

NEIGHBORHOOD STRESS TEST



CITIZENS HOUSING & PLANNING COUNCIL

MISSION

CHPC's mission, since 1937, is to develop and advance practical public policies to support the housing stock of the city by better understanding New York's most pressing housing and neighborhood needs.

ABOUT US

Our agenda is practical, not political. Our work always begins with questions, not answers. It is the data, our analysis, and its relevance to the real world, that drive our conclusions. Our goal is to help decision-makers, inside and outside of government. We map out realistic steps that can result in positive change for the housing stock and the neighborhoods of New York City.

Not-for-profit organizations in New York State are no longer able to include the word "Council" in their names. We assume it is because they could be confused with a function of government. Our Council's name is grandfathered in because of its age – and we are proud of its clear connotation as a community of people coming together to share ideas and shape practical solutions to help government and the housing industry ensure that our housing continues to meet the needs of our City's residents.

We are a Council of 90 leading professionals from every industry that shapes housing development and management across the city. CHPC speaks as a trusted and impartial voice to improve housing for all New Yorkers.

The views expressed in this document reflect the opinions of the authors and not necessarily the views of any other organization with which they may be associated.

© 2015 Citizens Housing & Planning Council



CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION	7
SETTING UP THE INDICATORS	11
SCORING NYC'S NEIGHBORHOODS	15
INDICATORS PART I: SUB-BOROUGH AREAS	16
RESULTS PART I: BY SUB-BOROUGH AREA	18
<i>Table 1. Neighborhood Analysis by Sub-Borough Area</i>	18
<i>Map 1. The sub-borough areas of New York City by the results of our analysis..</i>	19
INDICATORS PART II: COMMUNITY DISTRICTS	20
RESULTS PART II: BY COMMUNITY DISTRICTS	21
<i>Table 2. Neighborhood Analysis by Community District</i>	21
<i>Map 2. The community districts of New York City by the results of our analysis.</i>	22
CONCLUSIONS	23
APPENDIX	26
<i>Table 3. Borough-Level Neighborhood Analysis</i>	27
<i>Table 4. Full Results of Neighborhood Analysis</i>	28

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

CHPC would like to thank the various researchers and organizations that enabled us to perform this analysis through either conceptual or data-related support. This includes the NYC Center for Innovation Through Data Intelligence; the Citizens' Committee for Children of New York; the NYU Furman Center; and the cohort of practitioners and thinkers who comprise our Aspirational Neighborhoods leadership group: Ellen Baxter, Nancy Biberman, Laura Jervis, Samantha Magistro, Lucille McEwen,* Julie Sandorf, Maryanne Schretzman, Bill Traylor, and Nancy Wackstein.

This work was supported by a generous grant from the Capital One Foundation and the members of the CHPC Strategic Impact Fund Advisory Group:

Alex Arker, The Arker Companies

Don Capoccia, BFC Partners

Martin Dunn, Dunn Development Corp

Robert Ezrapour, Artimus Construction

Kirk Goodrich, Monadnock Construction

Rick Gropper, L+M Development Partners Inc.

Nick Lembo, Monadnock Construction

Peter Magistro, Bronx Pro Real Estate Management Inc.

Samantha Magistro, Bronx Pro Real Estate Management Inc.

Ron Moelis, L&M Development Partners

Richard Roberts, Red Stone Equity Partners

Bill Traylor, Richman Housing Resources LLC

Eric McClelland, Red Stone Equity Partners

This study was conducted and authored by CHPC Policy Analyst Neil Reilly.

*At the time of our initial Aspirational Neighborhoods policy discussion, was not an employee of the City of New York.



Where Experts

Put Practice

Into Policy

CHPC

NEW YORK CITY



ASPIRATIONAL NEIGHBORHOODS

The Neighborhood Stress Test is part of this larger series on Aspirational Neighborhoods, which focuses on ways neighborhoods themselves can help lift people out of poverty.

www.chpcny.org/our-initiatives/aspirational-neighborhoods/



INTRODUCTION



INTRODUCTION

CHPC HAS DEVELOPED A “STRESS TEST” FOR NEW YORK CITY NEIGHBORHOODS. ADAPTING A CONCEPT USED TO DETERMINE THE STRENGTH OF BANKS IN THE FACE OF EXTERNAL PRESSURES, THE NEIGHBORHOOD STRESS TEST IDENTIFIES A METHOD FOR POLICYMAKERS TO FOCUS THE ATTENTION AND RESOURCES OF GOVERNMENT ON THE NEIGHBORHOODS THAT NEED IT MOST.

New York City is the subject of a great deal of complex analysis involving a variety of issues from crime to education to poverty to homelessness. It is possible to look at these issues through citywide and neighborhood perspectives—and in great detail.

Many researchers carry out reliable and indispensable geographically-based analysis. The Furman Center at NYU produces its annual “State of New York City’s Housing and Neighborhoods” report, which includes top-five lists of neighborhoods for a rotation of categories. The Federation of Protestant Welfare Agencies is building a detailed community indicators project. New York magazine’s interactive “livability” tool compares the city’s neighborhoods on a range of independently scored categories. Many organizations evaluate cities against each other according to metrics they deem important. These include *Forbes* magazine, which annually ranks the best cities for young professionals to live in; or *The Economist*, which in 2012 published an extensive comparison of world cities using a “spatial adjusted livability index” (in which New York ranked 16th).

Not only are those and other groups doing interesting work, but there are also conversations ongoing today about how to perform such studies. The San Francisco Federal Reserve Bank and the Urban Institute recently published an excellent book that discusses the difficulties of finding, choosing, and comparing policy-relevant data. A national group of analysts known as the Community Indicators Consortium acts as a support group for those doing this type of analysis.

Despite the bountiful data at the fingertips of researchers and practitioners, there are still vital public policy questions without clear answers. How do we know which neighborhoods are falling behind the rest of the city? How and where would resources have the greatest impact? How can you evaluate the work of all of the New York City government and understand its impact on local neighborhoods? And most importantly, how can we view neighborhood changes through an objective, comprehensive lens to foster deeper accountability and assessment of government intervention?

Some government agencies are tasked with focusing on special populations, like the Department of Homeless Services (DHS). Others have specific citywide targets, like the Department of Housing Preservation and Development (HPD). Still others like the Police, Fire, and Sanitation Departments have specific geographies that they focus on, which need not correspond to the commonly-known boundaries of the city’s community districts.



To help define the needs and opportunities for improvement in the city's neighborhoods of greatest need, CHPC has developed a model to track neighborhood outcomes across New York City. This Neighborhood Stress Test offers a tool to help government prioritize intervention and investment. It is a simplified attempt at that. The very basic model we have developed here is just a sample of what can be done with the vast information present in New York City. In this sense, the takeaways from our work here are more about the methods than the results.

This work grows out of our Aspirational Neighborhoods initiative, which focuses on ways neighborhoods themselves can help lift people out of poverty. In general, our analysis uses indicators that capture the living conditions of NYC households, such as deficient housing, lack of prenatal health care, education rate, violent crime rate, and rate of public assistance take-up. It is hoped that this model can be a tool to help government focus its policy interventions and investment and establish a foundation for place-based outcomes where it can have meaningful results.

In recent decades, New York has reversed the declines in population and economy that plagued it in the 1970s and '80s. Many of the city's neighborhoods are among the most desirable in the world. Yet many others continue to lag behind in terms of schools, endemic health issues, high crime rates, distressed housing, and a lack of community infrastructure to support the needs of residents.

TO HELP DEFINE THE NEEDS AND OPPORTUNITIES FOR IMPROVEMENT IN THE CITY'S NEIGHBORHOODS OF GREATEST NEED, CHPC HAS DEVELOPED A MODEL TO TRACK NEIGHBORHOOD OUTCOMES ACROSS NEW YORK CITY.



Nevertheless, a core role of local government should be to lift up failing neighborhoods; to improve the housing and the environment of the neighborhoods private capital fails to reach; to build strong community resources that support residents' rise from poverty and stimulate aspiration for success. To start, it should be possible for the city government to set and achieve neighborhood-level goals in a coordinated way.

New York is a complex city to manage—especially with a city government segmented into over 100 agencies that are focused on their area of public policy and with their own goals and priorities. A systematic way to determine which neighborhoods are most in need of government intervention and investment—and a measure to assess how they improve—should permeate the work of public agencies. And each agency should be reporting on its contribution toward improvement for those neighborhoods.

Although the data used in this report were relatively simple measures, gathering them was a significant challenge. Our goal was to present a single set of metrics that reflect neighborhood conditions and outcomes. But because various city agencies compile their data in different ways, we instead created two parallel lists: one organized by “sub-borough areas,” a tool of the U.S. Census Bureau; the other by the more widely familiar NYC community districts.



A CORE ROLE OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT SHOULD BE TO LIFT UP FAILING NEIGHBORHOODS; TO IMPROVE THE HOUSING AND THE ENVIRONMENT OF THE NEIGHBORHOODS PRIVATE CAPITAL FAILS TO REACH; TO BUILD STRONG COMMUNITY RESOURCES THAT SUPPORT RESIDENTS' RISE FROM POVERTY AND STIMULATE ASPIRATION FOR SUCCESS.



SETTING UP THE INDICATORS

SETTING UP THE INDICATORS

The first challenge we faced was that there are many ways to carve up New York City on a map, and city agencies do not collect information uniformly in terms of geography. There are 59 community districts, which roughly follow 1950s neighborhood borders; 55 sub-borough areas, based on federal census tracts and determined by HPD to include at least 100,000 residents each; 32 school districts; 123 police precincts; 51 city council districts; and 42 United Hospital Fund zones that tie areas together by ZIP code.

With scores of government agencies serving over 8.4 million New Yorkers, these inconsistencies make it very difficult for researchers and evaluators to compare neighborhoods using different variables or to analyze the successes and failures of policy decisions, programs, and investment in neighborhoods. For instance, the sub-borough area appears on its face to be the “better” category for our purposes here—but only through the perspective of a data analyst. However, it is the community district that has actual practical implications for neighborhood planning matters like bus lanes and land use applications—it is the metric that means something to everyday New Yorkers.

We decided to try to overcome this hurdle by looking at metrics that currently fall into one of two methods of neighborhood groupings: sub-borough area (SBA) and community district (CD). This explains why we conducted two separate neighborhood analyses with results that could be compared to each other.

The outcomes of the two analyses are similar but not identical. In both cases, the four communities that revealed the most problems were in the Bronx. The primary differences appear in the outcomes for northern Manhattan: Central Harlem and Washington Heights both make out better on our list of community districts than sub-borough areas. This could be a function of the types of indicators included on each list—examples of this effect will be discussed below—or simply an accident of measuring larger SBAs versus smaller CDs.

We gathered datasets that cover health, housing, crime, poverty, and education outcomes from the following sources:

- NYC Department of Housing Preservation and Development
- NYC Department of Health and Mental Hygiene
- NYC Administration for Children’s Services
- NYC Department of Finance
- NY Police Department
- U.S. Census Bureau

COMMUNITY DISTRICTS VS SUB-BOROUGH AREAS IN NEW YORK CITY



59 Community Districts in New York City



55 Sub-Borough Areas in New York City

Part of the process of putting this analysis together was deciding on what basis to compare neighborhoods. Because our analysis speaks to policy and investment priorities of the city government, we chose to compare all neighborhoods against each other by using citywide standard deviation to rank them. In short, we wanted to know how Jamaica fares not just relative to Corona or Astoria, but relative to Morrisania, Bushwick, and Chelsea, as well.

The alternative was to compare each neighborhood's outcomes to other neighborhoods within their boroughs and then compile a ranking of the whole city. By comparing Jamaica only to other Queens neighborhoods, for example, we can pinpoint at a more local level the communities that need government attention. In this iteration of the analysis (the results of which you can find in Appendix A) neighborhoods like East Harlem and Washington Heights stand out. This effect is more pronounced in Manhattan than elsewhere, as the differences between Washington Heights and Tribeca are far greater than between Stapleton and Tottenville, for example. Although this kind of measure is very informative, it did not best serve the purposes of our effort here.



SCORING NYC'S NEIGHBORHOODS

SCORING NYC'S NEIGHBORHOODS

For each variable, the neighborhoods were assigned a score based on their rank from 55 for SBAs, or 59 for CDs, to 1. The neighborhood with the poorest results in the city was assigned the highest score, then for each place below that the score fell by a point. We highlight fifteen neighborhoods in this report to broadly cover one-quarter of the city (the complete neighborhood lists for each category can be found in Appendix B). Please also note that the neighborhood names attached to each CD or SBA are the official names, and that some commonly recognized neighborhoods are left unnamed on these lists.

We then aggregated the scores that each neighborhood received for all indicators, giving the total score. We tallied the aggregate scores and compiled those scores in ranked order.

For example, in Part I of our results, the SBA containing Morrisania and East Tremont had the second-highest percentage of adults without 12 years of education (54 points), second-highest percentage below the poverty line (54 points), fourth-highest percentage receiving public assistance (52 points), third-highest percentage of deficient housing (53 points), and third-highest percentage of tax delinquent residential property (53 points). So the total score for that SBA was 266—the highest of all of the city's SBAs.

With that method in mind, here are the indicators we chose and the results we found for each list, starting with SBAs.

INDICATORS | PART I: SUB-BOROUGH AREAS

The U.S. Census Bureau, on behalf of the NYC Department of Housing Preservation and Development (HPD), conducts a sample survey of New York City households every three years for its Housing and Vacancy Survey (HVS). The first four indicators listed came from the 2011 HVS; the fifth indicator, tax delinquency rate, is a measurement of the NYC Department of Finance. The results gathered for these indicators are grouped by sub-borough area (SBA). The variables in this part of the analysis measure the physical and socioeconomic living conditions of households:





- **Poverty rate** is a measure of the percentage of all households that are living below the “official” federally-set poverty line (adjusted to account for household size, age of household, and number of children). Note that the NYC Center for Economic Opportunity calculates its own poverty line to reflect the costs of living in New York, which would place a greater number of New Yorkers in poverty.¹
 - » Source: U.S. Census Bureau, NYC Department of Housing Preservation and Development HVS, 2011
- **Public assistance receipt** measures the percentage of all households receiving public assistance payments—for example, Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF); Family Assistance; Safety Net Assistance; Supplemental Security Income; or other similar programs
 - » Source: U.S. Census Bureau, NYC Department of Housing Preservation and Development HVS, 2011
- **Education attainment** measures the percentage of all individuals 18 years and older with less than 12 years of education, thus helping reflect the degree of social and economic mobility one enjoys.
 - » Source: U.S. Census Bureau, NYC Department of Housing Preservation and Development HVS, 2011
- **Deficient housing** measures the percentage of rental units with three or more physical defects. This measure focuses on the physical conditions of the rental housing stock of NYC.
 - » Source: U.S. Census Bureau, NYC Department of Housing Preservation and Development HVS, 2011
- **Tax delinquency rate** measures the percentage all residential property (tax classes 1 & 2) that had an unpaid city tax/fee delinquency older than a year of \$500 or more. This measure serves as a balance to physical deficiencies, as it accounts for financial distress in the smaller, ownership housing stock as well as rental multiple dwellings.
 - » Source: NYC Department of Finance via NYU Furman Center, 2014

¹ The NYC CEO poverty measure results in a poverty rate roughly one percentage point higher than the U.S. Census Bureau statistic: http://www.nyc.gov/html/ceo/downloads/pdf/ceo_poverty_measure_2005_2012.pdf

RESULTS | PART I: BY SUB-BOROUGH AREA

The table below displays the outcome of our analysis—the 15 sub-borough areas that fared the worst in our analysis. The results are as follows:

Table 1. Neighborhood Analysis by Sub-Borough Area

Neighborhoods by Sub-borough Area	Score
Morrisania/East Tremont (BX 2)	266
Mott Haven/Hunts Point (BX 1)	262
University Heights/Fordham (BX 4)	262
Highbridge/South Concourse (BX 3)	258
Brownsville/Ocean Hill (BK 16)	252
Kingsbridge Heights/Mosholu (BX 5)	246
Bushwick (BK 4)	235
Bedford-Stuyvesant (BK 3)	225
Soundview/Parkchester (BX 7)	216
East Harlem (MN 9)	212
Washington Heights/Inwood (MN 10)	211
East New York/Starrett City (BK 5)	206
Williamsbridge/Baychester (BX 10)	204
South Crown Heights (BK 9)	201
Sunset Park (BK 7)	194

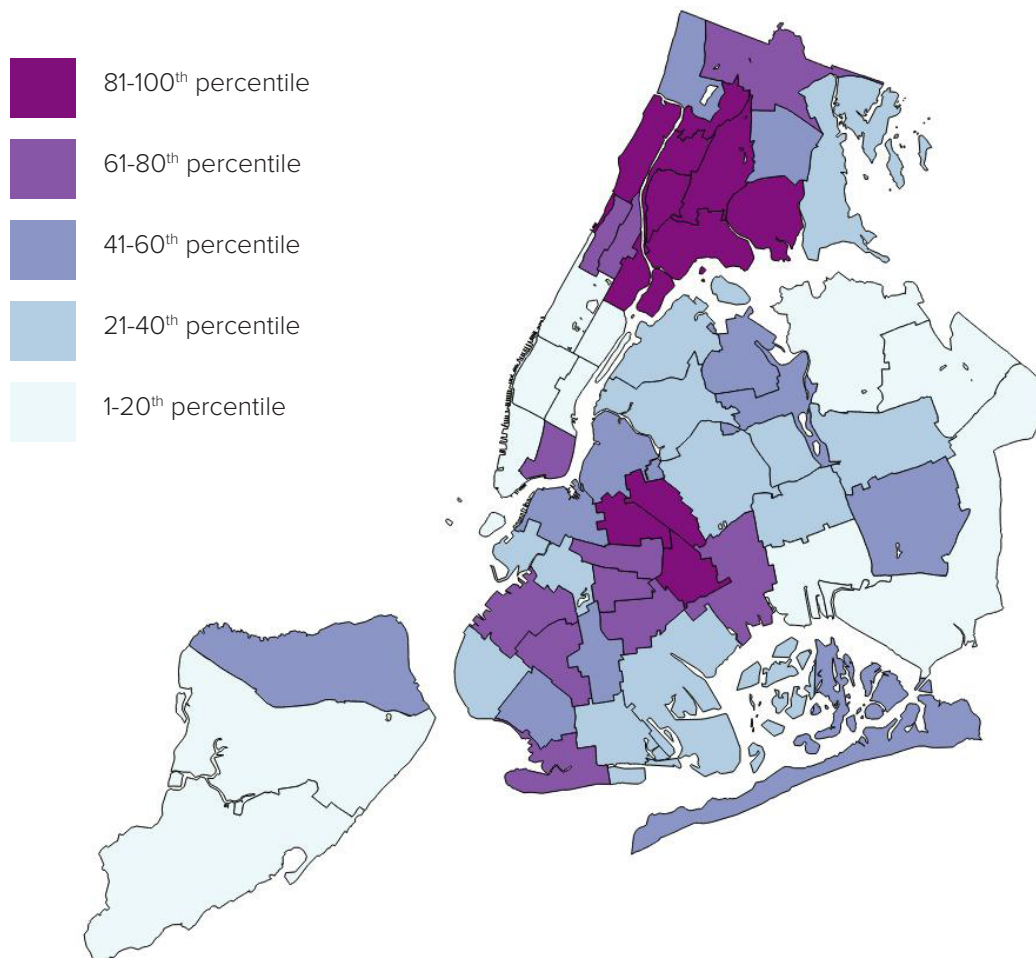
Sources: U.S. Census Bureau, NYC Dept. of Housing Preservation and Development; NYC Dept. of Finance via NYU Furman Center

As mentioned above, the concentration of Bronx neighborhoods on this list is striking: the top four SBAs are from the Bronx. Meanwhile, Queens and Staten Island are absent; 13 of the 15 seen here are either Brooklyn or Bronx neighborhoods.

There are some interesting, perhaps surprising, results here. For example, Sunset Park is not commonly labeled a troubled neighborhood. But its poor rankings on education attainment and poverty landed it on the list. Conversely, the 16th neighborhood—the first SBA that did not make it—was Manhattan’s Chinatown/Lower East Side, was among the worse half for all indicators, but did not have any particularly egregious results that pushed it above Sunset Park.

Another interesting note was the importance of single indicators for some neighborhoods in this analysis. For example, Bensonhurst had an outlier in the tax delinquency category, where it had the second-best rate; it had only the 40th-best rate of education attainment. And the SBA for South Crown Heights was the worst in terms of deficient housing, but 28th-best in education attainment.

STRESS TEST RESULTS BY SUB-BOROUGH AREA IN NEW YORK CITY



Map 1. The sub-borough areas of New York City by the results of our analysis. Darker shading indicates higher scores (more distress).

INDICATORS | PART II: COMMUNITY DISTRICTS

For the second half of our analysis, we used variables from a variety of different agencies that use community districts (CDs) as their methodology for dividing up the city. We selected data sets that capture the various environments—both at home and in neighborhoods—in which New York households are living: health, financial stability, child care, and crime. These data were accessible through the Citizens’ Committee for Children’s “Keeping Track” database. They are as follows:

- **Prenatal care rate** measures the percentage of mothers who receive late or no prenatal care prior to their third trimester of pregnancy, reflecting issues of both economic status and health care access.
 - » Source: NYC Department of Health and Mental Hygiene, 2013
- **Teen birth rate** is a measure of the number of births to mothers aged from 15 through 19 per 1,000 teenage girls.
 - » Source: NYC Department of Health and Mental Hygiene, 2012
- **Foster care placement rate** assesses the number of children placed in a foster home per 1,000 children under 18 years old, which reflects the at-home living conditions of NYC families with children.
 - » Source: NYC Administration for Children’s Services, 2013
- **Violent felony rate** captures the total crimes of murder, rape, burglary, and assault reported to law enforcement per 1,000 residents.
 - » Source: NY Police Department, 2013
- **Family entrants to the NYC homeless shelter system**
 - » Because this statistic is really a composite of many other factors like the ones included in this analysis, we do not factor this category into the ranking of neighborhoods. Instead, those CDs that are among the top 15 producers of families (by number, not rate) entering the shelter system in 2014 are marked with an asterisk.



RESULTS | PART II: BY COMMUNITY DISTRICTS

The following table displays the top quarter of the results for NYC’s community districts:

Table 2. Neighborhood Analysis by Community District

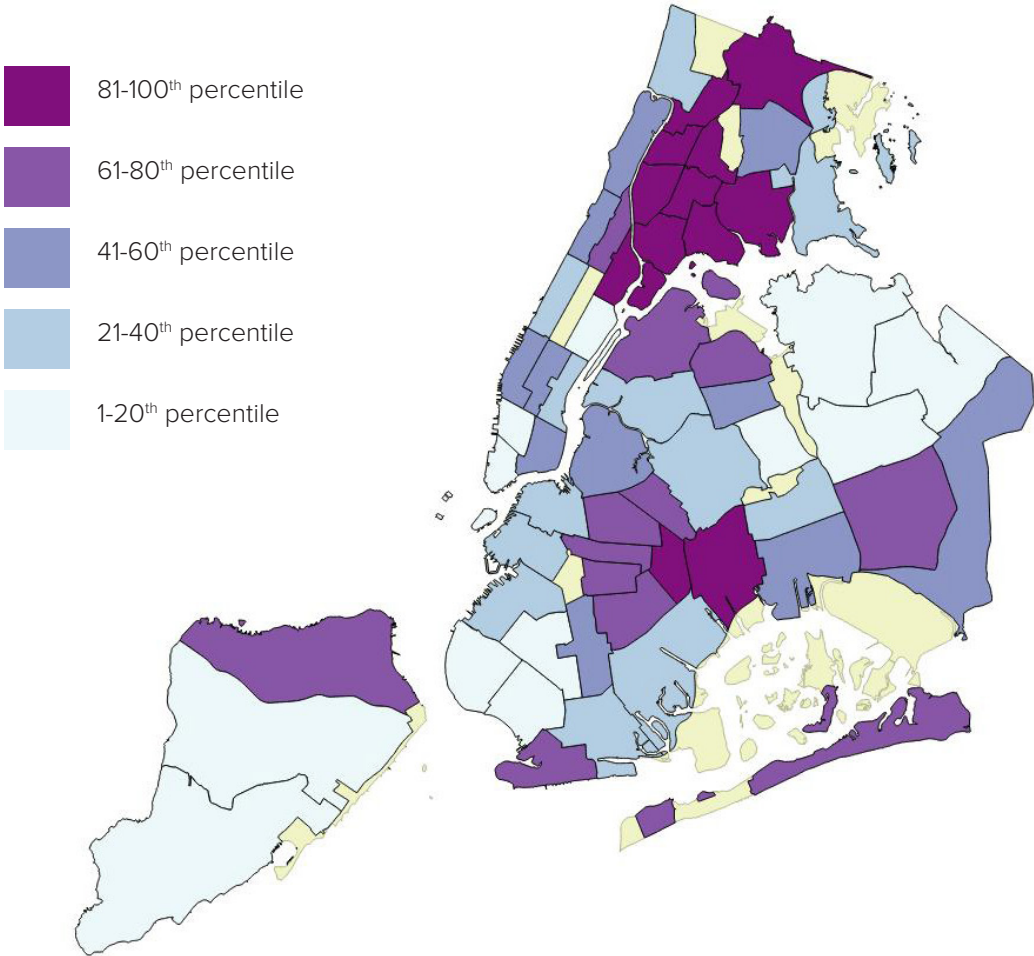
Neighborhoods by Community District	Score
Hunts Point/Longwood (BX 2)	229
Mott Haven/Melrose/Port Morris (BX 1)*	208
Concourse/Highbridge (BX 4)*	208
Morrisania/Melrose/Crotona Park E. (BX 3)*	206
East Tremont (BX 6)*	203
East New York/Starrett City/Cypress Hills (BK 5)*	198
Brownsville/Ocean Hill (BK 16)*	196
University Heights/Fordham/Morris Heights (BX 5)*	194
Williamsbridge/Woodlawn/Wakefield (BX 12)*	190
East Harlem (MN 11)*	186
Bedford Park (BX 7)*	184
Unionport/Soundview (BX 9)*	183
East Flatbush (BK 17)*	180
Bedford-Stuyvesant (BK 3)*	178
Central Harlem (MN 10)*	177

Sources: NYC Dept. of Health and Mental Hygiene; NYC Administration for Children’s Services; NY Police Dept., via Citizens Committee for Children

*CDs that produce most families entering homeless shelter system (source: NYC Dept. of Homeless Services via Institute for Children, Poverty, & Homelessness)

Among the noteworthy results from the community district-based analysis was the Upper West Side of Manhattan. The Upper West Side's district fared very well except in terms of foster care placement, where it was among the worst third of the city. The same goes for Chelsea/Clinton, which was respectable among the other three indicators, but sixth-highest in terms of foster care placement rate. In addition, Williamsbridge/Woodlawn/Wakefield mostly makes it into our top 10 because it had the lowest rate of prenatal care for expecting mothers in the city, easily its worst outcome among the four indicators. Finally, the CD with the city's lowest foster care placement rate (and second-lowest rates of teen births and lack of prenatal care), Greenwich Village, was only 42nd-best in terms of violent felonies.

STRESS TEST RESULTS BY COMMUNITY DISTRICTS IN NEW YORK CITY



Map 2. The community districts of New York City. Darker shading means higher (that is, worse) scores.

CONCLUSIONS

CONCLUSIONS

Our analysis reveals two core questions: first, what does it say about how NYC government thinks about neighborhoods? And second, what does it say about New York City neighborhoods?

First, the simplistic methodology used here highlights how the incomparability of City data causes issues for researchers and evaluators trying to better understand the overall health of New York City neighborhoods—and to analyze the effects of policy decisions and programs on neighborhoods. The data simply do not talk to each other. Though this problem is persistent, it can be overcome.

For example, the city’s public schools, hospital systems, and community boards are all based on different maps and thus collected using a variety of geographic boundary formulations. This makes comparison very difficult—hence the need for separate charts detailing community district and sub-borough level results side-by-side instead of one simple list.

The City should implement uniform, comparable metrics going forward for all municipal agencies. With compatible measurements, outcomes can be compared across agencies, opening the possibility for a much deeper understanding of neighborhood needs and a way to measure improvement. The city agencies that manage health and human services have begun this type of data unification. Whether the single unit of analysis is the community district, sub-borough area, or something else is less important. It should certainly consider the “neighborhood tabulation areas” that the Department of City Planning has created. But this should be done—citywide.





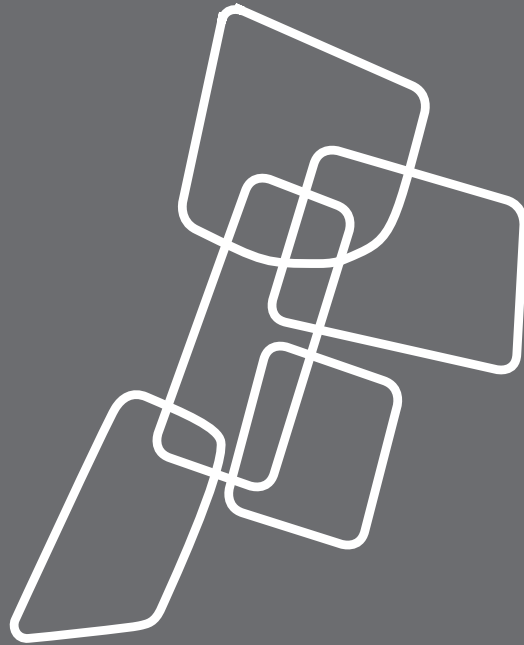
Regarding the second issue, it is clear that there is significant overlap of neighborhoods that come up on both sets of results. The vast majority of the neighborhoods named on either of the two lists appear on both. This might be “good” in the sense that the statistics seem to agree, but it reinforces that these neighborhoods are indeed in need of a focused strategy of cross-agency attention and investment.

It is especially troubling that 14 of the 15 neighborhoods on our community district list are also among the most prolific contributors to the shelter system. Even after decades of awareness, advocacy, and government investment, the dire outcomes of generational poverty persist in these New York City neighborhoods.

The New York City government would do well to adapt this method of analyzing neighborhood conditions is a useful measure of the impact of policies across public agencies. It would be a tool to focus agency attention and investment. And it can serve as a powerful system for assessing the results of targeted policies and investments to help lift up these struggling neighborhoods.



APPENDIX



APPENDIX

APPENDIX A: RESULTS OF THE BOROUGH-LEVEL NEIGHBORHOOD ANALYSIS

As mentioned on Page 3, we considered an alternative method of scoring each neighborhood: on the basis of its outcome relative to its borough. By that method, the results of our analysis would have been the following:

Table 3. Borough-Level Neighborhood Analysis

Neighborhoods by CD	Score	Neighborhoods by SBA	Score
East Harlem (MN 11)	218	Brownsville/Ocean Hill (BK 16)	255
East New York (BK 5)	212	Washington Heights/Inwood (MN 10)	238
Hunts Point (BX 2)	211	Bushwick (BK 4)	236
Brownsville (BK 16)	211	Morrisania/East Tremont (BX 2)	231
Rockaways (QN 14)	208	Mott Haven/Hunts Point (BX 1)	230
Jamaica/St. Albans (QN 12)	202	University Heights/Fordham (BX 4)	230
Central Harlem (MN 10)	201	East Harlem (MN 9)	226
St. George/North Shore (SI 1)	198	Bedford-Stuyvesant (BK 3)	220
Bedford-Stuyvesant (BK 03)	192	Highbridge/South Concourse (BX 3)	213
East Flatbush (BK 17)	187	Jackson Heights (QN 3)	213
Bushwick (BK 4)	181	Morningside Heights (MN 7)	204
Crown Heights North (BK 8)	170	Lower East Side/Chinatown (MN 2)	193
Jackson Heights (QN 3)	165	Kingsbridge Heights/Mosholu (BX 5)	192
Concourse/Highbridge (BX 4)	160	East New York/Starrett City (BK 5)	188
Astoria (QN 1)	160	Sunset Park (BK 7)	188

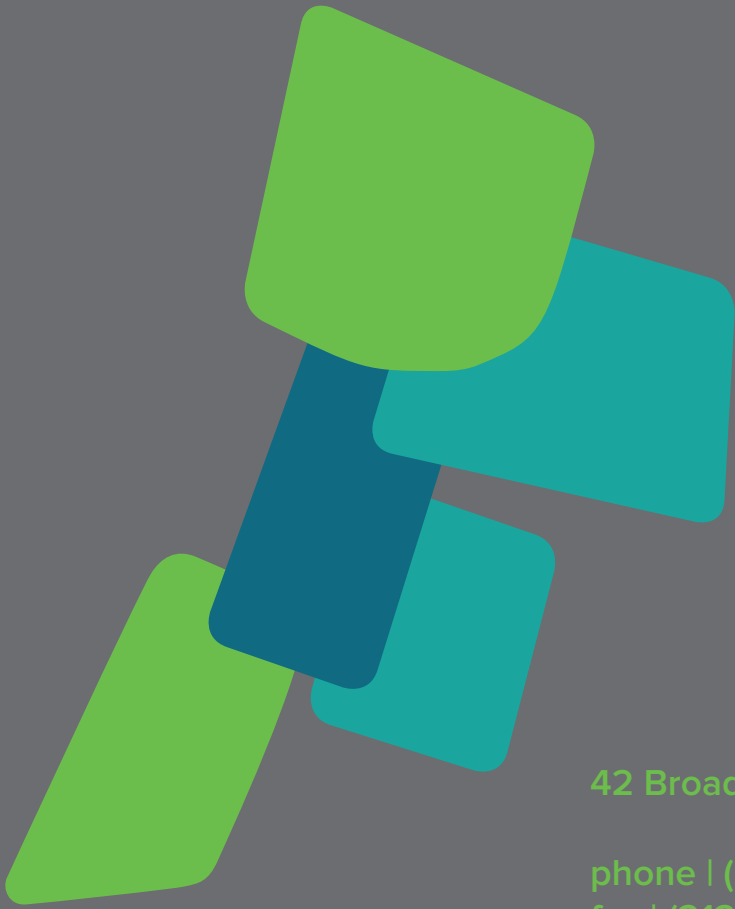
APPENDIX B

The full results of our analysis—all 59 community districts and all 55 sub-borough areas—is below:

Table 4. Full Results of Neighborhood Analysis

Neighborhoods by CD	TOTAL	Rank		Neighborhoods by SBA	TOTAL
B02 Hunts Point	229	59	55	B02 Morrisania/East Tremont	266
B01 Mott Haven	208	58	54	B01 Mott Haven/Hunts Point	262
B04 Concourse/Highbridge	208	57	53	B04 University Heights/Fordham	262
B03 Morrisania	206	56	52	B03 Highbridge/South Concourse	258
B06 East Tremont	203	55	51	K16 Brownsville/Ocean Hill	252
K05 East New York	198	54	50	B05 Kingsbridge Heights/Mosholu	246
K16 Brownsville	196	53	49	K04 Bushwick	235
B05 University Heights	194	52	48	K03 Bedford-Stuyvesant	225
B12 Williamsbridge	190	51	47	B07 Soundview/Parkchester	216
M11 East Harlem	186	50	46	M09 East Harlem	212
B07 Bedford Park	184	49	45	M10 Washington Heights/Inwood	211
B09 Unionport/Soundview	183	48	44	K05 East New York/Starrett City	206
K17 East Flatbush	180	47	43	B10 Williamsbridge/Baychester	204
K03 Bedford-Stuyvesant	178	46	42	K09 South Crown Heights	201
M10 Central Harlem	177	45	41	K07 Sunset Park	194
K04 Bushwick	170	44	40	M02 Lower East Side/Chinatown	188
Q12 Jamaica/St Albans	166	43	39	M07 Morningside Heights/Hamilton Heights	186
Q14 Rockaways	165	42	38	K12 Borough Park	185
K08 Crown Heights North	159	41	37	K17 East Flatbush	172
K13 Coney Island	141	40	36	K08 North Crown Heights/Prospect Heights	171
S01 St George	136	39	35	M08 Central Harlem	166
Q01 Astoria	135	38	34	K13 Coney Island	160
Q03 Jackson Heights	135	37	33	K14 Flatbush	157
K09 Crown Heights South	133	36	32	Q12 Jamaica	157
M09 Manhattanville	129	35	31	B06 Riverdale/Kingsbridge	156
Q04 Elmhurst/Corona	128	34	30	B09 Pelham Parkway	154
B11 Pelham Parkway	127	33	29	Q03 Jackson Heights	149
M04 Chelsea/Clinton	126	32	28	Q04 Elmhurst/Corona	131
K14 Flatbush/Midwood	124	31	27	K01 Williamsburg/Greenpoint	130
M03 Lower East Side	121	30	26	K11 Bensonhurst	129

Neighborhoods by CD	TOTAL	Rank		Neighborhoods by SBA	TOTAL
M12 Washington Heights	119	29	25	K02 Brooklyn Heights/Ft Greene	118
K01 Williamsburg/Greenpoint	116	28	24	Q14 Rockaways	112
Q10 Howard Beach	116	27	23	S01 North Shore	111
M05 Midtown	114	26	22	Q05 Middle Village/Ridgewood	110
Q13 Queens Village	114	25	21	Q09 Kew Gardens/Woodhaven	105
Q09 Woodhaven	113	24	20	Q01 Astoria	102
B10 Throgs Neck	98	23	19	Q08 Hillcrest/Fresh Meadows	95
Q05 Ridgewood/Glendale	98	22	18	Q02 Sunnyside/Woodside	92
K18 Canarsie	97	21	17	K10 Bay Ridge	91
K02 Ft Greene/Brooklyn Heights	95	20	16	K06 Park Slope/Carroll Gardens	90
K07 Sunset Park	85	19	15	K15 Sheepshead Bay/Gravesend	86
B08 Riverdale	83	18	14	K18 Flatlands/Canarsie	85
Q02 Sunnyside/Woodside	80	17	13	B08 Throgs Neck/Co-op City	70
K06 Park Slope	71	16	12	Q06 Forest Hills/Rego Park	68
M07 Upper West Side	70	15	11	M03 Chelsea/Clinton/Midtown	64
K15 Sheepshead Bay	67	14	10	Q07 Flushing/Whitestone	60
M06 Murray Hill/Stuyvesant	60	13	9	Q13 Bellerose/Rosedale	48
Q07 Flushing	56	12	8	Q10 Howard Beach/South Ozone Park	45
Q08 Fresh Meadows/Briarwood	55	11	7	M05 Upper West Side	43
K11 Bensonhurst	51	10	6	S02 Mid-Island	41
K12 Borough Park	50	9	5	M04 Stuyvesant Town/Turtle Bay	40
S02 South Beach	49	8	4	M06 Upper East Side	30
M02 Greenwich Village	47	7	3	M01 Greenwich Village/ Financial District	24
K10 Bay Ridge	44	6	2	S03 South Shore	21
Q06 Rego Park/Forest Hills	34	5	1	Q11 Bayside/Little Neck	20
Q11 Bayside	25	4			
M01 Battery Park/Tribeca	21	3			
S03 Tottenville	21	2			
M08 Upper East Side	16	1			



CHPC

NEW YORK CITY

42 Broadway, Suite 2010 | New York, NY 10004

phone | (212) 286-9211
fax | (212) 286-9214
email | info@chpcny.org

www.chpcny.org