# Child and Family Health

Authored by Dr. Heather McClure

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Introduction

This section of the *Issue Scan* builds upon recent research that examines the location of poor children in the District of Columbia in order to support neighborhood-based programs focused upon family strengthening and community revitalization.[1] Poverty's negative impacts can be buffered by effective services directed to District residents who experience the greatest socioeconomic challenges. These services can have a generational ripple effect; through buffering families and children against poverty-related health, academic and social problems, accessible high-quality services can reduce the vulnerability of those born in poverty to remaining within the ranks of the poor.[2]
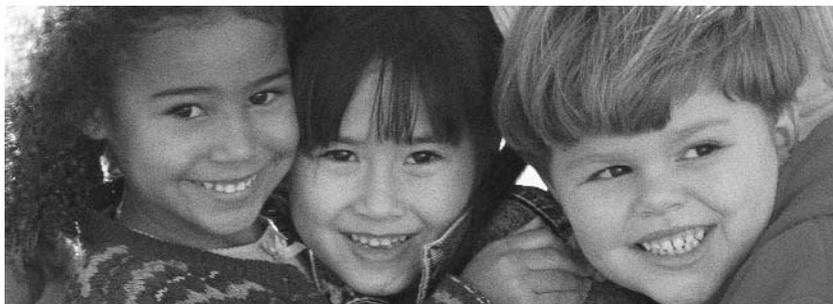
The well-being of parents profoundly affects that of their children, in no more obvious case than that of pregnant women. Prenatal care, marital status and education may significantly influence birth outcomes, and influence the degree to which children may be at an initial disadvantage from birth. Research shows that single mothers have a greater tendency to start prenatal care later in pregnancy and are more likely to receive inadequate prenatal care.[3] In addition, teen pregnancy is associated with increased risk of infant low-birth weight (in the U.S., defined as an infant's weight at birth of less than five and a half pounds).[4] The disadvantages to infants born with low-birth weight can be considerable throughout their lifetimes: low-birth weight is a leading cause of neonatal and infant mortality and correlates with greater morbidity, developmental delays and slower post-natal growth.[5] Recent research shows that chronic diseases in adulthood, most notably diabetes, hypertension and cardiovascular disease, have origins in the fetal period.[6]

This section of the Issue Scan seeks to document

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[1] Comey, Jennifer T., Mark Rubin and Peter A. Tatian. September 2003. Measuring Need for Youth Services in D.C.: Comparing Poverty and TANF Data. Discussion Brief No. 1, from DC Agenda and the Urban Institute.

[2] Lichter, Daniel T. and Martha L. Crowley. 2002. Poverty in America: Beyond Welfare Reform. Population Bulletin, from Population Reference Bureau. Quoted in Comey, Rubin & Tatian.

[3] According to Kids Count in the District of Columbia: 9th Annual Fact Book 2002, "generally, prenatal care is considered adequate if (1) the mother began receiving it in the first three months, and (2) had at least nine visits if the pregnancy lasted the full nine months, or proportionally fewer if the gestation was shorter." (Annie E. Casey Foundation).

[4] Scholl, Theresa O. "Teenage Pregnancy." The Cambridge Encyclopedia of Human Growth and Development. Edited by Stanley J. Ulijaszek, Francis E. Johnston, and Michael A. Preece. (Cambridge University Press: United Kingdom, 1998): 312. It is important to note that average birth-weights vary considerably around the world.

[5] Schell, Lawrence C. "Environmental Factors Influencing Birth Weight." The Cambridge Encyclopedia of Human Growth and Development: 292.

[6] Adair, Linda S. "Early Nutrition Conditions and Later Risk of Disease." In The Nutrition Transition: Diet and Disease in the Developing World: Diet and Disease in the Developing World. Edited by Benjamin Caballero and Barry M. Popkin. (Amsterdam: Academic Press, 2002): 129.

the well-being of infants, children and pregnant women in relation to poverty in the District. Though there are numerous indicators that would allow for a multilayered portrait of child, family and community health, this chapter will focus principally on infant mortality, low-birth weight, teen pregnancy and prenatal care [for a discussion of child poverty and Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF) in the District, see Comey, Rubin and Tatian]. Through a study of the links among poverty and maternal and child health, we may identify those locations in which community-based organizations are having a positive impact on health, and those geographic areas that require an intense and coordinated response in order to improve the present and future health of neighborhoods, wards and the District as a whole.

Data Indicators

This section draws methodologically upon the discussion of Comey, Rubin and Tatian in its emphasis upon the location of the greatest number of children in poverty as an indicator of the greatest need for effective services. Data from the DC Data Warehouse make it possible for this report to describe areas of need in relation to wards, neighborhoods and neighborhood clusters. In many instances, 2000 data are the most current data available. Updates will periodically be made available on-line through the DC Data Warehouse provided by the DC Agenda Neighborhood Information Service and the Urban Institute. Much of this chapter relies upon neighborhood cluster data in order to provide the most detailed view of the intersections among child poverty, infant mortality, low-birth weight and prenatal care. Finally, much of the data will be presented as both

shares and rates to allow for multiple perspectives on family and child well-being.

Child Poverty

More than 114,112 children live in the District, with 39% (44,399) of all children living in Wards 7 and 8, east of the Anacostia River. More than half of the District's poor children, 19,100 out of a total of 36,515, live in these same wards. West of the Anacostia River, the greatest numbers of poor children live in Wards 1, 5 and 6 at 4,572, 4,265 and 4,237 respectively (see Figure 1).
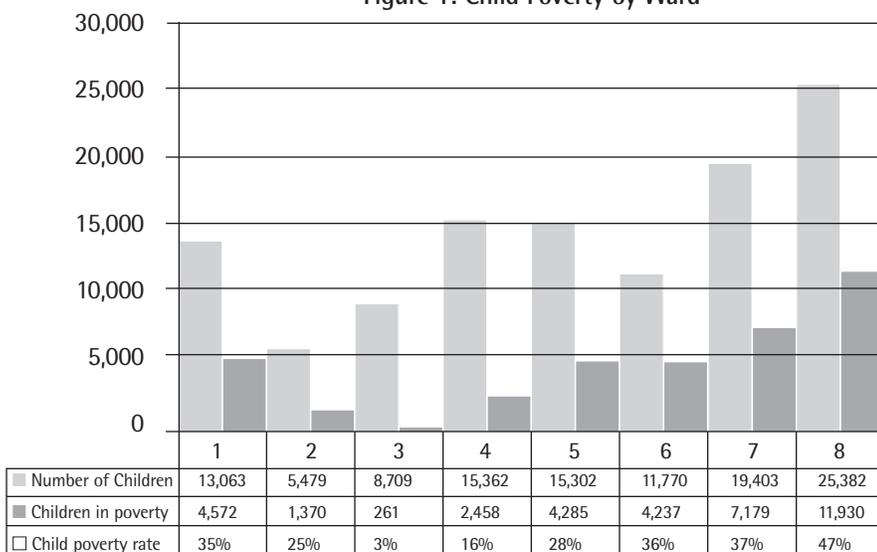
Despite the economic boom and a 5% national drop in the number of children living in poverty between1990-2000, the number of poor children in DC increased by 24%. As Comey, Rubin and Tatian point out, currently more than 31% of District children live in poverty. Poverty rates for District children increased from 25% in 1990 to 32% in 2000. This means that one out of every three children in the District lives in poverty. Though child poverty is identifiably concentrated in key areas in the city, it also spans across the city. In half of the District's wards, one in three children lives in poverty, with slight reductions in two of the three remaining wards. In Ward 2, the number of children in poverty decreases to one in four and, in Ward 4, to one in six.

The great majority of poor children in DC are African-American. By 2000, the number of poor African-American children rose by 19% to a current level of approximately 89% of all children in poverty. Poverty rates for African-American children also went up, from 29% to 38%.

Latinos are the second largest racial/ethnic group in the District, and make up 8% of all children in poverty. Nearly two-thirds of all DC Latinos live in Wards 1 and 4, which are the sites of the highest concentration of Latino families living in poverty. Between 1990 and 2000, the numbers of Latino children grew by 66%, surpassing Census predictions. The poverty rate for Latino children remained stable, however, at 26%.

As Comey, Rubin and Tatian show, Asian/Pacific Islander and white children comprise the next largest groups, though they are slightly more than 1% each of the share of poor children. The number of Asian/Pacific Islander children in poverty is growing more quickly than all other groups, and their poverty rate now equals that of Latinos. After Wards 7 and 8, the highest concentration of poor children in the District is in Ward 1, home to 12% of all poor children in the

Figure 1: Child Poverty by Ward

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Number of Children	13,063	5,479	8,709	15,362	15,302	11,770	19,403	25,382
Children in poverty	4,572	1,370	261	2,458	4,285	4,237	7,179	11,930
Child poverty rate	35%	25%	3%	16%	28%	36%	37%	47%

city, including the greatest numbers of poor Latino and Asian/Pacific Islander children.

Over half of all District children in poverty (18,401 out of 36,515 total) live in just seven neighborhood clusters (see Figure 2). The greatest numbers of poor children live in Congress Heights (4,853; Ward 8), followed by Columbia Heights (3,569; Ward 1), Capitol View/Marshall Heights (2,317; Ward 7), Sheridan (2,161; Ward 8); Douglass (2,100; Ward 8); Brightwood Park (1,758; Ward 4), and Deanwood (1,643; Ward 7). As Comey, Rubin and Tatian indicate, these clusters include varying racial/ethnic compositions: Congress Heights and Capitol View/ Marshall Heights are predominantly African-American (97% and 98% respectively), while Columbia Heights is ethnically diverse, with significant immigrant communities. Brightwood Park stands out as a relatively new site of concentrated child poverty, and may be linked to poverty in Columbia Heights in Ward 1. In recent years, as gentrification has pushed poor families out of Columbia Heights, many may have relocated to Ward 4. Adjacent to Ward 1, Ward 4 offers more affordable rental housing in proximity to residents' established social, economic and extended family networks in their former neighborhoods.

Given population projections in the next decade, the growth in the number of children—including immigrant children and children in poverty—will pose serious problems for DC unless there are new innovations in social and health services to meet their needs. To bring about these new innovations, creative, collaborative and effective advocacy and intervention are needed immediately. This data overview is a first step toward the identification of the areas of greatest need in support of effective decision-making and resource allocation directed toward and conducted within communities in poverty.

Births

Between 1998 and 2001, the overall birth rate in the District fell, with the most substantial population losses occurring east of the Anacostia River. Birth rates in Wards 2 through 4 increased, while the rates in Wards 1, and 5 through 8 decreased. The highest numbers of births in 2001 were in Wards 8 (1,417), 1 (1,057), 7 (1,022), and 4 (1,021) (see Figure 3). By neighborhood, Columbia Heights/Mt. Pleasant registers many more births (1,019) than Congress Heights (636), the neighborhood with the second highest number of births. By neighborhood cluster, Columbia Heights shows the greatest number of births (809), followed by Congress Heights (598) and

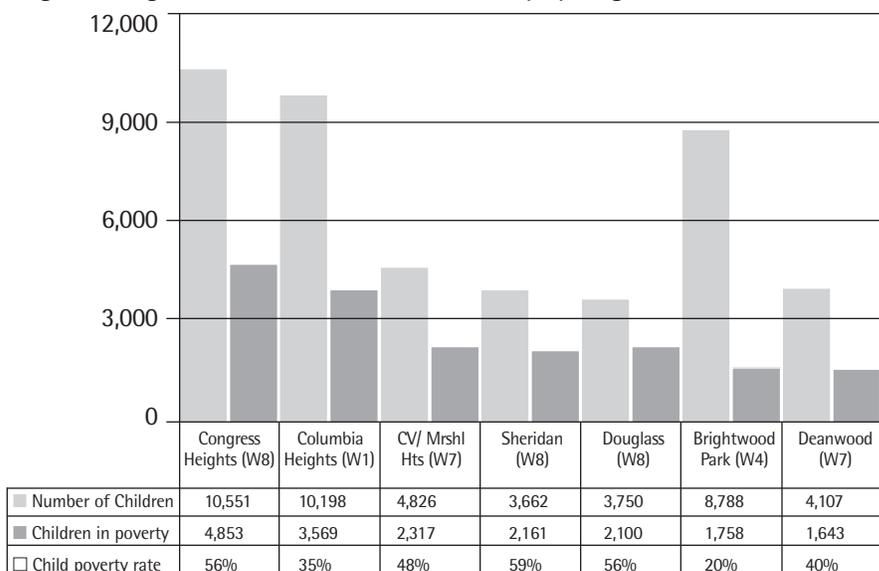**Figure 2: Highest Number of Children in Poverty by Neighborhood Cluster, 2000**

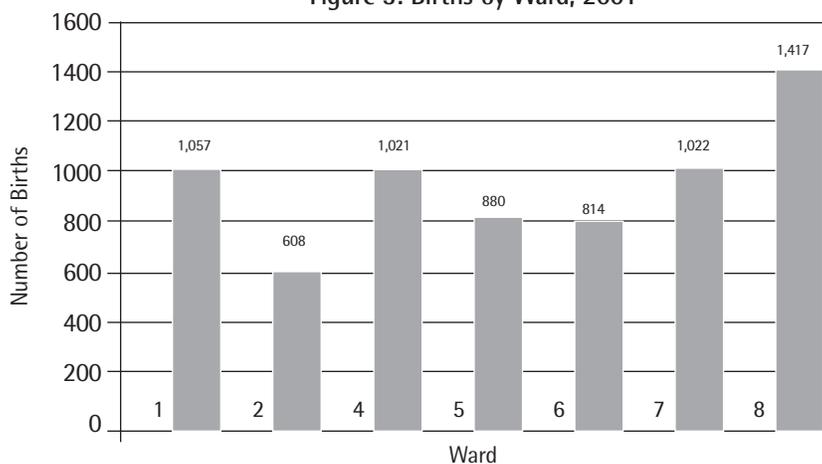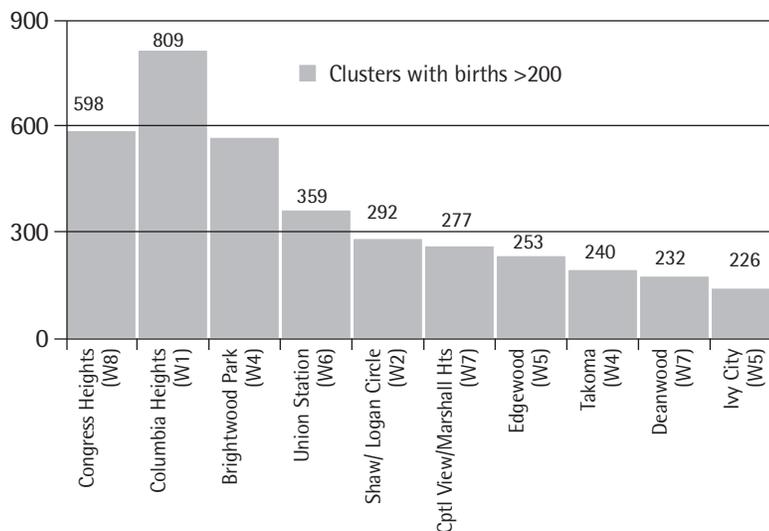|	Congress Heights (W8)	Columbia Heights (W1)	CV/ Mrshl Hts (W7)	Sheridan (W8)	Douglass (W8)	Brightwood Park (W4)	Deanwood (W7)
Number of Children	10,551	10,198	4,826	3,662	3,750	8,788	4,107
Children in poverty	4,853	3,569	2,317	2,161	2,100	1,758	1,643
Child poverty rate	56%	35%	48%	59%	56%	20%	40%

Figure 3: Births by Ward, 2001

Figure 4: Births by Neighborhood Cluster, 2001

Brightwood Park (581). A ranking of neighborhood cluster by number of births can be found in Figure 4.

Prenatal Care

In recent years in the District, the numbers of pregnant women receiving adequate prenatal care have increased. In 2001, 4,056 births were to women who received adequate prenatal care compared with 3,668 in 2000. In the District as a whole, 59.4% of births in 2001 had adequate prenatal care.[7] East of the River, 2,222 births (or 48.6%) received adequate prenatal care.

Data on the numbers of women who received adequate, intermediate and inadequate prenatal care in 2000 and 2001 are included in Table 1.[8] Though births with intermediate prenatal care are reported below, this article emphasizes those births with adequate care, in keeping with the recommendation of the *Every Kid Counts in the District of Columbia: 9th Annual Factbook 2002.* Intermediate care, which is neither adequate nor severely inadequate, is not sufficient for ensuring the most positive health outcomes possible for District women and their babies. However, these indicators can highlight those areas of the city in which prenatal care services are utilized, though not as fully as they might be.

Those wards with the highest number of births are also those with the highest numbers of women who receive adequate prenatal care and women who receive intermediate or inadequate prenatal care. Importantly, at no level of analysis (from the ward down to the neighborhood level) do the numbers of women receiving inadequate care rise above those of women receiving adequate care. However, there exist clear differences across wards in the percentages of births with adequate care versus intermediate and inadequate prenatal care combined. Ward 3 has the greatest proportion of births that receive adequate prenatal care at 80.6%, followed by Wards 2 (69.7%), 6 (61.8%), 4 (61.1%), 1 (60.5%) and 5 (57.8%). In Wards 7 and 8, at 47.3% and 49.6% respectively, fewer than half of all births (for which prenatal care data are available) were to women who received adequate prenatal care.

This report concentrates upon areas of greatest need in the District and, thus, tends not to focus

upon Ward 3 neighborhoods that are among the most affluent in the city. However, the disparities between the overall health in Ward 3 (whose residents experience the best health in DC) and all other District locations are illustrative because they suggest the degree to which prenatal care may impact upon health outcomes. In Ward 3, the proportion of adequate to intermediate and inadequate care is approximately 4:1. In other words, for every 4 births, only 1 birth had intermediate or inadequate prenatal care. In Wards 7 and 8, this proportion is approximately 1:1. In these wards, the number of births that had intermediate and inadequate care is greater than those with adequate care, with the result that for every birth that had adequate care, slightly more than 1 birth had insufficient care.

Neighborhood level data reflect trends similar to those of the wards. Shaw has the highest percentage of births with adequate care at 60.7%, with the second highest rate in Columbia Heights/Mt. Pleasant at 58.8%. Though Benning Road/Ft. Dupont Park and Marshall Heights have among the lowest percentage of births with adequate care at 44.6%, the greatest numbers of births with insufficient care (intermediate and inadequate) are in Congress Heights at 319.

Of the seven neighborhood clusters in the District with over 20% of children in poverty, three clusters are sites in which at least 50% of births in 2001 have adequate prenatal care (see Table 1). Columbia Heights has the highest percentage of births with adequate care at 59%, followed by Brightwood Park at 54.6%, and Douglass at 52%. Importantly, though the numbers of births with adequate care increased between 2000 and 2001 in all clusters with the exception of Sheridan and Douglass, the percentage of births with adequate prenatal care increased only in the clusters of Congress Heights and Douglass.[9]

Teen Births

Between 1998 and 2001, teen births in the District decreased 13.3% (to 1,015 births in 2001), with greater decreases in births to adolescents East of the River (by -16.5%). Decreases in births to teen mothers occurred in all wards except Ward 5 whose rate increased a miniscule .01% (see Table 2). The

[7] The data on births with adequate, intermediate and inadequate prenatal care do not account for all births. Because prenatal care data are unknown for a certain percentage of births, the total for this section is the sum of all births for which prenatal care data are available. Of note is the reduction between 2000 and 2001 of the % of births for which prenatal care is unknown. In 2000, births with unknown prenatal care ranged between 10% and 25% of all births. In 2001, between 7% and 14% of births had unknown prenatal care.
[8] Adequacy of prenatal care is measured with the Kessner Index, which incorporates information from three items recorded on birth certificates-the length of gestation, timing of the first prenatal care visit, and number of visits- into one index (see http://www.tdh.state.tx.us/bvs/stats95/text/kessner.htm). Although this index measures quantity of care better than either the number or timing of prenatal visits alone, it does not measure quality of care.
[9] Longer term studies are required to determine if the % changes between 2000 and 2001 at the cluster level in births with adequate care are reflective of more enduring trends.

TABLE 1: Prenatal Care, 2000–2001

	Births with Adequate Care		Births with Inadequate Care		Births with Intermediate Care		Total Births		Percentage of Births with Adequate Care	
	2000	2001	2000	2001	2000	2001	2000	2001	2000	2001
DC	3,668	4,056	907	841	1,612	1,936	6,187	6,833	59.3%	59.4%
East of the River	1,054	1,080	429	424	654	718	2,137	2,222	49.3%	48.6%
Wards										
Ward 1	531	552	89	79	220	281	840	912	63.2%	60.5%
Ward 2	313	389	61	44	107	125	481	558	65.1%	69.7%
Ward 3	473	572	41	32	114	106	628	710	75.3%	80.6%
Ward 4	500	552	75	89	182	263	757	904	66.1%	61.1%
Ward 5	381	447	97	81	177	245	655	773	58.2%	57.8%
Ward 6	412	453	111	90	153	190	676	733	60.9%	61.8%
Ward 7	420	440	153	167	252	324	825	931	50.90%	47.3%
Ward 8	638	650	280	258	406	402	1,324	1,310	48.20%	49.6%
Targeted Neighborhoods										
Benning Ridge/Ft. Dupont Park	80	82	31	40	57	62	168	184	47.6%	44.6%
Columbia Heights/Mt. Pleasant	518	520	98	77	226	288	842	885	61.5%	58.8%
Deanwood	52	63	17	32	52	45	121	140	43.0%	45.0%
Marshall Heights	39	50	15	16	24	46	78	112	50.0%	44.6%
Shaw	56	88	11	13	34	44	101	145	55.4%	60.7%
Southwest Washington/Navy Yard	66	60	23	22	45	39	134	121	49.3%	49.6%
Neighborhood Clusters with Highest Child Poverty (20%+)										
Brightwood Park	263	277	45	67	110	163	418	507	62.9%	54.6%
Capitol View/Marshall Heights	88	117	38	49	65	90	191	256	46.1%	45.7%
Columbia Heights	392	410	79	58	175	227	646	695	60.7%	59.0%
Congress Heights	226	254	117	121	178	181	521	556	43.4%	45.7%
Deanwood	92	98	28	35	63	74	183	207	50.3%	47.3%
Douglass	94	77	27	26	62	45	183	148	51.4%	52.0%
Sheridan	86	71	58	33	59	70	203	174	42.4%	40.8%

greatest numbers of teen births in 2001 were in Wards 8, 7, 5 and 1 (at 259, 199, 176 and 132 respectively), as were the highest proportions of teen births to total births, with Wards 5, 7, 8 and 1 at 20%, 19.5%, 18.3%, 12.5% respectively.

At the neighborhood level, data show clear reductions across all neighborhoods in this survey, with the exception of Deanwood, which registered an increase of 1 teen birth or 2.6% between 1998 and 2001. Of the neighborhoods with the most teen births in 2001, including Columbia Heights/Mt. Pleasant (137), Congress Heights (133), and Benning Road/Ft. Dupont Park (33), the greatest percent decreases were in Benning Ridge/Ft. Dupont Park (-29.8%) and Congress Heights (-24.4%), with Columbia Heights' teen birth rate down -8.7%. Those neighborhoods with the greatest proportion of teen to total births are Deanwood (25%), Congress Heights (20.9%) and Marshall Heights (19.8%).

Of neighborhood clusters whose child poverty rates are 20% and higher, clusters with the most teen births are ranked (see Table 3). The top three neighborhood clusters in terms of numbers of teen births are Columbia Heights, Congress Heights and Brightwood Park-these are also the sites of the greatest number of total births. Additional indicators of need for services are the proportion of teen births to total births (see Table 4). In 2001, the top four neighborhood clusters with the highest rates of teen to total births were Deanwood (21.1%), Congress Heights (20.7%), Capitol View/Marshall Heights (19.9%), Sheridan (19.7%) and Douglass (19.5%) in Wards 7 and 8. Brightwood Park (14.8%) ranked sixth, followed by Columbia Heights (14.1%), and Shaw (11.3%). In other words, about 1 out of every 5 births in neighborhood clusters east of the Anacostia River was to a teen mother, in comparison with clusters west of the Anacostia River in which approximately 1 in 8 births was to an adolescent.

TABLE 2: Total Births vs. Teen Births by Areas with Highest Concentration of Child Poverty (>16%)

	Total 1998	Total 2001	Teen 1998	Teen 2001	Change (1998–2001)	%Change	% Teen to Total (1998)	% Teen to Total (2001)
DC	7,665	7,598	1,171	1,015	–156	–13.30%	15.30%	13.40%
East of the River	2,676	2,416	544	454	–90	–16.50%	20.30%	18.80%
Wards								
Ward 1	1,060	1,057	145	132	–13	–9.00%	13.70%	12.50%
Ward 2	503	608	42	37	–5	–12.00%	8.30%	6.10%
Ward 4	974	1,021	135	110	–25	–18.50%	13.90%	10.80%
Ward 5	951	880	175	176	1	0.01%	18.40%	20.00%
Ward 6	817	814	117	94	–23	–19.70%	14.30%	11.50%
Ward 7	1,086	1,022	218	199	–19	–8.70%	20.10%	19.50%
Ward 8	1,614	1,417	335	259	–76	–22.70%	20.80%	18.30%
Targeted Neighborhoods								
Benning Ridge/Ft. Dupont	214	204	47	33	–14	–29.80%	22.00%	16.20%
Columbia Heights/Mt. Pleasant	1,041	1,019	150	137	–13	–8.70%	14.40%	13.40%
Deanwood	172	156	38	39	1	2.60%	22.10%	25.00%
Marshall Heights	140	121	25	24	–1	–4.00%	17.90%	19.80%
Shaw	125	160	22	19	–3	–13.60%	17.60%	10.00%
Southwest Washington/Navy Yard	155	137	21	19	–2	–9.50%	13.50%	13.90%
Neighborhood Clusters with Highest Child Poverty (20%+)								
Brightwood Park	574	581	96	86	–10	–10.40%	16.70%	14.80%
Capitol View/Marshall Heights	308	277	64	55	–9	–14.10%	20.80%	19.90%
Columbia Heights	799	809	119	114	–5	–4.20%	14.90%	14.10%
Congress Heights	680	598	150	124	–26	–17.30%	22.10%	20.70%
Deanwood	227	232	44	49	5	11.40%	19.40%	21.10%
Douglass	236	164	45	32	–13	–28.90%	19.10%	19.50%
Shaw	258	292	34	33	–1	–2.90%	13.20%	11.30%
Sheridan	234	188	55	37	–18	–32.70%	23.50%	19.70%

TABLE 3: Highest Number of Births by Neighborhood Cluster with Highest Concentrations of Poverty (>=20%), 2001

Columbia Heights	809
Congress Heights	598
Brightwood Park	581
Shaw	292
Capitol View/Marshall Heights	277
Deanwood	232
Sheridan	188
Douglass	164

Low-Birth Weight Newborns

Overall, the number of babies in the District born with low-birth weight fell 9.1% to 922 in 2001. In the District as a whole, 12% of all babies, or slightly more than 1 in 10, are born with low-birth weight. Of wards with over 16% child poverty, the numbers of low-birth weight infants (in descending order from most to least) are born in Wards 8 (217), 7 (170), 5 (121), 6 (114), 4 (102), 1 (101) and 2 (45) (see Table 5). The wards with the greatest proportion of low-birth weight babies to total babies born are Wards 7 (16.6%), 8 (15.3%) and 5 (13.8%).

By neighborhood, most low-birth weight babies are born in Congress Heights (112), followed by Columbia Heights/Mt. Pleasant (97) and Benning Ridge/Ft. Dupont Park (48). Columbia Heights/Mt. Pleasant's birth rate is five times higher than that of Benning Ridge/Ft. Dupont Park, though there are only two times the number of low-birth weight infants in Columbia Heights than in Benning Ridge.

TABLE 4: Highest Proportion of Teen Births to Total Births by Neighborhood Cluster with Highest Concentrations of Poverty (>=20%)

	1998	2001
Sheridan	23.5%	21.1%
Congress Heights	22.1%	20.7%
Capitol View/Marshall Heights	20.8%	19.9%
Deanwood	19.4%	19.7%
Douglass	19.1%	19.5%
Brightwood Park	16.7%	14.8%
Columbia Heights	14.9%	14.1%
Shaw	13.2%	11.3%

When considering the proportion of low-birth weight births to total births, Benning Ridge is clearly hit the hardest, with 24% or nearly 1 in 4 of all births in this neighborhood involving low-birth weight. This phenomenon appears to be relatively new in Benning Ridge/Ft. Dupont Park; from 1998 to 2001, this neighborhood witnessed a 77.8% increase to 48 low-birth weight births. By comparison, in Congress Heights and Deanwood, almost 1 in 6 infants are born with low-birth weight. This proportion drops considerably for the remaining four neighborhoods of Shaw (10%), Southwest Washington (10.9%), Marshall Heights (9.9%) and Columbia Heights/Mt. Pleasant (9.5%) whose rates are closer to 1 in 10.

The highest numbers of low-birth weight births by neighborhood cluster (with child poverty rates of 20% or greater) are in Congress Heights (110), Columbia Heights (76) and Brightwood Park (72) (see Table 6). The proportion of low-birth weight births to total births can be seen in Table 5.

TABLE 5: Total vs. Low-Weight Births by Areas of Highest Child Poverty, 1998–2001 (>=16%)

	Total Births 2001	Low Birth Weight 1998	Low Birth Weight 2001	Number Change 1998–2001	Percentage Change 1998–2001	Percentage Low Birth Weight to Total Births 2001
Wards						
Ward 1	1,057	93.5	101	7.5	8.00%	9.60%
Ward 2	608	39	45	6	15.90%	7.40%
Ward 4	1,021	124	102	22	-17.70%	10.00%
Ward 5	880	179	121	-58	-32.50%	13.80%
Ward 6	814	117	114	-3	-2.60%	14%
Ward 7	1,022	170	170	0	-0.10%	16.60%
Ward 8	1,417	229	217	12	-15.30%	15.30%
Targeted Neighborhoods						
Benning Ridge/Ft. Dupont Park	204	27	48	21	77.80%	24%
Columbia Heights/Mt. Pleasant	1,019	91	97	6	6.60%	9.50%
Congress Heights	636	126	112	-14	-11.10%	17.60%
Deanwood	156	33	28	-5	-14.60%	17.90%
Marshall Heights	121	23	12	-11	-47.80%	9.90%
Shaw	160	14	16	2	14.30%	10%
Southwest Washington/Navy Yard	137	23	15	-8	34.80%	10.90%
Neighborhood Clusters with Highest Child Poverty (20%+)						
Columbia Heights	809	69	76	7	10.20%	9.40%
Brightwood Park	581	73	72	-1	-1.40%	12.40%
Capitol View/Marshall Heights	277	48	46	-2	-4.20%	16.60%
Congress Heights	598	105	110	5	4.80%	18.40%
Deanwood	232	40	42	2	5.40%	18.10%
Douglass	164	37	18	-19	-51.40%	11%
Shaw	292	26	25	-1	-3.80%	8.60%
Sheridan	188	40	31	-9	-22.50%	16.50%

TABLE 6: Highest Proportion of Low-weight Births to Total Births by Neighborhood Cluster with Highest Concentrations of Poverty (>=20%), 2001

Congress Heights	18.40%
Deanwood	18.10%
Capitol View/Marshall Heights	16.60%
Sheridan	16.50%
Brightwood Park	12.40%
Douglass	11.00%
Columbia Heights	9.40%
Shaw	8.60%

TABLE 7: Infant Mortality by Areas of Highest Child Poverty, 1998–2001 (>16%)

	Infant Mortality		Change in Numbers	Change in Percentage
	1998	2001		
District of Columbia	12.8	10.3	2.3	-18.00%
East of the River	12.7	15.7	3	23.80%
Wards				
Ward 1	9.9	4.3	-5.6	-56.70%
Ward 2	10.6	4.6	-6	-56.80%
Ward 5	26.4	11.3	-15.1	-57.20%
Ward 6	14.8	13.6	-1.2	-7.80%
Ward 7	15.7	10.8	-4.9	-31.20%
Ward 8	10.6	19.1	8.5	80.90%
Targeted Neighborhoods				
Benning Ridge/Ft. Dupont Park	9.3	14.7	5.4	57.40%
Columbia Heights/Mt. Pleasant	12.5	4.9	-7.6	-60.70%
Deanwood	29.4	12.6	-16.8	-57.10%
Marshall Heights	7.1	24.8	17.7	247.10%
Shaw	16.1	6.3	-9.8	-60.90%
SW Washington/Navy Yard	25.8	29.2	3.4	13.10%
Neighborhood Clusters with Highest Child Poverty (20%+)				
Brightwood Park	5.2	10.3	5.1	97.60%
Capitol View/Marshall Heights	22.7	14.4	-8.3	-36.50%
Columbia Heights	10	3.7	-6.3	-63.00%
Congress Heights	13.2	23.4	10.2	76.90%
Deanwood	9	8.6	-0.4	-4.90%
Douglass	8.5	36.6	28.1	331.70%
Shaw	10.6	3.4	7.2	-77.90%
Sheridan	8.6	16	7.4	86.70%

In Congress Heights, Deanwood, Capitol View/Marshall Heights and Sheridan, for every fifth or sixth baby born, one baby is born with low-birth weight. This proportion jumps for the last four clusters, and ranges from 1 in 8 for Brightwood Park, to 1 in 9 for Douglass, to approximately 1 in 11 for Columbia Heights and Shaw.

Infant Mortality Rate

Between 1998 and 2001, the infant mortality rate in the District fell to 10.3, a 17.6% decrease.[10] This rate is higher than the national average of 7.6 (in 2001), but lower than the 11.9 rate of Baltimore City.[11] East of the Anacostia River, infant mortality increased to 15.7 between the same period, a change of 23.6%.

Of wards in which child poverty is 16% or greater, Ward 1 has the lowest infant mortality at 4.3, with Ward 2 at 4.6 and Wards 4 and 7, the third lowest, at 10.8 (see Table 7).[12] All wards, except Wards 4 and 8, experienced reductions in infant mortality from 1998 to 2001, with the rate of Ward 5 decreasing by 57.2%, and Wards 1 and 2 down considerably as well (at -56.7% and -56.8% respectively). By contrast, infant mortality in Ward 8 increased 81% to 19.1, the highest infant mortality in the District.

Neighborhood level data reveal startling differences in infant mortality from one neighborhood to the next (see Table 7). By 2001, infant mortality rates ranged from a decrease of 60.7% in Columbia Heights/Mt. Pleasant (to 4.9 deaths) to percentile leaps of 247% in Marshall Heights (to 24.8 deaths). Southwest Washington's infant mortality rate, at 29.2 in 2001, was the highest of all neighborhoods.

The same trends seen at the neighborhood level are mirrored at the neighborhood cluster level (see Figure 5). Shaw, Columbia Heights, and Capitol View/Marshall Heights' infant mortality rates fell drastically between 1998 and 2001. In this period, Shaw's rate fell by 77.9% to 3.4 and Columbia Heights' rate fell by 63% to 3.7. Infant mortality rates in both of these neighborhood clusters are approximately three times lower than that of DC in general.

Of greatest call for alarm is the jump of 331.7% in Douglass' infant mortality rate, capping all infant mortality rates in this study at 36.6. Congress Heights' rate also is high at 23.4, more than two times the DC rate, and more than three and a half

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[10] Infant mortality rate equals the number of infant deaths per 1,000 births.

[11] U.S. data are drawn from Kids Count in the District of Columbia: 8th Annual Fact Book 2001. Baltimore City data are taken from the Maryland Department of Health and Mental Hygiene's Vital Statistics Administration report Infant Mortality in Maryland 2001.

[12] When comparing infant mortality rates across neighborhoods and neighborhood clusters, the reliability of data may be affected by underreporting in certain areas. Future studies should assess the accuracy of infant mortality data at the neighborhood and neighborhood cluster levels.

TABLE 8: Neighborhood Clusters Ranked By Change in Infant Mortality Rate, 1998–2001

	1998	2001	change	% change
Shaw	10.6	3.4	–7.2	–77.90%
Columbia Heights	10	3.7	–6.3	–63.00%
Capitol View/Marshall Heights	22.7	14.4	–8.3	–36.50%
Deanwood	9	8.6	–0.4	–4.90%
Congress Heights	13.2	23.4	10.2	76.90%
Sheridan	8.6	16	7.4	86.70%
Brightwood Park	5.2	10.3	5.1	97.60%
Douglass	8.5	36.6	28.1	331.70%

times the 6.69 rate for the United States as a whole. The clusters of Brightwood Park and Sheridan also showed increases at 97.6% (to 10.3) and 86.7% (to 16) respectively. Though neither Brightwood Park nor Sheridan suffers the rates of Douglass or Congress Heights, the speed with which their rates have gone up within the relatively short time period of four years is cause for concern.

Implications

Many of the data present portraits of community resilience in the midst of persistent poverty, as well as highlight dangerous health trends that jeopardize child and family well-being. This last section will focus most intently upon neighborhood and neighborhood cluster data, as these data offer detailed insights into residents' health and thus, present the most specific implications for further research, advocacy and service provision. Though

over half of all children in poverty live within seven of the 39 neighborhood clusters, one of which is in Ward 4 (a relatively new development), stark differences among these clusters raise important questions about what existing services might be working, and what future services may be required to reverse or slow current negative impacts upon residents' health.

Prenatal care varies markedly across the seven neighborhood clusters with over 20% of children in poverty, with Columbia Heights, Brightwood Park and Douglass as the clusters in which over half of births had adequate prenatal care. In Congress Heights, Deanwood, Capital View/Marshall Heights, and Sheridan, all neighborhood clusters east of the Anacostia River, fewer than half of births had adequate care. The different proportions of pregnant women who receive adequate prenatal care to those who

Figure 5: Change in Infant Mortality Rates by Neighborhood Clusters, 1998–2001
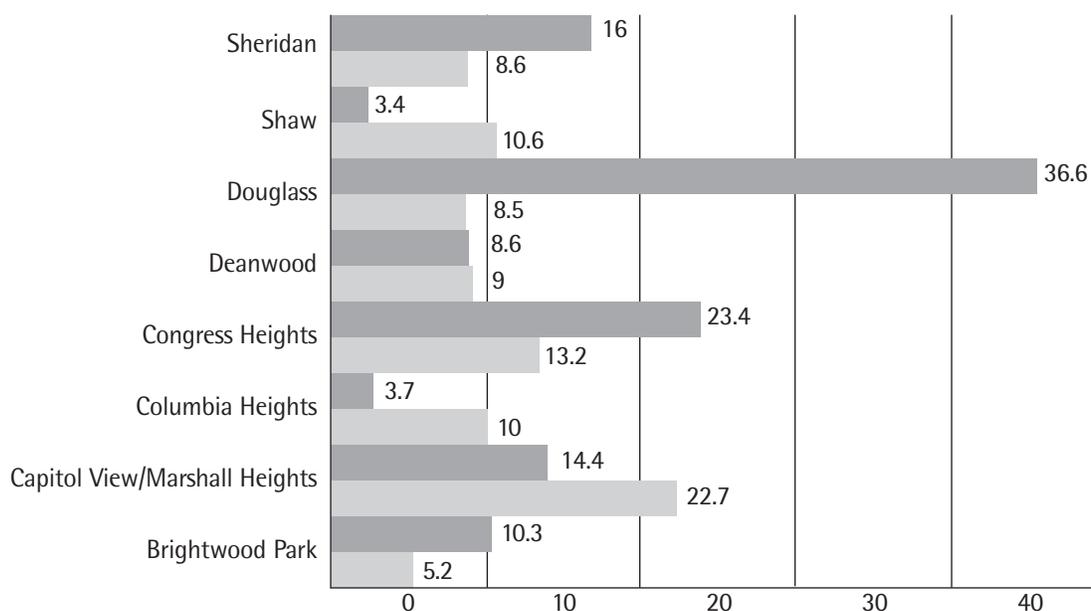
receive insufficient care across clusters raise important questions for service providers, administrators and policymakers alike. To what extent are these differential proportions due to a lack of knowledge about the importance of prenatal care to healthy birth outcomes (which can be addressed through accessible and effective health education programs), or a lack of access to care (as in the case of women who are uninsured or limited or non-English speaking)? The identification of factors at the neighborhood cluster level that prevent pregnant women from seeking or accessing prenatal care could have profound impacts on increasing prenatal care usage and reducing poor health outcomes for infants and children.

Data on teen births reveal that the clusters with the greatest numbers of poor children, for instance, those of Columbia Heights, Congress Heights, Brightwood Park and Shaw are not necessarily the locations in which the greatest proportion of teen births (in comparison with total births) are occurring. In Shaw, Columbia Heights and Brightwood Park, about 1 out of every 8 births was to an adolescent, in comparison with Congress Heights in which approximately 1 out of 5 births is to a teen mother. However, neighborhoods east of the Anacostia River have shown the most dramatic reduction in teen birth rates by 2001, with Sheridan, Douglass and Congress Heights all reflecting reductions in their teen birth rates of between 17% and 33%. Data suggest that these clusters may be sites of effective youth-directed services. Finally, though Deanwood has among the smallest numbers of teen births at 49 in 2001 (of all comparably poor neighborhoods), the fact that it is the only cluster to register an increase in adolescent births (at +5 births or 11.4%) may indicate a need for stepped-up teen pregnancy prevention.

Positive low-birth weight outcomes in Columbia Heights and Shaw (1 out of every 11 babies is born with low-birth weight) may indicate the success of prenatal care programs, including home visiting, in Wards 1 and 2. Similarly, Douglass may serve as a valuable case study of successful prenatal care programs, since by 2001, its number of low-birth weight births fell 51.4% to 18. Of great concern at the neighborhood level is Benning Ridge/Ft. Dupont Park's increase to 48 in the number of

low-birth weight births, the largest absolute increase in the number of low-birth weight infants of any District neighborhood profiled. Given the severe repercussions of low-birth weight for child and adult health, Benning Ridge/Ft. Dupont Park's alarming rate and rate of increase would make it a prime site for health prevention and interventions, including support for expanded prenatal care given Benning Ridge/Ft. Dupont Park's current proportion of women who receive care to those who do not at 1.3 to 1, one of the lowest prenatal care proportions of all wards, neighborhoods or neighborhood clusters.

As a final observation regarding low-birth weight trends at the neighborhood cluster level, though the greatest number of low-birth weight babies are born in Congress Heights, Columbia Heights and Brightwood Park, the chances of a baby being born with low-birth weight are much higher for infants born in Congress Heights than in Columbia Heights or Brightwood Park. This reality may reflect the persistent dismantling of the health care system east of the Anacostia River over recent years, and speak to the specific harmful consequences of the lack of a health infrastructure for pregnant women, their infants, and future generations of predominantly poor African-Americans who call Congress Heights, Deanwood, Capitol View/Marshall Heights or Sheridan their home.

Finally, changes in infant mortality rates across the city provide contrasts in neighborhood well-being. Though clusters such as Deanwood and Capitol View/Marshall Heights were sites of reductions in infant mortality, those in Shaw and Columbia Heights were the most pronounced. Ongoing efforts to increase prenatal care utilization in Wards 1 and 2, with some community-based agencies now attempting to expand to Ward 4, will be well met if they make similar strides in reversing Brightwood Park's 97.6% increase and infant mortality rate of 10.3. More pressing than Brightwood Park is Douglass, whose jump of 332% to a rate of 36.6 deaths per 1,000 births reflects threats to maternal (and clearly infant) health that require immediate attention. Though Sheridan and Congress Heights do not experience the rates of Douglass, the speed with which their rates have risen (in four years, 86.7% to 16 and 76.9% to 23.4 respectively) is also cause for concern.

Children, Youth and Education: Early Care and Education

Authored by Dr. Deborah Lyons

Dr. Deborah L. Lyons serves as Director of the Center for Applied Research and Urban Policy and is Professor of Business Management, School of Business and Public Administration at the University of the District of Columbia. She has done extensive research on the child care industry in the District of Columbia and conducts the biennial survey on child care rates and capacity for the DC Department of Human Services, Office of Early Childhood Development.

The importance of quality early care and education in getting children ready for school has been the focus of several recent studies. Deborah Lowe Vandell and Barbara Wolfe conducted an extensive review of the literature in their 2002 study, "Child Care Quality: Does It Matter and Does It Need To Be Improved?" They report that in the short-term, the children in quality child care settings appear happier, have closer relationships with caregivers, and perform better on thinking and language tests. Conversely, children in poor quality child care environments exhibit greater behavior problems.

Vandell and Wolfe report that researchers using a variety of methods have shown that in the long term, children enrolled in higher quality preschool environments display better math skills through second grade and that there is an even greater impact for children of less-educated mothers as well as low-income, high-risk preschoolers.

The experiences of our early years form the foundation upon which we build our futures. The impact of early care and education on both short-term and long-term outcomes for children, families, and society has become more readily apparent. Many children are arriving at kindergarten already behind in their social, emotional, and educational development. The gap in their educational experiences only widens from there.

Nationally and locally, getting children ready for school is a priority issue. Thus the availability, accessibility, and quality of early care and education opportunities need to be more closely examined. In this paper, three indicators are presented on the state of early care and education in the District of Columbia: the percent of three and four year-olds enrolled in school, the ratio of childcare slots in child development centers to children, and the percent of child development centers accredited by the National Association for the Education of Young Children.

Comparisons with National Data

Three and Four Year-Olds Enrolled in School[1]

The District of Columbia has a higher percentage of 3 and 4 year-olds enrolled in school than the national average. Approximately 67.2 % of the city's

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[1] A large fraction of these children are in child care centers. We treat these children as in "school" because all child care centers are required to provide educational enhancements in the District of Columbia.

3 and 4 year-olds are enrolled in nursery school or pre-kindergarten programs as compared to 49.3 % nationally. The District of Columbia also has a higher percentage of children enrolled in early education programs than other states in the region (see Figure 1). Additionally, the percentage of 3 and 4 year-olds enrolled in school surpasses the level of school enrollment for 3 and 4 year-olds in many urban areas including Los Angeles (48.2 %), Atlanta (65.8 %), Chicago (49.9%) and Houston (43.5%).

Child Care Centers

Figure 1. Percent of 3 and 4 Year-Olds Enrolled in School
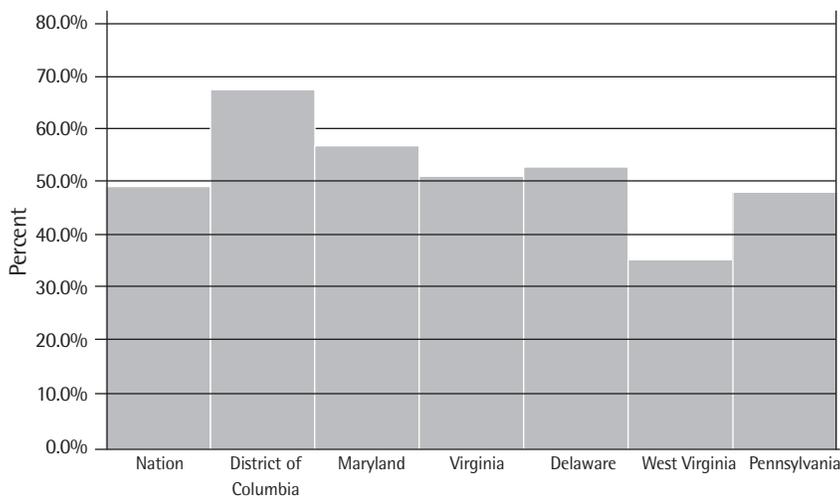
The availability of care in child development centers is higher in the District of Columbia than in other states in the Region. Using 2000 Census data and U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, Child Care Bureau State Profiles for 2002, a ratio was developed for the ratio of child development centers to children ages 0–4 years. For the District of Columbia the ratio is 1:88, or one child development center for every 88 children age 0–4 years. The ratios

Figure 2. Percent of Child Development Centers Accredited by NAEYC
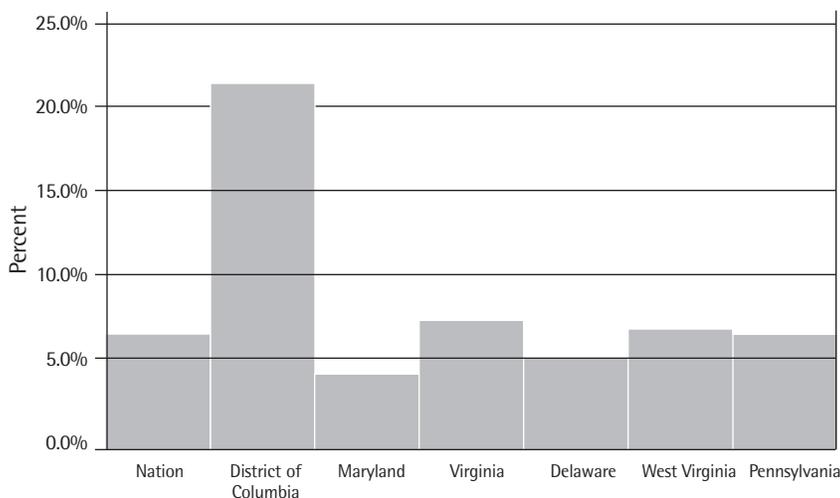
Source: National Association for the Education of Young Children, November 2003

for other states in the Region are:

1:139 in Maryland	1:168 in West Virginia
1:180 in Virginia	1:184 in Pennsylvania
1:161 in Delaware	

Many of these childcare slots are taken by children from outside of the District of Columbia whose parents work in the city. However, the high percentage of DC 3 and 4 year-olds enrolled in school suggests that a large fraction of the children in these centers are from DC.

Accreditation of Child Care Facilities

One indicator of quality of child care facilities is accreditation by the National Association for the Education of Young Children (NAEYC), a nationally recognized organization. **The District of Columbia has one of the highest rates of accreditation of child development facilities in the country at 21 % of licensed/regulated facilities.** Nationally, in 2003, fewer than 8 % of child development centers are accredited by NAEYC. Currently, the highest rate of accreditation is 24% in Massachusetts. Figure 2 illustrates the percent of facilities accredited in other states in the Region.

Comparisons by Neighborhood Cluster

Three and Four Year-Olds Enrolled in School
While DC ranks high compared to other states and cities in terms of the availability, accessibility, and quality of child care, these indicators vary widely by neighborhood within the District. **Preschoolers in Ward 3 are much more likely to be enrolled in early care and education programs than are preschoolers in other areas of the city (see Figure 3). Preschoolers in Ward 1, closely followed by Ward 8 are the least likely to be enrolled in school.** However, even the lowest ranked ward in DC (Ward 1) is well above the national average and above the average for all nearby states.

Table 1 shows the range of preschool enrollment among neighborhood clusters. Enrollment patterns for 3 and 4 year-olds range from a high of 100 % in Neighborhood Cluster 15 (Cleveland Park/Woodley Park) to a low of 31.3% in Neighborhood Cluster 16 (Colonial Village). The average enrollment for the District of Columbia is 67.2%. Neighborhood clusters with 90% or higher enrollment are all located in Ward 3, and in general the age 3 and 4 enrollment

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2 One interesting exception is the Colonial Village Neighborhood Cluster located in the upper Northwest part of the city. Less than one-third of the 3-4 year-olds in this cluster attend school, but the neighborhood scores very high in terms of later academic outcomes of children in grades 3-5.

rates are very positively associated with the early elementary academic outcomes discussed in part two of this chapter that covers K-12 education.[2]

Child Care Centers

In 2002, the District of Columbia had 371 licensed child development centers representing 23,511 child care slots (there are an additional 600+ slots in license-exempt federal centers). **While the largest number of child care slots are located in the downtown employment areas in Ward 2, child care slots are widely dispersed throughout the District of Columbia with nearly one-fourth of all slots located east of the Anacostia River.**

However, to get a clearer picture of the accessibility and availability of child care, we must look at where the children live. Figure 4 compares the percent of the District of Columbia's total children 0-4 years old and the percent of total child care slots by Ward. Ward 2 has the fewest children, but by far the highest number of child care slots. These slots are largely located in employer-based facilities in the downtown business center. Wards 3, 4, and 5 have nearly equal proportions of children and child care slots. Wards 1 and 7 and 8 (East of River) have the largest differential between children and total slots (see Map 1).

The location of child care slots and children 0-4 years old by neighborhood cluster gives a clearer picture of child care accessibility and availability near the home (See Table 2). Neighborhood Cluster 39 (Congress Heights) has the second largest number of child care slots followed by Cluster 18 (Brightwood Park) and Cluster 2 (Columbia Heights/ Mt. Pleasant).

Accreditation of Child Care Facilities

The District of Columbia has one of the highest percentages of accredited child development facilities. However, unlike licensing, accreditation is a voluntary undertaking. **While accredited centers are dispersed throughout the city, they are particularly concentrated in Ward 2 in the downtown employment center. Largely as a result of the accreditation of the Department of Parks and Recreation centers, the area east of the Anacostia River has a higher percent of accredited centers than the city average.**

As shown in Table 3, one-half of all NAEYC accredited centers are located in just five neighborhood clusters. Neighborhood Cluster 8 (Downtown), Cluster 2 (Columbia Heights/Mt. Pleasant), Cluster 9 (Southwest Employment Areas), Cluster 39 (Congress Heights), and Cluster 6 (Dupont Circle) are home to 40 of the 79 accredited

Figure 3: Percent of District of Columbia 3 and 4 Year-Olds Enrolled in School by Ward
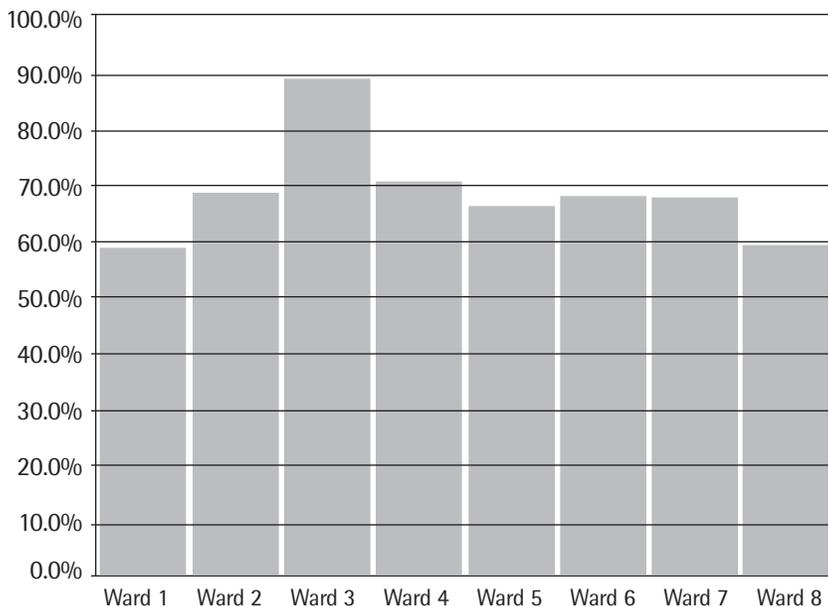
Source: 2000 Census

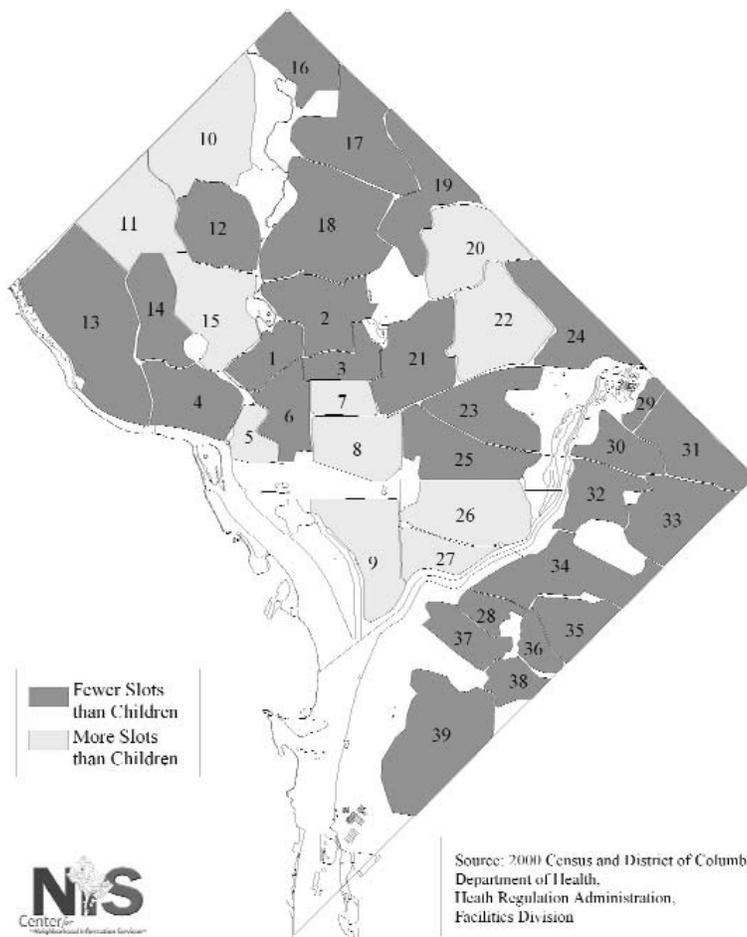## Comparison of Child Care Slots to Children by Neighborhood Cluster

Source: 2000 Census and District of Columbia, Department of Health, Health Regulation Administration, Facilities Division

Table 1
Percent of District of Columbia 3 and 4 Year-Olds Enrolled in School by Neighborhood Cluster

	Neighborhood Clusters	% 3-4 Year-Olds Enrolled
15	Cleveland Park/Woodley Park	100.0%
13	Spring Valley/Foxhall	93.2%
11	Friendship Heights/Tenleytown	92.8%
14	Cathedral Heights/Glover Park	92.1%
25	Union Station	84.0%
12	North Cleveland Park/Van Ness	81.1%
10	Hawthorne	78.8%
30	Mayfair	78.7%
4	Georgetown	77.0%
19	Lamond Riggs	77.0%
28	Historic Anacostia	76.4%
3	Howard University/Le Droit Park	75.3%
24	Woodridge	74.9%
26	Capitol Hill	72.6%
35	Fairfax Village	71.8%
34	Twining	71.3%
18	Brightwood Park	70.6%
7	Shaw/Logan Circle	70.1%
29	Eastland Gardens	69.8%
17	Takoma	69.6%
21	Edgewood	69.5%
6	Dupont Circle	67.4%
20	North Michigan Park	67.3%
32	River Terrace	67.1%
31	Deanwood	66.7%
37	Sheridan	64.7%
39	Congress Heights	63.0%
23	Ivy City	61.8%
22	Brookland	60.1%
33	Capitol View/Marshall Heights	59.8%
8	Downtown	59.5%
2	Columbia Heights/Mt. Pleasant	56.9%
38	Douglass	56.5%
1	Kalorama Heights/Adams Morgan	54.7%
5	West End/Foggy Bottom	50.0%
36	Woodland/Garfield Heights	48.8%
9	Southwest Employment Area	46.6%
99	No cluster assigned	46.0%
27	Near Southeast/Navy Yard	35.8%
16	Colonial Village	31.3%

Source: 2000 Census data

Table 2
Total Licensed Child Care Slots and Children 0–4 Years Old by Neighborhood Cluster

		Total Licensed Slots	Total Children 0–4 Years Old
Neighborhood Clusters			
8	Downtown	1879	329
39	Congress Heights	1851	2,534
18	Brightwood Park	1514	1,832
2	Columbia Heights/Mt. Pleasant	1467	2,620
25	Union Station	1071	1,391
31	Deanwood	967	1,150
9	Southwest Employment Area	966	319
7	Shaw/Logan Circle	924	771
34	Twining	898	1,120
26	Capitol Hill	821	521
20	North Michigan Park	745	427
15	Cleveland Park/Woodley Park*	728	390
17	Takoma	707	1,372
22	Brookland	693	584
6	Dupont Circle	686	1,205
21	Edgewood	651	1,353
3	Howard University/Le Droit Park	521	952
5	West End/Foggy Bottom*	488	158
23	Ivy City	477	844
10	Hawthorne*	476	372
33	Capitol View/Marshall Heights	474	1,217
13	Spring Valley/Foxhall*	455	751
37	Sheridan	421	1,100
4	Georgetown	417	554
38	Douglass	392	1,115
19	Lamond Riggs	375	498
1	Kalorama Heights/Adams Morgan	369	1,091
24	Woodridge	342	455
11	Friendship Heights/Tenleytown	340	242
27	Near Southeast/Navy Yard	218	159
36	Woodland/Garfield Heights	186	680
35	Fairfax Village	180	645
30	Mayfair	154	741
14	Cathedral Heights/Glover Park*	125	351
28	Historic Anacostia	119	504
32	River Terrace	115	795
16	Colonial Village	105	229
12	North Cleveland Park/Van Ness	100	209
29	Eastland Gardens	94	193
99	No cluster assigned		

Source: 2000 Census and District of Columbia, Department of Health, Health Regulation Administration, Facilities Division

Table 3
Location of NAEYC Accredited Centers by Neighborhood Cluster
November 2003

Neighborhood Clusters		Accredited Centers
8	Downtown	15
2	Columbia Heights/Mt. Pleasant	7
9	Southwest Employment Area	7
39	Congress Heights	6
6	Dupont Circle	5
25	Union Station	4
15	Cleveland Park/Woodley Park*	3
37	Sheridan	3
1	Kalorama Heights/Adams Morgan	2
3	Howard University/Le Droit Park	2
7	Shaw/Logan Circle	2
33	Capitol View/Marshall Heights	2
34	Twining	2
38	Douglass	2
4	Georgetown	1
5	West End/Foggy Bottom*	1
10	Hawthorne*	1
11	Friendship Heights/Tenleytown	1
13	Spring Valley/Foxhall*	1
14	Cathedral Heights/Glover Park*	1
17	Takoma	1
18	Brightwood Park	1
21	Edgewood	1
24	Woodridge	1
26	Capitol Hill	1
27	Near Southeast/Navy Yard	1
31	Deanwood	1
32	River Terrace	1
12	North Cleveland Park/Van Ness	0
16	Colonial Village	0
19	Lamond Riggs	0
20	North Michigan Park	0
22	Brookland	0
23	Ivy City	0
28	Historic Anacostia	0
29	Eastland Gardens	0
30	Mayfair	0
35	Fairfax Village	0
36	Woodland/Garfield Heights	0
99	No cluster assigned	

Source: National Association for the Education of Young Children, www.naeyc.org

centers.Eleven of the 39 clusters have no accredited centers.

Suggestions for Future Indicators

Seven indicators which should be considered for future issue scans are infant slots, subsidized slots, child care rates, out-of-school time programs, nontraditional care, working women and single-parent households. Data are available on infant slots, subsidized slots, child care rates, nontraditional care, working women and single-parent households, but more time would be needed to code to the neighborhood cluster level. Accurate data on out-of-school-time activities remains the greater challenge. Current data sources need to be expanded and refined to develop a clearer picture of the scope of available services.

Conclusion

The District of Columbia has a higher percentage of 3 and 4 year-olds enrolled in school than the national average.

The availability of care in child development centers is higher in the District of Columbia than in other states in Region 3 (District of Columbia, Maryland, Virginia, Delaware, Pennsylvania, and West Virginia).

The District of Columbia has one of the highest rates of accreditation of child development facilities in the country at 21 % of licensed/regulated facilities.

Preschoolers in Ward 3 are much more likely to be enrolled in early care and education programs than are preschoolers in other areas of the city. Preschoolers in Ward 1, closely followed by Ward 8 are the least likely to be enrolled in school.

While the largest numbers of child care slots are located in the downtown employment areas in Ward 2, child care slots are widely dispersed throughout the District of Columbia with nearly one-fourth of all slots located east of the Anacostia River.

Neighborhood Cluster 39 (Congress Heights) has the second largest number of child care slots followed by Cluster 18 (Brightwood Park) and Cluster 2 (Columbia Heights/ Mt. Pleasant).

While accredited centers are dispersed throughout the city, they are particularly concentrated in Ward 2 in the downtown employment center. Largely as a result of the accreditation of the Department of Parks and Recreation centers, the area east of the Anacostia River has a higher percent of accredited centers than the city average.

One-half of all NAEYC accredited centers are located in just 5 of the 39 neighborhood clusters.

Children, Youth and Education: K-12 Education

Authored by Dr. Duncan D. Chaplin

Dr. Duncan D. Chaplin is a senior research methodologist with the Education Policy Center at the Urban Institute. As a specialist in labor economics and econometrics, his research focuses on estimating educational production functions for important outcomes such as dropout rates, test scores, and earnings. Substantively he analyzes education issues that arise during the transition between high school and college for U.S. youth and in particular at-risk youth. Dr. Chaplin has worked extensively on out-of-school time research and evaluations especially in the DC area and has served as an active member of the steering committee of the DC Children and Youth Investment Partnership since its inception.

Introduction

In spite of major efforts to promote equity, the education system in our Nation's capitol continues to experience high levels of inequality across families by race and socioeconomic status. Well-off families are far more likely to take advantage of the public schools located in their neighborhoods in the Upper Northwest[1] part of the city. In this area, average student performance levels are high compared to the levels of the majority of the city's public school students, who have test scores and graduation rates far below national averages.[2]

While the low performance levels of students in most DC public schools are cause for concern, there is a great deal of variation across neighborhoods. This report describes how student performance varies by neighborhood clusters and how this performance is related to measures of adult academic achievement in those same neighborhoods. A number of interesting patterns emerge. In particular, the neighborhood clusters appear to break down into three categories—those with above average student performance and educational outcomes for adults, those that are below average on both sets of outcomes, and those with above average adult outcomes but below average student outcomes. This latter set of neighborhoods appears to be those in transition from a predominantly low-income population with many children, to a higher-income childless group.

The rest of this section describes the variations of outcomes related to K-12 education across neighborhood clusters and neighborhoods within the District of Columbia, and changes over time in these outcomes. Recommendations for future data collection efforts in this area and then conclusions with policy implications are also provided.

Indicators of educational success vary substantially across neighborhood clusters in the District of Columbia. For example, on average, the area east of the Anacostia River where a high fraction of people are living in poverty has poorer educational outcomes for both children and adults. In particular it exhibits substantially lower test scores, lower high

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[1] Upper Northwest is defined as Ward 3 plus neighborhood clusters of Hawthorne, Colonial Village, Georgetown and Dupont Circle.
[2] About 17% of students attending school in DC attend private schools. They are not included in this analysis.

Table 1: DC Education Indicators by Area of City

Area	dropout rate (% 16-19 not enrolled)	H.S. dipl.or higher Age 25+	% college deg. or higher Age 25+	% less than 9th grade Age 25+	attendance rate (%), elementary schools, all grades	reading scores, elementary schools, grades 3-5	math scores, elementary schools, grades 3-5	
	2000	2000	2000	2000	1998–2003	1998–2003	1998–2003	
District of Columbia	10.1	77.8	39.1	7.8	93.6	46.1	49.5	
East of the River	13.4	68.9	10.5	7.3	93.3	42.9	46.0	
Ward 3	1.6	96.0	79.7	2.0	95.3	72.7	74.7	

Source: 2000 Census and District of Columbia Public Schools Administrative data.

Note: Test scores are SAT9 scaled scores.

school and college graduation rates, and has somewhat lower attendance rates (see Table 1).[3] The only exception is that the area east of the Anacostia River has a lower percentage of adults with less than a 9th grade education than the city. At the other extreme, Ward 3, which comprises much of the upper northwest part of the city and is where the wealthiest people live, has much higher attendance rates, test scores, adult (high school and college) graduation rates (see Map 1), and a much lower percentage of adults with less than a 9th grade education than the rest of the city.[4]

There is also a great deal of variation in public school outcomes within these geographic areas. For example, within Ward 6, the Near Southeast/Navy Yard Neighborhood Cluster has worse test score outcomes than the other clusters in that ward (see Table 2).[5] Similarly, while Ward 7 is below the city average as a whole, the Fairfax Village Neighborhood Cluster has above average test scores compared to the rest of the city.

While there is substantial variation in performance throughout most of the city, the lowest scoring neighborhood cluster in upper Northwest has higher test scores than any neighborhood cluster in the rest of the city. All of the neighborhood clusters in Ward 3 and the rest of the Upper Northwest part of the city performed far above the city average in terms of test score performance, with the lowest scoring cluster in Ward 3 (Cleveland Park/Woodley Park) coming in with average reading scores of 67 and math scores of 68 compared to city averages of 46 and 50 respectively (see Table 3). This is also higher

High School Dropout Rate 2000 by Neighborhood Cluster

Less than 6%
6% - 15%
More than 15%

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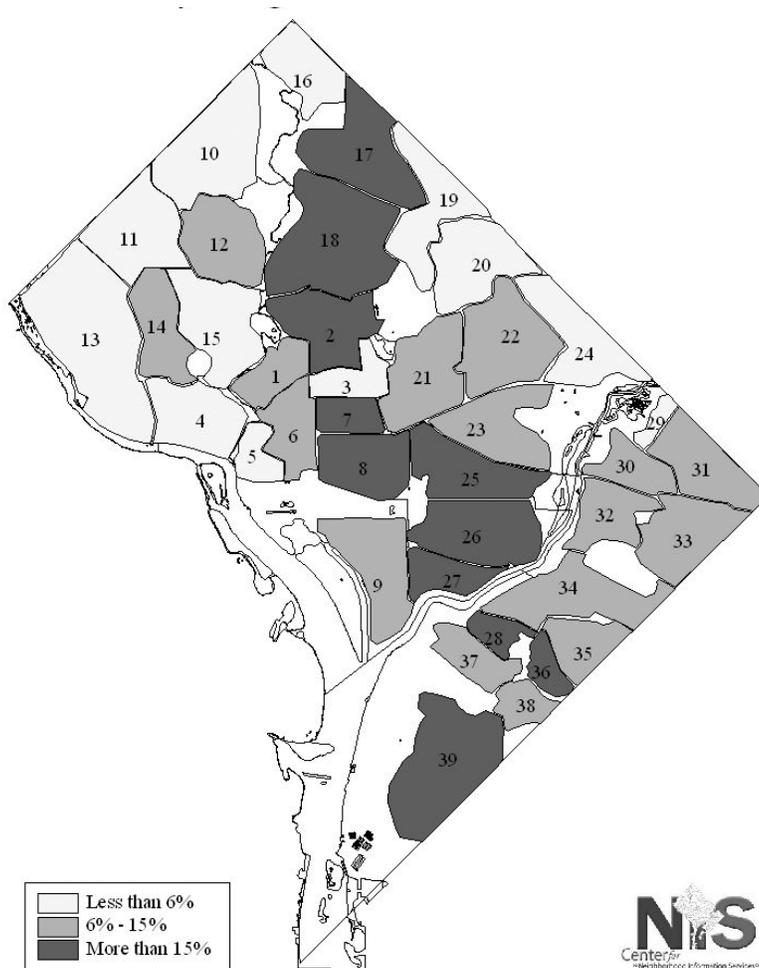
[3] All indicators based on 2000 Census data (the first four columns of Table 2) are presented in Appendix A overall, for the area east of the Anacostia river, by ward, by neighborhood cluster, and for 6 specific neighborhoods of interest. Appendix B presents test scores and attendance rates from DC Public Schools using the same breakdowns.

[4] Private school enrollment is also much higher in the Upper Northwest part of the city. While only about 10% of the children in DC live in the Upper Northwest section of the city, almost half of the students attending private schools in DC attend schools in the Upper Northwest part of the city. In addition, those schools serve over 70% of the white private school student population, but only around 20% of the African American private school students (Private School Survey, 1999-2000, National Center for Education Statistics, U.S. Department of Education). Unfortunately some private schools in DC, such as Sidwell Friends and Bullis, are missing from these data, though 83 are covered.

[5] It should be noted that the only elementary school in this cluster that ended up in our dataset is Van Ness Elementary School.

Table 2: Variation in Outcomes within Wards 6, 7, and 8

Neighborhood Cluster	Ward	dropout rate (% 16-19 not enrolled) 2000	H.S. dipl.or higher Age 25+ 2000	% college deg. or higher Age 25+ 2000	% less than 9th grade Age 25+ 2000	attendance rate (%), elementary schools, all grades 1998-2003	reading scores, elementary schools, grades 3-5 1998-2003	math scores, elementary schools, grades 3-5 1998-2003
Southwest Employment Area	6	9.0	81.1	49.3	5.0	92.3	41.0	46.0
Capitol Hill	6	19.8	85.9	55.5	4.4	93.5	47.8	45.9
Near Southeast/Navy Yard	6	16.0	56.0	16.1	13.4	91.3	35.8	45.7
Union Station	6	17.8	79.0	40.5	6.3	92.6	42.0	41.8
Fairfax Village	7	13.4	81.6	25.2	6.6	92.1	49.6	50.5
Twining	7	7.4	75.3	14.6	6.4	92.7	45.7	48.0
River Terrace	7	12.6	70.5	9.4	8.1	92.4	44.5	46.5
Deanwood	7	10.5	65.3	8.9	9.5	93.5	49.0	45.9
Mayfair	7	6.1	67.3	10.0	7.6	94.9	42.3	40.6
Capitol View/Marshall Heights	7	14.1	66.9	7.9	7.5	93.2	41.0	40.3
Eastland Gardens	7	0.0	69.1	14.9	7.6	94.8	36.4	38.7
Woodland/Garfield Heights	8	19.9	65.3	6.3	7.7	92.7	40.4	45.5
Congress Heights	8	15.4	67.0	7.1	6.2	93.2	41.5	39.3
Sheridan	8	13.8	60.2	3.6	7.8	94.1	42.3	38.6
Historic Anacostia	8	15.7	67.4	6.2	8.1	92.2	38.3	36.7
Douglass	8	9.9	56.0	2.1	8.9	95.2	34.3	30.2

Source: 2000 Census and District of Columbia Public Schools Administrative data.

Note: Test scores are SAT9 scaled scores.

Chart 1: Adult College Degrees and Grade 3-5 Math Scores by Neighborhood Cluster in the District of Columbia
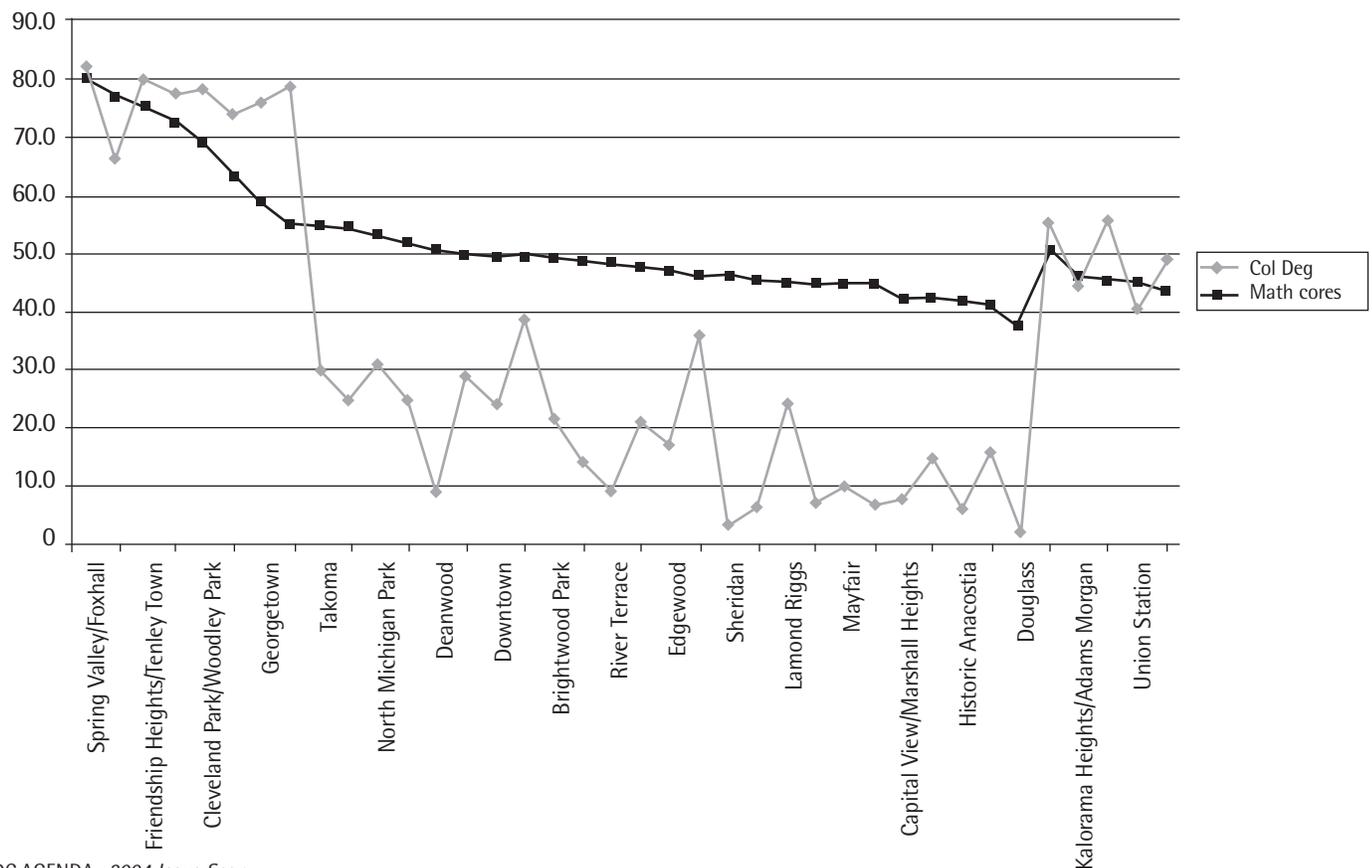
Table 3: Neighborhood Cluster Performance Sorted by Math Test Scores

Neighborhood Cluster	Cluster	Ward	dropout rate (% 16-19 not enrolled) 2000	H.S. dipl. or higher Age 25+ 2000	% college deg. or higher Age 25+ 2000	% less than 9th grade Age 25+ 2000	attendance rate (%), elementary schools, all grades 1998-2003	reading scores, elementary schools, grades 3-5 1998-2003	math scores, elementary schools, grades 3-5 1998-2003
West End/Foggy Bottom	5	2	0.0	94.5	75.6	2.9			
North Cleveland Park/Van Ness	12	3	7.4	97.4	81.9	1.2			
Spring Valley/Foxhall	13	3	0.2	98.0	82.6	1.1	95.7	76.2	80.1
Hawthorne	10	4	2.6	92.4	66.4	3.2	95.7	77.3	77.1
Friendship Heights/Tenleytown	11	3	0.0	96.2	80.5	1.5	95.6	74.6	75.6
Cathedral Heights/Glover Park	14	3	9.9	96.5	77.9	1.4	94.1	68.7	72.8
Cleveland Park/Woodley Park	15	3	1.7	92.4	78.5	4.4	95.9	67.0	69.3
Colonial Village	16	4	0.0	96.2	74.0	2.0	95.8	59.6	63.6
Georgetown	4	2	4.1	92.5	76.2	3.8	95.3	54.0	59.1
Dupont Circle	6	2	6.3	93.6	79.1	3.4	96.3	52.9	54.9
Takoma	17	4	22.8	77.3	30.5	8.0	94.2	50.2	54.8
Woodridge	24	5	4.1	73.4	25.3	8.8	94.7	52.2	54.6
North Michigan Park	20	5	5.6	81.4	31.0	4.9	95.7	50.5	53.3
Fairfax Village	35	7	13.4	81.6	25.2	6.6	92.1	49.6	51.9
Deanwood	31	7	10.5	65.3	8.9	9.5	93.5	49.0	50.9
Capitol Hill	**26**	**6**	**19.8**	**85.9**	**55.5**	**4.4**	**93.5**	**47.8**	**50.5**
Columbia Heights/Mt. Pleasant	2	1	18.4	62.0	29.2	19.7	92.9	44.0	49.9
Downtown	8	2	18.8	65.9	24.3	13.7	94.6	43.4	49.6
DC Average			**10.1**	**77.8**	**39.1**	**7.8**	**93.6**	**46.1**	**49.5**
Brightwood Park	18	4	16.5	71.2	21.8	12.0	93.3	45.8	49.2
Twining	34	7	7.4	75.3	14.6	6.4	92.7	45.7	48.6
River Terrace	32	7	12.6	70.5	9.4	8.1	92.4	44.5	48.6
Brookland	22	5	12.5	74.2	21.1	5.7	93.2	42.8	47.8
Edgewood	21	5	7.5	68.7	17.5	9.5	94.4	41.7	46.9
Shaw/Logan Circle	7	2	25.0	71.7	36.0	13.9	92.8	43.1	46.1
Sheridan	37	8	13.8	60.2	3.6	7.8	94.1	42.3	46.1
Kalorama Heights/Adams Morgan	**1**	**1**	**19.0**	**75.8**	**44.9**	**14.3**	**93.4**	**42.6**	**45.9**
Woodland/Garfield Heights	36	8	19.9	65.3	6.3	7.7	92.7	40.4	45.5
Howard University/Le Droit Park	**3**	**1**	**3.1**	**82.2**	**55.8**	**6.4**	**92.3**	**39.7**	**45.5**
Union Station	**25**	**6**	**17.8**	**79.0**	**40.5**	**6.3**	**92.6**	**42.0**	**45.1**
Lamond Riggs	19	4	4.0	82.3	24.5	4.6	95.0	46.1	45.1
Ivy City	23	5	13.1	61.5	7.4	10.0	94.4	40.2	44.9
Mayfair	30	7	6.1	67.3	10.0	7.6	94.9	42.3	44.9
Congress Heights	39	8	15.4	67.0	7.1	6.2	93.2	41.5	44.8
Southwest Employment Area	**9**	**6**	**9.0**	**81.1**	**49.3**	**5.0**	**92.3**	**41.0**	**43.8**
Capitol View/Marshall Heights	33	7	14.1	66.9	7.9	7.5	93.2	41.0	42.4
Eastland Gardens	29	7	0.0	69.1	14.9	7.6	94.8	36.4	42.3
Historic Anacostia	28	8	15.7	67.4	6.2	8.1	92.2	38.3	41.9
Near Southeast/Navy Yard	27	6	16.0	56.0	16.1	13.4	91.3	35.8	41.4
Douglass	38	8	9.9	56.0	2.1	8.9	95.2	34.3	37.5

Source: 2000 Census and District of Columbia Public Schools Administrative data.
Note: Test scores are SAT9 scaled scores.
Note: Neighborhoods in bold italics did well on adult outcomes compared to child outcomes.

than all the neighborhood clusters in all other wards, except for the Hawthorne Neighborhood Cluster of Ward 4, which is also in the upper Northwest region of the city. The next best performing clusters comprise the rest of the Upper Northwest part of the city—Colonial Village, Georgetown, and Dupont Circle. Thus, the Upper Northwest area appears to have elementary schools that are, at least by neighborhood cluster, uniformly better off than anywhere else in DC based on children's academic outcomes.

In general, the neighborhoods fall into three

Table 4: Performance for Specific Neighborhoods of Interest

Neighborhood Cluster	Ward	dropout rate (% 16-19 not enrolled) 2000	H.S. dipl. or higher Age 25+ 2000	% college deg. or higher Age 25+ 2000	% less than 9th grade Age 25+ 2000	attendance rate (%), elementary schools, all grades 1998-2003	reading scores, elementary schools, grades 3-5 1998-2003	math scores, elementary schools, grades 3-5 1998-2003
DC Average		10.1	77.8	39.1	7.8	93.6	46.1	49.5
Targeted Neighborhoods								
Benning Ridge/Ft. Dupont Park	2	10.1	68.8	9.7	6.1	92.5	43.4	48.9
Columbia Heights/Mt. Pleasant	2	14.9	63.6	30.6	18.8	93.0	41.6	44.9
Deanwood	6	11.7	60.3	9.1	12.8	92.1	39.6	43.2
Marshall Heights	7	16.9	63.6	4.6	7.1	92.0	41.4	43.9
Shaw	7	22.5	65.4	19.0	13.8	93.7	41.2	42.1
Southwest Washington/Navy Yard	7	15.1	79.2	46.5	5.8	93.1	47.2	48.8

Source: 2000 Census and District of Columbia Public Schools Administrative data.
Note: Test scores are SAT9 scaled scores.
Note: Neighborhoods in bold italics did well on adult outcomes compared to child outcomes.

categories—those that do well on most outcomes (upper Northwest), those that do poorly (most of the area east of the Anacostia River and many other parts of the city) and those that do well for adults but poorly for children (e.g. Capitol Hill, Howard University/Le Droit Park, Kalorama Heights/Adams Morgan, Southwest Employment Area, and Union Station neighborhood clusters). This last set of neighborhoods may have large numbers of well-off individuals who work and live in DC, but either do not have children or do not send their children to the DC Public schools (see Table 3). Figure 3 illustrates this pattern. The neighborhood clusters are listed in order of math test performance, except for the ones listed above, which are grouped in the box at the far right. As Chart 1 shows, the percent of adults with college degrees generally declines with the test score performance of the children attending schools in the neighborhood cluster, with the noticeable exception of the neighborhoods shown on the far right of the chart. These all have relatively low test scores but moderately high education outcomes for adults.

Comparisons for Six Targeted Neighborhoods

Six neighborhoods are of particular interest for this study—Columbia Heights/Mount Pleasant and Shaw (in Ward 2), Southwest Washington/Navy Yard (in Ward 6), Deanwood, Marshall Heights, and Benning Ridge/Fort Dupont Park (in Ward 7). These neighborhoods are generally below the city average in terms of math and reading test score performance and attendance, though Marshall

Heights is average or slightly above average in terms of attendance and Benning Ridge has slightly above average test scores in reading (see Table 4).

Most of these neighborhoods are also far below average on adult outcomes (high school and college graduation rates). The one exception is Southwest Washington/Navy Yard which has above average outcomes for adults. In addition, two of the remaining neighborhoods are doing relatively well on adult outcomes compared to child outcomes. These are the neighborhoods of Columbia Heights and Shaw. Both appear to be changing fairly quickly economically and may soon look much like the Capitol Hill and Dupont Circle clusters, and the Navy Yard neighborhood.

Columbia Heights/Mt.Pleasant is a neighborhood of particular interest for a number of reasons. First, as noted above, it is one of the neighborhoods that appear to be in the process of moving towards a higher-income adult population. Second, **almost 20% of the adults in Columbia Heights/Mt. Pleasant have less than a 9th grade education. This is the highest rate of any neighborhood analyzed here.**[6] This is likely related to the high immigrant population that lives in this area. Last, Columbia Heights/Mt. Pleasant has one of the elementary schools that has been chosen by the District of Columbia Public Schools as a "sending" school, meaning that students who would normally attend that school (Bruce-Monroe Elementary School) are eligible to instead attend one of a set of alternative schools (Adams, Meyer, Janney, and Park

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[6] Not surprisingly, Columbia Heights/Mt. Pleasant is in the neighborhood cluster with the highest mean for this variable by cluster.

Table 5: Changes Over Time by Ward

	Ward	attendance rate (%), elementary schools, all grades			reading scores, elementary schools, grades 3-5			math scores, elementary schools, grades 3-5		
	Ward	1997/98	2002/03	98 to 03	997/98	2002/03	98 to 03	1997/98	2002/03	98 to 03
District of Columbia		94.2	93.1	-1.1	45.2	45.0	-0.2	46.2	49.9	3.6
East of the River Wards	6,7,8	93.9	92.7	-1.2	41.1	42.6	1.5	41.6	46.3	4.7
Ward 1	1	94.0	92.8	-1.2	44.9	40.8	-4.1	48.6	48.9	0.3
Ward 2	2	93.9	94.4	0.5	47.4	46.5	-0.9	48.2	51.8	3.6
Ward 3	3	95.9	95.1	-0.8	74.0	67.8	-6.2	73.8	71.5	-2.2
Ward 4	4	94.4	93.6	-0.8	49.1	48.6	-0.5	49.2	54.7	5.4
Ward 5	5	95.3	93.4	-1.9	45.3	43.1	-2.2	46.6	48.1	1.5
Ward 6	6	93.6	92.4	-1.2	42.0	42.6	0.6	43.9	46.9	2.9
Ward 7	7	93.4	93.1	-0.3	43.4	44.8	1.4	44.2	48.5	4.3
Ward 8	8	94.2	92.4	-1.8	39.4	40.9	1.5	39.7	44.6	4.8

Source: DC Public Schools administrative data

Note: 2002/2003 test scores for Ft. Dupont Park were missing so we use 2001/2002 test scores in their place.

View). Not surprisingly, two of the "receiving" schools are in the same neighborhood cluster (Columbia Heights/Mt. Pleasant). This provides convenience for those parents who can not spend time delivering their children to schools far away. The remaining two schools (Adams and Janney) are in the Upper Northwest part of the city and may offer a higher level of academic challenge. This highlights a key issue in all of this analysis-according to key stakeholders who provided input for this report,[7] many of the children attending DC elementary schools come from relatively distant neighborhoods.

The other two elementary schools that have been designated by DC Public Schools as sending schools are both in Ward 8 which has the lowest average performance on test scores and attendance of any ward in the city. The schools are Stanton (in the Woodland/Garfield Heights Cluster) and Wilkinson (in the Sheridan Cluster). Interestingly, the receiving schools for Stanton are either in Ward 7 (Beers, Orr, and Randle Highlands) or Ward 3 (Mann). Presumably, schools in Ward 7 offer the convenience of being relatively close to Ward 8, while the one receiving school in Ward 3 provides a higher test score option. The receiving schools for Wilkinson appear to offer somewhat less choice—they are either in Ward 8 (Hendley, Leckie, and King) or Ward 6 (Watkins), both relatively low-scoring wards of the city, though these particular elementary schools may be relatively high scoring ones.

Changes Over Time by Neighborhood Cluster

Attendance
Attendance rates changed much more by neighborhood cluster than by ward. Indeed, DC public elementary school attendance changed very little during the 1998-2003 period, starting at 94% and declining slightly to 93% (see Table 5). This is true both overall and by ward. None of the wards experienced a change over 2 percentage points in their attendance rates. However, some of the neighborhood clusters experienced larger changes. Indeed, four neighborhood clusters experienced changes of 4 or more percentage points in their elementary school attendance rates—Eastland Gardens Cluster, which rose by 5 percentage points, and North Michigan Park, Brookland, and Sheridan Clusters, each of which of which fell by around 4 percentage points (see Table 5).

Test Scores
DC Public school outcomes improved in math and reading during the late 1990s according to the National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP) 4th grade results. The improvements in reading from 1998 to 2002 (at 12 points) were similar to those in math (also at 12 points) from 2000 to 2003. At the same time, however, **the performance of DC Public School 4th graders in reading in 2003 was quite close to where it was in 1992. In contrast, during that same decade math scores made a 12-point gain.**[8]

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[7] Their feedback is discussed in more detail in the section " Suggestions for Future Indicators."
[8] In 8th grade the DC math NAEP scores also improved by 12 points, but remain 33 points below the national average.

Table 6: Changes Over Time by Neighborhood Cluster

		attendance rate (%), elementary schools, all grades			reading scores, elementary schools, grades 3–5			math scores, elementary schools, grades 3–5		
Neighbordood Cluster	Ward	1997/98	2002/03	98 to 03	997/98	2002/03	98 to 03	1997/98	2002/03	98 to 03
1 Kalorama Heights/Adams Morgan	1	95	92	–3	43	39	–4	43	46	3
2 Columbia Heights/Mt. Pleasant	1	94	92	–1	45	39	–6	50	48	–2
3 Howard University/Le Droit Park	1	93	92	0	41	38	–2	43	47	4
4 Georgetown	2	95	96	0	51	52	1	55	57	2
5 West End/Foggy Bottom	2	.	.		.	.		.	.	
6 Dupont Circle	2	96	96	1	55	50	–4	58	52	–6
7 Shaw/Logan Circle	2	93	94	1	41	43	2	40	49	8
8 Downtown	2	96	93	–3	42	42	0	46	51	5
9 Southwest Employment Area	6	93	92	–2	43	40	–3	46	42	–4
10 Hawthorne	4	96	95	–1	79	74	–5	76	79	3
11 Friendship Heights/Tenleytown	3	97	95	–2	75	70	–6	74	74	0
12 North Cleveland Park/Van Ness	3	.	.		.	.		.	.	
13 Spring Valley/Foxhall	3	96	96	0	75	71	–4	77	78	
14 Cathedral Heights/Glover Park	3	93	95	2	74	63	–12	76	66	–10
15 Cleveland Park/Woodley Park	3	96	95	–1	69	62	–7	69	65	–4
16 Colonial Village	4	96	96	0	60	57	–3	59	63	4
17 Takoma	4	96	94	–2	50	52	2	51	60	9
18 Brightwood Park	4	94	93	–1	44	44	1	44	50	6
19 Lamond Riggs	4	95	93	–1	45	.	0	43	.	7
20 North Michigan Park	5	98	94	–4	51	50	–1	52	55	3
21 Edgewood	5	95	93	–2	42	40	–2	45	44	–1
22 Brookland	5	95	91	–4	44	39	–5	46	46	0
23 Ivy City	5	95	95	0	41	38	–3	44	42	–2
24 Woodridge	5	95	94	–1	51	55	4	49	61	12
25 Union Station	6	93	92	–1	41	41	0	42	46	4
26 Capitol Hill	6	94	94	0	46	48	2	46	53	7
27 Near Southeast/Navy Yard	6	90	90	0	38	31	–6	46	34	–11
28 Historic Anacostia	8	94	91	–3	37	38	1	37	44	7
29 Eastland Gardens	7	93	98	5	36	46	9	39	55	16
30 Mayfair	7	96	95	–1	40	43	3	41	47	6
31 Deanwood	7	93	92	–1	46	49	3	46	52	6
32 River Terrace	7	94	92	–1	48	37	–11	47	43	–3
33 Capitol View/Marshall Heights	7	93	93	0	39	37	–2	40	41	1
34 Twining	7	94	92	–3	46	46	0	48	48	0
35 Fairfax Village	7	93	93	0	48	53	5	51	56	5
36 Woodland/Garfield Heights	8	93	93	0	42	39	–3	46	43	–2
37 Sheridan	8	96	92	–4	39	37	–1	39	40	2
38 Douglass	8	96	94	–2	29	.	8	30	.	14
39 Congress Heights	8	94	93	–1	40	42	2	39	45	6
99 No cluster assigned		.	.		.	.		.	.	

Source: DC Public Schools administrative data.

Unfortunately, NAEP data cannot be used below the city level.[9] For this reason, this report focuses on the SAT-9 data to look at changes in DC by neighborhood cluster; results are reported using Normal Curve Equivalent (NCE) scores that range from 1 to 99 and have a national average of 50. Scores below 34 are considered below average while those above 65 are in the above average range.[10] Interestingly, the SAT-9 results appear to more or less track those found in NAEP in reading. In

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[9] The sample sizes are not sufficient.

[10] There are many alternative methods of reporting test scores. One is to report the percent of students scoring below basic. While this is somewhat easier to interpret, it has the disadvantage of ignoring variations in performance above and below the cut-off point.

particular, for 4th grade reading, both sets of scores rose between 1998 and 2003. However, NAEP reading scores had fallen from 1992 to 1998,so the net trend from 1992 to 2003 is flat.

The trends do not match so well in math, as the SAT-9 shows a small decrease between 2000[11] and 2003 for 4th grade students in math, while the NAEP math scores rose substantially during this period. Over the last decade, however, NAEP tests show overall gains in math for 4th graders, in contrast to reading. NAEP scores rose by 12 points between 1992 and 2003. Scores of the rest of the nation also rose, but by less so the gap between DC and the rest of the nation fell by 3 points. This could be viewed as a small change in the gap in comparison to the 29-point gap that remains between the District of Columbia and the nation, but it could also be important in the long run. There were also some interesting differences in test score changes within the city (see Tables 5 and 6).

While reading scores in DC did not change much on average, there were large fluctuations in some parts of the city across the years. A particularly dramatic example occurred in Ward 3 where reading scores dropped by 6 points during the period, from a high of 74 to a low of 68. Interestingly, all of the neighborhood clusters in Upper Northwest experienced above average declines in reading test scores, except for Georgetown, which gained only 1 point. The largest drops occurred in the Cathedral Heights/Glover Park and Cleveland Park/Woodley Park Clusters (12 and 7 points respectively). The Upper Northwest clusters were not the only ones to experience declines. For example, River Terrace Cluster, in Ward 7 also experienced a large drop of 11 points during this period.

On average, no ward experienced a large gain in reading scores between 1998 and 2003. In addition, the two clusters with the largest gains had only one school each. Eastland Gardens Cluster (in Ward 7) had a dramatic jump in the last year (9 points) at Kenilworth Elementary School. The Douglas Cluster (in Ward 8) also had a large growth (of 8 points) at Ketcham Elementary School; this growth appears more stable than that of Eastland Gardens Cluster, but Douglas Cluster started from an extremely low base score of only 29 points and remains near the bottom, at 37 points, even after their large increase.[12]

While few clusters experienced large gains, there were large fluctuations in reading scores across years in some neighborhood clusters. For example, Eastland Gardens Cluster moved by almost 15 points before settling on its 9 point gain and Sheridan Cluster also moved about 15 points, but netted only a 1 point drop. Unlike Eastland Gardens Cluster, which has only 1 school and therefore might be expected to have scores that bounce up and down, the Sheridan Cluster has 4 (Birney, Savoy, Moten, and Wilkinson Elementary Schools).

Math scores fluctuated up and down over the years by even more than the reading scores. Ten of the 39 neighborhood clusters varied by more than 10 points in math while this was true for only six clusters in reading.

All wards other than Ward 3 experienced increases in math scores, the largest of which was in Ward 4, which experienced a 5.4 point increase. The area east of the Anacostia River also experienced an overall 4.7 point increase. In the results by ward, the dramatic drop in scores for the Upper Northwest neighborhoods becomes apparent once again. Ward 3 (in Upper Northwest) was the only ward to experience a drop in math scores (by 2 points). These results are again driven by the Cathedral Heights/Glover Park and Cleveland Park/Woodley Park Neighborhood Clusters, which experienced drops of 10 and 4 points respectively. Both clusters experienced a very substantial part of their drop in the final year of the series. Outside of the Upper Northwest there were relatively few clusters that experienced drops in math scores, though the Near Southeast/Navy Yard Cluster experienced the largest drop in the city (12 points), but that appears to be an unstable change as their scores bounce up and down considerably from year to year. This is one of the clusters with only one school (Van Ness Elementary).

The largest improvement in math by neighborhood cluster occurred in Eastland Gardens (16 points), which also had a large increase in reading (of 9 points), but these changes occurred almost entirely in the last year of the series. The Douglas Cluster had a 14 point increase in math (and an 8 point increase in reading). This appears to be a fairly stable pattern over time. Finally, the Woodridge Cluster experienced a 12 point increase in math (though only a 1 point increase in reading). The math increase appears to be part of a stable trend.

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[11] NAEP did not test DC students in math in 1998 or 1999.

[12] Since Douglas Cluster was missing the 2002–2003 data, 2001–2002 school year data was used to calculate growth.

Changes over Time for 6 Specific Neighborhoods

Attendance

Attendance rates in the six targeted neighborhoods for this report were fairly stable over time (Table 8). None changed by more than 1.3 percentage points during this period. Most of these neighborhoods experienced declines, the largest of which was for Benning Ridge/Ft. Dupont Park (-1.3 percentage points). The largest improvement was in Shaw (+0.9 percentage points).

Test Scores

There were large fluctuations in reading scores across years in some of the specific neighborhoods analyzed here. For example, the Deanwood neighborhood ranged up and down 16 points, for a net increase of 9 points during the period, the largest of any of the six neighborhoods we analyze. The largest increases in math occurred in Shaw (13 points) and Deanwood (12 points). Thus, Deanwood had large increases in both math and reading. Other relatively large increases in math occurred in Benning Ridge/Ft. Dupont Park (6 points.)

The Marshall Heights community is one of the poorest in DC and has received a great deal of attention in recent years. Indeed, the Marshall Heights Community Development Organization

(MHCDO) has been working to physically reconstruct the Marshall Heights neighborhood and to work with the schools, including J.C. Nalle Elementary School. Nalle Elementary runs an extended-day program that provides intensive academic support for 12 hours per week in this neighborhood, and one of the 9 "transformation" schools chosen by DC to be reorganized for academic success is in this neighborhood cluster.[13] Nevertheless, **the Marshall Heights neighborhood experienced test score drops in both math and reading and a small drop in attendance rates between 1998 and 2003, suggesting that greater efforts will be needed to address the needs of the children in this neighborhood.**

Suggestions for Future Indicators

In a discussion on September 30, 2003 with a number of key DC education stakeholders about ways to enahnce subsequent editions of this *Issue Scan*,[14] the following suggestions were made:

1. Percentage Out of Boundary: As noted above, a large number of DC elementary school students come from neighborhoods outside of the catchment area for their school. Indeed, DC has had an open enrollment policy for many years, meaning that students can attend any school in the District, if space is available. This policy has likely been

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[13] Jehl, Jeanne. Martin J. Blank, Barbara McCloud. "Education and Community Building: Connecting Two Worlds." Institute for Educational Leadership, Inc. 2001 and "Promising Programs Around the Country: K.I.D.S. Kits: Quality Curriculum." Charles Stewart Mott Foundation Afterschool Programs. July 1999.

[14] In attendance at this meeting were Brenda Harvey (DC Voice), Carmen Lane (Meyer Foundation), Jan Chapman (State Education Office), Deborah Lyons (University of the District of Columbia), Duncan Chaplin (author-The Urban Institute), Precious Jackson (The Urban Institute), Greg Roberts(The Children and Youth Investment Trust Corporation) Jo Baker (Charter School Board), Julie Mikuta (DC Public School Board), Tahi Reynolds (DC Voice), Vera White (District of Columbia Public Schools-DCPS), Peter Parham (DCPS) , Mark Rubin (DC Agenda-DCA), Carrie Thornhill (DCA), Skip McKoy (DCA), Shelly Weeden Abbott (facilitator-DCA), Rita Turner (Note taker-DCA), and Kate Fried (Note taker-DCA).

Table 7: Changes Over time by Neighborhood

	Ward	attendance rate (%), elementary schools, all grades			reading scores, elementary schools, grades 3-5			math scores, elementary schools, grades 3-5		
		1997/98	2002/03	98 to 03	997/98	2002/03	98 to 03	1997/98	2002/03	98 to 03
District of Columbia		94.2	93.1	-1.1	45.2	45.0	-0.2	46.2	49.9	3.6
Neighborhoods										
Columbia Heights/Mt. Pleasant	2	93.2	92.5	-0.7	44.0	39.5	-4.5	48.4	47.4	-1.0
Shaw	2	93.6	94.5	0.9	40.0	43.2	3.2	37.3	50.4	13.1
Southwest Washington/Navy Yard	6	92.2	91.2	-1.0	40.8	37.7	-3.0	45.9	40.2	-5.6
Deanwood	7	90.8	91.1	0.3	34.5	43.1	8.6	35.8	48.0	12.2
Marshall Heights	7	94.8	94.3	-0.5	40.5	35.4	-5.1	41.1	37.6	-3.4
* Benning Ridge/Ft. Dupont Park	7	92.0	90.7	-1.3	45.7	44.1	-1.6	44.3	49.9	5.6

Source: DC Public Schools administrative data.

Note: * 2002/2003 test scores for Ft. Dupont Park were missing so we use 2001/2002 test scores in their place.

expanded in light of federal *No Child Left Behind* legislation that encourages the District to have "sending" and "receiving" schools, as discussed above. This suggests that it would be useful to have data on the percent of students who live out of boundary by neighborhood cluster and year. Ideally one would also use data on individual students to estimate performance by the neighborhood where children reside, rather than where they live. This may not be possible for some time due to data constraints.

2. Percentages of Students Who Are Limited English Proficient, Special Education, and Immigrants: Many DC students have special needs. Changes in the fraction of students with these needs may help to explain some of the changes over time observed in the academic outcomes.

3. Out-of-School Time Activities: A number of the key stakeholders asked for more information about out-of-school time activities—participation and capacity, especially for older youth (age 14+). Obtaining such data would likely be very expensive and was beyond the scope of this project.

4. Impacts vs. Indicators of Need: This analysis was designed primarily to provide indicators of need. A number of stakeholders expressed interest in estimating impacts of different programs, such as tutoring programs, the Transformation Schools Initiative and childcare slots. Such research would take a great deal more analysis effort than has been designated for this project.

5. Older Students: A number of stakeholders asked for more information about older students. There are not enough high schools or junior highs to create indicators for each of the 39 neighborhood clusters easily. One could, however, do ward level analyses for these outcomes, as has been done for earlier reports.[15]

6. Other Outcomes: A number of stakeholders requested other outcomes such as parent involvement, the rate of going to college for DC students, their later employment, teacher quality, youth worker standards, and literacy. These would be difficult to obtain as far as I know. One could try to get proxies, however, such as the education of parents with older children as an indicator of parent involvement in academic activities. Teacher quality data may become available in future years as such information is required as part of the new federal education legislation like *No Child Left Behind.*

7. Charter Schools: Charter schools have been omitted from this analysis due to a lack of data. It would be useful to try to obtain such data for future efforts and to estimate what percentage of children are attending charter schools in each neighborhood and neighborhood cluster.

8. Data by Census Tract: There was some discussion of obtaining data at the census tract level. This would enable one to describe much more precisely where there was a need for additional services. Unfortunately, it is extremely difficult to obtain tract level information on student performance because there are almost two hundred census tracts but far fewer elementary schools. In the future, however, it may be possible for DCPS to create files showing performance levels by the census tracts of the children's homes.

9. Separate Grade Level Results: There was some discussion of presenting results by grade-level. This is currently possible for test scores. Presenting such numbers would not be difficult. Analyzing them would, however, take considerably more time and was beyond the scope of this project.

10. Identify Schools in Clusters: A request was made to identify the schools in each cluster. This is done in Appendix A.

Conclusion

The District of Columbia was created specifically to be the Nation's capital. As such, many of the wealthiest and best educated Americans have chosen to live here. In addition, however, the city has attracted many people across the lower end of the economic spectrum. Indeed, this capital city was likely viewed by many as a source of protection from hardships and discrimination suffered elsewhere in the country. Whether it has risen to the challenge of improving the lives of all its citizens is impossible to know with certainty. What is clear, however, is that large gaps remain in terms of many important quality of life issues.

These gaps are particularly glaring in the area of public education. Indeed, the high private school enrollment rate in DC suggests that many of DC's citizens have chosen to send their children elsewhere for school. Thus, the public schools remain serving largely a lower income population. It is difficult to know whether the public schools are doing well given these challenges. What is clear, however, is

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[15] Chaplin, Duncan, Antoinette Mitchell, Jorge Ruiz-de-Velasco, Calvin Johnson, and Kathy Pettit (1999) Capacity and Needs Assessments: Youth Activities in the District of Columbia, A Report to the Office of the Mayor of the District of Columbia.

that the performance of DC public schools is low relative to much of the nation, and probably still too low to convince many of the more well-off citizens of DC to send their children to most of the public schools here.

This section has discussed how the performance of children in DC varies across neighborhoods and over time, finding that neighborhoods break down into three basic types—those with adults and children with high academic outcomes (i.e. the Upper Northwest portion of the city where the wealthiest people live), those with residents and children whose academic outcomes are below average (most of the rest of the city), and a number of areas where the residents have high levels of education, but the children are performing relatively poorly in school. This last set of neighborhoods helps to highlight the ongoing tension in the city regarding how best to improve city services. While it appears that DC has been able to improve most services enough to attract new (and wealthier) residents to a number of neighborhoods, the schools do not appear to have improved enough to encourage many people to move to DC so that they can send their children to DC public schools.

This is not because of a lack of effort. The District has gone through a fairly large number of school superintendents, has the highest percentage of children in charter schools in the nation, has instituted a number of important high school reform efforts (smaller learning communities and school-to-career initiatives), has major efforts to improve educational learning technologies and out-of-school time services (albeit with somewhat unstable funding for the latter), and has reconstituted a number of schools. In spite of all these efforts, academic performance in reading in DC does not appear to have changed noticeably over the last decade-rather it went down early in the decade and then recovered in the later years. However, in math, small gains have been realized in both 4th and 8th grades.

One explanation for the lack of larger improvements may be that the reforms did have large impacts, but were offset by a change in the mix of students attending DC schools. This change could have happened for a number of reasons. High immigration rates of people from low-income countries in South America and the flight of many middle class families to the suburbs are two that come to mind. Some of the variation across neighborhoods in DC suggests that these factors may be at play.

While overall performance has been fairly stagnant, especially in reading, there have been some important changes across different neighborhoods. In particular, it appears that in recent years the schools in the wealthiest neighborhoods have experienced a decline in performance. It could be that resources have been diverted away from these schools to help improve schools elsewhere in the city. In addition, it may be the case that wealthier parents are having fewer children or else that they are sending their children to other schools as well. Regardless, this pattern helps to highlight the on-going tension between improving the schools for different segments of the population.

The variation in performance across neighborhoods, and in the changes over time, suggests one way in which DC could work to reform its education system in future. In particular, if DC can take advantage of its burgeoning data collection system to better measure performance of different parts of the system, it may be able to determine which parts are working most effectively and then strive to see that other parts of the system adopt similar initiatives. In order to achieve this goal, however, it will likely be necessary to systematically control how initiatives are implemented, so that the results can be clearly attributed to those changes and not to ongoing shifts in the characteristics of students being served in those areas. It will also likely be necessary to implement fewer but larger initiatives, so that the effects of each can be clearly measured. In the current environment, with so many changes taking place at the same time, it is likely impossible to determine which factors are affecting student achievement.[16]

Another important implication of this work is that DC needs to consider carefully a number of important trade-offs in how it reforms city services. The first is the issue of how much to invest in the city's schools as compared to other types of city services. The city is now attracting a new group of relatively wealthy citizens. This is likely due to improvements in crime prevention and other general services. It does not, however, appear to have been caused by changes in the school system per se as these new citizens do not appear to be sending their children to DC schools. The second tradeoff, which is highly related to the first, is between how much DC invests in schools in the wealthier neighborhoods as compared to the less wealthy neighborhoods. On the one hand,

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[16] One could argue that DC needs many small reforms now to improve student achievement immediately. An alternative point would be that since we do not know what works, implementing many small reforms simultaneously is unlikely to yield short or long-term benefits. In contrast, implementing a smaller number of large reforms with careful oversight should have larger long-term benefits.

children in the schools in the less wealthy neighborhoods are probably in much greater need of more services. On the other hand, attracting wealthier parents to the city could increase the revenue base of the city and thereby enable it provide more and better services, including for those most in need.

Regardless of which changes are made, it is clear that careful tracking of performance and progress over time is, and will continue to be, an integral part of a successful long-term planning process for DC. Bringing in neighborhood level indicators helps to better inform many issues and should, in the long-run, make the city a more livable place for all.

Appendix A
Neighborhood Cluster (NC) and School Name
Schools in DC Issue Scan

NC	School Name	NC	School Name	NC	School Name
1	Cooke, H.D. Elementary School	18	Barnard Elementary School	31	Houston Elementary School
1	Marie Reed Elementary School	18	Clark Elementary School	31	Burrville Elementary School
2	Bancroft Elementary School	18	Powell Elementary School	31	Drew Elementary School
2	Tubman Elementary School	18	Raymond Elementary	31	Merrit, Montessori SWSC
2	Bruce Monroe Elementary School	19	Lasalle Elementary School	31	Merritt Elementary School
2	Parkview Elementary School	20	Bunker Hill Elementary School	32	Benning Elementary School
2	Meyer Elementary School	20	Brookland Elementary School	32	River Terrace Elementary School
3	Gage-Eckington Elementary School	21	Cook, J.F. Elementary School	33	Davis Elementary School
3	Cleveland Elementary School	21	Emery Elementary School	33	Shadd Elementary School
4	Hyde Elementary School	21	Shaed Elementary School	33	Nalle Elementary School
4	Adams Elementary School	22	Slowe Elementary School	33	Harris C.W. Elementary School
6	Ross Elementary School	22	Noyes Elementary School	33	Plummer Elementary School
6	Stevens Elementary School	23	Wheatley Elementary School	34	Orr Elementary School
7	Montgomery Elementary School	23	Webb Elementary School	34	Kimball Elementary School
7	Seaton Elementary School	23	Webb, African-Centered SWSC	35	Winston Elementary School
7	Garrison Elementary School	23	Young Elementary School	35	Beers Elementary School
8	Walker-Jones Elementary School	24	Marshall Elementary School	35	Randle Highland Elementary School
8	Thomson, J.S. Elementary School	24	Langdon Elementary School	36	Garfield Elementary School
9	Bowen Elementary School	24	Burroughs Elementary School	36	Stanton Elementary School
9	Amidon Elementary School	25	Gibbs Elementary School	37	Birney Elementary School
10	Lafayette Elementary School	25	Miner Elementary School	37	Savoy Elementary School
11	Janney Elementary School	25	Maury Elementary School	37	Moten Elementary School
11	Murch Elementary School	25	Peabody Elementary School	37	Wilkinson Elementary School
13	Mann Elementary School	25	Peabody Emilia Reggio SWSC	38	Turner Elementary School
13	Key Elementary School	25	Ludlow-Taylor Elementary School	39	Martin Luther King Elementary School
14	Stoddert Elementary School	25	Wilson, J.O. Elementary School	39	Green Elementary School
15	Oyster Elementary School	26	Brent Elementary School	39	Malcom X Elementary School
15	Eaton Elementary School	26	Payne Elementary School	39	McGogney Elementary School
15	Hearst Elementary School	26	Watkins Elementary School	39	Draper Elementary School
16	Shepherd Elementary School	26	Tyler Elementary School	39	Ferebee-Hope Elementary School
17	Takoma Elementary School	27	Van Ness Elementary School	39	Simon Elementary School
17	Whittier Elementary School	28	Ketcham Elementary School	39	Terrell, M.C. Elementary School
18	Brightwood Elementary School	29	Kenilworth Elementary School	39	Harris Educational Center
18	West Elementary School	30	Smothers Elementary School	39	Hendley Elementary School
18	Truesdell Elementary School	30	Thomas, N Elementary School	39	Hendley, Lotus Center SWSC
18	Truesdell, Nongraded SWSC	31	Aiton Elementary School	39	Leckie Elementary School
18	Rudolph Elementary School	31	Miller Elementary School	39	Patterson W.B. Elementary School

Note: SWSC means school within a school.
Prepared by the Urban Institute, DC Data Warehouse (updated 9/29/03)

Appendix B: Definitions of Indicators

Following is a description of the indicators used to describe education outcomes in the District of Columbia.

Attendance Rates
This is the fraction of students who attend school on average during the school year. Averages are reported across all public elementary schools in each geographic area.

SAT-9 Test Scores
This report is based on math and reading Stanford Achievement Tests, 9th Edition (Stanford-9). These are standardized tests that are administered to almost all students in most grades in the spring of each year. Average scores are presented for students in grades 3-5 in public elementary schools. As noted in the main body of the text, Normal Curve Equivalent (NCE) scores reported range from 1 to 99 and have a national average of 50. Scores below 34 are considered below average while those above 65 are in the above average range.

NAEP Test Scores
These are math and reading scores on the National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP). These are also standardized test scores that are administered to a random sample of almost all students once every few years. Scaled scores reported range from 0 to 500. For national comparisons, NAEP scores are used because the NAEP is designed for making much better national comparisons than the SAT-9.[17]

Dropout Rates
These data are from the 2000 Decennial Census and refer to the percent of youth age 16-19 without high school degrees who are not enrolled in school.

Percentage High School Diploma or Higher
These data are from the 2000 Decennial Census and refer to the percent of people ages 16-19 who have a high school degree or more.

Percentage College Degree or Higher
These data are from the 2000 Decennial Census and refer to the percent of people age 25 and over who have a college degree or more.

Percentage less than 9th Grade
These data are from the 2000 Decennial Census and refer to the percent of people age 25 and over who have completed 9th grade or less.

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[17] The SAT-9 norm standards are based on a national sample of students who took the test many years ago. Performance on the SAT-9 nationally may have changed substantially since that time.

Neighborhood Economies

Authored by Martha Ross

Martha Ross is a senior research analyst with the Brookings Greater Washington Research Program, where she focuses on a range of topics, including neighborhood revitalization and issues affecting low-income families. Prior to joining Brookings, Martha worked on welfare policy in the office of the Assistant Secretary for Planning and Evaluation in the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services and local workforce development policy at Wider Opportunities for Women. She has a masters' degree from the University of Chicago.

Introduction

A critical measure of a neighborhood's health is the extent to which neighborhood residents and businesses are connected to the city and regional economy. One of the underlying problems facing urban neighborhoods characterized by high unemployment, poverty, and a weak employment and commercial base is that they are isolated from the opportunities and resources of the larger economy. The good news is that there are lots of ideas and practices on how to bridge the gap: from Community Reinvestment Act (CRA) requirements leading to increased lending activity in urban neighborhoods to employment programs that seek to build more effective informational networks linking urban dwellers with employers.[1]

The District of Columbia certainly has its share of neighborhoods grappling with poverty and social isolation. This section examines a number of indicators to measure the economic well-being of District residents and neighborhoods. Some of the data are sobering. Poverty, a key measure of that well-being, went in the wrong direction in the

1990s, and certain neighborhoods consistently have higher poverty and unemployment rates than the city average.

But these data, although essential to understanding residents' and neighborhoods' economic status, do not tell the whole story. Not all neighborhood assets are easily captured by traditional data sources. For instance, although household incomes may be fairly low, the aggregate consumer buying power in low- to moderate-income neighborhoods is nonetheless considerable.[2] These neighborhoods are able to support greater retail and commercial activity (and develop an employment base as well), but are not always able to connect with the sources of financial and human capital to make the development happen. One good sign in the District of Columbia, however, is that small business loan activity increased over the last few years, indicating increased commercial activity.

Overall, the mid-to-late 1990s brought renewed interest in living and investing in District neighborhoods that is not always reflected in 2000 data. The city and its private and nonprofit partners have dedicated significant energy and resources to neighborhood revitalization, and have realized some

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[1] Because of the Issue Scan's focus on neighborhoods, this analysis does not consider citywide or regional economic drivers, such as employment and purchases by large institutions like the federal government, universities, and hospitals. These factors are obviously critical to the District and regional economy, but are beyond the scope of this report.

[2] Social Compact, District of Columbia Neighborhood Market Drill Down, 2002; Michael Porter, The Competitive Advantage of the Inner City, Harvard Business Review, May/June 1995.

impressive successes. Some examples of development in various stages of planning, development, and completion include:

• **In Brentwood,** a former city impound lot was transformed into a shopping center with a full-service Giant grocery store and Home Depot in 2002. Further plans include mixed-use retail and residential development on the adjacent site next to the Rhode Island Metro station that will better connect the Metro stop to the neighborhood.

• **In the Anacostia neighborhood,** a number of investments are in the pipeline that should result in significant neighborhood improvement. The Anacostia Gateway site, developed by the District, the Anacostia Economic Development Corp. and DRI, will include two office buildings housing both District government offices and retail. Together, these buildings will total more than 300,000 square feet. The DC Office of Planning is carrying out an analysis of what kinds of development will best take advantage of the Anacostia Metro stop and spur further economic development. The neighborhood was recently included in the city's "Main Street" program, which provides neighborhood business districts and business owners assistance with commercial revitalization.

• **In Hillcrest,** the National Capital Revitalization Corporation (NCRC) is leading the effort to redevelop the Skyland shopping center, with about 240,000 square feet, to better meet neighborhood needs.

Obviously, neighborhoods differ in their characteristics and their interest/ability to support different kinds of commercial development. Attracting and maintaining neighborhood-serving retail (coffee shops, barbershops, video stores, grocery stores, dry cleaners) is a different proposition than developing and maintaining a more regionally-focused center, complete with more retail, dining, and entertainment options and a larger employment base in the area.

But a clear theme from residents, both from the city-sponsored Strategic Neighborhood Action Plans (SNAP) and DC Agenda's community conversations, is that they are interested in more neighborhood economic development. Residents would like a greater diversity of goods and services in their neighborhoods, beyond fast-food restaurants, nail and hair salons, and check-cashing establishments. They'd like more bank branches and grocery stores, and financial and technical assistance on how to start and run a small business.

The decline in ordinary commercial services in a number of neighborhoods is a result of the District's population loss over the past few decades. Grocery stores, hardware stores, drugstores and the like closed when the middle-income customers that bought their wares moved out of the city over the past few decades, and the jobs these establishments supported disappeared with them.

To turn around the disinvestment in neighborhood commercial areas (of all types—from small neighborhood business corridors to larger regional gateways), the District needs to increase its residential population. This is especially critical in neighborhoods in Wards 7 and 8, which have experienced the largest population loss over the past thirty years. Commercial and neighborhood revitalization go hand in hand. Businesses can't thrive without a ready customer and employment base. And neighborhoods without easy access to grocery stores, banks, drugstores and the like are less likely to attract and retain residents.

The Strategic Neighborhood Investment Program (SNIP) is a critical component of the city's plans to increase its residential population and promote healthier neighborhoods. [3]
Based on an analysis of a number of social and

Figure 1: Poverty Rates by Ward, 1990 and 2000
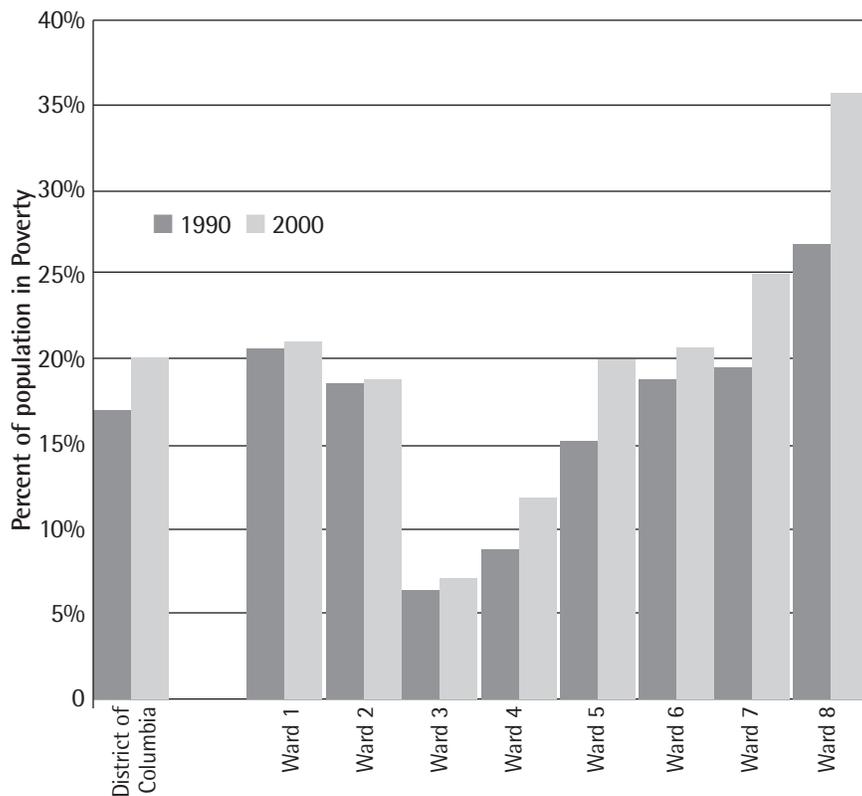
economic indicators, the city identified 12 neighborhoods[4] offering the best chances to leverage city funds with additional nonprofit and private investments. In this way, the city can use its scarce resources to generate visible neighborhood improvements.

Indicators
Individual and Household Characteristics

Poverty

The number of District residents living in poverty increased over the 1990s, from 17% of the population in 1990 (about 96,000 residents) to 20% of the population in 2000 (about 110,000 residents). Poverty is not evenly distributed throughout the city: Ward 3 has the city's lowest poverty rate (7.4%), compared to 25% in Ward 7 and 36% in Ward 8 (see Figure 1).

But not all high-poverty neighborhoods are located east of the Anacostia River, and not all neighborhoods east of the Anacostia River have poverty rates higher than the city average. Neighborhood Clusters 34 (Penn Bridge, Fairlawn, Twining) and 35 (Hillcrest, Fairfax Village) in Ward 7 both have poverty rates of about 16%. Neighborhood Cluster 23 (Ivy City/Trinidad) in Ward 5, by contrast, has a poverty rate of 31% and Cluster 8 (Downtown) has a poverty rate of 33%.

Poverty rates in the neighborhoods targeted for more in-depth analysis in this report are all above 25%, and higher than the city average. Some of these neighborhoods had large increases in poverty over the decade: in Southwest Washington/ Southwest Washington/Navy Yard, from 22% to 28%. Rates were more stable in *Columbia Heights/Mt. Pleasant* and Shaw (see Figure 2).

Poverty disproportionately affects the young. Although children under 18 make up only 20% of the city's population, they comprise more than 30% of the city's population living in poverty. More than 35,000 District children are living in poverty. In Wards 1, 6, 7, and 8, more than one-third of children live below the poverty line.[5]

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[3] Neighborhood 10: Ten Strategies for a Stronger Washington, Washington, DC, 2003; Alice Rivlin and others, Revitalizing Washington's Neighborhoods: A Vision Takes Shape, Brookings Greater Washington Research Program, 2003.

[4] The 12 SNIP neighborhoods are Bellevue, Columbia Heights/Mt. Pleasant, Congress Heights, Pennsylvania Avenue SE, Georgia Avenue/Petworth, Historic Anacostia, Ivy City/Trinidad, Minnesota Avenue/Benning Road, H Street, Near Southeast, Shaw, Takoma.

[5] Mark Rubin, 2000 Census Numbers Reveal Higher Poverty Numbers in the District by Ward and Neighborhood Cluster, DC Agenda, October 2002.

Map 1: Neighborhood Cluster Poverty Rates, 2000.

Poverty Rate, 2000
- Under 10 percent
- 10 to 20 percent
- 20 to 29 percent
- 30 to 39 percent
- More than 40 percent

Figure 2: Poverty Rates in DC Agenda Neighborhoods, 2000

DC Citywide Poverty Rate: 20.2%

In addition to the overall increase in poverty, the concentration of poverty also increased. There were more neighborhoods with poverty rates above 30% in 2000 (see Map 1 and Table 1) than there were in 1990. Although all individuals living in poverty face difficulties in meeting their basic needs, residents of high poverty neighborhoods face daunting challenges. The problems associated with poverty are magnified in these neighborhoods, which are generally characterized by low educational attainment, joblessness, single-parent households, and high crime. Few neighborhoods of this type can support the businesses and civic organizations necessary for a healthy community.[6]

Table 1: Neighborhood Clusters with Concentrated Poverty (Poverty Rates Above 30%).

CLUSTER	POVERTY RATE
Cluster 8 (Downtown)	33.4%
Cluster 23 (Ivy City)	30.9%
Cluster 27 (Near SE/Southwest Washington/Navy Yard)	50.3%
Cluster 28 (Historic Anacostia)	37.7%
Cluster 33 (Capitol View/Marshall Heights)	32.8%
Cluster 36 (Woodland/Garfield Heights)	47.3%
Cluster 37 (Sheridan)	46.1%
Cluster 38 (Douglas)	46.2%
Cluster 39 (Congress Heights)	34.1%

Unemployment[7]

The unemployment rate decreased from 6.6% in 1990 to 5.7% in 2000. There was substantial fluctuation during the 1990s, however, with a high of 8.9% in 1995. Rates have climbed since 2000, reaching 6.4% in 2002.[8] Unemployment in the District is typically higher than in the surrounding suburban areas. For instance, in 1995, unemployment in the suburbs was 3.6%, and in 2000, 1.9%.[9] Unemployment varies across the city (see Figure 3), with the highest rates in Wards 5, 7, and 8.[10]

High unemployment rates in parts of the city are related to neighborhood residents' relatively low levels of educational attainment, described in another section. For instance, only 13% of Ward 7 and 8% of Ward 8 residents have a bachelor's degree or higher, compared to the citywide figure of almost 40%. The District's employment base is grounded in government and associated business and professional services. It is primarily an office economy, and as such, many of the moderate-to-high-paying jobs require an educated workforce.

Although there are numerous employment opportunities for those without college degrees in organizations like hotels, restaurants, and hospitals, many of these jobs are fairly low-paying and do not tend to have well-established career ladders leading to higher-paid positions.[11]

TANF Recipients

The number of households who participate in the TANF (Temporary Assistance to Needy Families) program has remained fairly stable since 2000-2001. TANF, commonly known as "welfare," provides cash assistance and employment-focused services to low-income households for a limited time. It is the successor to a previous federal program, Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC). For a family of three in the District, TANF's monthly benefit is $379, or $4,548 per year.[12]

Consistent with national trends, District of Columbia caseloads decreased dramatically in the mid-to-late 1990s following the transformation of AFDC into TANF. Since 2000, however, the number of households receiving benefits has remained fairly steady, with slight variations up and down. In 1996, there were about 26,000 households receiving TANF in the District.[13] In 2003, that figure was 17,180 households.[14] (See Table 2.)

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[6] Margery Austin Turner et al., Housing in the Nation's Capital, Fannie Mae Foundation and Urban Institute, 2003; Paul Jargowsky, Stunning Progress, Hidden Problems, Brookings Institution Center on Urban and Metropolitan Policy, 2003.

[7] The Issue Scan is not including another common employment-related indicator, Labor Force Participation, because of concerns about the data's reliability. A notice released by the Census Bureau in 2002 cautioned that Summary File 3 labor force data in areas where colleges are located appear to mis-state the number in the labor force due to reporting or processing errors.

[8] Citywide unemployment figures are from the Local Area Unemployment Statistics (LAUS) program of the Bureau of Labor Statistics, U.S. Department of Labor. LAUS are derived from the Current Population Survey (CPS). Ward-level statistics were imputed by adjusting the citywide LAUS figures based on unemployment figures from the 2000 Census.

[9] Washington, DC Department of Employment Services, 1992-2002 Labor Force Statistics (Annual Averages).

[10] The increase in unemployment in Ward 3 from 1990-2000 should be interpreted with caution, given the Census Bureau's notice that 2000 Summary File 3 unemployment figures may be mis-stated in areas with colleges. Both Georgetown University and American University are located in Ward 3.

[11] District of Columbia Workforce Investment Council, The District's State of the Workforce Report, January 2003.

[12] DC KIDS COUNT Collaborative for Children and Families, Every KID COUNTS in the District of Columbia, Ninth Annual Fact Book, 2002.

[13] Philip M. Dearborn, Welfare Rolls No Longer in Rapid Decline, Brookings Greater Washington Research Program, May 2002.

[14] Caseload figures here differ slightly from the annual figures published by the DC Income Maintenance Administration. Although Issue Scan figures are provided by the Income Maintenance Administration, they are calculated differently. Issue Scan figures refer to a point in time — July 1 of a given year — versus an annual count of households who received benefits.

Table 2: Number of District Households Citywide Receiving TANF Benefits

2003	2002	2001	2000	1999
17,180	16,937	16,440	16,617	18,254

Those who leave TANF for employment usually join the ranks of the working poor. One study calculated that about 60% of District residents who left TANF were employed a year later, and another 20% had worked at some point in the year after leaving the program, similar to figures in other jurisdictions. Typical employment was full-time at about $8 an hour. Quarterly earnings of District residents who left TANF were comparable or a little higher than the earnings of TANF leavers in other jurisdictions.[15]

According to the District's Income Maintenance Administration, 2,300 TANF recipients were placed in employment in Fiscal Year 2003, with a 3-month retention rate of almost 80%.

The District government has won numerous high-performance TANF federal bonuses (more than any other jurisdiction in the country) totaling $115 million for its success in moving welfare recipients into employment, providing supportive services, and reducing births outside of marriage.

In 2003, households east of the Anacostia River accounted for about half of the city's TANF caseload, although the area accounts for only about one-third of the city's family households (see Table 3). This report's targeted neighborhoods with high numbers of households receiving TANF include Columbia Heights/Mt. Pleasant, accounting for 8.4% of the city's caseload.

Previous reports have documented that much of the District's caseload consists of disadvantaged households, with low-skill levels, weak employment histories, and long periods of welfare reliance.[16] In order to find employment, and especially to find employment that will lift them above poverty, this "hard-to-serve" population needs multiple services, such as child care, literacy and basic skills education, and treatment for physical and mental health problems.

Table 3: Number of Households Receiving TANF, 2003 and Change from Previous Years

	Households Receiving TANF, 2003	% Change 2003–2002	% Change 2003–1999
District of Columbia	17,180	1%	–6%
East of the River	9,395	1%	–6%
Wards			
1	1,410	–3%	–15%
2	475	–1%	–8%
3	12	17%	–21%
4	1,213	–3%	–11%
5	2,440	9%	2%
6	2,160	4%	–5%
7	3,674	–4%	–6%
8	5,795	3%	–5%
Targeted Neighborhoods			
Columbia Heights/Mt. Pleasant	1,448	–3%	–15%
Shaw	327	3%	–5%
Southwest Washington/Navy Yard	500	4%	–7%
Deanwood	599	–12%	–28%
Marshall Heights	483	5%	8%
Benning Ridge/Ft. Dupont Park	724	–8%	–2%

Figure 3: Unemployment Rates by Ward, 1990 and 2000
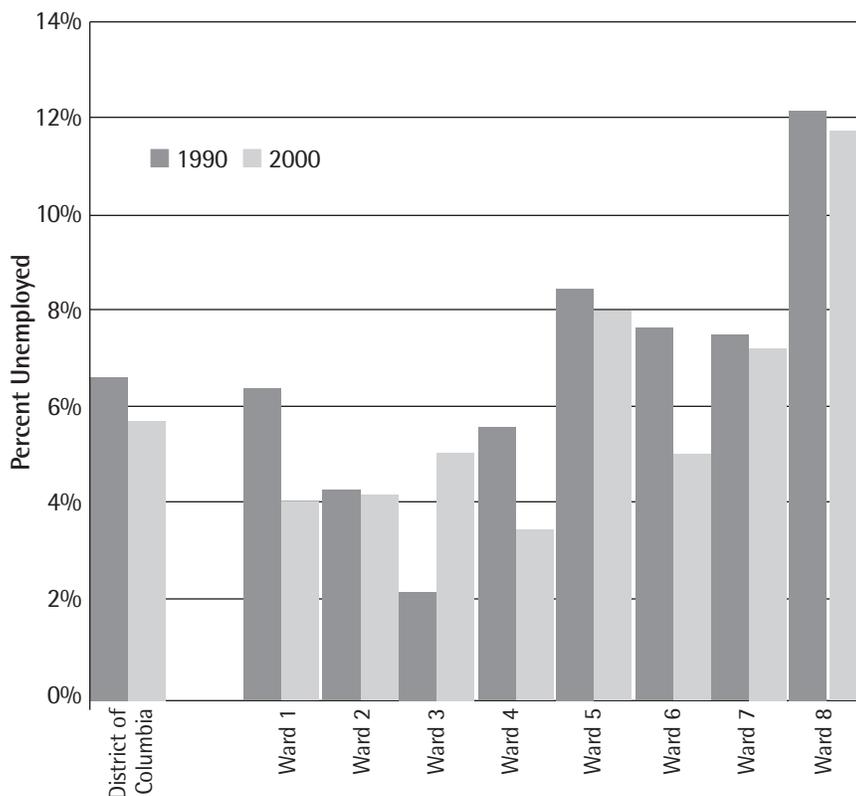
[15] Gregory Acs and Pamela Loprest, The Status of TANF Leavers in the District of Columbia, Urban Institute, January 2001.
[16] Gregory Acs and Pamela Loprest, A Study of the District of Columbia's TANF Caseload, Urban Institute, October 2003; Carol S. Meyers, The District and Baltimore Face Double Whammy in Welfare Reform, Brookings Greater Washington Research Program, May 2001; Ed Lazere, The Status of Welfare Reform in the District of Columbia, DC Fiscal Policy Institute, March 2001.

District of Columbia: Number of Businesses by Zip Code, 2003.
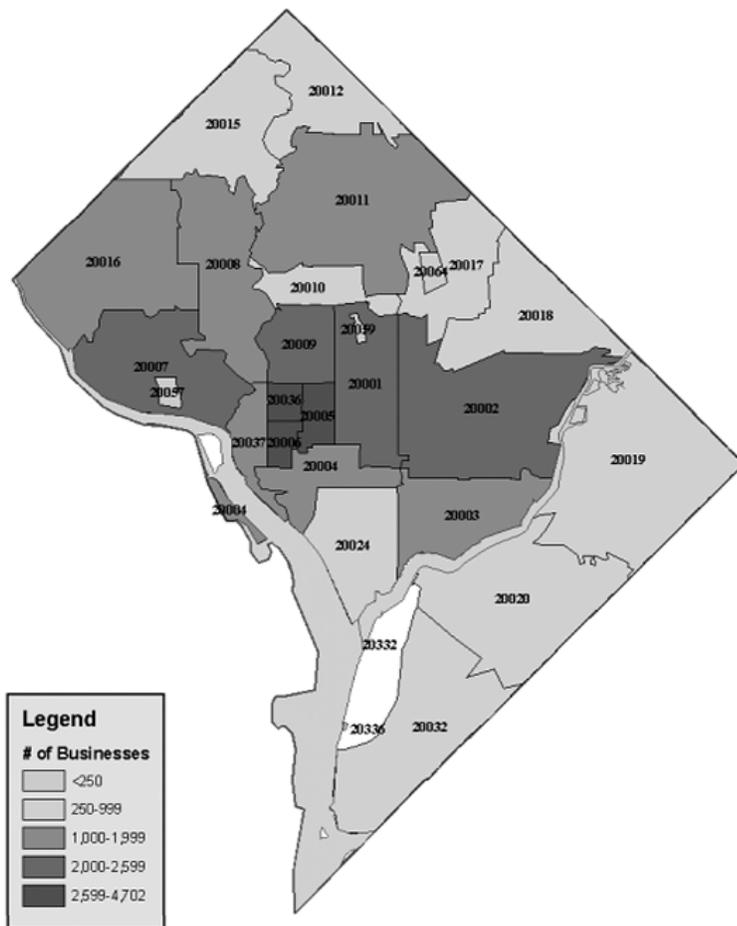
These supportive services are expensive, however, and compete with the need for funds to continue providing direct cash assistance.

Participation in Apprenticeship Programs

Apprenticeships offer individuals a chance to learn a trade through a combination of on-the-job training and classroom instruction. The DC Apprenticeship Council certifies a number of apprenticeship programs, offering training in such occupations as plumbing, electrical engineering, and roofing. The Council also certifies pre-apprenticeship programs, which provide training for individuals not yet eligible for formal apprenticeship programs due to lack of education or workplace skills.

Apprenticeship and pre-apprenticeship programs offer an important avenue for those without college degrees to obtain employment paying family-supporting wages. In 2002, about 900 District residents were registered for such programs, the highest in the history of the DC Apprenticeship Council.

Table 4: District Residents Participating in Registered Apprenticeship Programs, 2002

Ward	# of Participants
1	73
2	67
3	19
4	149
5	163
6	87
7	164
8	180

Source: District of Columbia Apprenticeship Council, 2002 Annual Report, Office of Apprenticeship, Department of Employment Services.

Neighborhood Characteristics

Number of Businesses

The number of businesses in a given area gives a picture of the commercial vitality of that area, although it doesn't measure the variety of goods and services, or whether the stores meet neighborhood demand. For instance, the number of businesses doesn't specify whether an area has such neighborhood-serving retail as a pharmacy, full-service grocery store, smaller corner market, bakery, or hardware store. But it is a barometer for the amount of commercial activity taking place.

The city has a number of vibrant commercial areas outside of the downtown, as the table below makes clear (see Table 5). **Using zip codes as a proxy for neighborhoods, a clear theme emerges: East of the Anacostia River neighborhoods lack the commercial density of their counterparts across the river** (see Map 2). Of the targeted neighborhoods for this report, Shaw has the highest number of businesses, in part reflecting the zip code's proximity to downtown, but also the area's commercial activity surrounding Howard University.

Another theme is that commercial activity is increasing. The number of businesses in the District increased from about 35,000 in 1998 to about 38,000 in 2003, an increase of 8%. Even areas with small commercial bases in 1998 experienced growth.

Small Business Loans

The number of small business loans (loans made to businesses with annual gross revenues of less than one million dollars) increased over the last few years, providing another indication of the city's reviving commercial fortunes.

Added together, Wards 7 and 8 have a smaller number of loans in 2002 (169) and smaller total loan amount ($5,767,000) than any other single ward (see Table 6). This reflects smaller number of businesses to begin with in Wards 7 and 8 — together, they have a relatively small number of business establishments (about 2,200), compared to other wards. It may also be that businesses in those wards are not taking full advantage of programs available to fund their growth and expansion. It is important to note that Ward 2 has such large numbers because it includes the downtown area.

Small business loan activity also highlights that there a number of active neighborhood commercial districts throughout the city (see Table 7). Although the units of geography are different (zip code versus neighborhood cluster), there is a rough correspondence between the areas with the greatest loan activity and the highest number of businesses.

Table 5: Number of Businesses by Selected Zip Codes, 2003 and 1998

Zip code	Number of businesses		% Change
	2003	1998	
20036 (Downtown)	4,702	4,573	3%
20007 (Georgetown)	2,505	2,438	3%
20002 (Union Station, Near Northeast)	2,460	2,257	9%
20009 (Adams Morgan, Dupont Circle)	2,350	2,210	6%
20001 (Shaw, LeDroit Park, Edgewood)	2,210	2,133	4%
20016 (Foxhall, Palisades, Tenleytown)	1,778	1,540	15%
20010 (Columbia Heights/Mt. Pleasant)	853	791	8%
20019 (Marshall Heights, Deanwood)	819	775	8%
20020 (Anacostia, Woodland, Hillcrest	886	793	12%
20024 (Southwest Washington/Navy Yard)	790	718	10%
20032 (Congress Heights, Bellevue)	529	523	1%

Source: Dun and Bradstreet

Table 6: Small Business Loans by Ward, 2002 and 1998

Ward	2002			1998			% Change in # of Loans, 2002–1998
	# of loans	Total Amount	Average Loan	# of loans	Total Amount	Average Loan	
1	307	$15,978,000	$52,045	137	$5,968,000	$43,562	124%
2	1,861	$71,926,000	$38,649	872	$38,503,000	$44,154	113%
3	541	$17,994,000	$33,260	297	$10,668,000	$35,919	82%
4	320	$10,360,000	$32,375	153	$5,601,000	$36,607	109%
5	210	$7,416,000	$35,314	109	$4,118,000	$37,779	93%
6	452	$10,930,000	$24,181	192	$6,493,000	$33,817	135%
7	90	$3,121,000	$34,677	49	$3,182,000	$64,939	84%
8	79	$ 2,646,000	$33,493	41	$1,565,000	$38,170	93%

Source: Community Reinvestment Act Aggregate Reports, Federal Financial Institutions Examination Council

Table 7: Top Neighborhood Clusters by Small Business Loan Activity, 2002 and 1998*

	2002		1998	
Neighborhood Cluster	# of Loans	Total Amount ($1,000s)	# of Loans	Total Amount ($1,000s)
Cluster 4 (Georgetown)	289	$15,024	138	$7,158
Cluster 25 (Union Station)	159	$4,062	76	$2,903
Cluster 1 (Adams Morgan)	145	$8,495	75	$3,036
Cluster 13 (Foxhall, Spring Valley)	144	$5,697	69	$2,832
Cluster 26 (Capital Hill)	144	$4,505	59	$2,095

* Excludes Clusters 6 (K St., Connecticut Avenue, Dupont Circle) and 8 (Downtown) since they include the downtown area and not neighborhood commercial areas.

Of the targeted neighborhoods for this report, the ones with the greatest amount of loan activity in 2002 were Cluster 2 (Columbia Heights/Mt. Pleasant), with 127 loans totaling about $5.4 million, and Cluster 3 (Howard University/Cardozo/Shaw), with 68 loans totaling about $3.3 million.

Number of Vacant and Abandoned Commercial Properties

Vacant and abandoned commercial properties clustered together are a sign of weakened commercial markets, byproducts of a more-robust era. However, with the appropriate municipal policies and programs, these properties can also be treated as assets and opportunities for infill development. (See the conclusion of this section for more discussion of this idea.)

Vacant and abandoned commercial properties are not distributed evenly throughout the city. **Four neighborhood clusters (Columbia Heights/Mt. Pleasant; Shaw/Logan Circle; Union Station/Near Northeast; and Edgewood/Bloomingdale) account for nearly half of the total.** Vacant and abandoned commercial properties are concentrated in central parts of the city, and are more of a problem in Wards 1, 2, 5 and 6 (see Figure 4).

Financial Services

There are no local figures on the number of District residents without bank accounts, but nationally, about ten million households (about 10% of U.S. households) do not have a bank account. Low-income and minority households are disproportionately represented among this figure.

The consequences of being "unbanked" include high costs to access basic financial services and a lost opportunity to establish credit and build assets, even a modest savings account. The U.S. Treasury Department estimates that a worker earning $12,000 a year would pay about $250 annually just to cash paychecks at a check-cashing outlet.[17]

Households remain unbanked for a variety of reasons. Under common terms of service, opening a bank account may not make economic sense for some low-income households. Consumers who can't meet the account balance minimums face monthly fees, and if they bounce a check, they face additional fees or charges. Some may be barred from opening an account due to a poor credit history.[18] Secondly, in some neighborhoods, banks are not as readily accessible as they are in others. In such neighborhoods, largely unregulated alternative financial services (AFS) providers, such as check-cashing outlets, pay-day lenders, and tax-preparation services that offer refund-anticipation loans, step in to fill the gap. These AFS providers are generally convenient and they do offer a way for low-income households to fill their financial services needs. However, these services come at a relatively high cost. Most check-cashing outlets charge between 2% and 3% of the face value of a check to cash it. Those without a bank account are also largely cut off from mainstream sources of credit. If faced with the need for a loan, they often turn to informal sources or high-cost lenders such as pawnshops, car-title lenders, and payday lenders, who have annualized interest rates generally over 100% and often as high as 500%.[19]

[17] Michael Barr, Banking the Poor, Brookings Center on Urban and Metropolitan Policy; July 2003.
[18] Several proposals have been advanced regarding what the federal government and banks can do to make their services more accessible and appropriate to the needs of low-income households. See Barr (2003) and Caskey (2002).
[19] John Caskey, Bringing Unbanked Households into the Banking System, Brookings Center on Urban and Metropolitan Policy, January 2002.

Table 8: Neighborhood Clusters with the Greatest Number of Vacant (V) and Abandoned (A) Commercial Properties, 2002

Neighborhood Cluster	# of V & A commercial properties	% of total V & A commercial properties
Cluster 25 (Union Station, Near Northeast)	121	14%
Cluster 7 (Shaw/Logan Circle)	95	11%
Cluster 21 (Edgewood/Bloomingdale)	93	11%
Cluster 2 (Columbia Heights/Mt. Pleasant)	88	10.%
Cluster 8 (Downtown)	66	8%
Cluster 27 (Near Southeast/Navy Yard)	45	5%
Cluster 23 (Ivy City)	35	4%
Cluster 18 (Brightwood Park)	32	4%
Citywide total	859	n/a

In the District of Columbia, banking outlets are not spread evenly throughout all neighborhoods. The majority of banking retail outlets (122 out of 192) are in Wards 2 and 3, serving downtown and affluent residential areas. Other areas of the city, where check-cashing establishments outnumber banking retail outlets, are less well-served by financial services (see Figure 5). East of the Anacostia River, there are 23 check-cashing establishments and 14 retail banking outlets. In most DC Agenda neighborhoods, check-cashing establishments outnumber retail bank outlets (see Table 9).

Conclusion

This is a critical moment for the District. The increased interest in living and investing in the city gives the city a real opportunity to recover from the population loss of the last few decades and revitalize distressed neighborhoods. **Neighborhood economic development is a key component of that revitalization.** Through the Strategic Neighborhood Action Planning (SNAP) process, residents have clearly identified neighborhood economic development as a priority. They want a greater diversity of goods and services in their neighborhoods, including grocery stores, coffee shops, drug stores, and the like.

The city and its partners need to act on both people- and place-based strategies to ensure healthy neighborhood economies. Efforts to improve the skills of low-income residents and link them to employment and training opportunities are essential. On the place-based side, the city and its partners need to take care that 1) development reaches more neighborhoods that have been bypassed so far, and 2) development is managed so it serves low-income residents as well as higher-income residents.

The District has a number of initiatives to improve the employment prospects of its residents in place, but they don't match the scale of the problem. These programs need to be strengthened and expanded. For example, the Income Maintenance Administration (IMA) within the Department of Human Services has implemented a number of policies to support low-income families making the transition from welfare to work. One such program is the Program on Work, Employment and Responsibility (POWER). POWER provides locally-funded, non-time-limited services to individuals with physical disabilities, mental health problems, learning disabilities, or substance abuse problems. IMA has also contracted with researchers at Mathematica Policy Research, Inc. to organize and provide technical assistance and professional development to

Figure 4: Number of Vacant and Abandoned Commercial Properties by Ward, 2002
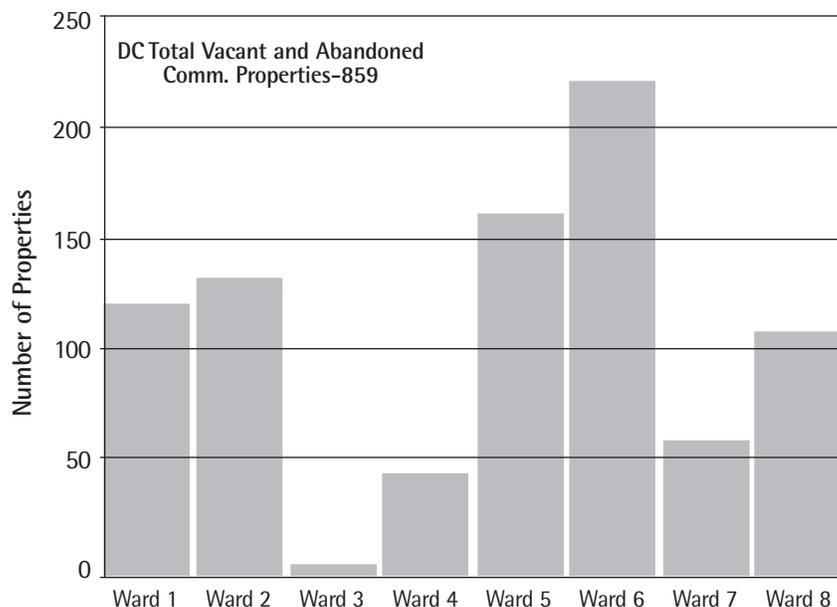
Table 9: Neighborhood Clusters with the Greatest Number of Check–Cashing Establishments

Neighborhood Cluster	Check–Cashing Establishments	Retail Bank Outlets
Cluster 2 (Columbia Heights/Mt. Pleasant)	12	5
Cluster 17 (Takoma)	8	4
Cluster 18 (Brightwood Park)	8	2
Cluster 7 (Shaw/Logan Circle)	7	0
Cluster 23 (Ivy City)	7	3
Cluster 25 (Union Station/Near Northeast)	7	3
Cluster 34 (Twining/Fairlawn)	7	2

Figure 5: Number of Check Cashing Establishments (2002) and Retail Bank Outlets (2003) by Ward
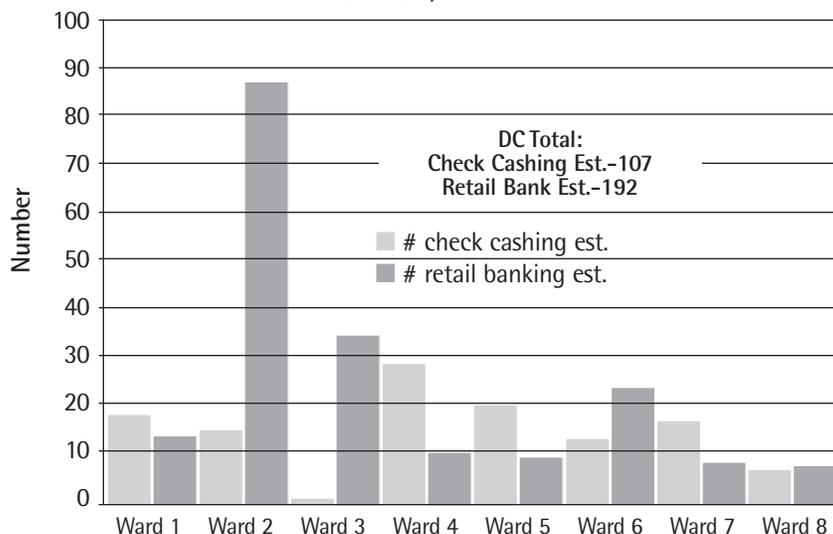
nonprofits contracting with the city to provide services to TANF recipients. This assistance is typically very hands-on, including topics like designing a database to manage client information and how to work with clients who have criminal backgrounds or are suffering from depression.

The apprenticeship programs certified by the DC Apprenticeship Council offer another route to employment. Although construction and other trades are not dominant sectors in the District's economy, they nonetheless provide real opportunities for current residents. Especially for residents without college degrees, apprenticeships and pre-apprenticeships are a critical pathway to high-wage employment, but the number of District residents participating in such programs is distressingly low compared to the need.

Another promising workforce development program may be in the works. The District's Workforce Investment Council (WIC), the body that oversees workforce policy in the city, has laid much of the groundwork to develop a health services-related employment initiative. With the support of a U.S. Department of Labor grant, the WIC determined that a workforce development program focused on health services—particularly hospitals—could meet the needs both of workers and employers. The sector offers ample entry-level positions for low-skill workers—the key is to develop career ladders and training opportunities so workers can advance incrementally to higher-skill, higher-paid positions. Having completed the planning year, the next step for the WIC is to work with employers and associations like the DC Hospital Association and DC Chamber of Commerce to design and implement a program.

On the place-based side, there are also a number of initiatives to further stimulate development in neighborhood business districts. For instance, the Mayoral Task Force on Transit-Oriented Development has recommended a series of strategies to guide and encourage mixed-use development (housing, commercial, retail, and civic) around Metrorail and Metrobus stops.[20] The city is planning to locate two Government Centers by the Anacostia and Minnesota/Benning Metro stops in order to spur development in those neighborhoods. The Office of Planning has either completed or is currently conducting multiple small-area planning processes to revitalize specific neighborhoods, such as H St. NE, Anacostia, and Georgia Avenue. The office of the

Deputy Mayor for Planning and Economic Development launched the "Main Streets" program in order to help revitalize neighborhood business districts and small businesses.

The District has begun to address the problem of vacant and abandoned properties (both residential and commercial), but can do more to convert these properties into revenue-generating, valuable sites. The problem does not affect all neighborhoods equally, but in some areas, the presence of vacant and abandoned properties is a major problem. The DC Department of Consumer and Regulatory Affairs has inventoried the city's vacant and abandoned properties. Through the Home Again Initiative, the city is bundling vacant and abandoned properties and selling them to developers for rehabilitation into single-family, owner-occupied housing. However, the Home Again initiative does not address rental or commercial properties, and the process of obtaining legal control of the properties and selling them to developers is cumbersome and taking longer than anticipated.

Redeveloping vacant and abandoned property is a complex municipal function. It requires overcoming considerable legal and administrative barriers. But if approached properly, the redevelopment of vacant and abandoned properties can serve the city's overall planning and development goals by stimulating economic development and neighborhood improvement. First, however, the city needs to make a strong commitment to developing the administrative infrastructure to acquire, assemble, and dispose of properties in a timely manner. One key issue is condemnation. The process for the District to acquire vacant and abandoned private property is onerous and needs streamlining.

Lastly, the city needs to retain its commitment to targeting neighborhoods for development as articulated in the Strategic Neighborhood Investment Program (SNIP). The city can best use its scarce resources by targeting them to neighborhoods in need of investment and where city funds are most likely to leverage additional private and nonprofit investments. However, targeting can be difficult to operationalize both politically and practically. **In order to be effective, neighborhood targeting needs to be reflected in agencies' budget priorities for infrastructure and public facilities investments.** For instance, in a given neighborhood, the Department of Transportation can carry out streetscape and traffic management improvements,

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[20] Report to Mayor Anthony A. Williams from the Mayoral Task Force on Transit-Oriented Development, June 2002; Office of Planning, Trans-Formation: Recreating Transit-Oriented Neighborhood Centers in Washington, D.C, September 2002.

the Office of the Deputy Mayor for Planning and Economic Development can provide technical assistance to neighborhood businesses through the ReStore DC program, the Office of Planning can encourage mixed-use development around transit stops, and the Department of Housing and Community Development can support the renovation or construction of a community facility. Focusing public resources in this way can attract and leverage private and nonprofit investments to show concrete neighborhood improvements.

One problem with the renewed interest in living in the District over the past few years is that development has been uneven. Some neighborhoods have experienced booming housing and retail markets (fueling fears of displacement along the way), while others still struggle to attract private investment. Consequently, neighborhood interventions need to be tailored for the particular conditions of that neighborhood. In areas undergoing rapid change, policy interventions need to focus on *managing* market forces to preserve the neighborhood character and identity, while welcoming new investments. In other areas, the city's role is to generate more market interest in the neighborhood. Through the neighborhood targeting program, the city can ensure that its activities are appropriate to particular neighborhood needs.

Housing and Community Development

Authored by Peter A. Tatian

Peter A. Tatian has been a research associate in the Urban Institute's Metropolitan Housing and Communities Policy Center for the past 13 years; his areas of interest include housing policy, neighborhood indicators, participatory research, and community building methods. He is a key staff member involved in the Urban Institute's National Neighborhood Indicators Partnership, which makes use of local data to promote community building activities in twenty US cities; and leads the DC Data Warehouse, an effort in partnership with DC Agenda, to create a neighborhood data system for the District of Columbia. Mr. Tatian is co-directing the Neighborhood Change Data Base Project, which will bring together comparable neighborhood-level indicators from 1970 to 2000 Decennial Census data. He has also done research for the US Department of Housing and Urban Development on the impacts of public and supportive housing on neighborhoods, and has worked on housing policy reform in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union.

Housing Tenure and Characteristics

While the District has a robust housing market, net losses in housing units over the past decade have resulted in lower vacancy rates and higher housing costs in certain parts of the city.

The Washington region has one of the strongest housing markets in the country. Although much of the real estate growth in the region has been outside of the city, greater interest in the District as a place to live has fueled a recent boom of housing sales in the city. Total home sales in the District increased from $2.34 billion in 2001 to $2.85 billion in 2002, a rise of 22%.[1] Despite the good news for housing developers and lenders, this new activity has raised concerns that affordable housing for those who are less well-to-do is becoming increasingly difficult to find in the District.

The total number of housing units in the city according to Census 2000 was 274,845, a net decrease of about 3,500 units since the previous census in 1990. About 26,507 of housing units in 2000 were classified as "vacant," yielding a city-wide vacancy rate of 9.6%. The amount of vacant housing is not uniform across the city, however. The largest numbers of vacant units can be found in Wards 7 and 8, with 4,298 and 4,603 units in 2000, respectively, while Ward 3 had only 1,498 vacant units. By neighborhood, the largest numbers of vacant housing units can be found in the Congress Heights Cluster #39 (2,351 units) and the Columbia Heights/Mt. Pleasant Cluster #2 (2,136 units). The Columbia Heights targeted neighborhood also had a very large number of vacant units (3,510). The highest vacancy rate in the city was in the Ivy City Cluster #23 -24% (see Figure 1). In contrast, the Colonial Village Cluster #16 had only 58 vacant units-a vacancy rate of 3.4%.

Many people consider homeownership an important cornerstone of neighborhood stability. The percentage of owner-occupied units increased in the District in the past decade, but only slightly. The rates of homeownership are highest in neighborhoods in Wards 3 and 4, and lowest in Wards 1 and 8.

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[1] Metropolitan Regional Information Systems, Inc.—MLS Resale Data. http://www.mris.com/tools/stats/.

Figure 1: Vacancy Rate (%) by Neighborhood Cluster, 2000

Figure 2: Homeownership Rate (%) by Ward, 2000
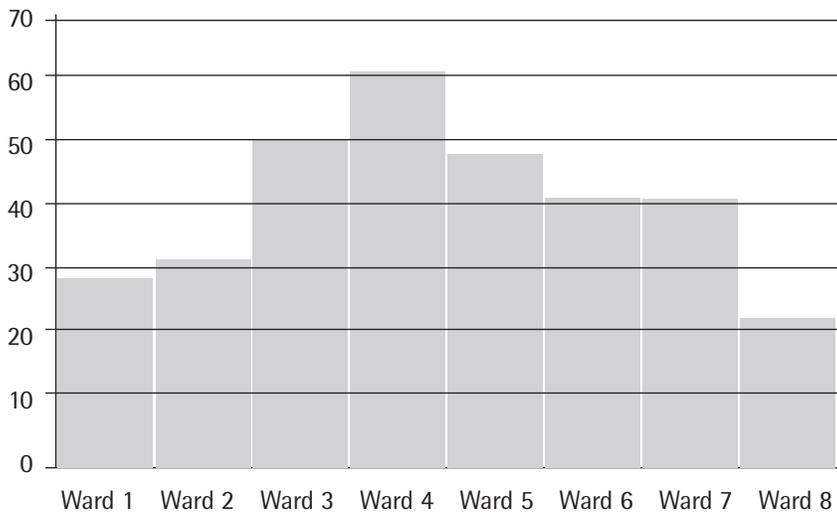
Only about four out of ten Washington, D.C. households owned the home where they lived in 2000, which is typical homeownership rate for a large urban area. The highest homeownership rates were in Wards 4 and 3, where 61 and 51% of households, respectively, owned their homes (see Figure 2). The lowest homeownership rates were in Ward 8 (22%) and Ward 1 (29%). In three neighborhood clusters, Colonial Village, North Michigan Park, and Friendship Heights/Tenleytown, over three-quarters of housing units were owner-occupied. Meanwhile, five clusters, Near Southeast/Navy Yard, Woodland/Garfield Heights, Sheridan, Douglass, and Downtown, had homeownership rates below 20%.

Of the targeted neighborhoods selected for additional attention in this report, Deanwood had the highest homeownership rate at 41%, the same as the city average. Next highest was Benning Ridge/Ft. Dupont Park at 37%. Shaw, Marshall Heights, and Columbia Heights/Mt. Pleasant all had fewer than 30% of housing units that were owner-occupied. Opportunities should exist, therefore, to

increase homeownership rates in several of these neighborhoods.

The availability of housing units of various sizes is one of the factors that affects what type of households will choose to live in the city. Smaller-sized units make up 4 out of 10 of the District's housing stock, while large units are only about 1 in 10. The remaining are mid-size units.

According to Census 2000, the largest share of housing units in the District were one bedroom units, making up about 30% of all housing units in the city (see Figure 3). Next largest share was two bedroom units at 23%, followed by three bedroom units at 22%. Efficiency units comprised 13% of the District's housing stock, while large units (four bedrooms or more) made up 12%. The largest numbers of efficiencies were in Ward 2 (9,840 units), many of these being in the Columbia Heights/Mt. Pleasant, Dupont Circle, and Shaw/Logan Circle Clusters. The largest number of large units were in Ward 3 (7,361 units) and Ward 4 (6,702 units). By cluster, the greatest number of large units was in Brightwood Park (3,378 units). Among the targeted neighborhoods, Columbia Heights/Mt. Pleasant had the highest number of large units (2,846), while Marshall Heights had only 75 units with four or more bedrooms.

Figure 3: Distribution of Housing Units by Bedroom Size, 2000
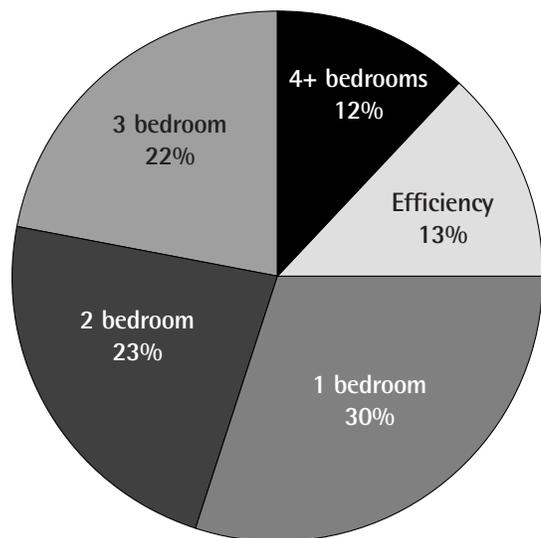
Having large share of efficiency and one-bedroom units is not unusual for a city in a large metropolitan area. As noted in the Housing in the Nation's Capital report for 2003, Washington had the highest share of large rental units (four bedrooms or more) among similar metropolitan

areas. Nevertheless, an assessment of housing needs for the city should take into account the demand for units of different sizes.

The diversity index measures the extent of segregation of racial and ethnic groups in the District and its neighborhoods. Racial and ethnic segregation can further complicate redevelopment in the city, as well as indicate problems in the distribution of housing opportunities throughout the city. In 2000, the city overall had a diversity index value of 0.70. Wards 1 and 2 both had values above the city average, indicating that they had higher than average levels of diversity. The lowest levels of diversity were in the neighborhoods east of the Anacostia River, in Wards 7 and 8. The diversity index value for the area east of the river was 0.17, indicating a high amount of racial segregation of these neighborhoods.

Cost and Affordability

Housing prices have begun to rise rapidly in the District in the past few years. This has created additional pressures on families with limited incomes to find affordable housing. Not all parts of the city have equally high housing costs, however. In particular, the neighborhoods east of the Anacostia River have markedly less expensive housing than those west of the river.

Several of our housing indicators deal with the cost of housing within the city and whether that housing is affordable to its residents. According to Census 2000, the median value of a home in Washington, DC was about $200,600 and the median rent for an apartment was about $600 per month. As one might expect, however, there was significant differences in housing costs across the wards and neighborhoods. The highest costs were in Ward 3, where the median home was valued at $509,400 and the median rent was $970. High costs could also be found in Ward 2, where the median home value was $310,600 and the median rent was $650, followed by Ward 1, with a median home value of $225,600 and a median rent of $600. The remaining wards had median house values that were significantly below these levels, ranging from $186,200 in Ward 4 to $86,100 in Ward 8. Rent levels were more comparable to those in the first three wards, ranging from medians of $660 in Ward 4 to $460 in Ward 8.

By neighborhood cluster, the highest housing costs were in North Cleveland Park/Van Ness ($611,700 median home value and $980 median rent), Cleveland Park/Woodley Park ($578,800 and $1,010), and Spring Valley/Foxhall ($530,100 and $1,040). The lowest housing costs were in Douglass ($81,800 and $430), Congress Heights ($87,700 and $480), and Ivy

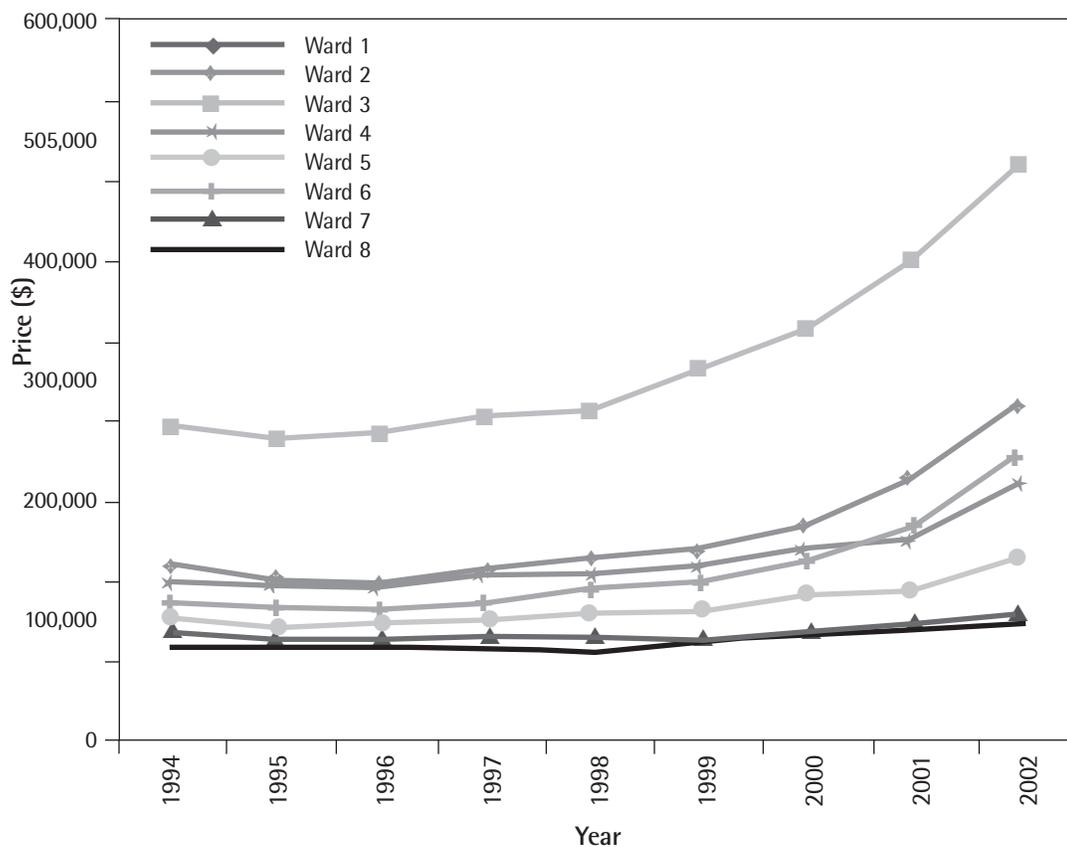**Figure 4: Number of Sales by Ward, Single Family Homes and Condominiums, 1994–2002**

Figure 5: Median Price by Ward, Single Family Homes and Condominiums, 1994–2002
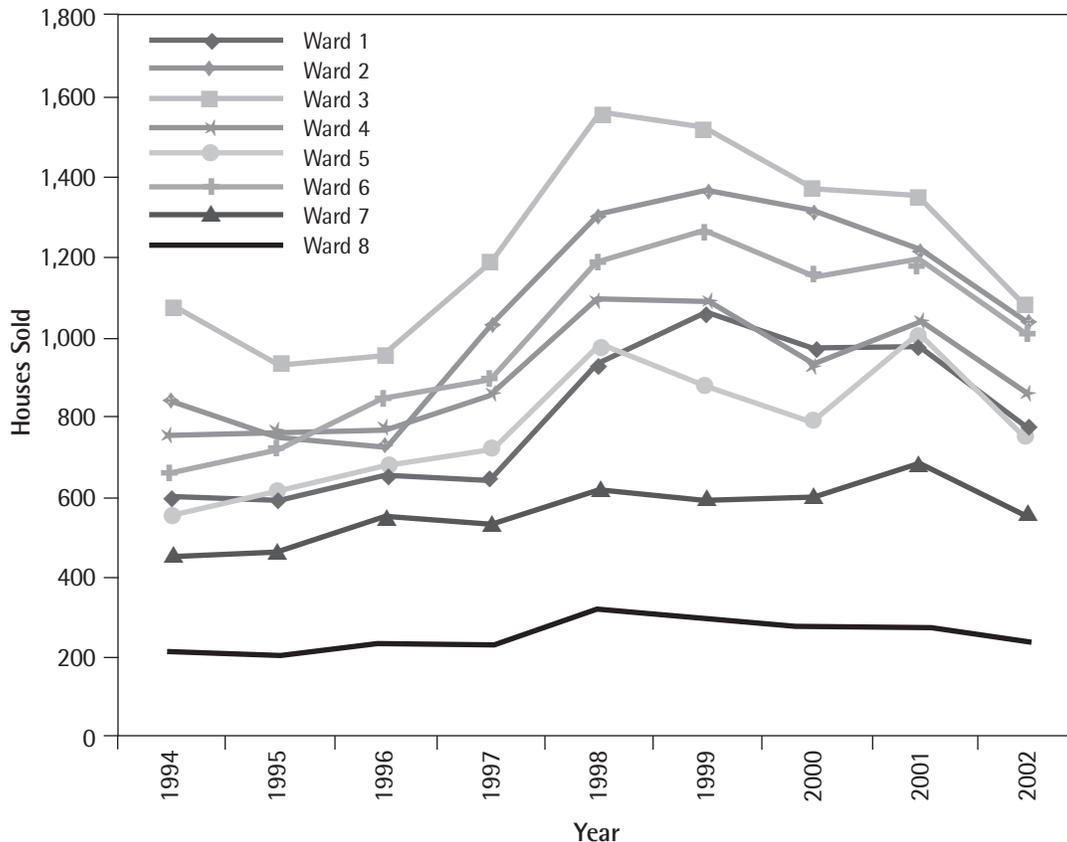
City ($92,700 and $480). For the targeted neighborhoods, the highest costs in 2000 were in Columbia Heights/Mt. Pleasant ($206,600 and $540) and Shaw ($155,500 and $500), two neighborhoods that have experienced intense gentrification pressures.

Although the census data are collected only once every ten years, using the home price sales data provides a look at year-to-year trends in home prices across in the city and neighborhoods (see Figure 4). From a low of 5,032 sales throughout the city in 1995, the volume of sales rose to a recent peak of 8,071 sales in 1999 and then dropped down to 6,296 in 2002. Most recently, the largest volume of sales has been in Ward 3 (1,060 sales in 2002) and Ward 2 (1,035). The lowest sales volume was in Ward 8, which recorded only 243 sales.

From a median sales price of $120,000 in 1994, the sales price dropped to $112,000 in 1996 and then rose to a median of $210,000 in 2002. The most recent sales price data across wards mirrors the home value patterns from Census 2000 (see Figure 5). It should be noted, however, that the median sales price has more than doubled between 1994 and 2002 in Ward 6-going from $109,000 to $234,300-and Ward 1— $114,000 to $232,300. The sales trends in Wards 7 and 8, however, have been much flatter, rising only 16% in Ward 7 and 27% in Ward 8 over the same period.

Over one-third of all renters pay excessive costs for their apartments. This is fairly consistent across the city. The supply of affordable units is

not evenly distributed, however. Most of the units below Fair Market Rent are found outside of Ward 3, with the highest concentrations being East of the Anacostia River.

Using the standard affordability measure for rental housing, this report finds that over one-third (38%) of all renter households in 2000 paid in excess of 30% of their income for housing. These proportions are fairly consistent across all wards, ranging from 32% of renter households in Ward 6 to 42% in Ward 8. One sees more variation in looking at neighborhood clusters. For example, only 22% of renters in Colonial Village and 27% in Cleveland Park/Woodley Park are paying too much for their housing. In contrast, over half (55%) of renters in West End/Foggy Bottom have excessive rents.

Likewise, the supply of affordable rental units is not distributed evenly throughout the city. Using the fair market rent (FMR) standard set by US Housing and Urban Development (HUD) of $800 per month for 2000, this report finds that 69% of all rental units and 84% of vacant rental units were renting below this level. The lowest share of such units was in Ward 3, where slightly more than a third of all rental units, but only about one-quarter of all vacant rental units were at or below FMR. The next smallest percentage was in Ward 2, where slightly more than half of total and vacant rental units were at or below FMR. In all remaining wards, at least 70% of all rental units and 77% of vacant rental units were affordable by the FMR standard. Furthermore, in Wards 7 and 8, almost all (97% in Ward 7 and 95% in Ward 8) vacant rental units had asking rents below FMR. This pattern is consistent for all neighborhood clusters in these wards.[2] Nevertheless, much of the affordable housing in these neighborhoods may be of substandard quality and in need of renovation.

In examining the location of public and subsidized housing, some similarities with the distribution of FMR units can be seen. The largest number of public and subsidized housing units in 2000 was east of the Anacostia River in Wards 7 and 8, with 4,337 and 4,528 such units, respectively. Wards 3 and 4, in contrast, had almost no public or subsidized housing units, with only 114 and 544 units, respectively. Furthermore, almost no such units in Ward 3 were Housing Choice Vouchers, which is consistent with the low levels of units at or below FMR in this part of the city. It should be noted as well that there has

been a large drop in publicly-subsidized housing units in Ward 6 (from 4,471 units in 1998 to 3,608 units in 2000). Most of this decline was due to a loss of public housing units in this ward.

Construction and Lending

The District is currently experiencing very high levels of housing production, with more than 30,000 units recently completed, under construction, planned, or proposed.[3] The majority of new units proposed this past year were in neighborhoods in Wards 2 and 6. In addition, most of the mortgage lending in 2002 was in Wards 2, 3, and 6. In contrast, very little mortgage lending is occurring east of the Anacostia River.

Building permits provide a measure of new construction activity going on in particular neighborhoods. There were 415 building permits issued in 2002, constituting a total of 1,268 proposed new housing units. The majority of proposed units were for sites in Ward 6 (354 units) and Ward 2 (315 units). By far, the largest share of proposed new units in 2002 was in the Downtown Cluster (393 units). The second largest cluster, Howard University/Le Droit Park, had 199 new units proposed for construction while the third highest, Shaw/Logan Circle, had 191. Across the river, two clusters had significant numbers of new units proposed in 2002-River Terrace (120 units) and Douglass (119 units).

Although new construction is one way to increase the housing supply, another is the reclamation of vacant and abandoned properties. The city has conducted a survey of such properties, and found that there were 2,692 supposedly vacant and abandoned residential properties in 2002. The largest number of such properties was in Ward 7, which had 600, as well as Ward 8 (527) and Ward 6 (455). Ward 3 had only eight residential properties identified by the city as being vacant and abandoned. Among neighborhoods, the largest number of vacant and abandoned residential properties (see Figure 6) was in the Union Station Cluster #25 (310 properties) and the Columbia Heights/Mt. Pleasant Cluster #2 (332).

The Home Mortgage Disclosure Act data for 2001 and 2002 indicate that mortgage lending activity increased between those two years-from 10,011

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[2] It should be noted, however, that a household without a Housing Choice Voucher would need to have an income of about $27,000 per year to be able to afford an $800 per month apartment.
[3] Housing in the Nation's Capital, 2003, 19.

Figure 6: Vacant and Abandoned Residential Properties by Neighborhood Cluster, 2002
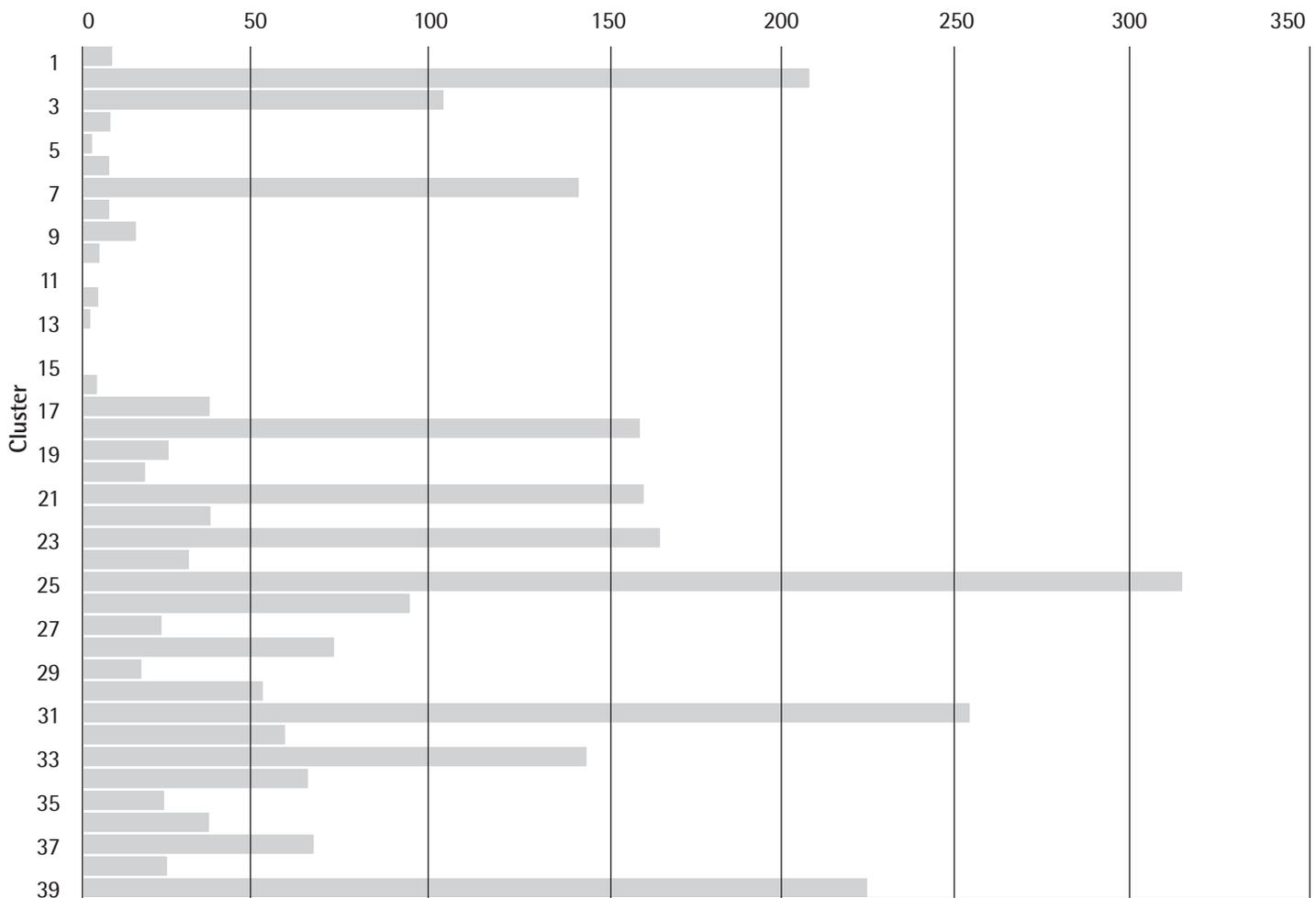
home purchase loans in 2001 to 10,597 loans in 2002. The total amount of loans issued increased as well-from $1,930 million to $2,367 million. The largest number of home purchase loans in 2002 (2,105) was in Ward 2, followed by Ward 3 (1,744) and Ward 6 (1,743). The highest dollar value of loans, however, was in Ward 3, with $565 million worth of loans issued in 2002. In the targeted neighborhoods, Columbia Heights/Mt. Pleasant stands out with a high volume of home purchase loans-1,524 loans valued at $316 million. In contrast, only 606 and 501 loans were issued in Wards 7 and 8, respectively, in 2002. These loans had a total value of only $120 million for both wards combined, indicating a low level of private investment east of the Anacostia River, relative to other parts of the city.

Conclusion

The recent housing market boom has increased housing opportunities in many parts of the District, but it has not reached all parts of the city nor has it benefited all households. The indicators show that

the neighborhoods east of the Anacostia River have yet to experience the kinds of housing price appreciation seen in much of the rest of the city, particularly Wards 1 and 6. This presents a great challenge to city planners, housing developers, community development organizations, and residents. Action needs to be taken to manage this growth in a way that mitigates the potentially negative affects on more vulnerable residents-for example, by creating and preserving affordable housing in gentrifying neighborhoods. At the same time, the situation presents a great opportunity because if the new resources coming into the city can be rechanelled to revitalize the existing but substandard vacant housing in Wards 7 and 8, it will reduce the development pressure on other neighborhoods and provide a much needed boost to those communities.

Appendix A: Definitions of Indicators

The following is a description of the indicators used to describe housing outcomes in the District of Columbia.

Housing Units
Data on occupied and vacant housing units was obtained from Census 2000. The Census Bureau defines a housing unit as a house, an apartment, a mobile home, a group of rooms, or a single room that is occupied (or, if vacant, is intended for occupancy) as separate living quarters. Separate living quarters are those in which the occupants live separately from any other individuals in the building and where the occupants have direct access from outside the building or through a common hall. The count of housing units includes both occupied and vacant units.

Vacant Units
The determination of whether a housing unit is vacant is made by Census workers in consultation with landlords, property owners, neighbors, rental agents, and others. The Census Bureau considers a unit to be vacant if no one was living in it at the time the census was taken, unless its occupants were only temporarily absent. Units temporarily occupied by people who have a usual residence elsewhere are also classified as vacant. New units not yet occupied are classified as vacant housing units only if construction has reached a point where all exterior windows and doors are installed and final usable floors are in place. Vacant units are excluded from the housing inventory if they are open to the elements; that is, the roof, walls, windows, and/or doors no longer protect the interior from the elements. Also excluded are vacant units with a sign that they are condemned or they are to be demolished.

Homeowners
The percentage of homeowners is the percentage of all occupied housing units where the owner or co-owner lives in the unit, even if it is mortgaged or not fully paid for.

Households Paying Over 30 Percent of Income for Rent
This is a standard measure of housing affordability. Renter households paying more than 30% of their total income on housing costs (rent, utilities, and fuels) are considered to be living in unaffordable housing.

Housing Below Fair Market Rent (FMR)
Fair market rent levels are set annually by the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) to determine eligibility for the Housing Choice Voucher rental assistance program (previously known as Section 8 vouchers). They are set so that 60% of standard quality, two-bedroom rental units in a region are at this level or less. This report looked at the percentage of all occupied rental units and of vacant for rent units below the 2000 fair market rent for the Washington metropolitan area of $800 per month.

Average and Median Home Values
These indicators are based on the self-reported values of owner-occupied housing units (single-family houses and condominiums). Both the average and the median are meant to represent the value of a "typical" housing unit and are usually close to each other. The average can be much higher or lower than the median, however, if there are unusually high or low-valued homes in an area.

Average and Median Rent
This is the monthly amount of "gross rent"-rent plus the cost of utilities and fuels-paid by the tenant in a rental apartment or house. As explained in the description of home values, both the average and median are meant to represent the rent of a "typical" housing unit.

Housing Units by Bedroom Size
The number of bedrooms is the count of rooms designed to be used as bedrooms; that is, the number of rooms that would be listed as bedrooms if the house, apartment, or mobile home were on the market for sale or for rent. Included are all rooms intended to be used as bedrooms even if they currently are being used for some other purpose. A housing unit consisting of only one room, such as a one-room efficiency apartment, is classified, by definition, as having zero bedrooms.

Racial/Ethnic Diversity
The measure of segregation used here was the diversity index. This measure produces a statistic based on the relative proportions of each of the four major racial/ethnic groups in the District: non-Hispanic whites, non-Hispanic blacks, non-Hispanic Asians, and Hispanics. To calculate the diversity index, first the proportion of each racial/ethnic group in the entire population was determined. Using these figures, the extent that each census tract within a ward or neighborhood mirrors the diversity of the overall population was then evaluated. The values of the diversity index range from 1 (complete integration) to 0 (complete segregation).

Building Permits
The number of building permits in 2002, with the number of units to be constructed, was provided by the District's Department of Consumer and Regulatory Affairs. The addresses of the data to

assign each permit to neighborhoods and wards was geocoded.

Home Mortgage Loans
The Home Mortgage Disclosure Act (HMDA) requires certain mortgage lending institutions to disclose data about loan applications and approvals. Institutions required to file HMDA data include commercial banks, savings and loans, credit unions, and mortgage companies that meet specific criteria. Data collected under HMDA are used to help determine if lending institutions are meeting the housing credit needs of their communities, to help public officials target community development investment, and to help regulators enforce fair lending laws. The data include individual loan application records, including census tract of property, loan amounts, reasons for denial, and characteristics of the borrower and lender.

Vacant and Abandoned Properties
Numbers and locations of vacant and abandoned properties are obtained from a survey conducted by the District's Department of Consumer and Regulatory Affairs (DCRA) in 2002. The survey is based on lists of properties with utilities cut-off, and validated by inspectors visiting the properties to be sure they are still unoccupied. Not all properties included in this list may properly be termed

"abandoned," however. For example, owners may pay property taxes and keep a property legally sealed (including boarded up) without having abandoned the property. Nevertheless, such properties can degrade the quality of the neighborhood and are not available for habitation.

Public and Subsidized Housing Units
The counts of public and subsidized housing units were obtained from administrative data files maintained by the U.S. Department of Housing and Community Development on the Public Housing, Housing Choice Voucher, and Section 8 Project-Based Assistance programs. For Public Housing and Section 8 Project-Based Assistance, all available units are counted whether they are occupied or not.

Sales of Single-Family Homes and Condominiums
Information on sales of single-family homes and condominiums was obtained from data maintained by the Office of Tax and Revenue on home sales for residential property. Regular updates of the sales record were used to construct a property sales history file going back to 1994. Median sales price is determined from the actual sales price reported for sales of homes and condominiums from 1994 to 2002.

Crime and Safety

Authored by Shauna Sorrells

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Data Indicators

For this *Issue Scan,* violent and property crime data are taken from the DC Metropolitan Police Crime Statistics (MPCD) and the crime victimization file (TCAP)compiled by the Urban Institute. The selected offenses are meant to measure fluctuations in the overall amount of crime reported. Violent crime includes: murder, rape, robbery, assault, and arson. The Property crime category encompasses burglary, theft, auto theft, and theft of property from an automobile. Data are grouped by ward, neighborhood clusters and selected neighborhoods.

While they do not lie within the categories of violent or property crimes, data on prostitution arrests and 911 drug-related calls are included among our crime and safety indicators. These crimes represent a small proportion of activity, both among arrests and 911 call activities, but they are thought to be representative of neighborhood quality of life. These issues emerged out of the Strategic Neighborhood Action Process (SNAP) conducted by the DC Office of Planning among citizen groups, businesses, the faith community, Advisory Neighborhood Commissioners (ANC), and others.

The data presented here have limitations that must be noted. While we are able to compare crime statistics from year to year, we cannot go behind the numbers to try and explain the changes by constructing crime rates. Crime rates tell what is really happening in a community when both the number of crimes and the number of residents are changing. Between 1990 and 2000, DC overall saw a

net drop in the number of residents while some neighborhood populations went up and others went down. While we may attempt to characterize what may be happening with crime rates over time by neighborhoods and neighborhood clusters, we have only enough data to construct a rate for the year 2000. Cluster and neighborhood data are not available beyond year 2000.

Additionally, juvenile crime trends can not be examined with the current information and there was no information accessible on crimes against the District's children. These data omissions could provide useful insights into the nature of crime in DC. As an alternative, a picture of DC neighborhood crime is presented that uses broad brush strokes of what the data suggests, as well as feedback from local crime experts and community residents.

Introduction

Crime statistics for the District of Columbia appear to indicate the beginning of alarming trends. While there was a decrease in the number of crimes against adults and property crimes between 1998 and 2000, a significant number of the crimes that did occur were violent, and the trend line turned upward beginning in 2001[1]. In addition, although DC Metropolitan Police department data on juvenile crime statistics are unavailable, District officials and neighborhood residents are concerned about crime

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[1] Citywide Crime Statistics Annual Totals, 1993-2002; http://mpdc.dc.gov/info/districts/city/crstats_citywide_annual.shtm

rates among area youth. However, District Court data do not support the city's alarm.

During the late 1980s, the District of Columbia was infamously labeled the nation's "Murder Capital." The District's violent crime rates were among the highest in the nation. However, starting in the mid-1990s, the District enjoyed an almost steady decline among many important crime statistics. Specifically, violent crime with its major components of homicide, rape, robbery, and aggravated assault showed an almost consistent downward turn between 1993 and 2000 (see Figures 1,2,3,4). This trend mirrored a decline among national violent crime rates that began in 1993.[2] However, citywide crime statistics show that the trend reversed itself in 2001 and 2002.

Crimes Against Adults

In recent years, the District has seen overall crime decline. The biggest indicator of this trend is the number of crimes against adults that were reported. We can look at neighborhood and cluster data for years 1998 and 2000. The number of crimes against adults in the District dropped by 16% between these years. It is important to note that the data describes victim characteristics rather than offender characteristics. Therefore, "crimes against adults" includes violent crimes and property offenses committed by both adults and juveniles.

Available data show that the drop in the number of crimes committed against adults was felt throughout the District between 1998 and 2000. Each ward saw a decrease with drops ranging from a high of 20% in Ward 6 to a 10% decline in Ward 3 [see Figure 5]. Among neighborhood clusters, only the Downtown

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2 J. Travis and M. Waul, Reflections on the Crime Decline: Lessons for the Future? Proceedings from the Urban Institute Crime Decline Forum

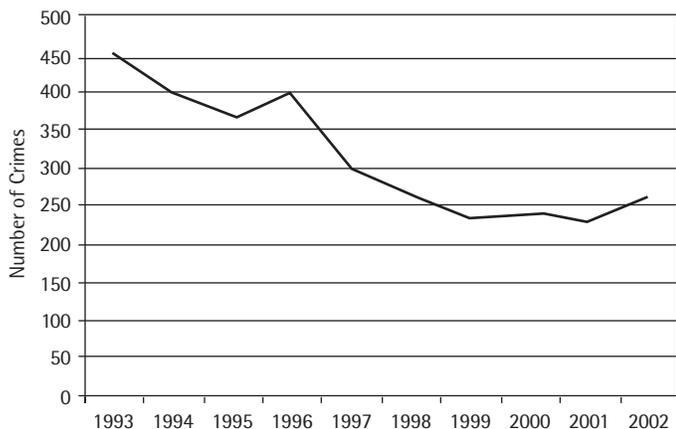**Figure 1: Violent Crimes: Homicide Trends Between 1993 and 2002**

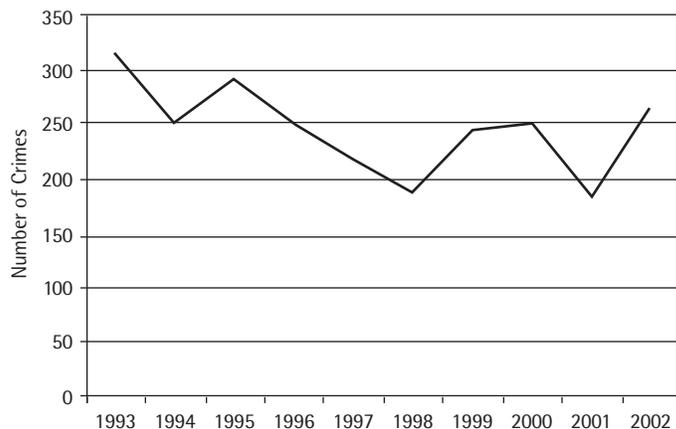**Figure 2: Violent Crimes: Forcible Rape Trends Between 1993 and 2002**

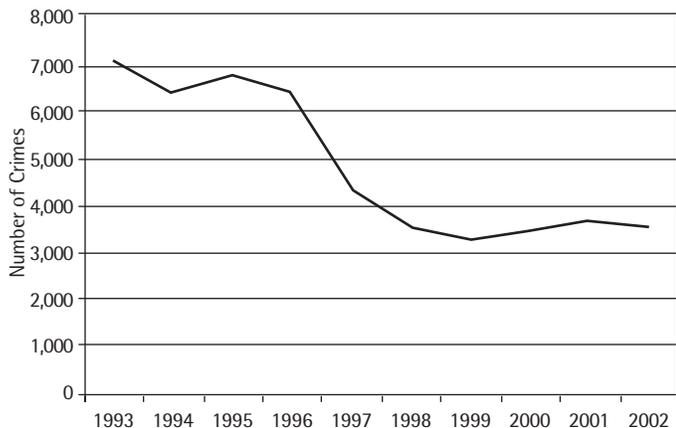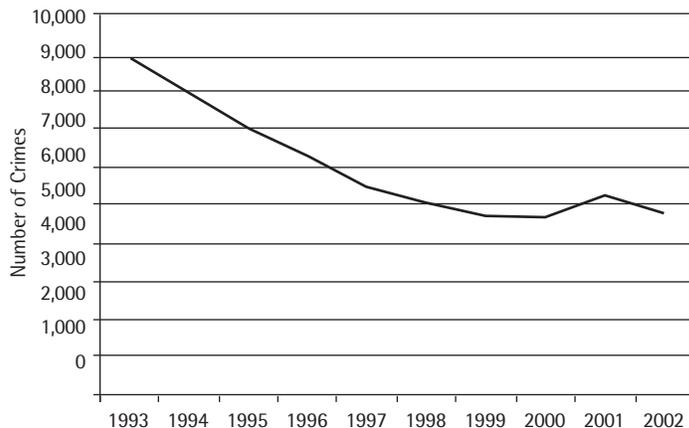**Figure 3: Violent Crimes: Robbery Trends Between 1993 and 2002**

Figure 4: Violent Crimes: Aggravated Assault Trends Between 1993 and 2002

and Anacostia Neighborhood Clusters experienced a rise in crimes against adults. The climb in Anacostia was fairly sharp with an 11% jump between 1998 and 2000.

While several neighborhoods experienced a decline in the number of crimes against adults, such drops were often accompanied by an emptying out of neighborhood residents [see Figure 6]. For the neighborhoods targeted for more in-depth examination within this report, this was the case in Marshall Heights and Benning Ridge/Ft. Dupont Park. In Marshall Heights, although crime decreased by 24.7%, the neighborhood lost 27.8% of its population between 1990 and 2000. Residents who attended community conversations in Benning Ridge/Ft. Dupont Park say that the crime level in their neighborhood prevents former residents from returning.

While the time periods are not consistent between the population and crime data, they present a picture of what is happening within the District's neighborhoods over time. When both population and crime decreases mirror one another, it is unlikely that a "real" reduction in the crime rate has in fact occurred.

However, both the Southwest Washington/Navy Yard and Columbia Heights/Mt. Pleasant neighborhoods saw a slight increase in population between 1990 and 2000 when crime was decreasing. These neighborhoods likely experienced a real decrease in overall neighborhood crime.

Violent Crime

The story for violent crime in the District is a near perfect opposite to the story of crimes committed against adults. Over the short period between 1998 and 2000 when crimes against adults decreased, violent crime in the District rose nearly 10%. Of the targeted neighborhoods, the Deanwood neighborhood illustrates this point clearly. Although Deanwood saw a 34% decrease in crimes against adults, violent crime in the neighborhood soared by 26% (see Figure 7).

Only eleven of the District's 39 neighborhood clusters enjoyed a decrease in violent crime between 1998 and 2000 (see Map 1). Of the clusters that experienced a decrease, nine also experienced a decline in population. When an overall drop in population is factored in, it may

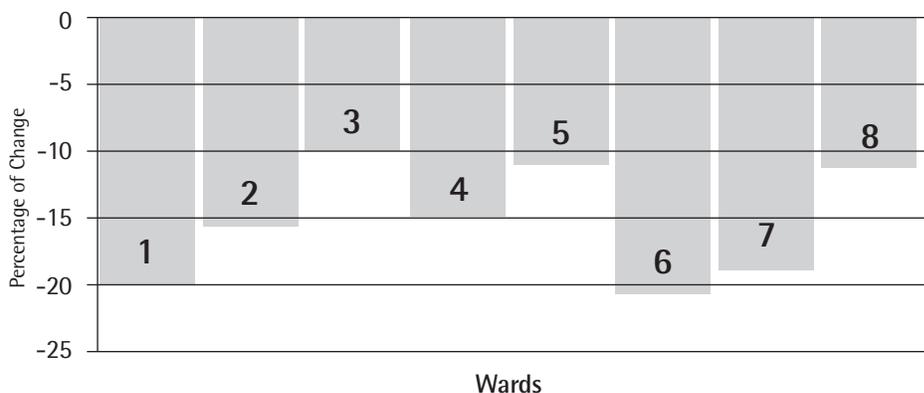**Fihure 5: Percentage Change in Crime Against Adults, 1998–2000**

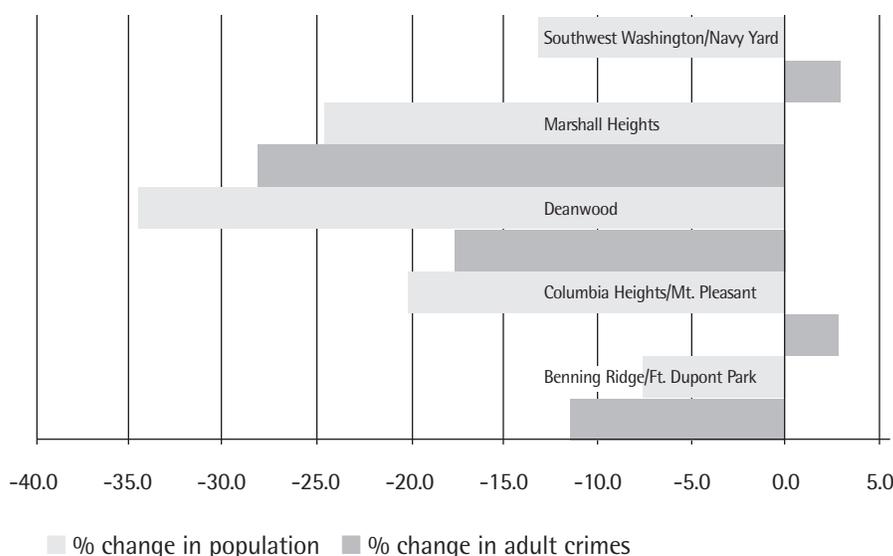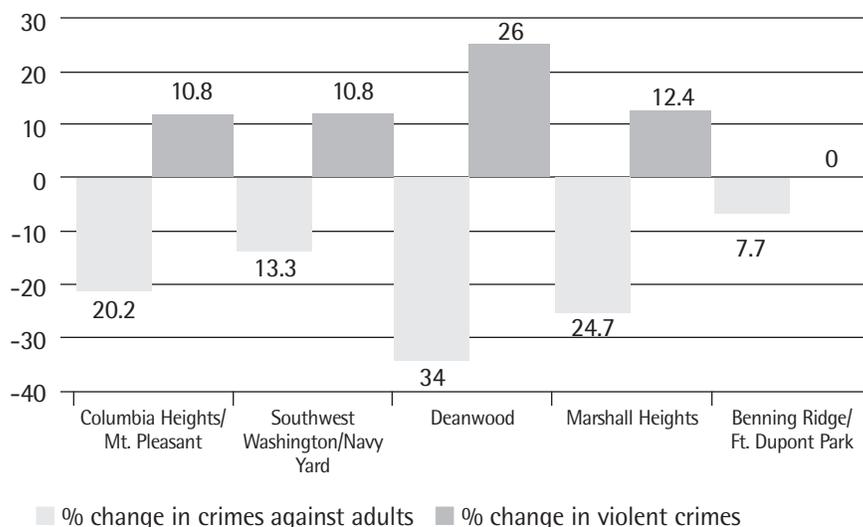**Figure 6: Crime and Population Decrease for Targeted Neigborhoods, 1998–2000**

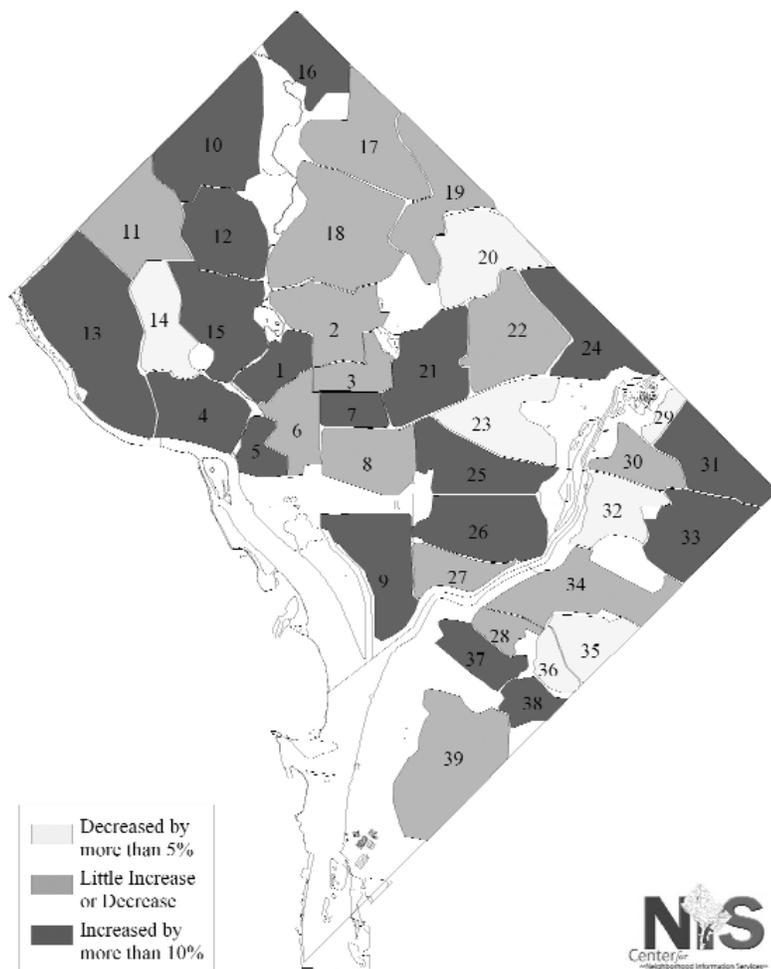% change in population   % change in adult crimes

Figure 7: Change in Crimes Against Adults and Violent Crimes for Targeted Neighborhood, 1998–2000

% change in crimes against adults   % change in violent crimes

Change in Violent Crime by Neighborhood Cluster, 2000

Legend:
- Decreased by more than 5%
- Little Increase or Decrease
- Increased by more than 10%

The discussion of concerns about crime and safety held as part of the community conversations in the targeted neighborhoods illustrates how this difference is experienced between neighborhoods. Residents in Deanwood, which saw a sizeable jump in violent crime, voiced their concern about neighborhood gunfights, youth crime, police response times and car theft. While residents in Southwest Washington/Navy Yard, where violent crime did not increase as quickly, mentioned crime concerns of drug crime, kids riding bikes on sidewalks and the synchronization of stoplights. This does not suggest the Southwest Washington/Navy Yard residents are not concerned about violent crime but their issues are somewhat different from those in Deanwood.
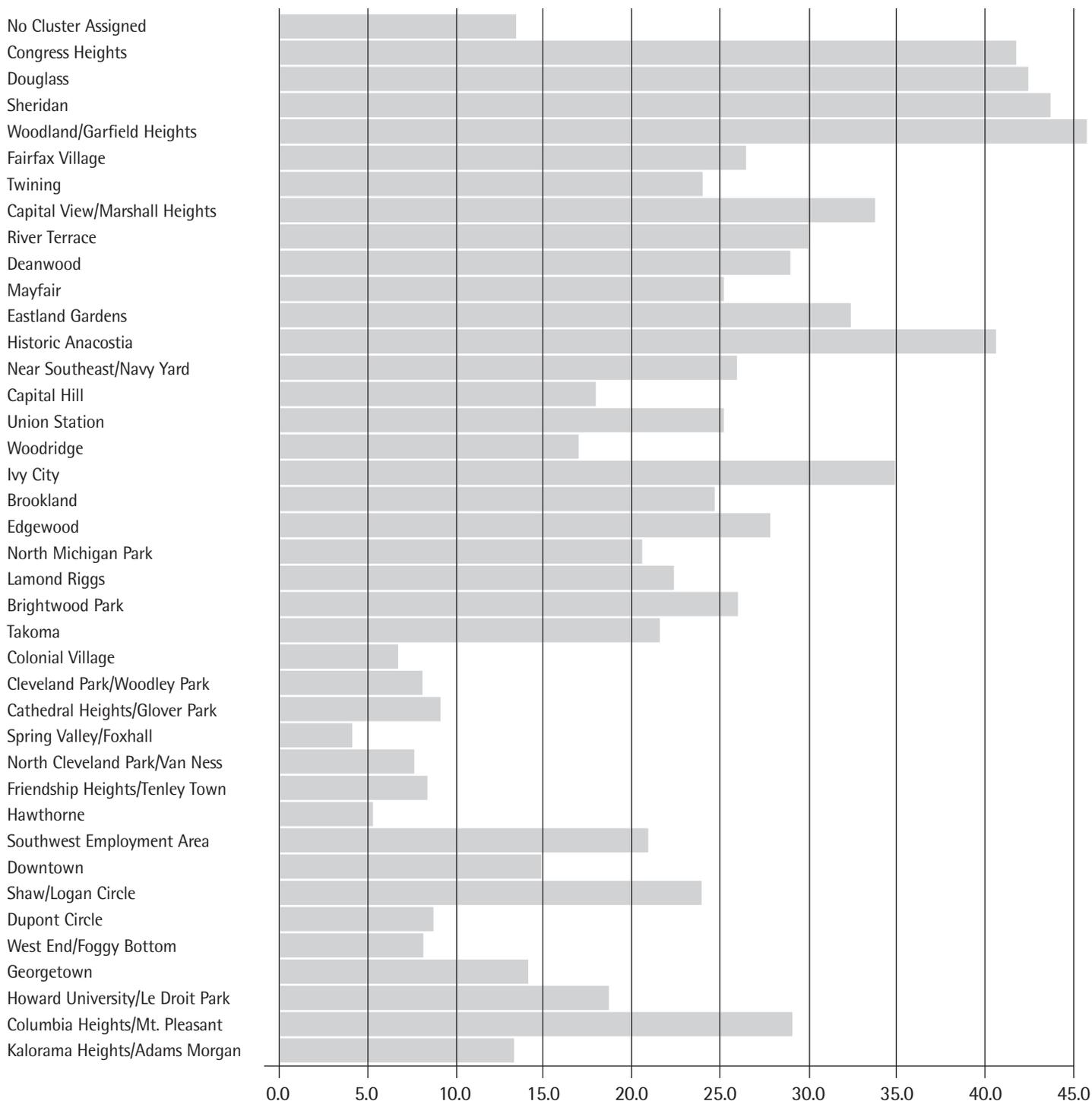
Juvenile Crime

The targeted neighborhoods community conversations provide anecdotal evidence of the violent crime that is occurring in neighborhoods. Every community conversation where violent crime activity was a concern also voiced a concern for youth crime and juvenile delinquency. While Metropolitan Police of the District of Columbia data may not be available, local perceptions of what is going on seem to be clear. However, District of Columbia Annual Reports data show that the number of juvenile cases referred to the courts have shown consistent decline from 1989 through 2001 (see Figure 9). While District Superior Court data do not accurately reflect all juvenile crime, the expectation would be that the number of cases referred to the Superior Court bears some relationship to the number of crimes committed. And in fact, the number of crime offenses against persons among youth offenders in 2001 was less than half its 1993 high (675 compared to 1,355).[3]

Issue Scan neighborhood and cluster data reflect crime statistics through 2000, due to availability. However, more recently in 2003, there was a surge in gang violence in the Columbia Heights neighborhood. The neighborhood is seeing the emergence of Salvadoran gangs and District officials fear that this surge may be the harbinger of further increases in violent crime numbers.

Community residents believe these gangs are predominantly made up of youth who may have very different experiences from other DC gangs. Residents believe that many of these youth suffer from trauma as a result of experiencing war and violence from the National Guard in El Salvador.

in fact be the case that there was a per capita increase in violent crime.

Neighborhood Safety

While the amount of crime that exists is important, the level of safety within a neighborhood is better understood by looking at the proportion of crime within a neighborhood that is violent (see Figure 8). While Columbia Heights/Mt. Pleasant Cluster has the largest number of total crimes, 42% of all crime in Congress Heights Cluster is violent. So when crime occurs in these two neighborhoods, the crime in Congress Heights is more likely to be a violent attack against a person rather than a property crime. Within the Southwest Washington/Navy Yard neighborhood, while its number of crimes is similar to that of Congress Heights, 1,461 compared to 1,877, only 22% of its crime is violent compared to 42% for Congress Heights.

Figure 8: Percentage of All Crimes That Were Violent by Neighborhood Cluster, 2000

No Cluster Assigned
Congress Heights
Douglass
Sheridan
Woodland/Garfield Heights
Fairfax Village
Twining
Capital View/Marshall Heights
River Terrace
Deanwood
Mayfair
Eastland Gardens
Historic Anacostia
Near Southeast/Navy Yard
Capital Hill
Union Station
Woodridge
Ivy City
Brookland
Edgewood
North Michigan Park
Lamond Riggs
Brightwood Park
Takoma
Colonial Village
Cleveland Park/Woodley Park
Cathedral Heights/Glover Park
Spring Valley/Foxhall
North Cleveland Park/Van Ness
Friendship Heights/Tenley Town
Hawthorne
Southwest Employment Area
Downtown
Shaw/Logan Circle
Dupont Circle
West End/Foggy Bottom
Georgetown
Howard University/Le Droit Park
Columbia Heights/Mt. Pleasant
Kalorama Heights/Adams Morgan

0.0   5.0   10.0   15.0   20.0   25.0   30.0   35.0   40.0   45.0

The DC Metropolitan Police Department has recruited Spanish-speaking officers to help bridge the language gap and to increase community policing within neighborhoods such as Columbia Heights in an effort to curb the emergence of gang violence.

Property Crime

The change in the number of property crimes in the District has fueled the overall crime decrease seen in recent years. Again, crimes against adults comprises both violent and property crimes; and while violent crime rose, property crime dropped by nearly 18%

## Figure 9: Juvenile Cases Referred to D.C. Superior Court for All Causes 1989–2001
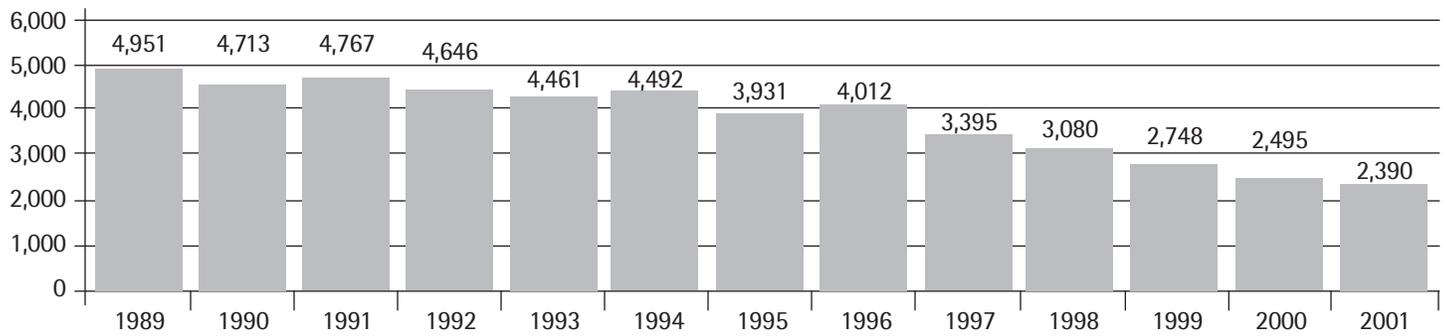
between 1998 and 2000. This accounts for the entire decrease to overall crime. Property crime includes burglary, theft, auto theft, and theft of property from an automobile and does not result in physical injury to an individual.

When looking at the percentage of overall crime that is property crime, there are a number of neighborhood clusters where the majority of crime is property crime. In fact, in 32 of the 39 neighborhood clusters, 70% or more of the crime is property crime. Nine of these clusters have a property crime rate that is better than 90%.

The specific property crime concern that came out of conversations with community residents had to do with the number of car thefts that occur. The District reported 9,168 stolen automobiles in 2002, down from its height of 10,192 reported in 1995. However, this serves as no consolation to residents who say District police can be slow in responding and who repeatedly see abandoned stolen vehicles on their neighborhood streets for weeks at a time. Furthermore, residents' concerns extend beyond the vehicles themselves to the injuries and fatalities caused by the thieves, in particular when stolen by juveniles of seemingly increasingly younger ages.

Figure 10: Percent of All Crimes That Were Property Crimes by Neighborhood Cluster, 2000
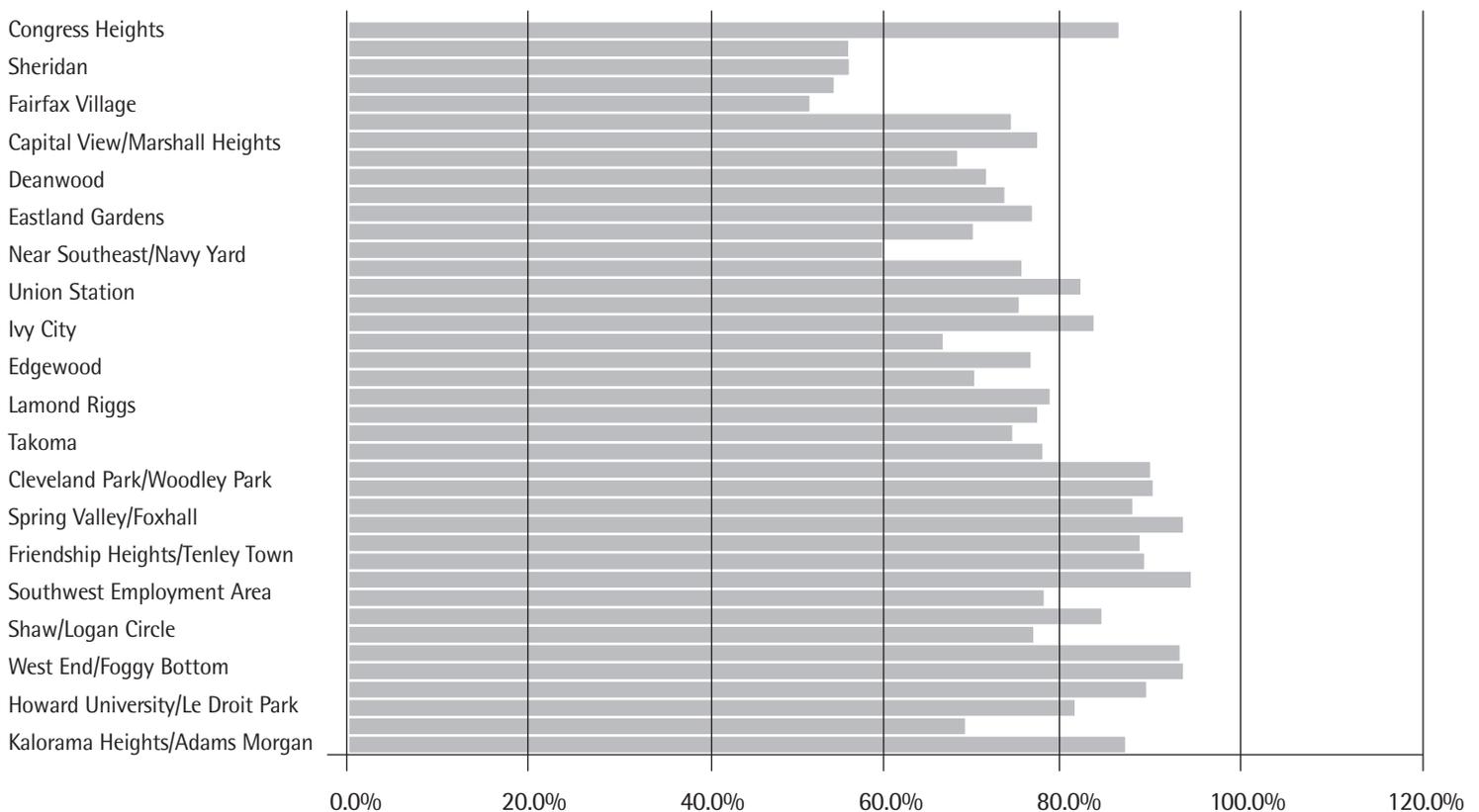
Quality of Neighborhood Life

The case for including 911 drug-related calls and prostitution arrests, as a proxy for neighborhood quality of life is that these issues arose as concerns for neighborhood residents and community groups as part of the District's SNAP process. Drug activity and prostitution reemerged during community conversations in the targeted neighborhoods with residents. This reaffirms the use of these statistics as a proxy measure for neighborhood quality. These activities may be indicative of social dislocations that exist within neighborhoods or the precursor to other forms of criminal behavior.

911 Calls Relating to Drug Activity

In 2000, there were 17,974 calls placed to 911 relating to drug activity. While data are not available to present trends, these calls represent fewer than 3% of all 911 calls. The number of drug-related 911 calls in Wards 2 and 3 represent less than 1% of calls originating from these wards. Wards 5 and 8 had nearly 4% of their 911 calls for drug-related activity.

Prostitution

Prostitution arrests in the year 2000 numbered just over 1,000. Prostitution offenses accounted for roughly 2% of all District arrests in 2000. The Woodbridge and Downtown Neighborhood Clusters accounted for the largest share of arrests. Again, Wards 5 and 8 have a higher proportion of arrests for prostitution, along with Ward 2, which stand near 4% of all arrests made within these areas.

What the Numbers Don't Tell Us

The biggest deficiencies with the current MPCD and TCAP data are their inability to communicate juvenile crime behavior and to calculate real crime rates within neighborhoods. For these reasons, we are unable to provide a clear picture of crime in the District. Although victimization data are not available and District court data do not support it, there is community sentiment that juvenile offenders may bear a considerable amount of responsibility for the upswing in violent crimes. During 2003, Mayor Anthony Williams urged a stronger stance on the treatment of juvenile offenders, pushing for changes in the law to make it easier to try juveniles as adults.

Implications

What the data do tell us is that crime in DC is becoming more violent showing an upturn in homicide and forcible rape trends beginning in 2001 and continuing in 2002. In order to understand why, the District needs to increase the amount of information available on all crime at the neighborhood level and on juvenile crime across the city to present a full picture of what is happening within the District, as well as policy alternatives that exist. At this point, calling for harsher juvenile sentencing without providing juvenile crime data does not allow for a clear understanding of the arguments for stiffer penalties. In fact, community residents point toward the education system, the lack of parental supervision and recreational outlets as explanations for negative juvenile behavior and as areas to begin the search for policy solutions.

There is also a concern for the number of ex-offenders returning to neighborhoods from prisons out of the area. The fear is that the concentration of halfway houses within a few neighborhoods may affect and concentrate crime levels. Although victim data is accessible, more data is needed about offenders in order to understand the role that ex-offender re-entry plays in crime rates.

It could be the case that while the District and the rest of the nation enjoyed a decline in crime for years, what we are seeing now is a simple return to the mean. This hypothesis suggests that crime has "bottomed-out" and we are now witnessing a return to "normal" crime levels. It will be necessary to monitor future data installments to track this hypothesis.

Conclusion

While most neighborhood residents enjoy relatively safe communities as indicated by the percentage of violent crimes in their neighborhood, it is clear that violent crime is a real concern for many. Indeed, District crime is becoming more violent, youth may be playing a large part in this trend, and an increasing number of city residents bring new challenges for area officials. Better data collection and analysis is necessary to understand the best approaches for dealing with District crime trends.