Job Sprawl in Metro New Orleans

Based on 2008 Local Employment Dynamics Data from the U.S. Census Bureau

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Jobs in the New Orleans metropolitan area are distributed in a manner very differently than people. While residences are fairly evenly dispersed across the cityscape, most jobs occur in three major clusters (the Central Business District, Greater Elmwood, and the Veterans/Causeway/I-10 area) as well as roughly a half-dozen secondary clusters and 40 additional smaller ones. The differing geographies of where people live and where they work shed light on the problems of road congestion, commuting time and expense, and reduced worker productivity and reliability. The maps and data in this brief may be used to inform policy on workforce housing, public transportation, land use, zoning, and economic development.

Background

Over the past several decades, residents have moved away from New Orleans' city center and into increasingly distant parishes.[i] While "people sprawl" and its effects on road congestion are well understood, "job sprawl" and its impacts have received less attention. When new workplaces form along interstates and commercial corridors, it is difficult to design public transportation to access them effectively. Thus, workers are more dependent on autos, increasing road congestion and commuting time. In addition, research suggests that lower-density employment reduces opportunities for knowledge spillovers and high-value innovation activity by diminishing interactions among proximate firms and workers.[ii] The spatial distribution of jobs, therefore, has implications not only for housing and transportation policies, but also for economic development.

The New Orleans metro area has experienced significant job sprawl since the 1990s.[iii] Jefferson Parish now has more jobs than Orleans Parish in all income categories, and together the two parishes account for three-quarters of all regional jobs. Jefferson has more than 43,000 low-wage jobs (paying less than $1,250 per month) with nearly 22,000 of these workers commuting into the parish for work. Orleans Parish has the second largest number of low-wage jobs, and, like Jefferson, *imports* more low-wage workers for those jobs than it exports to other parishes. Orleans and Jefferson both have a sizable number of moderate-wage jobs paying $1,251 to $3,333 per month (59,554 and 81,441 moderate-wage jobs respectively). Lower housing costs in other parishes like St. John the Baptist and St. Bernard seem to be drawing residents working at low and moderate-wage jobs in Orleans and Jefferson. These long commutes add to road congestion and reduce worker productivity.[iv]

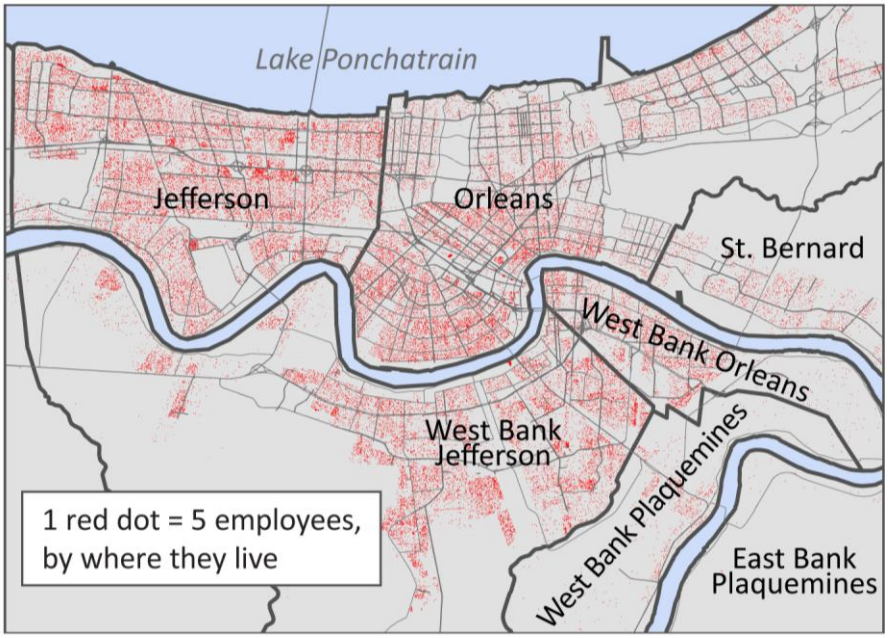
This brief examines exactly where jobs are located within Jefferson and Orleans parishes, compared to where workers live. It looks at where industries are clustered geographically and identifies the clusters with the largest numbers of low-, moderate-, and high-wage jobs. This analysis can help inform policies that support the location of workforce housing near low- and moderate-wage jobs to increase worker productivity and reliability, as well as the site-selection decisions of knowledge-dependent enterprises.

Findings

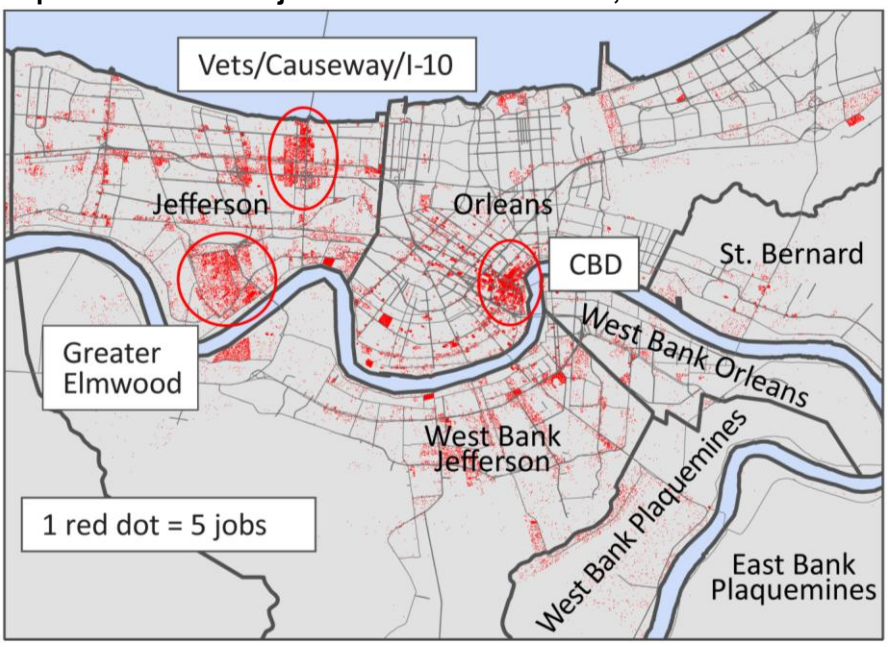
Distribution of All Workers and Jobs

Job distributions do not neatly align with neighborhood boundaries, rather, they cluster in commercially zoned districts that oftentimes fall between or across residential neighborhoods. **Map 1** shows how employees' residences are dispersed throughout the core of the metropolitan area, in a pattern generally representative of the overall population. **Map 2**, which shows where their workplaces are located, depicts a very different distribution. Instead of an even dispersion, we see three major job clusters (the Central Business District of New Orleans, the Greater Elmwood area of Jefferson Parish, and the Veterans/Causeway/I-10 area of Jefferson Parish), as well as roughly a half-dozen secondary clusters and 40 additional smaller clusters.

Map 1. Distribution of employees by their residences in Metro New Orleans, 2008



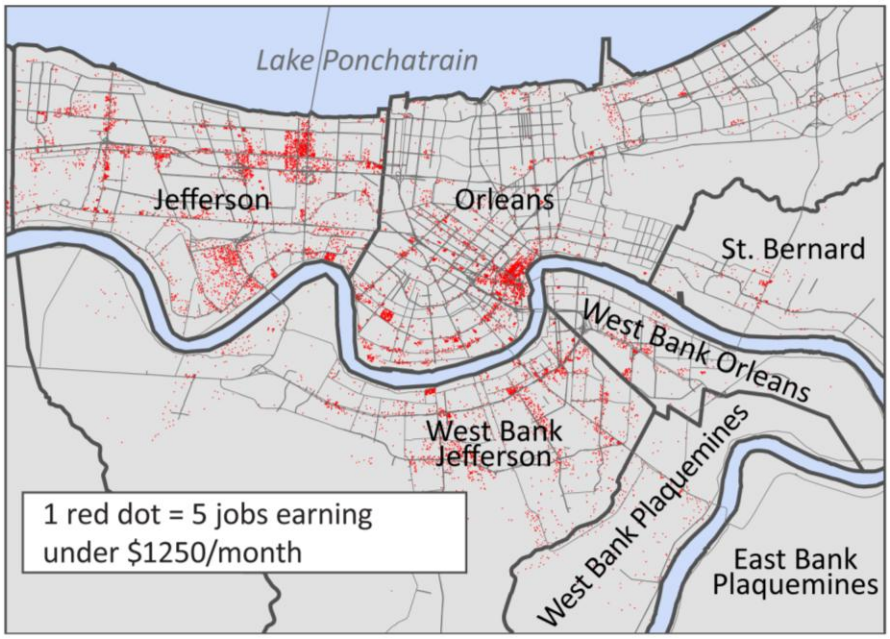
Map 2. Distribution of jobs in Metro New Orleans, 2008



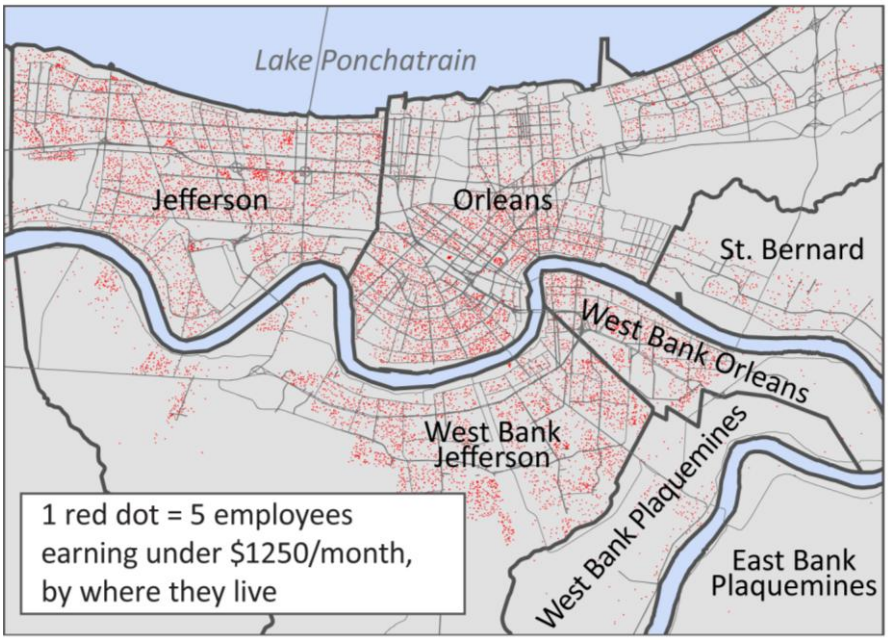
Distribution of Low-Wage Jobs and Workers

Map 3 depicts the location of jobs for low-wage workers, paying $1,250 or less per month (roughly the amount one earns working 40 hours per week for minimum wage). This map can be compared to where the low-wage workers live, depicted in **Map 4**. The difference between these two patterns illustrates the commuting distances endured by thousands of local workers. It illustrates the potential locations for affordable housing developments and possibly public transportation routes that would enhance worker productivity and reduce traffic congestion. All told, Jefferson Parish accounts for the largest number of low-wage jobs in the region. At 43,855 jobs paying less than $1,250 per month, Jefferson Parish has 50 percent more low-wage jobs than Orleans Parish.

Map 3. Distribution of low-paying jobs in Metro New Orleans, 2008



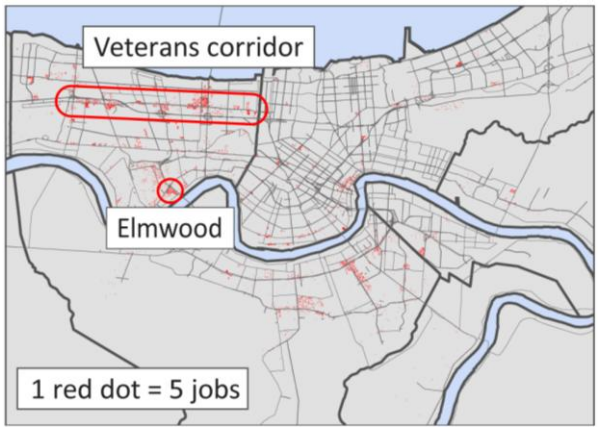
Map 4. Distribution of low-wage employees by their residences in Metro New Orleans, 2008



Note: The dots in Map 3 and Map 4 are the same size. However, they are slightly larger than the dots in the other maps in this publication to enhance visibilty.

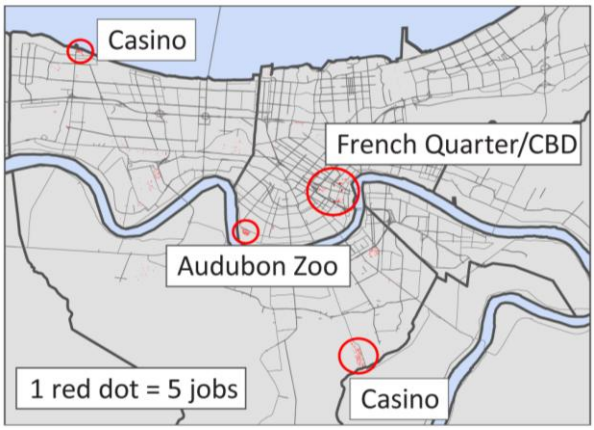
Distribution of jobs in key industries in Metro New Orleans, 2008

Map 5. Retail



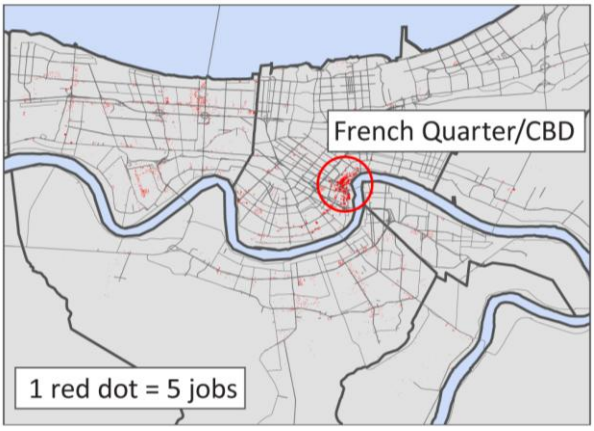
Retail jobs account for many of the low-wage jobs in Jefferson Parish. Fully 32,000 people are employed in the retail sector in Jefferson Parish, most significantly along the Veterans corridor, in Elmwood, and on the west bank. In contrast, Orleans Parish is host to only 12,000 retail jobs.

Map 6. Arts, entertainment, and recreation



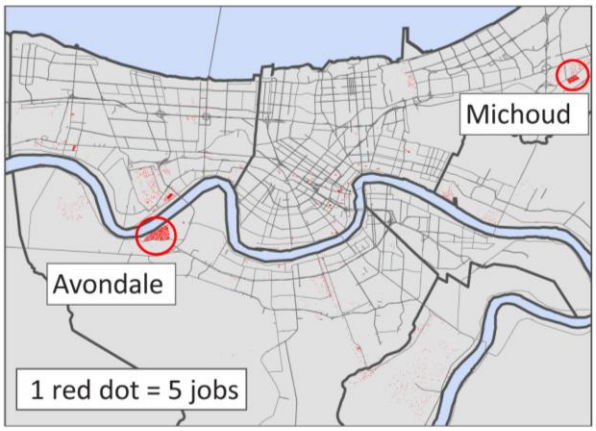
Jefferson and Orleans have more comparable numbers of jobs in the arts, entertainment and recreation at 4,000 and 6,000 respectively. In New Orleans these jobs are concentrated in the French Quarter and CBD and at the Audubon Zoo, while in Jefferson these jobs are mostly in isolated casino locations.

Map 7. Accommodation (hotel) & food service



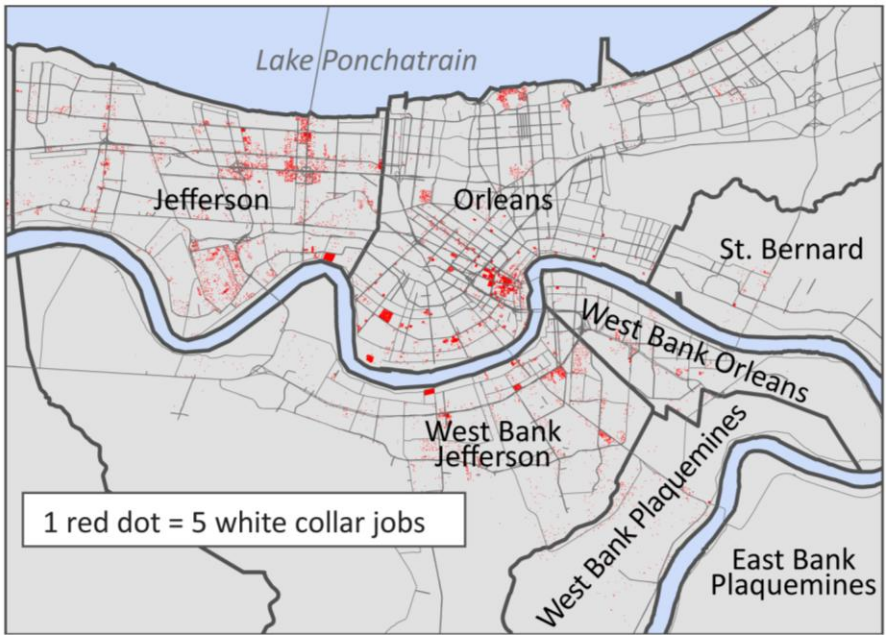
Orleans Parish has more hotel and food service jobs than Jefferson Parish (24,500 and 18,000 respectively). In New Orleans, hotel and food service jobs are densely concentrated in the French Quarter and Central Business District, while such jobs are spread throughout the retail corridors of Jefferson Parish.

Map 8. Manufacturing



Manufacturing jobs, never particularly plentiful in this region, although still an important economic driver, are clustered near the extreme ends of Jefferson and Orleans parishes: around the Avondale shipyard in West Jefferson and around the Michoud NASA facility in eastern New Orleans.

Map 9. Distribution of white-collar jobs in Metro New Orleans, 2008

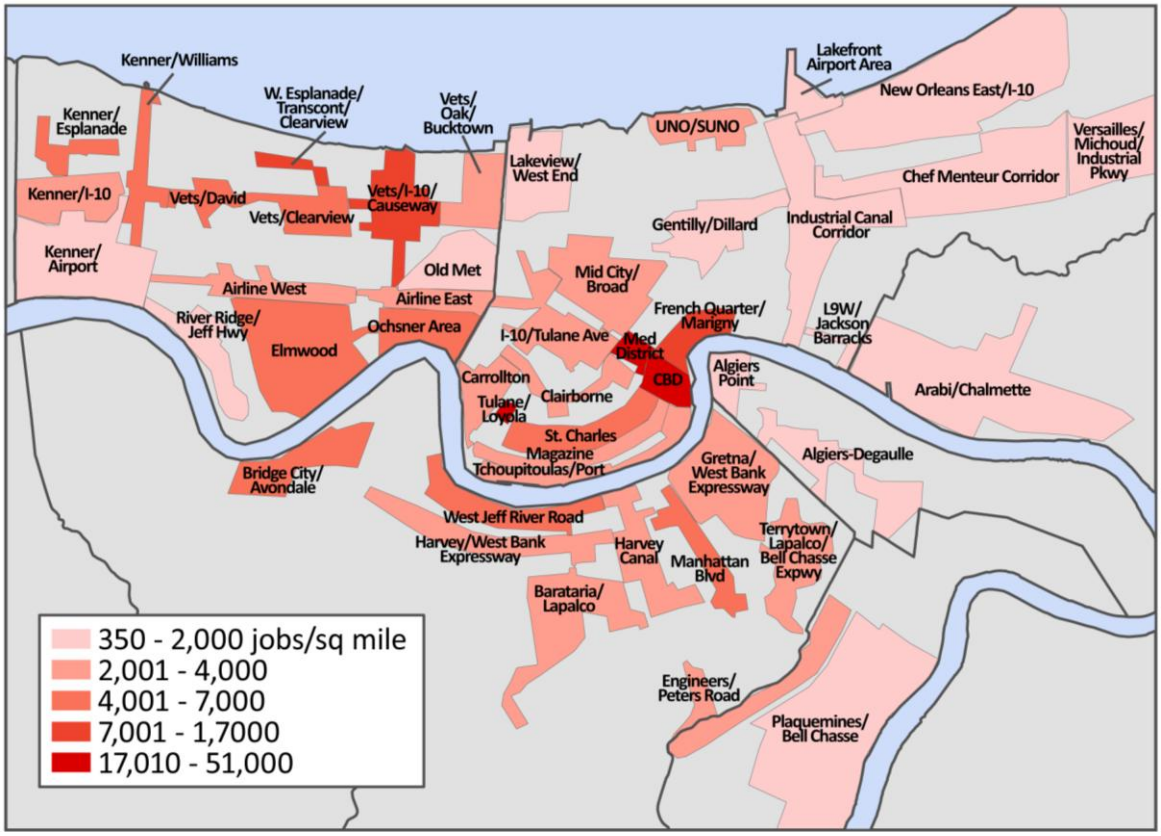


Many white-collar jobs, including jobs in information, finance, insurance, real estate, professional, scientific, technical, management, education, health care, and public administration, are the source of higher incomes in the region. These jobs are largely clustered in the Central Business District, at universities, and in hospital and medical districts.

Analysis of Job Clusters

To tabulate job counts, we identified roughly 50 commercial clusters of varying sizes across Jefferson and Orleans parishes, based on zoning and land use; job distributions; major commercial arteries, corridors, and districts; geographical features such as canals and airports; and political boundaries. These clusters were used to tabulate absolute counts of total jobs, and job density statistics on a per-square-mile basis (**Map 10**).

Map 10. Jobs per square mile by commercial cluster, 2008



Overall, Orleans Parish businesses are much more densely situated than Jefferson Parish businesses. Fully 62 percent of New Orleans' 146,530 jobs in 2008 were located in five inner-city clusters spanning less than 5 percent of the parish's developed land area. The Central Business District, French Quarter/Marigny, the Medical District area, and the St. Charles Avenue and I-10/Tulane Avenue corridors (together covering 6.3 square miles) were home to 91,005 jobs.

In contrast, jobs in Jefferson Parish are not nearly as clustered as in Orleans. In 2008, 30 percent of Jefferson's jobs (59,819 out of 197,742) were spread across Greater Elmwood and the Veterans/Causeway/I-10 areas. Separated from these job clusters by the Mississippi River, is the next largest Jefferson job cluster -- Downtown Gretna/ West Bank Expressway corridor.

Low-Wage Jobs

The largest number of low-wage jobs is located in Jefferson Parish in the Veterans/Causeway/I-10 corridor **(Table 1).** Although this area and several others in Jefferson host the largest numbers of low-wage jobs, the number of low-wage jobs per square mile here is less than in the CBD and French Quarter of Orleans. Low-wage workers in these Jefferson clusters are unlikely to have access to the kind of frequent public transit that serves downtown New Orleans. Although some may be high school students with access to family cars, low-wage workers handling daytime shifts are likely adults significantly reliant on these jobs for their livelihoods, and as such, are in need of proximate low-cost housing.

Table 1. Top ten low-wage job clusters in Orleans and Jefferson Parishes

Commercial Cluster	Number of low-wage jobs	Density of low-wage jobs	Total number of jobs (all wage levels)
Jefferson-East:Vets-Causeway-I-10	6,672	2,858 /sq mi	29,586
Orleans-Central Business District	5,884	7,575	39,293
Jefferson-East: Greater Elmwood	4,741	981	30,233
Orleans-French Quarter/Marigny	4,400	4,348	17,073
Jefferson-West: Downtown Gretna-West Bank Expwy	3,688	1,010	14,451
Jefferson-East:Vets-Clearview-I-10	2,907	2,032	9,525
Jefferson-West: Barataria/Lapalco Area	2,640	798	8,382
Orleans-St. Charles Ave Corridor	2,624	1,440	10,108
Jefferson-East: Kenner-Williams Corridor	2,405	1,963	8,373
Jefferson-West: Manhattan Blvd Corridor	2,301	1,717	7,867

Note: Low-wage jobs are those that pay $1,250 per month or less.

Moderate-Wage Jobs

Moderate-wage jobs (e.g., cooks, hotel housekeeping staff, healthcare support workers and administrative assistants) are most prevalent in many of the same clusters as low-wage jobs -- the exceptions being the medical districts in New Orleans and Ochsner, which have among the largest number of moderate-wage jobs but fewer lower-wage jobs (**Table 2**). Here again we see that the Jefferson clusters are more spread out, hosting fewer moderate-wage jobs per square mile and likely forcing these workers to be auto-dependent, thus, increasing road congestion in those areas.

Table 2. Top ten moderate-wage job clusters in Orleans and Jefferson Parishes

Commercial Cluster	Number of moderate-wage jobs	Density of high-wage jobs	Total number of jobs (all wage levels)
Orleans-Central Business District	15,915	20,489 /sq mi	39,293
Jefferson-East: Greater Elmwood	12,756	2,641	30,233
Jefferson-East:Vets-Causeway-I-10	11,377	4,873	29,586
Orleans-French Quarter/Marigny	8,337	8,239	17,073
Jefferson-West: Downtown Gretna-West Bank Expwy	6,352	1,739	14,451
Orleans-Medical District	5,651	13,905	16,077
Jefferson-East: Ochsner Area	4,598	2,728	10,644
Orleans-St. Charles Ave Corridor	4,302	2,361	10,108
Jefferson-East:Vets-Clearview-I-10	4,227	2,955	9,525
Jefferson-East: Kenner-Williams Corridor	3,709	3,028	8,373

Note: Moderate-wage jobs are those that pay between $1,251 and $3,333 per month.

High-Wage Jobs

The cluster with the largest number of workers earning over $3,333 per month is located in New Orleans' Central Business District (**Table 3**). Although the New Orleans region has experienced significant job sprawl in recent years, the Central Business District still retains the preponderance of oil and gas, information, finance, managerial, professional, scientific and technical jobs. In fact, white-collar jobs in management, finance, health care, and other professions give the Central Business District and Medical District the region's highest concentration of high-earning jobs per square mile.

Table 3. Top ten high-wage job clusters in Orleans and Jefferson Parishes

Commercial Cluster	Number of high-wage jobs	Density of high-wage jobs	Total number of jobs (all wage levels)
Orleans-Central Business District	17,494	22,522 /sq mi	39,293
Jefferson-East: Greater Elmwood	12,736	2,637	30,233
Jefferson-East:Vets-Causeway-I-10	11,537	4,942	29,586
Orleans-Medical District	8,650	21,285	16,077
Jefferson-West: Bridge City/Avondale	5,062	2,546	8,091
Jefferson-West: River Road Corridor	4,726	2,495	8,885
Jefferson-East: Ochsner Area	4,627	2,745	10,644
Jefferson-West:Downtown Gretna-West Bank Expwy	4,411	1,207	14,451
Orleans-French Quarter/Marigny	4,336	4,285	17,073
Orleans-Eastern:Michoud-Indust Pkwy	4,154	726	6,088

Note: High-wage jobs are those that pay more than $3,333 per month.

Job Density

In the same way that the proximity of professionals on college campuses and in medical centers enhances knowledge sharing and productivity, other professionals such as lawyers, bankers, and managers benefit from proximity to peers in their industries. It is no surprise, then, to observe that high-wage jobs are disproportionately represented in the clusters that enjoy the highest overall job density -- in the Central Business District of New Orleans, on the twin campuses of Tulane and Loyola, and in the Medical District of New Orleans (**Table 4**). In contrast, low- and moderate-wage jobs are disproportionately represented in less dense clusters in Jefferson Parish.

Table 4: Top ten densely concentrated job clusters in Orleans and Jefferson Parishes

Commercial Cluster	Square Miles	Total number of jobs	Jobs per square mile	% of jobs that are low-wage	% of jobs that are moderate-wage	% of jobs that are high-wage
Orleans-Central Business District	0.8	39,293	50,586	15%	41%*	45%*
Orleans-Tulane/Loyola Univ Area	0.1	5,613	45,036	18%	38%	44%*
Orleans-Medical District	0.4	16,077	39,560	11%	35%	54%*
Orleans-French Quarter/Marigny	1.0	17,073	16,872	26%*	49%*	25%
Jefferson-East:West Esplan-Transcont-Clearview	0.4	6,108	14,786	16%*	44%*	40%
Jefferson-East:Vets-Causeway-I-10	2.3	29,586	12,673	23%*	38%	39%
Jefferson-East:Kenner-Williams Corridor	1.2	8,373	6,835	29%*	44%*	27%
Jefferson-East:Vets-Clearview-I-10	1.4	9,525	6,659	31%*	44%*	25%
Jefferson-East:Vets-David-I-10	0.7	4,874	6,504	35%*	46%*	19%
Jefferson-East:Ochsner Area	1.7	10,644	6,315	13%	43%*	43%*
New Orleans Metro area overall		**461,112**		**22%**	**40%**	**38%**

**Percentage of jobs in these wage categories in these commercial clusters is above the metro average*

Conclusions

Job sprawl can diminish the prosperity of regional economies by reducing worker productivity and reliability and by isolating employees of various professions from essential relationships and networks. The geography of jobs thus has implications for a range of policy issues. In Jefferson Parish, there are limited public transportation options for workplaces widely spread out along commercial corridors. But quality affordable housing built near these workplaces could increase the productivity of Jefferson's many low- and moderate-wage workers, while at the same time reducing road congestion. In Orleans Parish, frequent and reliable metro-wide bus service could effectively connect workers with many low- and moderate-wage jobs densely situated in the CBD, French Quarter, and Medical District.

Policies and practices that support the proximal location of innovation-dependent firms can facilitate industry cluster knowledge sharing and relationship building. Knowledge enterprises often understand the value of choosing sites that are proximal to peers. In the Des Moines, Iowa metropolitan area, which specializes in information industry companies, firms have disproportionately chosen densely situated office space, making Des Moines one of the most centralized metros in the nation.[v] On a much smaller scale, this dynamic is evident in New Orleans in hubs such as the new "Intellectual Property" building, where entrepreneurs intuitively understand the value of proximity and have chosen to co-locate. Although the Internet has greatly facilitated knowledge interchange between businesses, executives should not underestimate the value of proximity to peers and members of their supply chains for relationship building. Networks built across industry clusters often contribute to high-value innovation activity and a stronger, more competitive regional economy. For their part, municipal officials can support businesses' desires for proximity through the development of appropriate land use, zoning, and transportation policies and investments.

About this data source

The source for the 2008 jobs data is information filed by employers with the State of Louisiana for the purpose of administering unemployment insurance taxes. The state, in turn, supplies this data to the U.S. Census Bureau, where it is aggregated to census blocks and broken down by three wage levels, three employee-age levels, and twenty economic sectors. State unemployment insurance programs have relatively comprehensive coverage in the United States labor force. Approximately 96 percent of the wage and salary civilian labor force and 98 percent of nonagricultural employment are covered by state unemployment insurance laws, and so are reflected in the data. The prime exclusions to coverage are self-employed individuals, agriculture workers, U.S. Armed Forces military personnel, and work-study students. Employment in the fishing industry, which is critical to the economies of Plaquemines and other coastal parishes, is heavily undercounted due to these limitations. One additional limitation of this dataset is that some jobs, in particular government-sector jobs, may be reported at a central administrative office rather than where the compensated activity actually occurs.

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[i] "New Orleans After the Storm: Lessons from the Past, a Plan for the Future." Muro, M. September 2005. http://www.brookings.edu/~/media/Files/rc/reports/2005/10metropolitanpolicy_fixauthorname/20051012_NewOrleans.pdf

[ii] "Job Sprawl Revisited: The Changing Geography of Metropolitan Employment." Kneebone, E. Brookings. April 2009. http://www.brookings.edu/reports/2009/0406_job_sprawl_kneebone.aspx

[iii] "Job Sprawl Revisited: The Changing Geography of Metropolitan Employment." Kneebone, E. Brookings. April 2009. http://www.brookings.edu/reports/2009/0406_job_sprawl_kneebone.aspx

[iv] "Post-Katrina Commuter Patterns." Plyer, A., Ortiz, E. and Pettit, K. GNOCDC. January 2010. http://www.gnocdc.org/CommuterPatterns/index.html

[v] "Job Sprawl Revisited: The Changing Geography of Metropolitan Employment." Kneebone, E. Brookings. April 2009. http://www.brookings.edu/reports/2009/0406_job_sprawl_kneebone.aspx"

Appendix

Author's note: Sums of total jobs by commercial cluster are between 2 and 5 percent higher than parish totals because jobs can be counted in multiple clusters. However, the deviation can be higher when analyzing specific industries and earnings groups.

2008 Metro New Orleans Jobs by Commercial Cluster, by Age, Earning, and Sector	Size of Cluster	All Jobs		Jobs by Age			Jobs by Earnings			Jobs by Sector																				
Commercial Cluster	Square Miles	Total number of jobs	Jobs per square mile	Number of jobs for workers age 30 or younger	Number of jobs for workers age 31 to 54	Number of jobs for workers age 55 or older	Number of jobs with earnings $1250/month or less	Number of jobs with earnings $1251/month to $3333/month	Number of jobs with earnings greater than $3333/month	Agriculture, Forestry, Fishing and Hunting	Mining, Quarrying, and Oil and Gas	Utilities	Construction	Manufacturing	Wholesale Trade	Retail Trade	Transportation and Warehousing	Information	Finance and Insurance	Real Estate and Rental and Leasing	Professional, Scientific, and Technical	Management of Companies and Enterprises	Administrative, Support, Waste Management, and Remediation	Educational Services	Health Care and Social Assistance	Arts, Entertainment, and Recreation	Accommodation and Food Services	Other Services	Public Administration
Orleans-Carrollton Area	1.2	4,298	3,692	1,605	2,083	610	1,281	1,556	1,461	0	3	6	68	17	56	443	609	40	89	59	230	0	124	478	302	772	849	151	2
Orleans-Central Business District	0.8	39,293	50,586	9,821	22,572	6,900	5,884	15,915	17,494	12	1,697	775	300	634	746	1,296	936	1,253	4,773	700	7,858	2,363	3,300	69	1,204	1,516	7,937	983	941
Orleans-Eastern:Chef Menteur Corridor	5.5	2,603	473	735	1,447	421	672	1,137	794	3	0	50	237	215	136	619	316	14	46	72	22	0	314	0	81	64	297	115	2
Orleans-Eastern:I-10 Corridor	8.4	2,970	353	907	1,604	459	884	1,338	748	0	1	1	69	16	40	808	160	32	159	143	202	3	57	227	639	3	329	74	7
Orleans-Eastern:Lakefront Airport Area	0.9	939	1,042	203	551	185	210	499	230	0	0	1	0	1	41	8	366	5	3	179	6	99	9	8	148	1	0	5	59
Orleans-Eastern:Michoud-Indust Pkwy	5.7	6,088	1,064	1,030	3,921	1,137	380	1,554	4,154	3	104	0	237	4,733	227	100	212	8	24	4	29	0	198	0	20	25	113	49	2
Orleans-French Quarter/Marigny	1.0	17,073	16,872	5,977	8,716	2,380	4,400	8,337	4,336	0	2	6	168	266	329	1,610	177	357	241	176	933	93	401	101	280	2,492	8,824	494	123
Orleans-Gentilly/Dillard	2.2	2,954	1,323	942	1,467	545	983	1,269	702	0	0	7	140	96	70	915	282	9	96	15	35	8	110	441	108	1	543	73	5
Orleans-I-10-Tulane Ave Corridor	2.3	8,454	3,644	1,934	4,882	1,638	1,784	3,421	3,249	0	0	27	1,678	355	714	791	367	931	50	159	220	254	759	125	186	232	508	644	454
Orleans-Industrial Canal Corridor/Port	4.3	6,122	1,408	1,388	3,646	1,088	811	2,358	2,953	0	73	36	225	1,040	489	630	1,174	11	54	50	72	0	53	1,782	67	25	181	155	5
Orleans-Lakeview / West End	2.3	1,312	579	484	639	189	452	547	313	0	0	0	77	2	53	163	24	18	91	33	165	0	45	0	105	61	332	140	3
Orleans-Lower 9th Ward-St. Claude-Jackson Barracks	0.3	330	1,125	69	174	87	71	200	59	0	0	0	0	0	0	6	0	0	0	0	5	0	0	0	130	0	4	4	181
Orleans-Magazine Corridor	1.3	5,235	3,976	1,926	2,523	786	1,643	2,448	1,144	10	1	4	189	123	92	1,041	19	45	38	44	352	89	105	203	862	774	1,045	197	2
Orleans-Medical District	0.4	16,077	39,560	2,813	10,330	2,934	1,776	5,651	8,650	5	327	170	54	73	151	89	276	603	597	49	755	1,081	1,076	3,018	5,836	20	600	408	889
Orleans-Mid-City/Broad	3.0	7,932	2,657	1,930	4,352	1,650	1,836	3,352	2,744	0	2	12	570	60	288	799	606	379	219	89	696	220	797	1,082	746	295	774	239	59
Orleans-South Claiborne Corridor	1.0	2,472	2,461	739	1,308	425	657	928	887	0	0	0	171	24	172	227	25	12	63	63	107	4	184	39	702	187	434	57	1
Orleans-St. Charles Ave Corridor	1.8	10,108	5,547	2,769	5,510	1,829	2,624	4,302	3,182	26	0	0	94	235	70	443	52	188	81	150	565	424	239	386	3,839	1,065	1,840	399	12
Orleans-Tchoupitulous Corridor/Port	1.6	4,842	3,024	1,361	2,668	813	981	1,900	1,961	10	1	2	156	311	206	879	421	30	18	92	139	0	70	22	1,839	22	233	127	264
Orleans-Tulane/Loyola Univ Area	0.1	5,613	45,036	1,176	3,098	1,339	1,027	2,135	2,451	0	0	0	0	0	2	12	0	27	1	6	16	0	97	5,084	44	9	289	10	16
Orleans-UNO/SUNO	1.4	3,190	2,302	538	1,795	857	431	1,261	1,498	2	0	0	18	0	11	139	30	32	28	3	303	1	58	2,357	24	1	168	7	8
Orleans-West-Algiers Point Area	0.9	1,582	1,725	326	943	313	215	510	857	2	59	43	28	51	13	22	406	9	27	25	35	0	28	610	75	4	101	43	1
Orleans-West-Algiers-Degaulle Corridor	2.5	4,694	1,842	1,518	2,344	832	1,555	2,157	982	0	1	3	43	15	42	1,436	9	15	379	107	302	46	171	148	1,252	19	581	124	1
Jefferson-East:Airline Corridor-East	1.1	4,113	3,730	1,103	2,267	743	905	1,898	1,310	0	30	39	635	206	408	786	59	211	101	43	127	146	744	4	124	138	170	135	7
Jefferson-East:Airline Corridor-West	1.6	4,026	2,563	1,377	2,052	597	1,075	1,871	1,080	0	1	7	892	47	195	1,180	53	4	113	42	80	95	332	43	135	261	420	125	1
Jefferson-East:Greater Elmwood	4.8	30,233	6,259	7,582	17,789	4,862	4,741	12,756	12,736	2	21	783	2,930	3,458	4,733	3,643	2,579	847	789	458	1,309	1,306	1,404	110	1,547	572	2,206	1,075	461
Jefferson-East:Kenner-Airport Area	4.4	5,874	1,338	1,279	3,414	1,181	1,104	2,732	2,038	0	0	14	609	830	536	269	850	58	37	516	166	5	444	23	155	152	664	371	175
Jefferson-East:Kenner-Esplanade Area	0.8	4,163	5,044	1,876	1,743	544	1,638	1,876	649	0	2	4	42	8	59	2,098	39	40	196	80	140	0	57	1	401	30	860	101	5
Jefferson-East:Kenner-I-10 Corridor	1.9	4,011	2,136	1,025	2,319	667	785	1,822	1,404	11	0	44	1,166	211	411	462	259	26	19	175	69	9	226	1	30	53	378	196	265
Jefferson-East:Kenner-Williams Corridor	1.2	8,373	6,835	2,584	4,376	1,413	2,405	3,709	2,259	0	1	49	265	184	309	2,233	305	66	498	225	223	44	357	64	818	904	1,347	179	302
Jefferson-East:Ochsner Area	1.7	10,644	6,315	2,235	6,503	1,906	1,419	4,598	4,627	0	0	22	498	177	748	485	705	32	303	141	28	3	573	3	6,550	8	231	113	24
Jefferson-East:Old Metairie	1.8	3,402	1,902	1,089	1,706	607	892	1,492	1,018	1	83	3	325	21	80	683	44	198	268	65	375	57	42	158	214	157	362	260	6
Jefferson-East:River Ridge-Jeff Hwy	1.7	1,598	963	528	806	264	550	712	336	0	0	0	219	36	71	295	0	6	69	46	85	2	33	72	334	46	171	112	1
Jefferson-East:Vets-Causeway-I-10	2.3	29,586	12,673	8,519	16,003	5,064	6,672	11,377	11,537	2	713	20	1,930	359	1,129	4,451	784	649	3,895	861	3,983	410	4,105	140	2,177	38	2,862	798	280
Jefferson-East:Vets-Clearview-I-10	1.4	9,525	6,659	3,170	4,741	1,614	2,907	4,227	2,391	1	1	10	532	54	390	1,947	126	553	588	388	572	110	971	78	1,436	47	1,397	308	16
Jefferson-East:Vets-David-I-10	0.7	4,874	6,504	1,774	2,322	778	1,721	2,248	905	0	0	17	61	21	73	2,905	22	19	219	158	189	19	99	30	263	20	612	147	0
Jefferson-East:Vets-Oaklawn-Bucktown	1.5	5,141	3,388	1,813	2,509	819	1,560	2,148	1,433	0	1	1	323	32	133	1,140	32	136	514	78	729	67	492	16	284	25	934	197	7
Jefferson-East:West Esplan-Transcont-Clearview	0.4	6,108	14,786	1,463	3,597	1,048	966	2,673	2,469	0	2	1	54	25	17	287	0	23	118	179	148	6	120	1	4,727	5	278	103	14
Jefferson-West:Barataria/Lapalco Area	3.3	8,382	2,533	3,062	4,288	1,032	2,640	3,459	2,283	0	90	61	401	161	380	2,616	487	60	230	188	354	148	1,200	28	687	38	1,112	122	19
Jefferson-West:Bridge City/Avondale	2.0	8,091	4,070	1,233	4,964	1,894	611	2,418	5,062	18	40	4	651	6,300	18	271	184	2	5	1	30	0	228	1	92	100	145	1	0
Jefferson-West:Downtown Gretna-West Bank Expwy	3.7	14,451	3,956	4,048	7,661	2,742	3,688	6,352	4,411	0	10	457	809	136	570	2,838	713	171	326	255	1,105	1	1,506	45	1,346	557	1,295	444	1,867
Jefferson-West:Engineers/Peters Road Corridor	2.6	6,260	2,408	1,591	3,634	1,035	767	2,424	3,069	0	245	5	820	1,191	621	129	820	91	7	331	128	239	330	0	136	966	152	42	7
Jefferson-West:Harvey Canal Corridor	2.0	5,333	2,693	990	3,277	1,066	594	1,701	3,038	0	1,040	5	580	981	967	172	462	21	27	72	71	273	279	20	157	1	78	125	2
Jefferson-West:Harvey-West Bank Expwy Corridor	2.3	5,594	2,463	1,592	3,125	877	1,480	2,479	1,635	0	0	0	163	190	223	900	5	11	127	173	76	21	46	7	2,715	29	826	69	13
Jefferson-West:Manhattan Blvd Corridor	1.3	7,867	5,869	3,080	3,667	1,120	2,301	3,510	2,056	1	14	7	109	90	227	2,720	38	79	215	201	139	71	278	22	294	9	1,337	172	1,844
Jefferson-West:River Road Corridor	1.9	8,885	4,690	1,046	5,111	2,728	1,080	3,079	4,726	0	2	12	359	367	261	286	223	21	23	26	25	22	33	6,814	75	36	87	137	76
Jefferson-West:Terry-Wall-Lapalco-BChHwy	2.1	4,615	2,205	1,632	2,304	679	1,674	1,951	990	2	0	0	121	19	71	1,135	16	29	216	63	131	24	69	158	1,548	91	733	187	2
St. Bernard-Arabi-Chalmette	7.8	6,881	886	1,957	3,818	1,106	1,551	2,415	2,915	0	38	60	1,154	1,388	327	959	516	11	120	39	134	10	338	155	246	46	639	162	539
St. Bernard Parish--All other areas in parish		736		130	451	155	152	282	302	2	5	0	140	101	87	86	93	6	1	1	3	1	52	28	64	2	17	16	31
Plaquemines-Belle Chasse Area	11.4	4,194	369	934	2,459	801	602	1,180	2,412	9	210	71	642	1,199	129	169	187	6	118	74	256	0	123	170	205	34	253	85	254
Plaquemines-All other areas in parish		7,493		1,745	4,431	1,317	844	2,626	4,023	35	688	14	810	1,072	676	381	1,370	8	3	420	206	239	416	4	155	32	226	43	695
St. Charles Parish		21,718		4,869	13,468	3,381	3,527	6,683	11,508	17	131	287	3,148	4,350	2,339	1,486	1,927	151	291	261	606	464	1,116	2,050	985	138	879	319	773
St. John the Baptist Parish		13,722		3,615	8,082	2,025	2,694	4,804	6,224	50	543	95	978	2,205	936	1,710	1,184	124	309	174	318	122	725	1,144	1,146	160	934	295	570
St. Tammany Parish		62,096		19,535	33,310	9,251	17,408	25,759	18,929	129	313	398	4,994	2,479	3,183	11,133	2,309	897	2,235	922	3,689	1,109	2,672	773	11,978	1,054	7,499	1,879	2,451