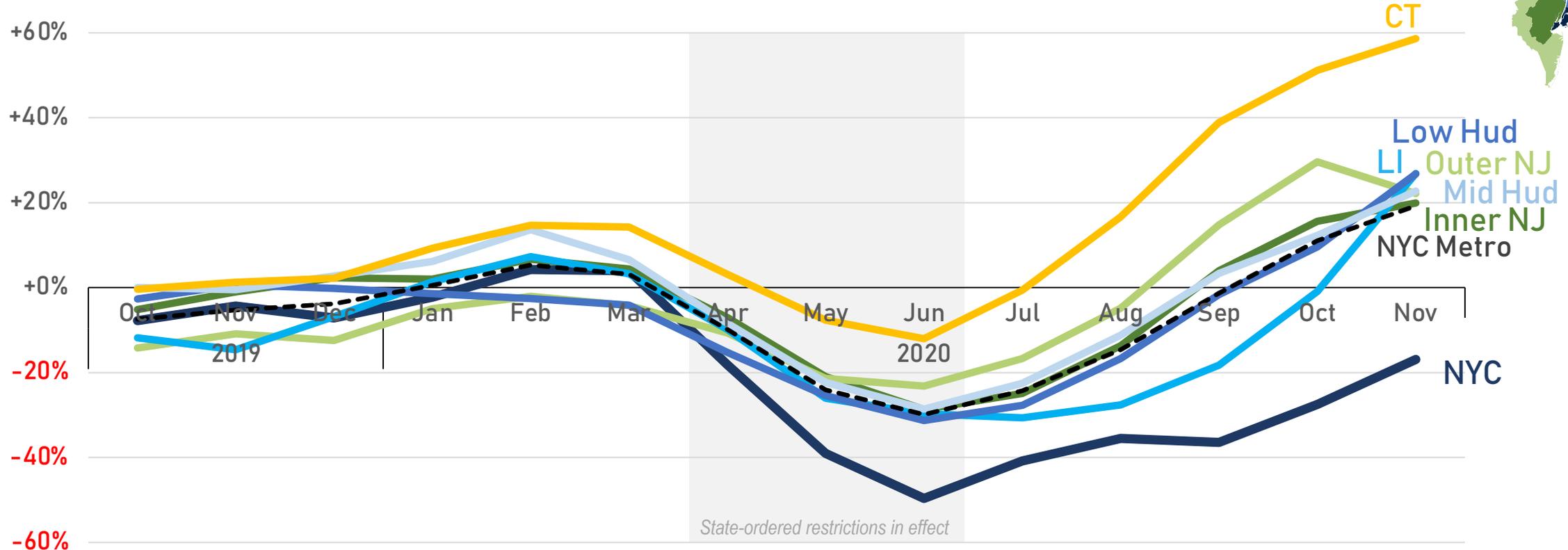
**According to Zillow, NYC sales transactions are typically longer than suburban counterparts and the national average. Therefore, declines may be due in part to extended lag.

Source: Zillow, 2021

Sales activity accelerated after economies reopened in the summer. By the year's end, sales were up everywhere over the previous year, except in NYC.

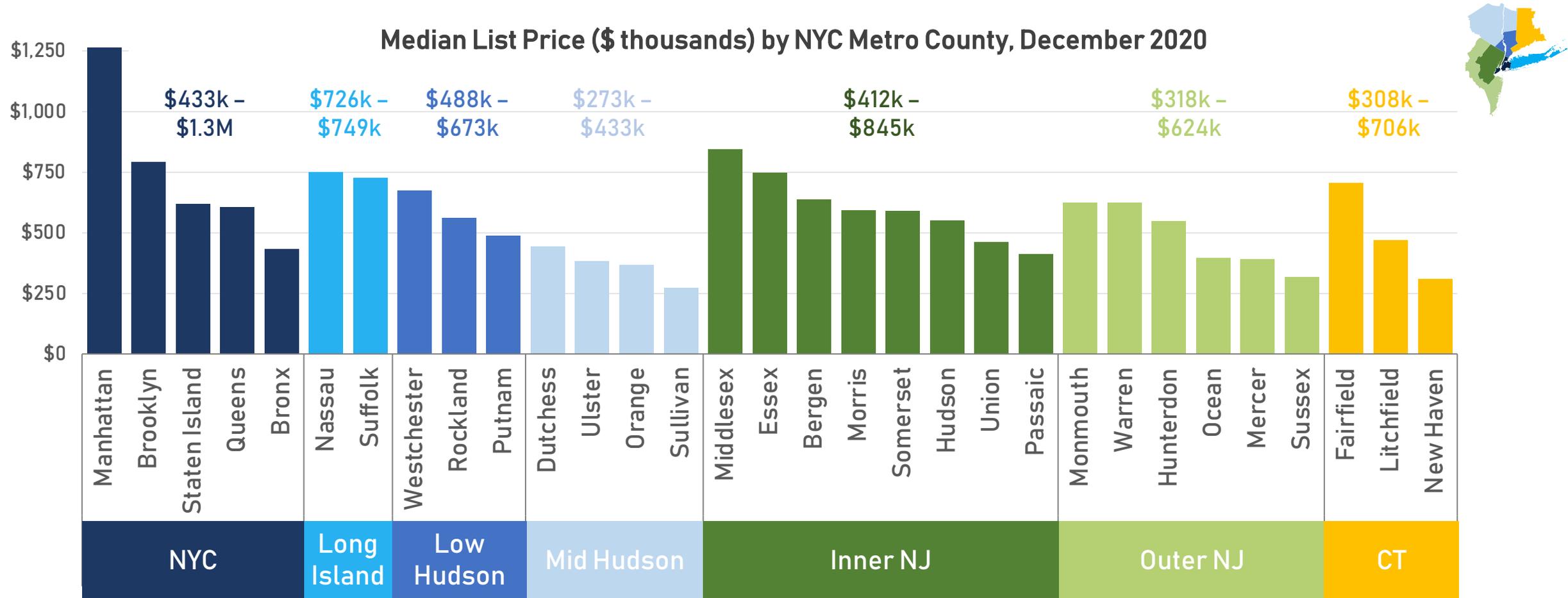
In the six months prior to Covid-19, monthly home sales first fell slightly below and then slightly above monthly home sales in the previous years (i.e., versus late 2018 and early 2019). This pattern was generally consistent across NYC Metro subregions. Pandemic-induced restrictions on real estate activity heavily affected sales region-wide in the spring and early summer. Sales increased as activity resumed in mid-June, most significantly in southwest Connecticut—the only subregion with more cumulative home sales in 2020. Outside of NYC, where sales remained down, home sales accelerated through the fall, but not enough in total to compensate for spring and summer declines.

Year-on-Year Percent Change in Home Sales, October 2019 to November 2020



Median list prices vary by location. Counties located furthest from the center of the NYC Metro commanded lower prices, upholding the premium on access to the core.

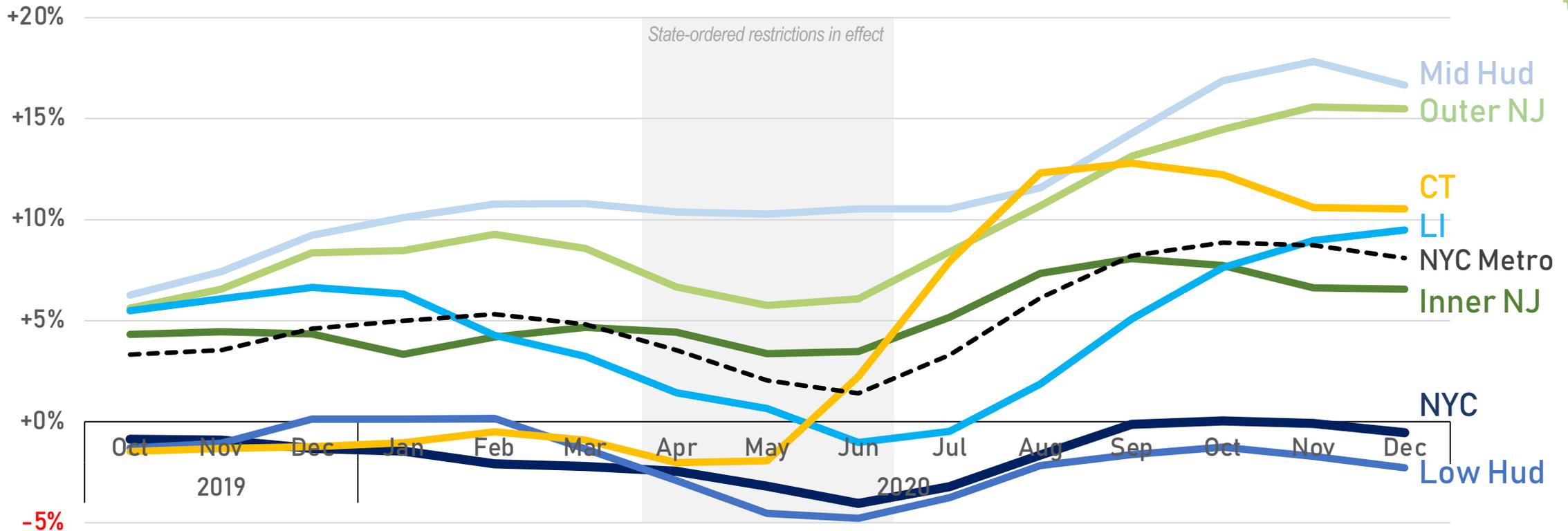
While median list prices represent the composition of inventory for sale in a given month (rather than general home values) and can vary throughout the year, the more significant variation is the observable difference across NYC Metro counties and subregions. As of December 2020, Manhattan inventory commanded the highest median list price, representing the dominance of luxury homes at the NYC Metro's center, and most urbanized area. Meanwhile counties further from the core*—be they rural like Sullivan County, NY and Sussex County, NJ, or suburban like New Haven County, CT—commanded lower median list prices.



Prior to Covid-19, NYC Metro prices were up over the previous year, or stable. Since the summer, list prices have increased in most parts of the NYC Metro.

By observing a weighted median list price* for each NYC Metro subregion, a few general patterns emerge. In the six months prior to Covid-19, prices were either higher or somewhat unchanged (e.g., NYC, Lower Hudson Valley, Connecticut) as compared to the previous year. During the spring, prices either dipped or remained unchanged — though consistently higher than 2019 prices. Since the summer, price growth accelerated but leveled off by December in most parts of the NYC Metro. Unlike other subregions, NYC and Lower Hudson Valley prices increased since the summer but remained slightly below 2019 through the end of the year.

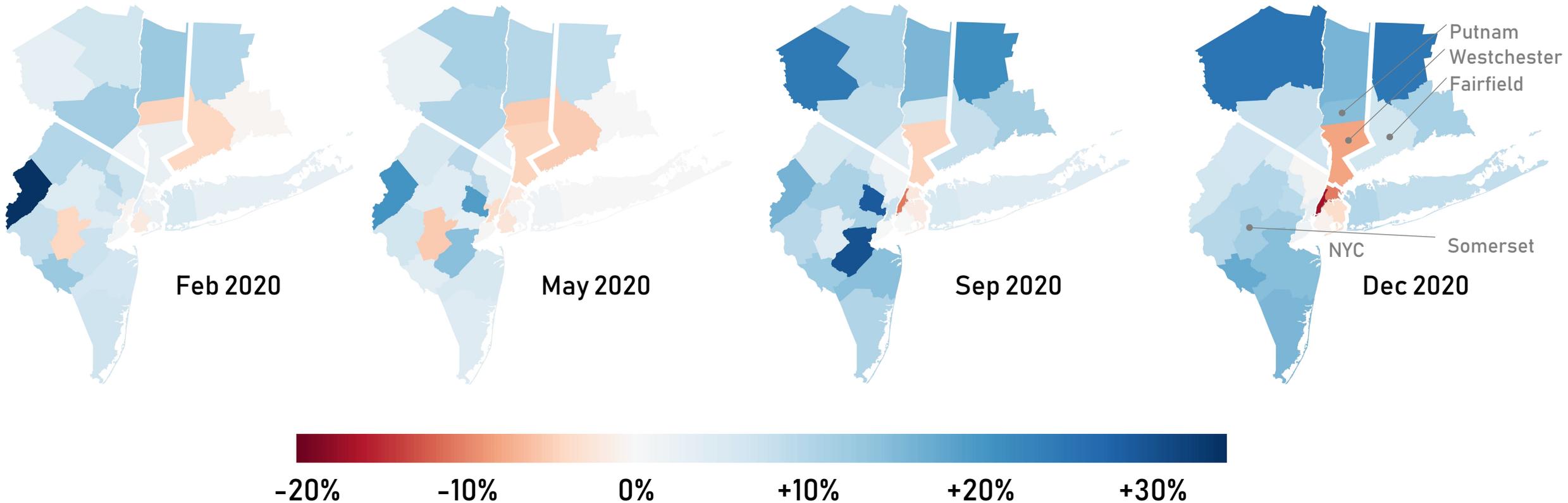
Year-on-Year Percent Change in Median List Price, October 2019 to December 2020



Some counties reversed their pre-pandemic price trends, from up to down or down to up over the previous year. In other counties, price growth simply accelerated.

There are three key trends distinguishing county-level behavior. First, NYC boroughs and Westchester County, NY switched from commanding higher median list prices year-on-year pre-Covid-19 (February 2020) to increasingly lower median list prices year-on-year since Covid-19. Second, counties like Putnam, NY, Fairfield, CT, and Somerset, NJ experienced the opposite shift, where prices were down year-on-year pre-Covid-19 and then up year-on-year after activity resumed in the summer. And lastly, other counties experienced higher prices (especially in rural New York and Connecticut counties) as the year progressed.

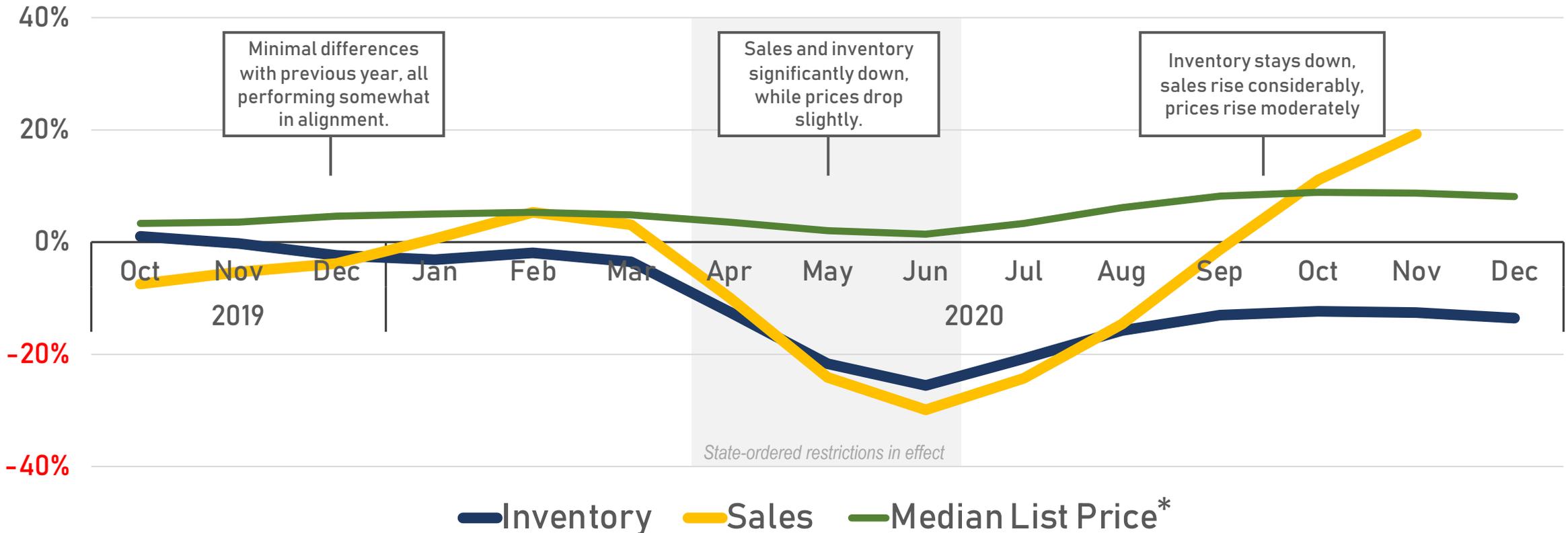
Year-on-Year Percent Change in Median List Price, Select Months by NYC Metro County



The confluence of depressed inventory with increasing demand and higher prices suggests a troubling direction for NYC Metro housing availability and affordability.

As documented in DCP's 2019 [The Geography of Jobs Second Edition](#), the NYC Metro was building less new housing in the decade after the 2008 recession than in the years prior. So, even before Covid-19, lagging new construction and a mismatch between housing and job growth had exerted pressure on the NYC Metro's housing availability and affordability. Since the pandemic, the NYC Metro has seen home sales (a proxy for demand) accelerate, higher list prices, and inventory (a proxy for supply) remain down. This suggests that Covid-19 has exacerbated pre-existing pressure on the NYC Metro's housing market and represents a troubling pattern should inventory not keep pace.

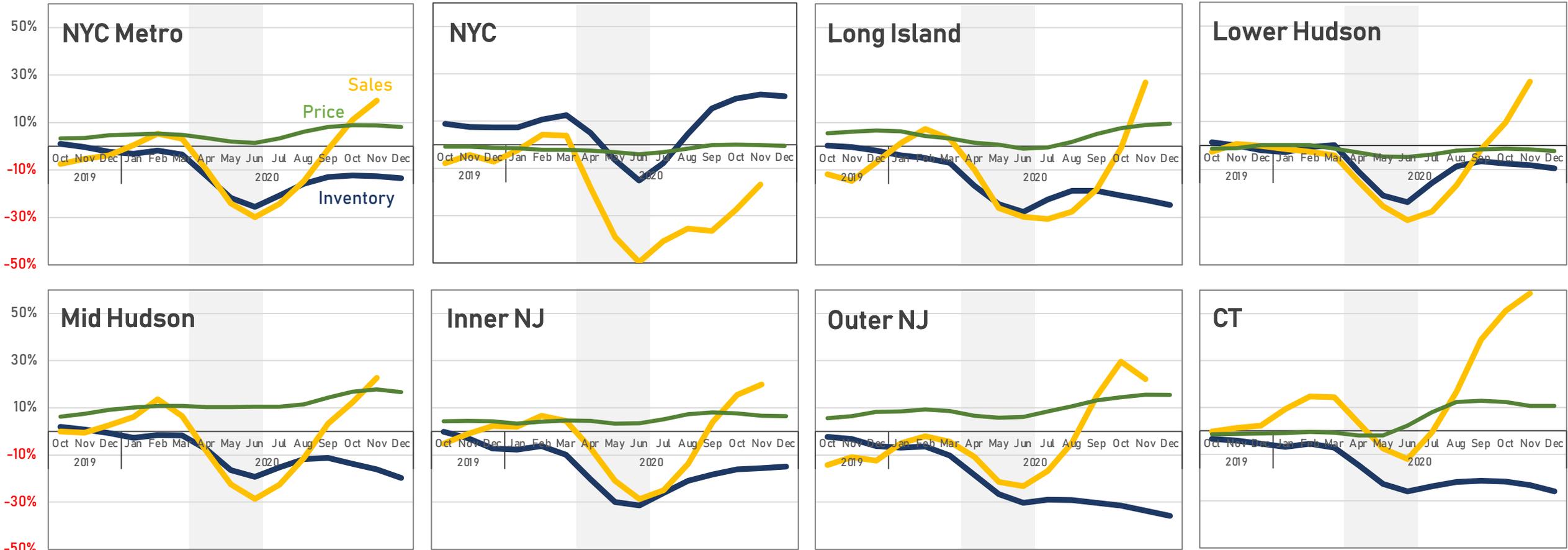
Year-on-Year Percent Change in Inventory, Sales, and Median List Price in the NYC Metro



Everywhere but NYC, sales and prices were up (or stable) while inventory remained down, suggesting increased pressure on suburban NYC Metro housing markets.

Comparing the three indicators by NYC Metro subregion underscores the pressure on the suburban markets outside of NYC to accommodate the demand for housing in the NYC Metro. By the end of 2020 in non-NYC subregions, the growth of sales (i.e., a proxy for demand) accelerated, prices were higher (or stable in the Lower Hudson Valley), and inventory was down year-on-year. In NYC, however, there is greater flexibility to accommodate demand, with stable prices and increased inventory.

Year-on-Year Percent Change in Inventory, Sales, and Median List Price* by NYC Metro Subregion



Implications of NYC Metro residential sales trends pre- and since Covid-19

- Covid-19 catalyzed divergent residential sales trends in NYC and its suburbs, yet it is difficult to determine the lasting effects of this extraordinary disruption. In NYC, some of the market's softening reflects the impact on housing located close to central business districts, which contain not only offices but also major cultural institutions and other attractions that are currently closed or under-occupied. These closures have triggered a relaxation, likely temporary, of the considerable pressure on the limited supply of centrally located housing in NYC that was so evident in the years prior to Covid-19. However, demand and prices remain strong in other NYC locations, and long-term challenges of housing a diverse and growing population remain—the pandemic has further underscored the importance of the City's ongoing commitment to promoting housing equity, availability, and affordability.
- NYC disproportionately supplies a range of housing options for the region, including rental housing, housing that accommodates smaller households, and housing for different household configurations, like roommates or other non-family arrangements. NYC Metro suburban markets also make important contributions to the region's housing supply, but many have done less in recent years to accommodate the housing needs of a diverse and growing region. With the increased pressures that Covid-19 has placed on demand, shrinking inventory and rising prices are a warning sign that suburban areas are falling further behind in their efforts to support the NYC Metro's housing needs.
- The vitality of the NYC Metro is dependent upon the symbiotic relationship between NYC and its suburbs. Covid-19 further emphasizes that for the NYC Metro to continue to prosper, the suburbs must also flexibly and equitably accommodate housing demand. Failure to do so threatens a prosperous and equitable future for all NYC Metro residents.



Acknowledgements

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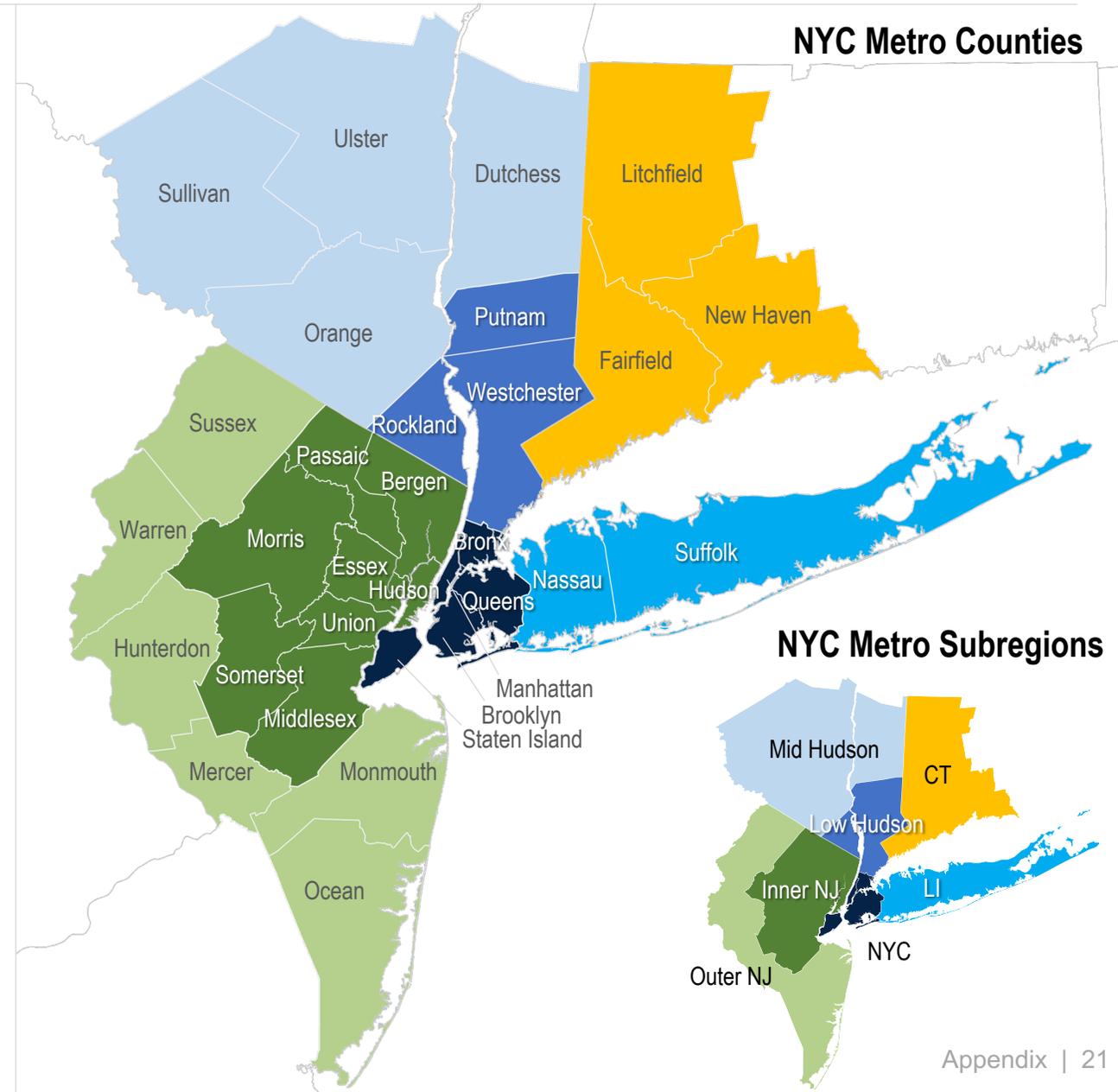
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Appendix | Geographies

The NYC metropolitan region, or the “NYC Metro”, represents New York City (“NYC”) and the 26 surrounding counties in portions of New York, northern New Jersey, and southwest Connecticut. This definition of the region is a generally accepted modification of the U.S. Census Bureau combined statistical area (CSA) for New York-Newark-Bridgeport, however, this study excludes select counties in western Pennsylvania. The NYC Metro roughly represents the NYC commuter shed and does not represent a regulatory or other jurisdictional boundary. The “subregion” geography defined in this brief represents aggregations of U.S. counties, and, apart from NYC, similarly do not represent jurisdictional boundaries. Counties and subregions discussed in this research brief are defined and referred to as follows, seen on the map to the right.

- **NYC** – Bronx, Brooklyn (Kings County), Manhattan (New York County), Queens, and Staten Island (Richmond County) boroughs
- **Long Island (“LI”)** – Nassau and Suffolk counties
- **Lower Hudson Valley (“Low Hudson”)** – Putnam, Rockland, and Westchester counties
- **Mid Hudson Valley (“Mid Hudson”)** – Dutchess, Orange, Sullivan, and Ulster counties
- **Inner New Jersey (“Inner NJ”)** – Bergen, Essex, Hudson, Morris, Middlesex, Passaic, Somerset, and Union counties. “Inner” refers to those counties closest to the center of the region, particularly as it relates to the commuter shed.
- **Outer New Jersey (“Outer NJ”)** – Hunterdon, Mercer, Monmouth, Ocean, Sussex, and Warren counties. “Outer” refers to areas furthest from the center of the region, with more limited commuter transit access to the center.
- **Southwest Connecticut (“Connecticut” or “CT”)** – Fairfield, Litchfield, and New Haven counties.



Appendix | Definition of Terms and Methodology Notes

- **Inventory:** The count of unique homes listed for sale on Zillow.com in the indicated month. For-sale listings reported in a given month can be carried over from previous months. For-sale listings remain in inventory until those listings are removed or the status is changed (e.g., from “for sale” to “sale pending”). Inventory includes a mix of single-family houses, condominiums, and co-operative units.
- **Sales:** The count of arm’s length transactions on unique housing units that closed in the indicated month. Sales data lag inventory and price data in this brief by one month. Completed sales may lag purchase or pending activity due to the length of time between pending and closing. Changes in status (i.e., to “sold”) are also reliant upon the owner of the listing making that adjustment on Zillow’s website, and therefore might not reflect the actual date or month of completed transactions.
- **Median List Price:** The median price of homes listed for sale (inventory) on Zillow.com in the indicated month by the indicated geography. In this research brief, those geographies include County, Subregion, and Metro Region. Median list price is a metric that mostly reflects the composition of homes for sale at a moment in time and may be subject to distortions due to low inventory volume. Therefore, it can fluctuate more dramatically and may not point to true home value changes within markets.

Median list price data for counties were provided to DCP by Zillow. However, medians cannot be aggregated to report subregional and regional totals, and therefore DCP estimated figures for these composite geographies. The estimated figures are intended to illustrate trends and are for comparison purposes only. Exact figures may not reflect the true median for composite geographies.

DCP estimated subregional and regional median list price in each month using an average of counties’ median list prices weighted by each county’s share of the subregion’s (or region’s) inventory. The most reliable data are, however, the county-level figures as calculated by Zillow. The table on the following page shares the year-on-year percentage change in median list price for each NYC Metro county. That table most accurately reflects the list price shifts within NYC Metro subregions.

Appendix | Methodology Notes (cont'd)

Year-on-Year Percent Change in Median List Price by NYC Metro County

		2019			2020												
		Oct	Nov	Dec	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec	
NYC	Bronx	+1%	+1%	+2%	+1%	+1%	-0%	-1%	-2%	-2%	-2%	-2%	-2%	-2%	-3%	-5%	-10%
	Brooklyn	-1%	-2%	-2%	-2%	-2%	-1%	-1%	-3%	-4%	-3%	-1%	+0%	-0%	-0%	-1%	
	Manhattan	+0%	+0%	+2%	+3%	+3%	+2%	-1%	-3%	-5%	-7%	-8%	-11%	-13%	-14%	-17%	
	Queens	+1%	+1%	+0%	+1%	+2%	+2%	+2%	+1%	+0%	-1%	-1%	-2%	-2%	-3%	-3%	
	Staten Island	+0%	+0%	+1%	+1%	+1%	+0%	+0%	-0%	-0%	-0%	-0%	+0%	+1%	+1%	+2%	
Long Island	Nassau	+1%	+3%	+4%	+5%	+6%	+6%	+4%	+1%	+0%	+1%	+3%	+6%	+8%	+10%	+10%	
	Suffolk	+8%	+8%	+8%	+7%	+3%	+1%	-0%	-0%	-2%	-2%	+1%	+4%	+7%	+8%	+9%	
Low Hud	Putnam	-5%	-6%	-5%	-6%	-5%	-6%	-5%	-5%	-2%	-1%	+3%	+7%	+11%	+13%	+15%	
	Rockland	-2%	-1%	-0%	+0%	+1%	+3%	+3%	+3%	+2%	+2%	+3%	+4%	+4%	+5%	+7%	
	Westchester	+0%	+1%	+2%	+3%	+3%	+0%	-2%	-4%	-5%	-5%	-4%	-5%	-5%	-6%	-8%	
Mid Hud	Dutchess	+4%	+7%	+10%	+12%	+13%	+12%	+11%	+10%	+11%	+12%	+13%	+16%	+19%	+19%	+16%	
	Orange	+7%	+9%	+12%	+13%	+12%	+11%	+10%	+11%	+9%	+8%	+7%	+9%	+11%	+11%	+8%	
	Sullivan	+2%	+4%	+6%	+4%	+3%	+2%	+2%	+2%	+6%	+12%	+19%	+25%	+27%	+27%	+26%	
	Ulster	+10%	+7%	+5%	+4%	+7%	+9%	+11%	+12%	+10%	+9%	+9%	+11%	+15%	+21%	+26%	
Inner NJ	Bergen	+8%	+7%	+6%	+6%	+7%	+7%	+5%	+2%	+1%	+1%	+2%	+1%	-0%	-1%	-0%	
	Essex	+1%	+3%	+5%	+4%	+7%	+11%	+17%	+19%	+23%	+26%	+30%	+29%	+27%	+25%	+9%	
	Hudson	-3%	-4%	-3%	-1%	-1%	-0%	-2%	-4%	-3%	+1%	+5%	+8%	+7%	+5%	+2%	
	Middlesex	+6%	+6%	+7%	+7%	+8%	+9%	+12%	+15%	+17%	+22%	+27%	+30%	+31%	+30%	+15%	
	Morris	+2%	+2%	+3%	+4%	+5%	+5%	+5%	+4%	+4%	+5%	+9%	+11%	+12%	+11%	+10%	
	Passaic	+8%	+9%	+9%	+10%	+10%	+10%	+10%	+10%	+9%	+9%	+9%	+7%	+6%	+5%	+5%	
	Somerset	-2%	-2%	-3%	-4%	-4%	-4%	-5%	-5%	-4%	-1%	+3%	+4%	+6%	+8%	+12%	
	Union	+8%	+6%	+4%	+3%	+4%	+5%	+4%	+3%	+4%	+7%	+11%	+12%	+13%	+12%	+12%	
Hunterdon	+2%	+3%	+6%	+8%	+8%	+8%	+7%	+7%	+7%	+8%	+9%	+10%	+10%	+10%	+10%		
Outer NJ	Mercer	+14%	+14%	+12%	+12%	+13%	+13%	+9%	+4%	+2%	+5%	+9%	+13%	+16%	+18%	+18%	
	Monmouth	+2%	+4%	+5%	+7%	+7%	+6%	+5%	+6%	+7%	+10%	+13%	+15%	+15%	+15%	+15%	
	Ocean	+4%	+4%	+5%	+6%	+7%	+6%	+5%	+4%	+4%	+6%	+7%	+11%	+14%	+16%	+16%	
	Sussex	+9%	+8%	+8%	+9%	+10%	+10%	+7%	+6%	+7%	+9%	+9%	+6%	+4%	+4%	+6%	
	Warren	+14%	+20%	+26%	+30%	+35%	+34%	+29%	+21%	+14%	+13%	+14%	+17%	+18%	+17%	+7%	
CT	Fairfield	-4%	-4%	-5%	-5%	-4%	-4%	-5%	-5%	-1%	+4%	+8%	+8%	+8%	+7%	+7%	
	Litchfield	+7%	+8%	+8%	+9%	+10%	+10%	+9%	+8%	+11%	+16%	+19%	+22%	+22%	+23%	+25%	
	New Haven	-3%	-3%	-1%	-1%	-0%	-1%	-1%	-0%	+3%	+7%	+10%	+12%	+13%	+13%	+11%	

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