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Introduction

Persons involved in social action programs in our large cities frequently turn to the urban sociologist for assistance in the preparation of studies or to review the results of such studies. This paper grew out of one such cooperative effort which raised the perennially thorny issues of just how one delineates a neighborhood or sub-community within a large city.

The Juvenile Court Community Development Project in New York City is a 2-year demonstration project designed to test the significance of an area-focused, community development strategy for programs in juvenile corrections.¹ The program's aim is to demonstrate how a community-oriented diagnostic process and program might be utilized by the juvenile court. This means focusing on geographic areas where delinquents are concentrated instead of on offenders as individuals.

Once the decision has been made to launch area-focused programs, the problem of selecting sites and of describing such areas in terms relevant to the programs becomes a critical one. The present project is now located in the East Tremont section of the Bronx as shown on Map I. Part of the process of selecting and delimiting this area and of deciding that it is, in fact, a recognizable "sub-community" and/or "neighborhood," will be described in the rest of this paper.

¹This project (Grant # 66015, OJDYD-HEW) is directed by John M. Martin, Institute for Social Research, Fordham University. Results of the project will appear in two forthcoming books from Random House by John M. Martin, Joseph P. Fitzpatrick, Robert E. Gould, M.D. and Associates, The Analysis of Delinquent Behavior: A Structural Approach and Case Studies in The Analysis of Delinquent Behavior.

Because of the nature of the specific community action program involved, the delineation and description of the project site or target area involved four separate steps.² The first task was to determine the geographic distribution of delinquency and PINS³ cases from the Bronx coming to the attention of the Family Court.

The second task was to describe, in terms of relevant social and demographic characteristics, the different sub-areas of the Bronx in which the

²A complete description of all four steps is found in John M. Martin, Mary G. Powers, Selma H. Stevens and Others, Area Selection for a Correctional Community Development Program and Area Selection for a Correctional Community Development Program, Supplement # 1, and Madeline H. Engel, Robert E. Gould, M.D., John M. Martin and Others, Illustrative Case History: Henry Robinson. Juvenile Court Community Development Project, Fordham University, 1966 and 1967.

³In 1962, the Family Court of New York State underwent marked change. One of the changes was the creation of a new designation, PINS (Persons in Need of Supervision), for certain types of youth who were previously handled as delinquents. Paraphrased, the new definitions are as follows:

- (a) Juvenile delinquent means a person over seven and less than sixteen years of age who commits any act which, if done by an adult, would constitute a crime;
- (b) PINS means a male less than sixteen years of age and a female less than eighteen years of age who is an habitual truant or who is incorrigible, ungovernable or habitually disobedient and beyond the lawful control of parent or other lawful authority.

juvenile cases identified were found to be concentrated. On the basis of the data yielded by these two procedures, likely communities or neighborhoods were identified and quantitatively described. Census tract data were used initially and brought up to date to some extent with other available data, such as local health and school statistics, which show population changes between 1960 and 1966.

In addition to these data, the community was described from two other less quantitative perspectives. The third task was to obtain a community profile of the area in which it seemed that the project would be located. This was done by direct observation of the area and through interviews with key persons in a wide variety of institutional structures in the area. A final task was to provide a description of what Professor Sweetser once called the "personal neighborhood"⁴ from the point of view of delinquents themselves. This was done through intensive sociogenic case studies of individual delinquents from the area who are known to the Family Court.

This paper will focus mainly on the first two steps which involve problems of comparing, combining, and integrating statistical data from numerous and disparate sources.

Location of Juvenile Cases Referred for Probation Investigation

The geographic distribution of the delinquent population served by the Bronx Office of Probation was determined by plotting on tract maps all delinquent and PINS cases referred to that office for investigation from January 1, 1965 to December 31, 1965.

⁴Frank L. Sweetser, Jr., Neighborhood Acquaintance and Association, A Study of Personal Neighborhoods. New York: Columbia University Press, 1951.

The data for this plot were secured from the record books of the Bronx Office of Probation serving the Family Court of New York City, in that borough. To provide some measure of change in these patterns, it was decided that the same plot also would be constructed for all cases investigated from January 1, 1963 to December 31, 1963. The year 1963 was selected because: 1) it was the first full year of operation following the new Family Court Act of New York State, passed in 1962; and 2) it was close to 1960, the year of the last U.S. Census which was used in the demographic analysis.

The areas in which delinquency and PINS cases were highly concentrated in 1965 and 1963 are shown on Map II. Six areas containing contiguous high referral census tracts were identified. These were delineated as possible alternative target areas for basing the present project.

The six areas marked off on the map contain 22 census tracts. This represents 5.9% of the total (374) number of tracts in the Bronx. These 22 tracts contained a total of 605 cases in 1965, or 44.5% of the total number of delinquent and PINS cases (1361) referred to the Bronx Office of Probation for investigation in 1965. In other words, approximately 6% of the Bronx census tracts contained approximately 45% of the juveniles referred to the Office of Probation on delinquent and PINS petitions in 1965. Only one of the six areas experienced less than a 50% increase in cases between 1963 and 1965 -- Area 6. Area 5 experienced the highest rate of increase -- over 200%. This high increase in delinquency suggested that Area 5 was probably experiencing rapid change and that it should be examined more closely as a possible location for the project.

Selected Social and Economic Characteristics of The Bronx and of Six Potential Neighborhoods

As the Bronx census tracts including the largest number of delinquency and PINS cases in 1963 and 1965

were being delineated, the 374 borough tracts were also being analyzed in terms of their social and economic characteristics.

The variables used to characterize the areas were taken from several sources, but the first analysis was based mainly on the census tract reports and some special tabulation of tract data made by the Bureau of Labor Statistics in connection with the President's Committee on Youth Unemployment.⁵ The variables were selected on two basis: 1) from empirical evidence (largely the work of Calvin Schmid and associates)⁶ that they delineated distinct social areas; 2) variables of special relevance to delinquency research as suggested by reported empirical studies.⁷

Two of the best known typologies devised to provide analytic frameworks to study the social structure of the American city are those constructed by Tryon, and by Shevky and his

collaborators.⁸ Both have been used in the analysis of the ecological distribution of crime. Both have also been criticized for lack of a theoretical basis. In exploring the utility of the indices in research on crime, Schmid developed a similar set of indices based on the logic of modern statistical techniques.⁹ He also found that all his indices, as well as those of Tryon and of Shevky and associates, were highly correlated with a few individual census tract variables. The six variables so described by Schmid were utilized in the present analysis of Bronx tracts as well as eight others of special interest to the project. For example, the per cent foreign stock and the per cent Puerto Rican were included as measures of ethnic status along with per cent Negro, because they are significant components of the Bronx population. Thus, the basic social and economic variables may be described as follows:

A. Indices of Family Status:

1. % of population under 16 years.
2. % married of the population 14 years and over.
3. Mean population in household.

B. Indices of Socioeconomic Status:

1. % of professional and technical workers in the male labor force.
2. Median grade school completed by persons 25+.

⁵Sources include: U.S. Censuses of Population and Housing: 1960 Census Tracts, Final Report PHS (1)-104, Part 1. U.S. Bureau of the Census. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1962; Income, Education and Unemployment in Neighborhoods: N.Y.C.: The Bronx, U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1963.

⁶Calvin Schmid, "Urban Crime Areas: Part I," American Sociological Review 25: 527-542 (August, 1960); "Urban Crime Areas: Part II," American Sociological Review 25:655-678 (October, 1960).

⁷Kenneth Polk, "Juvenile Delinquency and Social Areas," Social Problems 5:214-217 (1957-1958); Karl Schuessler, "Components of Variation in City Crime Rates," Social Problems 9: 314-323 (1962); Sarah L. Boggs, "Urban Crime Patterns," American Sociological Review 30:899-908 (December, 1965).

⁸Robert C. Tryon, Identification of Social Areas by Cluster Analysis. Berkeley (California): Univ. of California Press, 1955; Eshref Shevky and Wendell Bell, Social Areas Analysis, Stanford (California): Stanford University Press, 1945, among others.

⁹Calvin Schmid and Kiyoshi Tagushira, "Ecological and Demographic Indices, A Methodological Analysis," Demography 1:194-211 (1964).

C. Indices of Ethnic Status:

1. % Negro of total population.
2. % foreign stock of total population.
3. % Puerto Rican of total population.

D. Measures of Population Structure:

1. Sex ratio.
2. Dependency ratio.

Because of the nature of the study, the tracts were also described in terms of:

1. The proportion of the 14-17 year old age group enrolled in school.
2. The proportion of unemployed males.
3. The proportion of movers in the population.
4. The proportion of the population who moved in from outside the Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area (SMSA).

Values for the 14 variables were computed for each of the tracts in the Bronx with some population in 1960, and these values were converted into quartiles and mapped on tract maps of the Bronx. The clusters of areas which fell into the relevant extreme quartile with respect to any of the variables could be identified, and those with broadly similar social profiles were delimited.¹⁰

¹⁰Though a more refined analysis might be made using factor analysis to describe more precisely the relationship between delinquency rates and the various social and economic indices, this was not done since the primary interest and need of the project was to compare, in terms of broad social profiles, those areas with high delinquency rates with all others. The maps used were prepared by Joseph F. Scheuer and Terrence R. McGovern.

Table I describes the six potential target areas and the Bronx as a whole in 1960. Of the six areas selected on the basis of heavy concentration of delinquency and PINS cases, Area 5 seemed to offer the best potential in terms of a large and increasing number of delinquents. In addition, according to census data for 1960, it was not atypical of the Bronx in terms of the demographic and socioeconomic characteristics of the inhabitants, especially with respect to race and ethnicity. Each of the other areas included proportionately heavier Puerto Rican and Negro populations than the Bronx as a whole. Geographically, in 1960, Area 5 was a kind of "border" or transition area in terms of population composition.

Changes in Population Composition in The Bronx and The Target Areas: 1960 To 1966

The first step in observing the target community in 1966 was a tour of the area by automobile. In this way the primary and secondary business areas were identified, the centers of larger commercial establishments and the location of smaller neighborhood stores. Initial observation of the public schools indicated intensive use. Quonset hut facilities suggested overcrowding; and late afternoon dismissals were evidence of double sessions. To the external observer, the housing appeared to be in reasonably good condition. The area is sprinkled by clusters of one and two family houses. Puerto Rican and Negro residents were very much in evidence; white residents appeared to be in the older age groups.

Close observation of various blocks in the area and subsequent analysis of data obtained from case studies of delinquents from the area and interviews with key personnel from institutions within the area suggested the nature of the ethnic change between 1960 and 1966. A large part of the East Tremont section had a predominantly middle-class Jewish population until after World War II. Since then, however, it has been in rapid transition with Puerto

Ricans, and increasing numbers of Negroes replacing the Jewish population, especially during the past 10 years. For example, as one informant pointed out, the East Tremont YM-YWHA (an affiliate of the Federation of Jewish Philanthropies) had moved to its present location in the target area in 1962. By 1966 it had decided to give up its location and to move elsewhere. Four or five synagogues also closed in recent years.

An attempt was made to determine the extent of this change in the Target Area by examining school and health statistics and other data collected since 1960 by social agencies, city government, business and so forth. Because the available statistics did not describe the target area precisely, it was necessary to look at changes in the Bronx as a whole and in whatever smaller sub-areas for which data were available, and from this make some inferences as to changes in the Target Area.

Two sources provided a more recent picture of population change for New York City as a whole and for the boroughs separately. These are the Population Health Survey of 1964 conducted by the New York City Department of Health, and the annual estimates of the population of New York City and Westchester County prepared by Consolidated Edison of New York, Inc. The city-wide Population Health Survey provided an estimate of the non-institutional population in New York City and the individual boroughs in 1964. The estimate of 7,558,500 from the 1964 survey is about 2% less than the 7,706,300 shown in the 1960 census. According to the Survey estimates, Manhattan and the Bronx lost population, Queens and Richmond gained, and Brooklyn remained relatively stable.¹¹ The survey results for the Bronx as a whole indicate a drop of 7.4% in the non-

institutional population resulting from a loss of 18% of the white population other than Puerto Rican, and a gain of 21 and 32 per cents respectively in the non-white and Puerto Rican populations.

The Health Survey findings are not directly comparable with the annual estimates of the Population of New York City prepared by Consolidated Edison Co. because the latter focuses on total population changes, compared to the non-institutional population in the Health Survey. Con-Edison estimates show a population loss for New York City between 1950 and 1960 -- particularly of the white component of the population. Between 1960 and 1962, however, according to their estimates, the population remained practically constant, "...the composite effect of a continuing but slower decline in Manhattan and Brooklyn, a slight gain in the Bronx and continuing increase in Queens and Richmond."¹² By 1963, according to these estimates the downward population trend had ended and an upward trend, to which all the boroughs contributed, resumed.

"By the end of 1965 continuation of the upward trend that had been established in 1963 had resulted in raising the population of every borough in the city above the 1960 census figure."¹³ The increase was felt to result from a combination of several short-run factors such as the World's Fair and the spurt of building resulting from attempts to be covered under the old code which was less restrictive than the present one. A slow downtrend is expected to resume by the end of the decade. For the Bronx, the estimated gain has been from a total population of 1,425,000 in 1960 to 1,430,000 in 1963 and 1964 to 1,460,000 in 1966. The 1966

¹²Consolidated Edison Company of New York, Inc., Population of New York City and Westchester County, January 1, 1966. (N.Y. System Engineering Dept., September, 1966), p. 1.

¹³Ibid.

¹¹N.Y.C. Dept. of Health, Population Health Survey, Report No. P-1 "Population Characteristics, 1964," N.Y.C., April, 1966.

figure represents a 2.5% increase over the 1960 census population. The Bronx includes three "meter districts," or smaller areas for which data are also supplied. Target Area 5 and the surrounding contiguous tracts which make up most of the East Tremont area, are located in the northern-most part of District 10 and the southern part of District 11, both of which show a very low rate of growth compared to District 12, the area east of the Bronx River, -- 0.2%, 1.0% and 7.0% respectively. Even with the overall population growth, the estimated population per occupied dwelling unit was lower in 1966 than in 1960 in all three Bronx Meter Districts as seen in Table II. This suggests either less crowding of families or the immigration of single persons and couples with few children compared to those who left. An examination of school statistics does not suggest fewer children in the area, but more -- a fact to be discussed shortly. Most likely, there was less crowding because of the restrictions of public housing projects which opened since 1960.

In summary, it appears that the Bronx as a whole experienced either a slight upturn in population trends during the sixties or at least a diminution in the rate of population decline. We turn now to look at the area in which the project is located, and the surrounding tracts. The larger area corresponds to what has been historically identified as the East Tremont Section of the Bronx; the project is located in a part of this area.

Target Area 5 and East Tremont

Data on population characteristics for the intercensal period and for areas smaller than the borough are available from two sources -- and then only indirectly: the Board of Education annual ethnic survey describing the school population, and the Department of Health Annual Vital Statistics

report.¹⁴ Both sources provide information only on ethnic characteristics of the population. Both sources have been used here to get some idea of the extent of population change in the target area.

The school statistics are directly relevant since the potential project clientele are school age children. The Board of Education estimate of the color and ethnic composition of the school population provide some measure of change in numbers and ethnic composition over time, since most pupils attend schools in the district in which they reside -- especially elementary schools. Although school district and census tract boundary lines do not generally coincide, an examination of the composition of the school population in schools in and around the target area should also provide an indication of overall population change in the area. Eight such schools were identified and the proportion of pupils listed as "Puerto Rican," "Negro," or "other" was examined each year from 1957 (the first year for which data are available) through 1965. The eight schools are:

P.S. 6	P.S. 67
P.S. 57	P.S. 92
P.S. 58	J.H. 44
P.S. 59	J.H. 118

They are all located in that part of the East Tremont Section of the Bronx immediately surrounding the project target area.

Between 1957 and 1965 the number of pupils enrolled in all of these schools increased -- substantially in

¹⁴A long list of persons representing public and private agencies and groups concerned with current population data for New York City was contacted and each indicated that no new data was obtained in the inter-censal period except for school and health statistics.

several cases. The total enrollment figures are shown in Table III. The increase in enrollment could result from any of several factors: the movement into the area of families with large numbers of children, or of families including a larger proportion who send their children to public rather than parochial schools.

Several of the schools did experience a decline between 1957 and 1962 or 1963, but have increased since then, which suggests that the Con-Edison estimates of the Bronx population showing a reversal of the downward population trend beginning around 1963 may be a more accurate indicator of what has happened than the Public Health Survey figures for the non-institutional population.

In all of the schools in the area the percentage of pupils who were Negro or Puerto Rican increased whereas the proportion of "others" declined. With the exception of P.S. 58, which had 51.6% Puerto Rican pupils in 1957, all of the schools showed a decline in the "other" population from between 2/3 and 4/5 of the total in 1957 to less than 1/5 in 1965, with the exception of P.S. 57 which still included 27% "other" in 1965. The exact figures are shown on Table IV. All of this suggests a tendency for younger white families with school age children to 1) move out of the area and be replaced by Puerto Rican and Negro families or 2) not to move into the spaces vacated by older persons dying or moving to smaller quarters.

The school population, which is the age group of primary interest to programs concerned with delinquency prevention, has shifted from a predominance of "other" pupils to a predominance of Puerto Rican and Negro pupils. The increase in numbers in the schools also suggest considerable overcrowding in the public schools.¹⁵

¹⁵Project interviews with key institutional personnel show that the reverse situation exists in the parochial schools. Their numbers have declined since 1960.

The Department of Health of the City of New York issues an annual report of vital statistics for New York City as a whole, for the five boroughs, and for health center districts and health areas within each borough. The health areas are the smallest units for which data are available and these usually include several census tracts. All of the statistics are reported for the white and non-white components of the population. The birth statistics have been further broken down to show the number of births to Puerto Rican mothers. Because the population change in the East Tremont area seems to include a dramatic increase in the size of the Puerto Rican population, this further breakdown was extremely useful.

The number of births to non-white and Puerto Rican mothers was examined and the proportion of the total they represented each year for 1950-1964 was computed. The results are shown on Tables V and VI. These figures show a continuous increase in the proportion of total births classified as either "non-white" or "to Puerto Rican mothers," except for Area 18 which shows a continuous increase in the proportion of non-white but a decline from a high point of 62% "to Puerto Rican Mother" in 1960 to 49% in 1964. This may be an area where a Negro population is currently displacing the Puerto Rican population.

A certain amount of this change is probably due simply to a difference in the age structure of the population. That is, the Puerto Rican and Negro population may be and probably is considerably younger than the white non-Puerto Rican population. However, the change in percentages of total births which were non-white or to Puerto Rican mothers between 1950 and 1964 is too great to be explained solely by age differences. Again the data suggest a shift in population composition with respect to ethnicity -- from an area of predominantly white non-Puerto Rican families to area of predominantly Negro¹⁶

¹⁶Negroes make up most of the non-white total.

and Puerto Rican families.

Thus the combination of statistics suggests that the population of Target Area 5, which was selected initially as the project site because 1) it had a heavy concentration of delinquency and PINS cases and 2) yet was somewhat typical of the Bronx as a whole with respect to ethnic and socioeconomic characteristics, had undergone considerable change between 1960 and 1966. The population size appears to have remained relatively stable, but the ethnic composition shifted to a predominance of Puerto Rican and non-white families. On the basis of these data the project site was expanded somewhat, with the two tracts of Area 5 remaining the "core tracts" of the project's program.

Summary and Conclusion

In summary, the selection of a program site was based on the utilization of statistics from the courts which showed the geographic location and concentration of delinquents, and on an analysis of census and

other data which provided a description of the social and demographic characteristics of the areas of heavy concentration. Because the entire borough was undergoing rapid change in the years between 1960 and 1966, current data to describe these changes were urgently needed. The change in size and ethnic composition of the population was documented by combining available health, school, and public utility data. We were unable to document any change in socioeconomic level which may also have occurred.

All of this suggests ways of utilizing statistics from a number of sources to provide current inter-censal descriptions of urban sub-areas. Any kind of community action program, and, indeed, many other types of programs, need up-to-date descriptions of their program sites and clientele or target populations. In the inter-censal years it is especially difficult to provide accurate current descriptions of small sub-areas, particularly in rapidly changing urban areas. The present study describes one method of making some intelligent "guestimates" of the mid-censal social and demographic characteristics of such areas.

TABLE I

SELECTED SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS OF THE BRONX AND OF
SIX POTENTIAL AREAS

Variable	The Bronx	Area #1	Area #2	Area #3	Area #4	Area #5	Area #6
Total Population	1,424,815	82,312	35,014	30,148	31,617	18,795	9,051
Per Cent of Population	100.00	5.78	2.46	2.12	2.22	1.32	0.64
Per Cent Foreign Stock	50.60	30.50	29.30	18.40	31.20	60.50	24.90
Per Cent Negro	11.50	21.70	26.70	30.50	20.30	7.20	42.20
Per Cent Puerto Rican	13.10	34.40	51.40	47.70	41.90	10.10	12.20
Sex Ratio	88.80	89.90	88.00	84.80	89.90	90.50	86.00
Per Cent Males Married Aged 14 & Older	68.20	62.10	64.90	62.10	65.80	67.70	77.10
Per Cent Under Age 16	25.50	29.80	29.30	36.10	29.40	24.30	52.20
Dependency Ratio	503.60	526.90	489.30	654.10	536.30	536.70	1139.70
Mean Population in Household	3.02	3.24	3.35	3.53	3.30	2.92	4.41
Per Cent Enrolled in School 14-17 Year Group	93.00	83.00	92.00	71.00	87.00	99.00	92.00
Median Grade Completed for Population 25 Yrs. and Older	9.50	8.60	8.60	7.90	8.40	8.70	10.30
Per Cent Unemployed in Male Civilian Labor Force	4.90	7.20	8.70	8.90	7.40	5.90	6.00
Per Cent Professional & Technical Workers in Male Civilian Labor Force	8.70	3.20	2.60	2.20	3.40	7.10	1.50
Per Cent Moved Between 1955-1960	39.90	37.80	37.30	42.80	39.60	33.60	37.60
Per Cent of Population Moved into SMSA Between 1955-1960	1.87	2.05	2.15	2.33	2.19	1.78	0.78

TABLE II

ESTIMATED POPULATION PER OCCUPED DWELLING UNIT
IN THE BRONX BY METER DISTRICT, 1960 AND 1966

Area	1966	1960
Bronx Total	2.93	3.07
Meter District 10	3.05	3.20
Meter District 11	2.71	2.84
Meter District 12	3.08	3.23

TABLE III

TOTAL ENROLLMENT IN EIGHT PUBLIC SCHOOLS IN THE EAST
TREMONT SECTION OF THE BRONX, 1957-1965

Schools	Number of Pupils									% Change 1957-65
	1957	1958	1959	1960	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965	
P.S. 6	962	959	1001	1065	1114	1148	1282	1344	1604	66.7
P.S. 57	782	810	874	1005	1078	1114	1168	1238	1397	78.6
P.S. 58	545	789	863	921	980	1002	1050	1183	1080	98.2
P.S. 59	903	908	895	884	923	942	1112	1265	1053	16.6
P.S. 67	1189	1124	1135	1273	1423	1485	1623	1864	1987	67.1
P.S. 92	1207	1231	1257	1213	1390	1498	1586	1863	2021	67.4
J.H. 44	1060	845	856	838	875	525	1119	1120	1148	12.6
J.H. 118	1155	1189	1102	1048	970	979	975	1285	1300	8.3

TABLE IV

ETHNIC COMPOSITION OF THE SCHOOL POPULATION IN 8 PUBLIC SCHOOLS IN THE BRONX

Schools	1957	1958	1959	1960	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965
P.S. 6									
Total	962	959	1001	1065	1114	1148	1282	1344	1604
Per Cent	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Puerto Rican	14.8	16.7	22.3	29.1	34.6	42.3	50.9	57.1	62.6
Non-white	6.4	7.4	7.7	9.2	11.1	13.9	17.6	23.4	25.0
Other	78.8	75.9	70.0	61.7	54.2	43.7	31.5	19.6	12.2
P.S. 57									
Total	782	810	874	1005	1078	1114	1168	1238	1397
Per Cent	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Puerto Rican	9.3	11.5	14.9	19.1	26.0	31.7	36.9	44.1	44.8
Non-white	11.9	13.1	16.7	16.8	20.3	19.6	20.9	27.3	27.9
Other	78.8	75.4	68.4	64.1	53.7	48.7	42.2	28.6	27.2
P.S. 58									
Total	545	789	863	921	980	1002	1050	1183	1080
Per Cent	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Puerto Rican	51.6	62.1	67.2	70.7	68.0	65.3	62.3	61.8	55.9
Non-white	9.7	11.7	11.9	12.5	16.0	22.1	27.0	33.6	38.6
Other	38.7	26.2	20.9	16.8	16.0	12.7	10.7	4.6	5.4
P.S. 59									
Total	903	908	895	884	923	942	1112	1265	1053
Per Cent	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Puerto Rican	25.0	30.2	33.0	36.8	39.2	43.9	42.8	44.7	49.9
Non-white	12.2	12.4	14.4	16.9	19.4	23.0	28.1	32.2	30.4
Other	62.8	57.4	52.6	46.4	41.4	33.0	29.0	23.1	19.5

TABLE IV (Continued)

Schools	1957	1958	1959	1960	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965
P.S. 67									
Total	1189	1124	1135	1273	1423	1485	1623	1864	1987
Per Cent	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Puerto Rican	12.4	15.2	20.1	25.7	32.9	36.8	42.1	48.0	52.5
Non-white	7.2	9.1	10.0	11.2	13.8	19.6	22.4	29.6	34.0
Other	80.4	75.7	70.0	63.2	53.3	43.6	35.5	22.4	13.3
P.S. 92									
Total	1207	1231	1257	1213	1390	1498	1586	1863	2021
Per Cent	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Puerto Rican	18.9	21.0	26.3	28.7	32.4	35.8	40.6	47.7	47.8
Non-white	9.5	9.4	9.9	11.5	16.4	20.6	27.2	33.3	35.7
Other	73.7	69.6	63.8	59.8	51.2	43.7	32.2	19.0	16.3
J.H. 44									
Total	1060	845	856	838	875	525	1119	1120	1148
Per Cent	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Puerto Rican	14.3	16.8	18.0	26.3	28.1	34.2	40.4	45.3	65.1
Non-white	10.0	12.7	12.3	14.0	14.5	17.3	22.0	26.3	21.4
Other	75.7	70.5	69.7	59.8	57.4	48.5	37.6	28.4	13.4
J.H. 118									
Total	1155	1189	1102	1048	970	979	975	1285	1300
Per Cent	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Puerto Rican	27.6	34.1	39.0	49.0	51.2	60.3	63.5	62.7	61.0
Non-white	5.6	7.1	8.4	7.7	11.6	20.8	19.4	25.2	26.5
Other	66.8	58.8	52.5	43.2	37.1	18.9	17.1	12.2	12.4

TABLE V

Per Cent Non-white of Total Live Births in Selected
Health Areas of the Bronx, 1950-1964

Year	Health Areas				
	17	18	19	20	21.1
1950	1.93	4.67	3.49	3.69	2.95
1951	1.69	5.19	3.54	3.57	3.37
1952	3.32	6.88	5.27	4.58	2.58
1953	4.97	7.60	7.63	4.23	3.54
1954	3.79	10.00	7.90	5.39	3.31
1955	6.43	13.95	9.93	8.06	4.59
1956	10.00	10.81	8.72	10.65	5.82
1957	10.39	17.02	11.70	12.44	3.20
1958	11.89	11.38	12.82	11.72	7.71
1959	14.08	16.42	12.83	12.66	6.54
1960	14.96	13.51	18.21	15.40	11.91
1961	13.39	18.16	21.63	16.34	15.45
1962	21.58	23.54	21.93	18.36	19.37
1963	26.48	30.24	23.82	26.17	22.27
1964	29.65	36.24	28.18	34.14	29.68

TABLE VI

Per Cent of Total Live Births to Puerto Rican Mothers
In Selected Health Areas of the Bronx, 1950-1964

Year	Health Areas				
	17	18	19	20	21.1
1950	1.93	7.16	1.16	2.37	.98
1951	2.91	13.49	2.43	4.08	2.36
1952	4.60	17.66	3.89	6.28	3.55
1953	7.18	28.07	5.96	9.52	4.96
1954	6.50	34.24	8.54	11.26	6.62
1955	10.89	38.75	9.09	10.75	8.52
1956	10.50	48.91	12.08	13.31	14.56
1957	14.35	52.97	10.63	13.38	14.74
1958	14.07	56.43	15.38	17.45	15.75
1959	14.55	59.90	18.11	22.96	18.75
1960	20.90	62.23	19.73	26.60	27.97
1961	25.86	61.92	25.42	35.19	39.13
1962	30.21	61.04	30.39	33.15	42.53
1963	24.78	57.08	35.30	40.48	48.46
1964	30.57	48.76	42.04	39.17	48.59

MAP I

East Tremont Project Area Within Bronx Borough



Juvenile Court Community Development Project, 1966

MAP II

Six Alternative Target Areas



Juvenile Court Community Development Project, 1966