

Changes to the Rent Stabilized Housing Stock in New York City, 1994-2002

June 3, 2003

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highlights

- ✓ The study finds a net estimated loss of 42,976 rent stabilized units from 1994 to 2002.
- ✓ The net loss is less than 5% of the stabilized stock or about a half a percent per year from 1994-2002.
- ✓ The largest source of additions to the rent stabilized stock are rent controlled units that convert to rent stabilization on vacancy.
- ✓ Stabilized tenants vacating apartments in buildings that converted to cooperatives or condominiums make up the largest category of subtractions from the stabilized stock.
- ✓ Vacated stabilized units in co-ops and condos are declining in significance as a factor that subtracts from the stabilized stock.
- ✓ High Rent/Vacancy decontrol is increasing in significance as a factor that subtracts from the stabilized stock.
- ✓ The number of units deregulated via High Rent/Vacancy decontrol is a 'floor' or minimum count because reporting was voluntary from 1994-2000.
- ✓ The number of units being added to the stabilized stock is likely to decline as the number of remaining rent controlled apartments is gradually depleted.

Introduction

Rent regulation has been a fixture in New York City's housing market for the last 60 years. The rent laws that govern rent regulated housing have been substantially changed and/or modified over time. In addition to legislative changes, the existing laws allow for dynamic changes in the regulatory status of a significant portion of the rent regulated housing stock in any given year. Units enter the regulatory system, leave the system, or change status within the system.

This report is designed to indicate the changes in the rent stabilized housing stock in New York City from 1994 to 2002 by quantifying the events that lead to additions to and subtractions from this category of housing.

Additions to the Rent Regulated Housing Stock

Since newly constructed or substantially rehabilitated units are exempt from rent regulation, increases to the regulated housing stock are a result of owners "voluntarily" placing these new units under rent stabilization. Why would some owners choose to place their buildings under regulation, when owners and their advocates have been at the forefront in the campaign to ease and/or end regulation of the private housing market? These seemingly anomalous decisions are a result of cost/benefit analyses that have led many owners to the conclusion that regulation, for a period of time, with tax benefits is more profitable than free market rents without tax benefits. Events that lead to the addition of stabilized units are the following:

- A. Section 421-a Program**
- B. J-51 Program**
- C. Mitchell-Lama buyouts**
- D. Lofts converted to rent stabilized units**
- E. Other Additions**
- F. Rent controlled apartments converting to rent stabilization**

Section 421-a and J-51

The New York City Department of Housing Preservation and Development (HPD) administers programs to increase the supply of affordable rental housing. Two of these programs have a significant impact on the inventory of stabilized housing: the Section 421-a Program and the J-51 Program. Under Section 421-a of the Real Property Tax Law, newly constructed dwellings in New York City receive real estate tax exemptions. For the duration of the benefits, at least, the newly built apartments are subject to rent stabilization. From 1994 to 2002, an estimated total of 20,240 units were added to the rent stabilized stock through the 421-a program.

Additions to the Stabilized Housing Stock from 421-a Tax Incentive Program, 1994-2002

Calendar Year	Number of Units
1994	627*
1995	2,284*
1996	1,085*
1997	2,099*
1998	2,118
1999	6,123
2000	2,828
2001	4,870
2002	4,953
Total	26,987
Estimated Rental Units	20,240[§]

*Note: The numbers for these years are for preliminary certificates.
 § The total count of 26,987 units includes co-op and condo units that were created under the 421-a program. Analysis of the RPAD database shows that on average from 1994 to 2002, 25% of 421-a units were owner units and 75% were rental units. Therefore an estimated 20,240 units were added to the rent stabilized stock.

Source: Department of Housing Preservation and Development, Office of Development, Division of Housing Finance, Tax Incentive Programs

The J-51 Program provides real estate tax exemptions and abatements to existing residential buildings which are renovated or rehabilitated. This program also provides these benefits to residential buildings converted from commercial structures. In consideration of receiving these benefits, owners of

Additions to the Stabilized Housing Stock from J-51 Tax Incentive Program, 1994-2002

Calendar Year	Number of Units*
1994	114
1995	88
1996	8
1997	38
1998	135
1999	33
2000	224
2001	494
2002	260
Total	1,394

*The numbers represent units that were not rent stabilized prior to entering the J-51 Program. Most units participating in the J-51 Program were rent stabilized prior to their J-51 status and therefore are not considered additions to the rent stabilized stock.

Source: Department of Housing Preservation and Development, Office of Development, Division of Housing Finance, Tax Incentive Programs

these buildings agree to place under rent stabilization, those apartments which otherwise would not be subject to regulation. The apartments remain stabilized, at least, until the benefits expire. The J-51 program added a total of 1,394 units to the rent stabilized stock from 1994 to 2002.

Mitchell-Lama Buyouts

Where rents are regulated in a building directly by the Federal, State or City government these apartments are exempt from rent stabilization and control laws. However, when these government-aided developments are no longer directly administered by a governmental entity, they may become subject to the rent stabilization laws. These federally regulated projects include Section 236 financed buildings and project-based Section 8 buildings. Buildings leaving the State and City Mitchell-Lama program have had the greatest impact in terms of adding to the stabilized stock of any government-aided program.

Mitchell-Lama developments are constructed under the provisions of Article 2 of the Private Housing Finance Law (PHFL). This program is primarily designed to increase the supply of housing affordable to middle-income households. Approximately 75,000 rental apartments and 50,000 cooperative units were constructed under the program from the 1950's

Additions to the Stabilized Housing Stock from Mitchell-Lama Buyouts, 1994-2002

Calendar Year	Number of Units Added from State buyouts	Number of Units Added from City buyouts
1994	-	-
1995	306	-
1996	-	-
1997	323	-
1998	574	1,263
1999	286	-
2000	-	-
2001	-	-
2002	-	232
Total	1,489	1,495

Source: NYS Division of Housing and Community Renewal annual registration data, and Department of Housing Preservation and Development, Office of Housing Operations, Division of Housing Supervision, Mitchell-Lama

through the 1970's. For these units to be affordable, the State or City provided low interest mortgages, real estate tax abatements and the owners agreed to limit their return on equity.

While, in general, the State and City mortgages are for a term of 40 or 50 years, the PHFL allows owners to “buy-out” of the program after 20 years. If an owner of a rental development buys-out of the program and the development was occupied prior to January 1, 1974, the apartments become subject to rent stabilization. Seven Mitchell-Lama rental developments containing 2,984 apartments became rent stabilized between 1994-2000.

Loft Units

The New York City Loft Board, under Article 7-C of the Multiple Dwelling Law regulates rents in buildings originally intended as commercial loft space that have been converted to residential housing. When the units are brought up to code standard, they become stabilized. A total of 303 loft units entered the rent stabilization system from 1998 to 2002. Counts are not available from 1994 to 1997.

Other Additions to the Housing Stock

Additionally, several other events can increase the rent stabilized housing stock: tax incentive programs such as 421-g and 420-c, “deconversion,” returned losses, and the sub-division of large units into two or more smaller units. The 421-g tax incentive programs is designed for conversion of units in Lower Manhattan from non-residential to residential use. The 421-g program added 865 rent stabilized units to the housing stock from 1997 to 2002. An additional 4,516 units were converted to residential use in this period, however, the initial rent levels exceeded \$2,000 per month and these units were subject to High Rent/Vacancy decontrol upon occupancy.¹ The 420-c program, a tax exemption program for low income housing projects that are developed in conjunction with the Low Income Housing Tax Credit program also adds units to the rent stabilized stock. An estimated 5,500 units were added to the rent stabilized stock from 1996 to 2002 through the 420-c program.² Deconversion occurs when a building converted to cooperative status reverts to rental status because of financial difficulties. Returned losses include abandoned

buildings that are returned to habitable status without being substantially rehabilitated, or City-owned “*in rem*” buildings being returned to private ownership. These latter events do not generally add a significant number of units to the rent stabilized stock and were not quantified in this study. An estimated total of 6,365 units were added to the rent stabilized stock through the above tax incentive programs from 1994-2002.

Changes in Regulatory Status

Chapter 371 of the Laws of 1971 provided for the decontrol of rent controlled units which were voluntarily vacated on or after July 1, 1971. Since the enactment of vacancy decontrol, the number of rent controlled units has fallen from over one million to under 60,000. When a rent controlled unit becomes vacated it either becomes rent stabilized or leaves the regulatory system. If the vacated unit is in a rental building with six or more units and the incoming tenant pays less than \$2,000 per month, the apartment becomes stabilized. This process results in a diminution of the controlled stock and an increase in the stabilized stock.

According to the 1993 New York City Housing and Vacancy Survey (HVS) there were 101,798 rent controlled units. Preliminary data from the 2002 HVS counts 59,918 rent controlled units. A total of 41,880 units were decontrolled in this nine-year period. The 1999 HVS reports that 17.8% of controlled units were in buildings of less than six units. If one assumes that apartments in small buildings and large buildings were vacated at the same rate, the number of possible units entering stabilization is reduced by 7,455 to 34,425. If one also assumes that controlled tenants vacated their apartments in buildings converted to ownership status at the same rate as stabilized tenants, then an additional 3,266 units would not be stabilized. (In 1993 there was a ratio of 10 stabilized units for each controlled unit. A total of 32,660 units were registered as exempt from rent stabilization because of conversion. See the section on cooperative conversions.) Therefore, the estimated number of previously controlled units entering stabilization for the nine-year period from 1994-2002 is 31,159. The change in rent regulatory status from rent control to rent stabilization represents the largest addition of units to the rent stabilized stock compared to any other mechanism.

Subtractions from the Rent Regulated Housing Stock

Deregulation of rent controlled and stabilized units occur because of statutory requirements or because of physical changes to the residential dwellings. Events that lead to the removal of stabilized units are the following:

- A. High Rent/High Income Decontrol**
- B. High Rent/Vacancy Decontrol**
- C. Cooperative/Condominium Conversions**
- D. Expiration of 421-a Benefits**
- E. Expiration of J-51 Benefits**
- F. Substantial Rehabilitation**
- G. Conversion to Commercial or Professional Status**
- H. Other Losses to the Housing Stock – Demolitions, Condemnations, Mergers, etc.**

High Rent/High Income Decontrol

The Rent Regulation Reform Act (RRRA) of 1993 permitted the deregulation of occupied apartments renting for \$2,000 or more in which the tenants in occupancy had a combined household income in excess of \$250,000 in each of the immediately two preceding years. The 1997 RRRA reduced the income threshold to \$175,000. Deregulation would occur upon application by the owner and upon the expiration of the rent stabilized lease. This income-based decontrol process, which is administered by the NYS Division of Housing

and Community Renewal (DHCR), relies upon data furnished to the NYS Department of Taxation and Finance as part of the verification process. Please note that both the rent level and household income criteria had to be met for decontrol to take place. If very wealthy households paid less than \$2,000 per month, rent regulation would remain in effect. Also please note that the owner must apply to DHCR in order to decontrol the unit. If the owner did not submit a decontrol application, the occupying tenant would remain regulated regardless of rent level and household income. Because DHCR has to approve the orders of deregulation, an exact accounting exists of units leaving regulation as a result of High Rent/High Income decontrol. Based on DHCR processing records, a total of 2,956 apartments were deregulated from 1994 through 2002 based on High Rent/High Income decontrol.³

Manhattan, with the highest apartment rents and with the largest number of households in the highest income bracket, has been the focus of High Rent/High Income decontrol. The initial year in which this legislation was in effect witnessed the largest number of decontrol filings. Owners that wished to take advantage of this new law filed applications for units renting for \$2,000 or more per month. After the initial filings only a relatively small number of existing units reach the \$2,000 rent *and* the income threshold in any given year. The number of grants declined until 1997. The 1997

Subtractions from the Stabilized Housing Stock due to High Rent/High Income Decontrol, 1994-2002

Calendar Year	Number of Units				
	Bronx	Brooklyn	Manhattan	Queens	Total
1994	0	0	904	0	904
1995	0	0	346	0	346
1996	1	0	180	4	185
1997	1	0	157	2	160
1998	3	0	366	3	372
1999	2	1	279	1	283
2000	2	1	227	0	230
2001	3	0	209	2	214
2002	1	1	258	2	262
Total	13	3	2,926	14	2,956*

Source: NYS Division of Housing and Community Renewal annual registration data, grants by year of filing petition cycle.

RRRA lowered the household income threshold to \$175,000, which increased the affected population in the following year. The number of grants see-sawed from 1999 to 2002 at relatively low levels.

High Rent/Vacancy Decontrol

In the 1993 RRRA, the New York State legislature reinstituted High Rent/Vacancy decontrol.⁴ This initial statute has since been changed several times. First, the 1993 RRRA decontrolled vacant apartments and occupied regulated apartments that subsequently were vacated, that rented for \$2,000 or more per month between July 7 and October 1, 1993. Second, the New York City Council allowed for the deregulation of apartments on vacancy on or after April 1, 1994, if these units rented for \$2,000 or more. Thus, the original dates in the RRRA of 1993 establishing the parameters for decontrol were no longer applicable. DHCR interpreted the \$2,000 rent threshold as follows: if upon vacancy, the owner undertook individual apartment improvements that increased the legal regulated rent to \$2,000 or more, and the incoming tenant agreed to pay \$2,000 or more, the unit would be deregulated.

In a third stage, in early 1997, the City Council amended the Rent Stabilization Law to **only** allow for vacancy deregulation of the apartment if the vacating tenant's legal regulated rent was \$2,000 or more. Finally, in June of 1997, with the passage of the RRRA the state overrode the new City regulation. The determining factor was no longer the *outgoing* tenant's legal regulated rent but the *incoming* tenant's calculated legal regulated rent. Owners, upon a vacancy, could now apply a combination of allowable increases to reach the \$2,000 deregulation level: standard vacancy increases, special vacancy increases and individual apartment improvement increases. This calculated rent for a hypothetical incoming tenant was the determining factor, not the rent the incoming tenant actually paid. In fact, after a stabilized unit is deregulated by this calculation, the actual deregulated rent the new tenant pays can be less than \$2,000 per month. According to DHCR rent registration records, a total of 24,370 units were deregulated from 1994 to 2002 under the High Rent/Vacancy decontrol provisions of the RRRA (see note on the table below).

High Rent/Vacancy decontrol is also largely a Manhattan phenomenon. Market rents in “core”

Subtractions from the Stabilized Housing Stock due to High Rent/Vacancy Decontrol, 1994-2002

Calendar Year	Number of Units					
	Bronx	Brooklyn	Manhattan	Queens	Staten Island	Total
1994	3	9	544	9	0	565*
1995	1	111	927	8	0	1,047*
1996	10	106	1,203	6	0	1,325*
1997	6	77	1,121	0	0	1,204*
1998	7	116	2,247	14	0	2,384*
1999	11	151	3,586	37	0	3,785*
2000	7	279	2,586	62	0	2,934*
2001	53	294	4,490	145	0	4,982
2002	64	391	5,431	251	7	6,144
Total	162	1,534	22,135	532	7	24,370*

*Note: Registration of deregulated units with DHCR was voluntary and not required from 1994-2000. These totals represent a ‘floor’ or *minimum* count of the actual number of deregulated units in these years. The NYC City Council required proof of registration with DHCR of the unit as exempt to be sent to the tenant beginning in March 2000. The numbers for 2001 and 2002 can be viewed as more authoritative counts of the actual number of deregulated units (see Endnote 5).

Source: NYS Division of Housing and Community Renewal annual registration data.

Manhattan are the highest in the City. The number of units indicating High Rent/Vacancy decontrol on their annual registration filings has steadily increased since the law was enacted in 1993. Prior to the 2001 registration filing, owners were not required to register newly decontrolled units. Therefore, the number of units that registered as being decontrolled from 1994 through 2000 should be considered as the lower limit of such activity. In 2000, the City Council passed a local law⁵ requiring owners to “send and certify to the tenant a copy of the registration statement for such housing accommodation filed with the state division of housing and community renewal indicating that such housing accommodation became exempt from the provisions of the law ...” Thus, for the years 2001 and 2002, the number of apartment registrations indicating High Rent/Vacancy decontrol should more accurately reflect the actual level of activity.

Cooperative & Condominium Conversions

When rent regulated housing is converted to ownership status, there is a small immediate decrease in the rental stock, but over time there is a significantly larger decrease. Tenants that choose to purchase their apartments after a cooperative or condominium plan is approved by the New York State Attorney General's Office are immediately removed from rent regulation. These units are no longer

Subtractions from the Stabilized Housing Stock in Cooperatives and Condominiums, 1994-2002

Calendar Year	Number of Units
1994	5,584
1995	4,784
1996	4,733
1997	3,723
1998	3,940
1999	2,822
2000	3,147
2001	2,153
2002	1,774
Total	32,660

Note: Subtractions from the stabilized stock in co-ops and condos are due to two factors: (1) stabilized tenants vacating rental units in previously converted buildings and (2) new conversions of stabilized rental units to ownership.

Source: NYS Division of Housing and Community Renewal annual registration data.

rentals. In eviction conversion plans, non-purchasing tenants may continue in residence until the expiration of their lease. In non-eviction plans (which are the overwhelming majority of approved plans) the regulated tenants have the right to remain in occupancy until they voluntarily leave their apartments. When a tenant leaves a regulated unit, the apartment is deregulated regardless if the incoming tenant purchases or rents. The table below shows the decrease of 32,660 in the stabilized housing stock from 1994 to 2002 primarily due to regulated tenants vacating previously converted buildings.

The next table shows conversion activity since 1981 of multi-family rental buildings to either cooperatives or condominiums and the total number of units under either conversion eviction or conversion non-eviction plans. At the point of conversion, a certain proportion of rental units immediately convert to ownership status and leave the rental stock. As the table shows, most

Conversion Activity of Rental Buildings to Cooperatives or Condominiums, 1981 to 2002

Calendar Year	Conversion Eviction Plan Units	Conversion Non-Eviction Plan Units	Total Units
1981	13,134	4,360	17,494
1982	26,469	16,439	42,908
1983	18,009	19,678	37,687
1984	7,432	25,873	33,305
1985	2,276	30,277	32,553
1986	687	39,874	40,561
1987	1,064	35,574	36,638
1988	1,006	32,283	33,289
1989	137	25,459	25,599
1990	364	14,640	15,004
1991	173	1,757	1,930
1992	0	566	566
1993	41	134	175
1994	283	176	459
1995	426	201	522
1996	0	149	149
1997	26	131	157
1998	0	386	386
1999	343	359	702
2000	203	738	941
2001	22	1,053	1,075
2002	260	1,974	2,234

Source: New York State Attorney General's Office, Real Estate Financing Bureau

conversion activity occurred in the 1980s and has slowed to a crawl in the last twelve years. Therefore, most units that are now deregulated are in buildings that converted through non-eviction plans in the 1980s. Tenants in regulated buildings that converted to co-op or condominiums through non-eviction plans have the right to remain in occupancy as stabilized tenants. Only after these tenants vacate do their apartments become deregulated. Though conversions represent the largest source of deregulation since 1994, the number of decontrolled units in this category has steadily declined (see table on the previous page). Converted units will be a less significant factor in the future because of the gradual reduction of the number of rent stabilized tenants living in converted buildings.

Expiration of Section 421-a and J-51 Benefits

As stated in the “Additions” section, buildings receiving Section 421-a and J-51 benefits remain stabilized, at least, until the benefits expire. Therefore, these units enter the stabilized system for a prescribed time period and then exit the system. The number of units leaving the stabilization system is directly dependent upon those units previously entering the system. Expirations of 421-a and J-51 benefits have resulted in a total of 15,288 and 11,188 units removed from the rent regulatory system respectively since 1994.

Subtractions from the Stabilized Housing Stock due to 421-a and J-51 Expirations, 1994-2002

Calendar Year	Number of Units	
	421-a Expirations	J-51 Expirations
1994	2,005	1,345
1995	990	1,440
1996	693	1,393
1997	1,483	1,340
1998	2,150	1,412
1999	3,514	1,227
2000	3,030	884
2001	770	1,066
2002	653	1,081
Total	15,288	11,188

Source: NYS Division of Housing and Community Renewal annual registration data.

Substantial Rehabilitation

The Emergency Tenant Protection act of 1974 exempts apartments in buildings that have been substantially rehabilitated on or after January 1, 1974. DHCR processes applications by owners seeking exemption from rent regulation based on the substantial rehabilitation of their properties. Owners must replace at least 75% of building-wide and apartment systems (i.e., plumbing, heating, electrical wiring, windows, floors, kitchens, bathrooms, etc.). In general, buildings that are substantially rehabilitated have been vacated and tended to have been stabilized properties. Therefore, when these buildings are substantially rehabilitated, the apartments are no longer subject to regulation and are counted like new construction. This counts as a subtraction from the regulated stock. Notably, these properties do not receive J-51 tax incentives for rehabilitation. Since 1994, 4,491 units have been removed from stabilization through substantial rehabilitation.

Conversion to Commercial or Professional Status

Space converted from residential to nonresidential use is no longer subject to rent regulation. Since 1994, approximately 100 units a year or a total of 1,528 units have been converted to nonresidential use. (Please note that in the year 2000 over 700 units were converted.)

Subtractions from the Stabilized Housing Stock due to Substantial Rehab, Commercial/Professional Conversion & Other losses, 1994-2002

Calendar Year	Number of Units		
	Substantial Rehab	Commercial/ Professional	Other
1994	332	139	1,904
1995	334	113	1,670
1996	601	117	1,341
1997	368	109	1,365
1998	713	78	1,916
1999	760	110	1,335
2000	476	729	1,372
2001	399	88	1,083
2002	508	45	954
Total	4,491	1,528	12,940

Source: NYS Division of Housing and Community Renewal annual registration data.

Other Losses to the Housing Stock

Owners may register units as permanently exempt when smaller units are merged into larger ones, or when the building is condemned, demolished or boarded-up/burnt-out. DHCR annual registration data shows that 12,940 units have been removed from the stabilized housing stock since 1994 due to these reasons.

Summary and Conclusions

From 1994 through 2002, approximately 105,000 housing units left rent stabilization, while approximately 62,000 units initially entered the stabilization system. The built-in fluidity of the system resulted in a net loss of an estimated 43,000 regulated stabilized units to the rent stabilized housing stock.⁶ (See Summary Table on the next page)

Over the nine-year period, the net loss of 43,000 units represents less than 5% of the stabilized housing stock, about a half of a percent of the total stabilized stock per year. The analysis utilized in this report is confirmed by DHCR's rent registration data. In 1994 there were 910,000 rent registered units and the preliminary registration total for 2002 is 865,000, a decrease of 45,000 units. (Analysis of 2002 data reveals a significant decline in registered buildings and units for the borough of Brooklyn. Owners of Brooklyn stabilized properties registered approximately 1,000 fewer buildings and 12,000 fewer apartments in 2002 as compared to 2001. Late registrations will likely add additional units to the totals for Kings County.)

Two significant trends are apparent from the data on subtractions from the stabilized stock: (1) The decline in the importance of vacated stabilized units in buildings converted to ownership status, and (2) the increasing significance of High Rent/Vacancy decontrol. While, overall, deregulation of units in cooperatives was the most important factor during this time period, the number of units being deregulated has fallen steadily from over 5,000 a year to under 2,000 a year. With the lack of conversion activity over the last decade, this form of deregulation should play a minor role in the future. The number of units being deregulated based on High Rent/Vacancy deregulation has steadily increased, and is currently the most significant cause of deregulation. This trend is very likely to continue into the future.

Finally, the number of units being added to the stabilized stock is likely to decline. Units leaving the rent control system and entering stabilization is the most significant factor in increases to the stabilized stock. Since the 2002 HVS reports that there are only 60,000 controlled units remaining, this source of additions is gradually being depleted. Therefore, net losses to the stabilized stock are likely to accelerate in the future.

Acknowledgement

The Rent Guidelines Board would like to acknowledge Arthur Shulman, the former Director of Research, New York State Division of Housing and Community Renewal, for his assistance with this report. □

Endnotes

1. The 421-g tax incentive program provides 14-year tax exemption and abatement benefits for the conversion of commercial buildings to multiple dwellings in Downtown Manhattan. All rental units in the project become subject to rent stabilization for the duration of the benefits. These units are subject to High Rent/Vacancy decontrol if the initial rent level is \$2,000 or more. Approximately 81% of the units created under 421-g were deregulated at initial occupancy.
2. The 420-c tax incentive program provides a complete exemption from real estate taxes for the term of the regulatory agreement (up to 30 years). Eligible projects are owned or controlled by a not-for-profit Housing Development Fund Company, subject to an HPD regulatory agreement which requires use as low-income housing and are financed in part with a loan from the city or state in conjunction with federal low-income housing tax credits. A total of 6,172 units receiving 420-c tax exemptions were created from 1996 to 2002 in New York City; 5,500 of these units were identified in rental projects with funding sources that require rent stabilization. The remainder were either owner units or the loan program could not be identified.
3. The final count for petitions for High Rent/High Income decontrol may be slightly reduced as they are subject to appeal or in some cases, to review by a court of competent jurisdiction.
4. Decontrol of certain high rent apartments was instituted in New York City twice before, in 1964 and in 1968.
5. Intro No. 669-A, March 2000. A Local Law to amend the administrative code of the City of New York, in relation to extending the rent stabilization laws with certain amendments to such laws and the rent control law.
6. Almost the entire number of the estimated net loss of 43,000 units to the rent stabilized housing stock will remain as housing units in New York City. These units would convert from rent stabilization to either forms of ownership or to non-regulated rental units unless they are demolished.

**Summary Table on Additions and Subtractions to the
Rent Stabilized Housing Stock 1994-2002**

Program	Number of Units
ADDITIONS	
421-a	+ 20,240
J-51 conversions	+ 1,394
Mitchell-Lama buyouts	+ 2,984
Loft conversions	+ 303
Other Additions	+ 6,365
CHANGES	
Rent control to rent stabilization	+ 31,159
Subtotal Additions	+ 62,445
SUBTRACTIONS	
Co-op and Condo subtractions	- 32,660
High Rent/Vacancy Decontrol	- 24,370
High Rent/High Income Decontrol	- 2,956
421-a expirations	- 15,288
J-51 expirations	- 11,188
Substantial Rehabilitation	- 4,491
Commercial/Professional conversion	- 1,528
Other Subtractions	- 12,940
Subtotal Subtractions	- 105,421
NET TOTAL	
Net Estimated Loss	- 42,976