Mobility, Economic Opportunity and New York City Neighborhoods

Sarah M. Kaufman, Mitchell L. Moss, Jorge Hernandez and Justin Tyndall

Updated November 2015





Mobililty, Economic Opportunity and New York City Neighborhoods

This report was prepared with the assistance of Richard Dunks, Emily Rhodes, Ashley Smith and

Jenny O'Connell. The staff of the Metropolitan Transportation Authority, New York City

Department of Transportation and Riders Alliance made valuable comments and suggestions.

The accompanying map on the NYU Rudin Center's website (www.NYURudinCenter.com) was

created by Jeff Ferzoco (linepointpath) and Richard Dunks (Datapolitan).

This research was carried out with the support of the Rockefeller Foundation and Google.

The Rudin Center for Transportation at the NYU Wagner School aims to strengthen our

understanding of all modes of transportation through research, public forums, and educational

programs. The Center draws upon faculty, students, and visiting scholars at NYU. Current areas

of inquiry include:

The flow of people, goods and information in and through New York City

Information technology and transportation systems

Inequality and access to employment

Urban bike share systems

The future of supercommuting

The Rudin Center was named in recognition of a gift from civic leader Lewis Rudin and receives

support from leading firms in transportation, finance, and communications. The director of the

Center is Mitchell L. Moss, Henry Hart Rice Professor of Urban Policy and Planning.

295 LAFAYETTE STREET
NEW YORK, NY 10012

212.992.9865

RUDIN.CENTER@NYU.EDU
FACEBOOK.COM/NYURUDINCENTER

@NYURUDIN

CONTENTS

Key Findings and Recommendations	4
Executive Summary	
Related Literature	
Methodology	
Neighborhood Rankings	
Recommendations	
Conclusion	

KEY FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Of the top 20 neighborhoods for job access, 18 are located in Manhattan, with an average of 4,128,263 jobs accessible within one hour on transit.

Highest and Lowest Transit Access Neighborhoods (with rank/177)

Manhattan

Bronx

Brooklyn

Boerum Hill (East)/ Park Slope (North) (24) ↑

East New York (South) (169)

Queens

Briarwood/Jamaica Center (9) ↑

■ Breezy Point (177)

Staten Island

Arrochar/Shore Acres (141) ↑

✓ South Staten Island (176)

Low transit access typically leads to a car commute.

The percentage of people who commute by private car increased from 2% in high-access areas to 80% in the city's lowest-access areas in Staten Island and Queens. In most of the highest transit access areas, less than ten percent of commuters travel by private car.

In 40 neighborhoods (23%), walking is a more common commute mode than driving.

In 134 neighborhoods (76%), public transportation remained the primary commute mode.

The city contains three tiers of job access:

Ranked Neighborhoods	Median Household Income	Unemployment Rate	Commute by Transit or Walking (average)	Commute by Car (average)
1-59	\$81,286	8.1%	79.1%	10.8%
60-119	\$46,937	12.6%	67.1%	27.6%
120-177	\$59,949	10.4%	44.2%	52.1%

Limited transit access is linked to higher unemployment.

Neighborhoods with some, but insufficient transit access – those in the middle third – faced higher rates of unemployment than those in the top or bottom third.

Recommendations:

Develop intelligent, informal transit.

It is time for policymakers to nurture the development of intelligent, independent transportation services that fill transit gaps through web-based hailing technologies for shared rides.

Bus Rapid Transit is essential.

Popular thoroughfares like Flatlands Avenue should be equipped with true BRT for increased speed and efficiency of commutes in transit-starved areas.

Make incremental improvements to transit.

Existing infrastructure should be maximized by putting dormant subway track into use, providing strategic transfer points and expanding the functionality of CityTicket to help New Yorkers move around more efficiently through a variety of modes.

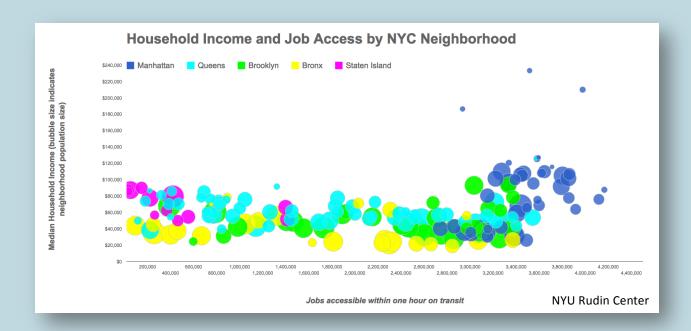
Foster smart, efficient workplaces.

More New Yorkers should be able to work remotely when possible. Policymakers should incentivize workplaces to allow employees to work from neighborhood office centers, reducing commute needs and congestion in traffic and transit.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Although public transit provides access to jobs throughout the New York City region, there are substantial inequalities in access among neighborhoods. By focusing on the neighborhood level, the NYU Rudin Center for Transportation has identified communities that are substantially underserved by the public transportation system.

The Rudin Center ranked New York City's 177 neighborhoods according to the number of jobs accessible. Jobs were considered accessible if they could be reached from the neighborhood within 60 minutes before 9:00 a.m. on Monday mornings using public transit. The number of accessible jobs ranged from 42,109 (Breezy Point, Station Island) to 4,593,006 (North Chelsea, Manhattan). Our analysis reveals substantial variation in levels of transit access across New York, affecting residents' employment levels, travel modes and incomes. When graphed, the relationship between transit and income resembles a swoosh shape with the highest incomes prevalent in neighborhoods with the most access to jobs via transit, the lowest incomes present in areas with moderate transit access, and average incomes prevalent in neighborhoods with the least access via transit, potentially explained by increased access to jobs afforded by higher rates of private car ownership present in these neighborhoods.



This chart is also available in interactive form: http://bit.ly/RudinJobAccess

The neighborhoods appearing in the middle-third of the rankings were those with the lowest household incomes. While the areas with highest accessibility favor transit or walking and those with the fewest transit options are more likely to commute in private vehicles, the middle third has enough transit access to commute effectively, but insufficient access to job opportunities using the transit options currently available, explaining the concentration of the city's highest unemployment rates and lowest incomes in these neighborhoods:

Ranked Neighborhoods	Median Household Income	Unemployment Rate	Commute by Transit or Walking (avg)	Commute by Car (avg)
1-59	\$81,286	8.1%	79.1%	10.8%
60-119	\$46,937	12.6%	67.1%	27.6%
120-177	\$59,949	10.4%	44.2%	52.1%

NYU Rudin Center

These imbalances of access perpetuate issues of income inequality and traffic congestion, limiting both economic and physical mobility for many in the city. The NYU Rudin Center for Transportation offers several recommendations to mitigate access disparities, including:

Increase transportation options in New York City.

New York City works best when residents have several options for their daily commutes and can easily switch between transportation modes. In many cases, on-demand intelligent buses. could help fill the gaps in transit service. Using web-based vehicle hailing, these demand-responsive vehicles would travel on flexible and efficient routes, linking riders from their homes to transit hubs, and, eventually, their workplaces. In Red Hook, Brooklyn, for example, a smart shuttle bringing residents to Downtown Brooklyn would reduce travel times to Midtown Manhattan from 50 to 28 minutes, making 89,498 more jobs accessible within one hour on transit.

Improve roadways with Bus Rapid Transit.

As previously recommended by a study from Pratt Center for Community Development, the Rudin Center recommends the development of Bus Rapid Transit on several corridors in New York City. Flatlands Avenue and Kings Highway in Brooklyn are an ideal location, with 32,000 bus riders daily, bus speeds 71% slower than car traffic along the same routes, and sufficient width to accommodate a protected bus lane. Bus Rapid Transit would likely be increase bus speeds significantly, providing thousands of New Yorkers with improved access job opportunities both at hospitals along the route and through multiple connections to subways along the route.

Maximize the efficiency of the existing transportation system.

Because New York City's landscape makes it extremely difficult to build new infrastructure, the Metropolitan Transportation Authority should seek to improve upon existing resources, from bringing unused tracks online to building out simple transfers. In particular, CityTicket should be extended to weekday usage, allowing New York City residents to ride commuter rail at a discount. In Norwood, in the Bronx, residents' commutes would be reduced from 48 to 33 minutes to Midtown Manhattan when using Metro-North, increasing the number of jobs within one hour on public transit by 527,819. In addition, employing demand-responsive tools to make Access-A-Ride paratransit systems more efficient would greatly assist the 170,000 New Yorkers who rely on it.

Encourage remote work.

Due to advances in telecommunications, many information-based jobs can be conducted remotely. If policymakers incentivize workforce distribution (to places like neighborhood office centers and co-working spaces), employees will reach their places of work more easily, the productive workday will be expanded without the hassle of commuting, workers in more isolated locations will have access to more job opportunities, and crowding on transit will be

reduced. Approximately four percent of New Yorkers work from home; that number may increase significantly with the advent of the new citywide wi-fi system.

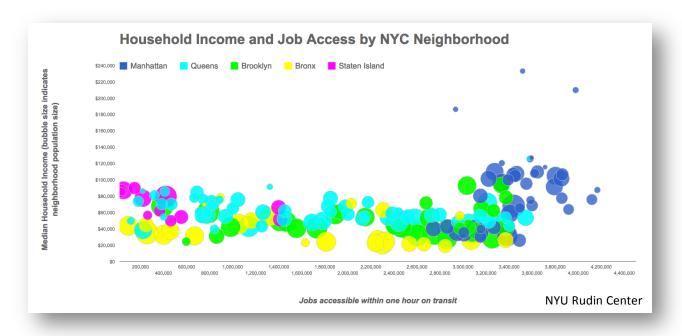
By focusing on underserved areas of the New York City job market, new policies and services can increase economic opportunity for New Yorkers, and ensure that the transportation system is fully leveraged to connect workers with jobs. These improvements will benefit all New Yorkers' access to job opportunities and economic mobility.

Introduction

The ability of a public transportation network to physically link residents to jobs has become a central point of concern for urban policy in an era of uneven unemployment and rapidly changing job markets. The economy of New York City is unique in North America due to the high modal share of public transportation. Here, 56 percent of the population uses transit to reach work and an individual's ability to access a job is largely a function of how well their neighborhood is served by the public transportation system. This report presents direct measurements of job access in New York City and contrasts the levels of access that are experienced in the city's many neighborhoods.

The NYU Rudin Center analyzed and ranked 177 New York City neighborhoods' access to job opportunities, household income and population size. Drawing on census data and the Google Maps Routing Application Programming Interface, the rankings reflect the number of jobs available within one hour on public transportation. A commute time of one hour or less was based on prior research that commuters prefer to travel less than one hour.

The data show that mass transit access is associated with job opportunities and household income levels in most New York City neighborhoods:



The number of accessible jobs ranged from 42,109 (Breezy Point, Station Island) to 4,593,006 (North Chelsea, Manhattan). Our analysis reveals substantial variation in levels of transit access across New York, affecting residents' employment levels, travel modes and incomes. When graphed, the relationship between transit and income resembles a swoosh shape with the highest incomes prevalent in neighborhoods with the most access to jobs via transit, the lowest incomes present in areas with moderate transit access, and average incomes prevalent in neighborhoods with the least access via transit, potentially explained by increased access to jobs afforded by higher rates of private car ownership present in these neighborhoods.

The economic opportunities in neighborhoods without multiple transportation options are shown to be tangibly inferior to areas with denser public transit services. By focusing on these underserved areas of the New York City job market, we can implement new policies and services to increase economic opportunity for New Yorkers, and ensure the transportation system is fully leveraged to connect workers with jobs. To improve economic opportunities citywide, the NYU Rudin Center recommends that policymakers increase the number of transportation modal options across the city, maximize use of existing transportation infrastructure, and foster the ability to work remotely. These solutions will benefit all New Yorkers' access to job opportunities and economic improvement.

RELATED LITERATURE

Job access has recently become a substantial area of interest for policy makers and academics. Prior studies have provided a thorough analysis of job accessibility at the metropolitan level; drawing comparisons between regions. Fewer studies have attempted to analyze job access within a region, and investigate the effects that differential job access has at the neighborhood level. This study has been conducted at the neighborhood level but is closely related to prior studies, which have been conducted using larger geographic units.

The most recent related work is a report by the University of Minnesota analyzing job access from public transit in the largest United States cities (Owen, 2014). The report provides a strong comparison between cities' overall access and showed the exceptional breadth of New York's transit system in providing access to employment compared to other cities.

The Brookings Institute undertook a major study of the connection between public transportation and job accessibility (Brookings, 2011). Brookings relies primarily on metropolitan level analysis within the US, allowing for coarse comparisons, which rank metropolitan regions by characteristics of job access. One of three metrics used by Brookings is referred to as "Job Access" and represents the share of jobs accessible within a region to a "typical" resident. The study finds that the typical resident of a metropolitan area in the US can reach 30% of metropolitan jobs within 90 minutes. New York City ranks substantially above the average, at 37%. This analysis is interesting for broad policy debates, but reducing data points to the "typical" resident may be masking substantial inequalities wherein some neighborhoods have very high levels of job access, while others face economic isolation.

In 2013 the Pratt Center for Community Development and the Rockefeller Foundation jointly produced a report on mobility across New York City's neighborhoods. The report acknowledges the stark disparities in access experienced across New York City's many neighborhoods. In particular, the authors acknowledge that not only are many areas poorly served by the subway system, but that given financial constraints there is virtually no chance of the subway system expanding to these areas in the foreseeable future. As a solution for isolated neighborhoods the study recommended the construction of Bus Rapid Transit (BRT)

infrastructure to increase accessibility. The choice to compare accessibility across neighborhoods is a surprisingly uncommon approach in the related literature. The current study will embrace this approach to investigating job access.

The Urban Institute released a study in 2014 entitled Driving to Opportunity, which took a thorough look at the connection between household location, transportation, and employment outcomes. The report finds that the ability for households to access job markets leads to improved economic outcomes. The authors claim that the best way to increase job access for low-income households is to increase their level of automobile ownership. The data is able to demonstrate that car ownership is highly correlated with positive employment outcomes. The evidence presented in the study indicates that car ownership will improve job access for the marginal household; however, it seems unlikely this finding could be used as the basis of policy. Increasing the number of cars used within a region will slow down all road users due to congestion, potentially wiping out the gains that are accruing to the households who gain cars. In contrast, increasing the capacity of the public transportation system as a way to increase job access for low-income families does not suffer from this pitfall.

A thorough attempt to modeling job access in metropolitan regions is provided by Prud'homme and Lee (1999). The authors suggest that the optimal size of a city is a function of the quality of its transportation planning. As cities grow they increase total jobs available but traffic congestion increases simultaneously, cities that are successful in combating congestion will therefore have a larger 'optimal' size, and will be able to supply more jobs to typical residents. Prud'homme and Lee (1999), looking at a sample of French cities, find a general link between the productivity of residents and the number of jobs that residents have access to within 60 minutes. Cox (2014) recently provided a discussion of how these findings should be understood in an international context.

Several authors have referred to a general link between public transportation access and the ability to find employment. Thomas Sanchez provides US case studies which directly look at transit characteristics – such as the nearness to a bus or subway stop, or transit frequency – and relates transportation access to lower levels of unemployment (Sanchez 1999; Sanchez et al. 2004). O'Regan and Quigley provide a series of papers on the connection

between neighborhood accessibility and youth employment rates, but elect for a definition of access which is "broadly defined to include traditional measures of geographical distance, as well as measures of social isolation and social access" (O'Regan and Quigley 1998; see also O'Regan and Quigley 1996).

Whereas previous studies rely on proxies and heuristics to contrast job access between neighborhoods, this report will suggest methods that directly measure the number of jobs accessible to a given neighborhood and investigate how differentials in job access may translate into differentials in neighborhood conditions and the opportunities of individuals.

References:

Andersson, Fredrik; Haltiwanger, John C.; Kutzbach, Mark J.; Pollakowski, Henry O.; and Weinberg, Daniel H. (2014). Job Displacement and The Duration Of Joblessness: The Role of Spatial Mismatch, U.S. Bureau of the Census.

Brookings: Metropolitan Policy Program. (2011). Missed Opportunity: Transit and Jobs in Metropolitan America. Metropolitan Infrastructure Initiative Series and Metropolitan Opportunity Series.

Cox, W. (2014). America's Accessible Cities. Huffington Post, Urban Progress. September 4, 2014.

O'Regan, K.M.; Quigley, J.M. (1996). Teenage Employment and the Spatial Isolation of Minority and Poverty Households. The Journal of Human Resources, 31:3.

O'Regan, K.M.; Quigley, J.M. (1998). Where Youth Live: Economic Effects of Urban Space on Employment Prospects. Urban Studies, 35:7.

Owen, Andrew and Levinson, David. (2014) "Access Across America: Transit 2014," University of Minnesota, Center for Transportation Studies.

Pratt Center for Community Development & Rockefeller Foundation. (2013). Mobility and Equity for New York's Transit-Starved Neighborhoods: The Case for Full-Featured Bus Rapid Transit.

Prud'homme, R.; Lee, C.W. (1999). Size, Sprawl, Speed and the Efficiency of Cities. Urban Studies, 36:11.

Sanchez, T.W. (1999). The Connection Between Public Transit and Employment: The Cases of Portland and Atlanta. Journal of the American Planning Association, 65:3.

Sanchez, T.W.; Shen, Q.; Peng, Zhong-Ren. (2004). Transit Mobility, Jobs Access and Lowincome Labour Participation in US Metropolitan Areas. Urban Studies, 41:7.

METHODOLOGY

DATA SOURCES

Routing: Google Maps Application Programming Interface

Google integrates local public transportation service information into its online mapping service for estimates of travel times between origins and destinations. Google Inc. provides access to the back end of their Google Maps service, through the Google Maps Application Programing Interface (API). The API can be queried with origin and destination pairs to output the estimated travel time according to Google's algorithm. This project utilized this service to generate a data set containing all zip code-level travel times in the region, which originated in New York City and terminated anywhere in the New York, New Jersey, Connecticut region.

For this project, the precise start and end locations of each trip are assumed to be the geographic center of the specific zip code. Google will estimate a walk time from the center of the zip code to the initial transit connection (e.g., subway station or bus stop) and consider the walk time as a component of the total trip time. Similarly, the conclusion of the trip terminates in a walk to the center of the destination zip code. This means that travel times will be dependent on how close a zip code's geographic center is to a transit stop; this may be a more valid assumption for some zip codes more than others. This project looks at a 60-minute time horizon, meaning the initial and final minutes spent walking will only be a small component of total trip time at this threshold.

Specific assumptions present in the resulting data set are as follows:

For zip code 10035–East Harlem (North)—the centroid calculated by Google is
placed on Randalls Island, which is contained within the eastern bound of the zip

code; however, the population center of this neighborhood is located on Manhattan Island. Rather than using the centroid in this instance, the origin/destination point is set at 122nd Street and 3rd Ave, which is the geographic center of the Manhattan portion of this zip code.

- For zip code 10033, the centroid, which Google places in the Hudson River, is instead assumed to be at 181st Street and Broadway.
- For zip code 11234, the centroid for zip code 11234, which is cited in an inaccessible marsh area adjacent to Belt Parkway, is moved to the center of the zip code's developed area at Avenue M and 55th Street.

A second assumption deals with the public transit options contained within Google's algorithm. Public transit travel times are to some extent contingent on the time of day the trip is made. The time parameter is set assuming the trip is completed on a Monday morning, and allows the traveler to reach their destination by 9:00 a.m. In accordance with this project's focus on public transportation service and mobility, the trip must be completed through either walking, public transportation services or both. The possible public transportation options available through Google's algorithm in the New York City region include: New York City Subway, PATH train, Long Island Rail Road, Metro North Railroad, New Jersey Transit Rail, MTA Bus Company, MTA New York City Transit services, Staten Island Ferry, Nassau Inter-County Express bus service, Rockland County Department of Transportation services, and the Downtown Alliance shuttle bus. Rarely, Google's algorithm will include short taxi trips when public transportation and walking cannot provide a reasonably convenient route. This can occur in areas where public transportation coverage is sparse, particularly in zip codes outside of New York City. These instances are rare, and only affect destination zip codes with relatively low job counts, meaning the effect of allowing taxi trips on overall job counts will be very low; however, it is worth noting that the maps produced by this report may display a zip code as accessible, when in fact this only holds true when the commuter is allowed use of a taxi.

In rare instances during automated data collection Google's servers were unable to return a commute time estimate for a given route due to technical reasons. There has been every effort made to catch these instances and input the travel time manually. The number of missed observations is low, and will not meaningfully affect the trends presented in this report.

U.S. Census, 2008-2012 American Community Survey:

Data for neighborhood demographics is taken exclusively from the 2008-2012 American Community Survey (ACS) Five-Year Estimate Data at the level of Zip Code Tabulation Areas (ZCTAs). ZCTAs are delineated by the Census Bureau. Although the documentation on supported geographies for the 2008-2012 5 Year ACS does not list ZCTAs, they are listed for the previous set and were applied to this ACS for this research.

The Census Bureau aggregates the demographic data from the ACS by ZCTA and makes that data available. The data for this report was accessed through the Application Programmer Interface (API). In most cases, the data in this report is exactly as reported by the ACS. However, in some cases, these assumptions were made:

- For the total number of unemployed persons 16 or over in the labor force by race, the
 number had to be summed together from constituent variables (unemployed white
 males 16 to 64 in the labor force, unemployed white males 65 or over in the labor force,
 unemployed white females 16 to 64 in the labor force, unemployed white females 65
 and over in the labor force).
- For education level attained, the NYU Rudin Center only listed degrees attained, and not "some high school," "some college," and so forth.

It should be noted that the Census estimates do not account for margin of error. The Census publishes a comprehensive methodology for calculating margins of errors. In cases where ZCTA level data is unavailable, census tract data is cross-walked to conform to ZCTA boundaries using an allocation algorithm provided by the Missouri Census Data Center.

U.S. Census, 2013 LEHD Origin-Destination Employment Statistics:

The US Census releases a series of data products concerning workforce characteristics known as Longitudinal Employer-Household Dynamics (LEHD) data sets. One of these products is the LEHD Origin-Destination Employment Statistics (LODES) dataset that provides employment counts by subcategories at the census block level. LODES provides a level of detail regarding employment that is not available in either the Decennial Census or the American Community Survey. LODES data has been "cross-walked" from census blocks to zip codes using the Missouri Census Data Center tool described above. Because census blocks are even smaller than the census tracts used for demographic data, there is essentially no loss of precision due to cross-walking to the much larger zip code level. LODES is released annually, this report uses the most recent data release, which presents information for 2013.

PROCESSING

Data points from the three aforementioned sources are merged together to create a single observation for each zip code in New York City. LODES data has been downloaded for all of New York State, New Jersey, and Connecticut; this allows job counts to be assigned to zip codes for the entire region. Google routing data is collected for journeys originating within a zip code in New York City, but ending in any zip code within the larger region. American Community Survey data is collected for New York City only.

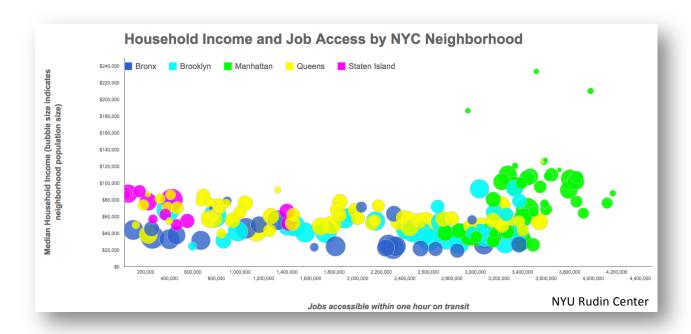
New York City fully contains 186 Zip Code Tabulation Areas (ZCTAs) as defined in the 2010 US Census. In this work, ZCTAs are only included as a unit of observation if they contain a population of at least 2,500 persons according to the 2008-2012 American Community Survey. The population threshold is used to ensure accurate demographic data exists within the zip code (unlike park areas), and to avoid small areas that would not be representative of a larger neighborhood. Of the 186 zip codes, 177 have a population of at least 2,500.

All 177 zip codes have been assigned a neighborhood name to improve the readability of the report. These names are not meant to be definitive but to conform as closely as possible to common neighborhood boundary definitions in New York City. Several zip codes straddle the boundaries of multiple neighborhoods, and names have been chosen to reflect this as clearly as possible.

The analysis in this report assigns a 60 minute commute cutoff as a way to measure "accessible" jobs, reflecting extensive literature showing 60 minutes as the preferred cutoff for travel times. The analysis limits travel to 60 minutes by taking the generated list of all zip codes reachable within 60 minutes and summing job totals across all reachable zip codes, including the origin zip code.

NEIGHBORHOOD RANKINGS

The NYU Rudin Center ranked New York City's 177 neighborhoods by the number of jobs accessible within one hour on public transit during a rush-hour commute. The overall outcome depicts a strong link between income and access to job opportunities:



This chart is also available in interactive form: http://bit.ly/RudinJobAccess

The following pages show the detailed results of the NYU Rudin Center's neighborhood ranking analysis. Although the neighborhoods of origin are all located within New York City, the jobs are not limited to the city's borders; in fact, many jobs in Long Island and northern New Jersey are highly accessible from parts of Manhattan and the outer boroughs. The neighborhoods, which were delineated by zip code, are also listed with their median household incomes and population counts for additional context. A discussion of these rankings follows the listing.

NEIGHBORHOOD RANKINGS BY NUMBER OF JOBS ACCESSIBLE WITHIN ONE HOUR

Rank	Neighborhood	Jobs Accessible	Median Income	Borough	Population
1	Chelsea (North)	4,593,006	\$81,671	Manhattan	21,966
2	Hell's Kitchen (South)	4,542,251	\$104,635	Manhattan	7,021
3	Hell's Kitchen (Central)	4,389,002	\$66,599	Manhattan	23,132
4	Chelsea (South)	4,297,411	\$104,238	Manhattan	52,167
5	Midtown (North-East)	4,189,691	\$109,019	Manhattan	29,618
6	Midtown East (South)	4,180,797	\$100,652	Manhattan	16,129
7	Tribeca (South)	4,155,674	\$216,037	Manhattan	6,525
8	Tribeca (North)	4,122,632	\$83,725	Manhattan	26,065
9	Briarwood/ Jamaica Center	4,119,763	\$53,041	Queens	53,542
10	Hell's Kitchen (North)	4,113,415	\$84,424	Manhattan	38,394
11	East Village/ Midtown (South)	4,047,421	\$92,540	Manhattan	57,310
12	Woodside	4,026,663	\$49,886	Queens	86,316
13	SoHo	4,018,809	\$86,594	Manhattan	26,145
14	Midtown (South-East)	4,010,138	\$97,955	Manhattan	30,670
15	Upper East Side (South)	3,987,897	\$115,519	Manhattan	32,797
16	Upper West Side (North-East)	3,981,379	\$103,534	Manhattan	61,315
17	Central Harlem/ Morningside Heights	3,979,548	\$37,872	Manhattan	62,617
18	Kips Bay/ Murray Hill	3,970,556	\$105,324	Manhattan	51,196
19	West Village	3,930,940	\$108,483	Manhattan	30,597
20	Financial District (West)	3,908,266	\$119,274	Manhattan	2,507
21	Financial District (South)	3,857,633	\$129,313	Manhattan	2,807
22	Financial District (East)	3,855,442	\$124,670	Manhattan	6,822
23	Long Island City (Central)	3,854,725	\$47,142	Queens	25,537
24	Boerum Hill (East)/ Park Slope (North)	3,832,900	\$81,862	Brooklyn	38,787
25	Sunnyside	3,811,568	\$56,059	Queens	25,729
26	Battery Park City (North)	3,776,445	\$230,952	Manhattan	6,217
27	Battery Park City (South)	3,757,781	\$129,574	Manhattan	8,685
28	Brooklyn Heights/Dumbo	3,732,698	\$95,369	Brooklyn	54,668

29	Financial District (North-East)	3,727,941	\$66,074	Manhattan	20,082
30	Upper East Side (Central)	3,719,307	\$102,941	Manhattan	24,849
31	Williamsburg	3,710,175	\$46,848	Brooklyn	93,271
32	Roosevelt Island	3,704,793	\$83,066	Manhattan	12,346
33	Lower East Side	3,697,552	\$33,218	Manhattan	82,191
34	Long Island City (West)	3,685,382	\$125,871	Queens	3,524
35	Bedford-Stuyvesant (South-West)	3,681,855	\$43,996	Brooklyn	53,783
36	Upper West Side (Central)	3,669,949	\$109,956	Manhattan	59,164
37	Upper East Side (South- Central)	3,659,211	\$107,907	Manhattan	40,862
38	East Harlem (North)	3,586,504	\$24,533	Manhattan	33,488
39	Forest Hills	3,583,962	\$72,000	Queens	69,757
40	Harlem (South)	3,575,543	\$43,107	Manhattan	37,871
41	Kew Gardens	3,553,922	\$63,549	Queens	19,145
42	Upper East Side (North-Central)	3,548,839	\$104,638	Manhattan	44,295
43	Upper West Side (North)	3,533,938	\$68,516	Manhattan	97,390
44	Alphabet City	3,525,702	\$59,929	Manhattan	62,810
45	Lincoln Square (West)	3,472,382	\$170,630	Manhattan	5,118
46	Upper East Side (North)	3,447,727	\$96,296	Manhattan	60,121
47	Bushwick (North)	3,447,107	\$40,372	Brooklyn	55,478
48	Harlem (East)	3,445,270	\$37,341	Manhattan	17,377
49	Bed-Stuy (North)/ East Williamsburg	3,442,749	\$28,559	Brooklyn	81,525
50	Bedford-Stuyvesant (East)	3,440,394	\$34,492	Brooklyn	68,599
51	Elmhurst	3,433,338	\$47,667	Queens	99,159
52	Greenpoint	3,393,961	\$63,739	Brooklyn	34,186
53	Prospect Heights/ Clinton Hill (South)	3,390,969	\$65,315	Brooklyn	51,895
54	East Harlem (South)	3,387,358	\$31,888	Manhattan	77,454
55	Harlem (Central)	3,354,041	\$31,925	Manhattan	28,472
56	Greenwood	3,344,448	\$43,595	Brooklyn	28,824
57	Bushwick (South)	3,337,727	\$39,178	Brooklyn	81,321

69 Harlem (West) 3,321,673 \$37,655 Manhattan 59,092 60 Prospect Lefferts Gardens 3,306,723 \$42,922 Brooklyn 59,182 61 Jackson Heights (South) 3,283,739 \$48,683 Queens 63,320 62 Washington Heights (South) 3,264,292 \$34,568 Manhattan 59,374 63 Inwood 3,247,006 \$41,171 Manhattan 41,510 64 Sunset Park 3,243,139 \$37,580 Brooklyn 103,089 65 Astoria (North) 3,232,285 \$49,924 Queens 34,529 66 Crown Heights (East) 3,231,258 \$34,794 Brooklyn 62,059 67 Richmond Hill (North) 3,230,753 \$60,691 Queens 36,828 68 Tremont 3,227,508 \$24,949 Bronx 70,282 68 Astoria (Central) 3,220,643 \$20,232 Bronx 38,089 71 Washington Heights (North) 3,168,829 \$78,174	58	Astoria (East)	3,332,220	\$55,129	Queens	37,745
61 Jackson Heights (South) 3,283,739 \$48,683 Queens 63,320 62 Washington Heights (South) 3,264,292 \$34,568 Manhattan 59,374 63 Inwood 3,247,006 \$41,171 Manhattan 41,510 64 Sunset Park 3,243,139 \$37,580 Brooklyn 103,089 65 Astoria (North) 3,231,258 \$49,924 Queens 34,529 66 Crown Heights (East) 3,231,258 \$34,794 Brooklyn 62,059 67 Richmond Hill (North) 3,230,753 \$60,691 Queens 36,828 68 Tremont 3,227,508 \$24,949 Bronx 70,282 69 Astoria (Central) 3,224,075 \$48,720 Queens 36,869 70 Mott Haven/Port Morris 3,220,643 \$20,232 Bronx 38,089 71 Washington Heights (North) 3,168,829 \$78,174 Brooklyn 34,137 72 Carroll Gardens/ Red Hook 3,168,829 \$	59	Harlem (West)	3,321,673	\$37,655	Manhattan	59,092
62 Washington Heights (South) 3,264,292 \$34,568 Manhattan 59,374 63 Inwood 3,247,006 \$41,171 Manhattan 41,510 64 Sunset Park 3,243,139 \$37,580 Brooklyn 103,089 65 Astoria (North) 3,232,285 \$49,924 Queens 34,529 66 Crown Heights (East) 3,231,258 \$34,794 Brooklyn 62,059 67 Richmond Hill (North) 3,230,753 \$60,691 Queens 36,828 68 Tremont 3,227,508 \$24,949 Bronx 70,282 69 Astoria (Central) 3,224,075 \$48,720 Queens 36,869 70 Mott Haven/Port Morris 3,220,643 \$20,232 Bronx 38,089 71 Washington Heights (North) 3,213,165 \$41,556 Manhattan 58,710 72 Carroll Gardens/ Red Hook 3,168,829 \$78,174 Brooklyn 34,137 73 Longwood (South) 3,166,291 \$22,6	60	Prospect Lefferts Gardens	3,306,723	\$42,922	Brooklyn	59,182
63 Inwood 3,247,006 \$41,171 Manhattan 41,510 64 Sunset Park 3,243,139 \$37,580 Brooklyn 103,089 65 Astoria (North) 3,232,285 \$49,924 Queens 34,529 66 Crown Heights (East) 3,231,258 \$34,794 Brooklyn 62,059 67 Richmond Hill (North) 3,230,753 \$60,691 Queens 36,828 68 Tremont 3,227,508 \$24,949 Bronx 70,282 69 Astoria (Central) 3,224,075 \$48,720 Queens 36,869 70 Mott Haven/Port Morris 3,220,643 \$20,232 Bronx 36,869 71 Washington Heights (North) 3,213,165 \$41,556 Manhattan 58,710 72 Carroll Gardens/ Red Hook 3,168,829 \$78,174 Brooklyn 34,137 73 Longwood (South) 3,166,291 \$22,609 Bronx 34,931 75 East New York (West) 3,144,455 \$32,945	61	Jackson Heights (South)	3,283,739	\$48,683	Queens	63,320
64 Sunset Park 3,243,139 \$37,580 Brooklyn 103,089 65 Astoria (North) 3,232,285 \$49,924 Queens 34,529 66 Crown Heights (East) 3,231,258 \$34,794 Brooklyn 62,059 67 Richmond Hill (North) 3,230,753 \$60,691 Queens 36,828 68 Tremont 3,227,508 \$24,949 Bronx 70,282 69 Astoria (Central) 3,224,075 \$48,720 Queens 36,869 70 Mott Haven/Port Morris 3,220,643 \$20,232 Bronx 38,089 71 Washington Heights (North) 3,213,165 \$41,556 Manhattan 58,710 72 Carroll Gardens/ Red Hook 3,168,829 \$78,174 Brooklyn 34,137 73 Longwood (South) 3,166,291 \$22,609 Bronx 74,931 75 East New York (West) 3,144,455 \$32,945 Brooklyn 92,491 76 Park Slope 3,141,054 \$95,654	62	Washington Heights (South)	3,264,292	\$34,568	Manhattan	59,374
65 Astoria (North) 3,232,285 \$49,924 Queens 34,529 66 Crown Heights (East) 3,231,258 \$34,794 Brooklyn 62,059 67 Richmond Hill (North) 3,230,753 \$60,691 Queens 36,828 68 Tremont 3,227,508 \$24,949 Bronx 70,282 69 Astoria (Central) 3,224,075 \$48,720 Queens 36,869 70 Mott Haven/Port Morris 3,220,643 \$20,232 Bronx 38,089 71 Washington Heights (North) 3,213,165 \$41,556 Manhattan 58,710 72 Carroll Gardens/ Red Hook 3,168,829 \$78,174 Brooklyn 34,137 73 Longwood (South) 3,166,291 \$22,609 Bronx 74,931 75 East New York (West) 3,144,455 \$32,945 Brooklyn 92,491 76 Park Slope 3,141,054 \$95,654 Brooklyn 92,491 78 Melrose/Mott Haven 3,111,160 \$26,75	63	Inwood	3,247,006	\$41,171	Manhattan	41,510
66 Crown Heights (East) 3,231,258 \$34,794 Brooklyn 62,059 67 Richmond Hill (North) 3,230,753 \$60,691 Queens 36,828 68 Tremont 3,227,508 \$24,949 Bronx 70,282 69 Astoria (Central) 3,224,075 \$48,720 Queens 36,869 70 Mott Haven/Port Morris 3,220,643 \$20,232 Bronx 38,089 71 Washington Heights (North) 3,213,165 \$41,556 Manhattan 58,710 72 Carroll Gardens/ Red Hook 3,168,829 \$78,174 Brooklyn 34,137 73 Longwood (South) 3,166,291 \$22,609 Bronx 38,576 74 Highbridge 3,161,446 \$25,979 Bronx 74,931 75 East New York (West) 3,144,455 \$32,945 Brooklyn 92,491 76 Park Slope 3,141,054 \$95,654 Brooklyn 43,002 78 Melrose/Mott Haven 3,111,160 \$26,754	64	Sunset Park	3,243,139	\$37,580	Brooklyn	103,089
67 Richmond Hill (North) 3,230,753 \$60,691 Queens 36,828 68 Tremont 3,227,508 \$24,949 Bronx 70,282 69 Astoria (Central) 3,224,075 \$48,720 Queens 36,869 70 Mott Haven/Port Morris 3,220,643 \$20,232 Bronx 38,089 71 Washington Heights (North) 3,213,165 \$41,556 Manhattan 58,710 72 Carroll Gardens/ Red Hook 3,168,829 \$78,174 Brooklyn 34,137 73 Longwood (South) 3,166,291 \$22,609 Bronx 38,576 74 Highbridge 3,161,446 \$25,979 Bronx 74,931 75 East New York (West) 3,144,455 \$32,945 Brooklyn 92,491 76 Park Slope 3,141,054 \$95,654 Brooklyn 68,891 77 Clinton Hill (North) 3,131,067 \$44,688 Brooklyn 43,002 78 Melrose/Mott Haven 3,111,160 \$26,754	65	Astoria (North)	3,232,285	\$49,924	Queens	34,529
68 Tremont 3,227,508 \$24,949 Bronx 70,282 69 Astoria (Central) 3,224,075 \$48,720 Queens 36,869 70 Mott Haven/Port Morris 3,220,643 \$20,232 Bronx 38,089 71 Washington Heights (North) 3,213,165 \$41,556 Manhattan 58,710 72 Carroll Gardens/ Red Hook 3,168,829 \$78,174 Brooklyn 34,137 73 Longwood (South) 3,166,291 \$22,609 Bronx 38,576 74 Highbridge 3,161,446 \$25,979 Brooklyn 92,491 75 East New York (West) 3,144,455 \$32,945 Brooklyn 92,491 76 Park Slope 3,141,054 \$95,654 Brooklyn 68,891 77 Clinton Hill (North) 3,131,067 \$44,688 Brooklyn 43,002 78 Melrose/Mott Haven 3,111,160 \$26,754 Bronx 47,069 79 Longwood (North) 3,098,406 \$75,335	66	Crown Heights (East)	3,231,258	\$34,794	Brooklyn	62,059
69 Astoria (Central) 3,224,075 \$48,720 Queens 36,869 70 Mott Haven/Port Morris 3,220,643 \$20,232 Bronx 38,089 71 Washington Heights (North) 3,213,165 \$41,556 Manhattan 58,710 72 Carroll Gardens/ Red Hook 3,168,829 \$78,174 Brooklyn 34,137 73 Longwood (South) 3,166,291 \$22,609 Bronx 38,576 74 Highbridge 3,161,446 \$25,979 Bronx 74,931 75 East New York (West) 3,144,455 \$32,945 Brooklyn 92,491 76 Park Slope 3,141,054 \$95,654 Brooklyn 68,891 77 Clinton Hill (North) 3,131,067 \$44,688 Brooklyn 43,002 78 Melrose/Mott Haven 3,111,160 \$26,754 Bronx 47,069 79 Longwood (North) 3,098,160 \$24,461 Bronx 47,977 80 Bayside 3,088,406 \$75,335	67	Richmond Hill (North)	3,230,753	\$60,691	Queens	36,828
70 Mott Haven/Port Morris 3,220,643 \$20,232 Bronx 38,089 71 Washington Heights (North) 3,213,165 \$41,556 Manhattan 58,710 72 Carroll Gardens/ Red Hook 3,168,829 \$78,174 Brooklyn 34,137 73 Longwood (South) 3,166,291 \$22,609 Bronx 38,576 74 Highbridge 3,161,446 \$25,979 Bronx 74,931 75 East New York (West) 3,144,455 \$32,945 Brooklyn 92,491 76 Park Slope 3,141,054 \$95,654 Brooklyn 68,891 77 Clinton Hill (North) 3,131,067 \$44,688 Brooklyn 43,002 78 Melrose/Mott Haven 3,111,160 \$26,754 Bronx 47,069 79 Longwood (North) 3,098,160 \$24,461 Bronx 47,977 80 Bayside 3,088,406 \$75,335 Queens 42,297 82 Ditmars Steinway 3,076,774 \$57,525	68	Tremont	3,227,508	\$24,949	Bronx	70,282
71 Washington Heights (North) 3,213,165 \$41,556 Manhattan 58,710 72 Carroll Gardens/ Red Hook 3,168,829 \$78,174 Brooklyn 34,137 73 Longwood (South) 3,166,291 \$22,609 Bronx 38,576 74 Highbridge 3,161,446 \$25,979 Bronx 74,931 75 East New York (West) 3,144,455 \$32,945 Brooklyn 92,491 76 Park Slope 3,141,054 \$95,654 Brooklyn 68,891 77 Clinton Hill (North) 3,131,067 \$44,688 Brooklyn 43,002 78 Melrose/Mott Haven 3,111,160 \$26,754 Bronx 47,069 79 Longwood (North) 3,098,160 \$24,461 Bronx 47,977 80 Bayside 3,088,406 \$75,335 Queens 30,597 81 Rego Park 3,085,494 \$52,532 Queens 42,297 82 Ditmars Steinway 3,076,774 \$57,525 Queens	69	Astoria (Central)	3,224,075	\$48,720	Queens	36,869
72 Carroll Gardens/ Red Hook 3,168,829 \$78,174 Brooklyn 34,137 73 Longwood (South) 3,166,291 \$22,609 Bronx 38,576 74 Highbridge 3,161,446 \$25,979 Bronx 74,931 75 East New York (West) 3,144,455 \$32,945 Brooklyn 92,491 76 Park Slope 3,141,054 \$95,654 Brooklyn 68,891 77 Clinton Hill (North) 3,131,067 \$44,688 Brooklyn 43,002 78 Melrose/Mott Haven 3,111,160 \$26,754 Bronx 47,069 79 Longwood (North) 3,098,160 \$24,461 Bronx 47,977 80 Bayside 3,088,406 \$75,335 Queens 30,597 81 Rego Park 3,085,494 \$52,532 Queens 42,297 82 Ditmars Steinway 3,073,253 \$33,595 Manhattan 26,577 84 Woodhaven 3,058,310 \$60,897 Queens <td< td=""><td>70</td><td>Mott Haven/Port Morris</td><td>3,220,643</td><td>\$20,232</td><td>Bronx</td><td>38,089</td></td<>	70	Mott Haven/Port Morris	3,220,643	\$20,232	Bronx	38,089
73 Longwood (South) 3,166,291 \$22,609 Bronx 38,576 74 Highbridge 3,161,446 \$25,979 Bronx 74,931 75 East New York (West) 3,144,455 \$32,945 Brooklyn 92,491 76 Park Slope 3,141,054 \$95,654 Brooklyn 68,891 77 Clinton Hill (North) 3,131,067 \$44,688 Brooklyn 43,002 78 Melrose/Mott Haven 3,111,160 \$26,754 Bronx 47,069 79 Longwood (North) 3,098,160 \$24,461 Bronx 47,977 80 Bayside 3,088,406 \$75,335 Queens 30,597 81 Rego Park 3,085,494 \$52,532 Queens 42,297 82 Ditmars Steinway 3,076,774 \$57,525 Queens 36,190 83 Harlem (North-East) 3,058,310 \$60,897 Queens 42,588 85 Borough Park 3,042,770 \$52,445 Brooklyn 74,75	71	Washington Heights (North)	3,213,165	\$41,556	Manhattan	58,710
74 Highbridge 3,161,446 \$25,979 Bronx 74,931 75 East New York (West) 3,144,455 \$32,945 Brooklyn 92,491 76 Park Slope 3,141,054 \$95,654 Brooklyn 68,891 77 Clinton Hill (North) 3,131,067 \$44,688 Brooklyn 43,002 78 Melrose/Mott Haven 3,111,160 \$26,754 Bronx 47,069 79 Longwood (North) 3,098,160 \$24,461 Bronx 47,977 80 Bayside 3,088,406 \$75,335 Queens 30,597 81 Rego Park 3,085,494 \$52,532 Queens 42,297 82 Ditmars Steinway 3,076,774 \$57,525 Queens 36,190 83 Harlem (North-East) 3,073,253 \$33,595 Manhattan 26,577 84 Woodhaven 3,055,478 \$34,316 Brooklyn 96,971 86 Kensington 3,042,770 \$52,445 Brooklyn 84,520 </td <td>72</td> <td>Carroll Gardens/ Red Hook</td> <td>3,168,829</td> <td>\$78,174</td> <td>Brooklyn</td> <td>34,137</td>	72	Carroll Gardens/ Red Hook	3,168,829	\$78,174	Brooklyn	34,137
75 East New York (West) 3,144,455 \$32,945 Brooklyn 92,491 76 Park Slope 3,141,054 \$95,654 Brooklyn 68,891 77 Clinton Hill (North) 3,131,067 \$44,688 Brooklyn 43,002 78 Melrose/Mott Haven 3,111,160 \$26,754 Bronx 47,069 79 Longwood (North) 3,098,160 \$24,461 Bronx 47,977 80 Bayside 3,088,406 \$75,335 Queens 30,597 81 Rego Park 3,085,494 \$52,532 Queens 42,297 82 Ditmars Steinway 3,076,774 \$57,525 Queens 36,190 83 Harlem (North-East) 3,073,253 \$33,595 Manhattan 26,577 84 Woodhaven 3,058,310 \$60,897 Queens 42,588 85 Borough Park 3,055,478 \$34,316 Brooklyn 96,971 86 Kensington 3,042,770 \$52,445 Brooklyn 84,52	73	Longwood (South)	3,166,291	\$22,609	Bronx	38,576
76 Park Slope 3,141,054 \$95,654 Brooklyn 68,891 77 Clinton Hill (North) 3,131,067 \$44,688 Brooklyn 43,002 78 Melrose/Mott Haven 3,111,160 \$26,754 Bronx 47,069 79 Longwood (North) 3,098,160 \$24,461 Bronx 47,977 80 Bayside 3,088,406 \$75,335 Queens 30,597 81 Rego Park 3,085,494 \$52,532 Queens 42,297 82 Ditmars Steinway 3,076,774 \$57,525 Queens 36,190 83 Harlem (North-East) 3,073,253 \$33,595 Manhattan 26,577 84 Woodhaven 3,058,310 \$60,897 Queens 42,588 85 Borough Park 3,055,478 \$34,316 Brooklyn 96,971 86 Kensington 3,042,770 \$52,445 Brooklyn 74,758 87 Brownsville 3,004,774 \$28,348 Brooklyn 98,325	74	Highbridge	3,161,446	\$25,979	Bronx	74,931
77 Clinton Hill (North) 3,131,067 \$44,688 Brooklyn 43,002 78 Melrose/Mott Haven 3,111,160 \$26,754 Bronx 47,069 79 Longwood (North) 3,098,160 \$24,461 Bronx 47,977 80 Bayside 3,088,406 \$75,335 Queens 30,597 81 Rego Park 3,085,494 \$52,532 Queens 42,297 82 Ditmars Steinway 3,076,774 \$57,525 Queens 36,190 83 Harlem (North-East) 3,073,253 \$33,595 Manhattan 26,577 84 Woodhaven 3,058,310 \$60,897 Queens 42,588 85 Borough Park 3,055,478 \$34,316 Brooklyn 96,971 86 Kensington 3,042,770 \$52,445 Brooklyn 74,758 87 Brownsville 3,004,774 \$28,348 Brooklyn 98,325 89 Laurelton 2,885,555 \$78,667 Queens 40,385 <	75	East New York (West)	3,144,455	\$32,945	Brooklyn	92,491
78 Melrose/Mott Haven 3,111,160 \$26,754 Bronx 47,069 79 Longwood (North) 3,098,160 \$24,461 Bronx 47,977 80 Bayside 3,088,406 \$75,335 Queens 30,597 81 Rego Park 3,085,494 \$52,532 Queens 42,297 82 Ditmars Steinway 3,076,774 \$57,525 Queens 36,190 83 Harlem (North-East) 3,073,253 \$33,595 Manhattan 26,577 84 Woodhaven 3,058,310 \$60,897 Queens 42,588 85 Borough Park 3,055,478 \$34,316 Brooklyn 96,971 86 Kensington 3,042,770 \$52,445 Brooklyn 74,758 87 Brownsville 3,004,774 \$28,348 Brooklyn 84,520 88 Ditmas Park 2,996,310 \$40,734 Brooklyn 98,325 89 Laurelton 2,885,555 \$78,667 Queens 40,385 <td>76</td> <td>Park Slope</td> <td>3,141,054</td> <td>\$95,654</td> <td>Brooklyn</td> <td>68,891</td>	76	Park Slope	3,141,054	\$95,654	Brooklyn	68,891
79 Longwood (North) 3,098,160 \$24,461 Bronx 47,977 80 Bayside 3,088,406 \$75,335 Queens 30,597 81 Rego Park 3,085,494 \$52,532 Queens 42,297 82 Ditmars Steinway 3,076,774 \$57,525 Queens 36,190 83 Harlem (North-East) 3,073,253 \$33,595 Manhattan 26,577 84 Woodhaven 3,058,310 \$60,897 Queens 42,588 85 Borough Park 3,055,478 \$34,316 Brooklyn 96,971 86 Kensington 3,042,770 \$52,445 Brooklyn 74,758 87 Brownsville 3,004,774 \$28,348 Brooklyn 84,520 88 Ditmas Park 2,996,310 \$40,734 Brooklyn 98,325 89 Laurelton 2,885,555 \$78,667 Queens 40,385	77	Clinton Hill (North)	3,131,067	\$44,688	Brooklyn	43,002
80 Bayside 3,088,406 \$75,335 Queens 30,597 81 Rego Park 3,085,494 \$52,532 Queens 42,297 82 Ditmars Steinway 3,076,774 \$57,525 Queens 36,190 83 Harlem (North-East) 3,073,253 \$33,595 Manhattan 26,577 84 Woodhaven 3,058,310 \$60,897 Queens 42,588 85 Borough Park 3,055,478 \$34,316 Brooklyn 96,971 86 Kensington 3,042,770 \$52,445 Brooklyn 74,758 87 Brownsville 3,004,774 \$28,348 Brooklyn 84,520 88 Ditmas Park 2,996,310 \$40,734 Brooklyn 98,325 89 Laurelton 2,885,555 \$78,667 Queens 40,385	78	Melrose/Mott Haven	3,111,160	\$26,754	Bronx	47,069
81 Rego Park 3,085,494 \$52,532 Queens 42,297 82 Ditmars Steinway 3,076,774 \$57,525 Queens 36,190 83 Harlem (North-East) 3,073,253 \$33,595 Manhattan 26,577 84 Woodhaven 3,058,310 \$60,897 Queens 42,588 85 Borough Park 3,055,478 \$34,316 Brooklyn 96,971 86 Kensington 3,042,770 \$52,445 Brooklyn 74,758 87 Brownsville 3,004,774 \$28,348 Brooklyn 84,520 88 Ditmas Park 2,996,310 \$40,734 Brooklyn 98,325 89 Laurelton 2,885,555 \$78,667 Queens 40,385	79	Longwood (North)	3,098,160	\$24,461	Bronx	47,977
82 Ditmars Steinway 3,076,774 \$57,525 Queens 36,190 83 Harlem (North-East) 3,073,253 \$33,595 Manhattan 26,577 84 Woodhaven 3,058,310 \$60,897 Queens 42,588 85 Borough Park 3,055,478 \$34,316 Brooklyn 96,971 86 Kensington 3,042,770 \$52,445 Brooklyn 74,758 87 Brownsville 3,004,774 \$28,348 Brooklyn 84,520 88 Ditmas Park 2,996,310 \$40,734 Brooklyn 98,325 89 Laurelton 2,885,555 \$78,667 Queens 40,385	80	Bayside	3,088,406	\$75,335	Queens	30,597
83 Harlem (North-East) 3,073,253 \$33,595 Manhattan 26,577 84 Woodhaven 3,058,310 \$60,897 Queens 42,588 85 Borough Park 3,055,478 \$34,316 Brooklyn 96,971 86 Kensington 3,042,770 \$52,445 Brooklyn 74,758 87 Brownsville 3,004,774 \$28,348 Brooklyn 84,520 88 Ditmas Park 2,996,310 \$40,734 Brooklyn 98,325 89 Laurelton 2,885,555 \$78,667 Queens 40,385	81	Rego Park	3,085,494	\$52,532	Queens	42,297
84 Woodhaven 3,058,310 \$60,897 Queens 42,588 85 Borough Park 3,055,478 \$34,316 Brooklyn 96,971 86 Kensington 3,042,770 \$52,445 Brooklyn 74,758 87 Brownsville 3,004,774 \$28,348 Brooklyn 84,520 88 Ditmas Park 2,996,310 \$40,734 Brooklyn 98,325 89 Laurelton 2,885,555 \$78,667 Queens 40,385	82	Ditmars Steinway	3,076,774	\$57,525	Queens	36,190
85 Borough Park 3,055,478 \$34,316 Brooklyn 96,971 86 Kensington 3,042,770 \$52,445 Brooklyn 74,758 87 Brownsville 3,004,774 \$28,348 Brooklyn 84,520 88 Ditmas Park 2,996,310 \$40,734 Brooklyn 98,325 89 Laurelton 2,885,555 \$78,667 Queens 40,385	83	Harlem (North-East)	3,073,253	\$33,595	Manhattan	26,577
86 Kensington 3,042,770 \$52,445 Brooklyn 74,758 87 Brownsville 3,004,774 \$28,348 Brooklyn 84,520 88 Ditmas Park 2,996,310 \$40,734 Brooklyn 98,325 89 Laurelton 2,885,555 \$78,667 Queens 40,385	84	Woodhaven	3,058,310	\$60,897	Queens	42,588
87 Brownsville 3,004,774 \$28,348 Brooklyn 84,520 88 Ditmas Park 2,996,310 \$40,734 Brooklyn 98,325 89 Laurelton 2,885,555 \$78,667 Queens 40,385	85	Borough Park	3,055,478	\$34,316	Brooklyn	96,971
88 Ditmas Park 2,996,310 \$40,734 Brooklyn 98,325 89 Laurelton 2,885,555 \$78,667 Queens 40,385	86	Kensington	3,042,770	\$52,445	Brooklyn	74,758
89 Laurelton 2,885,555 \$78,667 Queens 40,385	87	Brownsville	3,004,774	\$28,348	Brooklyn	84,520
	88	Ditmas Park	2,996,310	\$40,734	Brooklyn	98,325
90 Fort George 2,882,590 \$42,721 Manhattan 44,825	89	Laurelton	2,885,555	\$78,667	Queens	40,385
	90	Fort George	2,882,590	\$42,721	Manhattan	44,825

91	Bensonhurst	2,857,202	\$45,472	Brooklyn	80,963
92	Bay Ridge	2,797,143	\$58,261	Brooklyn	72,623
93	Glendale	2,781,184	\$50,799	Queens	99,379
94	Corona	2,757,910	\$45,964	Queens	107,962
95	Bedford Park	2,751,904	\$33,776	Bronx	71,822
96	Ozone Park (South)	2,743,064	\$62,086	Queens	31,004
97	Midwood (East)/ Flatlands (West)	2,733,215	\$55,429	Brooklyn	65,302
98	Midwood	2,690,146	\$42,170	Brooklyn	84,219
99	Morris Heights	2,679,898	\$25,470	Bronx	79,793
100	Ozone Park (North)	2,655,404	\$56,724	Queens	25,950
101	Morrisania	2,626,602	\$23,452	Bronx	87,723
102	East New York (East)	2,618,906	\$35,079	Brooklyn	93,107
103	Richmond Hill (South)	2,616,820	\$56,735	Queens	49,193
104	Maspeth	2,571,530	\$57,474	Queens	32,268
105	West Farms	2,569,311	\$22,307	Bronx	56,084
106	Norwood	2,568,524	\$36,048	Bronx	98,754
107	Soundview	2,469,395	\$30,288	Bronx	68,898
108	Gravesend	2,459,471	\$41,328	Brooklyn	74,606
109	Jackson Heights (North)	2,366,147	\$52,500	Queens	37,244
110	Middle Village	2,354,409	\$69,843	Queens	35,822
111	Jamaica Hills (North)	2,352,444	\$50,450	Queens	61,687
112	Fordham (North)	2,311,184	\$24,618	Bronx	74,859
113	Spuyten Duyvil/ Kingsbridge	2,257,140	\$54,258	Bronx	70,420
114	Murray Hill (East)	2,249,339	\$65,722	Queens	38,317
115	Dyker Heights	2,234,363	\$61,893	Brooklyn	43,929
116	Douglaston	2,213,233	\$90,799	Queens	7,354
117	Woodlawn	1,904,124	\$58,600	Bronx	14,850
118	Hollis	1,900,012	\$60,892	Queens	31,625
119	East Elmhurst	1,863,394	\$53,617	Queens	40,761
120	Flushing (South)	1,846,198	\$41,884	Queens	83,221
121	Williamsbridge/ Baychester	1,844,808	\$57,776	Bronx	71,843
122	Kew Gardens Hills	1,793,059	\$56,608	Queens	41,022

123	Hunts Point	1,748,490	\$25,676	Bronx	12,519
124	Manhattan Beach	1,587,191	\$41,639	Brooklyn	74,630
125	Rosedale	1,539,656	\$84,824	Queens	33,280
126	Bath Beach	1,534,141	\$43,398	Brooklyn	83,156
127	Canarsie	1,524,134	\$61,061	Brooklyn	97,217
128	Flushing (Central)	1,521,194	\$46,566	Queens	56,258
129	Whitestone	1,479,598	\$71,978	Queens	40,872
130	East Flatbush	1,446,428	\$48,400	Brooklyn	79,572
131	Jamaica Hills (South)	1,443,063	\$42,887	Queens	32,821
132	College Point	1,285,768	\$58,465	Queens	23,037
133	Sheepshead Bay	1,270,116	\$51,725	Brooklyn	81,030
134	Fresh Meadows (South)	1,248,244	\$71,350	Queens	13,499
135	South Ozone Park (West)	1,201,171	\$59,832	Queens	48,449
136	South Ozone Park (East)	1,164,868	\$62,114	Queens	17,636
137	Coney Island	1,120,071	\$27,481	Brooklyn	42,535
138	Queens Village (North)	1,104,744	\$69,330	Queens	20,307
139	Parkchester/ Van Nest	1,097,589	\$45,864	Bronx	77,369
140	Fresh Meadows/ Utopia	1,066,412	\$55,492	Queens	41,924
141	Arrochar/Shore Acres	1,062,189	\$70,758	Staten Island	42,006
142	Hammels	1,033,867	\$50,570	Queens	11,335
143	Stapleton/Clifton	977,862	\$53,168	Staten Island	43,084
144	Morris Park	972,229	\$52,347	Bronx	51,730
145	Oakland Gardens	920,930	\$72,909	Queens	34,751
146	Bay Terrace	889,208	\$76,183	Queens	19,865
147	Bellaire	865,057	\$68,890	Queens	28,311
148	Bellerose/Floral Park	727,542	\$82,301	Queens	19,575
149	Howard Beach	726,623	\$66,790	Queens	28,094
150	Hollis Hills	726,295	\$70,108	Queens	24,877
151	Riverdale/ Fieldston	713,734	\$71,798	Bronx	22,030
152	St. Albans	713,520	\$70,672	Queens	37,176
153	Glen Oaks	684,920	\$81,709	Queens	14,500

154	Springfield Gardens/Rochdale	629,016	\$59,229	Queens	62,809
155	Arverne	569,033	\$43,354	Queens	17,674
156	Cambria Heights	485,002	\$83,099	Queens	18,722
157	Edenwald	468,871	\$44,012	Bronx	70,609
158	Little Neck	468,367	\$82,332	Queens	17,865
159	Clason Point	449,405	\$35,866	Bronx	58,660
160	West Staten Island	377,103	\$77,242	Staten Island	87,276
161	Far Rockaway	271,012	\$39,409	Queens	61,091
162	Co-Op City	267,187	\$43,629	Bronx	43,231
163	Belle Harbor	241,161	\$76,944	Queens	21,725
164	Throggs Neck	233,590	\$65,450	Bronx	44,862
165	Port Richmond	220,249	\$61,925	Staten Island	25,227
166	Oakwood	201,473	\$75,807	Staten Island	55,902
167	Flatlands	201,422	\$68,431	Brooklyn	94,259
168	North Staten Island	181,994	\$56,848	Staten Island	38,885
169	East New York (South)	180,235	\$26,275	Brooklyn	12,879
170	Great Kills	180,062	\$88,075	Staten Island	28,939
171	Elm Park	151,435	\$56,841	Staten Island	16,811
172	City Island	100,000	\$70,078	Bronx	4,248
173	Mariners Harbor	94,405	\$51,537	Staten Island	24,537
174	Annadale/Arden Heights	63,657	\$85,324	Staten Island	60,081
175	Tottenville	60,135	\$86,457	Staten Island	14,829
176	South Staten Island	46,509	\$86,297	Staten Island	32,646
177	Breezy Point	42,623	\$87,636	Queens	4,223

DISCUSSION OF RANKINGS

Several factors are evident from the data:

Income and access are related at the top and bottom of the rankings.

Specific neighborhoods exemplify a close relationship between access and economic standing: Tribeca in Manhattan is ranked seventh in job access, and has the second-highest median household income in the city (\$210,125). Unemployment is at a low 5%, and 77% of working residents commute either by public transportation or walking. The neighborhood enjoys seamless access to job opportunities and reflects this factor in its high employment rates and incomes.

The southern end of East New York, in the southeastern section of Brooklyn, has a median income of \$26,275, an unemployment rate of 14%, and a low job access rank (169/177). The neighborhood's major housing complex, Spring Creek Towers, sits 15 minutes by bus from the nearest subway station. Residents of East New York lack ready access to job opportunities for economic improvement due to expensive and time-intensive commutes.

However, the relationship between transit access and income is not always evident; some neighborhoods within this study are outliers. These neighborhoods show above-average incomes despite limited mass transit access. Tottenville (Staten Island), for example, is a small neighborhood (population of 14,829) with very limited transit access (rank 175/177), a median household income of \$86,457 and a low unemployment rate of 6%. In Tottenville, most working residents commute by private car (80%) and only 17% commute by public transportation. In outlier neighborhoods like Tottenville, private cars give residents increased access to job opportunities that would not be accessible via transit, explaining the higher than average median income.

Another outlier is the Queens neighborhood of Briarwood-Jamaica Center, ranked at number nine. The area is situated far from the Manhattan neighborhoods comprising the remaining top ten ranked neighborhoods. However, the Jamaica transit hub is located within this zip code, giving local residents express commutes to jobs in Manhattan, Long Island and as

far as New Jersey. In addition, the area is situated adjacent to John F. Kennedy airport, which employs 69,000 people. In Briarwood-Jamaica Center, 67% of residents commute by public transit, taking advantage of relatively easy access to 4,119,763 jobs within one hour.

The middle third of job accessibility seems to suffer the most.

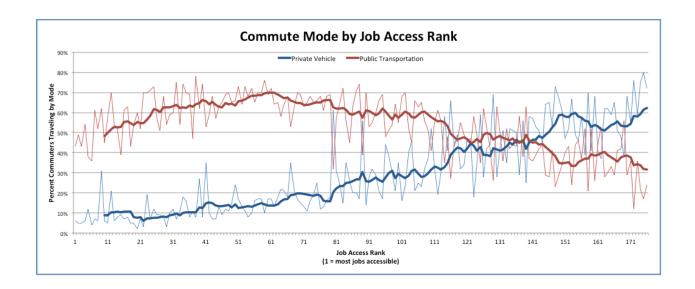
The rankings, along with the summary chart above, show the swoosh-shaped relationship between transit and income in New York City: the highest incomes are connected to the areas with the most access, and low transit access still provides average incomes, because residents choose to commute by private car rather than utilize limited transit. Thus, the middle third have some (but not a choice of) transit; they are the most limited in job opportunities, and have the lowest incomes of the three sets:

Ranked Neighborhoods	Median Household Income	Unemployment Rate	Commute by Transit or Walking (avg)	Commute by Car (avg)
1-59	\$81,286	8.1%	79.1%	10.8%
60-119	\$46,937	12.6%	67.1%	27.6%
120-177	\$59,949	10.4%	44.2%	52.1%

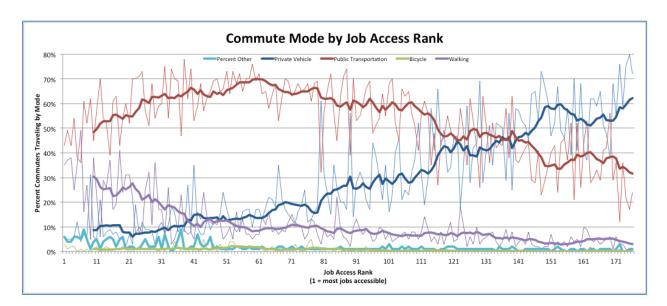
This chart shows the mode of transportation among the ranked neighborhoods; note the high proportion of transit usage in high-access neighborhoods and majority of car usage in low transit access. The middle third uses a mix, but neither option is especially productive in these areas.

Cars compensate for low transit access.

In areas lacking sufficient transit access, commuters rely on private vehicles. In the chart below showing commute mode by job access rank, the predominance of car usage in low transitaccess areas is evident.

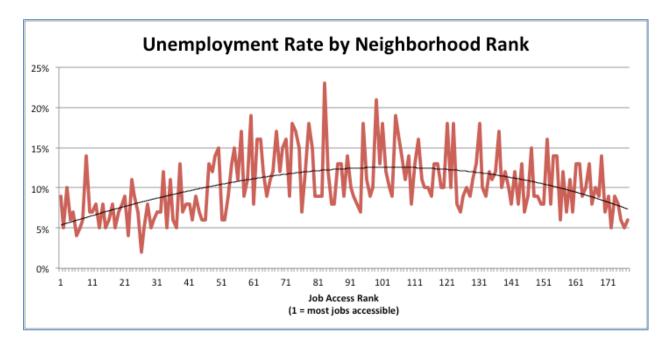


Greater transit access also diversifies modes of commuting. In neighborhoods with dense transit access, other commuting modes, including walking, cycling and telecommuting are also prominent. This diversification of commute modes demonstrates the increased access to job opportunities afforded in these areas through multiple means of access.



The middle third has the highest rates of unemployment.

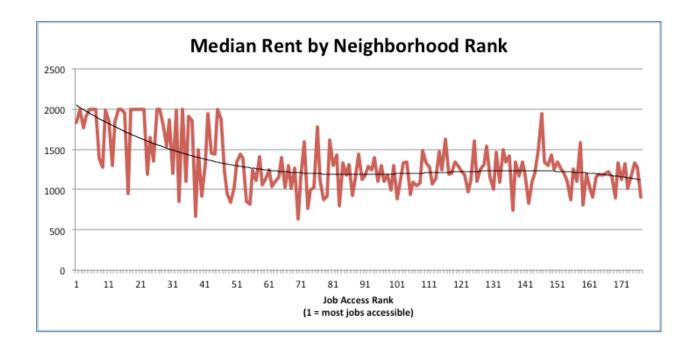
The rate of unemployment across New York City neighborhoods peaks in the middle third. In the chart below, neighborhoods unemployment rates are shown by rank; unemployment peaks at 23 percent in the Manhattan neighborhood of North-East Harlem, which is ranked 83rd.



The relationship between transit access and employment levels was recently explored in a study showing that that improved transit access lessens the duration of unemployment. (Andersson, 2014.) In New York, those improvements are essential for the middle-third of neighborhoods.

Rents rise with number of jobs accessible by transit.

Greater access to job centers consistently correlates with higher rents. The chart below shows that median rents in the ten highest-access areas average \$1,891, while the rents for the ten lowest-access areas average \$1,122. These figures demonstrate the ever-present desire of New Yorkers to be close to transit for both employment and entertainment.



Analysis of the neighborhood rankings shows that two-thirds of New York City's neighborhoods need improved transportation access: the lowest-access third should have more options that allow them to avoid driving, which adds congestion to the streets and expenses to car-owning households. The middle-third neighborhoods need options to help fill the gaps resulting from limited transit access. These neighborhoods would be benefit from expanded transit, more modal options and intelligent transit systems. On the following pages, these recommendations will be explored for application to particular neighborhoods.

RECOMMENDATIONS

To improve access to employment opportunities, the NYU Rudin Center recommends these infrastructure and policy modifications:

Increase the number of transportation modal options across the city.

New York City works best when residents have several options for their daily commutes and can easily switch between transportation modes. This speaks to both the adaptability of New Yorkers and the presence of subways, buses, taxis, sidewalks, cars and car shares, bikes and bike share. However, many of these options are not available in concentration citywide; to improve economic opportunity, New Yorkers need several modes regularly available. Specifically:

Develop smart bus systems that transport clusters of New Yorkers from low-access

neighborhoods to transit hubs.

These dynamic, 12-passenger buses should be summoned via smartphone or text message and be able to accept multiple forms of payment: cash, MetroCards, credit cards, and Apple and Google Pay. These demand-responsive buses, which can augment the existing transit and dollar van systems, will be public-private partnerships. They may be operated by systems like Bridj, which is already transporting commuters through Boston. Bridi uses search and social data to refine bus routes according to user needs, and could serve as a valuable model for intelligent

Neighborhood Spotlight

Red Hook, Brooklyn (ranked 72/177)

Recommended improvement: Smart shuttle to bring Red Hook residents to Downtown Brooklyn transit centers.

Travel time reduction: From 50 to 28 minutes to Midtown

Additional jobs accessible within one hour: 89,498

transit in the future. In New York, the NYU Rudin Center recommends smart buses for these neighborhoods in particular:

¹ Seelye, Katharine Q. "To Lure Bostonians, New 'Pop-Up' Bus Service Learns Riders' Rhythms," *The New York* Times, June 4, 2014.

- From Red Hook and Bay Ridge in Brooklyn to the Downtown Brooklyn transit hubs
- Whitestone and Maspeth in Queens and Throggs Neck in the Bronx to East Midtown Manhattan
- Hunts Point in the Bronx to transit connections at 149th Street and Grand Concourse

Smart buses will carry commuters to transit quickly, which will reduce their travel time to job centers. This new mode will also help them avoid driving, which will mitigate congestion on city roadways and reduce household expenses. New York City should nurture development of these alternate modes of transportation by allowing and encouraging them to operate in low-transit areas.

Expand vehicle-share options, including car and bike shares.

With access to vehicles when New Yorkers need them, transportation around the city will be vastly improved. Resources like Car2Go can transport residents from low-transit areas to transit-dense locations with the convenience of car travel, without contributing to congestion in central business districts. Citi Bike share and related bicycle infrastructure also improves transportation options while providing an active transport mode. These sharing modes are becoming essential segments in New York's transportation landscape, and their expansion

should be encouraged for reduced congestion, increased health, and increased access to employment.

Build Bus Rapid Transit in key corridors.

New York City's Select Bus Service, its variation on Bus
Rapid Transit, has been markedly successful in its
current buildouts. However, a true Bus Rapid Transit
system – with exclusive lanes, pre-boarding fare
payment and traffic signal priority – should be built out

Neighborhood Spotlight

East New York (South), Brooklyn (ranked 169/177)

Recommended improvement:
Incorporate the BM5 bus, which
currently runs from Spring Creek
Towers to Manhattan, into a Bus
Rapid Transit route along
Woodhaven Blvd.

Travel time reduction: From 48 to 36 minutes to Midtown

Manhattan

Additional jobs accessible within one hour: 1,328,088

in key locations, including Flatlands Avenue: A BRT corridor should start at Spring Creek Towers, follow Flatlands Avenue across the lower midsection of Brooklyn, stop at the hospital cluster on 8th Avenue and 62nd Street, and end at Industry City in Sunset Park. This route will connect riders with the B, D, F, L, N, Q and R trains, and jobs throughout Brooklyn's growing health care industry and burgeoning Sunset Park innovation hub. This route, along the B82 line, is currently being planned, and should be implemented considering riders' concerns about on-time performance.²

Support informal transportation networks.

Many New York City commuters rely on "unofficial" transportation networks. Dollar vans, which carry up to 120,000 passengers every day, fill in transit gaps throughout Brooklyn and Queens, often with 45-60 vans an hour running through corridors where buses only pass through four times an hour.³ More formalized non-public transportation systems also support large numbers of riders: for example, the Senior Citizen Transportation Program at Coney Island's Jewish Community Center, provides 5,400 riders free trips throughout Brooklyn annually. ⁴ This JCC transportation resource is sponsored by the Federal Transit Administration, New York State Department of Transportation, and New York City Departments of the Aging and Youth and Community Development. However, both the JCC program and the dollar vans are not affiliated officially, or integrated fully, with the New York City transportation landscape. Policymakers should work to integrate these services with existing resources to ensure transportation access across the city through both formal and informal mechanisms.

² South Brooklyn SBS Feedback Portal. http://nycdotfeedbackportals.nyc/south-brooklyn-sbs/south-brooklyn-sbs-

³ Margonelli, Lisa. "The (Illegal) Private Bus System That Works," *The Atlantic*, October 5, 2011.

⁴ Jewish Community Council of Greater Coney Island: Senior Transportation. Accessed November 12, 2014. http://www.jccgci.org/services/senior-services/senior-transportation/

More modes will increase the likelihood that New Yorkers can reach their jobs on time, will alleviate congestion, and increase the number of jobs accessible from residences.

Encourage remote work.

Many information-based jobs can now be conducted anywhere, and can and should be more evenly distributed across New York City. If policymakers incentivize distributing the workforce (to places like neighborhood libraries and co-working spaces), employees will reach their places of work more easily, the productive workday will be expanded without the hassle of commuting, and workers in more isolated locations will have access to more job opportunities. Approximately four percent of New Yorkers work from home; that number is as high as 10 percent in the West Village and the Upper West Side, despite those neighborhoods' dense transportation access. Because New York City will soon have citywide free wi-fi, working remotely will now be even simpler. These employees are reducing congestion on transit and in traffic, and can work as needs arise, rather than during traditional business hours, which are becoming increasingly irrelevant. Working remotely will be beneficial to employees, employers, and New York's transportation system.

Maximize the existing system.

Although New York's landscape makes it extremely difficult to build new infrastructure, the Metropolitan Transportation Authority should seek to improve upon existing resources:

Revitalize unused tracks and build essential transfers.

 Revitalize express service on the #5 track between 180th Streets and Nereid Avenue in the Bronx using dormant tracks and platforms. This express capacity, which

⁵ Engel, Evan. "NYC announces free city-wide Wi-Fi with next-gen pay phones," Mashable.com. November 17, 2014.

- complements #2 train service, has been discontinued, but should be re-opened to shorten commutes between the Bronx and Manhattan.
- Opening key transfer points to walking transfers will help lower-income New Yorkers maximize their use of the subway system. These out-of-system transfers, often to subway entrances two blocks away, are free to residents with unlimited MetroCards, but require a new payment from pay-per-ride users. Because lower-income New Yorkers are unlikely to purchase unlimited cards, they are unable to take advantage of the system's discounts. This policy decision severely limits lower-income New Yorkers' use of the subway system, elongating trips and challenging these riders. Building a free transfer in South Williamsburg between the G and J/M trains at Broadway and Lorimer will help the 2,000 riders who use this transfer every day⁶, including many from East

New York, an area already lacking rapid transit service.

These adjustments should be included in the MTA's next capital plan to improve the system incrementally for thousands of New Yorkers.

Expand CityTicket to make commuter railroads more inclusive.

The CityTicket, which allows riders to take Metro-North and Long Island Rail Roads within New York City at a reduced rate, is currently limited to weekends. While the railroads operate at maximum capacity during rush hours, they should be available to city residents off-peak on weekdays. This option would allow city residents in

Neighborhood Spotlight

Norwood, Bronx (ranked 106/177)

Recommended improvement: Expand the CityTicket to weekdays, allowing NYC residents to ride commuter rail at a discount; Norwood residents would board Metro-North at the Williams Bridge

Travel time reduction: From 48 to 33 minutes to Midtown Manhattan (versus subway

Additional jobs accessible within one hour: 527,819

⁶ "Review of the G Line," MTA New York City Transit. July 10, 2013. http://web.mta.info/nyct/service/G LineReview 7 10 13.pdf

subway-sparse areas to ride the railroads to their workplaces often in half the time, giving them access to more job opportunities and maximizing revenue on in-service trains.

Rapidly expand wireless access on subways.

As subway stations are lit with wireless access for customer use, pairing Transit Wireless' work with ongoing track work should accelerate the program. With internet and mobile phone service in more subway stations, commutes will become more productive, and subway agents will become more informed about the system's status.

Conclusion

It is evident that the varied levels of transit access across New York affect residents' employment levels, travel modes and incomes. Reduced transit access is correlated with higher rates of unemployment, and low transit access typically causes residents to drive to work in privately-owned vehicles. These imbalances perpetuate issues of income inequality and traffic congestion, limiting both economic and physical mobility for many in the city.

By improving transportation access across New York City, policymakers can help to improve the standing of those residents with insufficient modes to reach significant numbers of job opportunities. More job opportunities will lead to greater upward economic mobility.

To improve citywide transportation access, the NYU Rudin Center recommends:

New York City policymakers must increase the number of transportation modes available to residents across the city. This includes championing the development of new modes, such as intelligent bus systems; incentivizing expansion of emerging modes, including vehicle and bike shares; working toward the buildout of existing modes, including Bus Rapid Transit; and supporting the functions of informal transportation networks like dollar-vans.

Transportation infrastructure is unwieldy to build, so New York City policymakers must maximize use of the existing transportation landscape: unused infrastructure should be revitalized, policies should encourage use of all modes, and wireless access should be rapidly deployed throughout the subway system to make commute times more productive. By improving existing transportation resources and expanding them citywide, all New Yorkers will benefit from increased access to job opportunities and thus from greater economic mobility.