No. A25-

IN THE

Supreme Court of the United States

NICOLE MALLIOTAKIS, *et al.*,

Applicants,

v.

MICHAEL WILLIAMS, *et al.*,

Respondents.

ON APPLICATION FOR STAY TO THE COURT OF APPEALS OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK TO THE HONORABLE SONIA SOTOMAYOR, ASSOCIATE JUSTICE OF THE SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES AND CIRCUIT JUSTICE FOR THE SECOND CIRCUIT

APPENDIX TO EMERGENCY APPLICATION FOR STAY VOLUME VIII OF X (PAGES 2801a - 3200a)

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EXPERT REPORT OF THOMAS J. SUGRUE

STATEMENT OF QUALIFICATIONS

1. My name is Thomas J. Sugrue. I am Silver Professor of History and Social and Cultural Analysis at New York University (NYU), where I have been a member of the faculty since 2015. I am the director of NYU's Urban Studies Program and the NYU Cities Collaborative. I am also an affiliated faculty member in NYU's Wagner School of Public Service and in NYU's Department of Sociology. Prior to teaching at NYU, I was a member of the faculty at the University of Pennsylvania from 1991 to 2015, where I rose to be David Boies Professor of History and Sociology and the founding director of the Penn Social Science and Policy Forum. I graduated with a B.A. in history, Summa Cum Laude, from Columbia University in 1984. I received a second B.A., Honours, in 1986 from Cambridge University. I was awarded an M.A. degree from Cambridge University in 1990. I earned an A.M. and a Ph.D. degree in history from Harvard University in 1987 and 1992, respectively. A detailed record of my professional qualifications, including a list of publications, awards, and professional activities, is set forth in the curriculum vitae attached as Appendix 1.

2. My scholarship is interdisciplinary, informed by research in history, sociology, and political science. I have written extensively on the topic of race relations, with special attention to the status, perception, and treatment of minorities over the last century. I have also written about the economic, political, and social roots of racial inequality and poverty in the United States. In addition, I have researched the history of cities and suburban areas in the United States, including New York City. I have also written about the impact of immigration on American metropolitan areas, and, as part of a project funded by the Andrew Mellon Foundation, on diversity and inequality in the United States.

3. I am the single author of three books on race, politics, and modern American history; the co-author of a book on the history of the United States since the 1890s; editor of a forthcoming book on the history of public policy and segregation; and co-editor of five books on topics including race and inequality; urban history; suburbanization; immigration; and urban political economy. My first book, *The Origins of the Urban Crisis: Race and Inequality in Postwar Detroit*, was published by Princeton University Press in 1996 and won four major awards, including the 1998 Bancroft Prize in American History. It was reprinted in a new edition in 2005, with a new preface. It was reprinted again in 2014 as part of the Princeton Classics series with another new preface. My 2008 book, *Sweet Land of Liberty: The Forgotten Struggle for Civil Rights in the North*, published by Random House, examines the history of racial discrimination, segregation, and inequality in housing, education, employment, policing, and politics throughout the North, and the history of efforts to challenge racial inequalities through political mobilization and protest, legislation, litigation, policymaking, and electoral politics. That study includes New York City. I have co-edited *The New Suburban History* (2005), which concerns, among other topics, race, housing, and immigration in suburbia. My other books include *Immigration and Metropolitan Revitalization in the United States* (co-edited with Professor Domenic Vitiello), published by the University of Pennsylvania Press in 2017; *Neoliberal Cities* (co-edited with Professor Andrew Diamond), published by NYU Press in 2020; *The Long Year: A 2020 Reader* (co-edited with Professor Caitlin Zaloom), published by Columbia University Press in 2022; and *Segregating Cities*, forthcoming from the University of Chicago Press.

4. My research has been supported by grants and fellowships from several foundations and academic research institutions, including the Carnegie Corporation of New York, the Andrew Mellon Foundation, the John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation, the Social Science

Research Council, the American Council of Learned Societies, the American Philosophical Society, the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton, the Brookings Institution, the National Endowment for the Humanities, and the Alphonse Fletcher Foundation. In 2016, I was elected the Walter Lippmann Fellow of the American Academy of Political and Social Science. I am also an elected fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, the Society of American Historians, the Royal Historical Society (U.K.), and the New York Institute for the Humanities. I am past President of the Urban History Association and also of the Social Science History Association. I serve on the Board of Trustees of the Russell Sage Foundation and the Advisory Council of the Canadian Institute for Advanced Research (CIFAR).

5. I have served as an expert witness in the past. I prepared three reports, was deposed and testified in *New York Communities for Change v. County of Nassau*, No. 602316/2024 (Sup. Ct., Nassau County 2025). I prepared two reports, was deposed, and testified in *Flores v. Town of Islip*, 448 F.Supp.3d 267 (E.D.N.Y. 2020). I prepared a report and was deposed in *Priorities USA v. Nessel*, 628 F.Supp.3d 716 (E.D. Mich. 2022). I prepared a report and was deposed in *U.S. v. City of Eastpointe*, 378 F.Supp.3d 589 (E.D. Mich. 2019). I prepared a report and was deposed in *Adkins v. Morgan Stanley*, 307 F.R.D. 119 (S.D.N.Y. 2015). I prepared a report, was deposed, and testified in *United States v. City of Euclid*, 523 F.Supp.2d 641 (N.D. Ohio 2007). In addition, I prepared a report for *Gratz v. Bollinger*, 122 F.Supp.2d 811 (E.D. Mich. 2000) and for *Grutter v. Bollinger*, 137 F. Supp. 2d 821 (E.D. Mich. 2001).

SCOPE OF REPORT

6. At the request of counsel representing the plaintiffs in this case, I have conducted research on historical and current patterns of racial discrimination, racial segregation, and racial disparities in socio-economic status in New York City, with a focus on Richmond County (Staten

Island). I have focused my report on those areas that are known to have a meaningful effect on political participation, including the totality of the circumstances factors set forth in the New York Voting Rights Act. I am being compensated at a rate of $550/hour plus expenses for my work in connection with this matter. My compensation is unaffected by the expert opinions and conclusions that I reach.

7. My report is based on my extensive research on Staten Island using U.S. Census data from various years, public records, other statistical reports from various years, local newspapers, court cases, and relevant historical and social scientific studies and research reports. I reserve the right to amend or supplement my report to the extent necessary.

SUMMARY OF CONCLUSIONS

8. Staten Island has a long history of racial segregation, discrimination, and disparate treatment against Blacks and Latinos. As a result, significant disparities persist today between these groups and white residents with regards to housing, education, socioeconomic status, and policing – all of which are known to have a negative impact on political participation and the ability to influence elections. Specifically:

- Racial segregation and discrimination are long-running. They persist in Staten Island up to the present day. Unaddressed historical patterns as well as ongoing and pronounced racial divisions contribute to current disparities between whites, Blacks, and Latinos on the Island.
- Blacks and Latinos on Staten Island are segregated residentially. That segregation is worse today than it was forty years ago.
- Black and Latino residents of Staten Island have faced incidents of racial harassment in their daily lives, including in schools, by police, and in the housing

market.

- Black and Latino residents of Staten Island have been the targets of hate crimes and xenophobia. Recently, immigrants of Latin American origin on Staten Island have been the target of hostile protests and sometimes violence.
- Measures of socioeconomic status by race and ethnicity in Staten Island diverge sharply. Latinos and Blacks have higher rates of poverty and unemployment and lower incomes than whites.
- Latinos and Blacks are far more likely than whites to rent their homes.
- Latinos and Blacks also have significantly lower rates of educational attainment.
- The New York Police Department has a history of tense community relations with Staten Island's Black and Latino residents.
- Staten Island has a history of discriminatory voting practices and appeals to racism in political campaigns, which have further marginalized and disadvantaged Black and Latino communities.

BACKGROUND

9. Richmond County, New York comprises the entirety of Staten Island, the smallest of New York's five boroughs, covering 57.5 square miles.[1] When it was annexed by New York City in 1898, Staten Island was a mostly rural area. At that time, the Island was overwhelmingly white, though there was an African-American community in Sandy Ground, the oldest free Black settlement on the East Coast, founded by former enslaved people from Maryland in 1828—the year after New York State abolished slavery.[2] Some Blacks also lived on the North Shore in the

[1] Profile: Richmond County, New York, U.S. Census Bureau, https://data.census.gov/profile?q=richmond+county,+new+york.
[2] Minna C. Wilkins, "Sandy Ground: A Tiny Racial Island," 7 *Staten Island Historian* 1, 2–10 (Summer-Fall 1989); Howard Weiner, "Sandy Ground," *Encyclopedia of the City of New York*, ed. Kenneth T. Jackson 1040-104 (New

nineteenth century, especially in the Stapleton area (home to Stapleton AME Church, the borough's oldest Black church).[3]

10. Staten Island rapidly expanded, mainly after World War II, though its non-white population remained very small until the end of the twentieth century.[4] The Island's growth was spurred by transit links to other parts of New York City, most importantly the Staten Island Ferry which has connected Richmond County to Lower Manhattan for over 200 years, and which now operates on a twenty-four hour schedule, and the Verrazano Narrows Bridge, which opened in 1964, connecting Brooklyn and points distant to Staten Island by car and truck. The opening of the bridge coincided with racial conflict and white flight from Brooklyn. As a result, Staten Island attracted tens of thousands of white newcomers who were attracted to the Island's new housing and its overwhelmingly white neighborhoods. Staten Island went through a real estate boom and experienced a remarkable growth rate of 33 percent between 1960 and 1970.[5]

11. Staten Island's racial and ethnic composition has changed significantly since the late twentieth century. In its overview of the most recent decennial census, the New York City Planning Department reported that "Staten Island has experienced net outflows of the White population in the past four decades," while its number of non-white residents has increased significantly, especially its Latino population, which "has grown consistently throughout the last four decades through both natural increase and net migration."[6]

Haven: Yale University Press, 1993); Carolina Bank Muñoz, Penny Lewis and Emily Tumpson Molina, *A People's Guide to New York City* 309-310 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2022).

[3] Muñoz et al, *People's Guide*, 316-317.

[4] Charles L. Sachs, "Staten Island," in *Encyclopedia of the City of New York*, ed. Kenneth T. Jackson 1112-1118 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993).

[5] Daniel C. Kramer and Richard M. Flanagan. *Staten Island: Conservative Bastion in a Liberal City* 5 (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 2012); Muñoz, *supra* n.2, chapter 5; Anne Marie Barron, "How the Verrazzano-Narrows Bridge Changed Everything for Staten Island's Population," SI Live, November 18, 2024, https://www.silive.com/news/2024/11/how-one-bridge-changed-everything-for-staten-islands-population.html.

[6] New York City, Department of City Planning, Population Division, *Stability and Change in NYC Neighborhoods, 2010-2020* (March 20, 2023), https://storymaps.arcgis.com/stories/c7bf9175168f4a2aa25980cf31992342.

12. Demographic changes have been particularly pronounced since 1980 (Figure 1). In 1980, Staten Island had a total population of 352,121. It was 85.3 percent white; 7 percent Black; 5.4 percent Latino; and 1.9 percent Asian. Compared to the other four New York City boroughs, Staten Island was an outlier. None of the others were close to majority white.[7]

13. Today, 492,734 people live on Staten Island.[8] The population has grown increasingly diverse since 1980. Today, it is 56.6 percent white, 19.5 percent Latino, and 9 percent Black.[9] Twelve percent of Staten Island residents are of Asian descent. The remaining 2.9 percent is mostly people who consider themselves members of two or more races; Staten Island has very few Native Americans, Native Hawaiians, or Pacific Islanders.[10] Staten Island is still the whitest of the five boroughs, but it now more closely resembles Manhattan than any other borough in its demographics.[11]

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[7] U.S. Census Bureau, *1980 Census of Population, Vol. 1: Characteristics of the Population, Part 34: New York* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1982),

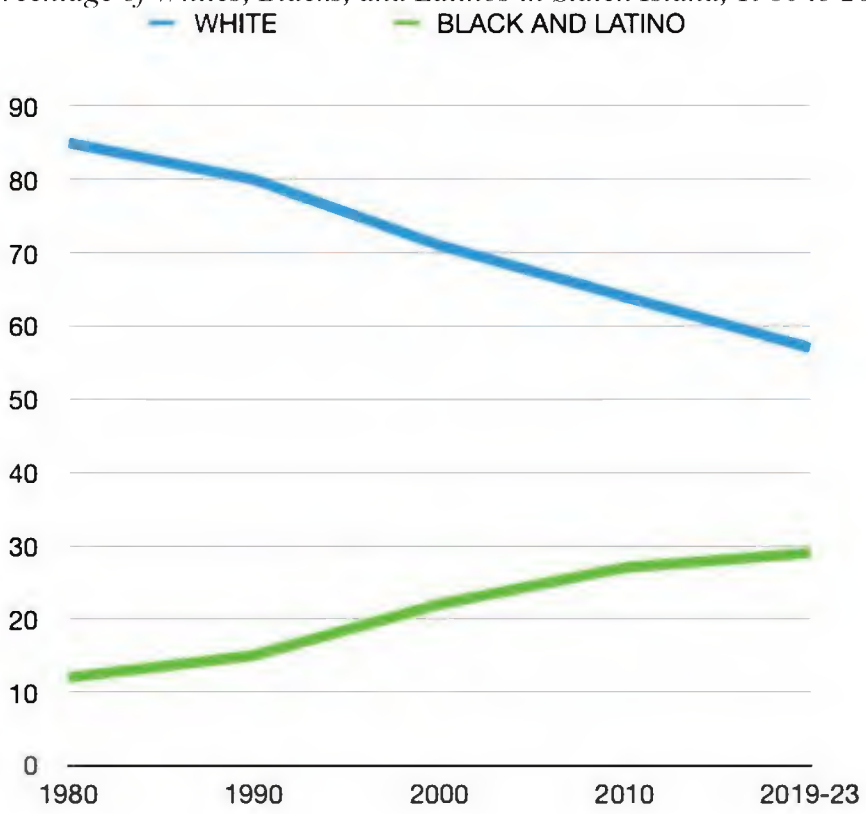
[8] All data in this paragraph come from U.S. Census Bureau, American Community Survey, Five-Year Estimates, 2019-2023. Hereafter U.S. Census, ACS, 2019-23. Data are for white alone, black alone, and Latino, who may be of any race. Data for figures throughout this report were collected using Social Explorer, https://www.socialexplorer.com/.

[9] A note on language: this report will use the term Latino to refer to Americans of Latin American descent, except when quoting from sources. The U.S. Census Bureau, many scholars, and citizens use both the terms Latino and Hispanic. Older sources sometimes use the vague terms Spanish or Spanish-American and more recent authors sometimes use sex neutral language Latino/a/s or the gender-neutral terms Latinx or Latine. This report will use Black and African American, two terms also regularly used in the Census Bureau and by scholars, unless quoting from other sources.

[10] 2.2 percent of Staten Island residents are of "two or more races." 0.5 percent fall into the category "some other race alone." Only 0.2 percent of Staten Island residents are American Indian or Native Alaskan; a negligible percent are Hawaiian or Pacific Islander.

[11] NYU Furman Center, *New York City Neighborhood Data Profiles, 2024*, https://furmancenter.org/neighborhoods/.

Figure 1: Percentage of Whites, Blacks, and Latinos in Staten Island, 1980 to 2019-2023



14. The diversification of Staten Island is evident in the city's streetscapes. Mexican and Dominican businesses have revived Port Richmond Avenue's business district.[12] Also on the North Shore, the Park Hill section of Clifton is known as Little Liberia, with a vibrant street market and Liberian restaurants that serve a community of several thousand people, many of whom came to Staten Island in the 1990s and 2000s as refugees from the West African country's civil wars.[13]

RACIAL SEGREGATION ON STATEN ISLAND

15. Staten Island has long been one of most racially segregated areas in the United

[12] Judith Adler Hellman, *The World of Mexican Migrants: The Rock and the Hard Place* (New York: New Press, 2008), 174-77; CeFaan Kim, "Mexican Community in Port Richmond Celebrates Culture, Heritage on Independence Day,"*ABC7 New York*, September 16, 2025. https://abc7ny.com/post/staten-island-celebrates-mexican-independence-day-events-during-hispanic-heritage-month/17827892/. More broadly, see Domenic Vitiello and Thomas J. Sugrue, *Immigration and Metropolitan Revitalization* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2017).

[13] Bernadette Ludwig, "Liberians: Struggles for Refugee Families," in *One Out of Three: Immigrant New York in the Twenty-First Century*, ed. Nancy Foner (New York: Columbia University Press, 2013), 200-222; Alyssa Ammirati, "'Little Liberia Way' is More than Just a Street Name to Community in Clifton," *Staten Island Advance*, May 2, 2025.

States and remains so, despite its diversity. The evidence of racial discrimination and residential segregation against Blacks and Latinos in Richmond County, as this report will document, is overwhelming.

A. Racial Divisions on Staten Island

16. Staten Island has a distinctive racial and ethnic geography. Most Blacks and Latinos live in the northern third of the Island; most whites live in the southern two-thirds. The North Shore, which centers around the Staten Island Ferry Terminal, has some of the borough's oldest housing stock, many apartment buildings, and most of the Island's public housing projects.

17. Neighborhoods to the south of the Staten Island Expressway—in Mid-Island and South Shore—are more suburban in character, dominated by single-family homes built since the 1950s. The southern neighborhoods of Staten Island remain overwhelmingly white.

18. Maps offer a clear picture of Staten Island's racial and ethnic divisions. Figure 2 shows concentrations of Black residents in Staten Island since 1990. In 1990, Black residents were disproportionately clustered on the North Shore, largely above the Staten Island Expressway, the black line on the map. Sandy Ground, one of the few Black communities in the southwestern section of the Island, was largely destroyed by a fire in 1964, dispersing its Black population. Today it has been rebuilt and has few Black residents.[14]

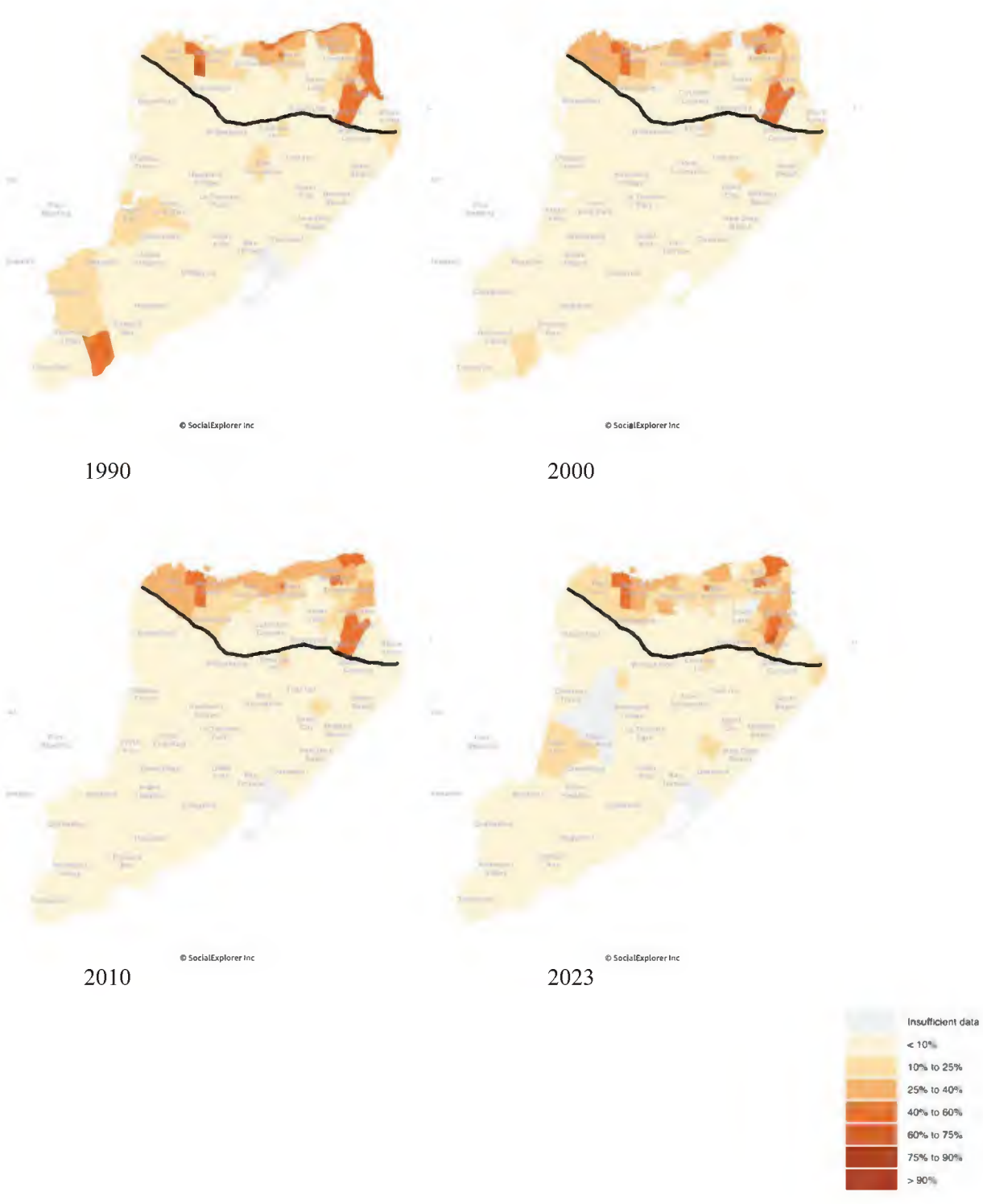
19. At the end of the twentieth century and into the twenty-first, Staten Island's Black population grew larger and denser but remained disproportionately concentrated in the same North Shore neighborhoods. Many lived in neighborhoods near postwar public housing projects. Some Blacks dispersed south of the Staten Island Expressway, mostly to older neighborhoods that had fallen out of fashion among whites.

[14] Weiner, "Sandy Ground;" Tracey Porpora, "Bulldozers Rule in Shrinking Sandy Ground," *Staten Island Advance*, May 10, 1999.

20. Figure 3 shows concentrations of Latino residents in Staten Island since 1990. Here too we can see certain patterns very clearly. Over more than three decades, Staten Island's Latinos have been disproportionately concentrated in North Shore neighborhoods—often living in close proximity to Blacks. This is a common pattern in many urban areas where Blacks and Latinos experience socio-economic disparities. Members of both groups are more likely to have less education, higher rates of unemployment and poverty, and fewer choices in racially segregated housing markets (all discussed at greater length below). Staten Island Latinos also began to move into more dispersed tracts south of the Staten Island Expressway, especially after 2010, largely into neighborhoods that have recently experienced white flight.

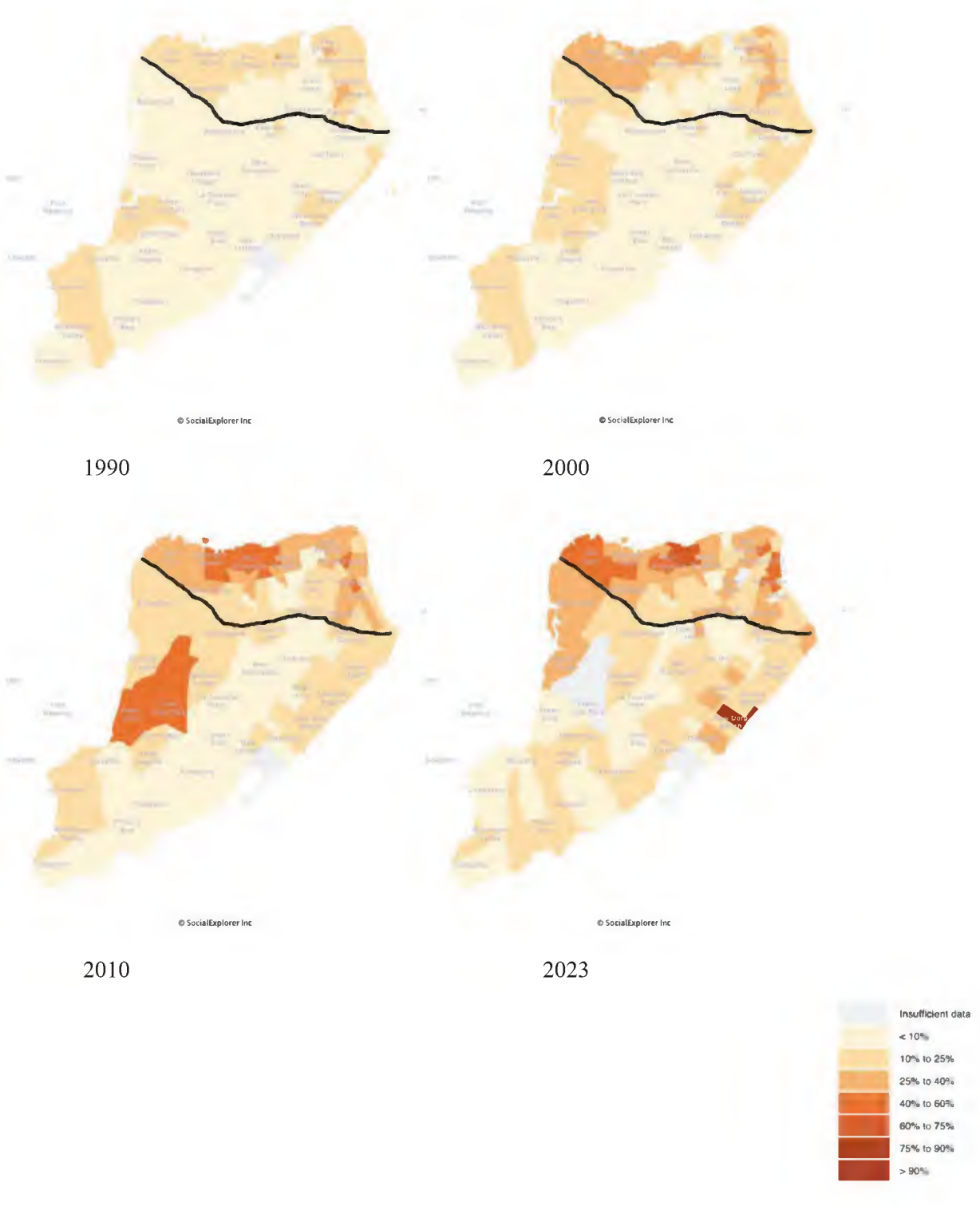
21. A comparison of Figures 2 and 3 shows significant congruence between Black and Latino residential patterns on Staten Island. Members of both groups tend to live in areas with older housing stock, apartment buildings, and public housing developments.

Figure 2: Black Population on Staten Island, 1990 to 2019-2023[15]



[15] Map prepared by author using U.S. Census, 1990, 2000–2010, and U.S. Census, ACS, 2019–2023. The Staten Island Expressway is marked in black.

Figure 3: Latino Population on Staten Island, 1990 to 2019-2023[16]



[16] Map prepared by author using U.S. Census, 1990, 2000–2010, and U.S. Census, ACS, 2019–2023. The Staten Island Expressway is marked in black.

22. At least since the 1980s, minorities on Staten Island have complained that the Staten Island Expressway served as an informal racial barrier. Blacks seeking houses in predominantly white sections on Staten Island regularly experienced discrimination.[17] In a 1987 public meeting about housing opportunity on the island, for example, participants "complained that blacks seeking housing are generally unwelcome in neighborhoods south of the Staten Island Expressway."[18] Since at least the late 1980s, many Staten Island residents have called the Staten Island Expressway the "Mason Dixon line," because it divides the predominantly white southern part of the island from its increasingly racially diverse northern section.[19] A recent report in the Manhattan Institute's *City Journal* captures the ongoing salience of Staten Island's sharp geographic divide. "The borough's north shore, which includes the ferry terminal, resembles the rest of New York City, with concentrations of black, Latino, and Asian New Yorkers. Staten Island becomes most distinctive in its southern two-thirds, below the Staten Island Expressway, which local wags sometimes call the Mason-Dixon line."[20] The further south one heads in Staten Island, the whiter it becomes. In 1990, less than one percent of residents in Staten Island Community Board (CB) 3,

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[17] See for example, Anne Fanciullo, "Group Urges More Housing Integration," *Staten Island Advance*, May 17, 1981 (noting that 87.5 percent of the island's Blacks lived north of the Staten Island Expressway, and that of the small number of Blacks to the south, more than 8 percent were children in a single medical institution); "Staten Island is 'More Racist than Any City Down South,'" *Staten Island Advance*, November 28, 1983; "Equal Housing, Jobs Among the Priorities of Island NAACP," *Staten Island Advance,* February 27, 1984.

[18] "Black Leaders Cite North Shore Race Woes," *Staten Island Advance*, September 20, 1987.

[19] For references to the Mason-Dixon line, see Bill Stephens, "Panelists Outline Ways to Fight Housing Discrimination," *Staten Island Advance*, April 19, 1989; Joseph Berger and Ian Urbina, "Along with Population and Diversity, Stress Rises on Staten I." *New York Times*, September 25, 2003. "Staten Island's Mason-Dixon Line," *Stat Island*, n.d. [ca. 2013], http://statisland.com/mason_dixon.html; Ashley Halsey III, "A Crusade of Defeat the Legacy of Highways Rammed Through Poor Neighborhoods," *Washington Post*, March 29, 2016, https://www.washingtonpost.com/local/trafficandcommuting/defeating-the-legacy-of-highways-rammed-through-poor-neighborhoods/2016/03/28/ffcfb5ae-f2a1-11e5-a61f-e9c95c06edca_story.html; Major Danny Sjursen, "Disturbing Deep-Rooted Patterns in Staten Island's Racial Geography," *SI Live*, May 22, 2017, https://www.silive.com/news/2017/05/disturbing_deep-rooted_pattern.html; Sydney Kashiwagi, "A New Generation of Leadership on Staten Island's North Shore," *City & State New York*, November 16, 2020. https://www.cityandstateny.com/politics/2020/11/a-new-generation-of-leadership-on-staten-islands-north-shore/175451/.

[20] Seth Barron, "New York's Red Borough," *City Journal* (Winter 2018), https://www.city-journal.org/article/new-yorks-red-borough.

which includes Tottenville and Great Kills, on the southern third of the island, were Black.[21] In 2023, still only one percent of CB 3's population is Black.[22]

B. Statistical Measures of Residential Segregation

23. Maps provide a bird's eye view of Staten Island's racial and ethnic residential patterns, but using demographic data, we can measure segregation by race and ethnicity with great precision. The index of dissimilarity, the most commonly used measure of racial segregation, provides clear evidence of racial segregation between whites and non-white groups in Richmond County spanning a several-decade period. The index of dissimilarity measures the evenness of a population's distribution across the county. In simpler terms, the index of dissimilarity is a calculation of the percentage of a minority group that would have to move for the distribution of the group in every area to be the same as their representation in the overall population of the county. The index of dissimilarity ranges from 0-100 (not segregated to totally segregated).[23]

24. The U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) specifies that a community with a dissimilarity value of **40 or below** is considered to have a **low** level of racial segregation; a range from **40-55** indicates **moderate** segregation; any value **above 55** is considered a **high** degree of segregation.[24]

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[21] Richard Mudgett, "We Must End De Facto Housing Discrimination," *Staten Island Advance*, November 3, 1992.
[22] NYU Furman Center, Neighborhood Profiles, Staten Island, Neighborhood Indicators, Tottenville/Great Kills, SI03, https://furmancenter.org/neighborhoods/view/tottenville-great-kills.
[23] The classic study using indices of dissimilarity is Karl Taeuber and Alma Taeuber, *Negroes in Cities: Residential Segregation and Neighborhood Change* (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company, 1965); the classic recent work is Douglas S. Massey and Nancy A. Denton, *American Apartheid: Segregation and the Making of the Underclass* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993). On Latino segregation, *see* Mary J. Fischer and Marta Tienda, "Redrawing Spatial Color Lines: Hispanic Metropolitan Dispersal, Segregation, and Economic Opportunity," in *Hispanics and the Future of America*, ed. Marta Tienda and Faith Mitchell (Washington, DC: National Academies Press, 2006); Daniel T. Lichter, Domenico Parisi, Michael C. Taquino, and Steven Michael Grice, "Residential Segregation in New Hispanic Destinations: Cities, Suburbs, and Rural Communities Compared," *Social Science Review* 39 (2010): 215–230; Jacob Rugh and Douglas S. Massey, "Segregation in Post-Civil Rights America: Stalled Integration or End of the Segregated Century?" *Du Bois Review* 11:2 (2014): 205–232.
[24] U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (hereafter HUD), HUD Exchange, Lessons from the Ground: Best Practices in Fair Housing Planning, https://www.hudexchange.info/programs/fair-housing/best-practices-in-fair-housing-planning/analyzing-data/identifying-areas-of-segregation-integration-and-concentrated-poverty/.

25. Using decennial U.S. Census Bureau data from 1990, 2000, 2010, and the most recent data from the Census Bureau's *American Community Survey*, 2019-2023, I calculated the index of dissimilarity for Blacks and whites and Latinos and whites in Richmond County (Figure 4). These data allow us to assess the degree of racial segregation in the present and then look to larger patterns spanning one third of a century.

26. Today, Blacks in Staten Island experience a high degree of segregation and Latinos experience a moderate degree of segregation.

Figure 4: Residential Segregation on Staten Island, 1990 to 2019-2023[25]

	1990	2000	2010	2019-2023
White/Black Dissimilarity	72	72	72	75
White/Latino Dissimilarity	35	42	47	42

27. Staten Island's current white-Black index of dissimilarity is **75**, meaning that it is very highly segregated.

28. Staten Island's current white-Latino index of dissimilarity is **42**, which ranks as moderately segregated.

29. Historical data on dissimilarity provides further insight into patterns of segregation in Staten Island over time. The indices of dissimilarity for the period beginning in 1990 demonstrate clearly that racial and ethnic segregation has persisted in Richmond County over more than three decades. Black-white segregation has been consistently high; in fact, it has worsened since 2010. Between 1990 and 1990–2023, the rate of Black-white segregation ranged from a low of 72 to a high of 75.

[25] Index calculated by author from tract level data from U.S., 1990, 2000, 2010, and U.S. Census, ACS, 2019–23, using U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, Dissimilarity Calculator Tool: https://www.hudexchange.info/resource/6870/lessons-from-the-ground-best-practices-in-fair-housing-planning-dissimilarity-index/. Note: Since the author downloaded the Dissimilarity Calculator Tool, the Trump administration has removed links to it and other fair housing materials from the HUD website.

30. Between 1990 and 2023, Latino-white segregation has fluctuated from a low of 35 to a high of 47. In 1990, the Latino-white segregation rate on Staten Island was low. It rose to the moderate range in 2000 and has remained there since.

C. Public Policy, Real Estate Practices, and Housing Segregation

31. What explains persistent or worsening racial and ethnic segregation in Staten Island? One commonplace explanation for such segregation generally asserts that racial or ethnic group members prefer to self-segregate, often expressed in conventional wisdom that "birds of a feather flock together." While there is some evidence that members of extended families or immigrants from the same town or village of origin sometimes move to neighboring homes, there is abundant counterevidence. Political scientist Lawrence Bobo found that "[o]nly a trivial percentage of blacks, Hispanics, and Asians express objection to living in a largely white neighborhood," a finding echoed by other demographers and sociologists.[29]

32. Residential segregation is not solely or primarily the sum of individual choices about where to live. Rather it has been shaped by:

a. historical and ongoing discrimination and the stigmatization of people considered to be non-white;

b. federal and local housing policies that created and maintained racial segregation and their legacy;

c. past and ongoing discriminatory practices by real estate brokers, landlords, and mortgage lenders.

I will consider each of these in detail now.

33. ***Historical and ongoing discrimination.*** Staten Island whites expressed opposition to the presence of Blacks in otherwise all-white areas beginning with the first Great Migration of

Blacks to the North, during the 1920s. Staten Island, though it has a very small Black population, became the site of a nationally infamous incident in 1924 and 1925, when Samuel Browne, a Black postal worker and his wife, a school teacher, and their two children moved into a single family home that they had purchased in West New Brighton. A local developer and a prominent real estate broker first attempted to buy out the Brownes, who rebuffed their offers.[26] After the Brownes refused, a crowd of forty white neighbors gathered in front of the house to protest. Vandals attacked the property, throwing stones and pulling out the shrubbery.[27] The Brownes also received threats from the Ku Klux Klan, which was then at its peak of membership—including in New York, where it had prominent chapters in New York City and Nassau and Suffolk Counties.[28] The Browne case led to the formation of the Staten Island Branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the leading civil rights organization of the twentieth-century, known for its litigation against discriminatory practices in real estate, public education, and public accommodations.[29]

34. ***Federal Housing Policies, including redlining.*** A series of federal housing programs, first enacted in the 1930s and early 1940s, reinforced discriminatory real estate and lending practices and systematically excluded African Americans from large parts of the metropolitan New York area, including large parts of Staten Island. The Federal Home Loan Bank

[26] "Negroes Blame Klan for Race Troubles; Samuel Brown Tells Mass Meeting of Effort to Drive Him Out of Staten Island Home," *New York Times*, September 21, 1925, https://www.nytimes.com/1925/09/21/archives/negroes-blame-klan-for-race-troubles-samuel-brown-tells-mass.html.

[27] "Staten Islanders Object to Negro Moving into Home," *New York Age*, September 6, 1924; "Negro Vindicated' in Clash with Whites," *St Louis Post-Dispatch*, August 22, 1925.

[28] "Ku Klux Klan Threatens to Drive Family From White Neighborhood," *Pittsburgh Courier*, September 19, 1925; "Negroes Blame Klan for Race Troubles; Samuel Browne Tells Mass Meeting of Effort to Drive Him Out of Staten Island Home," *New York Times*, September 21, 1925. The Klan operated in New York City and was particularly strong on Long Island. See David M. Chalmers, *Hooded Americanism: The History of the Ku Klux Klan*, Third Edition (Durham: Duke University Press, 1987), 254-58.

[29] New York City Council, Minutes of the Proceedings for the Stated Meeting (October 31, 2017), 3818, https://www.nyc.gov/assets/dcas/downloads/pdf/cityrecord/stated-meetings/2017/stated_meeting_2017_10_31.pdf.

Board (1932), the Home Owners' Loan Corporation (1933), the Federal Housing Administration (1934), and the Veterans Administration (1944) all dramatically expanded white consumers' access to credit for the purchase and improvement of homes. But all of these federal housing programs translated private discrimination into public policy, and officially ratified the exclusionary practices of brokers, developers and banks.[30] These federal housing agencies prevented most Blacks and Latinos from obtaining federally backed home loans and mortgages for more than a third of a century, between 1932 and 1968.

35. The key instrument of segregation by federal housing agencies was a system to rank neighborhoods by their "risk," first developed by the Home Owners' Loan Corporation (HOLC). The ranking system "influenced national lending policy by disadvantaging entire communities it deemed a hazardous bank investment."[31] The HOLC ranked neighborhoods, based on detailed "area descriptions" that included an overview of housing stock and infrastructure, proximity to industry, and, most importantly, the racial, ethnic, and socio-economic characteristics of area residents. When the HOLC evaluated the residential desirability of urban property, writes historian Louis Lee Woods, "race, ethnicity, and class were so influential that when analyzing a neighborhood's desirability, they surpassed all other appraisal considerations."[32]

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[30] There is a large body of historical scholarship on this topic. See LaDale C. Winling and Todd M. Michney, "The Roots of Redlining: Academic, Governmental and Professional Networks in the Making of the New Deal Lending Regime," *Journal of American History* 108 (2021), 42-69; Todd M. Michney and LaDale C. Winling. "New Perspectives on New Deal Housing Policy: Explicating and Mapping HOLC Loans to African Americans," *Journal of Urban History* 46 (2020), 150-80; Louis Lee Woods, II, "The Federal Home Loan Bank Board, Redlining, and the National Proliferation of Racial Lending Discrimination, 1921–1950," *Journal of Urban History* 38 (2012),1036-59; Jennifer Light, "Nationality and Neighborhood Risk at the Origins of FHA Underwriting, *Journal of Urban History* 36 (2010), 634-71; Kenneth T. Jackson, "Race, Ethnicity, and Real Estate Appraisal: The Home Owners' Loan Corporation and the Federal Housing Administration," *Journal of Urban History* 6 (1980), 419-452, and Kenneth T. Jackson, "The Spatial Dimensions of Social Control: Race, Ethnicity, and Government Housing Policy in the United States," in Bruce M. Stave, ed., *Modern Industrial Cities: History, Policy, and Survival* (Beverly Hills: Sage Publishers, 1981), 79-128.

[31] Woods, "Federal Home Loan Bank Board," 1038.

[32] Woods, "Federal Home Loan Bank Board," 1039.

Figure 5: Federal Home Loan Bank Board Richmond County, New York, Home Security Map, 1940[33]

36. The HOLC rated neighborhoods from "A" through "D" and mapped those neighborhoods using color coding. The top-ranked neighborhoods, "A," were depicted in green on HOLC appraisal maps, and considered the "best" in a city, characterized by large concentrations of "Americans" with high incomes and living in high quality housing. "B" neighborhoods, colored blue on the maps, were "still desirable." "C" neighborhoods, colored yellow, were "definitely declining." And "D" neighborhoods were considered hazardous and colored red on the maps. The

[33] Federal Home Loan Bank Board, Greater Richmond County, New York Residential Security Map, 1939, National Archives and Records Administration, Record Group 195, scanned and reprinted in Robert K. Nelson, LaDale Winling et al., "Mapping Inequality: Redlining in New Deal America," in *American Panorama: An Atlas of United States History*, 2023: Staten Island, New York: https://dsl.richmond.edu/panorama/redlining/map/NY/StatenIsland/area_descriptions/D5#loc=12/40.5741/-74.1562, hereafter referred to as "Redlining in New Deal America."

term "redlining" referred to "D" neighborhoods, where residents frequently had difficulty obtaining federally-guaranteed mortgages and conventional mortgages—fifteen to thirty-year mortgages with low down payments and modest interest rates.[34]

37. In 1940, the HOLC published its Neighborhood Security Map for Richmond County (Figure 5). At that time, Blacks constituted only two percent of Staten Island's population. The appraisers offered positive assessments of Staten Island neighborhoods with many "Americans"—meaning non-immigrants. They sometimes mentioned the presence of German, Scandinavian, and Irish residents favorably. And they often rated areas with large numbers of Italians negatively. But the official map and its accompanying "area descriptions" gave low ratings to every Black community on the island, even including neighborhoods that appraisers predicted would attract Black residents in the future.

38. Staten Island's oldest Black community, Sandy Ground, had been founded in 1828—the year after New York State abolished slavery. It was home to some of the island's most venerable Black institutions. The HOLC considered it "hazardous," ranked it D, and colored it red on its map. The area description bluntly noted: "Location on the downgrade for years –little hope for recovery." It stated that Sandy Ground "is one of the poorest areas in the entire borough and has practically nothing to recommend it to the outside renter or buyer." Black residents of Sandy Ground lived in dismal conditions in "small frame singles and cottages, generally in fair to poor condition, most of them with outside toilets." Other than the main thoroughfare, "[i]nside streets are poorly surfaced, muddy in wet weather, and have no sidewalks." Sandy Ground had no sewers or gas lines. The report concluded bluntly, "[i]t is difficult to envisage any further decline, but the

[34] For a description of the maps and their methodology, see Robert K. Nelson, "Introduction," Redlining in New Deal America.

trend, if any would be downward."[35] Nearby Rossville and Charleston, affected by "Negro infiltration" were also ranked D.[36]

39. Even overwhelmingly white neighborhoods with just a small Black population—or even the prospect that Blacks might move there in the future—received low ratings. Those included Willowbrook, Miers Corner, and part of West Brighton.[37] The implication that even a few Black residents made a neighborhood undesirable is a reminder of the assumptions of racial inferiority that shaped federal housing policy in the mid-twentieth century.

40. There is now a substantial body of scholarship by historians, sociologists, public health scholars, and economists demonstrating that redlining in the mid-twentieth century has had long-term impacts on nearly every aspect of community life.[38] Redlined neighborhoods—even those that were mostly white when the maps were composed—are more likely to house non-whites today. Residents of those neighborhoods are more likely to have lower incomes than residents of higher-ranked neighborhoods. By most measures, health outcomes in historically redlined neighborhoods are poor. Redlined neighborhoods are also likely to face environmental hazards, including air pollution, contaminated soil from lead and other chemicals, and other industrial

[35] Staten Island, New York, Area Description, D-21, Redlining in New Deal America.
[36] Staten Island, New York, Area Descriptions, D-20, D-22, Redlining in New Deal America.
[37] Staten Island, New York, Area Descriptions, D-6, D-8, C-6, C-8, Redlining in New Deal America.
[38] For a survey of the scholarship in a report focusing on New York, see U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Racial Discrimination and Eviction Policies and Enforcement in New York: A Report of the New York Advisory Committee to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, March 2022: 20-24, https://www.usccr.gov/files/2022-03/New-York-Advisory-Committee-Evictions-Report-March-2022.pdf (hereafter referred to as "USCCR, New York Advisory Committee Report"). Major works on the long-term impact of redlining include Daniel Aaronson, Jacob Faber, Daniel Hartley, Bhashkar Mazumder, Patrick Sharkey, "The Long-Run Effects of the 1930s HOLC 'Redlining' Maps on Place-Based Measures of Economic Opportunity and Socioeconomic Success," *Regional Science and Urban Economics* 86 (2021), 103662; Daniel Aaronson, Daniel Hartley, and Bhashkar Mazumder "The Effects of the 1930s HOLC 'Redlining' Maps," *American Economic Journal: Economic Policy* 13.4 (2021), 355–92; Haley M. Lane, Rachel Morello-Frosch, Julian D. Marshall, and Joshua S. Apte, "Historical Redlining Is Associated with Present-Day Air Pollution Disparities in U.S. Cities," *Environmental Science & Technology Letters* 9:4 (2022), 345–350; Carolyn B. Swope, Diana Hernández, and Lara J. Cushing, "The Relationship of Historical Redlining with Present-Day Neighborhood Environmental and Health Outcomes: A Scoping Review and Conceptual Model," *Journal of Urban Health* 99 (2022), 959–983.

waste. As scholar Melissa Checker shows, there is a high "density of toxic sites with proximity to low-income communities of color" on Staten Island's North Shore.[39]

41. ***Public Housing, Discrimination, and Segregation.*** Discriminatory public housing policies also further segregated Staten Island. While public housing was largely funded by federal agencies, including the U.S. Housing Authority and its successors, including the Public Housing Authority and the Urban Renewal Administration, federal housing officials gave local housing authorities (including the New York City Housing Authority, or NYCHA) the sole power to select project sites and determine the racial composition of housing projects. Across the country, public housing complexes were almost always opened and operated on a segregated basis, following what was called the "neighborhood composition" policy. Projects in racially-mixed or predominantly minority neighborhoods primarily housed Blacks and Latinos; projects in predominately white neighborhoods favored white applicants.[40]

42. Staten Island had eleven NYCHA housing projects: Berry (1950), Cassidy-Lafayette (1971), the Edwin Markham Houses (1943, demolished in 2007),[41] Mariners Harbor (1954), New Lane Area (1984), Richmond Terrace (1964), South Beach (1950), Stapleton (1952), Todt Hill (1950), West Brighton I (1962), and West Brighton II (1966). Today, they house more than 9,000 residents.[42] Figure 6 shows that 7 of the 10 remaining NYCHA developments are located north of the Staten Island Expressway.[43]

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[39] Melissa Checker, *The Sustainability Myth* 2–3, 99–100 New York: NYU Press, 2020). Checker discusses environmental issues on Staten Island's North Shore at length in her book.

[40] Arnold R. Hirsch, "Searching for a 'Sound Negro Policy': A Racial Agenda for the Housing Acts of 1949 and 1954," *Housing Policy Debate* 11:2 (2000): 393-441; Arnold R. Hirsch, "'Containment on the Home Front': Race and Federal Housing Policy from the New Deal to the Cold War," *Journal of Urban History* 26 (2000): 158-189.

[41] The Edwin Markham Homes (later known as Markham Gardens) in West Brighton was built as temporary wartime housing in 1943 and later refurbished. It was demolished in 2007 and replaced by private housing. See Nicholas Dagen Bloom, *When Public Housing Worked: New York in the Twentieth Century* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008), 270.

[42] New York City Housing Authority, Official Map, 2025, https://www.nyc.gov/assets/nycha/downloads/pdf/nychamap.pdf.

[43] New York City Housing Authority, Official Map, 2025; See also Patrick Nugent, "The Urban Environmental Order:

Figure 6: NYCHA Sites in Staten Island, 2025[44]

43. In Staten Island, public officials were sensitive to the concerns of their overwhelmingly white constituents. To avoid controversy, NYCHA located housing projects in neighborhoods that were low ranked by the HOLC. Even though New York had passed a state law forbidding segregation in public housing in 1939, NYCHA also followed the "neighborhood composition rule," which kept most projects segregated by race.[45] In the 1950s and 1960s, NYCHA made efforts to desegregate, but they were seldom successful, especially in the outer boroughs, including Staten Island.[46]

44. Public housing generated intense opposition on Staten Island. In the early 1960s, Staten Islanders voted against a state referendum to fund more public housing.[47] In 1962, residents of the West Brighton neighborhood protested a proposed housing project to be built near Castleton

Planning and Politics on Staten Island, 1945-1984" (Ph.D. diss. George Washington University, 2016), 246.
[44] New York City Housing Authority, Official Map, 2025.
[45] Bloom, *When Public Housing Worked*, 86-89.
[46] Bloom, *When Public Housing Worked,* 169-175.
[47] Bloom, *When Public Housing Worked*, 124-125.

and Broadway.[48] Other affordable housing developments met with equally fierce opposition. In 1965, Staten Island residents vehemently opposed the construction of high rise public housing in the Annadale-Huguenot area, leading New York City to withdraw its plan.[49] Similar fears rose in the Fox Hills area of Clifton, where the construction of new high rise apartments and a new primary school sparked white residents' concerns "that the city will subsidize housing to bring in minority groups from ghetto areas in the city."[50]

45. Also facing fierce resistance was a city plan to provide *temporary* housing in Staten Island for families from other parts of New York City displaced by urban renewal. The vast majority were non-white. The *Staten Island Advance* editorialized: "The effect on Staten Island would be equally disastrous. We would have put into our midst a homogeneous group that had no ties with the community."[51] As we shall see, Staten Island has a long history of opposition to providing even temporary housing to outsiders, especially racial or ethnic minorities, that has continued up to the present day.

46. Staten Island's housing projects remained largely segregated in defiance of civil rights laws. In fact, through 1991—decades after state and federal policies forbade discrimination in public housing projects—NYCHA illegally segregated in public housing on Staten Island by giving whites preferences for apartments in projects located in predominantly white neighborhoods. NYCHA's discriminatory practices were the subject of the 1992 federal lawsuit, *Davis v. New York City Housing Authority*, in which the court found "direct evidence of discrimination on Staten Island, such as improper practices at the special Staten Island Applications Office and the failure to report expected vacancies at the largely white Staten Island

[48] Kramer and Flanagan. *Staten Island*, 54-55.
[49] Kramer and Flanagan, *Staten Island*, 54.
[50] "Fox Hills: Big Plans and Much Denial," *Staten Island Advance*, March 28, 1968.
[51] "Transplant of a Slum," *Staten Island Advance*, August 1, 1967.

projects." [52] In addition, the court found that "at the six projects where the plaintiffs contend whites received admission preferences, white families constituted almost 70% of the move-ins during that period."[53] These pro-segregation practices reinforced Staten Island's deep racial divisions.

47. ***Discriminatory Real Estate Practices.*** The private real estate industry has long played a crucial role in creating and maintaining residential segregation on Staten Island. Segregation persisted because real estate brokers have often refused to show homes and apartments or offer leases to Blacks and Latinos in white neighborhoods for over a century.[54] Realtors have also engaged in various discriminatory practices that shaped Staten Island's racial and ethnic divides. Unfortunately, discrimination in the sale and rental of properties remains a serious problem in Staten Island today, a century after the Brownes moved to West New Brighton.

48. In 1963, the Staten Island Real Estate Board challenged the constitutionality of New York anti-housing discrimination laws, denounced civil rights organizations that demanded fair housing, and lobbied for a "Property Owner's Bill of Rights" that would permit racial discrimination in home and apartment rentals and sales.[55] New York State and New York City had enacted several civil rights laws beginning in the 1940s, including a citywide ban against housing discrimination passed in 1945. New York incrementally enacted laws forbidding discrimination in private housing in the 1950s and first half of the 1960s. In 1950, the state prohibited discrimination in publicly assisted multiple family housing. In 1951, New York City passed the Brown-Isaacs

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[52] *Davis v. New York City Hous. Auth.*, No. 90 CIV. 0628 (PNL), 1992 WL 420923, at *4 (S.D.N.Y. Dec. 31, 1992).
[53] *Davis v. New York City Hous. Auth.* The year after the case was concluded, the Berry Homes in Dongan Hills was 80 percent white; the Cassidy-Lafayette Houses in New Brighton was 74 percent white; the New Lane Houses in Rosebank was 86 percent white; the South Beach Houses was 72 percent white; the Todt Hill Houses in Castleton Corners was 67 percent white. Brian Larkin, "Families Being Sought in 'Racial Steering Case," *Staten Island Advance*, January 18, 1993. For further details, see Bloom, *When Public Housing Worked*, 323-324, note 30.
[54] These practices originated with the rise of the professional real estate industry nationwide, especially real estate ethics codes that forbade the sale or rental of properties to "incompatible" groups, including Blacks through the mid-twentieth century; and persistent expectations that realtors would protect neighborhood homogeneity. Charles Abrams, *Forbidden Neighbors: A Study of Prejudice in Housing* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1955); Rose Helper, *Racial Policies and Practices of Real Estate Brokers* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1969).
[55] "Staten Island Realty Board Fights Bias Laws," *New York Amsterdam News*, December 14, 1963.

Law barring discrimination in all publicly assisted private housing, but as historian Martha Biondi notes: "In the Board of Estimate, only Staten Island voted against it."[56] In 1955, New York State outlawed discrimination by developers of subdivisions of more than ten units who received mortgages insured by the federal or state governments. The state enacted laws more broadly outlawing discrimination in private housing in 1961 and 1964.[57] The federal government followed suit, enacting Title VIII of the Civil Rights Act, also known as the Fair Housing Act (1968), which prohibited discrimination in the sale or rental of homes by race, national origin, and other protected characteristics.[58] For more than four decades, however, public officials, academics, and civil rights organizations have shown that fair housing laws have seldom been adequately enforced on Staten Island.[59]

49. Real estate brokers frequently flouted fair housing laws and developed tactics that reinforced residential segregation. The first of such tactics was blockbusting, frequently practiced on Staten Island in the 1960s and 1970s. Blockbusters were brokers who spread rumors that "undesirable" minorities were moving into white neighborhoods, supposedly threatening whites' sense of community and their real estate values. Blockbusters used prejudice as a lever to panic white homeowners into selling low and then converting properties into rental units marketed to non-white renters or buyers or, in some cases, selling them to Black buyers who were willing to pay a premium to live in predominantly white neighborhoods.[60]

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[56] Martha Biondi, *To Stand and Fight: Civil Rights in Postwar New York City* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2003), 132.
[57] United States Housing and Home Finance Agency, Intergroup Relations Service, *Fair Housing Laws: Summaries and Text of State and Municipal Laws* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1964).
[58] Thomas J. Sugrue, "From Jim Crow to Fair Housing," in Gregory D. Squires, ed., *The Fight for Fair Housing: Causes, Consequences and Future Implications of the 1968 Federal Fair Housing Act* (New York: Routledge, 2018), 14-27.
[59] "Gaeta Renews Efforts to Establish Island Human Rights Office," Staten Island Advance, March 1, 1983; "Tiny Steps of Progress," Staten Island Advance, June 30, 1984; Michael H. Schill, "Local Enforcement of Laws Prohibiting Discrimination in Housing: The New York City Human Rights Commission," Fordham Urban Law Journal 23 (1996) 991-1030; USCCR, New York Advisory Committee Report, 75.
[60] W. Edward Orser, "Blockbusting," in *The Wiley-Blackwell Encyclopedia of Urban and Regional Studies*, ed.

50. Beginning in the late 1960s, civil rights organizations and neighborhood organizations began complaining about blockbusting, mostly on the North Shore.[61] In 1967, white residents of New Brighton complained that brokers invested in two-family houses, rented them to Blacks, and then approached whites on nearby blocks, offering to buy their houses "at ridiculously low prices." One New Brighton neighborhood organization complained that real estate brokers "made it very clear that we should sell our houses to them because more and more Negroes are moving in."[62] Other white homeowners reported brokers telling them that their neighborhood is "deteriorating," suggesting that it was in their financial interest to sell and move out quickly.[63]

51. A particularly widespread and persistent discriminatory practice is "steering," that is, directing white homebuyers or renters to all-white communities and non-whites to predominantly non-white or racially transitional neighborhoods.[64] In 1967, the head of a Staten Island open housing organization described this process: "Whenever a Negro goes into a Staten Island real estate office he always gets sent back to the worst areas…The white clients get shown places in the nice neighborhoods."[65] A little more than a decade later, when complaints about steering on Staten Island were mounting, a Black family reported its experience of steering. They asked to be shown

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Anthony J. Orum (Chichester, UK: Wiley, 2019), 135-37.

[61] "Rights Agency to Probe Blockbusting on Island," *Staten Island Advance*, January 9, 1967; "New Brighton Residents Score 'Slum' Conditions," *Staten Island Advance*, January 12, 1967; DA to Check Alleged Realty Blockbusting," *Staten Island Advance*, July 31, 1969; 2 Island Realtors Named in Local Blockbusting Case," *Staten Island Advance*, December 18, 1969; "State Penalized Realty Brokers for Blockbusting," *Staten Island Advance*, December 12, 1970.

[62] "Rights Agency to Probe Blockbusting."

[63] "New Brighton Residents Score 'Slum' Conditions," *Staten Island Advance*, January 12, 1967.

[64] Diana Pearce, "Gatekeepers and Homeseekers: Institutionalized Patterns in Racial Steering," *Social Problems* 26 (1979), 325-34; John Yinger, *Housing Discrimination Study: Incidence of Discrimination and Variation in Discriminatory Behavior* (Washington, DC: US Department of Housing and Urban Development, Office of Policy Development and Research, 1991); Michael Fix and Raymond J. Struyk, eds., *Clear and Convincing Evidence: Measurement of Discrimination in America* (Washington, DC: The Urban Institute Press, 1993); George Galster and Erin Godfrey, "By Words and Deeds: Racial Steering
by Real Estate Agents in the U.S. in 2000," *Journal of the American Planning Association*, 71:3 (2005), 251-268.

[65] Steven V. Roberts, "Bias Charged in Housing on S.I.," *New York Times*, January 20, 1967.

houses "south of New Dorp," in an overwhelmingly white part of Staten Island. Instead, their broker "said that there were none, but told family members that there were several possibilities in New Brighton, where more minorities reside."[66]

52. Steering is an effective discriminatory practice because it is largely hidden from public view. The most effective way to uncover steering is the process of paired testing. Civil rights organizations and civil rights agencies hire matched pairs of prospective tenants or home purchasers of different racial or ethnic backgrounds, but with identical incomes, credit histories, and educational backgrounds. Paired testers approach rental agents or real estate brokers expressing the same preferences for neighborhoods, monthly rents, or purchase prices. In 1963, in the first record of paired testing in Staten Island, 150 Black and white couples found a "discriminatory trend of demanding a 15 percent higher down payment from Negro families over white persons seeking to purchase homes on Staten Island."[67]

53. In the late 1980s, the Open Housing Center (OHC) conducted paired testing in Staten Island apartment complexes. In 1987, testing evidence that demonstrated racial discrimination led to a successful class action lawsuit against the Saxon Apartments on Staten Island.[68] In a similar 1988 case, the Parkview Apartment complex in Silver Lake settled a fair housing discrimination lawsuit, also involving paired testers, by agreeing to offer one-fourth of its apartments to prospective Black renters.[69] In 1993, after two Black prospective tenants at the Dartmouth Apartments, a high rise in Grasmere, complained that they were not shown apartments, OHC sent testers who verified the disparate treatment of whites and Blacks and filed a

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[66] Sydney Freedberg, "Real Estate Brokers Face Probe on Racial Steering," *Staten Island Advance*, February 16, 1978.
[67] "Claim Bias in Staten Is. Housing," *New York Amsterdam News*, May 25, 1963.
[68] *Dix-Jones v. Saxon Apts. Assocs. II,* 1987 WL 12033 (E.D.N.Y.1987) as cited in *Open Housing Center, Inc. v. Samson Management Corp*, 152 FRD 472 (S.D.N.Y. December 14, 1993). See also Karla Schuster, "Suit Guarantees Apartments for Minorities," *Staten Island Advance*, June 27, 1989.
[69] "Complex Agrees to Offer Blacks Apartments, *Staten Island Advance*, June 11, 1988.

discrimination suit.[70]

54. Blacks seeking houses and apartments in predominantly white sections of Staten Island continued to experience discrimination.[71] In 1986, the head of the Urban League on Staten Island filed suit against a Graniteville condominium developer after her application had been rejected on the basis of her race.[72] Gloria Smith, a Black woman who looked for apartments in predominantly white sections of the island for her family, reported harrowing experiences with potential landlords. She was only shown three of twenty-seven apartments advertised. "I had doors slammed on my face," she reported. "Sometimes people would just look out the window and not open the door." Once, when she and her husband left a prospective apartment, she witnessed "a group of 20 to 30 whites [who] stood outside an apartment, arms folded and faces contorted with anger, waiting to deliver a message to the landlord….They said if she rents to us there would be an accident on the property."[73] In 1987, the NAACP Legal Defense Fund filed a federal class action suit against five prominent Staten Island real estate firms for violations of fair housing laws.[74]

D. White Hostility and Racial Harassment

55. Real estate brokers also frequently complained about their experiences with white hostility toward the prospect of having non-white neighbors. In a 1983 public hearing, William Coull, a leading Staten Island realtor, blamed white residents for perpetuating illegal housing discrimination.[75]

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[70] "S.I. Hi Rise Has Two Doors—One Black, One White," *New York Amsterdam News*, September 18, 1993.
[71] See for example, "Staten Island is 'More Racist than Any City Down South," *Staten Island Advance*, November 28, 1983; "Human Rights Office Needed on the Island," *Staten Island Advance*, March 1, 1983; "Equal Housing, Jobs Among the Priorities of Island NAACP," *Staten Island Advance,* February 27, 1984.
[72] "Woman Alleges Bias in Condo Denial Case," *Staten Island Advance*, May 30, 1986.
[73] "Island Housing Bias: Blame Goes in Circles," *Staten Island Advance*, July 13, 1986; "An Apartment, But What a Price to Pay," *Staten Island Advance*, July 13, 1986.
[74] "Housing Discrimination Suit Nears Trial Date," *Staten Island Advance*, February 13, 1987.
[75] "Human Rights Office Needed on the Island," *Staten Island Advance*, March 1, 1983. See also, "Real Estate Agents

56. White hostility to the prospect of Blacks and Latino neighbors has sometimes resulted in violence. In a particularly infamous incident in April 1972, four white men in New Dorp—a broker, an NYPD police sergeant, a corrections officer, and a NYCHA housing police officer—vandalized and burned down a single-family home rented by Alberto Charles, a Black Venezuelan-born psychologist, and his wife, a Princeton graduate student, and their three children.[76] In June 1976, the four white men were convicted for the attacks.[77]

57. Discrimination against minority homebuyers and renters has continued up to the present day. The incidents are too numerous to recount. In 1991, Project Hospitality, a nonprofit that found housing for people living in overcrowded or substandard buildings, was flooded with calls and threats when they helped a Black family to move into a Huguenot apartment that the organization had purchased.[78] But it was not just working-class Blacks who attracted opposition. Later that year, a Navy Chief who was Black looked at more than 40 houses on Staten Island and, after she made an offer on a Bull's Head condominium, the landlord reported that the apartment had been ransacked and the walls covered with racial epithets. She withdrew from the deal.[79] Bull's Head was the site of another racial incident in 2000, when a Black nurse who had just moved into the community found the words "WHITE POWER" and "MOVE" spray painted on her garage door.[80] A spate of hate crimes in the Mid-Island area in late 1999 and early 2000 targeted Black and Latino residents.[81]

Pin Bias Rap on Residents," *Staten Island Advance*, September 22, 1987.
[76] Paul L. Montgomery, "Fire at Black's House Stirs Fear and Rumor on S.I. Block," *New York Times*, April 25, 1973; John Hanley, "Aftermath of SI Fire: A Plea for Brotherhood," *New York Times*, April 28, 1972; "NAACP Letter Was Key in Staten Island Indictment," *New York Amsterdam News,* October 29, 1975.
[77] Max Siegel, "4 Guilty of Harassing Black S.I. Family," *New York Times*, June 4, 1976.
[78] Laura Bruno, "New Neighbors Rile Community," *Staten Island Advance*, October 23, 1991.
[79] "Islanders Step Up to Counter Bigotry for Navy Chief," *Staten Island Advance,* December 19, 1991.
[80] Michael Scholl, "Home Defaced by Racist Scrawl," *Staten Island Advance,* April 4, 2000; "Racist Graffiti Painted At Black Woman's Home," *New York Times*, April 5, 2000; Over the previous year, Blacks were the target of eight bias crimes; Jews six. Lesbians and gays were also targets.
[81] Frank Donnelly, "Words of Hate Gone—Problem Lingers," *Staten Island Advance*, April 4, 2000.

58. In 2018, Staten Island Legal Services filed a fair housing lawsuit against the Urby apartment complex on the Stapleton waterfront on behalf of three low-income Black tenants who lived in Urby's units that were set aside for residents with rental subsidies. The suit alleged that after better-off tenants "living in the market-rate unit began publicly complaining on social media about the behavior of the low-income tenants, frequently using racially charged language such as 'ghetto' and 'crackheads,'" Urby was alleged to have initiated a "process of harassment against the tenants, including "baseless and frivolous housing court litigation and aggressive but paltry buy-out offers against low-income black tenants with subsidies."[82] The case was settled later that year.[83]

59. Sometimes, single-property owners discriminated. In 2019, a woman won damages from a landlord who had advertised his apartment on Craigslist but turned her away when he learned that she was Black.[84]

60. But large and respected real estate brokers continued to play a central role in maintaining segregated housing on the island. In 2019, the City of New York filed a fair housing suit against the owners and brokers of the Parkview Apartments, the same building that had, under different management, been charged with civil rights violations in the late 1980s).[85] In 2020, in *United States v. Village Realty of Staten Island*, the U.S. Department of Justice charged a prominent Staten Island real estate firm with racial discrimination against prospective Black renters. The DOJ sent paired testers to demonstrate the differential treatment of Black and white

[82] "Legal Services NYC Files Federal Complaint Against Luxury Housing Complex in Staten Island Alleging Racial Discrimination," July 11, 2018, https://www.legalservicesnyc.org/news/lsnyc-files-federal-complaint-against-luxury-housing-complex-in-staten-island-alleging-racial-discrimination/.
[83] Serena Trangle, "Urby in Stapleton Settles Race Discrimination Lawsuit," AMNY, November 28, 2018, https://www.amny.com/real-estate/urby-staten-island-1-24007479/.
[84] New York Human Rights Commission, Prospective Tenant Settles Race Discrimination Claim with Staten Island Landlord Who Denied Her Housing, November/December 2019.
[85] *City of New York v. Sansom Management*, No. 451144/2019 (Sup. Ct., New York County 2019).

renters.[86] The case was resolved with a 2021 consent decree.[87]

61. In 2024, the Fair Justice Housing Center filed a discrimination lawsuit against a Staten Island realty firm, Exclusive Properties Realty, Inc., for alleged discrimination against Blacks who sought to rent in one of the island's luxury apartment buildings.[88]

62. In 2025, the Fair Housing Justice Center filed a lawsuit in the Eastern District of New York on behalf of a Black couple who were rebuffed in their search for a three-bedroom apartment on Staten Island. They allege that one broker, who encouraged their application, changed his position when he met them in person. "He said he was going to be straight with us – that the owner just didn't want to rent to Black people." [89]

E. Violence and Hate Crimes

63. As more non-whites moved into Staten Island, racial conflicts were intense, particularly around education. White Staten Islanders engaged in what scholars call "defensive localism," using legal and extralegal means to defend the racial homogeneity of their neighborhoods. Schools were one battleground. In 1980, several hundred white students at New Dorp High School engaged in a brutal attack on their Black classmates, only five percent of the student body. Black parents kept their children home for two days, until their demands for more security and an investigation into the melee were met.[90]

64. White Staten Islanders also fought to keep Blacks out of the Staten Island Mall, in the mostly white New Springville area. In 1987, "30 whites, one armed with a length of pipe,

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[86] *U.S. v Village Realty of Staten Island Ltd. and Denis Donovan*, Complaint, September 30, 2020, E.D.N.Y, Civil No. 20-CV-4647, https://www.justice.gov/crt/case-document/file/1324221/dl.
[87] *U.S. v Village Realty of Staten Island Ltd. and Denis Donovan*, Consent Decree, April 5 2021, E.D.N.Y, Civil No. 20-CV-4647, https://www.justice.gov/crt/case-document/file/1385971/dl
[88] *Fair Justice Housing Center v. Yudi Niaznov et al.* Complaint, E.D.N.Y. 24 Civ. 4201, June 12, 2024.
[89] Fair Justice Housing Center, "Steven and Maya's Fair Housing Story," July 8, 2025, https://fairhousingjustice.org/personal-stories/he-said-he-was-going-to-be-straight-with-us/.
[90] "White Bigots N.Y. Style in Staten Island," *New York Amsterdam News*, October 18, 1980.

chased two African-Americans from the Staten Island Mall in New Springville,"[91] part of what the *New York Amsterdam News* reported as a series of attacks on Blacks and Hispanics on the island that year.[92]

65. In what political scientists Daniel C. Kramer and Richard M. Flanagan call an "outrageous instance of racial discrimination on Staten Island," white residents opposed the extension of the S61 bus line from the North Shore to the Staten Island Mall. They report that "Willowbrook residents set up a howl of protest. The real reason was racism. As the first author was told when he was asked to sign a petition against the S61 (he firmly refused to do so), 'those people from Jersey Street (a predominantly African-American area) will take the bus, hop off in our community, and mug and rob our kids.'"[93]

66. Even highway names proved to be controversial in the racially charged atmosphere of a diversifying Staten Island. In 1988, when the Willowbrook Parkway was renamed the Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. Expressway, vandals shot at the new sign and splashed paint on it. In early 2000s, the *New York Times* reported: "Signs along Staten Island's highways routinely refer to major connecting roads by name. The West Shore Expressway is cited on several signs along the Staten Island Expressway. But signs for the Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. Expressway instead refer to the road by its other name, 440 North. Dr. King's name is used only on two signs on the road itself, along its median."[94]

67. As Staten Island grew increasingly diverse in the late twentieth century, anti-Black and anti-Latino violence broke out often. In 1988, a black man was hit by a car in what police

[91] Kramer and Flanagan. *Staten Island*, 107.
[92] David Hatchet, "New York City Becoming Hot-Bed of Racial Hatred?" *New York Amsterdam News*, September 26, 1987.
[93] Kramer and Flanagan, *Staten Island*, 108.
[94] Jim O'Grady, "Neighborhood Report: Northern Staten Island: Dr. King's Highway Should Say Dr. King, Critics Argue," *New York Times*, March 3, 2002.

called a "racial incident" on the edge of all-white Rosebank and mostly Black Park Hill. Along the rail overpass that divided the neighborhood, graffiti that read "Rosebank No. 1 K.K.K." had remained untouched for at least ten years before the incident. On another Rosebank street, locals had spraypainted KKK in four places and another sign that read "Death to All Niggers."[95] Staten Island did not have a large Ku Klux Klan (it had an active chapter through 1946[96]), but in 1992, the Ku Klux Klan—attempting a revival more than a half century after the 1920s Browne case—began recruiting among young people on Staten Island.[97] KKK-related hate crimes recurred over the next few decades. A graffiti vandal scrawled KKK on the cars of two men, one Black and one Latino, in Bull's Head in 1999.[98] Someone placed a KKK recruitment sign in Borough Hall in 2005, along with a slur targeting Mexicans.[99]

68. In the late summer of 2003, a spate of hate crimes and racial clashes occurred, including an attack on a Black woman and five of her friends in Great Kills Park by a group of about a dozen white men, who attacked them with broken bottles and a sickle. Eleven more incidents were reported during that period, including a beating, vandalism of a car and verbal assaults.[100]

69. Anti-Latino sentiment intensified in Staten Island, especially from 2022 to 2024, as the number of asylum seekers in the city rose. Most of them had been sent to New York City from the U.S.-Mexico border and the vast majority originated from Latin America (41 percent from Venezuela, 18 percent from Ecuador, 13 percent from Colombia, 5 percent from Peru, 2 percent

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[95] Sam Howe Verhovek, "Race and a Death Dividing Two Neighborhoods on S.I.," *New York Times*, October 17, 1988. See also "March for Decency in Staten Island Death," *New York Amsterdam News*, October 29, 1988.
[96] "Klan is Outlawed in New York State," *New York Times*, July 30, 1946.
[97] Carl Campanile, "Island Klan Activities Denounced," *Staten Island Advance*, October 26, 1992.
[98] "Racist Scrawlings Found on Bull's Head Man's Car, *Staten Island Advance*, October 6, 1999; Robert Gavin and Michael Scholl, "A Second Car Defaced with Racist Scrawl," *Staten Island Advance*, October 8, 1999.
[99] Jeff Harrell, "Cops Investigating Racist Slurs Found Inside Borough Hall, *Staten Island Advance,* March 3, 2005.
[100] Berger and Urbina, "Along with Population and Diversity, Stress Rises on Staten I;" Shin Maki, "Activists Meet To Bridge Racial Divide on S.I.," *New York Daily News*, October 12, 2003.

from Nicaragua, and 1 percent from Honduras).[101]

70. Staten Islanders protested against proposed temporary housing for refugees on Staten Island, including the conversion of the ninety-three room Comfort Inn in Travis for asylum-seeking families with children,[102] the rumored conversion of an assisted living facility in Midland Beach for temporary housing,[103] and the possibility of the construction of a shelter in Fort Wadsworth, a relatively isolated and gated historic Coast Guard facility beneath the Verrazano Narrows Bridge on the island's eastern shore.[104] Even the rumor that migrants sent from the border states of Texas and Florida might be housed on a repurposed cruise ship off Staten Island generated outrage.[105]

71. The largest anti-immigrant protests broke out in the primarily white Arrochar neighborhood, beginning on August 12, 2023, where about 300 people gathered to oppose a proposed shelter for refugees in an empty former school building.[106] Among the crowd were some of the Island's most prominent elected officials, including Borough President Vito Fossella, State Senator Andrew Lanza (R-Staten Island), City Council member David Carr (R-Mid-Island),

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[101] Sahalie Donaldson, "Venezuela, Ecuador, and Colombia Are Top Countries of Origin For NYC Asylum Seekers," City & State New York, August 30, 2023, https://www.cityandstateny.com/policy/2023/08/venezuela-and-colombia-are-top-countries-origin-nyc-asylum-seekers/389888/. Data from 2002 through July 2023. At least another 6 percent were Africans, from Senegal and Mauritania.

[102] Giavanni Alves, "Staten Island Pols Express Outrage Over Migrants Being Housing in a Staten Island Hotel," *SI Live*, October 5, 2022, https://www.silive.com/politics/2022/10/staten-island-pols-express-outrage-over-migrants-being-housed-in-a-staten-island-hotel.html.

[103] Paul Liotta, "Staten Island Assisted Living Facility Will Turn into NYC Migrant Shelter, Local Officials Say," *SI Live*, August 8, 2023, https://www.silive.com/news/2023/08/staten-island-assisted-living-facility-will-turn-into-nyc-migrant-shelter-local-officials-say.html.

[104] Paul Liotta, "Borough President Calls for Migrants to Be Housed in DC Instead of Fort Wadsworth, *SI Live*, August 15, 2023. https://www.silive.com/news/2023/08/borough-president-calls-for-migrants-to-be-housed-in-washington-dc-instead-of-fort-wadsworth.html.

[105] Paul Liotta, "'Masses of People in Our Staten Island Parks': Reaction Pours in Over News of Possible Migrant Ship at Homeport," *Staten Island Advance*, October 1, 2022; Paul Liotta, "Adams Remains Silent on Possible Migrant Ship at Staten Island Homeport, Staten Island Advance, October 3, 2022, https://www.silive.com/news/2022/10/adams-remains-silent-on-possible-migrant-ship-at-staten-island-homeport-emergency-centers.html.

[106] Paul Liotta, "'We Are At War!': Protestors Against Staten Island Migrant Shelter Pledge 'Disruption' Akin to COVID-19 Mayhem," *Staten Island Advance*, August 14, 2023.

State Assemblyman Michael Reilly (R-South Shore) and the future Republican mayoral candidate Curtis Sliwa.[107] They were joined by members of the Proud Boys, a white nationalist, extremist organization with a very active Staten Island chapter.[108]

72. The immigration protests grew increasingly disruptive and sometimes violent in September 2023. On September 19, about 1,000 protestors blockaded a bus taking migrants to a shelter in a former retirement home in Midland Beach, a mostly white area.[109] The seven-hour protest, which included stone-throwing and clashes with the police, led to ten arrests.[110] For months afterward, protestors continued to gather at night in front of the shelter, which primarily housed refugee families with children, shouting through bullhorns, "blasting music, waving American flags and shining lights both through the windows and on migrant residents as they entered and exited the facility."[111]

73. The protests and outrage over the provision of temporary housing for refugees in Staten Island was disproportionate to the number of migrants and shelters. In March 2024, only five of 161 refugee shelters in New York's five boroughs were located on Staten Island. Only 1 percent of the city's refugee population lived on Staten Island. There were no refugee shelters in

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[107] Liotta, "'We Are At War.'"

[108] Liotta, "'We Are At War.'" On the Proud Boys, see Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC), "Proud Boys: SPLC Designated Hate Group," https://www.splcenter.org/resources/extremist-files/proud-boys/. The SPLC reports that in 2021, the Canadian government designed the Proud Boys as a terrorist entity. In their most recent listing of "General Hate" groups nationwide, the SPLC included the Staten Island chapter of the Proud Boys. Southern Poverty Law Center, "General Hate" (2024), https://www.splcenter.org/resources/extremist-files/general-hate/#2024-general-hate-groups.

[109] "NYPD: Cop Injured, 48 Year Old Man One of Ten People Arrested After Protest at New Migrant Shelter on Staten Island," *Staten Island Advance*, September 20, 2023, https://www.silive.com/crime-safety/2023/09/nypd-cop-injured-10-people-taken-in-for-questioning-after-protest-at-migrant-shelter-on-staten-island.html.

[110] Erica Brosnan, "Protestors Arrested Outside Staten Island Migrant Shelter," NY1, September 20, 2023, https://ny1.com/nyc/all-boroughs/news/2023/09/20/protesters-arrested-outside-staten-island-migrant-shelter.

[111] Eric Bascombe, "Island Shores Migrant Shelter Plagued by Protestors Flashing Lights, Blaring Megaphones," *Staten Island Advance*, October 27, 2023, https://www.silive.com/news/2023/10/island-shores-migrant-shelter-plagued-by-protesters-flashing-lights-blaring-megaphones.html; Giullia McDonnell Nieto del Rio and Gabriella Henriquez Stoilow, "Staten Island Shelter Protest Continue Despite Migrants' Fears for Their Safety," *Documented*, April 12, 2024, https://documentedny.com/2024/04/12/staten-island-migrants-protests/.

the southernmost and whitest section of the island.[112] Only 851 of 54,048 (1.5 percent) of students in Staten Island public schools were refugees.[113]

74. Staten Island's anti-immigrant protests alienated many Latinos living on the island and fostered a sense of fear and a deep distrust of local government. Michelle Molina, director of an immigrant aid nonprofit, told an interviewer: "Some people are starting to feel threatened…Because as we know hateful remarks and hateful approaches also end in hate crimes."[114] Sandra Ramirez, a lifelong resident of Staten Island and a second-generation Mexican-American, removed anti-immigrant signs in her neighborhood. "I do it because this affects us all. I think about my parents and how they must feel," she told a reporter. "I do not agree with these types of signs because they only foment violence."[115]

75. Yesenia Mata, a Staten Island resident and director of a center that provides support for low-wage immigrant workers, expressed her frustration at the unresponsiveness of local elected officials to their Latino constituents. "I'm shocked our very own elected officials riled [these protesters] up, and empowered them to do what they are doing now," said Mata. "If anything is to happen to the people in the shelter, these elected officials need to be held accountable. How dare you treat people in this way when your own family, your own parents or grandparents, were immigrants. It's like you forgot your story. As the daughter of immigrants, I will never forget where I come from." She continued: "Sometimes, these elected officials say, 'Oh, well, we're listening to Staten Islanders.' And I'm like, wait a minute. I'm a Staten Islander. I vote. Who are

[112] Annie McDonough, "Where Are Asylum-Seekers Living in New York City?," *City & State New York*, March 25, 2024. https://www.cityandstateny.com/policy/2024/03/where-are-asylum-seekers-living-new-york-city/395176/.
[113] Total enrollment from New York State Education Department, NYC Geog. Dist. #31, Staten Island at a Glance, 2023-24, https://data.nysed.gov/profile.php?instid=800000042056. Refugee enrollment from New York City Comptroller, Accounting for Asylum Seeker Services: Asylum Seeker Consensus, March 11, 2024, https://comptroller.nyc.gov/services/for-the-public/accounting-for-asylum-seeker-services/asylum-seeker-census/.
[114] Garsd, "On N.Y.'s Staten Island."
[115] Fahy and Vilchis, "Suing. Heckling. Cursing."

you listening to? Because I know you're not listening to me, and there's many people on Staten Island who think the same way I do."[116]

SOCIO-ECONOMIC DISPARITIES

76. A statistical picture of Staten Island, drawn from the U.S. Census Bureau's most recent *American Community Survey*, reveals significant differences in the educational and socio-economic status between whites, Blacks, and Latinos, which can affect the ability of different groups to participate in the political process.[117]

77. There are significant disparities in educational attainment between white, Black, and Latino adults on Staten Island (over 25 years old) as seen in Figure 7. More than 1 in 5 Latinos and 1 out of 9 Blacks but only 1 in 14 whites are not high school graduates. At the other end of the scale, whites are far more likely than Blacks and Latinos to graduate from college. A little less than a quarter of Latinos and a little more than a quarter of Blacks, but more than one-third of whites, have obtained at least a bachelors' degree. Many of New York's best jobs are in positions that require a college degree or more, including white-collar positions in corporations, government, finance, insurance, real estate, and health care administration, which are all major sources of employment in the region. The economic returns of higher education have increased substantially in the past half century and most of the highest-paying jobs are closed to those without college degrees.

[116] Lovallo, "They Put Family First."
[117] Raymond E. Wolfinger and Steven J. Rosenstone, *Who Votes?* (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1980), 20–21, 25; Steven J. Rosenstone and John Mark Hansen, *Mobilization, Participation, and Democracy in America* (New York, Macmillan, 1993).

Figure 7: Highest Educational Attainment: Blacks, Latinos, and Whites, Staten Island, 2019-2023[118]

	White	Black	Latino
Less than high school diploma	7.2%	11.1%	20.5%
High school graduate	29.6%	33.7%	33.6%
Some college or associate's degree	24.3%	26.2%	22.7%
Bachelor's degree or higher	39.0%	28.8%	23.1%

78. Blacks and Latinos on Staten Island experience significant socio-economic disparities (Figure 8). White per capita income is substantially higher than other groups. Latinos and Blacks earn only about 60 percent of white per capita income on Staten Island. That income gap is explained in part by disparities in labor force status. Whites are significantly less likely to be unemployed than Latinos and Blacks in Staten Island. Racial disparities in poverty are also stark. Only about one in fifteen whites live in poverty on Staten Island, but one in six Latinos and one in four Blacks are poor.

Figure 8: Socio-Economic Status by Race and Ethnicity, Staten Island, 2019-2023[119]

	White	Latino	Black
Per capita income	$52,572	$31,647	$30,784
Unemployment rate	5.0%	6.7%	6.8%
Below Poverty line	6.8%	16.3%	24.6%

79. Homeownership gaps between whites, Blacks, and Latinos on Staten Island are wide (Figure 9). More than three quarters of whites are homeowners, whereas more than half of Latinos and almost two-thirds of Blacks are renters. Longstanding patterns of housing discrimination and residential segregation are at the root of housing inequities in Staten Island. Blacks and Latinos are more likely to be renters than white residents and are more likely to live in

[118] U.S. Census, ACS, 2019-23.
[119] U.S. Census, ACS, 2019-23.

inferior housing. And finally, homeownership is strongly correlated with political participation.[120]

Figure 9: Housing Tenure by Race and Ethnicity, Staten Island, 2019-2023[121]

	White	Latino	Black
Homeowner	76.8%	43.7%	35.8%
Renter	23.2%	56.3%	64.2%

DISPARITIES IN POLICING: HARASSMENT, BRUTALITY, STOP-AND-FRISK

80. Police harassment, the unnecessary use of force, and brutality toward racial minorities has long been a problem on Staten Island. As non-whites began to move on to Staten Island, law enforcement officials played a crucial role in maintaining racial boundaries—sometimes individually (as in the case of the Charles family in New Dorp, discussed above), sometimes collectively. Grievances against the police were common. As early as World War II, Blacks faced disparate policing on Staten Island. In 1945, unfounded rumors circulated about crimes allegedly perpetrated by Black soldiers stationed at Fox Hills on Staten Island (where they stayed in segregated barracks). Two hundred police officers were dispatched to the area, in what the *New York Herald* called "the largest concentration of police in the history of Staten Island."[122] Historian Emily Brooks writes that "enlisted men inside the camp were denied weekend passes and had their persons searched for knives up to three times a night." When the NAACP investigated, soldiers told them that "they felt like 'prisoners of war.'"[123]

81. Over the years, Staten Island was the site of a number of police shootings that generated intense controversy. A police officer shot to death an 11-year-old boy, Ricky Bodden,

[120] John I. Gilderbloom and John P. Markham, "The Impact of Homeownership on Political Beliefs," *Social Forces* 73:4 (1995), 1589-1607; Warren Miller and J. Merrill Shanks, *The New American Voter* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1996), 86, 88, 195, 274-75.
[121] U.S. Census, ACS, 2019-23.
[122] Emily M. Brooks, *Gotham's War Within a War: Policing and the Birth of Law-And-Order Liberalism in World War II-Era New York City* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2023), 136-137.
[123] Brooks, *Gotham's War Within*, 136-143. Quotes 136.

running from a stolen car in 1972, and injured three others, including two bystanders, and only received one-year probation and the loss of twenty vacation days for "recklessly firing his service revolver."[124]

82. In 1984, the New York Human Rights Commission issued a report on police brutality on Staten Island, including allegations of three homicides and ten beatings. The report did not attempt to prove or disprove the allegations, but rather "to record the perceptions that may adversely affect neighborhood/community stability."[125]

83. Distrust of the police sometimes flared up, for example, in April 1994, when Ernest Sayon, a 22-year-old Black man, died during a struggle with the police in Park Hill after a firework went off.[126] A subsequent medical examiners' report found that Sayon died from "asphyxia by compression of the chest and neck while rear-handcuffed and prone on the ground," finding that his death was homicide.[127] A grand jury, however, exonerated the arresting officers, and no charges were filed.

84. There is substantial evidence of persistent disparate treatment of Staten Islanders by police in more recent years, especially in NYPD's use of "stop and frisk" tactics. In 1998, the U.S. Civil Rights Commission examined NYPD's stop and frisk reports (form UF-250) and found that Blacks and Latinos were disproportionately targeted on Staten Island. The Commission reported: "Approximately 51.6 percent of Staten Island UF-250 subjects were identified as Black, 32.4 percent were classified as white, and 15.5 percent were described as Hispanic. The population

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[124] Marilynn S. Johnson, *Street Justice: A History of Police Violence in New York City* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2004), 277; see also M. Cordell Thompson and Carolyn Erwin, "Death is Price Paid by Youth Crime Suspects," *Jet*, September 14, 1972; U.S. House of Representatives, Judiciary Committee, 98th Congress, First Session on Police Misconduct, Part II, Serial No. 50, June 16, July 18, September 19, and November 28, 1983 (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1984), 1002.
[125] Denise Rinaldo, "Account on 'Brutality' by Island Cops Released," *Staten Island Advance*, November 15, 1984.
[126] Craig Schneider and Angela Mosconi, "Death…Then Outrage," *Staten Island Advance*, April 30, 1994.
[127] Craig Schneider and Anne Marie Calzolari, "The Findings: Medical Examiner Labels Sayon's Death a Homicide," *Staten Island Advance*, May 10, 1994.

of Staten Island is approximately 75.4 percent white, 9 percent Black, 8.6 percent Hispanic, and 6.7 percent Asian."[128]

85. In 2007, the NYPD released another report on stop and frisk practices throughout the city, conducted by the RAND Corporation, a major policy research center. The report found that "the Staten Island borough stands out particularly with several large racial gaps in the frisk rates (20 percent of whites versus 29 percent of similarly situated blacks), search rates (5 percent for whites versus 8 percent of similarly situated blacks), and use-of-force rates (10 percent for whites and 14 percent for similarly situated blacks)."[129] RAND "recommended a closer look at the unexplainable racial disparities on Staten Island and a regular examination of those officers with stop patterns that differed markedly from their colleagues."[130]

86. In 2012, a white Staten Island police officer who lived in Tottenville pleaded guilty in federal court to charges of falsely arresting a black Stapleton man. In the aftermath of the arrest, he told a friend about how he had "fried another nigger." The officer had been previously accused of mistreatment of Blacks, and the trial judge noted that he had told a suspect "to shut your nigger mouth." In his leniency plea, the officer wrote to the judge that he "did not use that word out of a racist motivation, but, instead, as part of the culture that I was accustomed to."[131]

87. In 2014, Staten Island was the site of an internationally infamous case, when two

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[128] U.S. Civil Rights Commission, *Police Practices and Civil Rights in New York City* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 2000), 96, 98, figure 5.7.

[129] Greg Ridgeway, *Analysis of Racial Disparities in the New York Police Department's Stop, Question, and Frisk Practices* (Santa Monica, CA: RAND Corporation, 2007). https://www.nyc.gov/assets/nypd/downloads/pdf/public_information/TR534_FINALCompiled.pdf.

[130] Summary of the RAND Report on NYPD's Stop, Question, and Frisk, Testimony Presented Before the New York City Council Committee on Public Safety and Committee on Civil Rights by Greg Ridgeway, April 30, 2009. https://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/testimonies/2009/RAND_CT329.pdf.

[131] United States Attorney's Office, Eastern District of New York, Press Release, June 22, 2012; https://www.justice.gov/archive/usao/nye/pr/2012/2012jun22.html; "Judge Heaps Punishment on Ex-Cop for False Arrest," *Staten Island Advance*, January 23, 2012; Ex-NYPD Cop Sentenced to 4+ Years for Racist Bust," *New York Post*, June 13, 2012; "Victim Sues Cop Who Admits He Arrested Him for No Reason," *Staten Island Advance*, May 15, 2012; Sjursen, "Patterns in Staten Island's Racial Geography."

New York City Police officers arrested Eric Garner for selling untaxed cigarettes in Tompkinsville. Officer Daniel Pantaleo held Garner in a forbidden chokehold,[132] while Garner stated "I can't breathe" eleven times before his death. The initial internal police report did not mention the use of the chokehold, which became public only because of a bystander's phone video.[133] A Staten Island grand jury did not indict Pantaleo. In 2019, the Department of Justice dropped charges against him. Later that year, a New York judge ordered the NYPD to dismiss Pantaleo.[134] The Southern Poverty Law Center reflected on the collateral damage of the decision not to bring charges in the Garner case, stating it "exacerbates mistrust in justice system."[135]

DISPARITIES IN VOTING RIGHTS AND POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

88. Discriminatory voting practices in New York long prevented or hindered minority groups in Staten Island from participating in the political process. Beginning in 1922, during a period of intense xenophobia, New York administered stringent literacy tests, administered by the New York State Board of Regents, to disenfranchise voters who did not speak English as their first language. Literacy tests targeted immigrants, but also disenfranchised U.S. born, non-native English speakers.[136] In 1959, the U.S. Civil Rights Commission found that "Puerto Rican citizens are being denied the right to vote, and that those denials exist in substantial numbers in the state of New York."[137] A federal voting rights case in the Eastern District of New York also found that

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[132] Ian Fisher, "Kelly Bans Choke Holds By Officers," *New York Times*, November 24, 1993.
[133] For the video, see "Eric Garner: The Haunting Last Words of a Dying Man," CNN, December 4, 2014. https://www.cnn.com/2014/12/04/us/garner-last-words/index.html.
[134] Garner's arrest and death generated so much local and international press coverage that it is impossible to cite all of the sources here. A comprehensive overview can be found in Al Baker, J. David Goodman, and Benjamin Mueller, "Beyond the Chokehold: The Path to Eric Garner's Death," *New York Times*, June 6, 2014.
[135] Richard Cohen, "Decision in New York Exacerbates Distrust in Criminal Justice System," Southern Poverty Law Center, December 3, 2014: https://www.splcenter.org/resources/stories/decision-new-york-city-exacerbates-mistrust-justice-system/.
[136] Alexander Keyssar, *The Right to Vote: The Contested History of Democracy in the United States*, Revised Edition (New York: Basic Books, 2009), 117-18.
[137] U.S. Civil Rights Commission, *Report of the U.S. Civil Rights Commission, 1959* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1959), 68.

some Black voters were disqualified because of literacy tests through the 1960s.[138]

89. White New Yorkers fiercely opposed the abolition of literacy tests that would extend the vote to non-English speakers, especially Puerto Ricans. A group of New York voters challenged the constitutionality of Section 4(e) of the 1965 Voting Rights Act, which specified that: "No person who demonstrates that he has successfully completed the sixth primary grade in a public school in, or a private school accredited by, any State or territory, the District of Columbia, or the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico in which the predominant classroom language was other than English, shall be denied the right to vote in any Federal, State, or local election because of his inability to read, write, understand, or interpret any matter in the English language." In 1966, in *Katzenbach v. Morgan*, the U.S. Supreme Court upheld the constitutionality of Section 4(e).[139] In 1970, all non-English speaking U.S. citizens gained the right to vote when Congress temporarily suspended all literacy tests for voting.[140] In 1975, an amendment to the Voting Rights Act permanently banned literacy tests.[141]

90. Because non-white voters faced obstacles to political participation, they have long been under-represented in political offices in Staten Island. The fact that the Staten Island borough president hired a Black staffer in 1962 (the first Black person to hold such a position) was newsworthy enough to make the *New York Times*.[142] But despite this breakthrough, Blacks and Latinos continued to have little voice in Staten Island politics in the late twentieth-century and the early twenty-first. As late as 1988, there still was no African-American member of the Island's community school board even though close to twenty percent of its public school pupils were

[138] *Goosby v. Town Board. of the Town of Hempstead, NY*, 956 F. Supp. 326 (E.D.N.Y. 1997), 352.
[139] *Katzenbach v. Morgan*, 384 U.S. 641 (1966).
[140] U.S. Civil Rights Commission, *The Voting Rights Act, Ten Years After* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1975), 4-25.
[141] Keyssar, *Right to Vote*, 222-23.
[142] "Negro Woman Gets Staten Island Post," *New York Times*, January 1, 1962

members of minority groups.[143] It was not until 2009 that the first Black person was elected to public office from Staten Island. Debi Rose, a Democrat, was elected to the North Shore city council seat in the fall of 2009 and took office in January 2010.[144] One year later, in 2010, Nicole Malliotakis, whose father is Greek-American and whose mother is Cuban-American, and who identifies as Greek Orthodox, was elected to the State Assembly as a Republican, the first person with some Latin American heritage to become officeholder from the island.[145].

RACIAL APPEALS ON STATEN ISLAND

91. There is a long history of racial appeals in Staten Island politics. A large body of historical and social scientific scholarship has documented the persistence of racial appeals, both explicit and coded.[146] In a comprehensive literature review, Princeton political scientist LaFleur Stephens-Dougan defines racial appeals as "[n]egative stereotypical imagery that might activate voters' negative racial attitudes includ[ing] depictions of African Americans as criminals or welfare recipients. Racially coded language includes terms that invoke racial themes without ever explicitly mentioning race, including 'law and order,' 'tough on crime,' and 'inner city.'"[147] She also reports that depictions of Latinos with dark skin and as gang members inflames racial resentment.[148] All of these forms of racial appeals can be seen in political controversies and

[143] Kramer and Flanagan, *Staten Island*, 5-6.
[144] A.G. Sulzberger, "Staten Island Elects its First Black Council Member," *New York Times*, November 9, 2009.
[145] Judy L. Randall, "Political Trailblazer from Rosebank Posed to Light a Fire Under Albany," *Staten Island Advance*, November 11, 2010. In 2020, a Marist poll showed that 50 percent of Latinos registered voters had an unfavorable view versus 35 percent of Latino registered voters who had a favorable view of Malliotakis. 15 percent replied "unsure—never heard." Marist Polls, New York CD-11 Race, October 2020, https://maristpoll.marist.edu/wp-content/uploads/2020/10/NBC-4-NY_Marist-Poll_CD11-Registered-Voters_NOS-and-Tables_202010230908.pdf.
[146] La Fleur Stephens-Dougan, *Race to the Bottom: How Racial Appeals Work in American Politics* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2020); Nicholas A Valentino, Vincent L Hutchings, and Ismail K White, "Cues That Matter: How Political Ads Prime Racial Attitudes During Campaigns," *American Political Science Review* 96 (2002), 75-90; Tali Mandelberg, *The Race Card: Campaign Strategy, Implicit Messages, and the Norm of Equality* (Princeton: Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001).
[147] La Fleur Stephens-Dougan, "The Persistence of Racial Cues and Appeals in American Elections," *Annual Review of Political Science* 24 (2021), 303-304.
[148] Stephens-Dougan, "Persistence of Racial Cues," 311.

elections on Staten Island.

92. In 1967, when New York City announced plans to provide temporary housing in Staten Island for primarily non-white residents from other boroughs, the controversy generated an outcry, associating city residents who had been dislocated from their homes as undesirable outsiders. The *Staten Island Advance* published a cartoon, entitled "Unwelcome Import," showing Mayor John Lindsay bringing a package called "ghetto areas" to Staten Island (Figure 10).

Figure 10: Cartoon depicting Staten Island opposition to "ghetto areas"[149]

93. Those sentiments were deeply held on Staten Island and were reflected in demands for Staten Island's secession from New York City in the early 1990s. Staten Island's secession activists expressed many grievances, including longstanding opposition to the city's massive Fresh Kills garbage dump on the island and resentments that "the city" dismissed the needs and grievances of the Island.[150] Many secessionists also held racial resentments, including "a

[149] "Unwelcome Import," *Staten Island Advance*, August 1, 1967.
[150] Richard Briffault, "Voting Rights, Home Rule, and Metropolitan Governance: The Secession of Staten Island As

complicated mix of race and ideology that is difficult to entangle."[151] Some Staten Island residents continued to see the borough as "a bastion for the descendants of white Europeans."[152]

94. In October 1993, the *Staten Island Advance* prepared and distributed a "Secession Curriculum" to 80 elementary, middle and high schools on the island.[153] The curriculum instructed school children that "Staten Islanders see the city dumping its social problems here [and] many see secession as the shut-off valve." The lesson plan elaborated: "After all, one of every four tenants in Island public housing comes from another part of the city."[154] Black leaders, including New York's Mayor David Dinkins, charged that the curriculum was racially biased.[155] The New York City schools Chancellor ordered it withdrawn from the classroom.[156]

95. Anti-secession Staten Islanders, among them North Shore neighborhood leader David Goldfarb, noted the racial assumptions of many secessionists: "'We want to keep the garbage out of Staten Island and we're not referring to the dump.' They were talking about welfare, and welfare and race were often lumped together on Staten Island."[157] Commentators, even on the conservative side of the debate, including the Manhattan Institute's *City Journal* noted "the ever-present racial dimension" of secession, and asked: "Is secession a manifestation of white flight taken to the extreme?"[158]

96. Critics of secession, especially Blacks, highlighted what they feared would be the

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a Case Study in the Dilemmas of Local Self-Determination," 92 Columbia Law Review 775 (1992); Kramer and Flanagan, *Staten Island*, 127–28; Melosi, *Fresh Kills*, 380–84.

[151] Kramer and Flanagan, *Staten Island*, 119–121, quote, 128; Melosi, *Fresh Kills*, 380-383.

[152] Some journalists and secession opponents suggested that white Staten Islanders were also motivated by racial opposition to David Dinkins, New York's first Black mayor, but the preponderance of evidence suggests that such claims were exaggerated. See Melosi, *Fresh Kills*, 282, and Kramer and Flanagan, *Staten Island*, 127.

[153] "There's Still Time to Learn," *Staten Island Advance,* October 3, 1993.

[154] See Patrick Nugent, "The Urban Environmental Order: Planning and Politics on Staten Island, 1945-1984" (Ph.D. diss. George Washington University, 2016), 243-45.

[155] Nugent, "The Urban Environmental Order," 247–48.

[156] *Ibid*.

[157] Melosi, *Fresh Kills*, 381.

[158] Joseph Viteritti, "Should Staten Island Leave the City?" *City Journal* (Autumn 1992), https://www.city-journal.org/article/should-staten-island-leave-the-city

negative consequences of secession on racial segregation, the responsiveness of white Staten Islanders to minority interests, and race relations generally. Dr. Robert C. Smith, who chaired the NAACP committee examining secession, argued that Black Staten Islanders' interests were best protected if the borough remained part of majority non-white New York City. "New York City helps to restrain some of the intolerance and parochial views of some people on this island," stated Smith. "Staten Islanders don't want to deal with poor people…They don't want to deal with homeless people. I would think that they would make it very difficult for people who are homeless, poor or on welfare."[159] Evelyn King, a longtime NAACP leader, stated that secession "would be a dangerous step and detrimental to minorities." She noted that "[i]t's bad enough as it is (for blacks) in areas such as housing and employment, but I fear that we wouldn't have a chance if we secede."[160] Other Black Staten Island residents opposed secession because they feared it would lead to their further marginalization. Many referred to the concentration of non-whites and white Staten Islanders' indifference to the North Shore because it was a "ghetto."[161] In the November 1993 election, 65 percent of Staten Island voters supported a referendum to secede from New York City.[162]

97. Columbia law professor Richard Briffault highlighted the racial implications of Staten Island's secession movement, arguing that "at a time of highly charged racial tensions, secession would constitute a mass exodus of a predominantly white, middle class community from

[159] Julia G. Clarke, "Where Will We Turn?: Staten Island's African-American Leaders and Anti-Poverty Advocates Fear the Consequences of Secession," *City Limits* (February 1994), 22-26, quote 22. https://citylimits.org/wp-content/uploads/2024/03/74787692-City-Limits-Magazine-February-1994-Issue.pdf
[160] Mary Engels, "Freedom Bus to Roll into S.I.," *New York Daily News*, October 29, 1993.
[161] Stevie Lacie-Pendleton,"African Americans: Many Feel They Would Be Shunned," *Staten Island Advance*, March 17, 1993; Laura Bruno, "Secession: Around the Table: Single Mother Worries about Jobs, Costs, Racism," *Staten Island Advance*, March 17, 1993.
[162] *Staten Island Advance*, November 30, 1993, reprinted in "65 Percent of Staten Islanders Voted to Secede From New York City in 1993," *SI Live*, August 5, 2023. https://www.silive.com/news/2023/08/65-of-staten-islanders-voted-to-secede-from-new-york-city-in-1993-from-the-vault.html

a jurisdiction marked by extremes of rich and poor and an emerging majority of people of color." He noted that "this would be white flight on a grand scale."[163] Ultimately, however, the secession referendum did not win the approval of New York City's mayor and city council and the New York State legislature.[164]

98. Racial appeals have been used in recent elections. In 2016, Staten Island political operative Richard Luthmann created a Facebook account that appeared to be associated with Republican Assembly candidate Janine Materna. The account associated Materna with positions that were "out of step" with her "conservative Staten Island district." One post read falsely resuscitated decades-old fears that New York City was exporting its problems to the island: "Mayor Bill de Blasio is right: we need a homeless shelter in Annadale." The Annadale area, in the southern part of Staten Island, remains overwhelmingly white. Another post that read "Black Lives Matter" showed Materna with former attorney general Eric Holder, who served in the Obama administration."[165]

99. Staten Island's first Black City Council member, Debi Rose, was subject to racial appeals in her 2017 reelection campaign that raised many of the same issues. Luthmann allegedly created a fake Facebook page in Rose's name (Figure 11), promoting her supposed support for a "welfare hotel full of criminals and addicts" and turning a property into "a heroin/methadone den," a classic example of a racial appeal in an election.[166] Like many racial appeals, Luthmann's posts tapped racialized fears of welfare receipt and criminality.

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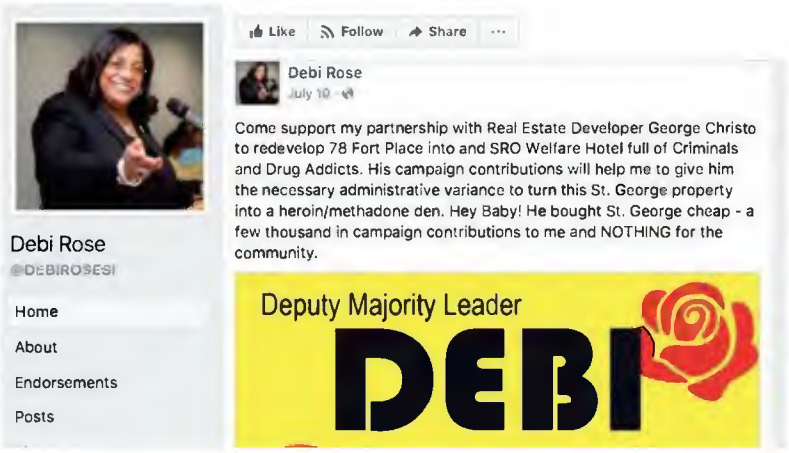
[163] Richard Briffault, "Voting Rights, Home Rule, and Metropolitan Governance: The Secession of Staten Island As a Case Study in the Dilemmas of Local Self-Determination," 92 COLUM. L. REV. 775 (1992) at 844 (citations omitted).
[164] Kramer and Flanagan, *Staten Island*, 131-132.
[165] Amanda Farinacci, "'Smear Tactics': How a Lawyer Roiled City Politics Using Misleading Facebook Pages," NY1, August 25, 2017; https://ny1.com/nyc/all-boroughs/news/2017/08/24/anatomy-of-a-social-media--smear-tactic---how-a-staten-island-lawyer-ran-misleading-facebook-pages-and-roiled-city-politics.
[166] Jim Dwyer, "Lawyer Accused of Using Fake Facebook Pages to Sway Elections in Staten Island," *New York Times*, August 31, 2017/.

Figure 11: Fake Facebook Post Attributed to Debi Rose, 2017[167]



100. The use of racial appeals negatively impacts the political climate, reinforces racial tensions, justifies segregation and exclusion, hinders the creation of communities of interest across community boundaries, and legitimates racist sentiments.

101. Sometimes racial appeals lead to extreme expressions of prejudice or racial hatred during elections. In early 2009, the U.S. Department of Justice indicted three white men in Staten Island for brutal attacks against Blacks and one Latino man in Park Hill and Richmond on the night that Barack Obama was elected president. They beat one Black man with "a metal pipe and collapsible police baton," assaulted a Black man and a Latino man, yelled profanities about Obama as they drove past an election night gathering of African-Americans at a hair salon, and ended their rampage by hitting a Black man with their car, leaving him severely injured and in a coma after the attack.[168] The four men received a combined 293 months in prison for the assaults.[169]

102. Also in early 2009, Salvatore Ballarino, a 16-year member of the Staten Island

[167] Reprinted in Dwyer, "Lawyer Accused of Using Fake Facebook Pages."
[168] U.S. Department of Justice, Press Release: Three Staten Island, NY Men Indicted on Federal Hate Crime Conspiracy Charges, January 7, 2009, https://www.justice.gov/archive/opa/pr/2009/January/09-crt-011.html.
[169] U.S. Department of Justice, Press Release: Four Men Sentenced to a Combined 293 Months in Prison for Election Night Assaults," September 10, 2009, https://www.justice.gov/archives/opa/pr/four-men-sentenced-combined-293-months-prison-election-night-assaults.

Community Education Council (which had no Black members), resigned after sending several racist jokes in a mass email. One referred to lynchings: "I have black people in my family tree. If I recall, they're still hanging there." Another played on racial stereotypes about Black indolence: "What's the difference between a black man and a picnic table? A picnic table can support a family."[170] The jokes were followed by a photograph of President Barack Obama "positioned in such a way to make him look stunned and dumbstruck."[171] The *Staten Island Advance* reported that "[t]he email has brought to the fore long-held feelings among African Americans and other minority groups that decision-makers in Staten Island's District 31 are not sufficiently attuned to their communities."[172]

103. In 2020, the U.S. Department of Justice brought charges against another Staten Island man, Brian Maiorana, who called himself "Proud Patriot Sailor" online, and had posted "All Lives Matter" on his Facebook profile, stockpiled weapons, spouted racist and antisemitic slogans, advocated the assassination of Biden supporters, and called for the murder of protestors.[173] "Its come to the point where pipe bombs need to be thrown into these mobs of potentially non violent violent protesters," he wrote in October 2020.[174] Maiorana pled guilty and was sentenced to three years in prison.[175]

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[170] Jen Chung, "Staten Island Education Council Member Resigns Over Racist E-Mail, *Gothamist*, March 3, 2009, https://gothamist.com/news/si-education-council-member-resigns-over-racist-e-mail

[171] Deborah Young, "Staten Island Education Appointee Email Ignites Firestorm," *Staten Island Advance*, March 2, 2009.

[172] Young, "Staten Island Education Appointee Email Ignites Firestorm."

[173] Jake Offenhartz, "Feds: Heavily Armed Staten Island Extremist Threatened to Kill Biden After Trump's Loss," *Gothamist*, November 11, 2020, https://gothamist.com/news/feds-heavily-armed-staten-island-extremist-threatened-kill-biden-supporters-after-trumps-loss.

[174] U.S. Attorney's Office, Eastern District of New York, Press Release: "Staten Island Man Arrested In Connection With Threats To Kill Protesters, Politicians and Members of Law Enforcement," November 10, 2020, https://www.justice.gov/usao-edny/pr/staten-island-man-arrested-connection-threats-kill-protesters-politicians-and-members. Misspellings in quotes from from Maiorana's posts.

[175] U.S. Attorney's Office, Eastern District of New York, Press Release: "Staten Island Felon Sentenced to Prison for Possessing Illegal Firearm," May 18, 2022, https://www.justice.gov/usao-edny/pr/staten-island-felon-sentenced-prison-possessing-illegal-firearm.

104. In March 2021, Staten Island resident Ralph Tedesco was arrested and charged with fourth-degree criminal mischief as a hate crime. Tedesco was charged with defacing the campaign posters of Kelvin Richards, a Black council candidate, with the phrase "Fuck you Nigger!" He also scrawled the "N word" on two different occasions on campaign posters promoting the council candidacy of Ranti Ogunleye. In February 2021, he also vandalized an MTA bus with graffiti that read: "BLACK SLAVES MATTER. THEY WILL NEVER BE EQUAL. KILL THE N------."[176] Tedesco pleaded guilty to the charges in December 2021.[177]

Dated: November 17, 2025

Thomas J. Sugrue

[176] Joseph Ostapiuk, "Man Charged with Hate Crime After Allegedly Defacing North Shore Candidate Posters," *SI Live*, March 24, 2021, https://www.silive.com/crime-safety/2021/03/man-charged-with-hate-crime-after-allegedly-defacing-north-shore-candidate-posters.html.
[177] Frank Donnelly, "He Admits Hate Crime for Racist Graffiti on SI Campaign Posters," *SI Live*, December 1, 2021, https://www.silive.com/crime-safety/2021/12/he-admits-hate-crime-for-racist-graffiti-on-si-campaign-posters-must-undergo-racial-insensitivity-treatment.html.

Appendix 1

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EDUCATION

Ph.D. (1992) Harvard University (American History)

A.M. (1987) Harvard University (American History)

M.A. (1990) Cambridge University (British History)

B.A. (1986) Cambridge University (British History, *Honours*, Doncaster History Prize)

B.A. (1984) Columbia University (History, *Summa Cum Laude,* Phi Beta Kappa)

HONORARY DEGREES

D.H.L. (2016) Wayne State University (Doctorate in Humane Letters, *Honoris Causa*)

M.A. (1997) University of Pennsylvania (Master of Arts, *Honoris Causa*)

POSITIONS HELD

New York University (2015-)

Julius Silver, Roslyn S. Silver, and Enid Silver Winslow Professor (2021-)

Professor of Social and Cultural Analysis and History (2015-); Affiliated Professor, Wagner Graduate School of Public Service; Affiliated Professor, Sociology

Senior Fellow, NYU Institute for Public Knowledge (2019-)

Founding Director of Program in Urban Studies (2024-)

Director of the Metropolitan Studies Program (2019-24)

Director of the American Studies Program (2016-18)

Director of the NYU Cities Collaborative (2015-)

University of Pennsylvania (1991-2015)

David Boies Professor of History and Professor of Sociology (2009-15)

Director of the Penn Social Science and Policy Forum (2011-15)

Edmund J. and Louise W. Kahn Term Professor of History and Sociology (2004-09)

Chair of the History Graduate Group (2000-02, 2003-05)

Bicentennial Class of 1940 Term Professor of History and Sociology (1999-2004)

Lecturer in History (1991-92), Assistant Professor of History (1992-97), and Associate Professor of History and Sociology (1997-99)

Visiting Positions

Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales, Paris, Visiting Professor (May 2017).

Princeton University, Lawrence Stone Professor (April 2009).

Harvard University, Visiting Professor of Urban Planning and Design (Fall 2008).

Nanzan University, Japan, Visiting Professor of American Studies (July-August 2007).

Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, AMIAS Member (2005-06).

Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales, Paris, Visiting Professor (Spring 2002).

New York University, Visiting Associate Professor of History (Spring 1998).

University of Michigan, King/Chavez/Parks Visiting Professor in Sociology (February 1998).

Brookings Institution, Research Fellow in Governmental Studies (1990-91).

FELLOWSHIPS, AWARDS, GRANTS, AND HONORS

Distinguished Service Award, Urban History Association, 2023.

National Magazine Award Finalist, 2021, for Best Special Issue for "Pre-Existing Conditions: What 2020 Reveals About Our Urban Future," *Public Books* (2021).

Library of Congress Lavine/Ken Burns Film Prize, 2021, for "Gradually, Then Suddenly: The Bankruptcy of Detroit," as part of team as Chief Historical Advisor and Associate Producer (2021).

Galsworthy Fellow in Criminal Justice Reform, Center for the Study of Human Flourishing, King's College (2018-19).

Fellow, Royal Historical Society, United Kingdom (elected 2017).

Walter Lippmann Fellow, American Academy of Political and Social Science (elected 2016).

Honorary Doctor of Humane Letters, Wayne State University (2016).

Fellow, New York Institute for the Humanities (elected 2016).

Andrew Carnegie Fellow, Carnegie Corporation of New York (2015-17).

President, Social Science History Association (2013-14).

President, Urban History Association (2013-14).

Richard S. Dunn Teaching Award, University of Pennsylvania (2012).

Fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences (elected 2011).

Finalist, Benjamin Hooks Book Award (2011).

Fellow of the Society of American Historians (elected 2009).

Finalist, Los Angeles Times Book Prize in History (2009).

Faculty Fellow, Penn Institute for Urban Research (2009-15).

Organization of American Historians/Japanese Association for American Studies Japan Residency (2007).

History News Network, Top Young Historian (2006).

Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, School of Social Science, AMIAS Member (2005-06).

John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Fellowship (2005).

Alphonse Fletcher, Sr. Fellowship, Fletcher Foundation (2005).

American Philosophical Society, Franklin Research Grant (2005).

Edmund J. and Louise W. Kahn Endowed Term Professorship (2004-10).

Distinguished Lecturer, Organization of American Historians (2002-).

Bicentennial Class of 1940 Term Chaired Professorship, University of Pennsylvania (1999-2004).

Kellogg Foundation Non-Profits, Universities, Communities and Schools Grant (1998-2001).

SAS Faculty Research Fellowship, University of Pennsylvania (1998-99).

Richard S. Dunn Teaching Award, University of Pennsylvania (1998).

Bancroft Prize in American History (1998).

Philip Taft Prize for Best Book in Labor History (1997).

Urban History Association Jackson Prize for Best Book in North American Urban History (1997).

Sidney Hillman Foundation Award (1997). Co-Winner with members of the Steering Committee for a National Teach-In with the Labor Movement.

President's Book Award, Social Science History Association (1996).

Best Article Prize, Urban History Association (1996).

Columbia University Seminars, Publication Grant (1996).

Outstanding Professor Award, University of Pennsylvania Greek Council (1996).

American Council of Learned Societies Fellowship (1995-96).

National Endowment for the Humanities, Grant for Conference: W.E.B. Du Bois's *The Philadelphia Negro*: A Centenary Reappraisal (1994-96), Co-Principal Investigator.

University of Pennsylvania Research Foundation Grants (1994-95, 1995-96).

University of Pennsylvania, Center for Community Partnerships, Research Grant (1995).

Ford Foundation, Undergraduate Social Science Initiatives Grants (1994-1996).

Brookings Institution, Research Fellowship in Governmental Studies (1990-91).

Social Science Research Council (SSRC), Committee for Research on the Urban Underclass, Dissertation Fellowship (1991) and Research Grant (1990-91).

Bordin-Gillette Research Travel Fellowship, Bentley Library, University of Michigan (1990).

Kaiser Family Foundation Fellowship, Walter P. Reuther Library (1990).

Josephine De Kármán Foundation Fellowship (1989-90).

Kellett Fellowship, King's College, Cambridge and Columbia University (1984-86).

Harry S Truman Scholarship (1982-84, 1986-88).

BOOKS

Segregating Cities: An Arnold R. Hirsch Reader, edited (University of Chicago Press, 2026, in press).

The Long Year: A 2020 Reader, co-edited with Caitlin Zaloom (Columbia University Press, 2022).

Neoliberal Cities: The Remaking of Postwar Urban America, co-edited with Andrew J. Diamond (NYU Press, 2020).

Immigration and Metropolitan Revitalization in the United States, co-edited with Domenic Vitiello (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2017).

These United States: A Nation in the Making, 1890 to the Present, with Glenda Gilmore (W.W. Norton, 2015).

♦ Revised textbook edition with new material (2016).

♦ Abridged and revised textbook edition with new material published as *These United States: A Nation in the Making, 1945 to the Present* (2016).

♦ History Book Club and Military History Book Club Selections (2015).

Not Even Past: Barack Obama and the Burden of Race (Princeton University Press, 2010).

♦ Chinese edition: 甚至还未过去 奥巴马与美国的种族负担 (Guangxi Normal University Press, 2022).

♦ French edition: *Le poids de passé: Barack Obama et la question raciale*. With an introduction by Denis Lacorne and a new chapter. (Éditions Fahrenheit, 2012).

♦ Finalist, Benjamin Hooks Book Prize, 2011.

Sweet Land of Liberty: The Forgotten Struggle for Civil Rights in the North (Random House, 2008). Paperback Edition (2009).

♦ Finalist, *Los Angeles Times* Book Prize in History, 2009.

♦ Main Selection, History Book Club, 2008.

♦ Symposia on *Sweet Land of Liberty* at the Social Science History Association Conference (2008), The Newberry Library, Chicago (2008), Université Denis Diderot, Paris-7 (2009), and American Society for Legal History Conference (2009).

♦ Roundtable *on Sweet Land of Liberty* in *Labor: Studies in Working-Class History of the Americas* 7:1 (2010)

The New Suburban History, co-edited with Kevin Kruse (University of Chicago Press, 2006).

W.E.B. DuBois, Race, and the City: The Philadelphia Negro *and Its Legacy*, co-edited with Michael B. Katz (University of Pennsylvania Press, 1998).

The Origins of the Urban Crisis: Race and Inequality in Postwar Detroit (Princeton University Press, 1996). Paperback edition, 1998.

♦ Princeton Classics Edition with a new preface, 2005.

♦ Princeton Classics Paperback with a new preface, 2014.

♦ Chinese edition with a new preface: forthcoming 2025.

♦ Japanese edition with a new preface: アメリカの都市危機と「アンダークラス」：自動車都市デトロイトの戦後史 /*Amerika no toshi kiki to andākurasu: jidōsha toshi detoroito no sengoshi*. Translated by Masaki Kawashima (Akashi Shoten, 2002).

♦ One of 100 most influential books published in the last century featured in *A Century of Books: Princeton University Press, 1905-2005* (Princeton University Press, 2005).

♦ 1998 Bancroft Prize in History

♦ 1997 Philip Taft Prize in Labor History

♦ 1997 Kenneth T. Jackson Prize for Best Book in North American Urban History, Urban History Association

♦ 1997 *Choice* Outstanding Academic Book

♦ 1996 President's Book Award, Social Science History Association

- ♦ *Lingua Franca* Breakthrough Book on Race
- ♦ *American Prospect On-Line* Top Shelf Book on Race and Inequality
- ♦ Subject of roundtable in *Labor History* 39 (February 1998), 43-69.

WORKS-IN-PROGRESS

Rent: An American History (book in progress).

"Immigration's Suburban Future," *Handbook of North American Urban Futures*, ed. Diane Davis, Julie-Anne Boudreau, and Roger Keil (De Gruyter, expected publication 2026)

"The Origins of the Suburban Crisis: From Zoning to Predatory Lending," *Social Science History,* draft.

"Planning for Justice: Integrationist Planning, Community Control, and the Struggle for Metropolitan America, 1954-1980," *Journal of Urban History,* in progress.

EDITED JOURNAL ISSUES

"Crisis Cities," *Public Books*, November 2020. Nineteen article series, with Sugrue introduction.

- ♦ 2021 National Magazine Award Finalist (Best Special Issue).

"Nagyvárosi szegénység - Amerikában" [Metropolitan Poverty in America], *Budapesti Negyed* [*Budapest Quarterly Review*] 27-28 (1999-2000), co-edited with Michael B. Katz.

"The Politics of Culture in Cold War America," *Prospects: An Annual of American Culture Studies* 20 (1995), 449-541. Seven article symposium, with Sugrue introduction.

ARTICLES AND BOOK CHAPTERS (* peer-reviewed)

* "The Hard Work of Segregation: Arnold Hirsch and Critical Histories of Race," in *Segregating Cities: Policy and Practice in Modern America*, ed. Thomas J. Sugrue (University of Chicago Press, in press).

* "Latinos on the Crabgrass Frontier: Migrants, Immigrants, Race, and the Transformation of Postwar Suburbia," in A.K. Sandoval-Strausz, ed., *Metropolitan Latinidad: Transforming American Urban History* (University of Chicago Press, 2025), 61-79.

Foreword to Brian Goldstein, *The Roots of Urban Renaissance: Gentrification and the Struggle over Harlem* (Princeton University Press, 2023), ix-xiv.

- ♦ Reprinted in *The Architect's Newspaper*, March 14, 2023.

* "Introduction: Preexisting Conditions," in *The Long Year: A 2020 Reader*, ed. Thomas J. Sugrue and Caitlin Zaloom (Columbia University Press, 2022), 1-15.

"Communicants, Community, and Capital: Parish Boundaries, Race, and Catholicism," *American Catholic Studies* 132:3 (2021), 8-13.

* "Historicizing the Neoliberal Metropolis," with Andrew J. Diamond, in *Neoliberal Cities: The Remaking of Postwar Urban America*, ed. Andrew J. Diamond and Thomas J. Sugrue (NYU Press, 2020), 1-12.

"Livable Cities," in *We Own the Future: Democratic Socialism American Style*, ed. Kate Aronoff, Peter Dreier, and Michael Kazin (The New Press, 2020), 207-222.

"Predatory Real Estate," in *Antidemocracy in America: Truth, Power, and the Republic at Risk,* ed. Eric Klinenberg, Caitlin Zaloom, and Sharon Marcus (Columbia University Press, 2019), 27-38.

* "A Modest Sized Foundation: Barack Obama's Urban Policy," in *The Obama Presidency: A First Historical Appraisal*, ed. Julian E. Zelizer (Princeton University Press, 2018), 144-161.

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* "The Black Freedom Struggle in the North," *Oxford Encyclopedia of American Urban History*, Vol. 2., ed. Timothy J. Gilfoyle (Oxford University Press, 2018), 1367-1396.

"The Housing Revolution We Need," *Dissent* 65:4 (Fall 2018), 18-22.

"From Jim Crow to Fair Housing," in Gregory D. Squires, ed., *The Fight for Fair Housing: Causes, Consequences and Future Implications of the 1968 Federal Fair Housing Act* (Routledge, 2018), 14-27.

"The Big Picture: America's Real Estate Developer in Chief," *Public Books*, November 27, 2017.

"Foreword," in *Making Cities Global*, ed., A.K. Sandoval-Strausz and Nancy H. Kwak (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2017), vi-ix.

"Foreword," in *Detroit 1967: Origins, Impacts, Legacies*, ed. Joel Stone (Wayne State University Press, 2017), ix-vii.

* "Less Separate, Still Unequal: Diversity and Equality in 'Post-Civil Rights' America," in *Our Compelling Interests: The Value of Diversity to Democracy and a Prosperous Society,* ed. Earl Lewis and Nancy Cantor (Princeton University Press, 2016), 39-70.

"Remember Working-Class Feminism!" in *Democracy: A Journal of Ideas* 42 (Fall 2016).

"American Studies in Japan: Its History, Present Situation and Future," *Nanzan Review of American Studies* 38 (Winter 2016), 121-129.

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* "'The Largest Civil Rights Organization Today': Title VII and the Transformation of the Public Sector," *Labor: Studies in Working Class History of the Americas* 11:3 (2014), 25-29.

"Diversity, Toleration, and Space in Metropolitan America," *The Cities Papers: An Essay Collection from the Decent Cities Initiative* (New York: Social Science Research Council, 2014), online.

"Notown," in Anna Clark, ed., *A Detroit Anthology* (Belt Publishing, 2014), 18-23.

"Privatization: Looking Out for the Public Good," 2013 PILCOP Symposium on Equality, 11 *Rutgers Journal of Law and Public Policy* 331 (2013-14).

"The Civil Rights Era and Beyond," in *Preserving American Freedom: The Evolution of American Liberty in Fifty Documents* (Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 2013), online.

"'The Goddamn Boss': Cecil B. Moore, Philadelphia, and the Reshaping of Black Urban Politics," in *Dixie Redux: Essays in Honor of Sheldon Hackney*, ed. Raymond Arsenault and Vernon Burton (New South Press, 2013), 261-286.

"For Jobs and Freedom: An Introduction to the Unfinished March," *Economic Policy Institute* (August 2013), online.

* "The Catholic Encounter with the 1960s," *Catholics in the American Century: Recasting Narratives of U.S. History,* ed. R. Scott Appleby and Kathleen Sprows Cummings (Cornell University Press, 2012), 61-79.

"Pourquoi les villes américaines ne brûlent-elles pas plus souvent?" with Michael B. Katz, in *L'Atlantique multiracial: Discours, politiques, dénis*, ed. James Cohen, Andrew Diamond, and Philippe Vervaecke (Editions Karthala/CERI, 2012), 33-60.

* "Hillburn, Hattiesburg, and Hitler: Wartime Activists Think Globally and Protest Locally," in *Fog of War: The Second World War and the Civil Rights Movement*, ed. Kevin M. Kruse and Stephen Tuck (Oxford University Press, 2012), 87-102.

"Northern Lights: The Black Freedom Struggle Outside the South," *OAH Magazine of History* 26:1 (2012), 1-7.

* "Civil Rights, Civility, and Disruption," in *A Reasonable Understanding: Civility and Democracy in America*, ed. Cornell W. Clayton and Richard Elgar (Washington State University Press, 2012), 18-32.

* "The Right to a Decent Home," *To Promote the National Welfare: The Case for Big Government*, ed. Steven Conn (Oxford University Press, 2012), 102-17.

"City of Ruins," introduction to Yves Marchand and Romain Meffre, *Détroit: vestiges du rêve américain/The Ruins of Detroit* (Steidl Verlag, 2011), 9-15. In French and English.

"Concord Park, Open Housing, and the Lost Promise of Civil Rights in the North," *Pennsylvania Legacies* (November 2010), 18-23.

* "Toward a New History of Civil Rights," *Labor: Studies in Working-Class History of the Americas* 7:1 (2010), 37-44.

* "Jim Crow's Last Stand: The Struggle to Integrate Levittown," *Second Suburb: Levittown, Pennsylvania*, ed. Dianne Harris (University of Pittsburgh Press, 2010), 175-99.

"The End of the '60s," in *The Sixties: A Documentary Reader*, ed. Brian Ward (Wiley-Blackwell, 2009), 225-26.

"Racial Romanticism," *Democracy: A Journal of Ideas* 13 (2009), 69-73.

* "The White Ethnic Strategy," with John David Skrentny, in Bruce Schulman and Julian Zelizer, eds., *Rightward Bound: Making America Conservative in the Seventies* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2008), 171-92.

"Poverty in the Era of Welfare Reform: The 'Underclass' Family in Myth and Reality," in *American Families: A Multicultural Reader*, second edition, ed. Stephanie Coontz (Routledge, 2008), 325-37.

* "Plainfield Burning: Black Rebellion in the Suburban North," with Andrew M. Goodman, *Journal of Urban History* 33 (May 2007), 568-601.

"Driving While Black: The Car and Race Relations in Modern America," in *The Automobile in American Life and Society* (Henry Ford Museum and University of Michigan, 2005), http://www.autolife.umd.umich.edu

"From Motor City to Motor Metropolis: How the Automobile Industry Reshaped Urban America," *Automobile in American Life and Society* (Henry Ford Museum and University of Michigan 2005), http://www.autolife.umd.umich.edu

* "Affirmative Action from Below: Civil Rights, the Building Trades, and the Politics of Racial Equality in the North, 1945-1969," *Journal of American History* 91 (June 2004), 145-73.

  ♦ Reprinted in Joyce Appleby, ed., *Best Articles in American History 2006* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), 231-62.

  ♦ Reprinted in Joe William Trotter and Kenneth Kusmer, eds., *African American Urban History Since World War II* (University of Chicago Press, 2009), 219-44.

* "All Politics is Local: The Persistence of Localism in Twentieth-Century America," in Meg Jacobs, William Novak, and Julian Zelizer, eds., *The Democratic Experiment: New Directions in American Political History* (Princeton University Press, 2003), 301-26.

* "Revisiting the Second Ghetto," *Journal of Urban History* 29 (March 2003), 281-90.

"The Power of Place: Race, Political Economy, and Identity in the Postwar Metropolis," with Robert O. Self, in Roy Rosenzweig and Jean-Christophe Agnew, eds., *A Companion to Post 1945 America* (Blackwell Publishers, 2002), 20-43.

* "Breaking Through: The Troubled Origins of Affirmative Action in the Workplace," in John David Skrentny, ed., *Color Lines: Affirmative Action, Immigration, and Civil Rights Options for America* (University of Chicago Press, 2001), 31-52.

"Urbanization," in *Oxford Companion to United States History*, ed. Paul Boyer (Oxford University Press, 2001), 794-96.

"The Power of Unlikely Coalitions," *University of Pennsylvania Journal of Labor and Employment Law* 2 (Spring 2000), 737-45.

"Suburbanization and African Americans," in *Encarta Africana*, ed. Anthony Appiah and Henry Louis Gates, third edition, CD-Rom (Microsoft/Afropaedia LLC, 1999). Reprinted with misattribution in *Africana Encyclopedia*, second edition (Oxford University Press, 2005).

"Poor Families in the Era of Urban Transformation: The 'Underclass' in Myth and Reality," in *Families: A Multicultural Reader*, ed. Stephanie Coontz (Routledge, 1999), 243-57.

"The Compelling Need for Diversity in Higher Education: Expert Report of Thomas J. Sugrue," *University of Michigan Journal of Race and Law* 5 (Fall 1999), 261-310.

* "The Incredible Disappearing Southerner?" *Labor History* 39 (1998), 161-66.

* "Responsibility to the Past, Engagement with the Present," *Labor History* 39 (1998), 60-69.

* "Carter's Urban Policy Crisis," in *The Carter Presidency: Policy Choices in the Post New Deal Era*, ed. Gary Fink and Hugh Davis Graham (University Press of Kansas, 1998), 137-57.

* "The Context of *The Philadelphia Negro*: The City, the Settlement House Movement, and the Rise of the Social Sciences," with Michael B. Katz, in *W.E.B. DuBois, Race, and the City* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 1998), 1-38.

♦ Reprinted in Harold Bloom, ed., *W.E.B. DuBois* (Chelsea House, 2001), 177-209.

* "The Tangled Roots of Affirmative Action," *American Behavioral Scientist* 41 (April 1998), 886-87.

"John Hersey and the Tragedy of Race," introduction to John Hersey, *The Algiers Motel Incident* (Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998), ix-xx.

"Labor, Liberalism, and Racial Politics in 1950s Detroit," *New Labor Forum* 1 (1997), 19-25.

* "Segmented Work, Race-Conscious Workers: Structure, Agency, and Division in the CIO Era," *International Review of Social History* 41 (1996), 389-406.

"More than Skin Deep: Redevelopment and the Urban Crisis," *Journal of Urban History* 22 (1996), 750-59 (review essay).

"The Politics of Culture in Cold War America," *Prospects: An Annual of American Culture Studies* 20 (1995), 451-54.

* "Reassessing the History of Postwar America," *Prospects: An Annual of American Culture Studies* 20 (1995), 493-509.

* "'Forget about Your Inalienable Right to Work': Deindustrialization and Its Discontents at Ford, 1950-1953," *International Labor and Working-Class History* 48 (1995), 112-30.

"History, Public Policy, and the Underclass Debate," *SSRC Working Paper* (National Center for Children in Poverty, 1995), co-authored with Michael B. Katz.

* "Crabgrass-Roots Politics: Race, Rights, and the Reaction Against Liberalism in the Urban North, 1940-1964," *Journal of American History* 82 (1995), 551-78.

- ♦ *Winner of the 1996 Best Article Prize, Urban History Association.*
- ♦ Reprinted in Jack Davis, ed., *The Civil Rights Movement* (Blackwell, 2000), 64-84.
- ♦ Reprinted in Raymond A. Mohl and Roger Biles, eds., *The Making of Urban America*, third edition (Rowman and Littlefield, 2011).
- ♦ Reprinted in James Sabathne and Jason Stacy, eds., *Past Forward: Articles from the Journal of American History*, Vol. 2 (Oxford University Press, 2016), 188-210.

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* "The Peopling and Depeopling of Early Pennsylvania: Indians and Colonists, 1680-1720," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 116 (January 1992), 3-31.

EXPERT REPORTS

New York Communities for Change v. County of Nassau. No. 602316/2024 (Sup. Ct., Nassau County 2025). Wrote three reports, deposed, and testified.

Priorities USA v. Nessel, 19-13341 (E.D. Mich. 2022). Wrote report, was deposed.

Flores v. Town of Islip, 448 F.Supp.3d 267 (E.D.N.Y. 2020). Two reports, was deposed, testified.

U.S. v. City of Eastpointe, 378 F.Supp.3d 589 (E.D. Mich. 2019). Wrote report, was deposed.

Adkins v. Morgan Stanley, 307 F.R.D. 119, 147-48 (S.D.N.Y. 2015). Wrote report, was deposed.

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Interview: "Trump Undercuts Enforcement of the Civil Rights Act of 1964," *Popular Information*, January 23, 2025.

Entretien: Thomas Sugrue: "Après le 11 septembre, un nationalisme simpliste a ressurgi," *AOC/Analyse Opinion Critique,* September 11, 2021. Interviewed by Raphael Bourgois.

Entretien [Interview] Thomas Sugrue: "Trump est le maître du chaos et va tout faire pour compliquer la situation," *L'Obs* [Paris], November 6, 2020. Interviewed by Rémi Noyon.

"Trump Doesn't Understand Today's Suburbs and Neither Do You," *Politico Magazine*, August 4, 2020. Interviewed by Zack Stanton.

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- ♦ Revised, reprinted in *The Detroit Reader*, ed. Anna Clark (Cleveland: Belt Publishing, 2014).

"Empire and Revolution," *The Nation* (October 15, 2012), review of Joshua Freeman, *American Empire: The Rise of a Global Power, The Democratic Revolution at Home, 1945-2000*.

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Review: Irving Bernstein, *Promises Kept: John F. Kennedy's New Frontier,* in *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 23 (Spring 1993), 378-80.

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SHORT ARTICLES AND OPINION PIECES

"College Presidents Behaving Badly," *Chronicle of Higher Education*, May 6, 2024.

"In the Wake of Affirmative Action: From Cradle to Admissions Office," *Center for Social Solutions, University of Michigan*, October 2023.

"Increase Access to Affordable Housing," in "Biden Wants to Unite the Country: How Can He Do It? Two Dozen Thinkers Offer Bold Ideas for a New Administration in a Fractious Era," *Politico*, January 20, 2021.

"2020 is not 1968: To understand today's protests, you must look further back," *National Geographic,* June 11, 2020. Spanish translation: June 12, 2020. Portuguese translation, June 17, 2020. Italian translation, June 23, 2020.

"Stop comparing today's protests to 1968," *Washington Post*, June 11, 2020.

"A Legislative Mid-Life Crisis: Now Past 50, the Civil Rights and Voting Rights Acts Face New Challenges," *NYU News*, October 18, 2019. Reprinted at *Futurity.com*.

"Civility Wars," *New York Times*, June 30, 2018.

"In Memoriam: Arnold Hirsch (1949-2018): Iconic Scholar of Race and Cities," *National Book Review*, March 23, 2018.

"Arnold Hirsch, 1949-2018," *Urban History Newsletter*, Spring 2018.

"What Next for Detroit?" Interview with Camilo José Vergara, *Public Books*, May 4, 2017.

"Donald Trump Says He Wants to Fix Cities, Ben Carson Will Make Them Worse," *Sunday Washington Post*, December 18, 2016.

"Jeff Sessions' Other Civil Rights Problem," *New York Times*, November 18, 2016.

"Postscript: Grace Lee Boggs," *The New Yorker,* online, October 8, 2015.

"David Simon's 'Show Me a Hero' Recap: The Genius in David Simon's Pessimism," *The Hollywood Reporter*, August 30, 2015.

"David Simon's 'Show Me a Hero' Recap: Less Springsteen, More Public Enemy Needed," *The Hollywood Reporter*, August 23, 2015.

"David Simon's 'Show Me a Hero' Recap," *The Hollywood Reporter*, August 16, 2015.

"Décryptage. Racisme plaie des États Unis," *France Ouest*, August 10, 2015.

"It's Not Dixie's Fault," *Sunday Washington Post*, July 19, 2015.

"Restoring King," *Jacobin Magazine*, online, January 14, 2014.

- ♦ French translation: "Martin Luther King – Plus radical qu'on ne le croit?" *Revue Ballast*, February 17, 2015.
- ♦ Reprinted in *Tribune Magazine* (UK), January 21, 2019.

♦ Spanish translation: "El verdadera Martin Luther King," *Jacobin América Latina,* January 18, 2024.

"The Rise and Fall of Detroit's Middle Class," *The New Yorker* online, July 22, 2013.

"A More Perfect Union: Barack Obama and the Politics of Unity," *History Now* 36 (Summer 2013).

"Urban History from the Eye of the Storm," *Urban History Association Newsletter* 45 (Spring 2013).

"A House Divided: Why Do Middle-Class Blacks Have Far Less Wealth than Whites at the Same Income Level? The Answer is in Real Estate and History," *Washington Monthly* (Jan/Feb. 2013), 41-44.

♦ Reprinted in *The Wealth Divide*, ed. Noel Marino (Farmington Hills, MI: Greenhaven Press, 2015), 34-43.

"Workers' Paradise Lost," *New York Times*, December 14, 2012.

"Obama, éternel étranger en terrain miné," *Libération* (Paris), October 30, 2012.

"Saul Alinsky: The Activist Who Terrifies the Right," *Salon*, February 7, 2012.

"A Dream Still Deferred," *New York Times*, March 26, 2011.

"President Obama and the Burden of Race," *SAS Frontiers*, August 2010.

"Friday Reading: Diversity, Dogma, and the Dole," *The Atlantic*, online, August 20, 2010.

"Obama's Justice," *The Atlantic*, online, August 19, 2010.

"Kilpatrickism," *The Atlantic*, online, August 18, 2010.

♦ Reprinted in *Philadelphia Inquirer*, August 22, 2010.

"Tough Luck," *The Atlantic*, online, August 17, 2010.

"Hallowed Ground," *The Atlantic*, online, August 16, 2010.

"School Daze," *The Atlantic* online, August 15, 2010.

"The Myth of Post-Racial America," *Washington Post*, June 10, 2010.

"Stories and Legends," *The Nation*, June 6, 2010.

"The New American Dream: Renting," *Wall Street Journal*, August 15, 2009.

"A Nation on Fire," *Talking Points Memo*, March 30-April 3, 2009. Roundtable.

"Obama Must Rise to Urban Challenge," *Detroit Free Press*, February 22, 2009.

"Obama's America," *Talking Points Memo*, January 19-24, 2009. Roundtable.

"The End of the Sixties: The Meaning of the Obama Victory," *Boston Globe*, Nov. 10, 2008.

♦ Reprinted in Brian Ward, ed., *The Sixties: A Documentary History* (Cambridge, 2009).

"Motor City: The Story of Detroit," *History Now* 11 (March 2007), www.historynow.org

"Still a Poor City," *Detroit Free Press*, February 6, 2006.

"Burn, *Bébé*, Burn," *Dissent* (Winter 2006), 5-7.

"Sacramento Gets It Wrong at Detroit's Expense," *Detroit Free Press*, November 12, 2005.

"Protests Then and Now," *Pennsylvania Current*, May 18, 2000.

"Throwaway Land," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, March 28, 1999.

"Detroit Has Yet to Recover from 1950s Turning Point," *Detroit Free Press*, June 1, 1997.

"Urban History at the University of Pennsylvania," *Urban History Newsletter*, Spring 1997, 2.

"A Teach-In with the Labor Movement: The Long Road Ahead," *Radical Historians Newsletter* 75 (December 1996), 1, 14-15.

"A Conversation with Howard Fast," *Prospects* 20 (1995), 511-23 (edited interview).

"Talkin' About My Generation: Reflections on the 'Politics of Authenticity,'" *Clio: Politics and History* 4:2 (Spring/Summer 1994), 3-4.

"Bibliography: European Urban History," *Urban History Newsletter* 3 (March 1990), 5-7.

EXCERPTS

"Class, Status, and Residence: The Changing Geography of Black Detroit," in *The American Urban Reader: History and Theory*, second edition, ed., Steven Corey and Lisa Krissoff Boehm (Routledge, 2020), 572-82. Also in first edition (2010). Excerpt from *Origins of the Urban Crisis*.

"'The Damning Mark of False Prosperities' The Deindustrialization of Detroit," in *The Straight: Detroit: America's Premier Legacy City*, ed. Jeffrey T. Horner (Cognella Publishing, 2018), 45-76. Excerpt from *Origins of the Urban Crisis*.

"Detroit 1967," in *Detroit Free Press* (July 23, 2017); *In These Times* (July 21, 2017); *Deadline Detroit* (May 23, 2017). Excerpts from "Foreword" to *Detroit 1967: Origins, Impacts, Legacies*.

"'The Damning Mark of False Prosperities:' The Deindustrialization of Detroit," in *Urban Politics: A Reader*, ed. Stephen J. McGovern (CQ Press, 2016). Excerpt from *Origins of the Urban Crisis*.

"Not Even Past: Barack Obama and the Burden of Race," in *The Charleston Syllabus: Readings on Race, Racism, and Racial Violence*, ed. Chad Williams, Kidada Williams, and Keisha Blain (University of Georgia Press, 2016), 315-21. Excerpt from *Not Even Past*.

"The Continuing Racial Crisis," *Major Problems in American History Since 1945*, ed. Natasha Zaretsky, Mark Lawrence, Robert Griffith, and Paula Baker, fourth edition (Houghton Mifflin, 2014), 272-78. Also in earlier editions (2001, 2007). Excerpt from *Origins of the Urban Crisis*.

"Crabgrass-Roots Politics," in *The Making of Urban America*, third edition, ed. Raymond A. Mohl and Roger Biles (Rowman and Littlefield, 2011). Excerpt from 1995 *JAH* article.

"Racial Confrontation in Post-War Detroit," in *American Urban Politics: The Reader*, ed. Dennis R. Judd and Paul Cantor, sixth edition (Longman, 2010). Also in earlier editions (2006, 2007) Excerpt from *Origins of the Urban Crisis*.

"Stories and Legends," *The Nation*, June 7, 2010. Excerpt from *Not Even Past*.

"The Northernmost Southern City," *Metro Times*, February 25, 2009. Excerpt from *Sweet Land of Liberty*.

"Racism and Urban Decline," *Shrinking Cities: Volume 1: International Research* (Berlin: Hatje Cantz Verlag, 2005). Revised except from *Origins of the Urban Crisis*.

"Niedergang durch Rassissmus," in *Schrumpfende Städte: Band 1: Internationale Untersuchung*, ed. Philipp Oswalt (Hatje Cantz Verlag, 2004), 231-37. Excerpt from *Origins of the Urban Crisis*.

"The Deindustrialization of Detroit," in *Major Problems in American Urban and Suburban History*, ed. Howard P. Chudacoff and Peter C. Baldwin (Houghton Mifflin, 2004). Excerpt from *Origins of the Urban Crisis*.

NAMED LECTURES AND KEYNOTE ADDRESSES

Haverford School (Parker History Lecture), February 2025.

American University (Annual Lecture, Metropolitan Policy Center), April 2024.

Salve Regina College (McGinty Lecture), April 2023.

Cranbrook Academy of Art (Bauder Lecture), April 2021.

University of Dayton (Beauregard-King Emeriti Lecture), March 2019.

University of Cincinnati (Taft Lectures) September 2018.

Wayne State University and Detroit Historical Society (Van Dusen Lecture), July 2017.

Keynote Address, Association Française des Études Américaines, Annual Meeting, June 2017.

Rutgers University-Newark (Marion Thompson Wright Keynote Lecture), February 2017.

Cabrini College (Jolyon Pitt Girard Scholar in Residence) October 2016.

Keynote Address: American Association of State and Local History, September 2016.

Keynote Address: Nanzan University American Studies 40th Anniversary Symposium, July 2016.

New York University (Henry Hart Rice Urban Policy Lecture), April 2016.

University of Maryland (Rundell Memorial Lecture), April 2016.

University of Notre Dame (Cushwa Center Annual Lecture), April 2016.

Keynote Address, City/*Cité*, Chicago, November 2015.

Presidential Address: Social Science History Association Annual Meeting, November 2014.

Presidential Address: Urban History Association Biennial Meeting, October 2014.

Keynote Address: The Right to the City, Sorbonne-Paris 4 / University of Paris-10-Nanterre, May 2014.

Keynote Address: Beyond Bankruptcy, Wayne State University, April 2014.

Keynote Address: Association for the Study of Connecticut History Annual Meeting, April 2014.

Keynote Address: Detroit Policy Conference, Greater Detroit Regional Chamber, February 2014.

University of Kansas (William Tuttle Lecture in American Studies), October 2013.

Middle Tennessee State University (Strickland Lecturer), September 2013.

George Mason University (W.E.B. Du Bois Lecture), February 2013.

University of Missouri (Lewis Atherton Memorial Lecture), April 2012.

George Washington University (Elmer Kayser Lecture), March 2012.

Colorado State University, Pueblo (Ludlow Speaker), April 2011.

Rutgers University, New Brunswick, Bloustein School of Planning and Public Policy (Catlin Lecture), April 2011.

St. Joseph's University (Gerrity Lecture), February 2011.

Pomona College (Hart Lecture), November 2010.

Cranbrook Academy (Sirchio Distinguished Lecturer), October 2009.

Keynote Address, History of Education Society Annual Meeting, October 2009.

Princeton University (Lawrence Stone Lectures in History), April 2009.

Keynote Address: University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill (The Long Civil Rights Movement Conference), April 2009.

Keynote Address, Temple University (Barnes Conference on History), March 2009.

Wayne State University (Van Dusen Forum on Urban Affairs), February 2009.

Oakland University (Phi Alpha Theta Annual Lecture), February 2008.

Keynote Address, Virginia Tech University (Bertoti Graduate Conference), April 2008.

Wayne State University Law School (Izumi Family Scholar-in-Residence), January 2008.

Case Western Reserve University (Baker–Nord Fellow in the Humanities), October 2007.

Ohio Wesleyan University (Sagan National Colloquium: Cities and Suburbs), October 2007.

University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign (MillerComm Lecture: Landscape Architecture, History, and Center for Advanced Study), Feb. 2007.

Albion College (Coy James Memorial Lecture), February 2007.

Calvin College (Donald Bouma Lecture in Sociology and Social Work), May 2006.

Emory University (Lockmiller Seminar in History), March 2006.

Lovett Memorial Library, Philadelphia (George Schermer Memorial Lecture), November 2004.

Trinity School, New York (Miles Satterthwaite Lecture in New York History), October 2004.

University of Rochester (Verne Moore Lecture in History), September 2004.

Keynote Address, Princeton University, Shelby Culllom Davis Center, Conference on the New Suburban History, February 2004.

Washington University, Saint Louis (Siegle Lecture and Seminars in American Studies), September-October 2003.

Boston University (Bacon Lecture), May 2003.

University at Albany, SUNY (Lewis Mumford Lecture in Urbanism), April 2003.

Emporia State University (Boertman Lecture), April 2003.

Keynote Address: The City and Civic Virtue Conference, Wayne State Univ., March 2003.

Boston College (Lowell Lecture), September 2002.

University of Missouri-St Louis (McKinzie Symposium), March 2001.

Keynote Address: Urban Studies Forum, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee, April 2000.

Brandeis University (Weiner Lecture in History), February 2000.

Keynote Address: The Racial Economy of Postwar Urban California, Stanford Univ., May 1999.

Ithaca College (Mayrock Lecture in History), April 1999.

Keynote Address: League of Women Voters, Pennsylvania: Welfare Reform and Self- Sufficiency: Strategies for 1999 and Beyond, March 1999.

Vassar College (C. Mildred Thompson Lecture in History), February 1999.

Keynote Address: Delaware Valley Grantmakers Annual Meeting, October 1998.
University of Michigan, Ann Arbor (Parks/King/Chavez Visiting Professor in Sociology), February 1998.

University of Detroit-Mercy (University Lecture), February 1998.

Brown University (Charles Colver Lecture in Urban Studies), April 1994.

INVITED LECTURES, SEMINARS, AND WORKSHOPS

University of Notre Dame, History Department, November 2025.

Universidade Federal Fluminense, Niteroi, RJ, Brazil, June 2025.

Institute for Public Knowledge, February 2025.

British Academy, Imagining the Urban Future, January 2025.

University of Pennsylvania, FHA Rental Housing Workshop, October 2024.

Institute for Public Knowledge, October 2024.

NEH Summer Seminar, Eastern Michigan University, July 2024.

University of Oxford, Rothermere American Institute, June 2024.

Vanderbilt University, New Deal Workshop, May 2024.

Penn State University, Latino/as and U.S. Political History Workshop, April 2024.

National Association of Realtors, April 2024.

Boston College, History, February 2024.

Sorbonne Université, Paris, November 2023.

State Museum of Pennsylvania, June 2023.

Graduate Center, City University of New York, May 2023.

Brown University, Urban Studies, April 2023.

University of Michigan, Eisenberg Institute for Historical Studies, April 2023.

Princeton School of Public and International Affairs and Princeton Public Library, December 2022.

University of Pennsylvania, Economic History Workshop, September 2022.

University of Virginia, Jefferson National Fellows Program, May 2022.

Penn State University, Latino Studies and History, May 2022.

New York Institute for the Humanities, December 2021.

University of Detroit Mercy, November 2021 (online).

University of Virginia, Jefferson National Fellows Program, September 2021.

Rock Leadership Speakers Series-II, Detroit, April 2021 (online).

Fondation Maison des Sciences de l'Homme and Ecole Practique des Hautes Etudes, Paris, February 2021 (online).

Christ Church, Grosse Pointe, Michigan, January 2021 (online).

Institute for Public Knowledge, NYU, January 2021 (online).

Rock Leadership Speakers Series-I, Detroit, December 2020 (online)

Rice University, School of Architecture, November 2020 (online).

Detroit Chapter DSA, September 2020 (online).

National History Center, Washington, DC, June 2020 (online).

New York Historical Society, January 2020.

Escola Parque, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, November 2019.

Harvard University, Hutchins Center for African and African American Research, September 2019.

University of Chicago, May 2019.

University of Wisconsin, Madison, April 2019.

Tulane University, April 2019.

University of New Orleans, Honors College, April 2019.

University of Texas, Austin, Center for the Study of Race and Democracy, February 2019.

University College London, Institute of the Americas, January 2019.

American Institutes for Research, Board of Directors Meeting, June 2018.

Minnesota History Center, St. Paul, MN, March 2018.

Columbia University, Graduate School of Architecture, Planning, and Preservation, January 2018.

Temple University, Center for the Humanities, October 2017.

City/*Cité,* Detroit, July 2017 (co-organizer, keynote speaker).

City of Detroit Planning Commission, July 2017.

Arab-American National Museum, Dearborn, MI, July 2017.

Sorbonne Université, Paris, May 2017.

Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales, Paris, May 2017.

Cambridge University, American History Seminar, January 2017.

Miller Center for Public Affairs, University of Virginia, November 2016.

Institute for New Economic Knowledge, Detroit, November 2016.

Gilder-Lehrman Institute for Teachers, Staten Island, October 2016.

Andrew W. Mellon Foundation/National Press Club, Washington, September 2016.

Toyota International Association, Toyota City, Japan, July 2016.

Nanzan University, Nagoya, Japan, July 2016.

University of Pennsylvania, Presidential Campaign Roundtable, July 2016.

City University of New York, Center for Lesbian and Gay Studies, April 2016.

Germantown Historical Society, April 2016.

Columbia University, Seminar on the City, April 2016.

Princeton University, School of Architecture, March 2016.

Institut de Sciences Politiques (Sciences Po), Paris, March 2016.

London School of Economics (LSE Cities), January 2016.

Gilder-Lehrman Institute for Teachers, Moorestown, NJ, December 2015.

Labyrinth Books, Princeton, NJ, November 2015.

Gilder-Lehrman Institute, New York, NY, November 2015.

University of Virginia, Miller Center, October 2015.

University of Utah, Tanner Center for the Humanities, October 2015.

Social Science Research Council, Decent City Initiative, September 2015.

University of California, Santa Barbara, September 2015.

Harvard University, Safra Center for Ethics, September 2015.

Historical Society of Pennsylvania, NEH Summer Institute, July 2015.

Université de Paris-8 (St-Denis), June 2015.

Ford Foundation, Board of Directors Meeting, Opening Speaker, June 2015.

National Museum of American Jewish History, May 2015.

Yale University, Institute for Social and Policy Studies, May 2015.

University of South Carolina, February 2015.

Stanford University Law School, February 2015.

Mercer Museum, Doylestown, PA., February 2015.

Free Library of Philadelphia, February 2015.

The Sorbonne--Université Paris-4, December 2014.

New York University, Center for Borderland Studies, November 2014.

Andrew W. Mellon Foundation, November 2014.

National Museum of American Jewish History, November 2014.

University of Southern California Law School, October 2014.

University of California, Los Angeles, History, October 2014.

Cornell University, Center for the Study of Inequality, September 2014.

Citizens Research Council of Michigan, September 2014.

École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, Paris, June 2014.

University of Heidelberg, Germany, June 2014.

University of Paris--Sorbonne, May 2014.

Social Science Research Council, May 2014.

Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, May 2014.

University of California, Berkeley, City and Regional Planning, April 2014.

University of New Mexico, March 2014.

Clements Center, Southern Methodist University, March 2014.

Museum of the City of New York, February 2014.

Detroit Regional Chamber of Commerce, February 2014.

New York University, Metropolitan Studies, February 2014.

Federal Reserve Bank of Chicago, Detroit Branch, November 2013.

Gilder-Lehrman Institute, Morristown, NJ, November 2013.

Social Science Research Council, October 2013.

Arcadia University (Rendell Center), October 2013.

Public Interest Law Center of Philadelphia, September 2013.

Gilder-Lehrman Institute, Boston, July 2013.

University of Delaware (Teaching American History), July 2013.

Technion: Israel Institute of Technology (City Planning and Sociology), May 2013.

Tel Aviv University, (American Civilization/Law School/Roth Institute), May 2013.

University of Chicago, Chicago Center for Contemporary Theory, April 2013.

Social Science Research Council, April 2013.

University of Pittsburgh, February 2013.

Brown University, February 2013.

University of Miami, February 2013.

Princeton University, December 2012.

Franklin and Marshall College, October 2012.

Marshall University, September 2012.

Association of Alternative Newsmedia, June 2012.

Johns Hopkins University, April 2012.

Harvard University, John F. Kennedy School of Government, April 2012.

Holy Cross College, March 2012.

Macalester College, March 2012.

Henry Ford Museum, January 2012.

Metropolitan Minds/Mount Airy USA, January 2012.

École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, Paris, December 2011.

Universidad Torcuato Di Tella, Buenos Aires, Argentina, August 2011.

Centro de Estudios Americanos, Buenos Aires, August 2011.

U.S. Embassy, Buenos Aires, August 2011.

University of Delaware/Teaching American History, July 2011.

Université de Paris-7, Denis-Diderot, June 2011.

U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, June 2011.

Montgomery Community College, Teaching American History, June 2011.

Scotch Plains Public Library, May 2011.

Macomb County Community College, April 2011.

Eastern Michigan University, April 2011.

University of Chicago (History), April 2011.

Louisiana State University, March 2011.

Washington State University, Foley Institute, March 2011.

University of Michigan, Dearborn, February 2011.

Temple University, February 2011.

University of Virginia, Miller Center for Public Affairs, January 2011.

Russell Sage Foundation, January 2011.

Richard M. Nixon Library, December 2010.

Northwestern University, November 2010.

Temple University, November 2010.

University System of Georgia, October 2010.

University of Chicago, Harris School, October 2010.

Historical Society of Pennsylvania/NEH Summer Seminar, July 2010.

Temple University, July 2010.

Princeton Public Library, June 2010.

Organization of American Historians/Philadelphia Community College, June 2010.

American Bar Foundation, April 2010.

University of Chicago, April 2010.

Lorenzo Humanities Center, Macomb County Community College, April 2010.

Rutgers University-Camden, April 2010.

Princeton University, March 2010.

University of Maryland, Provost's Conversation Series, March 2010.

Richard Stockton College of New Jersey, March 2010.

New Detroit, March 2010.

National Constitution Center, March 2010.

New School for Social Research, March 2010.

Columbia University, Lehman Center, December 2009.

New Jersey Council for History Education, December 2009.

St. Joseph University, November 2009.

Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, November 2009.

Canisius College, October 2009.

Germantown Historical Society, August 2009.

Université de Paris-7, Denis-Diderot, June 2009. Half-day seminar on *Sweet Land of Liberty*

Université de Lille-3, Charles-de-Gaulle, June 2009.

Slought Foundation, Philadelphia, May 2009.

Lovett Memorial Library, Philadelphia, March 2009.

Wayne State University, February 2009.

University of California, Berkeley, February 2009.

University of Virginia (Miller Center for Public Affairs), January 2009.

Newberry Library, December 2008. Half-day conference on *Sweet Land of Liberty*.

Harvard University (Graduate School of Design), November 2008.

Harvard University (Charles Warren Center), October 2008.

Denison University (McGregor Urbanscapes Series), September 2008.

University of Delaware (Teaching American History/DOE), July 2008.

University of Notre Dame (Cushwa Center), April 2008.

City Connect Detroit, April 2008.

University of California, Santa Barbara, February 2008.

Michigan Region, Anti-Defamation League, January 2008.

Cleveland State University (Levin College of Urban Affairs), October 2007.

Columbia University (20th Century American Politics and Society Seminar), Sept. 2007.

Cornell University (School of Architecture, Art, and Planning), September 2007.

Nanzan University, Japan (OAH-JAAS Visitor), July-August 2007.

Kitakyushu University, Japan (University Lecture), July 2007.

Yale Law School (Legal Theory Seminar), May 2007.

Princeton University (Shelby Cullom Davis Center), May 2007.

Metropolitan College, New York (Urban Dialogues), May 2007.

Southern Methodist University (Clements Center for Southwest Studies), Feb. 2007.

University of Baltimore (History), November 2006.

University of Michigan, Dearborn (Difficult Dialogues), October 2006.

Neighborhood Alliance for a Better Riverfront (Casino Forum), September 2006.

Oxford University (Rothermere American Institute), April 2006.

Institute for Advanced Study (School of Social Science), February 2006.

Minnesota Historical Society (OAH Distinguished Lecture), January 2006.

Temple University (Institute for Public Affairs and History), January 2006.

Princeton University (History), December 2005.

University of British Columbia (Urban Studies and History), November 2005.

Simon Fraser University (Living the Global City Lecture Series), November 2005.

Historical Society of Pennsylvania (Annual Lecture), November 2005.

Columbia University (Institute for Research on African American Studies), October 2005.

Philadelphia Heritage Initiative (OAH Distinguished Lecture), June 2005.

Oxford University (Rothermere American Institute), May 2005.

Cambridge University (History), May 2005.

Technical University of Berlin (Transatlantisches Graduiterenkolleg), May 2005.

Philadelphia Jewish Federation, January 2005.

University of Delaware (History), October 2004.

Lake Forest College (History), April 2004.

Chicago Seminar on the City, Chicago Historical Society, April 2004.

University of Oklahoma (Honors College), March 2004.

Harvard University (John F. Kennedy School of Government), February 2004.

Harvard University (Charles Warren Center), December 2003.

La Salle University (Catholic Studies), October 2003.

University of Michigan (Race and American Political Development Series), Oct. 2003.

Fund for an Open Society, June 2003.

Wayne State University (Humanities Center), March 2003.

Detroit University of Pennsylvania Alumni Association, March 2003.

Duke University (History and Public Policy), October 2002.

Massachusetts Historical Society (Immigration and Urban History Seminar), September 2002.

Katz Jewish Community Center, Cherry Hill, NJ, June-July 2002.

New School University (Political Science), April 2002.

Seminar in the Comparative History of Labor, Industry, Technology and Society (Emory, Georgia State, and Georgia Tech), November 2001.

Carnegie-Mellon University (Center for African American Urban Studies), October 2001.

Drexel University (Technology and Society), October 2001.

Madonna University (NEH Summer Seminar), July 2001.

Marygrove College (Defining Detroit Lecture), February 2001.

University of Michigan, Dearborn (Chancellor's Inauguration), November 2000.

Thomas Campbell Cleveland Seminar on the City, October 2000.

Cleveland State University (History), October 2000.

Case Western Reserve University (History), October 2000.

Harvard University (Afro-American Studies, NEH Summer Seminar), July 2000.

American Philosophical Society (Jefferson Day Lecture), June 2000.

University of California, San Diego (Sociology, History, Urban Studies), June 2000.

University of Chicago (History), March 2000.

Indiana University, South Bend (History and Sociology), March 2000.

Lutheran Theological Seminary of Philadelphia, March 2000.

Fairfield University (History), November 1999.

Harvard University (NEH Summer Seminar), July 1999.

Stanford University (History), May 1999.

Frankford Community Development Consortium, May 1999

Hamilton College (Political Science), April 1999.

Union College (History), April 1999.

York University, Toronto (History and Urban Studies), March 1999.

New York State Career Options Institute/SUNY Albany, March 1999.

University of Michigan (History), January 1999.

College of William and Mary (American Studies), December 1998.

Southeast Michigan Community Foundation, November 1998.

Brookings Institution (Center for Urban and Metropolitan Affairs), July 1998.

Harvard Club, New York, July 1998.

Detroit Free Press, July 1998.

Rutgers University, New Brunswick (Political Science), April 1998.

New York University (History), March 1998.

University of Washington, Seattle (History and Labor Studies), March 1998.

Boston University (Center for the Study of Race and Social Division), March 1998.

University of Detroit-Mercy (University Lecture), February 1998.

Congregation T'Chiyah, Detroit, February 1998.

Franklin and Marshall College (American Studies), November 1997.

College of New Jersey (History), October 1997.

U.S. Department of Justice (Civil Rights Division), April 1997.

Jimmy Carter Presidential Library, Atlanta, Georgia, February 1997.

University of Virginia (History), January 1997.

Penn National Commission on Society, Culture, and Community, December 1996.

Harvard University (Amer. Political Development Seminar/Taubman Center), Nov. 1996.

University of Delaware (Seminar on Technology, Society, and Culture), November 1996.

Columbia University (Seminar on Twentieth-Century Politics and Society), April 1996.

City University of New York (Center for the Humanities), April 1996.

Hospital Graduates Society of New York, April 1996.

University of Iowa (Consortium on Recent United States History), April 1996.

Philadelphia Festival Theatre for New Plays, March 1996.

Annenberg Theatre, Philadelphia, November 1995.

Trinity College, Hartford (Urban Affairs Forum), October 1995.

Twentieth-Century Fund (Working Group on the Future of Liberalism), July 1995.

Pennsylvania State University (Labor History Seminar), February 1995.

Penn Club of New York, February 1995.

Columbia University (Seminar on the City), February 1992.

Chicago Historical Society (Urban History Seminar), November 1991.

CONFERENCE PRESENTATIONS

Organization of American Historians, Annual Meeting, Philadelphia, April 2026 (on program)

Making and Unmaking the City, HUF-Detroit, October 2025.

Urban History Association, Biennial Meeting, Los Angeles, October 2025.

CIFAR Humanity's Urban Future (HUF), Meeting, Brussels, May 2025.

Business History Association, Annual Meeting, Atlanta, March 2025.

Imag(in)ing the Urban Future, British Academy, January 2025.

Urban Affairs Association, Annual Meeting, New York, April 2024.

NYU School of Law/Yale Law School, The Legal History of the 1920s, April 2024.

Urban History Association, Biennial Conference, October 2023.

Organization of American Historians Annual Meeting, April 2023.

Business History Conference, March 2023, Opening Plenary Session.

Society of American City and Regional Planning History Biennial Meeting, October 2022.

Urban History Association, Biennial Conference, October 2020 (program cancelled due to pandemic).

Social Science History Association Annual Meeting, November 2019.

The Urban World: Conference in Honor of Kenneth T. Jackson, Columbia Univ., November 2019.

Organization of American Historians Annual Meeting, April 2019.

Urban History Association, Biennial Conference, October 2018.

City/*Cité,* St Louis, October 2018 (co-organizer, moderator).

Association Française des Études Américaines, Nice, France, May 2018.

Organization of American Historians Annual Meeting, April 2018 (comment).

Organization of American Historians Annual Meeting, April 2017.

Appraising the Obama Presidency, Université de Paris-7, December 2016.

City/*Cité,* Paris (co-organizer, panelist), December 2016.

The Obama Presidency in Retrospective, Princeton University, November 2016.

Urban History Association, Annual Meeting, Chicago, October 2016.

The Future of the African American Past, Smithsonian Institution, May 2016.

New York Institute for the Humanities, The Black Lives Matter Effect, April 2016.

Organization of American Historians Annual Meeting, April 2016.

City/*Cité,* Chicago, November 2015 (co-organizer, panelist).

Andrew W. Mellon Foundation: Architecture/Urbanism/Humanities Omnium, St. Louis, Oct. 2015.

Society of U.S. Intellectual Historians Annual Meeting, October 2015 (comment).

Seeing Beyond the Partisan Divide, Miller Center, University of Virginia, October 2015 (comment).

Beyond the New Deal Order, University of California, Santa Barbara, September 2015.

American Historical Association Annual Meeting, January 2015 (chair).

The Future of North American Studies, Fortieth Anniversary CENA/EHESS, Paris, June 2014.

American Jewish Historical Society, 2014 Biennial Scholars' Conference on American Jewish History, Atlanta, June 2014 (featured plenary speaker).

Organization of American Historians Annual Meeting, April 2014

American Historical Association Annual Meeting, January 2014 (chair and comment).

Social Science History Association Annual Meeting, November 2013.

Urban History Association, October 2012.

American Association of Alternative Newsmedia, June 2012.

Organization of American Historians, April 2012.

American Historical Association, January 2012.

Society for American City and Regional Planning History, November 2011.

Eastern Sociological Association, Annual Meeting, February 2011.

Urban History Association, Biennial Meeting, Las Vegas, October 2010.

American Society of Church History Annual Meeting, January 2010.

American Society for Legal History Annual Meeting, Nov. 2009 (roundtable on *Sweet Land of Liberty*).

Southern Historical Association Annual Meeting, November 2009.

Organization of American Historians, Annual Meeting, March 2009.

The Worlds of Marcus Garvey, University of Pennsylvania, March 2009.

World Economic Forum, Global Agenda Councils, Dubai, November 2008.

Social Science History Association, October 2008 (roundtable on *Sweet Land of Liberty*).

The Historical Society, Annual Meeting, June 2008.

Organization of American Historians, Annual Meeting, March 2008 (plenary session).

Renaissance Weekend, Santa Barbara, California, February 2008.

Social Science History Association Annual Meeting, November 2007.

American Studies Association Annual Meeting, October 2007.

Association for Asian-American Studies Annual Meeting, April 2007.

Rethinking the Racial Politics of New Deal Citizenship, Sarah Lawrence College, April 2007.

American Planning Association Annual Meeting, April 2007.

Organization of American Historians Annual Meeting, March-April 2007.

Miller Center Fellows Conference, University of Virginia, May 2006 (plenary and comment).

Michigan Civil Rights Summit, March 2006 (plenary).

Urban History Association Biennial Meeting, October 2004 (chair and comment).

Policy History Conference, May 2004 (panelist, chair and comment).

University of Virginia, Miller Center Fellows Conference, May 2004 (comment).

American Historical Association Annual Meeting, January 2004 (panelist and chair).

Social Science History Association Annual Meeting, November 2004 (panel and comment).

American Political Science Association, Annual Meeting, August 2003 (comment).

Spencer Foundation Dissertation Fellows Conference, October 2002 (comment).

Urban History Association Meeting, September 2002 (comment).

Pax Christi USA Annual Assembly, July 2002.

Society for American City and Regional Planning History Meeting, November 2001.

Miller Center Fellows Conference, University of Virginia, May 2001 (comment).

Liberty and Equality, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, April 2001 (chair and comment).

American Historical Association Annual Meeting, January 2001.

Reassessing the Great Society, Miller Center, University of Virginia, November 2000.

American Studies Association Annual Meeting, October 2000.

Democracy in America: The Promise of American Political History, MIT, September 2000.

American Sociological Association Annual Meeting, August 2000.

American Historical Association Annual Meeting, January 2000.

Organization of American Historians Annual Meeting, April 1999.

Labor and Civil Rights: Rethinking the Connections, Penn Law School, March 1999.

Regionalism: Promise and Problems, SUNY Buffalo Law School, March 1999.

Jews and the Urban Experience, Cohn-Haddow Center for Judaic Studies, Wayne State University, March 1999.

Healing History: The Story of Racial Integration in Mount Airy, Pennsylvania Humanities Council/West Mount Airy Neighbors, March 1999.

Social Science History Association Annual Meeting, November 1998.

Race and Liberalism in the Postwar North, Smithsonian Institution (African American History) and Operation Rainbow/PUSH, Chicago, October 1998.

American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, August 1998.

Organization of American Historians Annual Meeting, April 1998.

American Historical Association Annual Meeting, Seattle, January 1998.

Social Science History Association Annual Meeting, Oct. 1997 (roundtable on *Origins*).

National Community Reinvestment Council, Washington, DC, September 1997.

William Penn Foundation Colloquium on Reexamining Community Development: The New Economic and Policy Realities, January 1997.

Social Science History Association Annual Meeting, October 1996.

North American Labor History Conference, October 1996.

Princeton University, Conference on American Conservatism from Redemption through Reaganism, May 1996 (chair and comment).

Social Science History Association Annual Meeting, November 1995 (comment).

North American Labor History Conference, October 1994 (comment).

German Historical Institute Conference on Race and Ethnicity, September 1994.

Politics and Culture in Cold War America, Penn, March 1994 (organizer and panelist).

American Historical Association Annual Meeting, January 1994.

Social Science Research Council, Persistent Urban Poverty Policy Conference, November 1993.

Univ. of Wisconsin/Wisconsin Historical Society, Toward a History of the 1960s Conference, April 1993.

UNESCO International Social Science Council, 4th Comparative Research on Poverty Conference, Paris, April 1993.

North American Labor History Conference, October 1992.

American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, September 1992.

SSRC Conference on the Urban Underclass: Perspectives from the Social Sciences, June 1992.

Organization of American Historians Annual Meeting, April 1992.

American Historical Association Annual Meeting, December 1991.

TEACHING EXPERIENCE

Graduate Courses

State of the Field: 20th Century U.S. History (with Maria Montoya)

American Politics from the New Deal to Neoliberalism

Race, Politics, and Inequality in Twentieth-Century America

Civil Rights in Modern America

Twentieth-Century U.S. History

Post-1945 U.S. History

American Politics since 1865 (with Steven Hahn)

Civil Rights and Religion in America

Race, Inequality, and the City in the United States

Urban Uprisings (with Sophie Gonick)

NYU Urban Fellows Seminar (with Gianpaolo Baiocchi)

Research Seminar on American History

Varieties of Political History

Undergraduate Courses

America in the 1960s. Cross listed with History and SCA

Race, Inequality, and American Cities. Cross listed with SCA and History

Law and Order: Policing and Imprisonment in American History, Cross listed with History and SCA

Approaches to Metropolitan Studies

Comparative Global Urbanism (with Sophie Gonick)

Contested Cities: Difference, Inequality, and the Metropolis

Race and the Metropolis. Cross listed with Urban Studies and History

Perspectives on Urban Poverty. Cross listed with Urban Studies, History, and Sociology

Institutions and Urban Change, 1940-1990. Cross listed with Urban Studies and History

Politics and Society in the U.S., 1877-1933. Cross listed with History and Urban Studies

American Politics and Public Policy. Cross listed with Political Science and History

The Rise and Fall of the New Deal Order

Civil Rights in Modern America

The Affirmative Action Debate

Penn Institute for Urban Research, Undergraduate Urban Research Course

Conflict in Postwar American Politics, 1945-1960

American History Honors Seminar

Philadelphia, 1682-2010. Cross listed with Sociology, History, and Urban Studies

Senior Honors Thesis Supervisor in History, Sociology, American Studies, Metropolitan Studies

DISSERTATIONS ADVISED

Oscar Oliver-Didier, ABD American Studies (B.Arch. Polytechnic Univ of Puerto Rico; M.A. Urban Design, Harvard; M.A., NYU). Primary advisor.

Colleen Dixon Tompkins, ABD History (B.A. Univ. of California, Berkeley; M.P.P. Harvard; J.D. NYU). Primary advisor.

Hadas Binyamini, ABD, History and Hebrew and Judaic Studies, NYU (B.A. Oberlin, M.L.I.S. Toronto). Committee member.

Anisa Jackson, ABD American Studies, NYU (B.A. University of Washington, Seattle). Committee member.

Micah Blaichman, ABD, History, NYU (A.B. Columbia, M.A. CUNY). Committee member.

Clare Richfield, Ph.D History, NYU, 2025. "The Politics of PTSD: Mental Health–Based Activism in the Anti-Vietnam War Movement." Committee member.

Kevin Myers Slack, Ph.D. History, NYU, 2024. "The Crisis of Westchester Progressivism and the Long Roots of Suburban Inequality,1898-1973." Primary advisor.

Emma Maniere, Ph.D. History, NYU 2024. Project Manager, New York City Department of Transportation. "Claiming Suburban Space: Race and Sexuality in Metropolitan Detroit, 1960-2000." Primary advisor.

Matthew Wolfe, Ph.D. Sociology, NYU, 2023. New America National Fellow. "Marketing the Missing: Missing Persons and the Competition for Concern." Committee member.

Daniel Cumming, Ph.D. History, NYU, 2021. Postdoctoral Fellow, Queens College CUNY. "Health is Wealth: The Rise of a Medical Metropolis and the Remaking of Racial Inequality in Twentieth-Century Baltimore." Committee member.

Jackson Smith, Ph.D. American Studies, NYU, 2020. Visiting Assistant Professor, University of Oregon. "Dirty Money and Disorderly Homes: Civil Forfeiture, Vice Police, and Illicit Capital in Philadelphia." Committee member

Daniel Wortel-London, Ph.D. History, NYU, 2020. Visiting Assistant Professor, Bard College. "Indebted to Growth: Real Estate and the Political Economy of Public Finance in New York City, 1871-1943." Committee member.

Christopher Cimaglio, Ph.D. Communications, Penn, 2018. Assistant Professor of Communications, Denison University. "Contested Majority: The Representation of the White Working Class in US Politics from the 1930s to the 1990s." Committee member.

Julie Davidow, Ph.D. History, Penn, 2017. Media and Communications, ACLU of Washington. "'Citizens in the Making:' Black Philadelphians, The Republican Party, and Urban Reform, 1885-1913." Committee member.

Anthony Pratcher, Ph.D. History, Penn, 2017. Assistant Professor of Ethnic Studies, Northern Arizona University. "Community Consumed: Sunbelt Capitalism, Community Control, and the (Dis)integration of Civic Life in Maryvale, Arizona." Committee member.

Adam Goodman, Ph.D. History, Penn, 2015. Associate Professor of History and Latin American and Latino Studies, University of Illinois, Chicago. "Mexican Migrants and the Rise of the Deportation Regime, 1942-2014." Primary advisor.

Sean Dempsey, Ph.D. History, Penn, 2015. Associate Professor of History and Chair, History Department, Loyola Marymount University, Los Angeles. "The Politics of Dignity: Social Christianity and the Making of Global Los Angeles." Primary advisor.

Rachel Guberman, Ph.D. History, Penn, 2015. Digital Humanist, Harvard University. "The Real Silent Majority: Denver and the Realignment of American Politics After the Sixties." Primary advisor.

Peter Pihos, Ph.D. History, Penn, 2015. Associate Professor of History and Dean, Fairhaven College, Western Washington University. "The Police, Law and Politics in Twentieth- Century Chicago."

Robert Goldberg, Ph.D. History, Penn, 2015. Head of History, Germantown Friends School, Philadelphia. "Children's Toys, Social Change, and the Business of Culture in the U.S. during the 1960s and 1970s." Committee member.

Julia Gunn, Ph.D. History, Penn, 2014. Research Ethics and Integrity Manager, Routledge, Taylor & Francis. "A Good Place to Make Money': Business, Labor, and Civil Rights in Twentieth Century Charlotte, North Carolina." Primary advisor.

Anne Fleming, Ph.D. History, Penn, 2014. Professor of Law, Georgetown University. Deceased. "City of Debtors: Law, Loan Sharks and the Shadow Economy of Urban Poverty, 1900-1970." Committee member.

Clemmie L. Harris, Jr., Ph.D. History, Penn, 2013. Associate Professor of History and Public Affairs and Director of Africana Studies, Utica University. "Race, Leadership, and the Local Machine: The African American Struggle for Political Recognition and the Politics of Community Control in Philadelphia, 1915 to 1968." Primary advisor.

Merlin Chowkwanyun, Ph.D. History, Penn, 2013. Gemson Associate Professor of Sociomedical Science, Columbia University. "The Dilemmas of Community Health, 1945-2000." Primary advisor.

Jessica Lautin, Ph.D. History, Penn, 2012. Director of Content Strategy, G&A Design, New York. "Elite and the Street: Black Class and Culture in Post-World War Two Philadelphia." Primary advisor.

Karen Tani, J.D./Ph.D. History, Penn, 2011. Seaman Family University Professor, University of Pennsylvania. "Securing a Right to Welfare: Public Assistance Administration and the Rule of Law, 1938-1960." Primary advisor.

Anne Fleming, Ph.D. History, Penn, 2014. Professor of Law, Georgetown University. Deceased. "City of Debtors: Law, Loan Sharks and the Shadow Economy of Urban Poverty, 1900-1970." Committee member.

Erika Kitzmiller, Ph.D./Ed.D. History and Education, Penn, 2012. Research Associate Professor of Education, University of Chicago. "The Roots of Educational Inequality: Germantown High School, 1907-2011." Committee member.

Gretchen Aguiar, Ph.D. History, Penn, 2012. Education Department, LaGuardia-Wagner Archives, New York. "Head Start: A History of Implementation." Committee member.

Daniel Amsterdam, Ph.D. History, Penn, 2010. Associate Professor of History, Georgia Tech. "The Roaring Metropolis: Business, Civic Welfare, and Statebuilding in 1920s America." Committee member.

Erin Park Cohn, Ph.D. History, Penn, 2010. Director, Wurtele Center for Leadership, Smith College. "Art Fronts: Visual Culture and Race Politics in the Mid-Twentieth Century." Committee member.

Daniel Stedman Jones, Ph.D. History, Penn, 2010. Barrister, 39 Essex Chambers, London, United Kingdom. "Distilling Their Frenzy: The Origins and Development of Transatlantic Neoliberal Politics." Committee member.

Julia Rabig, Ph.D. History, Penn, 2009. Associate Professor of History, Dartmouth College. "Broken Deal: Devolution, Development, and Civil Society in Newark, New Jersey: 1960-1996." Primary advisor.

Leah Gordon, Ph.D./Ed.D, History and Education, Penn, 2008. Harry S. Levitan Director of Education and Associate Professor of Education, Brandeis University, "The Question of Prejudice: Social Science, Education, and the Struggle to Define the Race Problem in Mid-Century America, 1935-1965." Committee member.

Rene Luis Alvarez, Ph.D. History, Penn, 2008. Clinical Associate Professor of History, Arrupe College, Loyola University of Chicago. "Minority Education in the Urban Midwest: Culture, Identity, and Mexican Americans in Chicago, 1910-1977." Committee member.

Nicole Maurantonio, Ph.D. History and Communications, Penn, 2007. Professor of Rhetoric and Communications, University of Richmond. "Crisis, Race, and Journalistic Authority in Postwar Philadelphia." Primary advisor.

Christina Collins, Ph.D/Ed.D. History and Education, Penn, 2006. Director of Education Policy, United Federation of Teachers. "'Ethnically Qualified: A History of New York City Public School Teachers, 1920-1980." Committee member.

Mirella Landriscina, Ph.D. Sociology, Penn, 2005. Professor of Sociology, St. Joseph University. "Claim-Makers and Actors: Advocacy for Homeless People in Philadelphia, 1981-2003." Committee member.

Ann N. Greene, Ph.D. History, Penn, 2004. Director of Undergraduate Programs, History and Sociology of Science, University of Pennsylvania. "Harnessing Power: Industrializing the Horse in Nineteenth-Century America." Primary advisor.

Christopher Klemek, Ph.D. History, Penn, 2004. Associate Professor of History, George Washington University. "Urbanism as Reform: Modernist Planning and the Crisis of Urban Liberalism in Europe and North America, 1945-1975." Committee member.

Robert Natalini, Ph.D. History, Penn, 2004. Attorney and Lecturer in History, University of Pennsylvania. "Chi lascia la via vecchia: Law, Ethnicity, and the Immigration Experience, Italians in Industrial America, 1890-1925." Committee member.

Deirdre Sullivan, Ph.D. History, Penn, 2003. Chair of Social Studies Department, Bellarmine College Prep School, San Jose, California. "Letting Down the Bars: Race, Space, and Democracy in San Francisco, 1936-1964." Primary advisor.

Francis Ryan, Ph.D. History, Penn, 2003. Director of the Masters of Labor and Employment Relations Program and Associate Teaching Professor, Rutgers University. "Everyone Royalty: AFSCME, Municipal Workers, and Urban Power in Philadelphia, 1921-83." Committee member.

Jordan Stanger-Ross, Ph.D. History, Penn, 2003. Professor of History, University of Victoria. "The Choreography of Community: Italian Ethnicity in Postwar Toronto and Philadelphia." Committee member.

Lorrin Thomas, Ph.D. History, Penn, 2003. Associate Professor of History, Rutgers University, Camden. "Citizens on the Margins: Puerto Rican Migrants in New York City, 1917-60." Committee member.

Mark Wilkens, Ph.D. History, Penn, 2003. Faculty, Parkway West High School, Philadelphia. Making the City Work: Municipal Employees and their Managers in New York and Philadelphia, 1880-1940." Committee member.

Peter Siskind, Ph.D. History, Penn, 2002. Vice Provost and Professor of History, Arcadia University. "Growth and its Discontents: Localism, Protest, and the Politics of Development on the Postwar Northeast Corridor." Primary advisor.

Margaret Pugh O'Mara, Ph.D. History, Penn, 2002. Howard and Frances Keller Professor of History, University of Washington, Seattle. "Cities of Knowledge: Cold War Politics, Universities, and the Roots of the Information Age Metropolis, 1945-70." Committee member.

Luther Adams-Free Man of Color, Ph.D. History, Penn, 2002. Associate Professor of Ethnic, Gender, and Labor Studies, University of Washington, Tacoma. "Way Up North in Louisville: African American Migration in Louisville, Kentucky, 1930-70." Committee member.

Jinbin Park, Ph.D. History, Penn, 2002. Professor of History, Kyung Hee University, Seoul, South Korea. "The Legacy of Conservative Reform: Making the First Public Housing in Philadelphia, 1890-1940." Committee member.

Minna Ziskind, Ph.D. History, Penn, 2002. History Faculty, Barrack Hebrew Academy, Bryn Mawr, PA. "Citizenship, Consumerism, and Gender: A Study of District 65, 1945-60." Committee member.

Janine Denomme, Ph.D. American Civilization, Penn, 2001."To End This Day of Strife": Churchwomen and the Campaign for Integration, 1920-1970." Deceased. Primary advisor.

Mark Santow, Ph.D. History, Penn, 2001. Associate Professor of History, University of Massachusetts, Dartmouth. "Saul Alinsky and the Dilemmas of Race in the Postwar City." Committee member.

Amy Hillier, Ph.D. Social Welfare, Penn, 2001. Associate Professor of City and Regional Planning and Social Policy and Practice, University of Pennsylvania. "Redlining and the Home Owners' Loan Corporation." Committee member.

Maribeth DeLorenzo, Ph.D. Social Welfare, Penn, 2001. Deputy Director, Urban Sustainability Administration, U.S. Department of Energy & Environment (DOEE), Washington, DC. "American Dreams: Latino Immigrants' Homeownership Experiences in the Nation's Capital." Committee member.

Stephanie Dyer, Ph.D. History, Penn, 2001. Professor of History and Political Economy, Sonoma State University. "Consumer City: Shopping Centers and Community in the Philadelphia Region, 1920s-90s." Committee member.

Allison Baker, Ph.D. History, Penn, 2000. Professor of History, Santa Rosa College. "The Lakewood Story: Defending the Recreational Good Life in Postwar Southern California Suburbia, 1950-99." Committee member.

Bruce Lenthall, Ph.D. American Civilization, Penn, 1999. Executive Director, Center for Teaching and Learning, University of Pennsylvania. "Radio's America: The Great Depression and the Rise of Modern Mass Culture." Committee member.

Erik Rau, Ph.D. History and Sociology of Science, Penn, 1999. Director of Library Services, Hagley Museum and Library. "Combat Scientists: The Emergence of Operations Research in the United States." Committee member.

Rhonda Y. Williams, Ph.D. History, Penn, 1998. Coleman A. Young Endowed Chair and Professor of African American Studies, Wayne State University. "'Living Just Enough for the City': Change and Activism in Baltimore's Public Housing, 1940-80." Committee member.

Robert M. Zecker, Ph.D. American Civilization, Penn, 1998. Professor of History, St. Francis Xavier University, Nova Scotia. "'All Our Own Kind Here': The Creation of a Slovak-American Community in Philadelphia, 1890-1945." Committee member.

Wendell Pritchett, Ph.D. History, Penn, 1997. Presidential Professor of Law and Education, University of Pennsylvania. "From One Ghetto to Another: Blacks, Jews, and Public Housing in Brownsville, Brooklyn, 1945-70." Committee member.

Alison Isenberg, Ph.D. History, Penn, 1995. Professor of History, Princeton University. "Downtown Democracy: Rebuilding Main Street Ideals in the 20th-Century American City." Committee member.

EXTERNAL EXAMINER/READER

Miguel Giron, ABD History, Northwestern University.

Sarah Coffman, ABD History, Rutgers University.

Marion Marchet, Ph.D. American Civilization, Sorbonne Université, Paris. 2023.

Mo Torres, Ph.D. Sociology, Harvard University, 2023. University of Michigan Society of Fellows.

François-René Julliard, Ph.D. History, Université de Clermont Auvergne, 2022.

Bobby Cervantes, Ph.D. American Studies, University of Kansas, Junior Fellow, Harvard Society of Fellows (Cervantes's Mentor, Jefferson National Fellowship Program 2021-23).

Joseph Rulon Stuart, Ph.D. History, University of Utah, 2021. Assistant Professor of History, Brigham Young University.

Stephen Koeth, Ph.D. History, Columbia University, 2020. Assistant Professor of History, University of Notre Dame.

Alexis Mann, Ph.D. Social Policy and Sociology, Brandeis University, 2018. Northbound Research and Consulting and Visiting Research Scholar, Brandeis University.

Michael Savage, Ph.D. History, University of Toronto, 2018. Postdoctoral Fellow, Cal Tech.

Caroline Rolland-Diamond, Habilitation, History, Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales, 2015. President and Professor of the History of the United States, Université Paris Nanterre.

Elsa Devienne, Ph.D. History, Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales, 2014. Senior Lecturer in U.S. History, Northumbria University.

Dov Wynrib Grohsgal, Ph.D. History, Princeton University, 2013. Associate Research Scholar, Obama Presidency Oral History Project, Columbia University.

Andrew Diamond, Habilitation, Politics, Sciences Po, Paris, 2012. Professor of American Civilization, Sorbonne Université, Paris.

Tula Connell, Ph.D. History, Georgetown University, 2011. Senior Communications Officer, Solidarity Center, Washington, DC.

Suleiman Osman, Ph.D. American Civilization, Harvard University, 2006. Associate Professor of American Studies, George Washington University. (Osman's Mentor for Miller Center National Fellowship Program, University of Virginia, 2002-03).

Khalil G. Muhammad, Ph.D. History, Rutgers University, 2004. Professor of African American Studies and Public Affairs, Princeton University.

Anthony Chen, Ph.D. Sociology, University of California, Berkeley, 2002. Associate Professor of Sociology, Northwestern University. (Chen's Mentor for Miller Center National Fellowship Program, University of Virginia, 2001-02).

Daniel Gitterman, Ph.D. Political Science, Brown University, 1999. McRae Professor of Public Policy, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.

UNIVERSITY SERVICE: NYU (2015-)

Current and Ongoing

Faculty of Arts and Science Promotion and Tenure Committee (2022-23, 2024-)

Provost's Urban Initiative (2017-): Co-Chair (2018-21); Undergraduate Curriculum Committee (2017-)

Past Service

NYU Middle Atlantic States Accreditation, Self-Study, Impact Working Group (2022-23)

Director, NYU Cities Collaborative-Mellon Summer Institutes on Urbanism (2022, 2023)

Chair, Urban Public Humanities Graduate Summer Fellowship Selection Committee (2021-23)

Chair, Mellon-Undergraduate Urban Humanities Research Fellowship Selection Committee (2020-23)

Chair, Urban Studies Undergraduate Degree Planning Committee (2019-24)

Provost's Academic Advisory Committee (2019-22)

Co-Director, Urban Fellows Program (2019-20)

FAS Dean's Committee on Tenure Policy (2017-18)

Faculty Advisory Committee, Urban Democracy Lab (2017-21)

Faculty Advisory Committee, NYU Urban Initiative (2017-21)

Co-Chair, Marron Institute for Urban Management, Advisory Board (2016-21), Member (2015-16).

Faculty Advisory Board, Institute for Public Knowledge (2015-19)

Dean's Committee to Evaluate the Draper Program (2015-16)

Faculty Search Committee, Mellon Urban Humanities Initiative (2015-16)

Department Service—New York University

By-Laws Committee, Social and Cultural Analysis (2025-26)

Planning and Advisory Committee, History Department (2025)

Strategic Plan Committee, Social and Cultural Analysis (2024-25)

Promotion, Tenure, and Reappointment Committees (chair for six cases): Social and Cultural Analysis (2016-17, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2022); History (2015, 2017, 2024); Environmental Studies (2025).

Undergraduate Curriculum Committee, Social and Cultural Analysis (2016-18, 2019-20, 2022-23, 2024)

Field Coordinator for U.S. History (2020-21).

Salary and Merit Review Committee, Social and Cultural Analysis: Chair (2020, 2022, 2023), Member (2016, 2017, 2018)

Co-Chair, U.S. History Graduate Admissions Committee, Department of History (2022-23)

Search Committees: Social and Cultural Analysis Target of Opportunity Hires (2015-16); Organizer, Race and Cities in the Americas Cluster Hire (2021-22).

Fellowships and Prize Committee, Department of History (2020-21)

Social and Cultural Analysis Book Series Advisory Committee (2018-)

University of Pennsylvania (1991-2015)

Graduate Group in History: Chair (2000-02, 2003-05); Associate Chair (1999-2000); Executive Committee (1994-95, 1996-98, 1999-2000, 2009-10, 2011-12).

Graduate Advisory Group, Program in Africana Studies (2006-14).

Graduate Group in City Planning (2005-15).

Graduate Group in History and Sociology of Science (2001-15).

Graduate Group on Social Welfare, School of Social Policy and Practice (1998-2008).

Graduate Group in Sociology (1997-2015)

Graduate Group in History (1992-2015)

Urban Studies Graduate Certificate Program Steering Committee (1993-2015).

University Committee Service

Dean's Strategic Plan Committee, School of Arts and Sciences (2013-14).

Committee on Access and Equity, Penn's 2014 Middle Atlantic States Accreditation (2012-13).

Executive Committee, Penn Digital Humanities Forum (2012-13).

Executive Council, Penn Institute for Urban Research (2011-15).

Senate Ad Hoc Committee on Faculty and the Academic Mission (2010-11).

Integrated Studies Planning Committee (2009-11).

Advisory Board, Penn Program on Democracy, Citizenship, and Constitutionalism (2006-07).

Provost's Committee for the Selection of the Nussdorf Chair in Urbanism (2006).

Penn Institute for Urban Research, Faculty Affiliate (2004-15).

Chair, University Committee on Manufacturer Responsibility (2001-02).

Faculty Liaison to the Trustees' Committee on Academic Policy (2001-02).

Provost's Strategic Planning Committee on the Urban Community (2001-02).

Washington Semester Program, Associate Director Evaluation Committee (2001).

SAS Faculty Research Fellowships Selection Committee (2001).

Planning Committee, Legal History Consortium Conferences (2002, 2005, 2008).

Greenfield Intercultural Center, Board of Advisors (2000-10).

Dean's Committee on Service Based Learning (2000-02).

Faculty Advisory Committee, Urban Studies Program (2000-15).

Harry S Truman Scholarship Nomination Committee (2000-01, 1997-98).

Faculty Advisory Committee, Fels Center of Government (1999-2002).

Faculty Advisory Committee, Netter Center for Community Partnerships (1998-2008).

Urban Education Minor Committee, School of Arts and Sciences (1998).

Curriculum Committee, School of Arts and Sciences (1997-98).

Elector and Historian, Phi Beta Kappa (1997-99).

Advisory Committee, Saul Steinberg Lecture Series (1997-98).

Faculty Senate Nominating Committee (1997-98).

Advisory Committee, Sawyer Seminar on Race, Inequality, and Globalization (1997-98).

Co-Convener, Seminar on American Political Development (1995-96).

Committee on Undergraduate Academic Standing (1993-94).

Co-Convener, Mellon Program for Assessing and Revitalizing the Social Sciences, Seminar on Work and Welfare (1992-94).

College of Arts and Sciences, Freshman Advisor (1996-98, 1992-95).

University Senate, Executive Committee: Junior Faculty Representative (1992-94).

Department Service

Executive Committee, History Department (2009-11, 2003-05, 1999-2002, 1997-98, 1992-94).

Chair, Diversity Committee, History Department (2011-13).

Search Committees: Chair, African American History Target of Opportunity (2010); Chair, 20th Century U.S. History (2009); U.S. History Megasearch—four hires (2000-02); U.S. Women's and Gender History (2000); Chair, Asian American History (1999-2000); American Colonial History (1997-98); American and Comparative Jewish History (1996).

Department Promotion, Tenure, and Reappointment Committees, chair of four committees (2001-02, 2003-04, 2006, 2010, 2011-12, 2012-13.

Ten-Year External Review Committee, History (2003-04).

Co-Convenor, Legal History Consortium (2001-12).

Undergraduate Committee (1992-94).

Thomas Cochran Prize Committee (2000, 1997, 1995, 1994, 1993, 1992).

FOUNDATION AND PROFESSIONAL BOARDS AND COMMISSIONS

Russell Sage Foundation, Board of Trustees (2021-)
- Nominations Committee (2022-)
- Visiting Scholars Selection Committee (2021-)
- Conflict of Interest Committee (2021-23)
- Editorial Board, *RSF Journal of the Social Sciences* (2021-)

CIFAR: Canadian Institute for Advanced Research, Research Council (2019-)
- Research Council (2019-)
- Chair, Advisory Committee, Humanity's Urban Future Program (2023-)
- Selection Committee, Azrieli Global Scholars Program (2024)

American Academy of Political and Social Science
- Editorial Advisory Committee, *Annals* (2014-)

Podcast Advisory Committee (2020-22)

Gilder-Lehrman Institute
Scholarly Advisory Committee (2020-)

Global Urban History Project
International Advisory Council (2018-)

Social Science History Association, President (2013-14)
Vice President (2012-13)
Executive Committee (2014-16, 2008-11)
Development Committee (2016-18)
Co-Chair, Program Committee (1997-98)
President's Book Award Committee (1997)

Urban History Association, President (2013-14)
Executive Committee (2011-2016)
Chair, Nominating Committee (2016)
Chair, Development Committee (2014-15)
Board of Directors (2013-16, 2000-03)
Program Committee (2011-12, 2002-04)
Book Award Committee (1998)

American Historical Association
Council, Research Division, elected member (2010-13)
Marketing Committee (2011-13)
American Historical Review Publisher Selection Committee (2011)

Organization of American Historians
Chair, Nominating Board (2012-13), elected member (2010-13)
Japanese Association of American Studies/OAH Collaborative Committee (2008-13)
OAH Distinguished Lecturer (2002-)
Program Committee, 2003 Annual Meeting (2001-03)
Merle Curti Prize Committee (2000-02)

Preservation Alliance for Greater Philadelphia, Board of Directors (2009-14)
Executive Director Search Committee (2012)

Bread and Roses Community Fund, Philadelphia, Board Co-Chair (2006-12)
Board of Directors (2004-12)
Development Committee (2007-12)
Co-Chair, Executive Director Search Committee (2006)

City of Philadelphia Historical Commission, Vice Chair (2002-08)
Commissioner, mayoral appointee (2001-08)
Chair, Historical Designation Committee (2001-08)

Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Board of Councilors (2000-12)
Vice Chair and Chair of Library Committee (2004-08)
Ad-Hoc Budget Committee (2004)
Institutional Advancement Committee (2002-04)
Publications Committee (2002-12)
Education and Interpretation Committee (2002-04)

West Mount Airy Neighbors, Philadelphia, President (1996-98)
Board of Directors (1994-2001)

EDITORIAL BOARDS

RSF: The Russell Sage Foundation Journal of the Social Sciences (2021-)

Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science (2014-)

Revue française d'études américaines, Conseil Scientifique (2010-)

Oxford Studies in Postwar American Political Development, Oxford University Press (2007-)

African American Life series, Wayne State University Press (2004-)

Politics and Culture in Modern America Series, University of Pennsylvania Press (2002-)

Past Editorial Board Service

Journal of Urban History (2013-2022)

Public Books (2014-2016)

Pennsylvania History (2013-2015)

Journal of Policy History (2006-2012)

Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography (2003-2009)

PROFESSIONAL COMMITTEES, ADVISORY GROUPS, CONSULTING

Advisor, Black Land Loss Narrative Archive Project, Stanford University (2025-)

Advisor for U.S. History, John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation Fellowships (2021-2023)

Faculty Mentor, University of Virginia, Jefferson National Fellows Program (2021-2023)

Consultant, Elias Law Group (2022, 2023, 2025)

Fellowship Selection Committee, New-York Historical Society (2019)

Steering Committee, University of Michigan, Center for Social Solutions (2018-)

External Review Committee, CUNY Graduate Center Program in History (2018)

National Affiliate, University of Chicago, Race and Capitalism Project (2016-)

Advisory Board, University of California, Davis, Center for Engaged Scholarship (2015-)

External Review Committee, San Diego State University, Department of History (2015)

Advisory Board, American University, Metropolitan Policy Center (2014-)

Co-Director, Institut de France, City/*Cité*: Transnational Urban Initiative (2014-18)

Advisory Board, Andrew W. Mellon Foundation, Diversity: Our Compelling Interest (2014-18)

External Advisory Board, New York University, Marron Institute (2014-15)

External Review Committee, City University of New York, Queens College, Urban Studies (2012)

Advisory Board, Center on Policy Initiatives, Cry Wolf Project (2010-12)

John Reps Prize Committee, Society of American City and Regional Planning History (2009)

World Economic Forum, Global Agenda Council on Human Equality and Respect (2008-09)

Urban and Metropolitan Policy Advisory Committee, Barack Obama for President (2008)

Ellis Hawley Prize Committee, Policy History Association (2005-06)

Faculty Mentor, University of Virginia, Miller Center for Public Affairs (2005-06, 2003-04, 2000-01)

Member, American Political History Initiative (2002-06)

Advisor, New School/MacArthur Foundation Project on the 2000 Census (2002)

Consultant, Cendant International Training Program (2002)

Local Arrangements Committee, Society for American City and Regional Planning History (2000-01)

Visiting Committee, New School, Graduate Faculty, Committee on Historical Studies (1999)

National Steering Committee: Scholars, Artists, and Writers for Social Justice (1997-98)

Advisory Board: Philadelphia University-Community Collaborative, Temple University/William Penn Foundation (1996-2000)

Steering Committee: National Teach-In with the Labor Movement, Columbia Univ. (1996)

Member: Twentieth Century Fund Working Group on the Future of Liberalism (1995-96)

Consultant: Institute for Economic Culture, Boston University (1993)

Member: Wolfson Center on American Affairs, Domestic Policy Working Group (1991)

Organizer: District Council 35, International Brotherhood of Painters and Allied Trades, Boston (1988)

OTHER PROFESSIONAL ACTIVITIES

Documentary Film Appearances

Great Migrations: A People on the Move, Episodes 2 and 3 (2025), Blackside/PBS

Gradually, Then Suddenly: The Detroit Bankruptcy (2023), History Making Productions

Driving While Black (2020), Steeplechase Films/PBS

Jackie Kennedy: Fighting for Civil Rights (2018), AB Production, France

Detroit 48202: Conversations along a Postal Route (2018), Grito Films

Urban Trinity: Catholic Philadelphia (2015), History Making Productions

Philadelphia: The Great Experiment: 3: Promise for a Better City (2013), History Making Productions

Jim Crow Pennsylvania (2007), WQED-TV

Viva Glas Vegas (2006), BBC Scotland Frontline

The Guilty Men: A Historical Appraisal, History Channel (2004)

A City on Fire: The Story of the 1968 Detroit Tigers (2002), HBO

Rizzo (2000), WHYY-TV/PBS Philadelphia

Urban Affairs Forum (1996), Connecticut Public Television

Films and Media Production: Editorial, Advising

Advisor, *Eyes on the Prize III: We Who Believe in Freedom* (2025), HBO, Trilogy Films and Anonymous Content

Associate Producer and Chief Historical Advisor, *Gradually, Then Suddenly: The Detroit Bankruptcy* (2022), History Making Productions

Dramaturge, *I'm Your Woman* (2020), Amazon Films

Historical Advisor, *Driving While Black* (2020), Steeplechase Films

Advisory Board, American Girl/Mattel, "Melody," 2016 American Girl Doll Project (2014-16)

Museums, Public History, and Arts Projects

Scholarly Advisory Committee, Black Land Loss Archive Project (2025-)

Consultant, Unvarnished Consortium, History of Segregation in the North Project, https://www.unvarnishedhistory.org/about/credits/ (2021-22)

Scholars Advisory Group, Civil Rights Foundation, New York, Museum of Civil Rights, Civil Rights Foundation (2021)

Advisor, American Association for State and Local History, US at 250 Project (2020-21)

Advisory Board, University of Michigan, Institute for Research on Labor, Employment, and the Economy, Detroit Chene Street History Project (2014-18)

Advisory Board, Montclair Historical Society, Black YWCA Project (2012)

Consultant, City of Philadelphia Mural Arts Project (2017, 2010)

Consultant, First Person Arts Project/First Person Museum, Philadelphia (2010-11)

Advisory Board, History Making Productions, LLC. (2009-)

Advisory Board, Chicago Architectural Foundation, The Architecture of Segregation (2008)

Advisory Board, Central Philadelphia Development Corp, 50th Anniversary Documentary (2005-06)

Consultant, Pew Charitable Trusts, Philadelphia Heritage Initiative (2004)

Advisor, Ford Foundation/Rutgers University, Invincible Cities Project, Camden, NJ and Richmond, CA, (2003-08)

Advisor, Michigan State University/Detroit Public TV, *American Black Journal* project (2003-05)

Advisor, Charles Wright Museum of African-American History, Detroit, core exhibit: "And Still We Rise: Our Journey through African American History and Culture" (2003)

Advisory Board, New Jersey Historical Society Project on 1960s Urban Uprisings (2001-07)

Advisory Board, Henry Ford Museum/University of Michigan Automotive Heritage Project (2001-05)

Advisory Committee: Pennsylvania Humanities Council, Program on the 1950s (1997)

REVIEWER/REFEREE/EXTERNAL EXAMINER

External Ph.D. Examiner

Sorbonne Université, American Civilization (2023); Harvard University, Sociology Department (2023); Université Clermont Ferrand, History (2022); University of Utah, History Department (2021); Columbia University, History Department (2020); Harvard University, Sociology Department (2019); Brandeis University, Sociology (2018); University of Toronto, History Department (2018); University of Pennsylvania, History Department (2018, 2017); Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales (2014, 2015); Princeton University, History Department (2013);

Institut d'Études Politiques de Paris/Sciences Po (2012); Georgetown University, History Department (2011); Rutgers University, History Department (2004); Brown University, Political Science Department (1999).

External Tenure and Promotion Reviews: 159 since 1998

History (124), Law (8), Political Science (5), Sociology (4), American Studies (4), African American Studies (4), Labor and Industrial Relations (2), Art and Architectural History (2), City Planning (3), Anthropology (1), English (1), Library Science (1).

Reviewer/Referee

Routledge Press (2025); Irish Research Council (2023); Russell Sage Foundation (2021-; 1998-99); Radcliffe Institute for Advanced Study (2017-22 2005-15); *American Historical Review* (2021, 2012, 2008); *The Sixties Journal* (2021); University of Illinois Press (2021, 2020); Cornell University Press (2018, 2008, 2000, 1996); MacArthur Foundation (2016, 2005, 2000); Center for Engaged Scholarship, UC Davis (2016); University of California Press (2016, 2013, 1995); Princeton University Press (2015, 2014, 2002, 1998, 1996); Palgrave/St. Martin (2015); *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* (2010, 2009, 2008, 2007, 2005, 2004, 1993, 1992); University of Chicago Press (2009, 1999); *Journal of American History* (2007, 2005, 2004, 2003, 2000, 1999); Univ. of Pennsylvania Press (2004-); Balch Fellowship, Historical Society of Pennsylvania (2005-12); *Journal of Southern History* (2007); Wayne State University Press (2007); *Social Science History* (2004); W.W. Norton (2003, 1999); Bedford Books (2003); *Journal of Urban History* (2001, 1999); *Urban Studies* (1999); Harvard Univ. Press (1998); Blackwell Publishers (1998, 1997); National Endowment for the Humanities (1997); *Theory and Society* (1997); Penn State Univ. Press (1997); *Journal of American Ethnic History* (1996); *Political Power and Social Theory* (1996); *Urban Affairs Review* (1995); *Urban Affairs Quarterly* (1994); University of North Carolina Press (1994); Duke University Press (1994); Oxford Univ. Press (1993); DC Heath and Company (1993, 1994); University of Pittsburgh Press (1991).

MEDIA APPEARANCES

Magazines (Print and Online)

New York Times Magazine; Economist; Foreign Policy; The Atlantic; Salon; Slate; Time; The Nation; Newsweek; U.S News and World Report; The New Republic; American Prospect; L'Express (Paris)*; Metropolis; Weekendavisen* (Denmark)*; Philadelphia Magazine; L'Espresso* (Rome)*; The Root; Lingua Franca; Vox; The Deal.com; Ebony; Forbes; Vice; American Banker; Time Weekly* (China)

Newspapers (Print and Online): *New York Times; Washington Post; Toronto Globe and Mail; Wall Street Journal; Financial Times; The Guardian; Smithsonian Magazine; The Independent* (London)*; Times Higher Education Supplement; USA Today; Bloomberg News; Christian Science Monitor; National Catholic Reporter; Chronicle of Higher Education; Automotive News; Daily Beast; Talking Points Memo; Argus* (Cape Town, South Africa)*; Daily Mail* (London)*; Le Nouvel Observateur (L'Obs); Le Monde; Libération; AOC: Analyse, Opinion, Critique; France Ouest; Die Welt; L'Echo* (Brussels)*; Die Zeit; Daily Yoimiuri* (Tokyo)*; Daily News* (Nigeria)*; Publica* (Lisbon)*; Linkiesta* (Rome)*; Telam* (Buenos Aires)*; Arizona Republic; Austin Herald-Statesman; Boston Globe; Boston Herald; Baltimore Sun; Chestnut Hill Local; Chicago Sun-Times; Chicago Tribune; City Paper* (Philadelphia)*; Contra Costa Times; Courier-News* (Cherry Hill, NJ)*; Dallas Morning News; Deadline Detroit; Detroit Free Press; Detroit News; Detroit Sunday Journal; Emporia Bulletin; Grand Rapids Press; Houston Chronicle; Jewish Exponent* (Phila.)*; Kansas City Star; Los Angeles Times; M Live* (Michigan)*; Metro Times* (Detroit)*; Michigan Chronicle; Michigan Lawyer; Michigan Citizen; Mobile Register; Mount Airy Times-Express; Newark Star-Ledger;* Newhouse News Service*; Newsday; Newsworks* WHYY*; Observer-Eccentric Newspapers; Philadelphia Daily News; Philadelphia Inquirer; Philadelphia Metro; Philadelphia Tribune; Pittsburgh Post-Gazette; Princeton Packet; San Francisco Chronicle; Sioux Falls Argus-Leader; Tulsa News.*

Television: MSNBC; National Geographic Channel; CBS News; PBS; WHBH-TV (Boston); WHYY-TV (Philadelphia); KYW-TV (Philadelphia); WTXF-TV (Philadelphia); WPHL-TV (Philadelphia); WCAU-TV (Philadelphia); Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC Evening News); Shanghai TV (China); France 24; TV Asahi (Japan); Al Jazeera English; KPIX-TV (San Francisco); WHDH-TV (Boston); Shaw Cablesystems (Vancouver, British Columbia, Studio 4);

The History Channel (Movies in Time); C-SPAN (Public Affairs Forum; Bancroft Prize Address; Book TV); Virginia Public TV (Miller Center Forum).

Radio and Podcasts: National Public Radio (News and Notes); Public Radio International; AP Radio, CBC Radio; Wisconsin Public Radio (Ideas; To the Best of Our Knowledge); Michigan Public Radio (Jack Lessenberry Show); Detroit Public Radio; Pacifica Radio; American Public Media (Weekend America); Bloomberg Radio (Simply Put and The World in Time with Lewis Lapham); Sirius Satellite Radio (POTUS; Channel 110, Blog Bunker; Channel 146, Keep It Real with Mark Thompson); WBAI Radio (New York); WNYC Radio, New York (News and Leonard Lopate Show); WUMB (Boston); WBNW (Needham, MA); KFNX (Phoenix); KDVS Radio (Davis, CA); KUSF Radio (San Francisco); WILS (Lansing); WBEZ Radio (Chicago); WDET Radio (Detroit); WJR Radio (Detroit); WCHB Radio (Detroit); WILL Radio (Urbana); WQBH Radio (Detroit); WLVQ Radio (Detroit); WCBN Radio (Ann Arbor); WRPI Radio (Albany); WHWH Radio (Princeton); WVNJ Radio (New Jersey); WHYY Radio (News and Radio Times; Philadelphia); KYW Radio (Philadelphia); WBCB Radio (Philadelphia); WRTI Radio (Philadelphia); Clear Channel Radio (Philadelphia): WURD Radio (Philadelphia); KVOE Radio (Emporia, Kansas); WBOO Radio (Portland); KTLK-FM (Minneapolis); WKSU Radio (Kent, Ohio); Unpresidented Podcast; INET Podcast.

CURRENT PROFESSIONAL MEMBERSHIPS

American Academy of Arts and Sciences (Fellow, elected 2011)

American Academy of Political and Social Science (Walter Lippmann Fellow, elected 2016)

American Historical Association

American Sociological Association

Association Française des Études Américaines

New York Institute for the Humanities (Fellow, elected 2016)

Organization of American Historians

Phi Beta Kappa

Royal Historical Society, U.K. (Fellow, elected 2017)

Social Science History Association (past president)

Society of American City and Regional Planning History

Society of American Historians (Fellow, elected 2009)

Urban Affairs Association

Urban History Association (Charter Member, past president)

LANGUAGES

French (advanced reading), German (basic reading), Spanish (basic reading).

EXHIBIT R

Response to Expert Report of Thomas J. Sugrue
Joseph C. Borelli

Williams et al. v. Board of Elections of the State of New York et al.

I. Introduction

My name is Joseph C. Borelli and I have been retained as a historical consultant by the Intervenor-Respondents in *Williams v. Board of Elections of the State of New York*. I have been asked to respond to the expert witness report of Thomas J. Sugrue. My rate of compensation is $500 an hour.

II. Qualifications

After obtaining a bachelor's degree from Marist College and a master's degree from the City University of New York, I spent my entire career in New York City in various capacities. I am currently the Managing Director at Chartwell Strategy Group, where I specialize in governmental relations, political risk management, and strategic communications. I partner with various government and non-profit leaders to navigate high-stakes policy issues, bringing subject-matter expertise to achieve various objectives. For nearly 20 years, I have also been an Adjunct Lecturer of Political Science at the City University of New York, where I've taught classes on national, state and local government, and I was a 2019 Lindsay Fellow at its Institute of State and Local Governance.

Most of my career, however, was spent serving and learning about the City of New York, and specifically Staten Island, where I grew up. In 2005, I served as a Chief of Staff in the New York State Assembly for a member representing Staten Island, staying in that position for two years. I then served as a Chief of Staff in the New York City Council for a member representing Staten Island for the next five years, from 2007 to 2012. In that period, I also worked as a political

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consultant on campaigns for numerous federal, state and local offices, most commonly those representing Staten Island.

In 2012, I was elected to the New York State Assembly, serving until 2015. During that time, I was the Ranking Member on the Committee on Cities and a member of the Committee on Energy, Banks, Housing, Health, and Transportation. I also served on the New York City Voter Assistance Commission in 2012 and on the Metropolitan Transportation Authority's Capital Review Board from 2013 through 2015.

Thereafter, I spent ten years on the City Council, representing the South Shore of Staten Island. I chaired various committees and spearheaded legislation on labor matters, environmental regulation, government operations, and building safety. For four years, I was the Chairman of the Committee on Fire and Emergency Management, overseeing the City's fire department and emergency responders. I then served four years as the Minority Leader of the City Council, where I routinely engaged in political matters involving recruiting and fielding candidates for offices around New York and appointing members to the City's 2022 Redistricting Commission. I also served on the critical Land Use Committee, the Budget Negotiation Team, and the Education, Parks, and Rules committees. From 2022 to 2025, I was a Chairman of the National Forum of Republican Mayors, Council Members and County Leaders—which is part of the Community Leaders of America—where I worked with elected leaders and national corporate partners to develop rational municipal policy. I was recently appointed by Mayor Eric Adams to serve on the board of the United Nations Development Corporation.

Most importantly, I am an expert on Staten Island's history. In addition to my graduate research which focused on Staten Island's political history in the 1960s and 1970s, I have published two books on the history of Staten Island: Revolutionary Staten Island: From Colonial Calamities

to Reluctant Rebels, and Staten Island in the Nineteenth Century: From Boomtown to Forgotten Borough. I have also written numerous articles and pieces, including many focusing on Staten Island. My writings are frequently published in the New York Post, where I am currently an opinion columnist, and I've been featured and quoted in the Daily News, the New York Times, the Wall Street Journal, Newsweek, Politico, The Hill and many others. I have logged over 1,000 appearances on global news networks, including Fox News, Fox Business, CNN, CNNI, Newsmax, BBC, SkyNews, NY1 & MSNBC.

III. Materials Relied On

In developing expert opinions in this matter, I have relied on a close reading of Dr. Sugrue's report, as well as primary and secondary research in federal and state reports, newspapers, and miscellaneous materials. Reliance on such materials is customary when providing a historical analysis.[1]

IV. Summary of Conclusions

As an initial matter, I note that the unique demographics and practical realities of Staten Island's geographic isolation belie Petitioners' request to connect the "communities of interest" in Staten Island and Southern Manhattan. The diverse populations and physical distance, separated by a body of water, between the two boroughs have ensured that they have little in common, making it impractical to group the two areas together.

I also disagree with Dr. Sugrue's report. He claims to focus "on those areas that are known to have a meaningful effect on political participation, including the totality of the circumstances factors set forth in the New York Voting Rights Act." Dkt.61 ("Rep.") ¶ 6. His description of past and current racial disparities, however, is taken out of context and deficient, wholly ignoring the

[1] In preparing my report, I also had assistance from research consultants.

significant and thriving Asian community on Staten Island as well as the noteworthy advancements made by Staten Islanders in the areas of civil rights and racial equality. Organized by each of the "totality of the circumstances" factors, I challenge his conclusions as follows:

a. Dr. Sugrue's dismal rendition of Staten Island's history is one-sided, excluding facts that do not fit his narrative. Omitted from Dr. Sugrue's discussion is New York's anti-slavery activity prior to the Civil War, and a history of civil rights activism thereafter. Indeed, a closer examination of New York's, and particularly Staten Island's, history demonstrates that New York was often at the forefront of efforts countering unequal treatment of minorities. Staten Island, specifically, boasts the distinction of containing the longest, continually occupied settlement of former slaves, and had been well-known as the home of several prominent abolitionists and a location for their operations. Further, Dr. Sugrue ignores the significant progress Staten Island has made in addressing racial discrimination.

b. Dr. Sugrue provides no evidence that Blacks and Hispanics have been excluded from public office, and, to the contrary, racial and ethnic minorities have had great political success in Staten Island. Indeed, the current Congresswoman for the 11th Congressional District, which encompasses the entirety of Staten Island, is Hispanic and the child of immigrants. Despite having written a 98-page report devoted to racial minorities and politics on Staten Island, Dr. Sugrue's Report minimizes and refuses to analyze that Staten Island is represented in Congress by a Hispanic woman by claiming that she only has "some Latin American heritage." Rep. ¶ 90. And Black and Hispanic legislators now hold one-third of all legislative seats partially or wholly located on Staten Island.

c. Dr. Sugrue erroneously maintains that Black and Hispanic voters were structurally prevented from voting because of a history of using literacy tests for voting. But the testing in New

York is considerably more complex than portrayed by Dr. Sugrue and is not unique to Staten Island. Dr. Sugrue similarly does not tie the practice—which was permanently banned fifty years ago—to current voting conditions. Indeed, Dr. Sugrue ignores that New York, including Staten Island, has actually expanded language services to assist minority voters.

d. Neither Dr. Sugrue nor Petitioners provide any support for the factor that eligible Black and Latino voters or candidates have been denied access to the ballot.

e. Dr. Sugrue ignores the regional and national data showing a marked increase in Hispanic voting eligibility, Hispanic voter turnout, and Hispanic voter participation.

f. Dr. Sugrue's examination of disadvantages faced by Black and Hispanic residents of Staten Island in education, housing, and median income ignores the complexity of these issues. Black and Hispanic residents' educational attainment has consistently increased and has outperformed other parts of New York City, the housing statistics are much better on Staten Island than elsewhere, and Black and Hispanic mean income has steadily increased over the past decade.

g. In discussing the disadvantages Black and Hispanic residents of Staten Island allegedly face, Dr. Sugrue fails to recognize Staten Island has strived to end hate and discrimination. Staten Island is replete with public and private organizations committed to assisting minorities, including by ensuring their access to the political process. Dr. Sugrue also disregards Staten Island's low occurrence of hate crimes and that hate crimes have consistently decreased on the Island.

h. Dr. Sugrue's evidence of racial appeals in political campaigns omits any discussion of congressional campaigns, provides an incomplete account of the secession campaign, and summarizes four disparate incidents across a dozen years that do not qualify under his own definition of racial appeals.

V. Expert Opinions

Before addressing Dr. Sugrue's findings, I start with an overview of Richmond County so as to provide a more complete depiction of the diverse Island I grew up on and to underscore the impracticalities of combining Staten Island with Southern Manhattan in the 11th Congressional District. Thereafter, I will discuss each of the "totality of the circumstances" factors in detail.

A. An Overview of Richmond County's Demographics and Diversity[2]

For modern New Yorkers, Staten Island is simply one of the five boroughs. Yet in terms of its historic and demographic trajectory, it has always been unique, distant and different from its four neighbors. Even today, its nickname remains the "forgotten borough," as it bears little in common with, offers fewer connections to, and receives far less attention from, the rest of the city.

This isolation, more than any other factor, has shaped the demographic reality that exists on Staten Island today. From 1888 to well-into the late-twentieth century, Staten Island's only physical links to the rest of the world came in the form of three vehicular bridges and one railroad bridge to New Jersey. Despite its residents' enthusiastic support for consolidation into Greater New York in the 1890's, it would take until the 1960's before it was finally and permanently linked by bridge to another part of the city, and even then, only to Brooklyn. Still now, after over 150 years of bridge and tunnel construction, a period when the city and state built nearly 30 connections between the other four boroughs, Staten Island remains solely connected to Brooklyn, with no prospect of ever connecting to any other part of New York on the horizon. No other borough is as separated, nor is any one as reliant on a single connection. This history has shaped nearly every aspect of the borough's political history since the Verrazzano Bridge first opened in 1964.

[2] Richmond County, New York comprises all of Staten Island. This report refers to Staten Island and Richmond County interchangeably.

Richmond County's Demographics

Richmond County is predominately an upper-middle class community with a median property value of 2.17 times larger than the national average and a homeownership rate 3% above the national average, but more than double the rest of New York City.[3] The median property value continues to increase, rising 3% between 2022 and 2023.[4] Still, like most of the region, over 20% of Richmond County's population faces a severe housing crisis, though that indicator has slightly declined over the past ten years.[5]

Race and Diversity

Richmond County is ethnically diverse, growing more so each year. Of the 493,000 people living in Staten Island, 56% are white; 20% Hispanic, 12% are Asian, and 9% are Black or o African origin. As of 2023, 24.8% of Richmond County residents (122,000 people) were born outside of the United States, approximately double the national average. In 2022, the percentage of foreign-born citizens in Richmond County was 24.5%, meaning that the rate has been increasing.[6]

Dr. Sugrue also fails to discuss all ethnic groups, specifically ignoring Staten Islanders of Asian descent. Asians living in Richmond County have higher median incomes and educational attainment, which Dr. Sugrue fails to address. As the Asian community has thrived on Staten Island, they have begun to relocate to the borough at an accelerated pace from Brooklyn. Dr. Sugrue further fails to address that on Staten Island, Asian and Hispanic residences are widely dispersed, with many concentrations located within thriving commercial neighborhoods.

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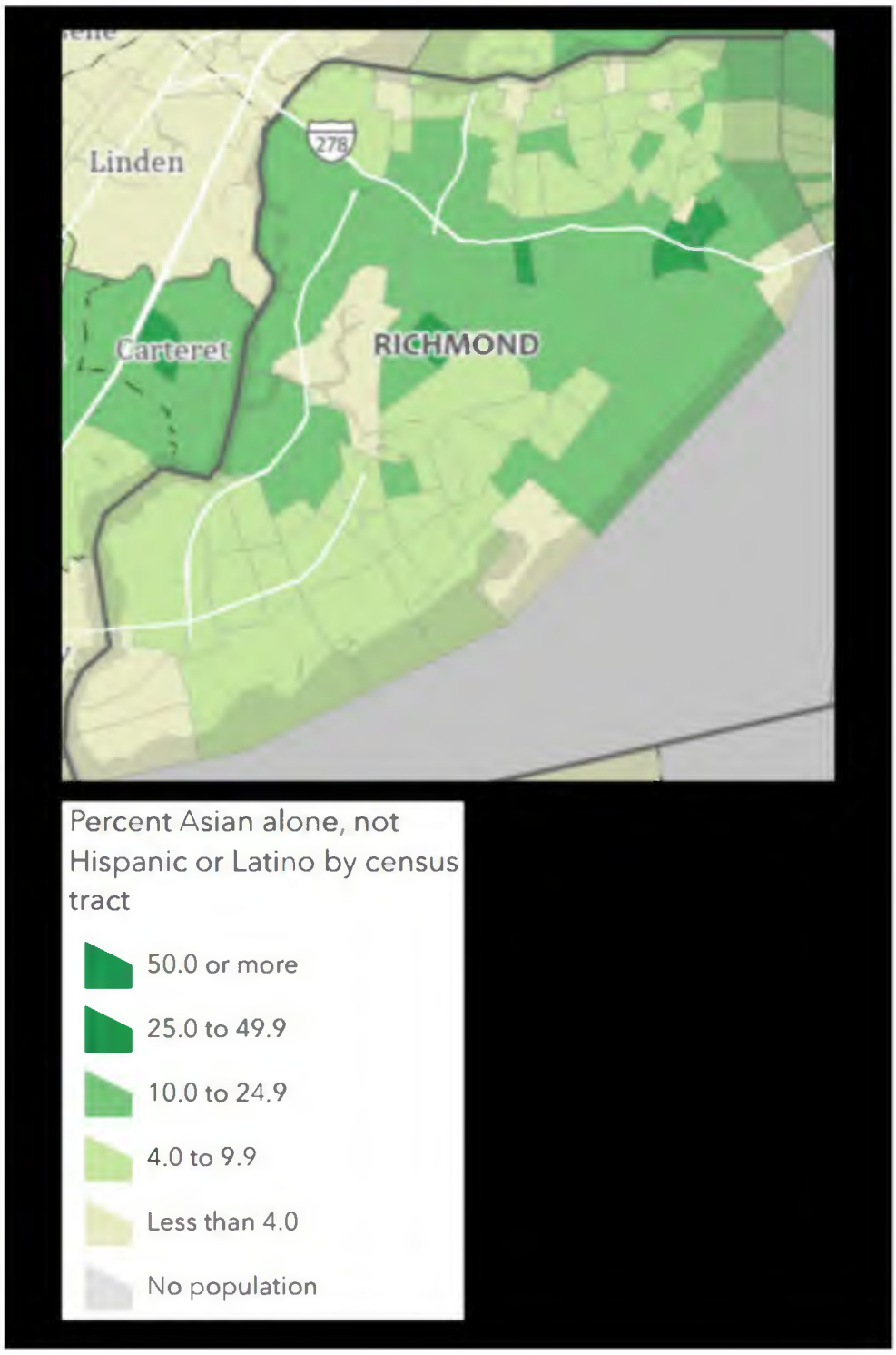
[3] *Richmond County, NY*, Data USA, available at https://datausa.io/profile/geo/richmond-county-ny#housing (last visited Dec. 8, 2025) (hereinafter "*Richmond County Data*").
[4] *Id.*
[5] *Id.*
[6] *Id.*

These failures are critical as a close examination of the demographic composition of Richmond County challenges the elusive "community of interest" concept. Asians, Hispanics, and Blacks differ widely socio-economically and within their communities in Staten Island.

Asian Demographics and Residential Dispersion in Richmond County, New York[7]



[7] *2020 Census Data Demographic Data Map Viewer*, U.S. Census Bureau, available at https://maps.geo.census.gov/ddmv/map.html (last visited Dec. 8, 2012).

As of 2023 estimates, the Asian (Non-Hispanic) population represented approximately 12% of the total population in Richmond County. They constitute the third-largest ethnic group in the County after White and Hispanic residents.[8]

The Asian population on Staten Island is incredibly diverse, with numerous households representing Chinese, Indian, Filipino, Pakistani, Middle Eastern, and Korean backgrounds. Even among these ethnicities, there are subgroups within each community showing a wide divergence in origins, cultures and time of arrival.

The Asian population is relatively well dispersed around Staten Island. A manual calculation of the Index of Dissimilarity[9] through the American Community database reveals that the dissimilarity for Asians on Staten Island in 2023, 2020, and 2010 shows a decline for Asians.[10] Dissimilarity is both low (under 40) and declining (36 in 2010, 34 in 2020, 32 in 2023).[11] Although Dr. Sugrue tellingly did not calculate the dissimilarity for Asians on Staten Island, according to his own report, a "dissimilarity value of **40 or below** is considered to have a **low** level of racial segregation." Rep. ¶ 24.

The median household income for residents of Asian descent in Richmond County was approximately $86,134, which is slightly lower than the national median for Asians but

[8] *Race*, U.S. Census Bureau, available at https://data.census.gov/table/ACSDT5Y2023.B02001?q=B02001:+Race&g=050XX00US36085$1400000_060XX00US3608570915_1400000US36085013800&moe=false

[9] The Dissimilarity Index reflects two or more groups' relative distributions across a geographical area. *See* About Dissimilarity Indices, CensusScope, available at https://censusscope.org/about_dissimilarity.html.

[10] The U.S. census data underlying these statistics can be found at https://data.census.gov/table/ACSDT5Y2023.B02001?q=B02001:+Race&g=050XX00US36085$1400000_060XX00US3608570915_1400000US36085013800&moe=false; https://data.census.gov/table/ACSDT5Y2020.B02001?q=B02001:+Race&g=050XX00US36085$1400000_060XX00US3608570915_1400000US36085013800&moe=false; https://data.census.gov/table/ACSDT5Y2010.B02001?q=B02001:+Race&g=050XX00US36085$1400000_060XX00US3608570915_1400000US36085013800&moe=false.

[11] *Id.*

comparable to the overall county median.[12] Asian students are well-represented in local and regional institutions of higher education. Among university graduates in Richmond County in 2023, 11.6% of those awarded a degree were of Asian descent.[13] In 2021, 12.1% of all students at College of Staten Island CUNY were of Asian descent, a number that has only increased in recent years, indicating that a significant number of Asian families are moving from Brooklyn to Staten Island.[14]

Hispanic Demographics in Richmond County, NY

According to 2023 estimates, Hispanic or Latino people make up about 19.5% of Richmond County's population, making it the second-largest ethnic group on the Island.[15] This reflects a significant increase from previous decades, with the Hispanic population rising over 19% between 2010 and 2020.[16]

Hispanics in Richmond County are a diverse minority group, not necessarily sharing a common community of interest. While the most common birthplace of foreign-born Hispanics in New York is the Dominican Republic, Staten Island has a much broader population of Hispanic residents from throughout the Caribbean, Central and South America.[17] Historically, Puerto Ricans have been the most numerous Hispanic subgroup in Staten Island.[18] This is verified in multiple

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[12] *Asian-American Studies*, Data USA,, available at https://datausa.io/profile/cip/asian-american-studies (last visited Dec. 8, 2012).
[13] *Id.*
[14] *College of Staten Island CUNY*, Data USA, available at https://datausa.io/profile/university/college-of-staten-island-cuny#:~:text=with%20their%20applications.-,Enrollment,and%20White%20Male%20(15.3%25 (last visited Dec. 8, 2025).
[15] *BO3002 Hispanic or Latino Origin by Race*, U.S. Census Bureau, available at https://data.census.gov/table/ACSDT5Y2023.B03002?q=Latino&g=050XX00US36085$1400000_060XX00US3608570915_1400000US36085013800&moe=false (last visited December 8, 2012).
[16] *Id.*
[17] *Richmond County Data*, *supra* n.3.
[18] *Demographic Characteristics – Staten Island Community District 1*, available at https://www.nyc.gov/assets/planning/download/pdf/data-maps/census/census2000/demo_cd_si.pdf; *Population*, NYC Planning, available at https://experience.arcgis.com/experience/c625a78991d34ae59deb7a33806ac0d1/page/Hispanic-%7C-Mexican.

data points from the 2010 and 2020 Censuses which show that not only are Puerto Ricans the dominant Hispanic subset, but also that Puerto Ricans are also a large subset of Brooklyn that makes up the current 11th Congressional District, unlike in lower Manhattan where the predominant Hispanic subset is Mexican.[19]

That said, Richmond's noteworthy Mexican population has seen significant growth recently, which is reflected in the abundance of Mexican markets. Significant pockets of Mexican and Central American stores have also popped up across the borough in New Dorp, Great Kills, Rosebank, and St. George. The diversity of this community is evident, and according to then-Wagner College professor Abe Unger, "there are Guatemalans and others coming in. So it's not just Mexicans coming in. . . . And even among those Mexicans, you're ranging from cosmopolitan Mexicans to rural Mexicans who don't speak Spanish, but rather native Indian dialects, and so it's a much more diverse Hispanic population than we can really imagine."[20]

This diverse Hispanic population is spread significantly throughout the borough with no single zip code containing a majority of Hispanics; although concentrations are highest on the North Shore.[21] For example, while Hispanics make up 20% of the population of Staten Island, no single zip code is made up of more than 50% Hispanics, suggesting that housing among ethnic groups is less segregated by neighborhood than other parts of New York City. Of the island's 12

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[19] *Hispanic or Latino Origin by Race*, U.S. Census Bureau, available at https://data.census.gov/table/ACSDT5Y2023.B03002?q=Latino&g=050XX00US36085$1400000_060XX00US3608570915_1400000US36085013800&moe=false; https://data.census.gov/table/ACSDT5Y2010.B03002?q=Latino&g=050XX00US36085$1400000_060XX00US3608570915_1400000US36085013800&moe=false.

[20] *Urban studies professor provides insight on Staten Island demographics for New York 1 series*, Wagner College, (May 19, 2014), available at https://wagner.edu/newsroom/urban-studies-professor-provides-insight-on-staten-island-demographics-for-new-york-1-series/.

[21] *Ranking by Number of People (Hispanic or Latino)*, Data Commons, available at https://datacommons.org/ranking/Count_Person_HispanicOrLatino/CensusZipCodeTabulationArea/geoId/3608570915?h=geoId%2F3608570915&pc=1&scaling=100&unit=%25#:~:text=Ranking%20by%20Number%20of%20People%20(Hispanic%20or,NY%2010308%2C%20NY%2010307%2C%20NY%2010309%2C%20NY.

zip codes, all are made up of between 9 and 47% Hispanic households, calling into question Dr. Sugrue's findings of racial segregation.[22] This wide residual distribution provides evidence of ethnic integration in Richmond County and challenges Dr. Sugrue's claims of potential racial discrimination and segregation toward Hispanics.

Although Dr. Sugrue relies on dissimilarity rates to suggest "Latinos experience a moderate degree of segregation," Rep. ¶ 26, a manual calculation of the Index of Dissimilarity through the American Community database reveals that for Hispanics on Staten Island in 2023, 2020, and 2010, their dissimilarity against Whites in Staten Island was 42, 41, 42, respectively.[23] Dr. Sugrue's report lists an index of 47 for 2010, Rep. ¶ 26, but the manual calculations reveal the index to be 42.[24] The reason for this discrepancy is unclear. The manual calculations demonstrate dissimilarity numbers on the ***lower*** end of the moderate segregation range for the past 25 years.

Notably, the Hispanic population in Richmond County has reached high educational attainment, obtaining educations at rates comparable to other residents of Richmond County. While Hispanics make up 19% of the County, they earned over 22% of all college degrees awarded in the borough in 2023 (674 of the 3,078 degrees awarded) and make up 26% of current enrollees at the College of Staten Island.[25]

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[22] *Id.*

[23] For the census data used for these calculations, *see supra* n.19.

[24] The calculations were determined using a widely accepted formula. *See Housing Patterns: Appendix B: Measures of Residential Segregation*, U.S. Census Bureau, available at https://www.census.gov/topics/housing/housing-patterns/guidance/appendix-b.html.

[25] *Richmond County Data*, *supra* n.3; *Semester Enrollment: Student Demographic Profile*, College of Staten Island CUNY (Fall 2024), available at https://applications.csi.cuny.edu/Institutional_Profile/SemesterEnroll_Profile.html?_gl=1*1e5xw19*_gcl_au*NzI0ODY3MjIyLjE3NjQ2OTE4OTM.

Black Demographics in Richmond County, New York

Black residents make up 9% of Richmond County's population, making them one of the smaller ethnic groups on Staten Island,[26] as demonstrated in the map below.[27] Within this community, there are sharp differences between country of origin, culture, and arrival in the United States. In fact, only 5% of Staten Island residents identify as African American, the other 4% of Blacks on Staten Island come from Sub-Saharan Africa.[28]

Staten Island's Black residents come from numerous countries, including Cameroon, Ethiopia, Ghana, Guinea, the Ivory Coast, Kenya, Liberia, Mali, Nigeria, Senegal, Sierra Leone, South Africa, Sudan, Togo, Antigua and Barbuda, the Bahamas, Barbados, the Dominican Republic, Grenada, Haiti, Jamaica, Saint Kitts and Nevis, St. Lucia, Trinidad and Tobago, the U.S. Virgin Islands, Saint Vincent, and the West Indies.[29] Even within the communities that come from the same continent, such as Africa, there are pronounced differences, rivalries, and distinct interests between the residents. It would, therefore, be a mistake to lump all Black residents of Staten Island into a single "community of interest," as Dr. Sugrue attempts to do.

As far as education, despite making up only 9% of the population, Black students represent 10.7% of the students graduating from universities in Richmond County.[30] And, as will be discussed more below, Black educational attainment on Staten Island has steadily increased over the past decade, such that 90.2% of Black residents held a high school degree in 2024.

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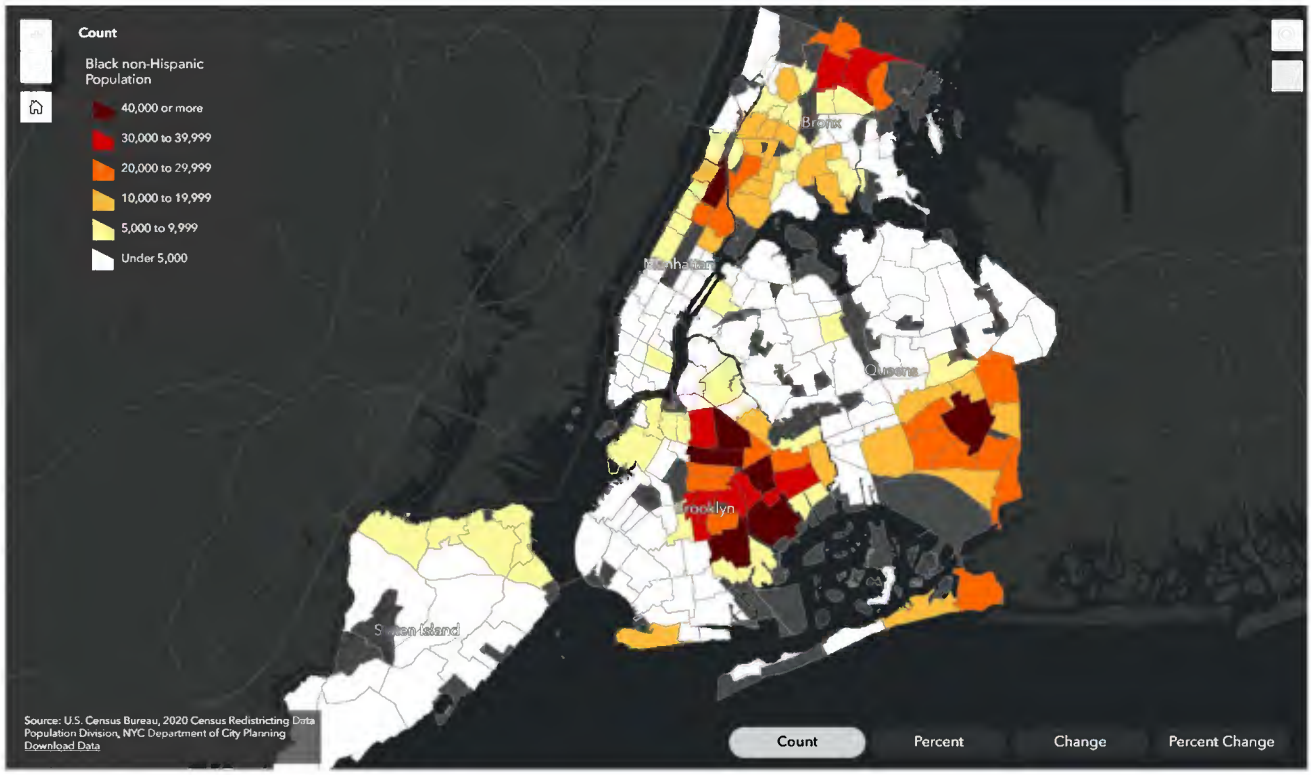
[26] *Population FactFinder*, NYC Planning, available at https://popfactfinder.planning.nyc.gov/explorer/boroughs/5?source=acs-current.
[27] *2020 Census Data Demographic Data Map Viewer*, *supra* n.7.
[28] Erik Bascome, *Cultures from across the world: See the full ethnic breakdown of Staten Island residents*, silive, (September 2, 2024), available at https://www.silive.com/data/2024/09/cultures-from-across-the-world-see-the-full-ethnic-breakdown-of-staten-island-residents.html#.
[29] *Id.*
[30] *Richmond County Data*, *supra* n.3.

Staten Island's Unique Demographics and Practical Realities

The unique demographics and the practical realities of Staten Island's geographic isolation refute the suggestion that the 11th Congressional District should connect "communities of interest in Staten Island's North Shore and Southern Manhattan." Dkt.1 ("Pet.") ¶ 4.

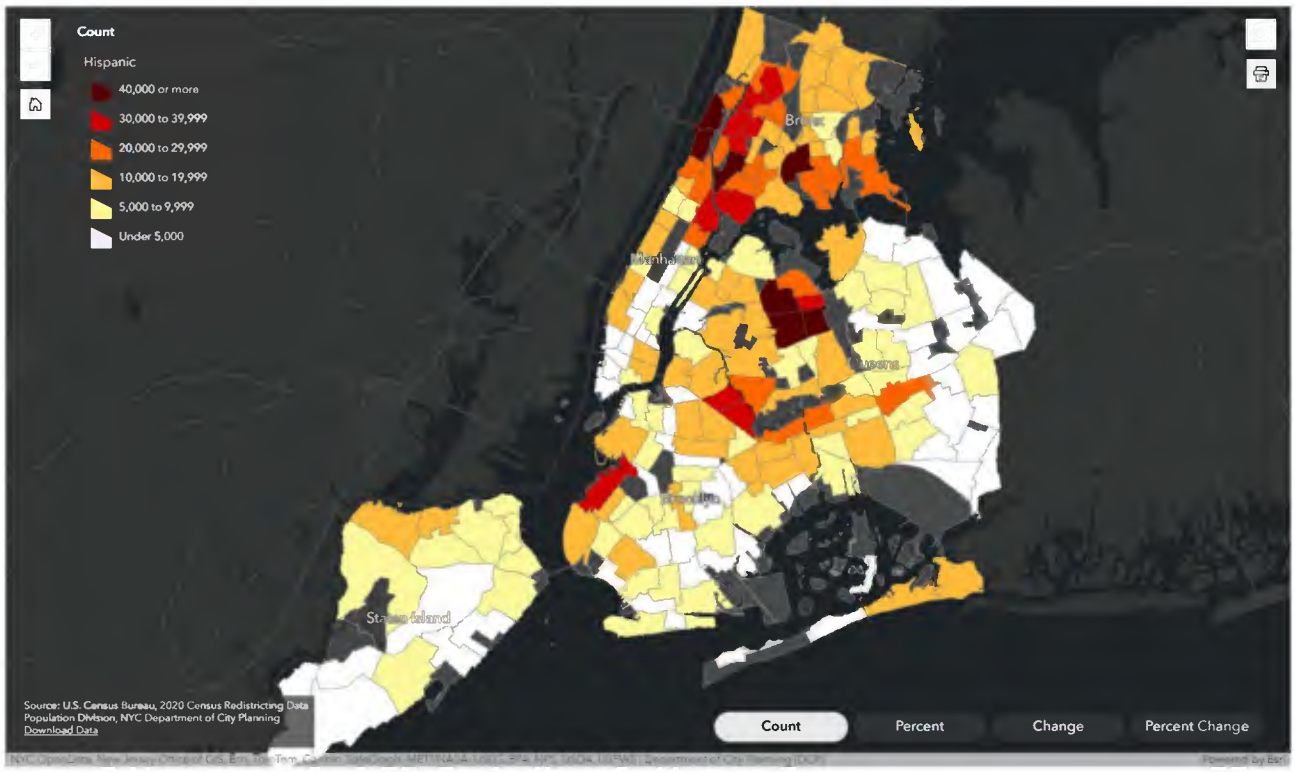
From a demographics perspective, Staten Island and Southern Manhattan are nothing alike. Southern Manhattan is a largely White population, lacking northern Staten Island's diversity. Data from the 2020 Census, shown on the maps below, demonstrates that Southern Manhattan lacks the significant Black and Latino populations found in Staten Island.[31]

Black Non-Hispanic Population in New York City



[31] *Population*, NYC Planning, available at https://experience.arcgis.com/experience/c625a78991d34ae59deb7a33806ac0d1/page/Hispanic-%7C-Mexican; https://experience.arcgis.com/experience/c625a78991d34ae59deb7a33806ac0d1/page/Race%2FEthnicity-%7C-Black-non-Hispanic (last visited Dec. 8, 2025).

Hispanic Population in New York City

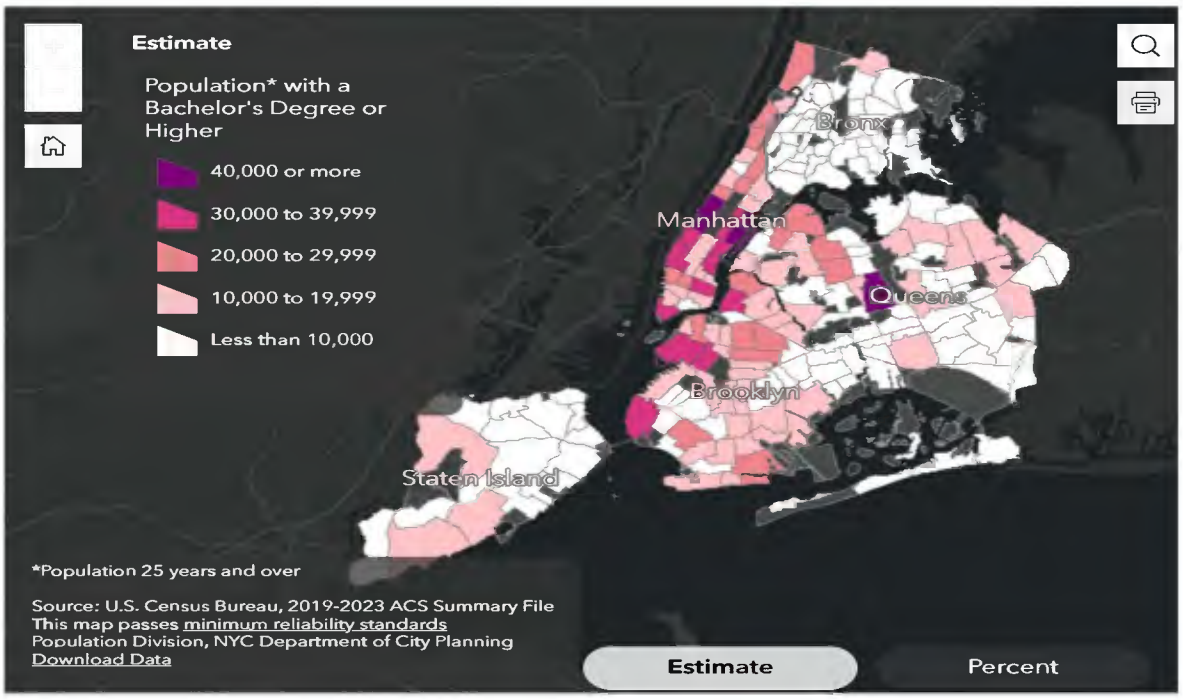


Southwestern Brooklyn, on the other hand, has a moderate Hispanic population, matching northern Staten Island's low-to-moderate Hispanic population.

Manhattan also has a greater population with a bachelor's degree or higher, as demonstrated by the map below.[32]

[32] *Population* with A Bachelor's Degree or Higher*, NYC Planning, available at https://experience.arcgis.com/experience/c625a78991d34ae59deb7a33806ac0d1/page/Education-%7C-Bachelor%27s-Degree-or-Higher (last visited Dec. 8, 2025).

New York City Population with a Bachelor's Degree or Higher



Beyond these demographic realities, the practical realities of Staten Island's geographic isolation from Manhattan further differentiate the two populations. Indeed, Staten Island's geography and distance from other boroughs affect its demography more than any other pattern. While those in lower Manhattan can travel to Staten Island via ferry, Staten Island's more suburban atmosphere makes such travel impractical. Staten Island's ferry does not carry cars,[33] but driving is almost a must in Staten Island, which lacks Manhattan's transit system. In fact, Staten Island "has the highest vehicle ownership rate, with the average number of vehicles per household nearly six times that of Manhattan's, which is the lowest."[34] That may be in part why, as discussed more below, people from Manhattan (whose vehicle ownership is less than six times that of Staten Island) have not migrated to Richmond County.

[33] *Terminals*, Staten Island Ferry, available at https://siferry.com/terminals/.
[34] *Shifting Gears: Transition to a Car Light New York City* 12, UPP Hunter (May 2024), available at Car-Light-NYC-Studio-May-2024.pdf.

The effect of a physical connection on the creation of a similar resident base is best shown through Staten Island's relationship with Brooklyn, an area that Staten Island's residents have much more in common with. Before completing the Verrazzano Bridge, Staten Island was sparsely populated;[35] but once that connection was made, countless Brooklynites—particularly those that lived nearest the bridge—began settling in Staten Island's growing neighborhoods. This caused the population growth in Staten Island to far outpace the other four boroughs throughout the later twentieth century.[36] This pattern was long anecdotally associated with the historic Italian communities of Bensonhurst and Bay Ridge, but this has also held true as those neighborhoods have begun to see influxes of Asian and Middle Eastern residents. For example, a recent Spectrum news piece told the story of several Asian families moving from Brooklyn to Staten Island as part of a broad migratory pattern. "It's the new Chinatown," said Angie Cheung, a new Staten Islander who had moved from Brooklyn.[37] The pattern is nothing new, as the *New York Times* reported on a similar pattern of Asian migration in 1993.[38] For Arabs and other Muslims, this pattern has started more recently with the opening of new houses of worship and community centers.

Since COVID, that general pattern has remained unchanged. In 2020, 26% of all Staten Island homebuyers were from Brooklyn, a number that grew to 31% in the first half of 2021.[39] During the first half of this year, 2025, of all Staten Island homebuyers that come from New York

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[35] Ann Marie Barron, *How the Verrazzano-Narrows Bridge changed everything for Staten Island's population*, silive (Nov. 18, 2024).
[36] *Id.*
[37] Victoria Manna, *Asian population grows significantly on Staten Island* (May 17, 2024), available at https://ny1.com/nyc/all-boroughs/news/2024/05/17/asian--staten-island--population--
[38] Brooke Tarabour, *New Jersey Bound: The Staten Island Migration* (Jan. 20, 1993), https://www.nytimes.com/1993/01/10/nyregion/new-jersey-bound-the-staten-island-migration.html
[39] Georgia Worrell, This if the one borough NYC homebuyers have left in droves: report, NY Post, available at https://nypost.com/2025/08/16/real-estate/new-report-reveals-the-one-borough-nyc-homebuyers-are-leaving-in-droves/.

City, excluding those already living on Staten Island, a whopping 92% came from Brooklyn. Only 13 homes in total were purchased by former Manhattanites.[40]

Thus, any assertion that Staten Island bears more similarity or has deeper connections—by any metric—to any community in New York City other than southwest Brooklyn is both ahistorical and preposterous on its face. As Staten Island historians Daniel Kramer and Richard Flanagan note, "Staten Island has never had enough inhabitants to constitute a congressional district on its own, but at times its district has included communities ***much less similar than Bay Ridge [Brooklyn], such as lower Manhattan***."[41]

B. Dr. Sugrue's Erroneous Findings Under The New York Voting Rights Act

i. Factor (a): There Is No History Of Discrimination In Or Affecting The Political Subdivision

Dr. Sugrue contends that a history of slavery, a literacy test, and isolated incidents of racism impair the ability of Black and Hispanic voters to fully participate through voting or electing favored candidates to office today. But Dr. Sugrue's claims regarding the alleged history of discrimination in Staten Island can be explored in detail to show his tendency to cherry-pick facts, obscure context, ignore progress, and disregard good intentions of public officials in national, state, and county offices seeking to address serious and complex social and economic problems.

History of Racial Discrimination Affecting the Political Subdivision

Dr. Sugrue's report presents a brief, anecdotal history of racism in New York, and to a lesser extent begins with a history of discrimination against Blacks and Hispanics nationally, in New York State, and in Staten Island. A fuller history of racial discrimination in New York tells a

[40] *Id.*
[41] Kramer, Daniel and Richard Flanagan, Staten Island: Conservative Bastion in a Liberal City 3 (2012) (emphasis added).

more complex story, and much more importantly, shows considerable progress in addressing racial discrimination in housing, employment, and voting rights on the state and national levels through both legal decisions and legislation.

For example, Dr. Sugrue disregarded completely the history of the abolition movement on Staten Island, which is crucial to understanding the history of slavery and racial discrimination on the Island. Indeed, by some measure, Staten Islanders were not just participants in the abolition movement, they were its architects.

Historian Richard S. Newman wrote in his history of abolitionism that the movement "was born with the American republic," or perhaps even earlier.[42] New York was an important part of that story, both as it developed at the national level and in a state that had deep economic ties to the Southern slave economy, a sizeable population of free Blacks and slaves, and more than its share of virulent racists. Unfree labor—slavery, serfdom, and indentured servitude—was the lot of the majority of people who came to colonial America. In the United States during the colonial period, indentured White and Black workers and slaves shared an inferior status. Their political participation was limited to demonstrations and riots, while work, festivals, religious revivals, and illegal activities brought them together.[43] As the number of Whites willing to move to North America as indentured servants declined, unfree labor became a mark of race, even as the number of free Blacks increased.

Slavery in both the North and South came into obvious conflict with the revolutionary rhetoric of natural rights, while abolition collided with a commitment to property rights. In the

[42] Richard S. Newman, *The Transformation of American Abolitionism: Fighting Slavery in the Early Republic* 2 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002).
[43] Lois E. Horton, *From Class to Race in Early America: Northern Post-Emancipation Racial Reconstruction*, 19 J. Early Republic 629, 631–35 (1999).

North, states openly discussed the abolition of slavery in the aftermath of the Revolution. States with few slaves or Black people, such as Vermont, moved quickly to outlaw slavery.

New York, with a relatively large slave population, tried to balance freedom and property rights. Following Pennsylvania, Connecticut, and Rhode Island, New York voted for gradual emancipation in 1799. The law was passed with the help of multiple organizations and individuals.

For example, the law passed only after the New York Manumission Society's steady agitation. Founded in 1783, its membership included slaveowners such as John Jay, who introduced abolition laws in 1777 and 1785.[44] In addition to trying to change state law, the New York Manumission Society, including its members from Richmond County, organized a national convention to explore how to persuade Congress to pass anti-slavery legislation and to coordinate efforts to prevent free Blacks from being kidnapped by slave traders.[45] One of their central projects was educational: removing the "cloud of prejudice" that hung over Whites about the capabilities of Blacks for citizenship and providing education to Blacks to equip them for citizenship.[46] This approach may seem timid, but it provided education that went beyond basic literacy to include financial skills essential to merchants and skills important to free Black leaders.

The American Anti-Slavery Society, founded in 1833, counted women and free Blacks among its members. Calling for immediate abolition, it had an immense presence in New York. By 1836, one-fifth of the chapters in the nation were in New York.[47] Their activism, often in the

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[44] Both Aaron Burr and Alexander Hamilton were members, as were three future governors. David N. Gellman's *Liberty's Chain: Slavery, Abolition, and the Jay Family of New York* explores the tension in John Jay's advocacy while still owning human beings.
[45] Paul Polgar, *"To Raise Them to an Equal Participation": Early National Abolitionism, Gradual Emancipation, and the Promise of African American Citizenship* 31 J. Early Republic 229, 239–40 (2011).
[46] *Id.* at 240.
[47] John L. Myers, *The Beginning of Anti-Slavery Agencies in New York State, 1835-1836*, 43 New York History 149, 150 (1962).

face of opposition, kept abolitionism in the consciousness of the state and nation, even amid internal divisions.

The cause was also taken up by one of Staten Island's most notable residents, Governor Daniel Tompkins, who was long a champion of abolition. The legislature passed Tompkins's manumission bill in 1817, which emancipated every slave in New York State within ten years.[48] On July 4, 1827, the act went into effect with great fanfare in Richmond County, including an official reception at the Swan Hotel in New Brighton.[49] The commemoration was celebrated by both Democrats and Whigs, and nearly every elected official on the island participated.[50] The neighborhood of Tompkinsville on the North Shore is named in honor of Daniel Tompkins.

The American Anti-Slavery Society was active in the Hudson Valley, especially in areas where Quakers settled. Abolitionists in the Hudson Valley "played a significant role in the Underground Railroad."[51] Staten Island was a significant stop along two routes of the Underground Railroad, with passengers crossing the kill either at Perth Amboy or Elizabeth. The passage was dangerous, as schooners operating in the waters during the 1850s were often searched for fugitive slaves in violation of Virginia's broad inspection laws.[52] This continued right up to the outbreak of the war.

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[48] Charles H. Wesley, "*The Negroes of New York in the Emancipation Movement*," 24 J. Negro History 65–103 (Jan. 1939).

[49] 1 Charles W. Leng and William T. Davis, *Staten Island and Its People: A History, 1629–1929*, 236 (New York: Lewis Historical, 1930–33).

[50] 2 Ira K. Morris, *Morris's Memorial History of Staten Island, New York*, 46–47 (New York: Memorial Publishing, 1898).

[51] Amy Jacaruso, *The Mid-Hudson Anti Slavery History Project*, available at https://www.hudsonrivervalley.org/mid-hudson-antislavery-history-project (last visited Dec. 8, 2025; Rebecca Edwards et al, *Mid-Hudson AntiSlavery History Project* (June 2007), available at http://mhantislaveryhistoryproject.org/documents/2007%20Research%20Report.pdf; 27 A.J. Williams-Myers, *The Underground Railroad in the Hudson River Valley: A Succinct Historical Composite*, Afro-Americans in New York Life and History, 1–12 (Jan., 2003).

[52] Debbie-Ann Paige, *National Parks Service: National Underground Railroad Network to Freedom Application: Louis Napoleon House c/o The Sandy Ground Historical Society* (July 1, 2011), available at https://www.academia.edu/3088830/NPS_UGRR_Louis_Napoleon_House_Site_Application.

Additionally, the Liberty Party emerged from a meeting in upstate New York involving Anti-Slavery Society members who were frustrated with the Whig and Democratic parties for their unwillingness to take a stand on slavery. With two slaveowners running in 1844, the Liberty Party hoped for a breakthrough, but the party won only 2.3% of the vote nationally and 3.25% in New York, which the Democrat Polk carried with 48.9% of the vote.[53]

Similarly, the election of 1856 brought forward a new organization of the abolition movement on Staten Island, when the county played a role in the start of the Republican Party. Its nominee for President, the anti-slavery John C. Fremont, lived for a time on Staten Island's North Shore[54] while contemporary accounts unofficially named the county as the "First National Headquarters of the Republican Party."[55] This moniker was well-earned, as it was the longtime home of prominent abolitionists like Sydney Howard Gay, George William Curtis, and Francis George Shaw.[56]

Efforts to undermine the institution of slavery were not limited to White Staten Islanders. The county itself became a magnet for freed slaves, themselves. In 1828, a free Black ferryboat captain named John Jackson purchased land just south of Rossville, in an area known as Sandy Ground. For nearly two hundred years, this settlement continues to hold the distinction of being the longest continually occupied settlement of former slaves, and many of the descendants of the original families still live in the neighborhood.[57] The Sandy Ground Museum is located, to this

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[53] *1844 Presidential General Election Results*, U.S. Election Atlas, available at https://uselectionatlas.org/RESULTS/national.php?year=1844 (last visited Dec. 8, 2025).
[54] New York Public Library, NYPL Map Warper: Layer 869.
[55] 1 Vernon B. Hampton, *Staten Island's Claim to Fame: "The Garden Spot of New York Harbor"*, 23 (1925).
[56] 1 Leng and Davis, *Staten Island and Its People*, 275 (1929).
[57] *565 and 569 BLOOMINGDALE ROD COTTAGES*, New York City Landmarks Preservation Commission (Feb. 1, 2011), available at http://www.nyc.gov/html/records/pdf/govpub/5808baymens_cottages_sandy_ground.pdf.

day, in one of the homes settled by freed slaves, and a nearby school has been named in honor of the community.

Although Dr. Sugrue focuses on a more negative picture of Sandy Ground, historically at Sandy Ground, the growing Black community owned property and grew in congruence with the overall prosperity of Staten Island in the mid-1800s. Its heyday came after the Civil War, during the era of Reconstruction, when, as sociologist William Askins claimed, the Sandy Ground community achieved both "economic success and a recognition of relative equality in their residential community."[58] In 1900, about half of the community's residents were White,[59] and its school educated the community's students of all races. In 1849, Reverend William H. Pitts, a Virginia-born African Methodist Episcopal Zion minister, purchased land on Crabtree Avenue and held home prayer services for the town. By 1854, the congregation had built its own church and was large enough to accommodate 150 worshipers.[60] Of note, there is evidence that one of Sandy Ground's residents, Louis Napoleon, served along the Underground Railroad in the 1840s; and by war's end, he had likely helped more than three thousand self-emancipators find freedom.[61]

With context, it is therefore clear that New York, and specifically, Staten Island, have a history of opposing slavery and furthering abolition, which Dr. Sugrue ignores.

Dr. Sugrue's report also incorrectly asserts that New York has a long history of suppressing the political power of people of color. His discussion lacks context and ignores significant civil rights legislation.

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[58] 2 William Askins, *Oysters and Equality: Nineteenth Century Cultural Resistance in Sandy Ground, Staten Island, New York*, *Anthropology of Work Rev.*, 7–13 (June 1991).
[59] *Id.*
[60] New York City Landmarks Preservation Commission, *565 and 569 BLOOMINGDALE ROAD COTTAGES.*
[61] Debbie-Ann Paige, *supra* n.52.

Although Black men who had certificates of freedom originally voted in significant numbers,[62] in 1822 a new constitution created a property qualification.[63] Black and White abolitionists attempted to remove the property qualification on three occasions through state referenda. The first, in 1846, lost decisively, gaining 27.6% of the vote. The attempts in 1860 and 1869 were caught up in a new and unstable Republican coalition shy about making the case for justice, and they lost, if by closer margins.[64] New York politics was intensely competitive in the 19th century, and while Democrats invoked race in 1860 and 1869, Republicans in the state were reluctant to make Black suffrage a party issue. Nationally, Black suffrage faced headwinds everywhere in the 19th-century North. Only Iowa managed to pass a constitutional amendment allowing for Black suffrage.[65]

The New York state legislature proved to be a more reliable venue for progress on civil rights. In 1873, New York was one of the first states to pass a civil rights statute—a state version of the 14th Amendment. It banned racial discrimination in public accommodations, including public schools. Challenges to discriminatory behavior brought by Black citizens, especially in the late-19th century, faced an uncertain outcome when courts followed the federal court's narrow interpretation of the 14th Amendment. But that changed in the 1920s and 1930s. By World War II, "the nation viewed New York courts and legislature as leading agencies in the broader advocacy of civil rights."[66]

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[62] Sarah L.H. Gronningsater, "'Expressly Recognized by Our Election Laws': Certificates of Freedom and the Multiple Fates of Black Citizenship in the Early Republic," 75 Wm. & Mary Q., July 2018, at 465–506.
[63] Edward Countryman, *The Empire State and the Albany Regency*, *in* Milton M. Klein, *The Empire State: A History of New York*, 302–304 (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2001).
[64] Phyllis F. Field, *The Politics of Race in New York: The Struggle for Black Suffrage in the Civil War Era* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1982).
[65] Robert R. Dykstra, *Bright Radical Star: Black Freedom and White Supremacy on the Hawkeye Frontier* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993).
[66] 71 David McBride, *Fourteenth Amendment Idealism: The New York State Civil Rights Law, 1873-1918*, New York History, 208 (Apr. 1990).

The postwar reputation for progress in civil rights legislation was cemented by the passage of the Ives-Quinn Act in 1945 with broad bipartisan support.[67] The Act was aimed at preventing discrimination in employment, which it declared was a civil right. It created a state commission with broad powers to investigate claims, formulate policy, and create local and regional boards to implement policy. New York was the first state to establish such an agency.[68]

The state Commission against Discrimination was renamed the Division of Human Rights in 1968, which better reflected its wider and growing scope. Many New York counties have their own Human Rights Commissions and procedures for filing complaints.[69]

Response to Dr. Sugrue Charges of KKK and Historical Racism in Staten Island

Dr. Sugrue focuses on a Ku Klux Klan (KKK) incident that occurred on Staten Island in the 1920s. However, a search of New York City newspapers turned up no other incidents in the 1920s, while at the same time there were numerous reports of KKK events and reactions against them elsewhere in New York and New Jersey. Some notable incidents include the 1924 Democratic National Convention in Manhattan, which was given the moniker "The Klanbake," as its members played a prominent role in opposing New York Governor Al Smith.[70] Another such incident occurred in Peekskill, NY in 1949, when members of the KKK and violent anti-communists rioted in response to a concert being held by Black folk singer Paul Robeson.[71]

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[67] Leo Egan, *ANTI-RACIAL BILL PASSED BY SENATE AND SENT TO DEWEY; Ives-Quinn Measure Wins by 49-to-6 Vote in Late Session at Albany A LAST-MINUTE BATTLE Amendment for Referendum Rejected—Governor's Support Commended Dewey Corralled Votes Structure of Law Praised Functions of Commission* (Mar. 6, 1945), available at https://www.nytimes.com/1945/03/06/archives/antiracial-bill-passed-by-senate-and-sent-to-dewey-ivesquinn.html.

[68] Division of Human Rights Homepage, New York State, available at https://dhr.ny.gov/about.

[69] *See, e.g.,* Human Rights Page, Orange County New York, available at https://www.orangecountygov.com/1108/Human-Rights.

[70] Jack Schafer, *1924: The Wildest Convention in US History*, Politico Mag. (Mar. 7, 2016), available at https://www.politico.com/magazine/story/2016/03/1924-the-craziest-convention-in-us-history-213708/.

[71] Roger Williams, *A Rough Sunday in Peekskill*, 27 American Heritage (Apr. 1976), available at https://www.americanheritage.com/rough-sunday-peekskill.

Even in the late 1980s and 1990s, when there was an uptick in KKK movements, KKK and neo-Nazi activity remained minimal in Staten Island. In 1992, the possibility that a KKK chapter existed on Staten Island was front-page news, based on the discovery of literature marked "Staten Island Chapter," and a source that claimed there were 50 members. That story was immediately followed by denunciations of racism by community groups and a promise from the mayor to dispatch the police if any reports of racist incidents came in. The newspaper trail did not indicate whether any incidents traceable to the KKK were uncovered.

In 1988, there were an estimated fifty skinheads on Staten Island, out of perhaps 500 throughout New York City.[72] In 1995, sixty skinheads who tried to disrupt an anti-hate rally inspired by the discovery of hate literature and stickers, were removed and detained by police. In a report leading up to the rally, police noted that there had been no evidence of KKK or organized racist activity in recent years.[73]

While racist incidents occurred throughout the country, Richard Prideaux, a civil rights activist who helped found the Congress of Racial Equality chapter in Staten Island that worked for housing integration, had a positive experience in moving to the Todt Hill Houses in the late 1950s. While the recently-built complex attracted mostly Whites, there were residents of many races living there, and tenants "got along very well," he reported. "All of the children played outside together. It was safe and ideal, like living in a park."[74]

Political historians Daniel Kramer and Richard Flanagan certainly note the limited incidents that Dr. Sugrue cited in his report in their seminal work on the borough's 20th century political history. However, they conclude, "Thankfully, Staten Island never had the kind of high-

[72] David Martin, *A brat pack on the prowl*, Staten Island Advance (Sept. 11, 1988).
[73] Tom Berman, *Skinheads crash anti-hate rally,* Staten Island Advance (Dec. 11, 1995).
[74] Clare M. Regan, *'A force for racial equality,'* Staten Island Advance (Mar. 15, 2021).

stakes confrontation between African-Americans and whites that rocked neighboring Brooklyn. There were no full scale race riots."[75]

Federal Housing Policy

Dr. Sugrue maintains that federal housing policy in the 1930s and 1940s discriminated against Blacks, although specific data is not offered to show that these policies affected or were implemented in Staten Island, with a largely small and rural population. Furthermore, scholars differ on "redlining" federal housing policy in the 1930s.

Especially useful in understanding federal housing mortgage policy and allegations of federal racial discrimination through lending is a quantitative study by economists Price Fishback, Jonathan Rose, Kenneth A. Snow, and Thomas Storrs. The researchers examined three cities, Baltimore, Maryland, Peoria, Illinois, and Greensboro, North Carolina. They examined every financing loan made by the Federal Housing Administration in these cities. Over 16,000 loans were examined. The researchers concluded that "The evidence from the three cities shows that [the Home Owners Loan Corporation (HOLC)] refinanced loans in neighborhoods throughout each city and that the share of loans made by HOLC to Black Americans was close to proportionate to the share of homeowners who were Black."[76]

The researchers further concluded, contrary to the scholars who allege racial redlining by the HOLC and the Federal Housing Administration (FHA), that the pattern of loans in these three cities bore no relationship between HOLC mapping program and actual FHA loan policy.[77] Dr. Sugrue ignores this contrary literature, but more importantly provides no empirical evidence of alleged discriminatory loan policy toward Blacks or Hispanics on Staten Island.

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[75] Kramer and Flanagan, *supra* n.41, at 107.
[76] Price Fishback, et al, *New Evidence on Redlining by Federal Housing Programs in the 1930s*, J. Urb. Econ. (Jan. 2022).
[77] *Id.*

Furthermore, even should Dr. Sugrue find some informational points to support his claim, it is not clear how federal housing loan policies in place seventy years ago impair the ability of Black or Hispanic voters currently in Staten Island from electing minorities to office. Dr. Sugrue's theory offers no causality and runs contrary to the state of politics today. Congresswoman Nicole Malliotakis, the representative from the 11th Congressional District, which encompasses the entirety of Staten Island, is Hispanic, and she previously represented part of the Island in the State Assembly. Dr. Sugrue also does not account for Kamillah Hanks and Charles Fall, two Black legislators, who also currently serve Staten Island constituencies. He further ignores that several other minority candidates have run credible campaigns after receiving nominations from both the Republican and Democratic parties, qualified for the ballot, and—when appropriate—received public matching funds, as discussed below.

In sum, regardless of the history to overcome the legacy of slavery and to expand legislative and judicial protection and advancement for racial and ethnic minorities, Dr. Sugrue fails to explain how a history of slavery or isolated incidents of racism impairs the ability of Black, Hispanic, or Asian voters from fully participating through voting or electing favored candidates to office today.

ii. Factor (b): Blacks and Hispanics Have Achieved Success in Being Elected to Office in Staten Island

Dr. Sugrue incorrectly contends that Black and Hispanic candidates "have long been under-represented in political offices in Staten Island." Rep. ¶ 90. There is no evidence that members of the protected class have been excluded from public office, and, to the contrary, racial and ethnic minorities have had great success in Staten Island.

The New York City Council representative for District 49, which covers nearly the entire North Shore of Staten Island, is represented by Kamillah Hanks, a Black woman who has made,

according to the city council website, a career of advocacy, innovation, and leadership.[78] She chaired the critical Public Safety Committee and serves as co-chair of the Staten Island Delegation. She also succeeded Debi Rose, another Black woman, who represented the district from 2010 to 2021 and served as the dean of the Staten Island delegation.

Similarly, the Assemblyman for New York 61st State Assembly District, which covers the North Shore of Staten Island, is Charles B. Fall, a Black, Muslim man whose family is from Guinea, West Africa.[79] Fall has also been elected to serve as the Chairman of the Staten Island Democratic Party and leads the party's political efforts throughout Staten Island.

Staten Islanders also elect diverse candidates to the bench. The Honorable Anne Thompson, a Black woman; the Honorable Tashanna Golden, a Black woman; the Honorable Raymond Rodriguez, a Hispanic man; the Honorable Alexander Jeung, an Asian man; the Honorable Biju Koshy, an Asian man; and the Honorable Raja Rajeswari, a South-Asian woman, all currently serve as members of the Staten Island judiciary.

The 11th Congressional District, which encompasses the entirety of Staten Island, is also represented by Hispanic Congresswoman Nicole Malliotakis in the House of Representatives. Both of Congresswoman Malliotakis' parents are recent immigrants and non-native English speakers. She has made her heritage a prominent feature of her campaigns and work in public office. Congresswoman Malliotakis also previously served as one of the borough's Assembly Members between 2011 and 2021. Although Dr. Sugrue looks to historical practices that existed in the 1920s, Rep. ¶ 80, to conclude that members of protected classes are excluded from public

[78] *Kamillah Hanks*, New York City Council, available at https://council.nyc.gov/district-49/ (last visited December 5, 2025).
[79] *Assemblyman Charles D. Fall*, N.Y. Assembly, https://nyassembly.gov/mem/Charles-D-Fall.

office, his failure to account for the demonstrative success of protected class members serving Staten Island shows that such conclusions are implausible in modern-day Staten Island.

iii. Factor (c): The Use of Voting Qualifications or Prerequisites to Vote to Enhance the Dilutive Effects of the Election Scheme

Dr. Sugrue contends that New York's use of literacy tests in the 1920s has "long prevented or hindered minority groups in Staten Island from participating in the political process." Rep. ¶ 88. The history of literacy testing in New York, however, is considerably more complex than portrayed by Dr. Sugrue, and, moreover, he fails to explain how these state-wide tests uniquely affected minorities in Staten Island.

Although New York required a literacy test in 1921, the State funded evening programs, public schools, and community centers to provide an extensive educational campaign to ensure an expanded electorate would pass the exam.[80] New York also revised the test two years later to use simpler text, after testing it in two hundred public schools to fourth graders in Troy, Albany, Schenectady, and New York City.[81] Due to these efforts, within its first decade, the fail rate for the exam fell from 21.4% to 10.1%.[82] This occurred even while more people took the exam, including 129,000 exam takers in 1928. These sustained efforts often allowed immigrants to pass in greater numbers.

Notably, the U.S. Supreme Court upheld state-imposed literacy tests in the states as late as 1959.[83] In an opinion by William O. Douglas, the Court found that the tests were constitutional because they applied equally to all races and were not "merely a device to make racial

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[80] Marco Balestri, *The Fight to Read, Write, and Vote: The New York State Literacy Test, 1922-1965*, 52, Columbia University, December 2021, available at https://sites.asit.columbia.edu/wp-content/uploads/sites/29/2022/05/Balestri-Marco_Final-Thesis.pdf.
[81] J. Cayce Morrison, *New York State Regents Literacy Test*, J. Educ. Rsch. (1925).
[82] Balestri, *supra* n.80, at 73.
[83] *Lassiter v. Northampton Cnty. Bd. of Elections*, 360 U.S. 45, 53–54 (1959).

discrimination easy."[84] The Court explained that a state could use its power to "determine the conditions under which the right of suffrage may be exercised."[85] The Voting Rights Act of 1964 prohibited states from preventing people with a sixth-grade education from voting, which arguably the New York Literacy Test did not target. And in 1966, the U.S. Supreme Court confirmed in *Katzenbach v. Morgan* that Congress had the right to halt English-language requirements and established that the federal government could extend language-based voting protections.[86] And shortly thereafter, Congress did just that.

Due to increased migration of Spanish speaking people to the mainland United States, including up to 1.4 million Puerto Ricans by 1970, the literary test re-emerged as an obstacle to voting.[87] But Spanish speaking minorities were not politically weak, as legal and education organizations for Mexicans and Puerto Ricans helped lobby Congress, brought successful legal challenges, and helped introduce legislation to protect Spanish speakers.[88] These groups, along with those like the League of United Latin American Citizens, championed the Voting Rights Act of 1975 which declared that Spanish-speaking people were a protected group and recognized them as a language minority.[89] The act banned literacy tests and required providing ballots in Spanish, and other recognized languages. This was the first time that a language group, not a race or ethnic group, was designated a protected class as embodied in the Voting Rights Act of 1965.[90] And literacy tests have not served to bar any voter from the political process in the last fifty years.

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[84] *Id.* at 53.
[85] *Id.* at 50.
[86] 384 U.S. 641 (1966).
[87] Rosina, Lozano, *Vote Aquí Hoy: The 1975 Extension of the Voting Rights Act and the Creation of Language Minorities*, J. Pol'y His. 68, 69–72 (Dec. 22, 2022).
[88] *Id.* at 73–75.
[89] *Id.* at 77.
[90] *Id.* at 69.

To the contrary, today, there are extensive government resources meant to ensure that all eligible voters have access to the ballots, regardless of their country of origin or primary language. For example, New York City provides foreign language services for protected classes in voting, appearing at the polls to assist non-English speakers.[91] It also provides printable resource guides in 14 different languages, including English, Spanish, Arabic, Bengali, Chinese (traditional and simplified), French, Haitian Creole, Italian, Korean, Polish, Russian, Urdu, and Yiddish. Thus, Staten Island has come a long way from the days of literacy tests.[92]

iv. Factor (d): Denying Eligible Voters or Candidates Access to Ballots, Financial Support, or Other Support in a Given Election

Neither Dr. Sugrue nor Petitioners provide any support for the suggestion that Black and Latino voters or candidates have been denied access to the ballot, financial support, or other support. To the contrary, dozens of candidates have run for office who not only qualified to be on the ballot over the last few decades but have also qualified for the City's and, more recently, the State's matching funds program—which provide candidates of all ethnicities with matching funds at a multiplier rate in addition to the dollars they raise from traditional donations. This has resulted in diverse candidates in every election cycle.

v. Factors (e)/(f): The Extent to Which Members of a Protected Class Contribute to Political Campaigns and Vote at Lower Rates than Other Members of the Electorate

Voting turnout in the state of New York is not categorized by race or ethnicity, so an exact determination of turn-out of protected classes is not discernable, but the available regional and national data suggests that Black and Hispanic voters in Staten Island are not being denied access

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[91] *Voter Language Assistance Services*, NYC Civic Engagement Commission, available at https://www.nyc.gov/site/civicengagement/our-programs/poll-site-language-access.page (last visited Dec. 7, 2025).
[92] *Id.*

to voting or blocked from voting for candidates of their choice. Nor does Dr. Sugrue contend otherwise.

Hispanic voters have increased their participation in New York City throughout the last decade. According to the Hispanic Federation in New York City, Hispanic voter turnout increased in the City's municipal elections in 2025.[93] Indeed, during the June 2025 municipal primaries, more than 165,000 Hispanics voted, apparently "shattering previous voter turnout records."[94]

This is consistent with national data showing increased Hispanic voter eligibility throughout the country. In 2024, for example, the number of eligible Hispanic voters increased from 32.3 million in 2020 to an estimated **36.2 million**, significantly increasing the potential size of the Hispanic voting bloc.[95]

The national data also consistently shows increased voter registration and turnout across the country. A report by CUNY Center of for Latin American, Caribbean and Latino Studies concludes that Hispanic voters are registering and voting nationally and in the state of New York more than ever before.[96] Data from the National Association of Latino Elected and Appointed Officials (NALEO), shown in Table 3, similarly shows an increase in Hispanic turnout for the Presidential election, highlighting a 13.1% increase in Hispanic participation in the electoral process between 2016 and 2024.[97]

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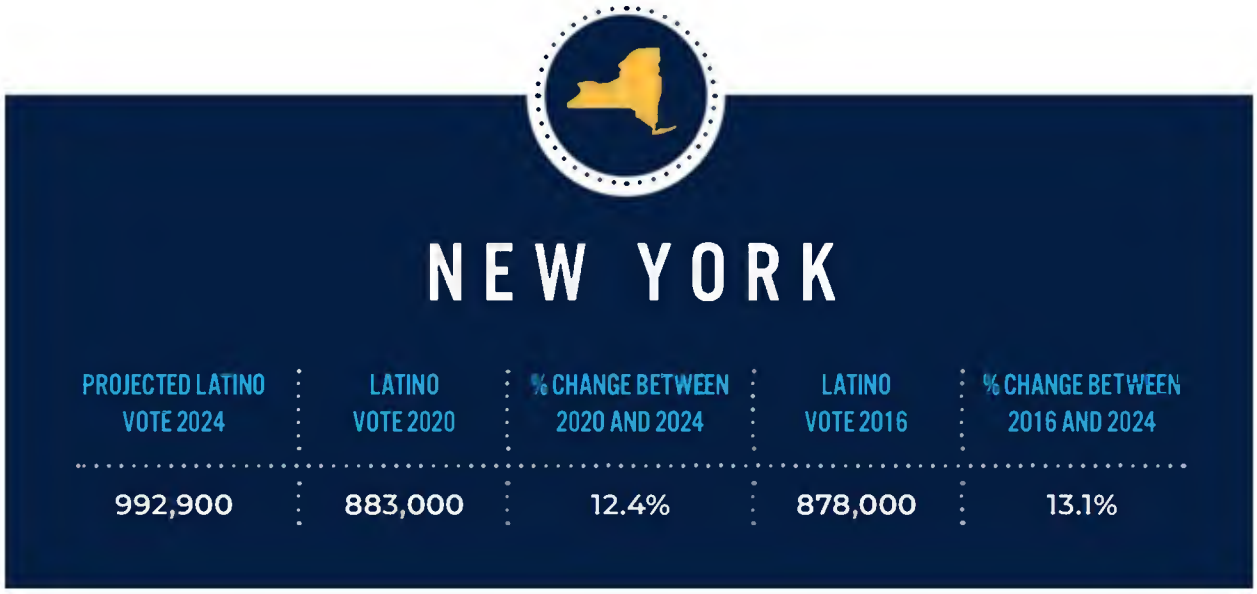
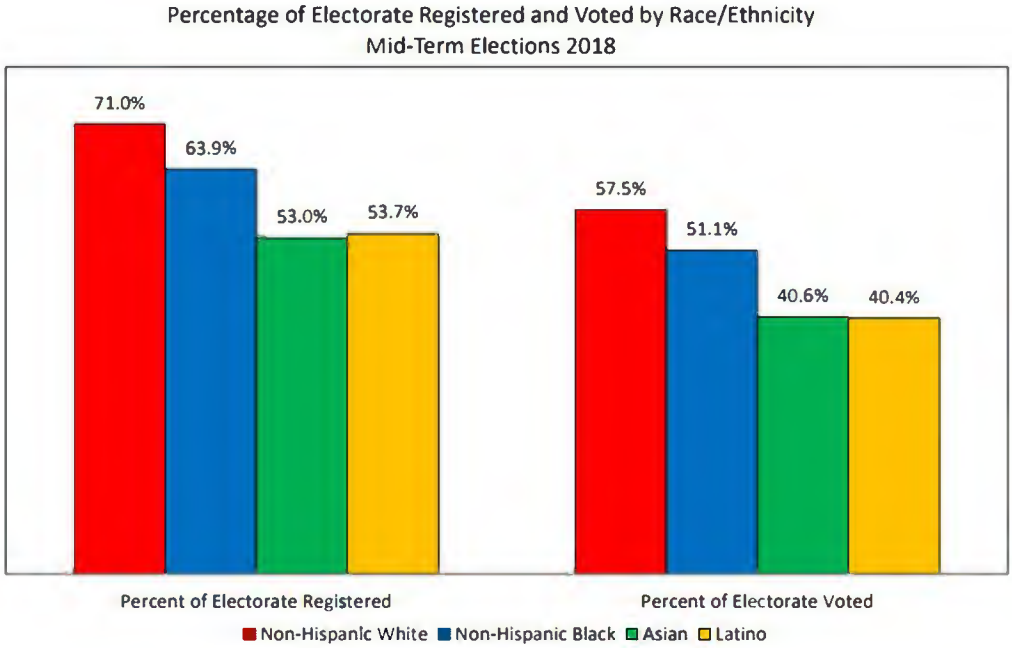
[93] *Hispanic Federation Celebrates Record-Breaking Voter Turnout in New York City Municipal Elections*, Hispanic Federation (Nov. 4, 2025), available at https://www.hispanicfederation.org/news/hispanic-federation-celebrates-record-breaking-voter-turnout-in-new-york-city-municipal-elections/.
[94] *Id.*
[95] Bruno Vega Hübner & F.J. Pueyo Meno, *The Hispanic Vote in the 2024 U.S. Presidential Elections*, Estudios del Observatorio 5 (2025), available at https://cervantesobservatorio.fas.harvard.edu/sites/default/files/95_en_the_hispanic_vote_in_the_2024_u.s._presidential_elections.pdf.
[96] Laird W. Bergad, *Latino Voter Participation in the 2018 and 2022 Midterm Elections*, Ctr. for Latin Am., Caribbean, and Latino Stud. at City U. of N.Y. (Sept. 2023), available at https://academicworks.cuny.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1121&context=clacls_pubs.
[97] New York Primary Election Profile, NALEO 5 (2024) https://naleo.org/COMMS/PRA/2024/New_York_Primary_Pofile_FINAL.pdf.

Table 3



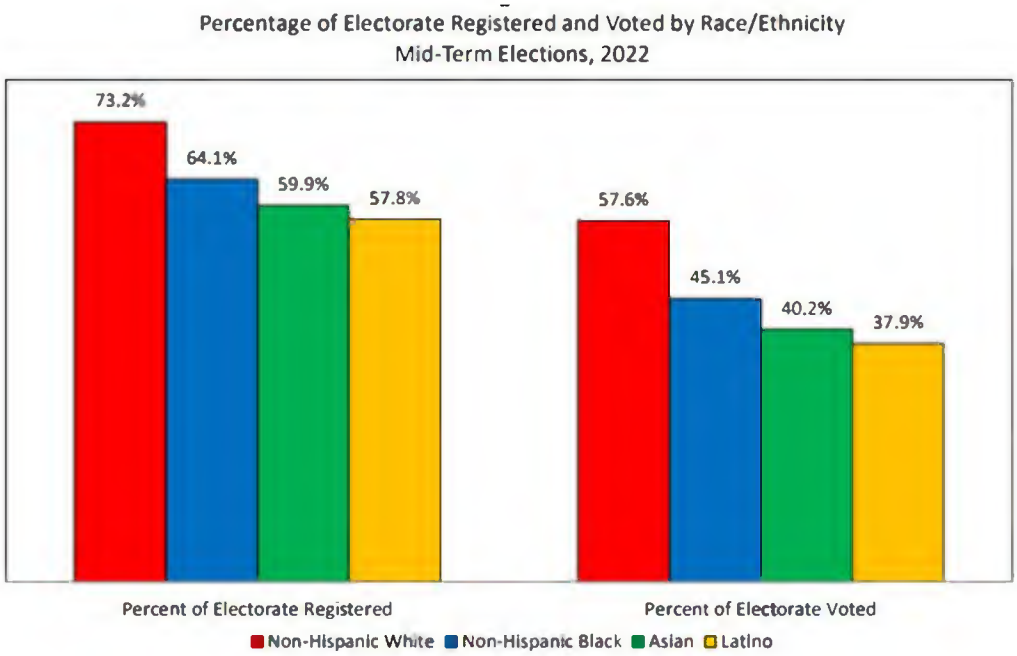
This is confirmed by surveys from City University of New York, concluding that Spanish speaking voters are increasingly involved in politics, as shown in Tables 4 and 5.[98]

Table 4



[98] *Latino Voter Participation in the 2018 and 2022 Midterm Elections*, *supra* note 96, at 5–6.

Table 5



Further, according to the Center for Latin American, Caribbean and Latino Studies (CLALS), there was about a 13% difference in Hispanic voter registration and turnout in 2018. And in 2022, Hispanic voter registration increased by 4% from 2018.[99]

Contrary to the bleak picture painted by Dr. Sugrue, the data shows immense progress, not racial suppression, and it suggests that Hispanic voters in Staten Island will only increase their political participation in the future. As of 2024 Hispanics make up 15% of the current voting population in Richmond County.[100] This is one of the highest percentages of any New York State County.[101] And the growth of the Hispanic voting population and increased participation around the country suggests that Staten Island will see more Hispanics voting and being elected to office in the county, without expanding the district. This is particularly true given that the Hispanic

[99] *Id.*
[100] *Latina Representation in New York Government*, HOPE 7 (2024), available at https://www.latinas.org/wp-content/uploads/HOPE-NY-Latina-Representation-Report-2024-FINAL.pdf.
[101] *Id.*

community in Staten Island is both active and well organized, including such organizations as La Colmena, the Hispanic Federation, Make the Road NY, and El Centro.

Additionally, Blacks have even higher voter turnout than Hispanics nationally. In fact, Black voter turnout was almost the same as White voter turnout in 2008 (65.2% as compared to 66.1%) and was actually higher than White voter turnout in 2012 (66.6% compared to 64.1%).[102] Dr. Sugrue does not contend that Black voters in Staten Island vote in elections at a lower rate than Black voters nationally. These statistics therefore suggest a politically active Black community, comparable to the White community.

vi. Factor (g): The Extent to Which Members of the Protected Class are Disadvantaged in Areas Such as Education, Employment, and Housing

Education

Dr. Sugrue contends that there are "significant disparities" in educational attainment between White, Black, and Hispanic adults on Staten Island. But he fails to discuss the complexity of education responsibility, wholly ignores that Hispanic and Black educational attainment have been largely increasing in Staten Island, and does not discuss other measures of inequality in education, which do not support his contention.

Education is a complex social issue that is not the sole responsibility of Staten Island. In their account of education policy and politics in *The Oxford Handbook of New York State Government and Politics*, political scientists Jack Buckley and Allison Armour-Garb explain that "education in New York is the result of a political balancing act between many actors . . . including the Board of Regents, the legislature, the governor, the courts, mayors, teachers' unions, school

[102]Thom File, *Voting in America: A Look at the 2016 Presidential Election* (May 10, 2017), available at https://www.census.gov/newsroom/blogs/random-samplings/2017/05/voting_in_america.html.

administrators, and democratically elected local school boards."[103] Any disparity in educational attainment cannot therefore be the fault of Staten Island's leadership alone.

Moreover, Black and Latino educational attainment have increased over the past decade in Staten Island. As the tables below indicate, the percentage of Blacks attaining a high school degree in Staten Island increased from 85.8% in 2015 to 86.4% in 2020 and 90.2% in 2024. The percentage of Blacks attaining bachelor's degrees similarly increased from 24.6% in 2015 to 28.7% in 2020 and 30.0% in 2024. Likewise, the percentage of Hispanics in Staten Island earning a high school degree increased from 78.4% in 2020 to 82.8% in 2024, and the percentage of Hispanics who earned a bachelor's degree increased from 18.0% in 2015 to 22.0% in 2024.

2024 Educational Attainment by Race[104]

Race & Educational Attainment	Total	Percent	Percent of White
White - High school graduate or higher	186,170	92.9%	100.00%
White - Bachelor's degree or higher	83,716	41.8%	100.00%
Black - High school graduate or higher	27,572	90.2%	97.09%
Black - Bachelor's degree or higher	9,182	30.0%	71.77%
Asian - High school graduate or higher	39,590	75.7%	81.49%
Asian - Bachelor's degree or higher	17,841	34.1%	81.58%
Latino - High school graduate or higher	49,975	82.8%	89.13%
Latino - Bachelor's degree or higher	13,304	22.0%	52.63%

[103] Gerald Benjamin, Jack Buckly & Allison Armour-Garb, The Oxford Handbook of New York State Government and Politics, New York State Education Policy and Politics, 563 (Oxford University Press, 2012).

[104] 2024 Educational Attainment, U.S. Census Bureau, available at https://data.census.gov/table?q=educational+attainment&g=060XX00US3608570915 (select "View All 28 Products" under S1501 | Educational Attainment, then select 2024: ACS 1-Year Estimates Subject Tables).

2020 Educational Attainment by Race[105]

Race & Educational Attainment	Total	Percent	Percent of White
White - High school graduate or higher	196,906	92.7%	100.00%
White - Bachelor's degree or higher	79,808	37.6%	100.00%
Black - High school graduate or higher	26,692	86.4%	93.20%
Black - Bachelor's degree or higher	8,868	28.7%	76.33%
Asian - High school graduate or higher	27,008	79.2%	85.43%
Asian - Bachelor's degree or higher	14,494	42.5%	113.03%
Latino - High school graduate or higher	40,984	78.4%	84.57%
Latino - Bachelor's degree or higher	11,014	21.1%	56.12%

2015 Educational Income by Race[106]

Race & Educational Attainment	Total	Percent	Percent of White
White - High school graduate or higher	198,170	91.7%	100.00%
White - Bachelor's degree or higher	70,905	32.8%	100.00%
Black - High school graduate or higher	25,539	85.8%	93.57%
Black - Bachelor's degree or higher	7,339	24.6%	75.00%
Asian - High school graduate or higher	22,813	84.7%	92.37%
Asian - Bachelor's degree or higher	11,513	42.8%	130.49%
Latino - High school graduate or higher	37,727	79.0%	86.15%
Latino - Bachelor's degree or higher	8,605	18.0%	54.88%

Other measures of inequality in education also contradict Dr. Sugrue's finding of discrimination. For example, one classic measure of inequality in education is per pupil spending in public schools. And disparities in pupil spending in Staten Island high schools do not vary

[105] 2020 Education Attainment, U.S. Census Bureau, available at https://data.census.gov/table/ACSST5Y2020.S1501?q=educational+attainment&g=060XX00US3608570915 (select "View All 28 Products" under S1501 | Educational Attainment, then select 2020: ACS 5-Year Estimates Subject Tables).
[106] 2015 Educational Attainment, U.S. Census Bureau, available at https://data.census.gov/table/ACSST5Y2015.S1501?q=educational+attainment&g=060XX00US3608570915 (select "View All 28 Products" under S1501 | Educational Attainment, then select 2015: ACS 1-Year Estimates Subject Tables).

significantly by location. Among the twelve public high schools in Staten Island, only five have funding allocations above the New York City average,[107] and all five of those schools educate higher percentages of non-White students, as shown in the table below.

School	Spending	Econ Need	Asian	Black	Hispanic	White[108]
David Marquis School of the Arts*	112,153	84%	14%	10%	24%	49%
South Richmond High School*	76,982	91%	5%	32%	35%	24%
Eagle Academy for Young Men of Staten Island	33,162	90%	2%	52%	39%	4%
Ralph R. McKee Career and Technical	31,362	81%	2%	22%	59%	11%
Port Richmond High School	23,718	83%	7%	23%	54%	13%
Tottenville High School	17,278	45%	16%	2%	18%	61%
Michael J. Petrides School	20,507	65%	13%	21%	35%	28%
Gaynor McCown Expeditionary Learning School	19,414	51%	15%	4%	28%	46%
New Dorp High School	18,883	65%	19%	8%	30%	40%
Curtis High School	18,162	81%	7%	30%	49%	10%
CSI High School for International Studies	15,739	55%	37%	6%	24%	33%
Staten Island Technical High School	13,205	46%	67%	1%	4%	27%

* Schools serving special need students

[107] New York City average: $22,857 per pupil; New York special needs schools: $76,763 per pupil. School Budget At a Glance, The New York City Department of Education, available at New York City Department of Education and can be found at https://www.nycenet.edu/publicapps/Offices/FSF/BudgetAtGlance.aspx (select 2024-2025 school year, search for specific school within drop down menu).

[108] The racial breakdown does not total to 100% because the small multi-racial, missing, and Native American categories are not included in the table.

The reason for increased funding is not ambitious White parents, but in fact a mission to educate hard-to-serve populations. Schools that work with students with intellectual disabilities, including those on the autism spectrum, spend significantly more than the Island's average. At both the David Marquis School of the Arts and the South Richmond High School, 100% of the students have intellectual disabilities. Some at David Marquis are non-verbal.

Another school well above the New York City average is the Eagle Academy for Young Men of Staten Island, which largely serves Black and Hispanic students, nearly half of whom have disabilities.[109] The school has been highlighted by the Staten Island Advance for its success in educating and providing pathways to college for young Black and Hispanic men.[110]

Although there are gaps in achievement among Whites, Blacks, and Hispanics, the increase in Black and Hispanic educational attainment, and the fact that the per pupil spending in Staten Island does not support a finding of discrimination, demonstrate that Dr. Sugrue's myopic focus on current disparities presents an unbalanced image of the educational realities on Staten Island.

Housing

Dr. Sugrue discusses "wide" gaps in homeownership rates between Whites, Blacks, and Hispanics. Rep. ¶ 79. He ignores, however, that Staten Island has a far higher rate of homeownership than the New York City, New York State, and national averages, and he disregards the fact that the high demand for housing in Staten Island has greatly increased the cost of housing.

In Richmond County, the homeownership rate is 67.9%, which is more than 2 times greater than New York City's average of 31%.[111] It is also significantly higher than the statewide average

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[109] *The 2025 Staten Island Trailblazers*, City & State, (Nov. 24, 2025), available at https://www.cityandstateny.com/power-lists/2025/11/2025-staten-island-trailblazers/409605/.
[110] Annalise Knudson, *A lifelong passion becomes reality: How this NYC principal works to empower young men of color*, (June 17, 2021), available at https://www.silive.com/education/2021/06/a-lifelong-passion-becomes-reality-how-this-nyc-principal-works-to-empower-young-men-of-color.html.
[111] *Richmond County Data*, *supra* n.3.

of 53.6% and slightly better than the national average of 65%.[112] This indicates that Blacks and Hispanics have historically had, and will likely continue to have, a better chance of owning a home in Staten Island than they would elsewhere in the area, in the State, or around the country.

Of course, given the high demand for homes on Staten Island from people of all ethnic groups—especially East Asians, South Asians and Middle-Easterners, Blacks, Hispanics, and Orthodox Jews—attempting to move to Staten Island, Staten Island has experienced a housing shortage and an accompanying increase in housing prices. This makes it more difficult for all on Staten Island to purchase a home.

Between 2022 and 2023 the median property value increased from $637,100 to $658,500, a 3.36% increase. The 2023 median property value in Richmond County, New York, again, $658,500, was 2.17 times larger than the national average of $303,400.[113]

Even so, Staten Island's housing shortage is decreasing, meaning that the overall population experiencing housing shortages has decreased from 2014 to 2025. In 2025, 22.9% of the population was living with severe housing problems in Richmond County, New York, which was a decline of .257% in the indicator from 2014.[114]

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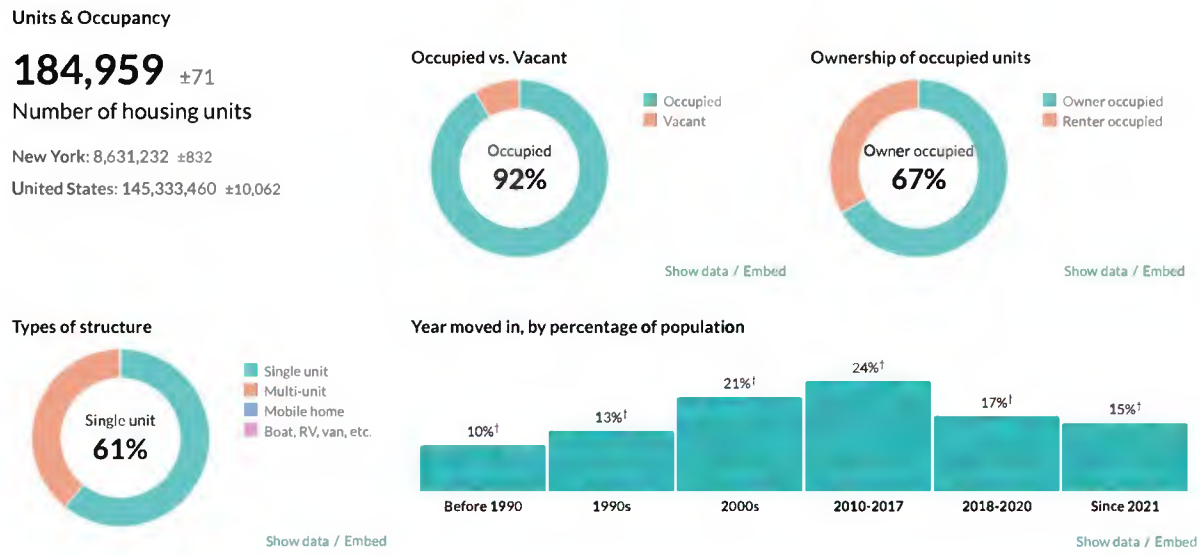
[112] *Id.*

[113] *Id.*

[114] The data supporting this statement and the tables below can be found on the Census Reporter website. *See Total Population in Occupied Housing United by Tenure by Year Householder Moved Into Unit, ACS 2023 1-year*, Census Reporter, available at https://censusreporter.org/data/table/?table=B25026&primary_geo_id=05000US36085&geo_ids=05000US36085,04000US36,01000US; *Value, 2023 1-year*, Census Reporter, available at https://censusreporter.org/data/table/?table=B25075&primary_geo_id=05000US36085&geo_ids=05000US36085,04000US36,01000US; *Geographical Mobility in the Pas Year by Sex for Current Residence in the United States, ACS 2023 1-year*, Census Reporter, https://censusreporter.org/data/table/?table=B07003&primary_geo_id=05000US36085&geo_ids=05000US36085,04000US36,01000US.



Comparing Income Across Racial Lines

Dr. Sugrue narrowly focuses on the "significant socio-economic disparities" between Black and Hispanics on Staten Island as compared to Whites on Staten Island. Rep. ¶ 78. Again, Dr. Sugrue ignores that Black and Hispanic median income has been increasing steadily and decreasing the income disparity.

As shown in the tables below, since 2010, Blacks in Staten Island have increased their mean income by more than 33%, growing from $20,785 in 2010 to $32,154 in 2024. This resulted in a 4.14% increase in Black income as a percentage of White income.

Hispanics have similarly increased their mean income on Staten Island. Hispanic mean income grew from $21,379 in 2010 to $31,399 in 2024, increasing their percentage as compared to White income. Likewise, Asians on Staten Island have seen an increase in mean income, with an increase from $26,439 in 2010 to $35,068 in 2024.

Median Income[115]

2024 Household Income

Race	Population Distribution	Mean Income	Percent of White Income
White	57.7%	$48,903	100%
Black or African American	9.2%	$32,154	65.75%
Asian	14.4%	$35,068	71.71%
Hispanic or Latino origin (of any race)	19.6%	$31,399	64.21%

2020 Household Income

Race	Population Distribution	Mean Income	Percent of White Income
White	71.6%	$41,569	100%
Black or African American	10.2%	$26,786	64.44%
Asian	10.0%	$35,277	84.86%
Hispanic or Latino origin (of any race)	18.4%	$26,364	63.42%

2010 Household Income

Race	Population Distribution	Mean Income	Percent of White Income
White	75.8%	$33,739	100%
Black or African American	10.0%	$20,785	61.61%
Asian	7.6%	$26,439	78.33%
Hispanic or Latino origin (of any race)	16.30%	$21,379	63.37%

[115] *Mean Income in the Past 12 Months (in 2024 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars), S1902*, U.S. Census Bureau, available at https://data.census.gov/table/ACSST1Y2024.S1902?q=median+income&g=050XX00US36085$1400000_060XX00US3608570915%20.%20.%20; *Poverty Status in the Past 12 Months by Sex by Age, ACS 2023 1-year*, Census Reporter, available at https://censusreporter.org/data/table/?table=B17001&primary_geo_id=05000US36085&geo_ids=05000US36085,04000US36,01000US.

The income disparity must therefore be viewed in context, which shows that the disparity is decreasing and will likely continue to do so.

vii. Factors (h): Hispanics and Blacks on Staten Island Are Not Disadvantaged in Other Areas in a Way that Hinders Their Ability to Participate Effectively in the Political Process

Dr. Sugrue focuses on factor (g)—considering socioeconomic status, housing, and income—and disregards Staten Island's clear commitment to supporting its minority residents and ending racism through community resources and other support. Without acknowledging these facts, Dr. Sugrue's presentation of Staten Island is incomplete.

Community Resources:

To start, Staten Island has extensive minority resources meant to protect legal rights and provide an array of services for minorities, ensuring community development, voting rights, legal counseling, and minority integration.

In 2024, New Yorkers "identif[ied] the actions government must take to improve well-being for communities harmed by racism and social injustice," and determined that governments needed to "[i]ncrease and appropriately fund the number of organizations working with NYC government to provide health, mental health, and substance use programs that understand the lived experience of community members most harmed by racism."[116] Indeed, 78.1% of respondents agreed or strongly agreed that the increase of mental health and substance use programs would be most helpful to communities harmed by racism, choosing that option over (1) "[i]ntegrat[ing] diverse voices in government decision-making"; (2) "[i]ncreasing equity in income and employment supports"; (3) "lessen[ing] burdens and increase[ing] supports for students and their

[116] *Staten Island Community Equity Priority Feedback*, NYC Commission on Racial Equity, available at https://www.nyc.gov/assets/core/downloads/pdf/05_29_25%20Staten%20Island%20Borough%20Based%20Data%20Profile.pdf.

families"; and (4) promoting "stable and low-cost housing."[117] In other words, the residents of Staten Island believed the best way to help communities harmed by racism and social injustices was not increasing income or employment or helping with housing costs, but funding organizations that could help these communities.

Staten Island has an extensive number of agencies and community groups, public and private, focused on aiding minority residents, including through economic development, legal aid to immigrants, integration of minorities into community, and fighting racism. These include the New York Immigration Coalition, El Centro, and the Staten Island office of the Mayor's Office of Immigrant Affairs, as well as:

- **Richmond County Black & Minority Chamber of Commerce (BMC):** A non-profit organization dedicated to the economic empowerment of African American and other minority communities through business support and networking opportunities.
- **NAACP - Staten Island Branch #2227:** Part of the national organization that works to ensure a society in which all individuals have equal rights without discrimination based on race.
- **La Colmena:** A center that supports the immigrant community on Staten Island by offering various services, including courses, food drives, legal advice, and workshops.
- **Migration Resource Center:** A non-profit organization providing affordable immigration legal services for low-income individuals in the area.
- **Sauti Yetu Center for African Women:** This organization works with African immigrant women and families, providing support and resources.
- **Project Hospitality:** While serving the broader community, this organization offers a wide range of social services including immigrant support, food pantries, and housing assistance that help many minority residents in need.
- **Arab-American Family Support Center (AAFSC):** Supports Arab-American immigrant communities with various family and social services.

[117] *Id.*

- **South Asian Council for Social Services (SACSS):** Provides social services and support tailored to the needs of the South Asian community.
- **Bait-ul Jamaat House of Community**: Formed in 2015 on the South Shore, it protects a broad scope of underserved members of the community.
- **Central Family Life Center**: A non-profit organization formed in 1991 that seeks to improve the lives and environment of Staten Island residents.
- **Coalition for Asian American Children and Families**: A non-profit that coordinates resources for Asian Americans on Staten Island and throughout NYC.
- **Muslim Sisters of Staten Island**: An organization founded in 2014 to empower underserved women and children affected by trauma and other life challenges through civic and community engagement, education, resources, and support.
- **The Panafrican Cultural and Training Center**: A non-profit that supports economic growth through training comprehensive skills.
- **Project Caribbean**: A non-profit cultural and arts program supporting members of the Caribbean diaspora.
- **National Council of Negro Women – Staten Island Section**: A non-profit organization founded in 1935 with the mission to advance the opportunities and the quality of life for African American women, their families, and communities.
- **Staten Island Community Alliance**: A non-profit which several events including the boroughs annual Juneteenth celebration.
- **Staten Island S.T.R.O.N.G.:** A non-profit which provides tours, access and information about historically Black colleges and universities to Staten Island students.

Staten Island also has groups specifically dedicated to increasing political participation. Groups like La Colmena and Make the Road NY have been at the forefront of political issues on Staten Island for many years and have increased political involvement by Hispanics. Prominent groups like the Richmond County Black and Minority Chamber of Commerce, the Central Family Life Center, the Staten Island Urban Center, have increased community participation among

Blacks. Other organizations like the NAACP and the Staten Island Unity Coalition have also routinely hosted legislative forums to bring candidates into communities of color.[118]

2020 Election Rallies. In 2020, various groups that support minority rights held several rallies around the borough in an effort to get voters engaged in the 2020 election. These included La Colmena, the National Action Network, and the Young Leaders of Staten Island.[119]

Staten Island's Marked Decrease in Hate Crimes and The Community's Response to Racism

After fixating on racism that occurred decades ago during a time in which racism was prolific throughout the country, Dr. Sugrue myopically focuses on a handful of purported "hate crimes" that have occurred on Staten Island more recently. Rep. ¶ 63–75. Dr. Sugrue's report lacks important context and misses Staten Island's progress in combating hate crimes.

According to the Southern Poverty Law Center's (SPLC) 2015 "Hate Map," there are no hate groups in Staten Island—and the SPLC tends to err on the side of overreporting.[120] Additionally, Staten Island has consistently had one of the lowest incident rates of hate crimes in its precincts for several decades. In 2025, the New York City Police Department Hate Crimes dashboard shows a total of twelve incidents reported on Staten Island, and ten of those incidents targeted Jewish residents.[121] Only two incidents in 2025 targeted Blacks.[122] Additionally,

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[118] Dr. Gracelyn Santos, *Legislative forum hosted by Staten Island Unity Coalition focused on community issues* (Nov. 3, 2025), available at https://www.silive.com/news/2025/11/legislative-forum-hosted-by-staten-island-unity-coalition-focused-on-community-issues.html

[119] Clifford Michel, *Their Anti-Racism Marches Were Twisted in a $4 Million GOP Attack Ad Campaign. Now, They Just Want to Get Out the Vote*, (Nov. 22, 2020), available at https://www.thecity.nyc/2020/11/22/anti-racism-marches-young-leaders-of-staten-island-voter-registration/.

[120] Tom Wrobleski, *Despite our reputation, Staten Island is no home for hate groups (commentary)*, silive (Mar. 24, 2015), available at https://www.silive.com/opinion/columns/2015/03/despite_our_reputation_staten.html.

[121] *NYPD Hate Crimes Dashboard*, NYPD, available at https://app.powerbigov.us/view?r=eyJrIjoiNTAwY2MzZWUtZTFjMy00YjQ3LTk1YWEtZGE0MDhkN2UzYTRhIiwidCI6IjJiOWY1N2ViLTc4ZDEtNDZmYi1iZTgzLWEyYWZkZDdjNjA0MyJ9.

[122] *Id.*

quarterly-reported hate crimes in Staten Island, most of which involve graffiti and literature rather than physical attacks,[123] decreased 66% from 2018 to 2019 in Staten Island, while the city as a whole saw a 67% increase.[124]

Nonetheless, Dr. Sugrue cherry-picks recent incidents that he claims involved "hate crimes." But a closer look often demonstrates that he is wrong. For example, he claims that the Proud Boys were at a rally on August 12, 2023 alongside Staten Island's elected officials—when the article he cites in support does not. Rep. ¶ 71. The article merely reports a statement by one rally attendee who said that he would call on other protestors in the future—without identifying any group. There is no basis in fact for the conclusion that the Proud Boys attended, and the article does not support Dr. Sugrue's statement, let alone, suggest that Staten Island is overrun with hate groups.

Additionally, Dr. Sugrue cites "anti-immigrant" protests. Rep. ¶ 71. But referring to these protests as "anti-immigrant" is simplistic and naïve. Immigration was often at the top of every poll as to what concerned Americans leading into the 2024 election, and it was driven, by numerous legitimate concerns, *not* anti-immigrant sentiments. For example, the New York City mayor invited migrants to stay in converted hotels, which became de facto homeless shelters, and collectively this had a negative impact on the surrounding communities.[125] These protests were not unique to Staten Island, and in fact, they occurred in nearly every neighborhood, and in every

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[123] Kyle Lawson, *From gang markings to hate crimes, D.A. McMahon's cleanup crew goes to work on Staten Island* (Nov. 4, 2025), available at https://www.silive.com/crime-safety/2025/11/from-gang-markings-to-hate-crimes-da-mcmahons-cleanup-crew-goes-to-work-on-staten-island.html.

[124] Irene Spezzamonte, *Hate crimes decrease drastically on Staten Island as they rise sharply citywide* (May 17, 2019), available https://www.silive.com/crime/2019/05/hate-crimes-decrease-drastically-on-staten-island-as-they-rise-sharply-citywide.html.

[125] Craig McCarthy & Matt Troutman, *Shocking data detail NYC illegal migrant crime with 3.2K arrests — including assault, robbery, murder*, NY Post (May 2, 2025), available at https://nypost.com/2025/05/02/us-news/shocking-data-details-nyc-illegal-migrant-crime-with-3-2k-arrests-including-assault-robbery-murder/.

borough, where the hotels were sited, including even the most progressive neighborhoods[126] and communities of color.[127] The protests in fact, demonstrate Staten Islanders' active participation in the political process by exercising their First Amendment rights. Dr. Sugrue's framing of this issue as unique to Staten Island is deliberately inaccurate and factually ahistorical.

Moreover, when instances of hate have occurred, residents of Staten Island have taken action in response, expressing their objection to such conduct. Some notable examples include:

Staten Island Hate Crimes Task Force. In the aftermath of the horror of the 2018 murders at the Tree of Life synagogue in Pittsburgh, Staten Island created the Staten Island Hate Crimes Task Force as a division of the Richmond County District Attorney's Office, and the District Attorney made a point of prosecuting hate crimes. These efforts have resulted in a generally downward trend in hate crimes, as discussed above.

Staten Islanders against Hate. In 2019, private citizens representing a broad spectrum of community leaders formed Staten Islanders against Hate, to bring educational materials and educational programs to the community and schools. The Mission Statement of the group states the following: "The Staten Island Hate Crimes Task Force, composed of leaders who represent communities that are historically targeted and victimized by hate-based crime, is committed to securing the right of every person to live their lives free from bias and hate on Staten Island. The Task Force shall seek, develop, and execute programming and other efforts to prevent hateful acts before they occur, particularly through education and immersive experiences. Members of the Task Force shall serve as ambassadors within and beyond their own communities to promote

[126] Louis Finley, *Group of Clinton Hill residents protest migrant shelters*, Spectrum News NY1 (July 23, 2024), available at https://ny1.com/nyc/brooklyn/news/2024/07/24/group-of-clinton-hill-residents-protest-migrant-shelters.
[127] FOX 5 New York, *Anger, frustrations in the Bronx over proposed 2,200-bed migrant shelter*, (YouTube, Jan. 27, 2025), available at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WQjLQE9qNJw.

greater understanding and tolerance of those with different backgrounds and to educate Staten Islanders of all ages about the need to live peaceably together in our community."[128]

Black Lives Matter. In 2020, Staten Island was home to several Black Lives Matter marches and rallies, in response to the murder of George Floyd by police, including one which Staten Island's Congressman attended[129] and another which the local member of the State Assembly attended.[130]

The aftermath of the Eric Garner incident. Dr. Sugrue highlights the Eric Garner killing and a grand jury's decision not to indict officer Daniel Pantaleo to infer disparities in policing without any discussion of the community's response to that incident. For one, as NPR pointed out, when compared to the aftermath of the Michael Brown incident in Ferguson, the response to Garner's death was entirely "peaceful" in part because Staten Island's elected officials proactively addressed concerns.[131] Shortly after the incident, District Attorney Dan Donovan announced "it is appropriate to present evidence regarding circumstances of his death to a Richmond County Grand Jury."[132] Countless Staten Islanders of all races and ethnicities took part in rallies and vigils throughout 2014, including one of 2,500 people lead by Reverand Al Sharpton and attended by numerous of Staten Island's community leaders.

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[128] Staten Islanders Against Hate, Office of the District Attorney Richmond County, available at https://www.statenislandda.org/silove/.
[129] Rebeka Humbrecht, *Protesters rally at 122nd Precinct, march down Hylan; exchange words with motorists*, SI Live (June 3, 2020), available at https://www.silive.com/news/2020/06/protestors-face-backlash-as-they-march-down-hylan-blvd.html.
[130] Joseph Ostapiuk, *Sandy Ground march retraces historic steps of Underground Railroad on Staten Island*, SI Live (Aug. 1, 2020), available at https://www.silive.com/news/2020/08/sandy-ground-march-retraces-historic-steps-of-underground-railroad-on-staten-island.html.
[131] Joel Rose, *In New York And Ferguson, Two Deaths, Two Different Responses*, NPR (Aug. 22, 2014), available at https://www.npr.org/2014/08/22/342470785/in-new-york-and-ferguson-two-deaths-two-different-responses.
[132] *Timeline: Eric Garner Death*, NBC New York (Dec. 5, 2014), available at https://www.nbcnewyork.com/news/local/timeline-eric-garner-chokehold-death-arrest-nypd-grand-jury-no-indictment/1427896/.

Response to New York Young Republican's Racist Group Chat. In response to racist group chat messages from the Manhattan based New York Young Republic Club that were leaked to the media in 2025, every Staten Island elected official, including every Republican politician, rallied against the messages and denounced all those involved at multiple press conferences.[133]

i. Factor (i): The Lack of Subtle Racial Appeals in Congressional Campaigns

Dr. Sugrue's evidence of racial appeals in political campaigns does not include any incident in a congressional campaign, provides a remarkably incomplete account of the secession campaign, and summarizes four disparate incidents across a dozen years that do not qualify under his own definition of racial appeals. He also relies on a 1967 cartoon that has nothing to do with elections. Instead of reaching for outlier incidents, a more complete look shows that candidates, Republicans and Democrats alike, campaigned on bread-and-butter issues and Staten Island-specific issues relevant to their constituents. It also shows that the Staten Island Secession movement arose from legitimate concerns about Staten Island losing political standing among the boroughs and the City exporting its problems to Staten Island's detriment, exemplified by the Fresh Kills Landfill.

Lack of Racial Appeals in Congressional Races

To determine the prevalence of racial appeals as might have appeared in congressional races, a search of Staten Island and other New York newspapers was conducted through Newspapers.com, a search engine regularly used by scholars. Newspaper research is standard methodology in history. Political historians have used newspapers to understand political campaigns for as long as there has been a historical profession. They provide a sense of what

[133] Tracey Porpora, *Staten Island GOP condemns hate speech in Young Republican leaders' text thread* (Oct. 15, 2025), available at https://www.silive.com/news/2025/10/staten-island-gop-condemns-hate-speech-in-young-republican-leaders-text-thread.html.

candidates wished to project to voters, a limited sense of public opinion, and a stronger sense of what was controversial or important to the press and public. Although accusations of racial appeals are often subjective in nature, an examination of newspapers in which charges of racism are reported against a candidate provides an objective measure in collecting racial appeals, as newspapers typically report such controversy. This method can be replicated by other investigators, a standard practice of social scientists.

As Dr. Sugrue reports, some social scientists and historians define racial appeals as either overt or subtle. In other words, Dr. Sugrue believes that scholars determine what counts as a racial appeal, no matter how the population at the time understood the appeal.

The method used here follows a well-understood historical method that focuses on how people at the time interpreted campaign appeals, instead of on how scholars now judge them and those issues. It assumes that charges of racism are politically powerful and would be reported in newspapers—even if the alleged appeal was subtle. In this analysis, there was a search for instances of the term "racism" along with "issues" from January to January in election years. It is an objective measure for collecting racial appeals, as newspapers typically report such controversy.

The search examined racial appeals in congressional campaigns from 2000 to 2024, a twenty-four-year period. The search focused on "racism" and "issues" for each general election race. Searching "racism" permits historians to accurately identify what people in a particular time believe to be racist. Historians seek to learn how people in the past understood their world and do not try to impose their present values. What some or most see as racist today might not have been understood as racist in the past. For example, the phrase "illegal aliens" may be considered racist or disrespectful by some today, the term was in common circulation in the past by members of both political parties that sought to stop illegal entry to the United States.

The search results showed that there was only one charge of racism and one potential charge of antisemitism that was not reported as such. In 2008, the losing candidate in the Republican primary charged the winner with racism for pointing out he had used a different first name that what he used professionally to hide his Pakistani heritage. In 2010, the Democratic candidate's staff claimed that the Republican candidate was supported by Jewish money. And in reviewing the central election issues, they reflected hot policy topics of the time: war on terrorism, transportation costs, prescription drugs and Social Security, the economy in the aftermath of the 2008 financial crisis, immigration policies, defunding the police, green policies, the size of government, charges of corruption, rising crime rates, social policy (like abortion), and blaming incumbents as ineffective.

Between 2008 and 2020, the country, state and borough saw significant milestones. In 2008, the nation elected its first Black President, and in 2012 President Obama carried Staten Island by thousands of votes. In that period, the State also saw its first black governor, David Patterson, and the first Black person was elected to office on Staten Island, Debi Rose. In 2020, the nation elected Kamala Harris as its first Black female Vice President.

As racial issues became more prominent nationally from 2014, it is remarkable that in 2020, racial identity politics played a small role in that congressional race. As Republican Nicole Malliotakis ran to unseat Democrat Max Rose, no charges of racism emerged for either candidate. Even though post-George Floyd defund-the-police demand occasionally hit news reports, Democrat incumbent Max Rose proclaimed his full support for the police and funding.

Dr. Sugrue also incorrectly frames the Staten Island Secession movement solely in racial terms. In the most comprehensive description of Staten Island secession movement, political historians Daniel Kramer and Richard Flanagan do not attribute substantial racial motives to its

inception and popular support. Only one paragraph out of a twenty-page chapter entitled "The Landfill and Secession Movement" discusses it. While they admit some Staten Islanders may have had racial motives in an ever-more-diverse city, they specifically downplay the notion: "[T]he 'Manhattan-centered view' of the anti-secessionist side overemphasized the extent to which racism motivated their opponents."[134]

Instead they ascribed secessionists motives largely to poor infrastructure, overcrowded schools, a lack of sewers, tolling on the Verrazzano Bridge, and the long history of the Fresh Kills Landfill.[135] Additionally, as Dr. Sugrue also cites, the Island's ability to govern itself, and its resident's ability to influence political outcomes, changed with the case of *New York City Board of Estimate v. Morris* in 1989.

As a source Dr. Sugrue relies on explains, "the catalyst for secession was the demise of the Board of Estimate, with its 'one borough, one vote' rule, and the concomitant reduction of Staten Island's power in the City's governing structure."[136] Until 1983, Staten Island had equal voting power with the other boroughs on the Board of Estimate, which "wielded broad authority over the City's land use and zoning process, the disposition of City property, and the grant of contracts and franchises, and it shared power with the City Council over the budget."[137] When that was disbanded and power re-apportioned to the City Council, "Staten Island sustained a severe loss of political power within the City."[138] Soon after that, Staten Island politicians submitted bills that would begin the secession process because the "borough would lose its political clout in the city

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[134] Kramer and Flanagan, *supra* note 41, at 127.
[135] *Id.*
[136] Richard Briffault, *Voting Rights, Home Rule, and Metropolitan Governance: The Secession of Staten Island As A Case Study in the Dilemmas of Local Self-Determination*, 92 Colum. L. Rev. 775, 788 (1992).
[137] *Id.* at 783.
[138] Jeffrey Underweiser, *The Legality of Staten Island's Attempt to Secede from New York City*, 19 Fordham Urb. L.J. 147, 147 (Fall 1991).

under a reorganization that eliminated the powerful Board of Estimate."[139] Staten Island's political establishment, both Democratic and Republican, supported the measure, which "sailed through the Senate by a vote of 58 to 1" and "passed the Assembly by a vote of 117 to 21" with bipartisan agreement.

In signing the bill, Governor Cuomo described "the secession movement [a]s fueled by a 'long list of grievances by the people of Staten Island over the years,' and by a sense of Staten Island's differences from the rest of the City."[140] Some reports noted that "Secession has long been sought by some residents of New York City's smallest borough, who complain they have little voice in city affairs compared to residents of more populous Manhattan, the Bronx, Brooklyn and Queens." One prime example of that voice was that when the City "decided that Fresh Kills [located on Staten Island] would become a major garbage dump" where a "mountain of waste reache[d] into the sky."[141]

Dr. Sugrue's narrative exaggerates the influence of race on the secession movement. He notes that "North Shore neighborhood leader David Goldfarb" ascribed racial assumptions others held, Rep.¶ 95, but Mr. Goldfarb was also reported as believing "the movement simply a matter of misplaced emotion" because "[t]here is a lot of dislike of the city of New York."[142] Similarly, Dr. Sugrue misapplies some observations by Professor Briffault, who describes high racial tensions between Jewish, Irish, and Italian groups, and Professor Briffault notes that the Staten Island secession could be perceived as (but was not motivated by) White flight.[143] His other quotes

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[139] Koch Vows to Fight Staten Island Secession in Court, AP (Dec. 28, 1989).
[140] Cuomo Signs Bill Allowing State Island Secession Vote, AP (Dec. 15, 1989).
[141] Dr. Joseph Vitteri, *Should Staten Island Leave the City*, The City Journal (Autumn 1992), available at https://www.city-journal.org/article/should-staten-island-leave-the-city.
[142] Catherine S. Manegold, *Staten Island Secession More Than Fringe Threat*, NY Times, A1 (Aug. 9, 1993).
[143] Richard Briffault, *Voting Rights, Home Rule, and Metropolitan Governance: The Secession of Staten Island As A Case Study in the Dilemmas of Local Self-Determination,* 92 Colum. L. Rev. 775, 844 (1992).

about Staten Island attitudes do not show racial animus but rather address the City's failings, *e.g.*, people "who are homeless, poor or on welfare." Rep. ¶ 96. Moreover, there is evidence that the Staten Island secession plan intended to address some of these concerns with provisions which would "strengthen[] minority candidates" and was championed by Lani Guinier—a civil rights theorist from Harvard and woman of color who was nominated to lead the Clinton Administration's civil rights division in DOJ.[144] Thus, Dr. Sugrue fails to consider the whole context of the Staten Island secession movement in the 1990s.

More broadly, Staten Island (and other New York localities) threaten secession for political, not racial, reasons. Some have observed that the "secession" talk is more bluster to gain leverage with state and City leaders. They note that secession measures "pressure[] City Hall and Albany to maybe make some concessions."[145] And they cite the Staten Island Secession movement in the 1990s as supremely successful. Examples of this success are "when the city closed the Fresh Kills landfill, made the Staten Island Ferry free, built a minor league ballpark and gave out other concessions after residents made their anger known at the ballot box." In later years, threats of secession or the introduction of bills in support of it, were almost always done when Staten Island elected officials felt powerless to stop policies which they felt would adversely affect their constituencies. Efforts to revive the movement between 2008 and 2011 by one State Senator erupted around growing property tax bills,[146] while a push by a majority of the island's council delegation in 2019 over a property tax imbalance eventually lead the city, with bipartisan support

[144] Staten Island Secession, the Debate That Wouldn't Die, Now Reaches Albany, AP (1992).
[145] Kate Kelberg, *in New York, the Secession Obsession Still Lingers*, HUFFPOST (Sept. 10, 2009).
[146] Jonathan P. Hicks, *A New Call for Staten Island to Secede*, NY Times (Dec. 17, 2008), available at https://archive.nytimes.com/cityroom.blogs.nytimes.com/2008/12/17/a-new-call-for-staten-island-to-secede/.

from the Mayor and Comptroller, to empanel a property tax commission to reform the system.[147] The messy reality of a secession heavily weighs in favor of compromise and taking Staten Island's objections seriously.

Response to Dr. Sugrue's Alleged Racial Appeals

Dr. Sugrue cites to a handful of alleged racial appeals, but none rise to the level of an actual racial appeal.

First, Dr. Sugrue cites to the criminal conduct of Mr. Richard A. Luthmann, who was indicted for election law violations and a bevy of criminal charges, during the 2016-2017 election cycle. Dr. Sugrue claims that when impersonating Democratic Council member Debi Rose, Mr. Luthmann "tapped radicalized fears of welfare receipt and criminality." Rep. ¶ 99. But Mr. Luthmann was an equal opportunity political impersonator—as he had "impersonated three local politicians on social media" including the district attorney and a Republican candidate Janine Materna for the State Assembly.[148] Notably, Mr. Luthmann was paid by Member Rose's primary opponent and reporting indicates it had contact with the opponents in the other races.[149] Although the fake social media posts were intended to harm the primary opponents, Mr. Luthmann was targeting Ms. Materna for not being conservative enough (with a photograph of a democrat-appointed U.S. Attorney General).[150] And the attacks on Ms. Rose centered around bringing criminals onto Staten Island with drugs. Rep. ¶ 99. The main point to take away is that this bizarre

[147] Rich Calder, *Staten Island councilmen pushing plan for borough to secede from NYC*, NY Post (Nov. 8, 2019), available at https://nypost.com/2019/11/08/staten-island-councilmen-pushing-plan-for-borough-to-secede-from-nyc/.
[148] Michael Gold, *Lawyer Accused of Using Fake Facebook Pages to Sway Elections in Staten Island*, NY Times (Nov. 30, 2018), available at https://www.nytimes.com/2018/11/30/nyregion/lawyer-luthmann-fake-facebook-election.html.
[148] *Id.*.
[149] *Id.*
[150] *Id.*

conduct was prosecuted and Mr. Luthman's efforts do not reflect the thoughts, wishes, or views of any politician or political party.

Second, Dr. Sugrue cites four isolated incidents (more than a decade apart) as evidence of racial appeals, but they all show local government officials acting to protect racial minorities. In 2009, four men of unknown origin attacked minorities who they assumed had voted for Barack Obama.[151] Dr. Sugrue overlooks that the criminal prosecution of four men was brought about with the assistance of the New York City Police Department and the Richmond County District Attorney's Office.[152] Likewise, when a Community Education Council member forwarded racist jokes to colleagues, the Staten Island Borough President took action and caused the member to step down.[153] And in 2020, law enforcement arrested and prosecuted a man who had threatened violence for political reasons (Joe Biden's election in 2020 and nonviolent protesters) against people celebrating in the streets and blowing up the FBI Building in Washington, DC.[154] And finally, the man in 2021 that wrote racist slurs on campaign posters in Staten Island was apprehended by the New York City Police Department and the affected candidate explained that the actions were out of step with community values: "this is not New York, this is not Staten Island—this is not who we are as a borough or as a city."[155] None of these one-off incidents amount

[151] Press Release, *Four Men Sentenced to a Combined 293 Months in Prison for Election Night Assaults*, DOJ (Sept. 10, 2009), available at https://www.justice.gov/archives/opa/pr/four-men-sentenced-combined-293-months-prison-election-night-assaults..
[152] *Id.*
[153] Jen Chung, *S.I. Education Counsil Member Resigns Over Racist E-mail*, Gothamist (Mar. 3, 2009),), available at https://gothamist.com/news/si-education-council-member-resigns-over-racist-e-mail.
[154] Press Release, *Staten Island Felon Sentenced to Prison for Possessing Illegal Firearm*, DOJ (May 18, 2022), available at https://www.justice.gov/usao-edny/pr/staten-island-felon-sentenced-prison-possessing-illegal-firearm.
[155] Joseph Ostapiuk, *Man charged with hate crime after allegedly defacing North Shore candidate posters*, SI Live (Dec. 1, 2021), available at https://www.silive.com/crime-safety/2021/03/man-charged-with-hate-crime-after-allegedly-defacing-north-shore-candidate-posters.html.

to a negative stereotype among the electorate and, instead demonstrate the opposite: that Islanders will not stand for racial appeals or hate-based crime.

VI. Conclusions

The unique demographics and practical realities of Staten Island's geographic isolation belie Petitioners' request to connect the "communities of interest" in Staten Island and Southern Manhattan. Southern Manhattan's largely White population has little in common with Staten Island's diverse community. The practical realities of no physical connection between the boroughs have created significant distinctions between the two areas, including the fact that Staten Island is more suburban area, with a higher rate of home and car ownership. It makes little sense, therefore, to connect the two communities in a congressional district.

Moreover, in making his argument for the "totality of the circumstances" as a foundation for redistricting the New York's Congressional Map, Dr. Sugrue cherry-picks facts, ignores context, disregards significant progress, often fails to tie his evidence to Staten Island, and does not support his arguments. Moreover, he fails, at any point, to make any assertion that redrawing the 11th Congressional District to include lower Manhattan, a borough long plagued with its own problems, would somehow resolve these concerns.

Dr. Sugrue's rendition of Staten Island's history is one-sided, excluding facts that do not fit his narrative. Omitted from Dr. Sugrue's discussion is New York's anti-slavery activity prior to the Civil-War and a history of civil rights activism thereafter. Indeed, a closer examination of New York's, and particularly Staten Island's, history demonstrates that New York was often on the forefront of efforts countering unequal treatment of minorities. Staten Island, specifically, boasts the distinction of containing the longest continually occupied settlement of former slaves.

Further, Dr. Sugrue ignores the significant progress Staten Island has made in addressing racial discrimination.

Dr. Sugrue provides no evidence that Blacks and Hispanics have been excluded from public office, and, to the contrary, racial and ethnic minorities have had great political success in Staten Island. Indeed, the current Congresswoman for the 11th Congressional District is Hispanic and the child of immigrants. Nor does he grapple with the reality that approximately one-third of all legislators representing Staten Island are Black or Hispanic.

Dr. Sugrue erroneously maintains that Black and Hispanic voters were structurally prevented from voting because of a history of using literacy tests for voting. But the testing in New York is considerably more complex than portrayed by Dr. Sugrue and is not unique to Staten Island. Moreover, Dr. Sugrue ignores that New York, including Staten Island, has actually expanded language services to assist minority voters.

Neither Dr. Sugrue nor Petitioners provide any support for the suggestion that eligible Black and Latino voters or candidates have been denied access to the ballot, financial support, or other support. In fact, Black and Hispanic candidates have run for office with the support of both major parties and have often qualified for matching funds programs to ensure they are well-financed. Additionally, the current chairman of one of the major political parties is Black.

Dr. Sugrue also ignores the regional and national data showing a marked increase in Hispanic voting eligibility, Hispanic voter turnout, and Hispanic voter participation.

Dr. Sugrue's examination of disadvantages faced by Black and Hispanic residents of Staten Island in education, housing, and median income ignores the complexity of these issues and is completely linear. Black and Hispanic residents' education attainment has consistently increased,

the housing statistics are much better in Staten Island than elsewhere, and Black and Hispanic mean income has steadily increased over the past decade.

In discussing the disadvantages Black and Hispanic residents of Staten Island allegedly face, Dr. Sugrue fails to recognize that Staten Island's demonstrable dedication to ending hate and discrimination. Staten Island is replete with public and private organizations committed to assisting minorities, including by ensuring their access to the political process. Dr. Sugrue also disregards Staten Island's low occurrence of hate crimes and that hate crimes have consistently decreased on the Island.

Dr. Sugrue's evidence of racial appeals in political campaigns omits any discussion of congressional campaigns, provides an incomplete account of the secession campaign, and summarizes four disparate incidents across a dozen years that do not qualify under his own definition of racial appeals.

In sum, Dr. Sugrue's opinions on the "totality of the circumstances" factors do not include the full context of Staten Island's history, diversity, and great progress. His opinions are therefore unreliable.

SUPREME COURT OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK
COUNTY OF NEW YORK

----------X

Michal Williams; José Ramírez-Garofalo; Aixa Torres; and Melissa Carty,

Petitioners,

-against-

Board of Elections of the State of New York; Kristen Zebrowski Stavisky, in her official capacity as Co-Executive Director of the Board of Elections of the State of New York; Raymond J. Riley, III, in his official capacity as Co-Executive Director of the Board of Elections of the State of New York; Peter S. Kosinski, in his official capacity as Co-Chair and Commissioner of the Board of Elections of the State of New York; Henry T. Berger, in his official capacity as Co-Chair and Commissioner of the Board of Elections of the State of New York; Anthony J. Casale, in his official capacity as Commissioner of the Board of Elections of the State of New York; Essma Bagnuola, in her official capacity as Commissioner of the Board of Elections of the State of New York; Kathy Hochul, in her official capacity as Governor of New York; Andrea Stewart-Cousins, in her official capacity as Senate Majority Leader and President *Pro Tempore* of the New York State Senate; Carl E. Heastie, in his official capacity as Speaker of the New York State Assembly; and Letitia James, in her official capacity as Attorney General of New York,

Respondents,

-and-

Nicole Malliotakis; Edward L. Lai, Joel Medina, Solomon B. Reeves, Angela Sisto, and Faith Togba,

Intervenors-Respondents,

----------X

Index No. 164002/2025

Hon. Jeffrey H. Pearlman

Motion Seq.

VERIFICATION

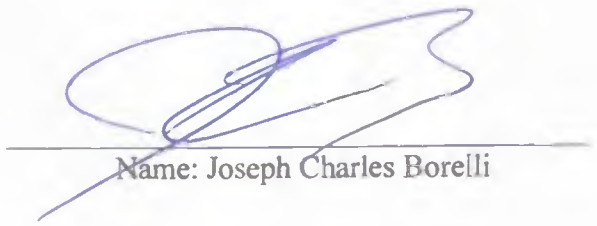
Joseph C. Borelli, being duly sworn, deposes and says:

1. I am over 18 years of age and am not a party to this case.

2. I swear under penalty of perjury to the faithfulness of the opinions expressed in the foregoing Response to Plaintiffs' Expert Report of Thomas J. Sugrue, and to the best of my knowledge, to the truth and accuracy of the factual statements made therein.

3. If asked to testify on these matters, I could and would testify under oath to their contents, under penalty of perjury.

4. I affirm this 8th day of December 2025, under the penalties of perjury under the laws of New York, which may include a fine or imprisonment, that the foregoing is true, and I understand that this document may be filed in an action or proceeding in a court of law.



Name: Joseph Charles Borelli

EXHIBIT S

SUPREME COURT OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK
COUNTY OF NEW YORK

----------X

Michael Williams, José Ramírez-Garofalo, Aixa Torres, and Melissa Carty,

Petitioners,

-against-

Board of Elections of the State of New York; Kristen Zebrowski Stavisky, in her official capacity as Co-Executive Director of the Board of Elections of the State of New York; Raymond J. Riley, III, in his official capacity as Co-Executive Director of the Board of Elections of the State of New York; Peter S. Kosinski, in his official capacity as Co-Chair and Commissioner of the Board of Elections of the State of New York; Henry T. Berger, in his official capacity as Co-Chair and Commissioner of the Board of Elections of the State of New York; Anthony J. Casale, in his official capacity as Commissioner of the Board of Elections of the State of New York; Essma Bagnuola, in her official capacity as Commissioner of the Board of Elections of the State of New York; Kathy Hochul, in her official capacity as Governor of New York; Andrea Stewart-Cousins, in her official capacity as Senate Majority Leader and President *Pro Tempore* of the New York State Senate; Carl E. Heastie, in his official capacity as Speaker of the New York State Assembly; and Letitia James, in her official capacity as Attorney General of New York,

Respondents,

-and-

Representative Nicole Malliotakis, Edward L. Lai, Joel Medina, Solomon B. Reeves, Angela Sisto, and Faith Togba

Intervenor-Respondents,

----------X

Index No. 164002/2025

Corrected Report of William S. Cooper

I. INTRODUCTION

1. My name is William S. Cooper. I have a B.A. in Economics from Davidson College. As a private consultant, I currently serve as a demographic and redistricting expert in the above-captioned case. I am being compensated at a rate of $170 per hour. No part of my compensation is dependent upon the conclusions that I reach or the opinions that I offer.

A. Redistricting Experience

2. I have testified at trial as an expert witness on redistricting and demographics in federal courts in about 60 voting rights cases since the late 1980s.

3. Eight of the 60 lawsuits requiring my trial testimony resulted in changes to statewide legislative boundaries.[1]

4. Approximately 27 of the cases in which I provided trial testimony led to changes in local election district plans. At least two dozen other local-level Section 2 redistricting lawsuits in 14 states[2] where I served as a consultant for the plaintiffs resolved favorably before trial.

5. I have testified in Section 2 redistricting lawsuits in federal court in New York on four occasions. In 2003, I testified in federal court in Albany County, NY (*Arbor Hill Concerned Citizens v. County of Albany*, 289 F. Supp. 2d 269 (N.D.N.Y 2003)). In 2012 and again in 2015, I testified in *Pope v. Albany County*.[3] In 2020, I testified in federal court in Westchester County

[1] *Rural West Tennessee African-American Affairs Council, Inc. v. McWherter*, No. 92-cv-2407 (W.D. Tenn.); *Old Person v. Brown*, No. 96-cv-0004 (D. Mont.); *Bone Shirt v. Hazeltine*, No. 01-cv-3032 (D.S.D.); *Alabama Legislative Black Caucus v. Alabama*, No. 12-cv-691 (M.D. Ala.); *Thomas v. Reeves*, No. 18-cv-441 (S.D. Miss.); *Caster v. Merrill*, No. 21-1356-AMM (N.D. Ala.); *Pendergrass v. Raffensperger*, No. 21-05337-SCJ (N.D. Ga.); and *Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity v. Raffensperger*, No. 21-05339-SCJ (N.D. Ga.). In *Bone Shirt v. Hazeltine*, the court adopted the remedial plan I developed.

[2] Those states are Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Maryland, Mississippi, Montana, North Carolina, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, South Dakota, Tennessee, Virginia, and Washington.

[3] *Pope v. County of Albany*, No. 1:11-cv-00736 (N.D.N.Y. 2012); *Pope v. County of Albany*, No. 1:11-cv-0736 (N.D.N.Y. 2015).

(*NAACP Spring Valley Branch v. East Ramapo Central School District et al.*, No. 7:17-cv-08943-CS-CJM (S.D.N.Y. 2020)). The plaintiffs prevailed in the Albany County cases and in the East Ramapo School District lawsuit.

6. Since the release of the 2020 Census, I have testified at trial as an expert witness in redistricting and demographics in ten state-level cases challenging district boundaries under Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act: *Caster v. Merrill*, No. 21-cv-1356-AMM (N.D. Ala.) (*Allen v. Milligan*); *Pendergrass v. Raffensperger*, No. 21-cv-05337-SCJ (N.D. Ga.); *Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity v. Raffensperger*, No. 21-05339-SCJ (N.D. Ga.); *Nairne v. Landry* No. 3:22-cv-00178-SDD-SDJ (M.D. La.); *Christian Ministerial Alliance v. Hutchinson*, No. 4:19-cv-402-JM (E.D. Ark.); *Robinson v. Landry*, No. 3:22-cv-00211-SDD-SDJ (M.D. La.); *Mississippi State Conference of the NAACP v. State Board of Election Commissions*, No. 3:22-cv-734-DPJ-HSO-LHS (S.D. Miss.); *White v. State Board of Election Commissions*, No. 4:22-cv-62-MPM-JMV (N.D. Miss.).

7. Since the release of the 2020 Census, election plans that I developed as a private consultant to local governments have been adopted in San Juan County, Utah, and in three Mississippi jurisdictions: Bolivar County, Washington County, and the City of Grenada.[4] In 2025, I served as a consultant to the Holbrook United School District 3 ("HUSD 3") in Navajo County, Arizona. A new redistricting plan (developed by the Navajo Nation with my technical input) was adopted by the HUSD 3 School Board.

8. In 2025, I testified at trial as an expert on demographics and redistricting in a racial gerrymandering lawsuit: *McClure v. Jefferson County Commission*, No. 2:23-cv-00443-MHH

[4] Also, in 2021, I reviewed a redistricting plan I developed for the City of Wenatchee, Washington that became the first plan (in 2017) to be adopted under the Washington State Voting Rights Act. I determined that the 2017 Plan complied with one-person, one-vote requirements under the 2020 Census. There was no need to alter the pre-2020 Census boundaries, which included a Latino-majority district.

(N.D. Ala.). I also testified for a second time in *Allen v. Milligan.* The plaintiffs prevailed at the trial court level, with final judgment pending appeal.

9. Recently, I served as a consultant to a broad-based coalition of voters in Baltimore County, Maryland as the County Council transitioned from seven districts to nine for future elections.

10. Since the release of the 2020 Census, I have testified at trial as an expert witness in redistricting and demographics in two local-level cases challenging district boundaries under Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act. *NAACP v. Baltimore County*, No. 21-cv-03232-LKG (D. Md.), and *Caroline County Branch of the NAACP v. Town of Federalsburg*, No. 23-00484-SAG (D. Md.). The plaintiffs prevailed in both cases.

11. Since the release of the 2020 Census, two school districts have adopted remedial plans that I developed on behalf of the plaintiffs: the East Ramapo School District in Rockland County, NY *(supra)*, and, in 2024, the Sunnyside School District in Yakima County, WA (*Empowering Latina Leadership and Action (ELLA) v. Sunnyside School District*), under the Washington Voting Rights Act.

12. For additional historical information on my testimony as an expert witness and experience preparing and assessing proposed redistricting maps, see a summary of my redistricting work attached as **Exhibit A**.

B. Sources and Methodology

13. For this report, I used the *Maptitude for Redistricting* software program to develop and analyze plans. I relied on population data and geographic shapefiles from the U.S. Census Bureau, as well as data and geographic shapefiles available from the City of New York Planning Department.

14. I reviewed a comprehensive demographic analysis published by the New York City Districting Committee in 2023. I have attached that superlative document (*How Communities of Interest Are Evolving in New York City Today)*[5] as **Exhibit B** for reference.

15. I also reviewed the May 2022 *Report of the Special Master* in *Harkenrider v. Hochul.*[6]

16. I reviewed a May 2025 report by the New York City Planning Department, containing an analysis of 2010 to 2020 population trends by borough, as well as 2024 population estimates. I have attached that document (*New York City's Population Estimates and Trends*)[7] for reference as **Exhibit C**.

17. Throughout this report, I make reference to non-Hispanic Any Part Black ("NH AP Black") as a racial classification. "AP Black" signifies all persons who self-identified in the 2020 Census as single-race Black or of more than one race and some part Black. The "any part" terminology has been accepted by federal courts in voting cases since the early 2000s.[8]

18. The Hispanic ("Latino") population may be of any race.

19. I report population counts for the Asian population that is non-Hispanic single-race Asian ("SR Asian") in order to avoid double counting persons who are some part Asian and some part Black.

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[5] NYC Districting Commission, How Communities of Interest are Evolving in New York City Today: Communities of Interest 2023 Report (Jan. 20, 2023), https://www.nyc.gov/assets/districting/downloads/pdf/Communities-of-Interest-Report.pdf.

[6] Jonathan Cervas, Report of the Special Master, Harkenrider v. Hochul, No. E2022-0116CV (N.Y. Sup. Ct., Steuben Cnty.) (May 20, 2022), https://jonathancervas.com/2022/NY/CERVAS-SM-NY-2022.pdf.

[7] NYC Dep't of City Planning, Population Division, New York City's Population Estimates and Trends (May 2025), https://www.nyc.gov/assets/planning/downloads/pdf/our-work/reports/new-york-city-population-estimates-and-trends_may-2025.pdf.

[8] *See* U.S. Department of Justice, *Guidance under Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act, 52 U.S.C. 10301, for redistricting and methods of electing government bodies* 12 (Sept. 1, 2021), https://www.justice.gov/archives/opa/press-release/file/1429486/dl.

C. Purpose of Report

20. The attorneys for the Petitioners in this matter asked me to examine districts in the 2024 Congressional Plan ("2024 Plan") encompassing Staten Island, Lower Manhattan, and Brooklyn.

21. The Petitioners contend that Staten Island's Black and Latino voters do not have an opportunity to elect a candidate of choice under the 2024 Plan. Under the 2024 Plan, Staten Island is joined with part of Brooklyn to form CD 11.

22. The Petitioners' attorneys requested that I develop an illustrative plan that would join Staten Island with Manhattan in a reconfigured CD 11. Staten Island and Lower Manhattan are contiguous by water, with free 24-hour transportation via the Staten Island Ferry connecting one to the other.

23. In response, I have developed an illustrative map (the "Illustrative Map") that would reconfigure CD 11 and adjacent CD 10 under the 2024 congressional plan. The Illustrative Map retains Staten Island in CD 11 and shifts the boundaries of CD 11 to include most, but not all, of the portion of Lower Manhattan currently encompassed in CD 10. The entire section of Brooklyn contained within CD 11 under the 2024 Plan moves to CD 10 under the Illustrative Map.

24. Under the Illustrative Map, the Financial District is split between CD 11 and CD 10. And, as in the 2024 Plan, Chinatown remains entirely within CD 10, keeping it together with Sunset Park—a predominantly Chinese-American neighborhood in Brooklyn. Under the Illustrative Map, Bensonhurst and Bath Beach—two other predominantly Chinese-American neighborhoods in Brooklyn—are located in CD 10 along with Chinatown and Sunset Park.

25. As I explain *infra,* the Illustrative Map is just one of many possible plan variations that could join Staten Island with Lower Manhattan—which Petitioners contend would allow CD-11's Black and Latino voters an opportunity to elect a candidate of choice.

D. Traditional Redistricting Principles

26. In drafting the Illustrative Map, I followed traditional redistricting principles. The items below describe the traditional redistricting principles that I considered:

a. *Meet one person, one vote requirements*. New York congressional plans must be within one person of the ideal district size. Based on the 2020 Census, the ideal size for each of the 26 congressional districts is 776,971 persons.

b. *Maintain reasonably shaped districts that are contiguous and compact*. There are various methods to quantitatively measure compactness. I relied on three of the numerous compactness measures that have been accepted by federal and state courts: Reock (area-based) and Polsby-Popper (perimeter-based), and a composite compactness score generated by the web-based Dave's Redistricting Application.[9] For all three measures, higher scores indicate a more compact district.

c. *Consider communities of interest such as neighborhoods, geographic features, transportation corridors, and socioeconomic commonalities*. Communities of interest are groups of individuals who have similar legislative concerns. In drafting the Illustrative Map, I attempted to keep neighborhoods together as defined by New York City's Neighborhood Tabulation Areas ("NTAs"). NTAs are proxies for neighborhoods drawn to follow aggregations of census tract boundaries to facilitate demographic analysis by public agencies and private entities. I have attached as **Exhibit E** a set of maps prepared by the New York City Department of Planning, depicting NTAs in the five boroughs.[10]

27. Core retention of a previous districting plan (or "least change") is always a background consideration as well. But it should never preempt traditional redistricting principles. Otherwise, problematic or flawed redistricting plans could become locked in and self-perpetuating. Nonetheless, I considered core retention for the Illustrative Map.

[9] Dave's Redistricting, https://davesredistricting.org/maps#home.

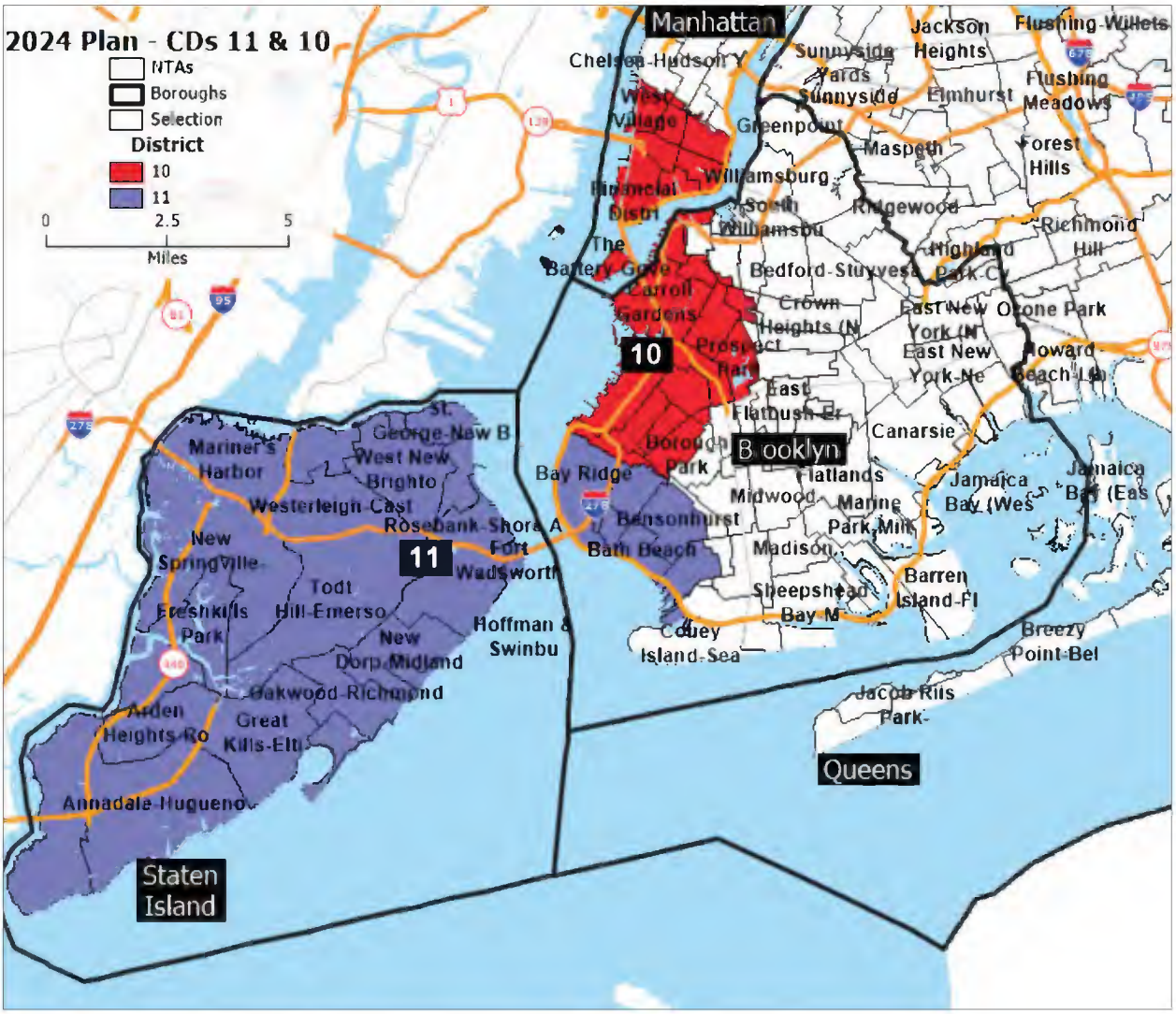
[10] NYC Dep't of City Planning, New York City Neighborhood Tabulation Areas, https://www.nyc.gov/assets/planning/download/pdf/data-maps/nyc-population/census2010/ntas.pdf.

II. 2024 CONGRESSIONAL PLAN

A. Geographic Extent

28. **Figure 1** zooms in on Staten Island, Lower Manhattan and Brooklyn, depicting the two congressional districts at issue—CD 11 (purple) and CD 10 (red). Neighborhoods (NTAs) are depicted with thin black lines. Some of the most populated NTAs are labeled. A higher resolution map of Figure 1 is in **Exhibit F-1**.

Figure 1: 2024 Plan – Focus Area: Staten Island, Lower Manhattan, and Brooklyn



B. Demographics

29. **Figure 2** reports race and ethnicity by citizen voting age population percentage ("CVAP") in CDs 11 and 10 under the 2024 Plan.

Figure 2: 2024 Plan CVAP By Race and Ethnicity[11]

District	NH AP Black CVAP	Latino CVAP	NH AP Black + Latino CVAP	NH SR Asian CVAP	NH White CVAP
11	7.36%	15.35%	22.70%	16.38%	59.76%
10	7.65%	17.10%	24.76%	16.7%	56.75%

30. **Figure 3** reports total 2020 population by race and ethnicity for Staten Island, Lower Manhattan, and Brooklyn as defined by CD 11 and CD 10 under the 2024 plan.

Figure 3: 2024 Plan Population Percentages by Race and Ethnicity (All Ages)

3-Borough Focus Area	NH AP Black	Latino	NH AP Black + Latino	NH SR Asian	NH White
Staten Island: CD 11	10.45%	19.56%	30.01%	11.85%	56.07%
Brooklyn CD 11 (Part)	1.97%	16.03%	18.0%	36.22%	43.27%
Lower Manhattan: CD 10	6.3%	15.57%	21.86%	22.53%	51.62%
Brooklyn: CD 10 (Part)	6.6%	22.01%	28.61%	21.03%	46.34%

[11] Source: Redistricting Data Hub, New York CVAP Data Disaggregated to the 2020 Block Level (2023), https://redistrictingdatahub.org/dataset/new-york-cvap-data-disaggregated-to-the-2020-block-level-2023/.

C. Compactness

31. The 2024 Plan is compact. **Figure 4** reports compactness scores for CDs 10 and 11 under the 2024 Plan based on the two most widely referenced measures—Reock[12] and Polsby-Popper[13]—as reported in **Exhibit F-3.** The table also reports an overall mean average for the two districts and the DRA composite compactness score for the two districts combined.[14]

Figure 4: 2024 Plan -- Compactness Scores

	CD 11	CD 10	2-District Average
Reock	.52	.43	.48
Polsby-Popper	.57	.35	.46
DRA 2-District Composite			94

32. **Exhibit F-2** is an additional map of the 2024 Plan, zooming in on CDs 11 and 10 in Brooklyn, with an overlay of neighborhoods (NTAs). **Exhibit F-3** reports compactness scores generated by Maptitude for Redistricting for CD 11 and CD 10. **Exhibit F-4** identifies borough splits by population for CDs 11 and 10 in the 3-borough focus area. **Exhibit F-5** identifies NTA splits by population in Lower Manhattan and Brooklyn for CDs 11 and 10. **Exhibit F-6** identifies

[12] "The Reock test is an area-based measure that compares each district to a circle, which is considered to be the most compact shape possible. For each district, the Reock test computes the ratio of the area of the district to the area of the minimum enclosing circle for the district. The measure is always between 0 and 1, with 1 being the most compact. The Reock test computes one number for each district and the minimum, maximum, mean and standard deviation for the plan." Maptitude For Redistricting software documentation (authored by the Caliper Corporation).

[13] The Polsby-Popper test computes the ratio of the district area to the area of a circle with the same perimeter: 4pArea/ (Perimeter2). The measure is always between 0 and 1, with 1 being the most compact. The Polsby-Popper test computes one number for each district and the minimum, maximum, mean and standard deviation for the plan. *Maptitude For Redistricting* software documentation (authored by the Caliper Corporation).

[14] The DRA composite compactness score normalizes the Reock and Polsby-Popper scores based on historical data and the values for ideal shapes, and then averages those individual ratings into an overall rating. Dave's Redistricting, *Ratings: Deep Dive*, Medium (Oct. 9, 2021), https://medium.com/dra-2020/ratings-deep-dive-c03290659b7.

VTD[15] splits by population in Lower Manhattan and Brooklyn for CDs 11 and 10. **Exhibit F-7** identifies all neighborhoods (with population details) that are assigned in whole or in part to CDs 10 and 11. There is also a final section with bottom line totals for the split portions of CDs 11 and 10 across the three boroughs in the focus area.

33. The following link shows a map of the 2024 Plan focus area depicting CDs 11 and 10 as displayed using Dave's Redistricting Application ("DRA"): https://davesredistricting .org/join/0651dc30-7afe-45df-bcc2-6383fe9fa2ab.

D. Communities of Interest

34. The 2024 Plan takes into account some communities of interest in that it splits only three NTAs in the three-borough area, and minimizes VTD splits**.** Notably, the 2024 Plan also preserves a neighborhood community of interest in that it keeps some Chinese-American neighborhoods together in CD 10, though it excludes others (*infra*).

35. **Figure 5** summarizes populated NTA and VTD split counts under the 2024 Plan in CD 10 and CD 11 as shown in **Exhibit F-5** and **Exhibit F-6**.

Figure 5: 2024 Plan – NTA and VTD Populated Splits (excluding 0% and 100% splits)

Census Geography	Splits Between CDs 10 & 11 in the 2024 Plan
Neighborhoods (NTAs)	4
2020 Voting Districts (VTDs)	4
Population in Split VTDs	133,535

III. PRECEDENT FOR A MANHATTAN–STATEN ISLAND DISTRICT

36. Staten Island has a 2020 population of 495,747, but the ideal population size for a congressional district in New York is 776,971. Accordingly, Staten Island alone cannot supply

[15] A VTD is a Census Bureau proxy for precinct boundaries developed in consultation with local and state officials toward the end of each decade.

sufficient population for a congressional district—it must be joined with a neighboring portion of another New York City borough.

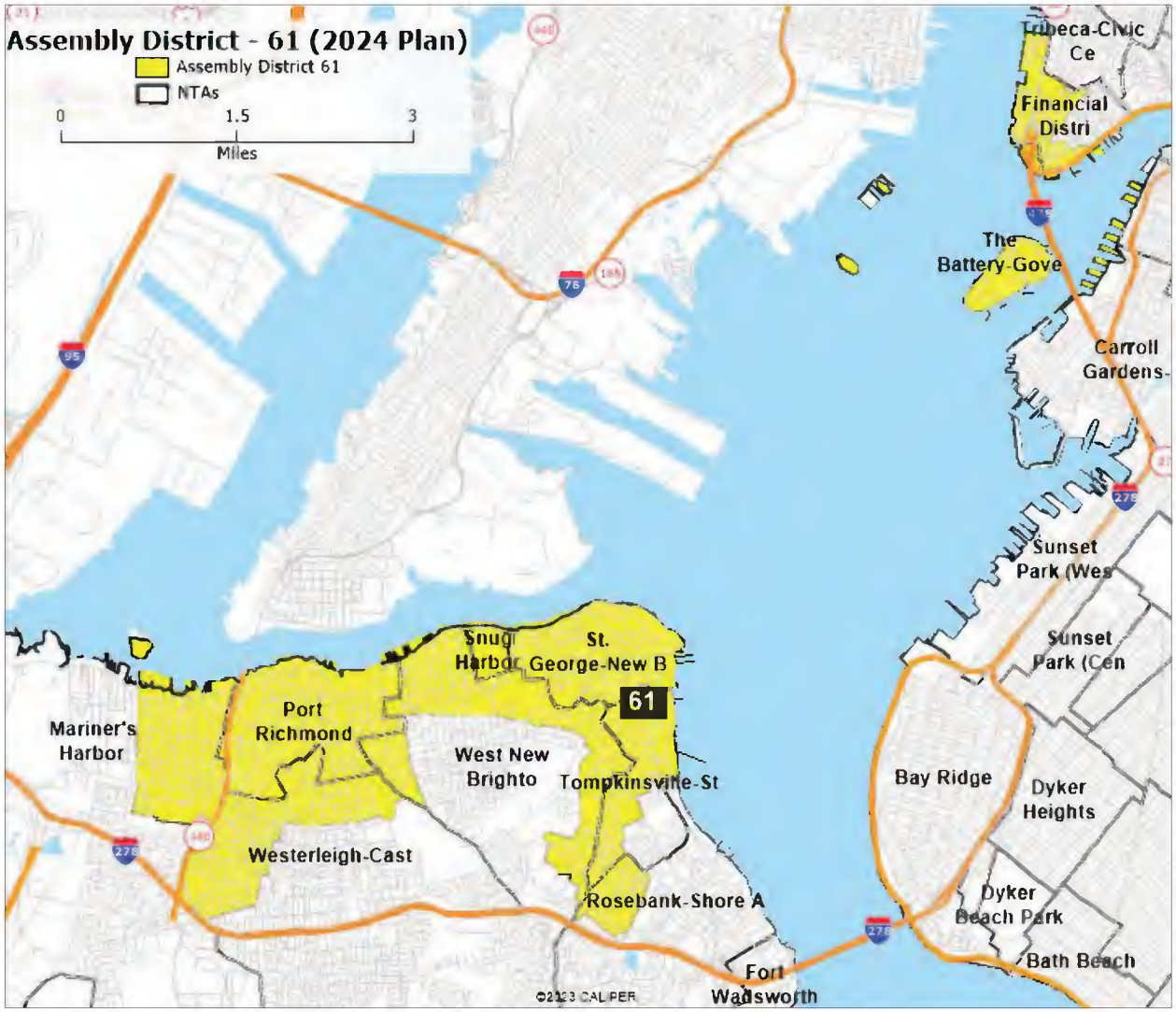
37. While the 2024 Plan joins Staten Island with portions of Brooklyn, it could just as easily joined Staten Island with portions of Manhattan. It would be unremarkable for a congressional district to join those two boroughs, which have been linked by ferry service for over 200 years and by city-operated ferry since 1905. Every day, about 45,000 people take the ferry between Staten Island and Lower Manhattan.[16] The ferry is free to ride and runs 24 hours a day.

38. Moreover, past and present legislative configurations show that joining Staten Island with Lower Manhattan is unremarkable.

39. As shown in **Figure 6**, the northern part of Staten Island and part of Lower Manhattan are together in State Assembly District 61 (48.74% B+LCVAP) under the 2024 Assembly Plan. The Staten Island part of Assembly District 61 has a 2020 population of 113,196 (57.93% B+LCVAP). The remainder of the district extends north to the Financial District in Manhattan, picking up 25,622 persons (12.2% B+LCVAP).

[16] New York City Dep't of Transportation, Staten Island Ferry Facts, https://www.nyc.gov/html/dot/html/ferrybus/ferry-facts.shtml (last visited Nov. 17, 2025).

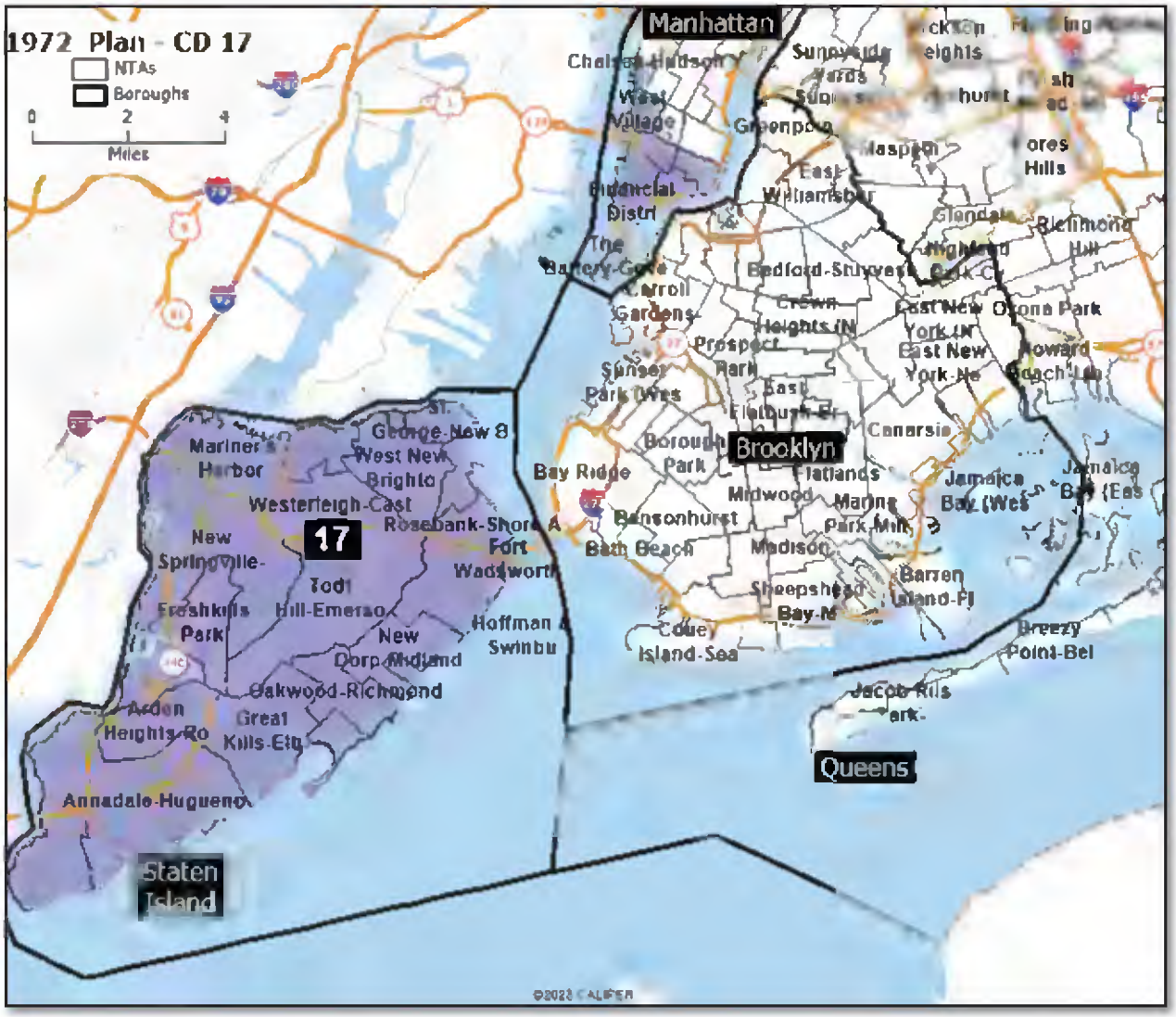
Figure 6: 2024 Assembly District 61 – Staten Island and Lower Manhattan



40. Similarly, a combined Staten Island-Lower Manhattan congressional district has existed within living memory for many voters. **Figure 7** shows that, throughout the 1970s and through 1980, Staten Island was joined with Lower Manhattan to form CD 17.[17]

[17] Jeffrey B. Lewis, Brandon DeVine, and Lincoln Pritcher with Kenneth C. Martis, *United States Congressional District Shapefiles*, U. Cal. Los Angeles Dep't of Political Science, https://cdmaps.polisci.ucla.edu/.

Figure 7: 1972 Congressional Plan – Staten Island and Lower Manhattan District



41. Against the backdrop of current AD 61 and the earlier configuration of CD 17 from the 1970s, a present-day congressional district joining Staten Island with Manhattan would be plausible and cognizable.

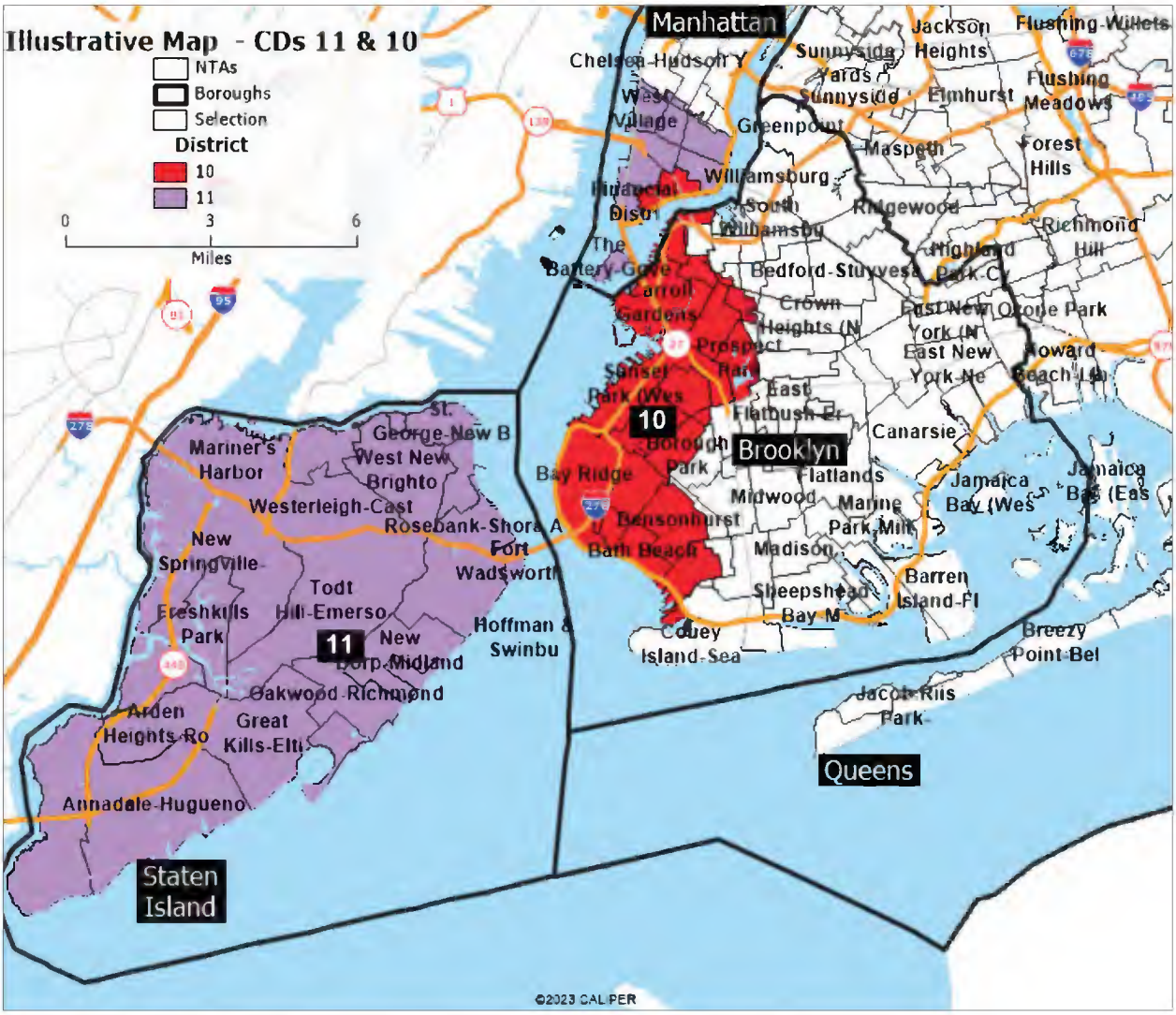
IV. THE ILLUSTRATIVE MAP

A. Geographic Extent

42. The map in **Figure 8** shows the Illustrative Map within the context of the 2024 Plan focus area (see **Figure 1** *supra*) – including Staten Island, Lower Manhattan, and Brooklyn. NTAs are depicted with thin black lines. Some of the most populated NTAs are labeled. A higher resolution version of the Figure 8 map is in **Exhibit H-1**.

43. The Illustrative Map shifts the boundaries of CD 11 to retain all of Staten Island and then adds most, but not all, of the portion of Lower Manhattan currently occupied by CD 10. This includes parts of or the whole of the following Lower Manhattan NTAs into CD 11: Chelsea-Hudson Yards, East Village, Financial District, Gramercy, Greenwich Village, Lower East Side, Midtown South, SoHo, Little Italy, Tribeca, and West Village.

Figure 8: The Illustrative Map – Staten Island, Lower Manhattan, & Brooklyn



44. Chinatown remains in CD 10, which, like the 2024 Plan, keeps the neighborhood together with Sunset Park—another predominantly Chinese-American neighborhood in western Brooklyn. Additionally, under the Illustrative Map, Bensonhurst and Bath Beach—two more predominantly Chinese-American neighborhoods in Brooklyn—join CD 10. Part of the Financial District is also in CD 10, along with 22 persons in Tribeca to meet one-person, one-vote requirements.

45. The following link includes the Illustrative Map depicting CDs 11 and 10, as displayed in Dave's Redistricting Application: https://davesredistricting.org/join/cfba3f64-290a-4fb0-ad03-4429eb4be12f.

46. The modifications to the 2024 Plan are straightforward. A block of 495,747 persons in CD 11 (i.e. all of Staten Island's population) is joined with Lower Manhattan. In turn, a block of 281,224 persons in southern Brooklyn is shifted from 2024 CD 11 into the Illustrative Map CD 10. Lastly, a corresponding block of 281,224 persons in Lower Manhattan is shifted back into CD 10 (Chinatown, part of the Financial District and 22 persons in Tribeca).

47. **Exhibit H-2** zooms in on CDs 10 and 11 in Lower Manhattan, with an overlay of neighborhoods (NTAs). **Exhibit H-3** reports compactness scores for CDs 11 and 10 based on Reock[18] and Polsby-Popper[19] measures. **Exhibit H-4** identifies borough splits for CDs 11 and 10 in the 3-borough focus area. **Exhibit H-5** identifies NTA splits by population in Lower Manhattan and Brooklyn for CDs 11 and 10. **Exhibit H-6** identifies VTD[20] splits in Lower Manhattan and Brooklyn for CDs 11 and 10. **Exhibit H-7** identifies all neighborhoods (with population details) that are assigned in whole or in part to CDs 10 and 11. There is also a final section with bottom line totals for the split portions of CDs 11 and 10 across the three boroughs in the focus area.

48. The Illustrative Map is neutral as compared to the 2024 Map as to borough splits. At the borough level, compared to the 2024 Plan, the Illustrative Map eliminates a split in Brooklyn—by Brooklyn from removing CD 11, but adds one in Lower Manhattan—CD 10.

[18] *See supra* note 12.

[19] *See supra* note 13.

[20] *See supra* note 15.

49. The Illustrative Map reflects a significant retention of the 2024 Plan. Core retention from the prior plan (2024 Plan) to a new plan (the Illustrative Map) is defined as the largest population subset that is kept together in the transition from districts in the prior plan to the new plan. In this instance, the core population retained is simply Staten Island itself (495,747) which comprises most of CD 11 under both the 2024 Plan and the Illustrative Map.

B. Demographics

50. Black and Latino citizen voting age population in CD 11 increases under the Illustrative Map. Figure 9 details CVAP by district under the Illustrative Map for CDs 11 and 10. Under the Illustrative Map, the NH AP Black + Latino CVAP for CD 11 increases from 22.70% to 24.71% as compared to the 2024 Plan.

Corrected Figure 9: Illustrative Map – CVAP by Race and Ethnicity

District	NH AP Black CVAP	Latino CVAP	NH AP Black+ Latino CVAP	NH SR Asian CVAP	NH White CVAP
11	8.42%	16.30%	24.71%	12.42%	62.31%
10	6.39%	16.11%	22.50%	23.38%	53.30%

51. **Figure 10** reports total 2020 population by race and ethnicity for the relevant parts of Staten Island, Lower Manhattan and Brooklyn, broken out by CD 10 and 11 under the Illustrative Map.

Corrected Figure 10: Populations by Race and Ethnicity in the Illustrative Map (All Ages)

3-Borough Focus Area	NH AP Black	Latino	NH AP Black + Latino	NH SR Asian	NH White
Staten Island: CD 11	10.45%	19.56%	30.01%	11.85%	56.07%
Lower Manhattan: CD 11	6.19%	16.03%	22.21%	16.4%	57.08%
Lower Manhattan: CD 10	6.75%	13.53%	20.29%	49.57%	27.58%
Brooklyn: CD 10 (Part)	4.94%	19.15%	24.08%	26.97%	43.69%

C. Compactness

52. The Illustrative Map is reasonably compact and within the normal range for congressional districts, both within New York and nationwide. **Exhibit D** offers context on the significance of the Illustrative Plan's compactness score vis-à-vis the 2024 Plan. As shown in **Exhibit D**, which I prepared for testimony in the January 2025 trial in *Allen v. Milligan*, New York's 2024 Plan ranked sixth in the nation based on the Dave's Redistricting Application composite compactness score, meaning its statewide congressional district compactness score was higher than all but five states. Under the 2024 Plan, the statewide mean average is .40 on Reock and .35 on Polsby-Popper. *See* **Exhibit G**.

53. **Figure 11** reports compactness scores for CDs 11 and 10 in the Illustrative Map, as further reported in **Exhibit H-3.** The table below reports an overall mean average for CD 11 and CD 10 under the Illustrative Map for both Reock and Polsby-Popper, as well as the DRA composite compactness score for both districts combined.[21]

[21] *See supra* note 14.

Corrected Figure 11: The Illustrative Map – Compactness Scores

Illustrative Plan	CD 11	CD 10	2-District Average
Reock	.30	.30	.30
Polsby-Popper	.28	.19	.24
DRA -District Composite			35

54. By the numbers, the Illustrative Map appears less compact than the 2024 Plan in a head-to-head comparison, though in reality it is comprised of two significantly compact sub-parts—Staten Island and Lower Manhattan—that are connected by around-the-clock free ferry service. There is no population of voters between these two sub-parts of the illustrative CD 11—just Upper New York Bay. The lower compactness score is reflective chiefly of this geographic water and shoreline feature, rather than on-the-ground features of the district.

55. Looking more closely at the two components of CD 11 under the Illustrative Map reveals it is in fact significantly compact on land. To start, the Staten Island component of the Illustrative Map scores exactly the same as the Staten Island component of the 2024 Plan by any compactness measure. That is not surprising—nothing about this part of the district has changed, but, as under the 2024 Plan, it must be joined with some other parts of New York City to achieve sufficient population to form a full district.

56. The densely populated Lower Manhattan component of CD 11 under the Illustrative Map is compact as well. It scores .48 on Reock and .33 on Polsby-Popper—a very respectable compactness score relative to New York's other congressional districts.[22] The Manhattan component of CD 10—including Chinatown, part of the Financial District, and 22 persons in

[22] This score excludes Governors Island in the East River and CD 11 which is assigned five persons under the 2020 Census.

Tribeca (included to zero out the deviation)—scores .51 on Reock and .40 on Polsby Popper. It, too, therefore is quite compact.

57. By the same token, the densely populated Brooklyn component of CD 10 under the Illustrative Map scores high—.43 on Reock and .38 on Polsby-Popper.

58. Taken together (excluding Staten Island), the mean average scores for the two sets of the Illustrative Map equate to .44 Reock and .35 Polsby Popper, which is slightly better than the mean average across the 26 congressional districts in the 2024 Plan.[23]

D. Communities of Interest

59. Like the 2024 Plan, the Illustrative Map preserves a community of interest at the neighborhood level by connecting Chinese-American neighborhoods in Lower Manhattan and Brooklyn in CD 10. In fact, it advances this preservation of communities of interest by joining the existing Chinese-American communities in CD 10 (Chinatown and Sunset Park) with two additional Chinese-American communities (Bensonhurst and Bath Beach).

60. The Illustrative Map takes another step forward by acknowledging the already existing community of interest in Assembly District 61 (which joins portions of northern Staten Island with Lower Manhattan), which features a large share of Black and Latino voters.

61. **Figure 12** summarizes populated NTA and VTD split counts in Lower Manhattan under the Illustrative Map, as shown in **Exhibit H-5** and **Exhibit H-6**. The Illustrative Map splits populated parts of three NTAs—the same number of populated NTA splits as the 2024 Plan.

[23] NY 2024 Congressional, Dave's Redistricting, https://davesredistricting.org/maps#analytics::948da7ae-d2f9-48d8-a04a-433f5ff88fcd.

62. The Illustrative Map contains 20 populated VTD splits versus four populated splits in the 2024 Plan. In most instances, the additional split VTDs under the Illustrative Map could be resolved, without creating new VTDs, by merging the splits into already-existing adjacent VTDs.

Figure 12: Illustrative Plan - NTA & VTD Populated Splits (ex. 0% and 100% splits)

Census Geography	Splits Between CDs 10 & 11 in the Illustrative Plan
Neighborhoods (NTAs)	3
2020 Voting Districts (VTDs)	20
Population in split VTDs	20,762

63. More importantly, as revealed **in Exhibits F-6** and **H-6**, the four VTD splits in the 2024 Plan involve a total population of 133,535 versus a total of just 20,762 persons in the 20 populated splits under the Illustrative Map. Thus, the population of voters impacted by the VTD splits (e.g. changes of polling place to the extent they correspond with VTDs) in the Illustrative Plan is likely substantially less than under the 2024 Plan.

I reserve the right to continue to supplement my reports in light of additional facts, testimony and/or materials that may come to light.

Executed on: January 1, 2026

WILLIAM S. COOPER

Exhibit A

October 31, 2025

William S. Cooper
P.O. Box 16066
Bristol, VA 24209
276-669-8567
bcooper@msn.com

Summary of Redistricting Work

I have a B.A. in Economics from Davidson College in Davidson, North Carolina.

Since 1988, I have prepared proposed redistricting maps of approximately 750 jurisdictions for Section 2 litigation, Section 5 comment letters, and for use in other efforts to promote compliance with the Voting Rights Act of 1965. I have analyzed and prepared election plans in over 100 of these jurisdictions for two or more of the decennial censuses – either as part of concurrent legislative reapportionments or, retrospectively, in relation to litigation involving many of the cases listed below.

From 1986 to 2024, I have prepared election plans for Section 2 litigation in Alabama, Colorado, Connecticut, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Maryland, Massachusetts, Mississippi, Missouri, Montana, Nebraska, New Jersey, New York, North Carolina, Ohio, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, South Dakota, Tennessee, Texas, Utah, Virginia, Washington, and Wyoming.

Post-2020 Redistricting Experience

Since the release of the 2020 Census, local plans I developed as a private consultant have been adopted by governments in San Juan County, Utah, Bolivar County, Mississippi, Washington County, Mississippi, and the City of Grenada, Mississippi. In addition, a school board plan I developed was adopted by the Jefferson County, Alabama Board of Education subsequent to my expert work in the case of *Jones v. Jefferson County Board of Education*.

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I also developed school district election plans on behalf of plaintiffs that became remedial plans in Rockland County, NY: *NAACP Spring Valley Branch v. East Ramapo Central School District et al*, No. 7:2017-cv08943, (S.D.N.Y. 2020) and, in 2024, the Sunnyside School District in Yakima County, WA – *Empowering Latina Leadership and Action (ELLA) v. Sunnyside School District* (under the Washington Voting Rights Act).

In 2024, the Jefferson County, Alabama Board of Education adopted an election district plan that I developed as part of a settlement in the long-running *Stout v. Jefferson County Board of Education* desegregation lawsuit.

Since 2021, I have testified at trial in 12 Section 2 lawsuits: Alabama (Congress); Arkansas (Supreme and Appellate Courts); Florida (voter suppression), Georgia Legislature (House and Senate) and Congress; Louisiana Legislature (House and Senate) and Congress; Maryland (Baltimore County Commission and Town of Federalsburg); Mississippi Legislature (House and Senate) and State Supreme Court; and Galveston County, Texas (Galveston County Commission).

In 2025, I testified at trial as an expert on demographics and redistricting in a racial gerrymandering lawsuit -- McClure v. Jefferson County No. 2:23-cv-00443-MHH (N.D. Ala.). I also testified for a second time in *Allen v. Milligan* (on behalf of the Caster plaintiffs)

I currently serve as a redistricting consultant to a broad-based coalition of voters in Baltimore County, Maryland as the County Council transitions from a seven single-member district plan to a nine single-member district plan

2010s Redistricting Experience

I developed statewide legislative plans on behalf of clients in nine states (Alabama, Connecticut, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Mississippi, South Carolina, Texas, and Virginia),

as well as over 150 local redistricting plans in approximately 30 states – primarily for groups working to protect minority voting rights. In addition, I prepared congressional plans for clients in nine states (Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Maryland, Ohio, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, and Virginia).

In March 2011, I was retained by the Sussex County, Virginia Board of Supervisors and the Bolivar County, Mississippi Board of Supervisors to draft new district plans based on the 2010 Census. In the summer of 2011, both counties received Section 5 preclearance from the U.S. Department of Justice (DOJ).

Also in 2011, I was retained by way of a subcontract with Olmedillo X5 LLC to assist with redistricting for the Miami-Dade County, Florida Board of Commissioners and the Miami-Dade, Florida School Board. Final plans were adopted in late 2011 following public hearings.

In the fall of 2011, I was retained by the City of Grenada, Mississippi to provide redistricting services. The ward plan I developed received DOJ preclearance in March 2012.

In 2012 and 2013, I served as a redistricting consultant to the Tunica County, Mississippi Board of Supervisors and the Claiborne County, Mississippi Board of Supervisors.

In *Montes v. City of Yakima* (E.D. Wash. Feb. 17, 2015) the court adopted, as a remedy for a Section 2 violation, a seven single-member district plan that I developed for the Latino plaintiffs. I served as the expert for the Plaintiffs in the liability and remedy phases of the case.

In *Pope v. Albany County* (N.D.N.Y. Mar. 24, 2015), the court approved, as a remedy for a Section 2 violation, a plan drawn by the defendants that created a new Black-

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majority district. I served as the expert for the Plaintiffs in the liability and remedy phases of the case.

In 2016, two redistricting plans that I developed on behalf of the plaintiffs for consent decrees in Section 2 lawsuits in Georgia were adopted (*NAACP v. Fayette County, Georgia* and *NAACP v. Emanuel County, Georgia)*.

In 2016, two federal courts granted summary judgment to the plaintiffs based in part on my *Gingles 1* testimony: *Navajo Nation v. San Juan County, Utah* (C.D. Utah 2016) and NAACP v. *Ferguson-Florissant School District, Missouri* (E. D. Mo. August 22, 2016).

Also in 2016, based in part on my analysis, the City of Pasco, Washington admitted to a Section 2 violation. As a result, in *Glatt v. City of Pasco* (E.D. Wash. Jan. 27, 2017), the court ordered a plan that created three Latino majority single-member districts in a 6 district, 1 at-large plan.

In 2018, I served as the redistricting consultant to the Governor Wolf interveners at the remedial stage of *League of Women Voters, et al. v. Commonwealth of Pennsylvania*.

In August 2018, the Wenatchee City Council adopted a hybrid election plan that I developed – five single-member districts with two members at-large. The Wenatchee election plan is the first plan adopted under the Washington Voting Rights Acts of 2018.

In February 2019, a federal court ruled in favor of the plaintiffs in a Section 2 case regarding Senate District 22 in Mississippi, based in part on my *Gingles* 1 testimony in *Thomas v. Bryant* (S.D. Ms. Feb 16, 2019).

In the summer of 2019, I developed redistricting plans for the Grand County (Utah) Change of Form of Government Study Committee.

In May 2020, a federal court ruled in favor of the plaintiffs in a Section 2 case in *NAACP et al. v. East Ramapo Central School District, NY,* based in part on my *Gingles* 1

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testimony. In October 2020, the federal court adopted a consent decree plan I developed for elections to be held in February 2021.

In May and June of 2020, I served as a consultant to the City of Quincy, Florida, who was the Defendant in a Section 2 lawsuit filed by two Anglo voters (*Baroody v. City of Quincy*). The federal court for the Northern District of Florida ruled in favor of the defendants. The plaintiffs voluntarily dismissed the case.

In the summer of 2020, I provided technical redistricting assistance to the City of Chestertown, Maryland.

I served as an expert for the plaintiffs in *Jayla Allen v. Waller County, Texas.* I testified remotely at trial in October 2020.

Since 2011, I have served as a redistricting and demographic consultant to the Massachusetts-based Prison Policy Initiative for a nationwide project to end prison-based gerrymandering. I have analyzed election plans in about 25 states as part of my work.

In 2018 (Utah) and again in 2020 (Arizona), I provided technical assistance to the Rural Utah Project for voter registration efforts on the Navajo Nation Reservation.

Post-2010 Demographics Experience

My trial testimony in Section 2 lawsuits usually includes presentations of U.S. Census data with charts, tables, and/or maps to demonstrate socioeconomic disparities between non-Hispanic Whites and racial or ethnic minorities.

I served as a demographic expert for plaintiffs in four state-level voting cases related to the Covid-19 pandemic: South Carolina, Alabama, and Louisiana (federal court) and North Carolina (state court).

I have also served as an expert witness on demographics in non-voting trials. For example, in an April 2017 opinion in *Stout v. Jefferson County Board of Education* (Case

no. 2:65-cv-00396-MHH), a school desegregation case involving the City of Gardendale, Ala., the court made extensive references to my testimony.

I provide technical demographic and mapping assistance to the Food Research and Action Center (FRAC) in Washington D.C and their constituent organizations around the country. Most of my work with FRAC involves the Summer Food Program and Child and Adult Care Food Program. Both programs provide nutritional assistance to school-age children who are eligible for free and reduced price meals. As part of this project, I developed online interactive maps to determine site eligibility for the two programs that have been in continuous use by community organizations and school districts around the country since 2003.

https://frac.org/research/resource-library/summer-food-mapper

The map is updated annually with new data from a Special Tabulation of the American Community Survey prepared by the U.S. Census Bureau for the Food and Nutrition Service of the U.S. Department of Agriculture.

Historical Redistricting Experience

In the 1980s and 1990s, I developed voting plans in about 400 state and local jurisdictions – primarily in the South and Rocky Mountain West. During the 2000s and 2010s, I prepared draft election plans involving about 350 state and local jurisdictions in 25 states. Most of these plans were prepared at the request of local citizens' groups, national organizations such as the NAACP, tribal governments, and for Section 2 or Section 5 litigation.

Election plans I developed for governments in two counties – Sussex County, Virginia and Webster County, Mississippi – were adopted and precleared in 2002 by the U.S. Department of Justice. A ward plan I prepared for the City of Grenada, Mississippi was

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precleared in August 2005. A county supervisors' plan I produced for Bolivar County, Mississippi was precleared in January 2006.

In August 2005, a federal court ordered the State of South Dakota to remedy a Section 2 violation and adopt a state legislative plan I developed (*Bone Shirt v. Hazeltine*).

A county council plan I developed for Native American plaintiffs in a Section 2 lawsuit (*Blackmoon v. Charles Mix County*) was adopted by Charles Mix County, South Dakota in November 2005. A plan I drafted for Latino plaintiffs in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania (*Pennsylvania Statewide Latino Coalition v. Bethlehem Area School District*) was adopted in March 2009. Plans I developed for minority plaintiffs in Columbus County, North Carolina and Montezuma- Cortez School District in Colorado were adopted in 2009.

Since 1987, I have testified at trial as an expert witness on redistricting and demographics in federal courts in the voting rights cases below (approximate most recent testimony dates are in parentheses). I also filed declarations and was deposed in most of these cases.

Alabama
Caster v. Merrill (2022)
Chestnut v Merrill (2019)
Alabama State Conference of the NAACP v. Alabama (2018)
Alabama Legislative Black Caucus et al. v. Alabama et al. (2013)
McClure v Jefferson County Commission, Alabama (2025)
Milligan v. Merrill (2025)

Arkansas
The Christian Ministerial Alliance v. Hutchinson (2022)

Colorado
Cuthair v. Montezuma-Cortez School Board (1997)

Florida
NAACP v. Lee (2022)
Baroody v. City of Quincy (2020)

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Georgia
Pendergrass v. Raffensperger (2022 and 2023)
Alpha Phi Alpha v. Raffensperger (2022 and 2023)
Cofield v. City of LaGrange (1996)
Love v. Deal (1995)
Askew v. City of Rome (1995)
Woodard v. Lumber City (1989)

Louisiana
Galmon v. Ardoin (2022)
Nairne v. Ardoin (2023)
Terrebonne Parish NAACP v. Jindal, et al. (2017)
Wilson v. Town of St. Francisville (1996)
Reno v. Bossier Parish (1995)
Knight v. McKeithen (1994)

Maryland
Caroline County NAACP v. Town of Federalsburg (2023)
NAACP v. Baltimore County (2022)
Cane v. Worcester County (1994)

Mississippi
White v. Mississippi Board of Election Commissioners (2024)
NAACP v. Mississippi Board of Election Commissioners(2024)
Thomas v.Reeves (2019)
Fairley v. Hattiesburg (2014)
Boddie v. Cleveland School District (2010)
Fairley v. Hattiesburg (2008)
Boddie v. Cleveland (2003)
Jamison v. City of Tupelo (2006)
Smith v. Clark (2002)
NAACP v. Fordice (1999)
Addy v Newton County (1995)
Ewing v. Monroe County (1995)
Gunn v. Chickasaw County (1995)
Nichols v. Okolona (1995)

Montana
Old Person v. Brown (on remand) (2001)
Old Person v. Cooney (1998)

Missouri
Missouri NAACP v. Ferguson-Florissant School District (2016)

Nebraska
Stabler v. Thurston County (1995)

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New York
NAACP v. East Ramapo Central School District (2020)
Pope v. County of Albany (2015)
Arbor Hills Concerned Citizens v. Albany County (2003)

Ohio
A. Philip Randolph Institute, et al. v. Ryan (2019)

South Carolina
Smith v. Beasley (1996)

South Dakota
Bone Shirt v. Hazeltine (2004)
Cottier v. City of Martin (2004)

Tennessee
Cousins v. McWherter (1994)
Rural West Tennessee African American Affairs Council v. McWherter (1993)

Texas
Jayla Allen v. Waller County, Texas
Dickinson Branch NAACP v. Galveston County (2023)

Utah
Navajo Nation v. San Juan County (2017), brief testimony –11 declarations, 2 depositions

Virginia
Smith v. Brunswick County (1991)
Henderson v. Richmond County (1988)
McDaniel v. Mehfoud (1988)
White v. *Daniel (1989 and 1991)*

Wyoming
Large v. Fremont County (2007)

Other Trial Testimony in Federal Cases Since 2011

Alabama
Stout v. Jefferson County Board of Education (2016)

Louisiana
Thomas v. School Board of St. Martin Parish (2021, 2022, and 2023)

North Carolina
NARSOL v. Stein (2021)

In addition, I have filed expert declarations or been deposed in the following

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cases that did not require trial testimony. The dates listed indicate the deposition date or date of last declaration or supplemental declaration:

Alabama
Braxton v. Stokes (2024)
People First of Alabama v. Merrill (2020), (Covid-19 demographics only)
Alabama State NAACP v. City of Pleasant Grove (2019)
Jones v. Jefferson County Board of Education (2019)
Voketz v. City of Decatur (2019)

Arkansas
Mays v. Thurston (2020), (Covid-19 demographics only)

Connecticut
NAACP v. Merrill (2020)

Florida
Calvin v. Jefferson County (2016)
Thompson v. Glades County (2001)
Johnson v. DeSoto County (1999)
Burton v. City of Belle Glade (1997)

Georgia
Dwight v. Kemp (2018)
Georgia NAACP et al. v. Gwinnett County, GA (2018)
Georgia State Conference NAACP et al v. Georgia (2018)
Georgia State Conference NAACP, et al. v. Fayette County (2015)
Knighton v. Dougherty County (2002)
Johnson v. Miller (1998)
Jones v. Cook County (1993)

Kentucky
Herbert v. Kentucky State Board of Elections (2013)

Louisiana
Means v. Desoto Parish (2023)
Power Coalition for Equity and Justice v. Edwards (2020), Covid-19 demographics only
Johnson v. Ardoin (2019
NAACP v. St. Landry Parish Council (2005)
Prejean v. Foster (1998)
Rodney v. McKeithen (1993)

Maryland
Plaintiffs, v. Wicomico County, *et al (2025)*
Baltimore County NAACP v. Baltimore County (2022)

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Benisek v. Lamone (2017)
Fletcher v. Lamone (2011)

Mississippi

Mississippi State NAACP v. State Board of Election Commissioners (2023)
Partee v. Coahoma County (2015)
Figgs v. Quitman County (2015)
West v. Natchez (2015)
Williams v. Bolivar County (2005)
Houston v. Lafayette County (2002)
Clark v. Calhoun County (on remana)(1993)
Teague v. Attala County (on remana)(1993)
Wilson v. Clarksdale (1992)
Starfield v. Lee County(1991)

Montana
Alden v. Rosebud County (2006)

North Carolina
Town of Ahoskie (1996)
Lewis v. Alamance County (1991)
Gause v. Brunswick County (1992)
Webster v. Person County (1992)

Rhode Island
Davidson v. City of Cranston (2015)

South Carolina
Thomas v. Andino (2020), Covid-19 demographics only
Vander Linden v. Campbell (1996)

South Dakota
Kirkie v. Buffalo County (2004
Emery v. Hunt (1999)

Tennessee
NAACP v. Frost, et al. (2003)

Virginia
Moon v. Beyer (1996)

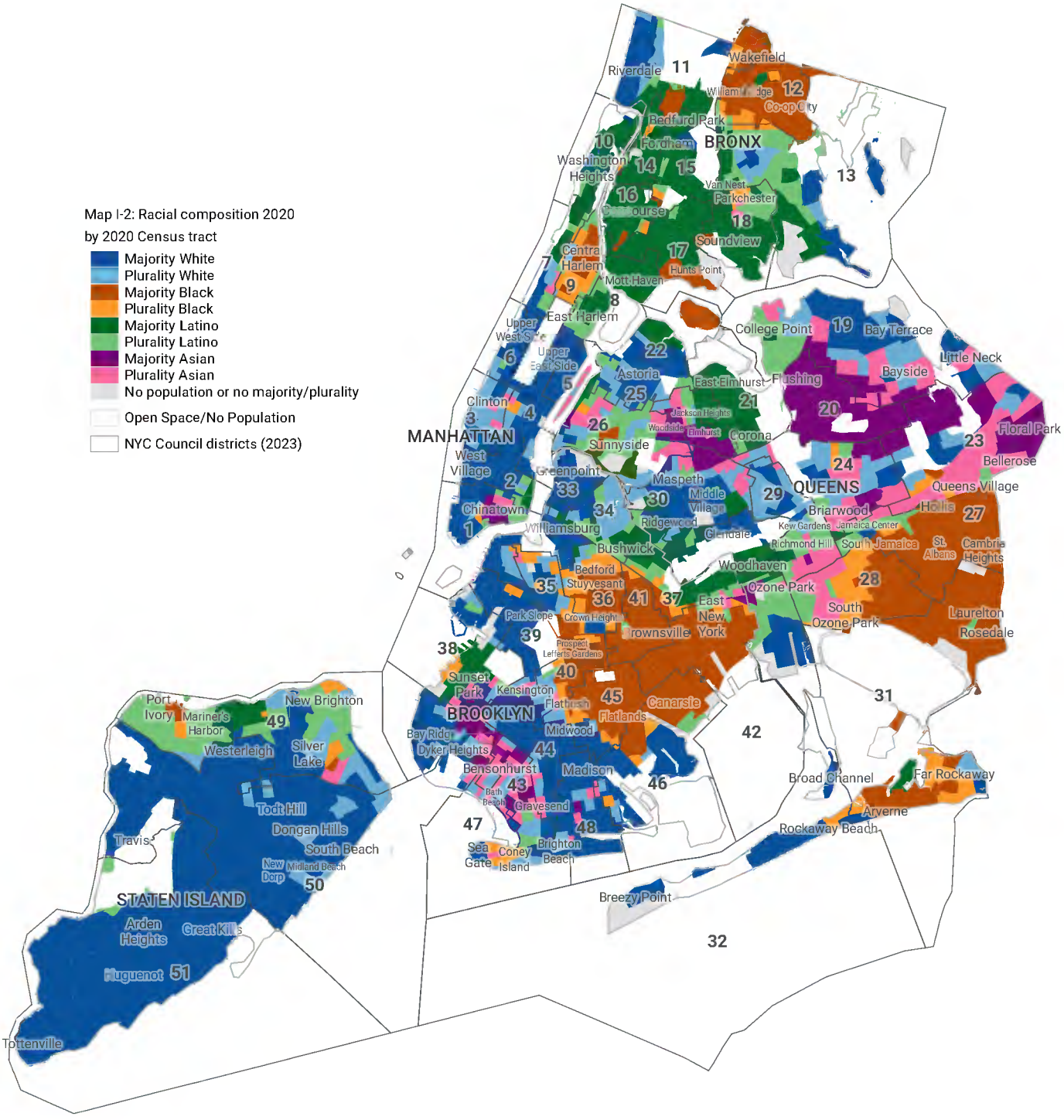
Washington
Montes v. City of Yakima (2014)
Glatt v. City of Pasco (2016)

###

Exhibit B

How Communities of Interest Are Evolving in New York City Today

Communities of Interest 2023 Report



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Dr. John Flateau
Executive Director
New York City Districting Commission
253 Broadway, 3rd Floor
New York, NY 10007

January 20, 2023

Dear Dr. Flateau,

It is a great pleasure to submit the enclosed report, *How Communities of Interest Are Evolving in New York City Today*, researched and co-written by members of the CUNY Research Consortium on Communities of Interest. We trust that Districting Commission members will find it to be a thoughtful and helpful discussion of how interested parties should be thinking about the evolution of the city's many communities in the decade ahead and will consider it a valuable part of their legacy.

We would like to thank you and the staff members of the New York City Districting Commission, LaToya Benjamin, Jabaran Akram, and Grace Pyun, for providing helpful support and feedback on the preparation of our report. We would also like to recognize and thank Dr. Héctor R. Cordero-Guzmán, President of the CUNY Research Foundation, for his invaluable help and advice in developing this report. Consortium members Professors Zulema Blair, Tarry Hum, Keena Lipsitz, Viviana Rivera-Burgos and Center for Urban Research CUNY Mapping Service staff members Steven Romalewski and Valerie Bauer contributed careful analysis of the data and learned a great deal from our discussions about how to think about and describe the city's communities. We received helpful comments from Marcus Allen, Aldrin Bonilla, Maria Doulis, Commissioner Maf Uddin, Soniya Munshi, Carlos Vargas Ramos, and Annie Wang on initial section drafts. We believe that this report should provide a basis for further collaboration within the City University of New York to enrich our understanding of community change in the city.

Thanks ever so much for this opportunity. We deeply appreciate your guidance.

Sincerely,
John Mollenkopf
John Mollenkopf
Distinguished Professor of Political Science

How Communities of Interest Are Evolving in New York City Today

by

John Mollenkopf, CUR/GC

Zulema Blair, Medgar Evers

Tarry Hum, Queens College, GC

Keena Lipsitz, Queens College, GC

Viviana Rivera-Burgos, Baruch College

Steven Romalewski and Valerie Bauer, CMS, CUR, GC

January 20, 2023

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Section I: Overview

John Mollenkopf

What is a community of interest? At the most elemental level, a community is a group of people who share something in common, live together in the same place, or both. The members of a community have a subjective sense of belonging or membership and they interact with each other, usually in person. A community is thus not simply an abstract category of individuals with a similar relationship to some larger entity (a group in itself) but is composed of people who share connections (a group for itself). The term also hints at a group capacity for collective action. The Latin word for community, communitas, melds com for "together" with munis for "public" or "many," linking the term both to civitas, or citizenship, and municipalis, or inhabitants of a town. The term "community of interest" thus invites us to ask what binds people who live and interact with each other in a given place into a cohesive group. The answers fall along two key dimensions: sharing places (or in the 21st century context, communicating with a shared network) and sharing social characteristics, values, cultures, or commitments that enable them to form a "public." Typically, these two dimensions intertwine with each other (Brandtner and Powell 2022).

At least since the late 1930s, the civic organizations and city planning agencies of New York City have defined its communities in terms of neighborhoods and then collected data to systematically understand their needs. In the late 1930s, the federal Works Progress Administration funded local planning agencies to carry out the first census of land use and housing conditions in many metropolitan areas, including New York City. WPA workers visited every single lot, recorded the date of construction, condition of property, and land use, cataloged the residents, and took photographs (US WPA 1939). These "real property surveys" yielded detailed maps and tables of housing and social conditions that provided the basis for much physical, social, and community planning in the wake of the Depression, including the construction of New Deal public works and urban renewal projects in the recovery period after World War II. This legacy remains with us today – in facilities such as the Sunset Park pool – and helps to shape how we share spaces in the city.

New York City and its five boroughs led the nation in using social and administrative statistics to describe New York's communities and measure their needs. Civic and governmental leaders established the Community Council of Greater New York in 1925 to catalog and coordinate social service provision across New York City neighborhoods. Starting in 1933, the Community Council supported the Brooklyn Council for Social Planning (Brooklyn Public Library 1999) in producing a comprehensive study of the borough's neighborhoods (Ballon 1942). After World War II, building on that work, the Research Division of the Community Council's Bureau of Community Statistical Services, led by Dr. Blanche Bernstein, later a city social services commissioner and CUNY trustee, published a multi-volume description of the social characteristics, educational attainment, housing conditions, health outcomes, and social infrastructure of all the neighborhoods of Brooklyn, the Bronx, Manhattan, and Queens.

The Brooklyn volumes (Community Council of Greater New York 1958), "Brooklyn Communities: Population Characteristics and Neighborhood Social Resources," analyzed a familiar range of neighborhoods from Greenpoint

and Williamsburg in the north through Coney Island and Sheepshead Bay in the south. The study noted that the borough had started 300 years earlier as a collection of independent communities and had only been unified for 63 years at the time of the study and used 1950 Census data on population and housing as well as thorough inventories of community organizations, social service agencies, schools, and churches. The report highlighted the how the white foreign born and their descendants and the rising Negro and Puerto Rican populations both shaped the increasing diversity of community populations. It is clear through this and the other borough volumes that "community" and "neighborhood" were used interchangeably.

This practice of equating community with places or neighborhoods gradually evolved into an increasingly official system in which community planning councils (starting in 1951) evolved into Community Planning Boards (in the 1963 City Charter and local law 39 in 1968) and Community Districts, each with a Community Board (in the 1975 Charter and the 1989 charter revision). The Department of City Planning (DCP) now groups census tracts into Neighborhood Tabulation Areas (NTAs), nested within Community District Tabulation Areas (CDTAs), which approximate Community Districts (https://storymaps.arcgis.com/stories/d30850ba28944619b94e8ee4f746d5c4). DCP has published a wealth of Census and other data relating to NTA and CDTA geographies. Meanwhile, the Census Bureau's Public Use Microdata Areas (PUMAs) also correspond to Community Districts in New York City, providing a wealth of community-related microdata on individuals and households.

Our multi-part report, *How Communities of Interest Are Evolving in New York City Today*, continues the tradition of describing communities both in terms of places (census blocks, tracts, and community boards or PUMAS) and peoples (including detailed ethnic groups as well as broader racial categories). We use census microdata to explore differentiations within and across these groups on key indicators like real median household incomes, educational attainment of adults, gender differences in labor force participation, and residential patterns. We use the latest census tract level information to map the distribution of these groups and characteristics across New York City neighborhoods. All maps have been prepared by the CUNY Mapping Service, a unit of the Center for Urban Research, and are available at https://nycoi2023.commons.gc.cuny.edu/nyc-communities-of-interest-report-2023/. Because we want readers to see as much detail as possible, you should view the maps associated with this report on line. As a companion to this report, we have also provided searchable digital access to all testimony submitted to the Districting Commission at the same web location.

Our aim is three-fold: first, to detail the broad trends that have taken place in the decade between 2010 and the most recent data (currently the 2016-2020 combined file of the American Community Survey), second, to show how these trends have influenced changes in the city's neighborhoods, and third to give closer examination to currently emerging communities that, while still relatively small in 2020, may become more important by 2030, and therefore worthy of consideration in the next round of legislative redistricting at the State and City level. This first section considers the following key trends:

- The city's population and voting age citizenry grew between 2010 and 2020, but future growth trends are less clear as the impacts of COVID play out and the city gradually ages.
- The racial makeup of the overall population and "citizens of voting age population" (i.e., those who are eligible to vote, referred to as CVAP) CVAP continued to shift, as the white and Black populations declined and Asians and Latinos grew, driven by immigrants and their native born descendants. The map on the cover of this report shows their current spatial distribution.

- The patterns across the broad racial groups within the population and CVAP have been driven by distinctive trends among the specific ethnic groups that make them up: some of these ethnic groups have been declining while others are growing, some rapidly.
- These ethnic groups have also been shifting their spatial concentrations across the city, driving neighborhood change and increasing neighborhood diversity. The racial intermarriage is also increasing.
- All groups experienced an increase of real household income per capita and educational and occupational attainment, but at different rates.

Our report draws on three main data sources. First is the decennial census "complete count" data as reported by the PL94-171 release of the 2020 Census as adjusted to account for incarcerated people (https://latfor.state.ny.us/data) to remediate the problem of prison gerrymandering. The CUNY Data Service also allocated the adjusted 2010 data to 2020 block boundaries so we could examine change over time. Second, we draw on population estimates from the tract level data files for the most recent five year combined file of the American Community Survey (2016-2020). These estimates come with margins of error that make some small area figures uncertain. Third, we have developed a file that merges two five year combined microdata files from the American Community Survey: 2016-2020 and 2008-2012. The 2016-2020 data, the most recent available at this writing, is centered on the year 2018, while the 2008-2012 file is centered on the year 2010. As a shorthand in the tables below, we refer to these time periods as 2010 and 2018. The ACS samples households and people in group quarters while the PL file is a full count, so they are not strictly comparable. We also touch briefly upon on the Census Bureau's population estimate program, which seeks to understand the components of population change (births, deaths, in-migration, and out-migration) at the county level over time, to discuss recent trends. In classifying people into racial groups, this first section groups together all those who said they were Hispanic as Latinos, whatever races they select. (Below, Section II discusses Afro-Latinos and Afro-Asians as people of African descent, including them as part of the Black population.) This first section classifies every non-Hispanic person who gives Black as a race as Black even if they designate more than one race and similarly groups together all non-Hispanic Asians even if they give more than one race, so long as they do not select Black. As a result, those included as non-Hispanic whites are white alone; whites who also said they were Hispanic, Black, or Asians are included in those categories. For shorthand, the first section labels these groups white, Black, Latino, and Asian, with a residual category of non-Hispanic other and multiple race individuals, including Native Americans, Hawaiians and Pacific Islanders, and people who choose Other race.

1. New York City's population grew substantially between 2010 and 2020 but may have declined from the 2020 peak and future trends are still unclear.

The unadjusted PL94-171 (decennial census) data for New York City showed a population growth from 8,175,133 on April 1, 2010, to 8,804,190 on April 1, 2020, a net gain of 629,057 people or 7.7 percent. Adjusting for incarcerated individuals, the growth was from 8,067,225 to 8,695,438, a gain of 628,213 people, or 7.8 percent. (The comparable figures from the ACS microdata files comparing 2008-2012 with 2016-2020 give a more modest net growth of 180,821 from 8,198,393 to 8,379,214, or 2.2 percent.) However, all these figures come from the pre-COVID era, which slowed international migration to the city and accelerated out-migration (at least on a temporary basis as households relocated to less dense areas). The Census Bureau's population estimate program determined that the city's population had declined from its April 1, 2020 high to 8,467,513 by July 1, 2021, a net loss of 336,677 people, or 3.8 percent.

Examination of the components of change from the Census population estimates show a significant jump in deaths and net out-migration and a relatively low number of international migrants between 2020 and 2021. The 2022 population estimates (through July 1, 2022) will not be forthcoming until April 2023 and the current trajectory of these forces is not clear. The rate of death from COVID has declined compared to the onset period, but the city has still suffered a loss of at least 43,271 deaths (as of 12/1/22) and reports a continuing daily average of over 4,700 new cases. Similarly, the Trump era federal restraints on international migration probably dampened the growth of our foreign born population, but recent trends may be different; some 21,700 refugees have been reported as arriving since Spring 2020 (https://www.nytimes.com/article/nyc-migrant-crisis-explained.html).

We do not yet have good data on the impact of the COVID crisis, with its illness, death, negative impacts on specific occupations and industries and the people who work in them, and influences on neighborhood life as many more people work remotely. Subsequent events proved wrong all the observers who thought that New York City was headed in a downward trajectory based on the evidence of the 1970s fiscal and economic crisis, the 2001 attacks on the World Trade Center, the financial crisis of 2008, or the foreclosure crisis of 2010, however much these episodes inflicted real pain on the city and its residents. It will take some more time before we can to project what will happen in the remainder of the 2020s based on its first few years.

2. The racial composition of the city's population and voting age citizenry changed significantly.

As depicted in Table I-1, based on the microdata from the two American Community Survey five-year samples (2008-2012 and 2016-2020), we see that the decline of the city's Black (-1.84 percent) and white (-1.75 percent) populations was offset by substantial net growth of the Asian (14.45 percent) and Latino (3.42 percent) populations, yielding the modest overall gain (2.2 percent). As we will see in greater detail below, these trends were driven by the aging and out-migration of long-time ethnic groups and the arrival of newer, younger immigrant groups, who have now produced a substantial native born second generation as they travel the life course. (Changes in the wording and coding of the Census race questions also increased the number and share of people choosing multiple races.)

Table I-1: Population and Voting Age Citizens by Race and Year, 2008-2012 and 2016-2020

	Population				Voting Age Citizens			
Racial Group	Census Year		Change		Census Year		Change	
	2010	2018	#	%	2010	2018	#	%
NH White Alone	2725268	2677579	-47689	-1.75%	2071541	2018516	-53025	-2.6%
	33.2%	32%			40.8%	37.3%		
NH Black Alone & MR	1922761	1887406	-35335	-1.84%	1226271	1306080	79809	6.5%
	23.5%	22.5%			24.2%	24.1%		
Latino	2343412	2423499	80087	3.42%	1169020	1345756	176736	15.1%
	28.6%	28.9%			23%	24.8%		
NH Asian Alone & MR	1112233	1272941	160708	14.45%	551201	670267	119068	21.6%
	13.6%	15.2%			10.9%	12.4%		
NH All Other	94719	117789	23070	24.36%	54116	76815	22966	42%
	1.2%	1.4%			1.1%	1.4%		
Total	8198393	8379214	180821	2.21%	5072149	5417434	345285	6.8%
	100%	100%			100%	100%		

Note: NH is non-Hispanic and MR indicates having chosen multiple races

The patterns among those who are voting age citizens (CVAP) who are therefore eligible to register and vote in the city's elections) are similar, but not the same. Overall, the potential electorate grew three times faster than the population, mostly because foreign born adults became naturalized citizens and their native born children grew to adulthood. (As of the most recent ACS data, half the city's residents lived in households with foreign born "responsible persons," i.e. those who were responsible for the rent or mortgage, including 28.2 percent of whites, 47.2 percent of Blacks, 57.5 percent of Latinos, and 83.5 percent of Asians.) Only the white share of the CVAP declined, while the others grew, with particularly strong growth among the Asian and Latino potential electorate. Whites have receded to just over a third of the potential voters. Since their turnout rates are higher than for other groups, given their higher levels of education and income, their share of votes cast in general elections is higher than their share of the voting age citizenry, but they are still well less than half the active electorate.

3. The broad racial changes were driven by the varying trajectories of the specific ethnic groups that belong to them.

Older ethnic groups, whether white, African-American, or Puerto Rican, receded, while a host of newer groups grew rapidly, driven by post-1970 immigration to the U.S. and New York City, led by Dominicans, Bangladeshis, African immigrants, and even whites who do not identify with the traditional ethnic groups. Table I-2 describes the overall patterns.

Table I-2: Population and Voting Age Citizens by Detailed Ethnicity and Year, 2008-2012 and 2016-2020

	Population				Voting Age Citizens			
Racial-ethnic group	Census year		Change		Census year		Change	
	2010	2020	#	%	2010	2018	#	%
NB Italian	445546	354970	-90576	-20.3	383452	309797	-73655	-19.2
	5.4%	4.2%			7.6%	5.7%		
NB Irish	260120	217219	-42901	-16.5	227713	191499	-36214	-15.9
	3.2%	2.6%			4.5%	3.5%		
NB Jewish Ancestries	385080	372558	-12522	-3.3	286989	270377	-16612	-5.8
	4.7%	4.4%			5.7%	5.0%		
NB German	124139	110535	-13604	-11	111518	100176	-11342	-10.2
	1.5%	1.3%			2.2%	1.8%		
NB English-British-Scottish	108029	107021	-1008	-0.9	95491	94889	-602	-0.6
	1.3%	1.3%			1.9%	1.8%		
NB and FB Middle East and NA	92561	112666	20105	21.7	48298	61101	12803	26.5
	1.1%	1.3%			1%	1.1%		
Other NB NH White	749158	882912	133754	17.9	566258	661932	95674	16.9
	9.1%	10.5%			11.2%	12.2%		
FB Russian Former Soviet Union	190404	186718	-3686	-1.9	139031	138607	-424	-0.3
	2.3%	2.2%			2.7%	2.6%		
Other FB NH White	376852	345474	-31378	-8.3	214372	195204	-19168	-8.9
	4.6%	4.1%			4.2%	3.6%		
African American NH NB	964304	851447	-112857	-11.7	693640	644037	-49603	-7.2
	11.8%	10.2%			13.7%	11.9%		
Afro Caribbean NH FB & NB	789727	744616	-45111	-5.7	456034	497893	41859	9.2
	9.6%	8.9%			9%	9.2%		
All Other NH FB & NB Blacks	263026	363902	100876	38.4	137208	216899	79691	58.1
	3.2%	4.3%			2.7%	4%		
Puerto Rican	742089	653662	-88427	-11.9	535055	497151	-37904	-7.1

	Population				Voting Age Citizens			
Racial-ethnic group	Census year		Change		Census year		Change	
	2010	2020	#	%	2010	2018	#	%
	9.1%	7.8%			10.5%	9.2%		
Dominican	607896	723832	115936	19.1	266344	371481	105137	39.5
	7.4%	8.6%			5.3%	6.9%		
Mexican	313562	319272	5710	1.8	58255	93621	35366	60.7
	3.8%	3.8%			1.1%	1.7%		
Ecuadoran, Colombian, Peruvian	355100	352123	-2977	-0.8	150167	175058	24891	16.6
	4.3%	4.2%			3.0%	3.2%		
Other Latinos	316185	370373	54188	17.1	155169	204979	49810	32.1
	3.9%	4.4%			3.1%	3.8%		
Chinese NH	508358	601931	93573	18.4	261158	317222	56064	21.5
	6.2%	7.2%			5.1%	5.9%		
Indian NH	100980	128021	27041	26.8	48274	72794	24520	50.8
	1.2%	1.5%			1%	1.3%		
Bangladeshi NH	80055	116433	36378	45.4	32657	54391	21734	66.6
	1%	1.4%			0.6%	1%		
Pakistani NH	49479	54538	5059	10.2	21770	28513	6743	31
	0.6%	0.7%			0.4%	0.5%		
Filipino NH	73751	72060	-1691	-2.3	42184	46852	4668	11.1
	0.9%	0.9%			0.8%	0.9%		
Korean NH	99421	82396	-17025	-17.1	50133	48258	-1875	-3.7
	1.2%	1%			1.0%	0.9%		
All other NH Asian	143903	176584	32681	22.7	58709	75890	17181	29.3
	1.8%	2.1%			1.2%	1.4%		
All NH Other or Mixed Races	58668	77951	19283	32.9	32270	48813	16543	51.3
	0.7%	0.9%			0.6%	0.9%		
Total	8198393	8379214	180821	2.21	5072149	5417434	345285	6.8
	100%	100%			100%	100%		

The present-day descendants of the Irish, German, Italian, and central/East European Jewish immigrant families who arrived in the U.S. and New York City from 1850 to 1940 (including some native born adults today whose foreign born parents arrived at a young age before World War II) and who continue to identify with these ances-tries have moved upward, outward, and onward from New York City, just as they did in previous decades. These communities remain large and vibrant but are much reduced in size and spatial concentration compared to the early post-World War II era. (An exception to this generalization are the ultra-Orthodox Jewish communities such as the Satmar or the Lubavitchers, but they have also established satellite communities in distant suburbs.) Even the

numbers of Russian-speaking Jewish immigrants from the former Soviet Union who arrived mainly in the 1980s have begun to decline slightly. On the other hand, the city now has more whites who do not identify with any of these traditional ethnic groups but instead choose broad ancestries such as "European" or "American" or simply do not give an ancestry. These whites are also younger, more likely to live in non-family households or in married couple families with children and are slightly more educated than the white adult average. Immigrant and native born people who give Middle Eastern ancestries are a small but rapidly growing group discussed further below.

Similar trends have taken place among Black communities. The African-American population, already less than half the total Black population, decreased over the last eight years in absolute and relative terms, as did the Afro-Caribbean population, surprisingly. Like the long-time white ethnic groups, African-American families have been aging, suburbanizing, and their children relocating to other parts of the country, including the Southern states from which African-American families originally migrated. The number of Blacks residing in New York City who were born in North Carolina has declined by one-third just over the last eight-year period, as did a quarter for those born in Georgia and South Carolina. Many members of Afro-Caribbean families have also suburbanized or moved elsewhere, often to Florida. New immigration is not making as much of a contribution to the growth of this community as it used to. The number of people from the English or French speaking Caribbean region receiving U.S. permanent residence has diminished in the last decade and they are less likely to locate in the New York metro area. As a result, the number of New Yorkers born in all the major sending islands or countries has declined. Counter to this trend, however, has been the growth of African immigrant communities, particularly from Ghana, Nigeria, and other parts of West Africa. Similarly, the number of Afro-Latinos, counted in the overall Latino numbers, has risen by one quarter over the last eight years. Section II of this report describes the evolution of New York City's Black communities in greater detail.

Like whites and Blacks, the people who chose to be categorized as Hispanic or Latino are quite diverse and growing more so. In the post-World War II period, Puerto Ricans predominated among Spanish-speaking migrants to New York City. The Puerto Rican government fostered the early waves of migration to the city, which differed from other immigrant streams in being disproportionately composed of the island's lower socio-economic strata, termed negative selection by immigration scholars. The struggle for Puerto Rican upward mobility in New York City was epic, on a par with that of African-Americans, and has been successful, but a side effect of this upward trajectory has been the substantial decline of the city's Puerto Rican population, whether born on the island or mainland.

As the Puerto Rican population reached its peak around 1990 and then began to decline, new Latino immigrant flows began to surge, led by Dominican and Mexican-born arrivals, but including many from Central and South America. The volume of a particular immigrant flow depended on the political and economic conditions of the sending country and the ease with which it allowed citizens to emigrate. While Puerto Ricans established the basic pattern of Latino neighborhoods in the city, other Latino immigrant groups often chose to settle elsewhere. Washington Heights was the biggest initial Dominican settlement and that community has now crossed the East River into western parts of the Bronx and has also settled in a number of Queens neighborhoods. Mexican-descent individuals are more spread out through the city, with the most Mexican neighborhoods of the city being at only half the concentration levels of Dominicans. Ecuadorans, Colombians, and Peruvians have settled mainly in Queens. As a result, the Puerto Rican share of neighborhood populations has a low correlation with those of the immigrant Latino groups. Section III of this report explores these communities more thoroughly.

Asian populations are also highly diverse, even in comparison with Blacks and Latinos, particularly in the distinction between East Asian and South Asian groups. In the recent period, South Asian groups have been growing more rapidly than East Asian groups, several of which have declined in the recent period. In part, these comparatively strong South Asian growth rates reflect the fact that the net gain of almost 100,000 members of the 600,000-strong Chinese community produced a relatively small percentage rise, even as the absolute increase is larger than for any of the other communities.

4. Racial and ethnic groups have shifted their spatial concentrations as their relative sizes have changed and the interweaving of these trends has altered the ethnic geography in the city, producing more diverse neighborhoods and less inter-group segregation.

Focusing first on the block-level decennial census counts by race, we can sort census blocks by which racial group is either a majority or plurality of the block population in each decade and then compare their change over time. The cover map the 2020 racial distribution of the neighborhoods (Map I-1 on the cover and on line) while Map I-2 (on line and Appendix II, Map I-2) shows the same distribution ten years earlier. Comparing and contracting them shows that while the basic racial geography persists over time, these patterns are eroding, with the most solidly white and Black neighborhoods getting less so as the Latino and especially Asian populations grow on their peripheries. The shifting locations of the white and Black populations reduced the numbers of these groups living in majority white and Black blocks and decreased the number of those blocks. As Map I-3 below (and on line) shows, whites reconcentrated from outer borough white ethnic neighborhoods to the corona of 19th century neighborhoods around the Manhattan central business district. Similarly, as Map I-3 shows below (and on line), Blacks moved further towards the more suburban parts of the city.

[See Map of white change and Black change on line and Appendix II, Map II-4]

The contrasting patterns on Maps I-3 and I-4 show the dramatic population shifts over the decade. Looking first at the white change, the City Planning-designated NTA Brooklyn neighborhoods of Bensonhurst, Gravesend, Dyker Heights, Marine Park-Mill Basin-Bergen Beach, and Bath Beach all lost more than 3,000 white residents across the decade, as did Forest Hills, Murray Hill-Broadway, Auburndale, and Maspeth in Queens and Throgs Neck-Schuylerville and Pelham Bay and Riverdale in the Bronx. None of these neighborhoods suffered population declines, however, because the growth of Asian, Hispanic, and even Black residents of these neighborhoods more than offset the loss of whites. Conversely, the blocks with the greatest growth of white population over the decade where Bedford-Stuyvesant, Williamsburg, Crown Heights, Bushwick, Prospect Lefferts Gardens, and Downtown Brooklyn-DUMBO in Brooklyn, Long Island City in Queens, and Battery Park City in Manhattan, all of which gained more than 6,000 whites each.

The Black population depicted in Map I-4 shows the reverse picture, i.e. how the Black population of traditionally Black neighborhoods declined as whites moved in. The biggest Black population losses took place in the NTA-designated neighborhoods of Crown Heights North and South, Bedford-Stuyvesant East and West, Flatbush and East Flatbush, Prospect Lefferts Gardens-Wingate, Bushwick in Brooklyn, Harlem South in Manhattan, and the Queens neighborhoods of South Ozone Park, Baisley Park, and South Jamaica, all of which lost more than 3,000 Black Residents. Yet the populations of these blocks grew despite these losses, driven in most cases by large white gains (Bedford-Stuyvesant) and significant Asian and Hispanic increases. Meanwhile Black population gains occurred in more outlying neighborhoods such as Canarsie, Spring Creek-Starrett City, Morrisania, and Co-op City.

[See Map of Asian change on line and Appendix II, Map I-5]

The Asian population experienced widespread gains across the city's blocks, depicted in Map I-5. While the Asian population declined in many blocks in Manhattan's Chinatown, much of the rest of the city is light to deep blue on the map, indicating widespread population gains. The biggest Asian population gains occurred in the NTA-designated neighborhoods of Bensonhurst and Dyker Heights in Brooklyn, Flushing-Willets Point, Long Island City-Hunters Point, Jamaica and South Jamaica, Elmhurst, Forest Hills, Murray Hill-Broadway, and Auburndale in Queens, Hell's Kitchen in Manhattan, and Downtown Brooklyn-DUMBO-Boerum Hill in Brooklyn. Only Chinatown-Two Bridges and SoHo-Little Italy-Hudson Square, and the Lower East Side in Manhattan lost more than 500 Asian residents.

[See Map of Latino change on line and Appendix II, Map I-6]

The Latino case is presented in Map I-6 and it falls somewhere between the overall growth of the Asian communities and the mixed rise and decline of the white and Black populations. Fifteen neighborhoods gained 3,000 or more Latino residents, including Throgs Neck-Schuylerville, Riverdale-Spuyten Duyvil, Pelham Bay-Country Club-City Island, and University Heights-Fordham, and Bedford Park in the Bronx; Corona and North Corona, College Point, Maspeth, Glendale, and Forest Hills in Queens; Bensonhurst and Bay Ridge in Brooklyn, and North Harlem in Manhattan. The biggest losses of 3,000 or more took place in the long-time Latino neighborhoods of Washington Heights North and South, Inwood, Bushwick East and West, Sunset Park West, and Ridgewood, which experienced influxes of whites and Asians.

The net result of these trends was fewer neighborhoods where one of the racial groups was a majority and fewer of the racial groups living in their own majority neighborhoods. These overall trends are captured in Table I-3. In 2010, 83.9 percent of the city's population lived in racial majority neighborhoods, but that fell to 74.6 percent in 2020. The share of whites living in majority white blocks fell from 76.8 percent to 68.2 percent, of Blacks in majority Black blocks from 65.5 percent to 55.5 percent, and of Latinos in majority Latino blocks from 53.9 percent to 49 percent. Only for the rapidly growing Asian population did the share rise slightly from 31.3 percent to 33.6 percent as more neighborhoods became majority Asian. The shares of Blacks living in majority or plurality white blocks rose from 6.7 percent to 8.3 percent and of Latinos rose from 17.7 percent to 18.3 percent. Over the decade, these blocks lost just shy of 130,000 white residents and gained 22,535 Black residents, 39,771 Latino residents, and 71,366 Asian residents, slightly increasing their overall population. Majority and plurality Black and Latino blocks also increased their diversity.

Table I-3: Population by Race by Block Racial Composition, 2010 and 2020, New York City (column %)

Block Race	Everyone	%	Whites	NHW%	Blacks	NHB%	Latinos	L%	Asians	NHA%
Majority NHW	**2807177**	**34.8%**	**2088768**	**76.8%**	81371	4 5%	299824	13.2%	278453	27 1%
Plurality NHW	434856	5.4%	188577	6.9%	41088	2.2%	102713	4.5%	87711	8.5%
Majority NHB	**1601942**	**19.9%**	72969	2.7%	**1194407**	**65.4%**	258682	11.4%	31138	3%
Plurality NHB	253658	3.1%	35025	1.3%	108697	6%	70945	3.1%	23459	2.3%
Majority Hisp	**1772745**	**22%**	124367	4.6%	291360	16%	**1223320**	**53.9%**	99195	9.7%
Plurality Hisp	423943	5.3%	78777	2.9%	73282	4%	181644	8%	**68753**	**6.7%**
Majority NHA	**483945**	**6%**	72576	2.7%	10428	0.6%	67156	3%	321904	31.3%
Plurality NHA	273847	3.4%	55045	2%	23236	1.3%	60189	2.7%	112947	11%
Total 2010	8067225	100%	2720079	100%	1826184	100%	2269007	100%	1026949	100%
Majority NHW	**2642624**	**30.4%**	**1851658**	**68.2%**	80639	4.6%	297095	12.3%	291065	21.2%
Plurality NHW	690215	7.9%	295728	10.9%	64355	3.7%	145213	6.0%	146465	10.7%
Majority NHB	**1392592**	**16%**	76040	2.8%	**967602**	**55.5%**	222644	9.2%	39034	2.8%
Plurality NHB	442396	5.1%	67486	2.5%	188354	10.8%	109836	4.5%	40978	3%
Majority Hisp	**1758770**	**20.2%**	128446	4.7%	276870	15.9%	**1187043**	**49%**	110913	8.1%
Plurality Hisp	603442	6.9%	107749	4.0%	109288	6.3%	255224	10.5%	92662	6.8%
Majority NHA	**692993**	**8%**	91667	3.4%	17708	1%	104533	4.3%	**460217**	**33.6%**
Plurality NHA	451257	5.2%	92688	3.4%	37013	2.1%	94650	3.9%	184790	13.5%
Total 2020	8695438	100%	2717017	100%	1744063	100%	2422453	100%	1371402	100%

This gradual blending of racial groups living together at the block level over the decade was accompanied both by greater diversity in how people identified racially – with more people indicating having multiple races or more generic ancestries – and more intermarriage between racial groups. While remaining high, the shares of same-race husband and wife couples declined from 93.9 to 92 percent among whites, from 91.8 to 89.4 percent among Blacks, from 86.2 to 83.4 percent among Latinos, and from 90.6 to 88.9 percent among Asians. The number of children growing up in mixed-race rose. In other words, racial boundaries that were sharp and bright decades ago are blurring, whether at the family or neighborhood level. As the sections below on people of African Descent, Latinos, and emerging groups show, substantial and increasing groups cross or bridge racial-ethnic boundaries, including the case of Afro-Latinos discussed in both the African descent and Latino sections as well as the Afro-Asians and Indo-Caribbeans discussed in the African descent, Asian, and emerging sections.

5. Most racial and ethnic groups experienced an increase of real household income per capita and educational and occupational attainment across the decade, but at different rates.

At least economically, the 2010s were a good decade for the residents of New York City and the overall city economy, at least as indicated by the American Community Survey public use microdata five year summaries for 2008-2012 (centered on 2020) and 2016-2020 (centered on 2018). The city recovered from the economic and housing crisis of 2008 and did not experience another economic shock until the onset of the COVID pandemic in early 2020. As employment and population grew, so did household incomes. Overall, median real household income (in $2022) rose from $100,568 to $115,135, or 14.5 percent and real household income per capita rose 13.3 percent. White and Asian incomes rose fastest at 20.4 and 19.5 percent, respectively, Latino incomes rose just under the citywide figure (15.7 percent), and Blacks rose the slowest at 8.8 percent, putting them lower over time in relative terms. Looking at the more detailed ethnic groups within these broad racial categories, notable differences among them are evident. Table I-4 provides the patterns for the broad racial groups and individual ethnic groups.

Table I-4: Real Median Household Income and HHI Per Capita, 2010 and 2018, NYC ($2022)

Group	HHI10	HHIPC10	HHI18	HHIPC18	HHI Ch	HHIPC Ch
Total	**100568**	**31117**	**115135**	**35257**	**14.5**	**13.31**
NB Italian	133753	43853	151916	52386	13.6	19.5
NB Irish	154466	54893	190877	70024	23.6	27.6
NB Jewish Ancestries	146381	50656	156482	51857	6.9	2.4
NB German	170824	63979	196881	74162	15.3	15.9
NH All Other	93072	26659	99086	29475	6.5	10.6
NB Wasp	197664	76766	223592	85200	13.1	11
NB and FB MENA	80339	21722	76938	20428	-4.2	-6
Other NB NH White	153333	54695	186866	65348	21.9	19.5
FB Russian FSU	91107	32614	107474	37419	18	14.7
Other FB NH White	106175	35714	138162	46880	30.1	31.3
NH White Alone	**132414**	**44853**	**157390**	**54012**	**18.9**	**20.4**
African American NH NB	104796	33419	108047	35605	3.1	6.5
Afro Caribbean NH NB & FB	99096	28267	110744	32054	11.8	13.4
All Other NH FB & NB Blacks	85501	24117	98746	27693	15.5	14.8
NH Black Alone & MR	**99516**	**29715**	**108022**	**32340**	**8.6**	**8.8**
Puerto Rican	89985	27490	103788	33806	15.3	23
Dominican	68118	17716	71974	20168	5.7	13.8
Mexican	55871	11776	66679	15371	19.4	30.5
Ecuadoran Colombian Peruvian	77650	21126	89013	24838	14.6	17.6
Other Latinos	82409	25230	103828	31649	26	25.4

Group	HHI10	HHIPC10	HHI18	HHIPC18	HHI Ch	HHIPC Ch
Latinos	**74287**	**20672**	**84450**	**23910**	**13.68**	**15.66**
Chinese NH	66838	18326	80484	22550	20.4	23.1
Indian NH	111268	32726	148355	42860	33.3	31
Bangladeshi NH	50459	11781	63021	14680	24.9	24.6
Pakistani NH	55342	13175	77371	17073	39.8	29.6
Filipino NH	140164	41903	155391	45755	10.9	9.2
Korean NH	89628	28703	115135	37995	28.5	32.4
All other NH Asian	106945	35041	106408	33118	-0.5	-5.5
All NH Other or Mixed	90790	30170	101341	36901	11.6	22.3
NH Asian Alone & MR	**78597**	**21856**	**92896**	**26110**	**18.2**	**19.5**

Source: ACS 2008-2012 and 2016-2020 MR = Multiple Races NH = Non-Hispanic
FB = Foreign Born, NB = Native Born

We now turn to detailed analyses of the Black, Latino, Asian, and emerging communities of New York City. Section II, authored by Professor Zulema Blair, discusses the various subgroups of people of African descent, defined as all persons who chose Black as their race either alone or in combination with any other racial category, including those who identified as Hispanic or Asian. Section III, authored by Professor Viviana Rivera-Burgos, explores the Spanish-speaking groups classified as Hispanic by the U.S. Census, regardless of their racial designations (a grouping that overlaps with the previous discussion, since Hispanics or Latinos can be of any race). Section IV, authored by Professor Tarry Hum, examines all those who identify as Asian, a broad and artificial category that combines people from quite different regions and cultures of the world. Professor Keena Lipsitz considers a number of new and small groups that are growing rapidly as emerging communities in Section V. Section VI on concluding thoughts reflects input from all team members. We suggest priorities for research on and interaction with communities of interest in New York City that should be undertaken in the coming decade as we approach the 2030 Census and the 2031-2032 round of redistricting.

Section I Citations

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Section II: The People of African Descent in New York City

Zulema Blair

People of African descent, otherwise known as the Black race, are individuals who have ancestors who originally lived on the Continent of Africa but who were transported, often by force, to other continents, including North, Central, and South America, Europe, and Asia. People of African descent have not always been counted to their fullest or potential extend in the decennial censuses or the American Community Survey (ACS) because of the nuances that accompany multiracial and multiethnic communities, especially those who grew up outside the U.S. racial context. When it comes to self-identifying with more than one race and ethnicity, some individuals are either educated by representatives of one group to choose one racial or ethnic category over the other or as multi-racial, multi-ethnic individuals they may not identify with the categories available to them on the Census form.

This section discusses New York City's African descent population in terms of African Americans, Afro-Caribbeans, Continental Africans, Afro-Latinos, and Afro-South Asians. Together, they make up the largest concentration of people of African descent in North America. It outlines who they are, where they live, how they live, and how they will be maintained or continue to grow in NYC.

People of African descent became established in New York City in the early 20th century and referred to themselves as Black New Yorkers. For decades, people all ethnicities with African descent have migrated to the city from all over the world. Historically, African Americans migrated from the South to Harlem, Bedford Stuyvesant, and Crown Heights, Flatbush, Brownsville, East New York, and Coney Island, where they were often met by people who were considered "native Black New Yorkers." Caribbeans migrated to Flatbush, East Flatbush, Crown Heights, Prospect Heights, Canarsie, and Flatlands in Brooklyn, the Wakefield section of the Bronx, and Queens neighborhoods. While the Black communities of the Northern Bronx, Harlem, and Queens were substantial, Central Brooklyn emerged as the largest concentration of Black people in North America.

While New York City drew Black migrants from the southern parts of the U.S., the Caribbean, Latin America, South America, and Africa, the overall Black population began to decline in the last decade. A review of the American Community Survey's five-year estimates reveals that people of African descent populations from non-immigrant origins have been exiting the city in large numbers. A deeper dive into the data also reveals that Black populations arriving from the Northeast, Midwest, and West have not moved into Black communities in as large a number as their southern counterparts once did, and instead opted for non-Black neighborhoods. This decentralization of people of African descent became noticeable in Central Brooklyn in the 2010 decennial census. Besides the migration of a small percentage of the Black population into non-Black neighborhoods, many analysts charge that gentrification has contributed to this decline; others say Blacks are less likely to self-identify as Black on the census form. More

research is required to determine who is arriving, staying, or leaving Black communities, as well as who is or is not self-identifying as part of the Black race on the census form even when they are people of African descent.

Gentrification has caused the economic upheaval of neighborhoods or communities as housing development and rent increases lead to displacement and an affordable housing crisis. The associated demographic and social shifts in neighborhoods targeted for development has engendered class struggles. The severed impact of gentrification on neighborhoods predominated by people of African descent has jeopardized some of subgroups or communities of interests (COIs) and thrown their sense of normality into disarray. Even as some subpopulations decline, however, people of African descent have been experiencing a slow overall rate of growth in New York City, however. For example, subgroups of African origin have been growing as African American populations have been declining.

In addition, Afro-Latinos may be reluctant to fully identify their racial origins as racial identification has become more political in each decade. The Census Bureau added the Hispanic origin question to the 1970 census form, giving Latinos/Hispanics the opportunity to choose both an ethnic and a racial identity, with many choosing "Other Race" in an indication of not fitting into the standard U.S. racial classification system. It added an ancestry question in 1980, with two responses facilitated and a series of examples given. In 2000, the Census Bureau gave everyone the opportunity to self-identify with multiple races to account for the diversity produced by interracial couples and in 2020 added specific examples to the race questions that might have encouraged multiple answers. This multiplication of options for self-identification might contribute to the numerical undercounting of the Black race. Undercounting has always been an issue for people of African descent and remained so in the 2020 Census, along with undercounts for Latinos and "Other Race" individuals. Since decennial census numbers guide political representation, it is important to review what the demographic and socioeconomic trends among people of African descent over the last decade suggest about the future of these communities and how to ensure they are fully counted in the future.

Methodology

As in the other sections of this report, the data are drawn from two samples of the American Community Survey (ACS) public use microdata (2008-2012 to center on 2010 and 2016-2020, the most recent data available). We used these data to analyze the rate of growth for people of African descent and to explore the constraints that have been placed upon their rate of growth. Socioeconomic and demographic variables are displayed for each subgroup, including educational attainment, household income, and employment status as well as age, gender, and place of birth, with reflection on the different causes that might prompt people of African descent either to leave New York City or not arrive in the first place. Mapping the subgroups draws on the American Community Survey 2016-2020 tracts.

The subgroups include African Americans (non-Hispanic Black persons born in the U.S. who do not give foreign birth or ancestry), Afro-Caribbeans (non-Hispanic Black persons born in the U.S. or abroad who give a Caribbean place of birth or sole ancestry, including British), Continental Africans (non-Hispanic Black persons born in the U.S. or abroad who give a specific African place of birth or ancestry), Afro-Latinos (all Hispanics who indicate they are Black), and Afro-Asians (Asians who also indicate that they are Black).

Table II-1 indicates the relative size of these subgroups over time for all those who said their race was Black. Note that while the African American population declined over the period, the overall Black total rose slightly because

the rise of immigrant origin and Latino Blacks offset that trend. Note, the largest decrease of the subgroups for people of African Descent, are African Americans who were born outside of NYS in comparison to a 2% decline of African Americans who were born in NYS and Afro-Caribbeans with a decline of 5%. Afro-Asians are the fastest growing group for people of African Descent, which is not surprising given that Asians are the fastest growing population in NYC overall.

Table II-1 People of African Descent in New York City

Subgroup	2010	%	2018	%	Change %
Afro-American NYS	859483	39.5	842382	38.5	-2.0
Afro-American US	223920	10.3	188608	8.6	-15.8
Afro-Caribbean	697781	32.1	662363	30.2	-5.1
African	115631	5.3	152529	7	31.9
Afro-Latino	254793	11.7	312622	14.3	22.7
Afro-Asian	15411	0.7	24142	1.1	56.7
All Blacks	2174665	100	2189690	100	0.7

The decline of the three subgroups – African Americans born in NY, African Americans born in other parts of the country, and Afro-Caribbeans, are even more pronounced when analyzing the different age groups – under 18, 18 – 64, and over 65 (Tables II-2 to II-4). The under 18 population for all three subgroups has significant declines for the under 18 population, while the Continental African, Afro-Latino, and Afro-Asian under 18 population have significant increases. While African Americans who were born in NY manage to remain steady with a slight increase in their 18 – 64 age group, African Americans born outside NYS and Afro-Caribbeans, have significant decreases in this age group as well. Continental Africans, Afro-Latinos, and Afro-Asians continue their significant increases in this age group. However, for the over 65 age group, the only subgroup with a decline, is African Americans who were born in other parts of the U.S. This subgroup may be the biggest cause for the Black migration away from NYC and suggest that a larger systemic problem is occurring within this subgroup. This is also evident in the decline of their home ownership over the last decade (see Table II-5).

In addition to the aging of most population subgroups in New York City, the decline in the under 18 age groups of both African American subgroups and the Afro-Caribbean subgroup, is that families usually decline to have children or have fewer children when income stagnates. In this case, the substantial group of African Americans who were born in New York State are experiencing one of the lowest rates of growth in income out of all the subgroups for people of African Descent (see Table II-6). While Afro-Latinos and Afro-South Asians have lower incomes, their rate of income growth is higher than both African American subgroups. Their incomes will most likely continue to increase at a faster pace than those of African Americans. Essentially, they are seeing progress while African Americans are not. A summary of each subgroup is provided below to explain the reasons for the population increases for some subgroups, versus the population decreases for others.

Table II-2 People of African Descent Under 18

Subgroup	2010	2018	Change
Afro American NY	296622	252476	-44 146
	54.9%	51.5%	-14.9%
Afro-American US	13393	11716	-1,677
	2.5%	2.4%	-12.5%
Afro-Caribbean	121390	97346	-24,044
	22.5%	19.9%	-19.8%
African	24044	30886	6,824
	4.5%	6.3%	28.5%
Afro-Latino	78889	89703	10,814
	14.6%	18.3%	13.7%
Afro-Asian	4924	7170	2,246
	0.9%	1.5%	45.6%
All Blacks	540186	490179	-50,007
	100%	100%	-9.3%

Table II-3 People of African Descent 18-64

Subgroup	2010	2018	Change
Afro American NY	524706	525924	1,218
	37.7%	37.7%	0.2%
Afro-American US	121774	98416	-23,335
	8.7%	7%	-19.2%
Afro-Caribbean	490011	448013	-41,998
	35.2%	32.1%	-8.6%
African	87306	112079	24773
	6.3%	8%	28.4%
Afro-Latino	153965	191327	37,362
	11%	13.7%	24.3%
Afro-Asian	9499	15579	405
	0.7%	1.1%	64%
All Blacks	1393442	1396747	3305
	100%	100%	0.2%

Table II-4 People of African Descent Over 65

Subgroup	2010	2018	Change
Afro American NY	38155	63982	25827
	15.9%	13.1%	65.7%
Afro-American US	88753	78476	-10277
	36.9%	16%	-11.6%
Afro-Caribbean	86380	117004	30624
	35.9%	23.9%	35.5%
African	4,281	9564	5283
	4.5%	2%	123.4%
Afro-Latino	21959	31,831	9872
	9.1%	6.5%	45%
Afro-Asian	9884	1393	405
	0.4%	0.3%	41%
All Blacks	240516	490179	249663
	100%	100%	103%

Table II-5 Home Ownership

Subgroup	2010	2018	Change
African American NY	218,884	217,053	1 831
	33.6%	33.5%	-0.8%
African American US	64,426	52,654	-11,772
	9.9%	8.1%	-18.3%
Afro-Caribbean	297,895	288,130	-9,765
	45.7%	44.5%	-3.3%
Continental African	18,567	25,961	7,394
	2.8%	4%	39.8%
Afro-Latino	45,402	55,864	10,462
	7%	8.6%	23%
Afro-Asian	6,962	8,410	1,448
	1%	1.3%	20.8%
All Blacks	652,136	648,072	-4,064
	100%	100%	-0.6%

Table II-6 Median Household Incomes

Subgroup	2010	2018	Change
African American NY	$60,533	$66,087	$5,554
			9.2%
African American US	$57,747	$65,165	$7,418
			12.8%
Afro-Caribbean	$81,159	$92,574	$11,415
			14.1%
Continental African	$70,363	$81,457	$11,094
			15.8%
Afro-Latino	$51,261	$65,652	$14,391
			28.1%
Afro-Asian	$85,552	$106,988	$21,436
			25.1%
All Blacks	$66,738	$75,880	$9,142
			13.7%

African Americans Who Were Born in New York State

African Americans born in New York State make up almost 40% of the people of African descent in the city, forming the largest subgroup. Most of these individuals reside in the northern Bronx, parts of central and south Bronx, Harlem, Central Brooklyn, southeast Brooklyn, Coney Island, and southeast Queens. However, this population experienced a slight decline over the last decade. While one can speculate about why, several socioeconomic factors are clearly not working as well for African Americans as for other groups. As indicated in Table II-7, these factors include a rise in group quarters such as nursing homes, shelters, and detention centers. With all the other demographic variables at play, it is likely, as Table II-7 demonstrates, that the large increase in the 65 and over population has contributed to the increase in shelter and nursing homes. Map II-1 shows the distribution of a slightly different group: Blacks born in New York State. Owing to the limits of the tables in the American Community Survey at the tract level, we could not map non-Hispanic Blacks born in the state, but only all Blacks, so the map depicts many Hispanic Blacks along with those of Caribbean and African ancestries.

[See Map of NYS-born Blacks on line and Appendix II, Map II-1]

Tables II-6 and II-7 show that the median real household income of African Americans born in New York State rose only from $60,533 in 2010 to $66,087 in the most recent period (in $2022), a rate of 9.2%. While a real gain, this was lower than the overall rate for the city and remains below the city-wide median. Except for Afro-Latinos, all the other Black subgroups had higher median household incomes than Blacks born in New York or elsewhere in the U.S. and the incomes of all the other groups grew faster than those born in New York, as Table II-6 shows. While Afro-Latinos had lower household incomes than African Americans, the rapid income growth of 28% over the last decade has almost brought them up to the same income level.

While people of African descent enter the labor force at many different starting points, African Americans born in New York State had lower employment rates than other subgroups, a dismal economic outlook that could make it impossible for African Americans to remain in the city. This may be even more pronounced for people of African descent who are formerly incarcerated and have returned to New York City neighborhoods over the last decade and must start at entry level positions, at least from an income standpoint, which may impact the ability to afford to live in the city.

The over 65 population for African Americans who were born in the state has also doubled from 38,204 to 64,086 over the last decade, rising from 4.4 to 7.5 percent of the African American population. As the over 65 population rapidly increased, the under 18 population also decreased (see Table II-2), falling from 298,954 to 256,353, a decline of 14.3 percent; meanwhile, the age group of 18 – 64, remained steady, with only a marginal increase of 0.5 percent. Thus, unless there is an influx of African Americans or a new "baby boom" occurs, the number of African Americans who were born in the state will continue to decrease for several reasons. One such reason may be that the city has become an unaffordable city for families with children under 18 given that African Americans who were born in NYS experienced the lowest income growth rate in comparison to all subgroups for African descendant groups, despite significant increases in educational attainment (see Table II-7).

The lack of affordability is also evident in the homeownership and rental rates. Homeownership rates remained about the same, but the number of renters declined by 3.6 percent and the number of individuals living in group

quarters increased by 13.7 percent (see Table II-7). The decrease in rentals and simultaneous increase in group quarters may be due to more seniors living in nursing homes given that the over 65 age group for this subgroup have doubled and that rental units in have become unaffordable for most individuals in the city. These patterns show the impact of the aging population, less affordable rental units, and stagnant incomes. It demonstrates why individuals may be unwilling or unable to raise families in the city. The underlying source of these factors, however, may be the impact of gentrification, the systemic issue driving the unaffordability of housing units and the cost of living in New York City.

The return of upper- and middle-income individuals to Black inner city neighborhoods has changed the character of such communities as Crown Heights and Prospect Heights, Bedford Stuyvesant, Bushwick, and Harlem and made rent much less affordable in these communities. Over the last decade, the number of housing units increased in most of the city's boroughs. The Bronx grew the most, going from 490,740 to 514,092 housing units, followed by an increase of 33,068 in Brooklyn to 966,871, only 920 in Staten Island, rising to 166,934, and a growth of 11,864 in Manhattan for a total of 765,249 (Blair, Lewis, and Dei 2018). These housing developments contributed to gentrification in some Black communities and shifted people of African descent from Brooklyn to the Bronx and Staten Island (Blair, Favors, Harley, and Dunn 2021).

Table II-7 African Americans Born in New York State

	2010	2018	Change
Age			
Under 18	296,622	252,476	-44,146
	34.5%	30%	-14.9%
18 - 64	524,706	525,924	1,218
	61%	62.4%	0.2%
Over 65	38,155	63,982	25,827
	4.4%	7.6%	67.7%
Employment (Age 16+)			
Employed			
Male	124,603	139,019	14,416
	46.9%	49.9%	11.6%
Female	174,494	178,642	43,148
	52.3%	52.8%	2.4%
Unemployed			
Male	33,050	23,252	-9,797
	12.4%	8.3%	-29.6%
Female	31,920	19,827	-12,096
	9.6%	5.9%	-37.9%

	2010	2018	Change
Not in Labor Force			
Male	107,949	116,562	8,613
	40.6%	41.8%	8%
Female	127,422	139,847	12,425
	38.2%	41.3%	9.8%
Home ownership			
Group Quarters	34,146	38,811	4,665
	4%	4.6%	13.7%
Own Home	218,884	217,053	-169
	25.3%	25.8%	.8%
Rent	608,453	586,518	-21,935
	70.7%	69.6%	-3.6%
Educational Attainment (Age 25+)			
College Degree			
No	355,573	382,020	26,447
	79.8%	77%	7.4%
Yes	89,755	114,115	24,630
	20.2%	23.1%	27.1%
Less Than HS-GED	103,701	105,064	1,363
	23.2%	21.1%	1.3%
HS	102,187	125,992	23,805
	22.9%	25.4%	23.3%
Some College-AA	149,695	150,964	1,279
	33.6%	30.4%	0.8%
BA Degree	61,420	77,387	15,967
	13.8%	15.6%	26%
Post-Grad	28,335	36,728	8,393
	6.4%	7.4%	29.6%
Income			
Median HH Income	$60,533	$66,087	$5,554
			9.2%
Below 150% Poverty	40%	38%	-2
			5%

African Americans Born Elsewhere in the U.S.

The largest number of African Americans born elsewhere in the U.S. come from South Carolina, North Carolina, and the other Southern states, followed by the metro area states of New Jersey and Pennsylvania and then California. The application of discriminatory Jim Crow laws in the South prompted Blacks to begin migrating to New York City in the early 1900s, settling initially in Manhattan and Harlem. They subsequently moved to Bedford Stuyvesant in Brooklyn in the 1930s and began to purchase their own homes. Presently, however, all age groups are declining among African Americans born in the U.S., with many of these individuals migrating back to the South. This also reflects their low employment rates and the comparatively high number of individuals looking for work. In fact, Table II-8 shows that almost every variable has declined for this subgroup – whether by age, employment, homeownership, rental status, and living in group quarters, showing the sharp decline of this subgroup, except for those with the highest levels of education. Members of this subgroup may have chosen to leave because they cannot find gainful employment. Only the highly educated section of this subgroup remain. Blacks who were born elsewhere in the U.S. may either be getting "pushed out" due to lack of employment opportunities for those without a college degree or competition for essential services jobs from their migrant counterparts. While their unemployment rates have declined, the high rates of nonparticipation in the labor force are troubling.

Table II-8 African Americans Born Elsewhere in the U.S.

	2010	2018	Difference
Age			
Under 18	133,939	11,716	-1,677
	6%	6.3%	-11.1%
18 – 64	121,774	984,160	-23,358
	54.5%	52.2%	-19.2%
Over 65	88,753	78,476	-10,277
	39.6%	41.6%	-11.6%
Employment			
Employed			
Male	35,055	35,055	-3,256
	41.8%	44.5%	-9.3%
Female	488,771	39,195	-7,682
	36.4%	36.8%	-16.4%
Unemployed			
Male	5,518	3,826	-1,692
	6.6%	5.3%	-30.7%
Female	5,166	3,151	-2,015
	4%	3%	-39%

	2010	2018	Difference
Not in Labor Force			
Male	43,324	35,905	-7,419
	51.6%	50.2%	-17.1%
Female	76,612	64,182	-12,430
	59.5%	60%	-16.2%
Homeownership			
Group Quarters	13,512	12,083	-1,429
	6%	6.4%	-10.6%
Own Home	64,426	52,654	-11,772
	28.8%	27.9%	-18.3%
Rent	145,982	123,871	-22,111
	65.2%	65.7%	-15.1%
Educational Attainment			
College			
No	156,192	117,432	-38,760
	79.8%	76.9%	-24.8%
Yes	44,202	49,942	5,740
	22.1%	30.2%	13%
Less Than HS-GED	55,759	38,105	-17,654
	27.8%	22.6%	-31.7%
HS	53,069	409,532	-12,116
	26.5%	24.3%	-22.8%
Some College-AA	47,364	38,374	-8,990
	23.6%	22.9%	-19%
BA Degree	25,175	28,669	3,494
	12.6%	17.4%	13.9%
Post-Grad	19,027	21,273	2,246
	9.5%	12.8%	11.8%
Income			
Median HH Income	$57,748	$65,165	$7,995
			12.8%
Share under 150% Poverty	36%	35%	-1
			-2.8%

Afro-Caribbeans

Black Caribbean migration to New York City began in the 1800s and included people from both English-speaking islands and Haiti. Beginning in the early 1900s, coinciding with the Great Migration of African Americans from the South to the North, many English-speaking Black immigrants from the Caribbean were drawn to the city. The Afro-Caribbean community consists of individuals from former British colonies of Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago, Guyana, Grenada, Barbados, St. Vincent, Antigua and Barbuda, St. Lucia, Dominica, and St. Kitts-Nevis, as well as Haiti and Panama along with their descendants born here. Afro-Caribbeans have a long history in New York City and found a home and successful assimilation within its boundaries, showing an ability to navigate their way of life while retaining their ethnic consciousness, either bringing their political acumen from their countries, or developing one.

Over time, the Black Caribbean population has grown both from continued immigration and natural increase and their presence has become more distinctive. The Census estimates over 662,363 Caribbean immigrants reside in New York City. They now make up 10.3 percent of the city's population and more than a quarter (28.7%) of the foreign-born, and 30.2 percent of the people of African descent's population. As shown in Map II-2, about two-thirds live in the Bronx (northern Bronx) and Brooklyn (Crown Heights, Flatbush, East Flatbush, and Canarsie) with the population evenly split between the two areas: 31.7% and 32.5% respectively. Queens (southeast Queens) comes in a distant third with 20.1% of the total, followed by Manhattan with 14.7% and Staten Island 1.0%.

[See Map of Afro-Caribbeans on line and Appendix II, Map II-2]

They were able to quickly participate in the labor force and educational system. Strong educational attainment and high labor force participation enabled many to pursue careers in the medical field, earn a reliable household income, and become homeowners. Table II-5 shows that this subgroup, approximately 45%, has the highest homeownership rate than any other subgroup. As a result, they have been able to sustain their long-standing developments in New York City.

Newer generations have not followed the previous generation's pathways, which may reflect the causes of the group's numerical decline. Currently, their participation in the labor force has stagnated and is declining amongst their female employees. This is a stark contrast from Afro-Latinos (See Table II-11) who have seen a 26% and 34% increase for males and females respectively, in employment over the last decade.

This may be because approximately 35% of the population are a part of the over 65 group and are either retiring or near retirement. Further, the under 18 and 18 – 64 age groups are also declining. Their homeownership, rental, and group quarter percentages are also declining. Hence, they may not remain in NYC as they may be selling their homes and relocating as opposed to going into nursing homes as their African American counterparts may be doing. See Table II-8. Another reason may be attributed to the Great Recession where their communities in South Brooklyn and southeast Queens became the epicenter of the rise in foreclosure.

Table II-9 Afro-Caribbeans

	2010	2018	Change
Age			
Under 18	121,390	97,346	-24,044
	17.4%	14.7%	-19.8%
18 - 64	490,011	448,013	-41,998
	70.2%	67.6%	-8.6%
Over 65	86,380	117,004	30,624
	12.4%	17.7%	35.5%
Employment			
Employed			
Male	152,227	151,966	613
	61.3%	62.4%	0.4%
Female	212,263	201,305	-10,185
	61.5%	60.2%	-5.2%
Unemployed			
Male	23,706	12,796	-10,910
	9.5%	5.3%	-46%
Female	22,522	12,909	-10,958
	6.5%	3.9%	-42.4%
Not in Labor Force Participation			
Male	72,440	78,823	6,383
	29.2%	32.4%	8.8%
Female	110,435	120,305	9,870
	32%	36%	8.9%
Home ownership			
Group Quarters	8,620	8,052	-568
	1.2%	1.2%	-6.7%
Own Home	297,895	288,130	-97,658
	42.7%	43.5%	-3.3%
Rent	391,266	366,181	-25,085
	55.9%	55.3%	-6.4%

	2010	2018	Change
Educational Attainment			
College or More			
No	404,840	385,638	-19,202
	79.5%	74.7%	-4.7%
Yes	104,621	130,532	25,911
	20.5%	25.3%	24.8%
Less Than HS-GED	122,157	105,698	-16,459
	24%	20.5%	-13.5%
HS	145,501	139,924	-5,577
	28.6%	27.1%	-3.8%
Some College-AA	137,182	140,016	2,843
	26.9%	27.1%	2.1%
BA Degree	71,354	85,301	13,947
	14%	16.5%	19.5%
Post-Grad	33,267	45,231	11,964
	6.5%	8.8%	36%
Income			
HH Income	$81,160	$92,574	$11,639
			14.1%
Poverty Level	25%	20%	-5
			-20%

Continental Africans

The majority of Continental Africans in New York City consist of individuals from Ghana, Nigeria, and elsewhere in West Africa, including Senegal, Guinea, Ivory Coast, and Gambia. Continental Africans have also taken advantage of the immigration wave that began in 1965 and they continue to arrive as Afro-Caribbean migration has waned. As seen in Table II-10, they have positive social and demographic trends in most dimensions. They have experienced an increase at all levels of educational attainment as well as a strong household income. This could be due to the way they participate in the labor force such as through their agricultural markets.

[See Map of Continental Africans on line and Appendix II, Map II-3]

The U.S. Census Bureau estimates that 152,529 New Yorkers identify as African, accounting for 7 percent of the city's Black population. Map II-3 shows that their share is high in Staten Island, the Bronx, and Manhattan where they account for 23.5%, 11.1% and 9.3% respectively. African immigrants and their descendants are concentrated in ten community districts, seven of which are in the Bronx, accounting for 38.1 percent of the African population. They include Concourse, Highbridge & Mount Eden, Belmont, Crotona Park East & East Tremont, Morris Heights, Fordham South & Mount Hope, Hunts Point, Longwood & Melrose, Wakefield, Williamsbridge & Woodland, Castle Hill, and Clason Point & Parkchester. Brooklyn's Bay Ridge and Dyker Heights neighborhoods second (21.9%), followed by Jamaica, Hollis, and St. Albans neighborhoods of Queens (17.0%), Manhattan's (15.2%) Central Harlem; and Staten Island's Port Richmond neighborhood (7.8%).

Table II-10 Continental Africans

	2010	2018	Change
Age			
Under 18	24,044	30,886	6,842
	20.8%	20.2%	28.5%
18 - 64	87,306	112,079	24,773
	75.5%	73.5%	28.4%
Over 65	4,281	9,564	5,283
	3.7%	6.2%	123.4%
Employment			
Employed			
Male	38,490	47,734	9,139
	73.8%	71.9%	23.7%
Female	25,468	36,641	11,173
	59.8%	62.7%	43.9%
Unemployed			
Male	3,591	3,962	371
	6.9%	6%	10.3%

	2010	2018	Change
Female	3,532	3,455	77
	8.3%	5.9%	-2.2%
Not in Labor Force			
Male	10,058	14,690	4,632
	19.3%	22.2%	46.1%
Female	13,563	18,361	4,798
	31.9%	31.4%	35.4%
Home ownership			
Group Quarters	1,344	1,849	505
	1.4%	1.5%	37.6%
Own Home	18,567	25,961	7,394
	19.6%	20.8%	39.8%
Rent	74,791	96,928	22,137
	79%	77.7%	29.6%
Educational Attainment			
College Degree			
No	68,542	83,146	14,604
	724%	66.7%	21.3%
Yes	26,160	41,592	15,432
	27.6%	33.3%	59%
Less Than HS-GED	23,423	25,229	1,876
	24.7%	20.3%	8%
HS	19,064	25,133	6,069
	20.1%	20.1%	31.8%
Some College-AA	26,055	32,714	6,659
	27.5%	26.4%	25.6%
BA Degree	17,075	25,828	8,753
	18%	20.7%	51.3%
Post-Grad	9,085	15,764	6,679
	9.6%	12.6%	73.5%
Income			
HH Income	$70,363	$81,457	$11,094
			15.8%
Poverty Level	35%	31%	-4
			-11.4%

Afro-Latinos

The terms "Afro-Latina" and "Afro-Latino" refer to people who choose blackness as a racial identity and also say they are of Hispanic origin (Hernandez 2017). The city's largest Afro-Latino groups include Dominicans (34% of Afro-Latinos) and Puerto Ricans (19.4%), but also Panamanians, Hondurans, and smaller groups from Ecuador and Colombia. The communal and geographical differences inherent in these countries of origin, as compared to other Black subgroups, separated their lines of political empowerment. Afro-Latinos are a minority of a minority, since many Latinos/Hispanics identify as not white, but also often do not count themselves as Black and instead choose Other Race, despite some common ancestries. Map II-4 shows their distribution in the city. Depending on the survey source, Afro-Latinos sometimes identify as Afro-Latinos and sometimes as just Black (Gonzalez-Barrera 2022). However, given that the U.S. Census surveys ask separate questions about Hispanic origin and race, some individuals with African ancestry may not choose both to be Hispanic and Black. Dominicans share a border with Haiti and Puerto Ricans who have lived in New York City can easily and readily identify with people of African descent and thus assume the title of Afro-Latinos.

[See Map of Afro-Latinos on line and Appendix II, Map II-4]

Table II-11 shows the recent evolution of the Afro-Latino community in New York City. It shows that the Dominican population with African ancestry has been the main source of increase in the Afro-Latino population, bolstering the count for people of African descent. While often not categorized alongside other Blacks due to their separate Hispanic designation on the census, Afro-Latinos have an extraordinary relationship with their African descent counterparts and acknowledge their African descent by choosing to say one of their races is Black. However, it depends on whether they are asked whether they consider themselves to be Afro-Latinos, or whether the decennial census two-part question of race and Hispanic origin is used. When asked to identify themselves as both Hispanic and Black on the Census, there is a significant undercount of the Afro-Latino population (Cohn 2017).

Table II-11 Afro-Latinos in NYC

Birthplace	2010	2018	Change
Puerto Rico	14,621	16,652	1,631
	0.7%	0.7%	10%
Mexico	3,682	3,140	-542
	0.2%	0.1%	-17%
Belize	6,086	5,076	-1,010
	0.3%	0.2%	-2%
Honduras	7,075	6,049	-1,026
	0.3%	0.3%	-17%
Panama	12,607	9,675	-2,932
	0.6%	0.4%	-3%

Birthplace	2010	2018	Change
Dominican Republic	47,918	71,275	23,357
	2.2%	3.3%	33%
Columbia	1,917	1,754	-163
	0.1%	0.1%	-9%
Ecuador	2,800	2,569	-231
	0.1%	0.1%	-9%
Total	96,706	115,790	15,025

Table II-12 Afro-Latinos

	2010	2018	Change
Age			
Under 18	79,887	90,798	10,911
	31.1%	28.7%	13.7%
18 - 64	155,212	193,444	38,232
	60.4%	61.2%	24.6%
Over 65	21,959	31,831	9,872
	8.5%	10.1%	45%
Employment			
Employed			
Male	43,311	60,663	11,233
	53.6%	57.3%	25.9%
Female	54,544	73,388	18,844
	51.7%	56.9%	34.5%
Unemployed			
Male	9,278	7,937	-1,341
	11.5%	7.5%	-14.5%
Female	8,628	6,548	-2,080
	8.2%	5.1%	-24.1%
Not in Labor Force			
Male	28,187	37,267	9,080
	34.9%	35.2%	32.2%
Female	42,397	48,993	6,596
	40.2%	38%	15.6%

	2010	2018	Change
Home Ownership			
Group Quarters	5,631	6,852	1,221
	2.2%	2.2%	22%
Own Home	45,402	55,864	10,462
	17.7%	17.7%	23%
Rent	206,025	253,357	47,332
	80.1%	80.2%	23%
Educational Attainment			
College			
No	118,685	147,726	29,041
	81.7%	77.1%	24.5%
Yes	26,529	43,814	17,285
	18.3%	22.9%	65.2%
Less Than HS-GED	51,327	55,966	4,639
	35.3%	29.2%	9%
HS	28,415	38,079	9,664
	19.6%	19.9%	34%
Some College-AA	38,943	53,681	14,738
	26.8%	28%	37.8%
BA Degree	17,397	29,244	11,847
	12%	15.3%	68.1%
Post-Grad	9,132	14,570	5,438
	6.3%	7.6%	59.5%
Income			
HH Income	$51,445	$65,773	$14,328
			27.9%
Poverty Level	0.5	0.4	-0.1
			-20.4%

As seen in Table II-12, and acknowledged previously, every age group of Afro-Latinos has increased, and, like their African American counterpart, a very large increase in its over 65 population, thereby also accounting for the increase in group quarters. However, unlike their African American and Afro-Caribbean counterparts, their Home ownership and rental rates have been on a steady rise. This is due to the increase in the number of housing units that developed in the Bronx, the county that houses the largest Latino/Hispanic population as there is an obvious and close relationship between housing development and population growth.

Over the last decade, there was an increase in the number of housing units developed in most of the city's boroughs. The Bronx received most of these housing units, which was an estimate of 23,352, going from 490,740 to 514,092 housing units; followed by Brooklyn from 933,803 to 966,871 for a total of 33,068; Staten Island went from 166,014 to 166,934 for an increase of 920, and Manhattan from 753,385 to 765,249 for a total of 11,864 (Blair, Lewis, and Dei 2018).

Tables II-5 and II-12 also indicate increases in the Home ownership rates of Afro-Latinos. This can be attributed to the family makeup of Afro-Latinos tend to resemble Afro-Caribbeans with respect to generational living and other familial living arrangements. After the Great Recession, there was an increase in the number of Blacks and Latinos who began purchasing homes again. Also, Afro-Latinos saw a steady growth rate in their incomes as there was a 65% increase in the number of Afro-Latinos with college degrees or more in a relatively short period. See Table II-12.

Afro-Asians

Some people with Asian racial identities also see themselves as Black. This is particularly true for the Bangladeshi populations and individuals from Guyana who identify with the Indo-Caribbean community. Afro-Asians identify as members of the Chinese Diaspora who have lived for generations in the Caribbean, Indian indentured workers who were brought to Guyana or Trinidad, or Bangladeshis who have settled close to African Americans. Although most are in the adult age group of 18 – 64, Table II-12 shows that the under 18 age category is large compared to other subgroups and growing fast. Members of this subgroup are likely to own their own homes when compared to other subgroups and less likely to be unemployed. Although the numbers are small and subject to sampling error, they also appear less likely to live in group quarters. They have high employment rates and low rates of labor force nonparticipation. Finally, their increases in educational attainment have been quite striking. As a result, real household incomes are climbing.

Table II-13 Afro-Asians

	2010	2018	Change
Age			
Under 18	4924	7170	2246
	32%	29.7%	45.6%
18 - 64	9,466	15,579	6,113
	61.6%	64.5%	64.4%
Over 65	988	1393	405
	6.4%	5.8%	41%
Employment			
Employed			
Male	3289	6,071	2,782
	67.5%	68.1%	84.6%
Female	3327	5046	1,719
	55.6%	56.2%	51.7%
Unemployed			
Male	301	494	193
	6.2%	5.5%	64.1%
Female	401	729	328
	6.7%	8.1%	81.8%
Not in Labor Force			
Male	1,281	2,355	1,074
	26.3%	26.4%	83.8%
Female	2,256	3,198	942
	37.7%	35.6%	41.8%

	2010	2018	Change
Home Ownership			
Group Quarters	457	232	-225
	3%	1%	-49.2%
Own Home	6962	8,410	1,448
	45.2%	34.8%	20.8%
Rent	7,992	15,500	7,508
	51.9%	64.2%	93.9%
Educational Attainment			
College			
No	6,342	9,018	2,694
	71.4%	60.8%	42.6%
Yes	2,536	5,803	3,267
	28.6%	39.2%	128.8%
Less Than HS-GED	2102	2335	233
	23.7%	15.8%	11.1%
HS	1,932	3,560	1,628
	21.8%	24%	84.3%
Some College-AA	2,308	3,123	815
	26%	21.1%	35.3%
BA Degree	1,692	3,392	1,700
	19.1%	22.9%	100.5%
Post-Grad	844	2,411	1,567
	9.5%	16.3%	185.7%
Income			
HH Income	$85,553	$106,988	$21,435
			25.1%
Poverty Level	29%	23%	-6
			-20.7%

Conclusion

This discussion has distinguished subgroups of African descent consisting of African Americans who were born in New York State, African Americans who were born in other parts of the U.S. such as the south, northeast, the Midwest, and the West, Afro-Caribbeans, Continental Africans, and Afro-Latinos, who are usually not included in the overall Black population. African Americans who were born in the state or elsewhere in the U.S. make up approximately 40% of the overall Black population, but their numbers and share of the population declined over the last decade. One factor contributing to this trend is the slow growth of their real household incomes in an environment where the cost of living, and especially the cost of housing, has been rising. It also reflects the classic trend of groups in New York City moving to the suburbs, with their children moving even further out of New York State.

The share of adults with a college degree has been rising, but perhaps not as fast as for other groups that connect better with the Department of Education and persist through college. Not only do we need to encourage African Americans to increase their educational attainment through tuition-free options, but we need to ensure that their earnings match their education. African Americans, whether born in the city or elsewhere, experience a glass ceiling that contributes to this income stagnation. Further, African Americans have not been able to find employment without having a college degree; this is not the same for the other subgroups. It also speaks to the fact that individuals born in the southern parts of the U.S., which make up the largest percentage of African Americans born elsewhere in the U.S., may need specific policies to help uplift them, as American descendants of slavery.

Recall from Table II-8, the number of African Americans born elsewhere in the U.S. declined in every age group as well as every socioeconomic grouping except for college and post-graduate degrees. Educational attainment has long been the pathway to the middle and upper-income categories, but this is not the case for African Americans living in NYC whether they were born in NY or elsewhere in the U.S. If efforts are not applied to sustain these subgroups, especially people of African Americans who were born elsewhere in the U.S., they may become an extinct subgroup for people of African descent in NYC.

Afro-Caribbeans, Afro-Latinos, and Afro-Asians are prominent subgroups of people of African descent in NYC. Effectively counting them as people of African descent will show the Black population growing, not declining, especially for Afro-Latinos and Afro-Asians. While most groups recognize their racial heritage, people of African descent are now more inclined to choose multiple racial and ethnic identities, including Hispanic or Asian. Whatever their distinct ethnic, national, linguistic, or geographic differences, they have in common being descendants of ancestors born on the African continent. New York City is distinctive in terms of the diversity of Blackness, but also in the sharing that takes place across those cultural boundaries.

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Section III: Evolution of Hispanic Subgroups in New York City

Viviana Rivera-Burgos

New York's Hispanic population grew steadily between 2010 and 2020, helping to counteract the decline in the non-Hispanic white and non-Hispanic Black populations in the state (Vargas-Ramos, 2022). According to Vargas-Ramos and Soldevila Irizarry (2022), "Hispanics have contributed more than 154,000 people to the increase in the city's population between 2010 and 2020." Their growth rate (6.6%), however, was slower than that of the city (7.7%) (Vargas-Ramos and Soldevila Irizarry, 2022). Hispanics are the second largest ethno-racial group in the city after non-Hispanic whites. In accordance with national-level trends, the Hispanic growth in the city is not driven by immigration from Latin America, but rather by a high birth rate combined with a low death rate (Cuza 2021).

Table III-1: Percent Change in Hispanic Population by Borough, 2010 to 2018

	Bronx	Brooklyn	Manhattan	Queens	Staten Island	New York City
All Hispanics	9	4	[illegible]	[illegible]	20	[illegible]
Mexican	9.7	9.1	9.3	8.4	27.8	9.9
Puerto Rican	15	-21.8	-11.2	-0.6	14.2	-12.5
Cuban	8	20.8	-5.2	-28.5	-9	-5.3
Dominican	44.5	8.5	1.2	15.9	42.6	22.2
Central American:	14.7	4.9	4.9	19.7	50.2	13.3
Costa Rican	-1.3	4.9	28.0	-10.9	28.8	3.5
Guatemalan	36.2	64.2	-25.9	28.6	115	35.6
Honduran	12.2	-8.9	-9.5	26.4	43.1	8.8
Nicaraguan	37.8	35.4	-7.1	30.7	-3.8	25.7
Panamanian	-27.0	-20	-18.8	19.3	67.4	-12.5
Salvadoran	22.6	9.6	88.3	15.7	47.4	21.2
Other Central American	-52.8	-16.2	-76.5	-76.8	-100	-54.1
South American:	13.6	12.1	16.2	2.6	1	6.7
Argentinean	-5.1	40.8	68	13.8	-3.1	31.7
Bolivian	2.9	-72.1	153.2	-25.3	-77.2	-19.7
Chilean	125.3	26.2	7.4	-19.3	39.4	6.4
Colombian	17.1	16.3	15.2	1.3	31.9	5.9
Ecuadorian	8.3	6.4	2.8	10	5.4	8.4
Paraguayan	-6.6	-46.1	111.3	9.4	736.4	6.7
Peruvian	68.6	12.4	21	-15.8	-35.6	-1.8

Source: American Community Survey Public Use Microdata Files 2008-2012 and 2016-2020

Nationwide, individuals of Mexican origin make up the largest Hispanic subgroup, followed by Puerto Ricans and Cubans. In New York City, however, Dominicans and Puerto Ricans outnumber Mexicans. Table III-1 notes the continuing decline of Puerto Ricans (-12.5%) – historically the city's dominant Hispanic subgroup – and the parallel rise of the Dominican population (up 22.2%). Other highlights include growth among Guatemalans (35.6%), Argentineans (31.7%), Nicaraguans (25.7%), and Salvadorans (21.2%), with Guatemalans and Argentinean populations rising most rapidly. Bolivian, Panamanian, and Cuban populations have decreased. The growth of Guatemalan, Nicaraguan, and Salvadoran populations reflects the rise in immigration from these countries between the years of 2007 and 2015 (Cohn et al., 2017). However, they remain small shares of the Hispanic population. New York City has only 92,000 Guatemalans and 16,000 Nicaraguans compared to millions of Puerto Ricans and Dominicans.

Among the "Big Three" New York City groups, the Dominican (22.2%) and Mexican (9.9%) populations continue to grow and the Puerto Rican population continues to shrink (-12.5%). The "waning presence" of Puerto Ricans in New York City has long been documented (Navarro, 2000). Puerto Ricans have dispersed to other states while New York City has "Hispanicized," i.e., the Latino population of the city has grown more diverse. While some Puerto Ricans have followed the traditional immigration pattern of dispersion and suburbanization, many have also moved back to Puerto Rico, which distinguishes them from most other immigrant groups (Navarro, 2000). Puerto Ricans have made significant contributions to the city's political and cultural landscape but remain among the city's poorest residents. Nativity has been another important factor in the trajectory of Puerto Ricans in the city: in 1970, 51% of Puerto Ricans in New York were born in Puerto Rico. In 2020, "77% of Puerto Ricans in the New York metro area were born in the U.S." (Bergad 2022b).

The Bronx, where Hispanics make up 54.8% of the population, is the epicenter of the Puerto Rican and Dominican communities (Cuza 2022). In Brooklyn, Hispanics have moved away from the former strongholds of East Williamsburg, Bushwick, and Sunset Park and into Black Bedford-Stuyvesant and traditionally white Bay Ridge, Dyker Heights, and Bensonhurst. In Manhattan, Dominicans have moved away from Washington Heights toward the Bronx. Meanwhile, Queens houses the densest Hispanic cluster in the adjoining neighborhoods of Jackson Heights, Elmhurst, and Corona (Cuza 2022). In general, as Cuza (2022) notes, Hispanics are becoming an "increasingly dispersed population, less confined to the traditionally Hispanic hubs." They are following the pattern of assimilation that other groups—e.g., Italians, the Irish—have followed in New York City: they eventually move beyond ethnic enclaves to other parts of the city and later to the suburbs. Map III-1 shows the current distribution of Hispanics in the city. (Maps of specific Hispanic groups may also be seen on line.)

[See Map of Hispanics in New York City on line and Appendix II, Map III-1]

As the Puerto Rican population continues to decline and Dominicans increase, it appears that Mexicans – the third largest Hispanic group that previously grew rapidly – have been leaving the city. These trends may point to a plateauing growth rate for Hispanics. The city's total Hispanic population peaked in 2015; Dominican population growth peaked in 2017 and declined slightly thereafter; Puerto Ricans have been gradually declining since 1970; and Mexican immigration has halted (Bergad 2022a). The COVID pandemic exacerbated these trends. However, some 21,700 Venezuelan migrants did arrive in the city between the spring and fall of 2022 (Meko 2022). This migration is part of a huge displacement crisis in which seven million refugees have left Venezuela due to the coun-

try's economic decline. The refugees have been housed in homeless shelters and temporary hotels, but it is unclear whether most of them will stay in the city.

Group Characteristics: Economic Indicators

Spaniards, Argentineans, and Venezuelans have the highest per-capita household incomes (Table III-2) among all Hispanic subgroups, and Puerto Ricans, Dominicans, and Hondurans have the lowest. Household income increased for all groups, especially for some South Americans (Venezuelans and Chileans), Spaniards, and Cubans—groups that are already near the top end of the income distribution. These figures correspond with home ownership rates.

Table III-2: Median household income

Median HH Income	2010	2018	Change	Percent
Dominican	53670	62344	8674	16.2
Puerto Rican	54456	60109	5653	10.4
Mexican	67640	79483	11843	17.5
Ecuadorian	76447	87352	10904	14.3
Colombian	75125	83085	7960	10.6
Salvadoran	68945	80725	11779	17.1
Honduran	62854	64582	1727	2.8
Peruvian	74858	80434	5576	7.5
Cuban	72885	91387	18502	25.4
Guatemalan	80251	91393	11142	13.9
Panamanian	71235	79518	8283	11.6
Argentinian	102038	103622	1584	1.6
Venezuelan	75806	100881	25075	33.1
Nicaraguan	95297	99450	4153	4.4
Chilean	73522	90939	17418	23.7
Costa Rican	94981	91187	-3794	-4
Spaniard	100986	123194	22208	22
All other Latino	74746	92108	17362	23.2
Brazilian	95312	107674	12362	13
Not Latin American	92187	105563	13376	14.5
Total	82733	94307	11574	14

In general, Spaniards, certain South American groups (e.g., Argentineans, Bolivians, and Venezuelans), and Cubans have the highest rates of home ownership among Latino subgroups, while Mexicans, Dominicans, Hondurans, and Guatemalans have the lowest. However, Mexicans, Guatemalans, Nicaraguans, and Dominican, groups typically at the lower end of the income distribution, registered the biggest proportionate gains for the 2010-2018 period while homeownership declined noticeably for Venezuelans. In related statistics, Table III-3 shows that Puerto Ricans,

Dominicans, Hondurans, and Mexicans have the highest share of people in households at or below 150% of the poverty threshold. Spaniards, Costa Ricans, and Chileans have the lowest. Overall, the share decreased for most groups; the largest proportional decreases were registered for Costa Ricans, Mexicans, Ecuadorians, and Colombians. The poverty rate increased proportionally for Spaniards and Brazilians and remained stable for Hondurans.

These economic indicators suggest that Costa Ricans tend to be better off than their Central American counterparts. These data underscore the longstanding Cuban and Venezuelan exceptionalism in Latino studies (they tend to be wealthier and more conservative), as is true for Spaniard and Argentinian wealth. These tables also make it clear that Puerto Ricans, Dominicans, Mexicans, and Hondurans are among the poorest groups by all measures. Finally, Colombians and Ecuadorans (and Peruvians in certain cases) resemble Central American more than South American groups.

Table III-3: Share of People in Households at or Below 150% of Poverty

Group	2010	2018	Change	Percent
Dominican	0.43	0.36	-0.08	-17.53
Puerto Rican	0.41	0.37	-0.04	-9.20
Mexican	0.44	0.33	-0.11	-24.26
Ecuadorian	0.32	0.24	-0.08	-24.56
Colombian	0.25	0.20	-0.05	-20.10
Salvadoran	0.32	0.27	-0.05	-14.94
Honduran	0.36	0.36	0.00	0.50
Peruvian	0.25	0.23	-0.02	-8.08
Cuban	0.29	0.26	-0.03	-11.60
Guatemalan	0.33	0.27	-0.06	-18.32
Panamanian	0.26	0.24	-0.02	-7.74
Argentinian	0.20	0.18	-0.01	-7.24
Venezuelan	0.28	0.20	-0.09	-30.46
Nicaraguan	0.27	0.22	-0.05	-18.64
Chilean	0.20	0.19	-0.01	-4.67
Costa Rican	0.28	0.19	-0.09	-32.27
Spaniard	0.13	0.14	0.01	7.86
All other Latino	0.31	0.37	0.06	18.85
Brazilian	0.20	0.23	0.03	14.61
Not Latin American	0.23	0.21	-0.02	-7.78
Total	0.27	0.24	-0.03	-9.92

Language and Citizenship

Majorities of all Hispanic subgroups report that they speak only English at home or speak English very well or well. Table III-4 shows large proportional increases in the shares of Dominicans, Mexicans, and Ecuadorians who speak only English at home. With the exceptions of Panamanians and Venezuelans, there were increases across the board, which points to an anglicizing of the group.

In terms of nativity, foreign-born individuals make up more of most Hispanic subgroups than native-born. Table 5 shows that balance ranges from 57% foreign-born and 43% native-born among Dominicans to 67% foreign-born and 43% native-born among Venezuelans. Apart from Puerto Ricans (who are American citizens), three other subgroups have a native-born majority: Cubans, Spaniards, and, most recently, Mexicans. Net Mexican migration to the U.S. has come to a near stop in recent years, so any population growth is due to the reproduction of native-born people. The proportion of native-born individuals increased in the ten-year period for all groups, except Argentineans, among which there was a small decrease.

Table III-4: English-speaking ability

	2010		2018		Change		Percent	
	English only	English VW or W	English only	English VW or W	English only	English VW or W	English only	English VW or W
Dominican	35340	364894	62671	418798	27331	53904	77.3	14.8
	5.5%	56.3%	8.2%	55%	2.8%	-1.4%	50.8	-2.4
Puerto Rican	201816	432545	229447	352175	27631	-80370	13.7	-18.6
	26.5%	56.9%	34%	52%	7.5%	-4.6%	28.2	-8.2
Mexican	23715	141979	36949	170128	13234	28149	55.8	19.8
	7.5%	45%	11.5%	53.1%	4%	8.1%	53.5	18.1
Ecuadorian	10589	103441	15469	108300	4880	4859	46.1	4.7
	5.3%	51.8%	8.1%	56.6%	2.8%	4.8%	52.6	9.3
Colombian	8942	66198	13207	66674	4265	476	47.70	0.72
	8.5%	62.9%	12.3%	62%	3.8%	-0.9%	44.7	-1.4
Salvadoran	3432	23373	5004	30127	1572	6754	45.8	28.9
	7.3%	49.8%	9.5%	57.5%	2.2%	7.7%	30.7	15.5
Honduran	4473	27822	5545	28946	1072	1124	23.97	4
	8.9%	55.5%	10.7%	56.1%	1.8%	0.6%	20.5	1.1
Peruvian	3906	27344	4179	24283	273	-3061	7	-11.2
	9.1%	63.9%	11.1%	64.7%	2%	0.9%	22.2	1.4
Cuban	12796	19975	14327	17857	1531	-2118	12	-10.6
	31.7%	49.5%	37.9%	47.3%	6.2%	-2.2%	19.6	-4.5
Guatemalan	2862	14161	3616	18656	754	4495	26.4	31.7
	9.3%	45.9%	9.1%	47%	-0.2%	1.1%	-1.9	2.3

	2010		2018		Change		Percent	
	English only	English VW or W	English only	English VW or W	English only	English VW or W	English only	English VW or W
Panamanian	12114	16106	8940	14290	-3174	-1816	-26.2	-11.3
	38.7%	51.5%	35.9%	57.4%	-2.8%	5.9%	-7.3	11.5
Argentinian	2761	11517	5364	11188	2603	-329	94.3	-2.9
	16.0%	66.8%	28.7%	59.8%	12.7%	-6.9%	79.2	-10.4
Venezuelan	3300	7258	2934	9683	-366	2425	-11.1	33.4
	26.1%	57.4%	19.7%	65%	-6.4%	7.6%	-24.6	13.2
Nicaraguan	1392	5815	2022	6852	630	1037	45.3	17.8
	13.9%	58.1%	16.3%	55.4%	2.4%	-2.7%	17.5	-4.7
Chilean	1978	4724	2662	5249	684	525	34.6	11.1
	24%	57.3%	28.5%	56.3%	4.6%	-1%	19	-1.7
Costa Rican	2065	4864	2083	4900	18	36	0.9	0.7
	25.3%	59.7%	27%	63.5%	1.6%	3.8%	6.4	6.3
Spaniard	8620	11785	10799	13553	2179	1768	25.3	15
	37.5%	51.3%	38.4%	48.3%	1%	-3%	2.6	-5.9
All other Latino	15916	16629	33068	28161	17152	11532	107.8	69.4
	41.6%	43.5%	47.8%	40.7%	6.1%	-2.8%	14.7	-6.5
Brazilian	2844	11950	3752	11174	908	-776	31.9	-6.5
	17.4%	72.9%	23%	68.5%	5.6%	-4.5%	32.5	-6.1
All Others	3560736	1446316	3589026	1498721	28290	52405	0.8	3.6
	61.5%	25.0%	60.8%	25.4%	-0.7%	0.4%	-1.1	1.7
Total	3919597	2758696	4051064	2839715	131467	81019	3.4	2.9
	47.8%	33.6%	48.3%	33.9%	0.5%	0.2%	1.1	0.7

Table III-5: Nativity status

	2010			2018			Absolute Change			Percent Change		
NATIVITY	Native Born	Foreign Born	Total	Native Born	Foreign Born	Total	Native Born	Foreign Born	Total	NB	FB	Total
Dominican	263913	383776	647689	324432	437332	761764	60519	53556	114075	22.9	14	17.6
	40.7%	59.3%	100%	42.6%	57.4%	100%	1.8%	-1.8%		4.5	-3.1	
Puerto Rican	754062	6582	760644	666087	8250	674337	-87975	1668	-86307	-11.7	25.3	-11.4
	99.1%	0.9%	100%	98.8%	1.2%	100%	-0.4%	0.4%		-0.4	41.4	
Mexican	132525	182999	315524	162920	157255	320175	30395	-25744	4651	22.9	-14.1	1.47
	42%	58%	100%	50.9%	49.1%	100%	8.9%	-8.9%		21.2	-15.3	
Ecuadoran	64289	135507	199796	72350	118974	191324	8061	-16533	-8472	12.5	-12.2	-4.24
	32.2%	67.8%	100%	37.8%	62.2%	100%	5.6%	-5.6%		17.5	-8.3	
Colombian	34879	70410	105289	38916	68581	107497	4037	-1829	2208	11.6	-2.6	2.1
	33.1%	66.9%	100.0%	36.2%	63.8%	100%	3.1%	-3.1%		9.3	-4.6	
Salvadoran	16243	30734	46977	22904	29515	52419	6661	-1219	5442	41	-4	11.6
	34.6%	65.4%	100%	43.7%	56.3%	100%	9.1%	-9.1%		26.4	-13.9	
Honduran	18381	31783	50164	21461	30151	51612	3080	-1632	1448	16.8	-5.1	2.9
	36.6%	63.4%	100%	41.6%	58.4%	100%	4.9%	-4.9%		13.5	-7.8	
Peruvian	12344	30474	42818	13476	24029	37505	1132	-6445	-5313	9.2	-21.2	-12.4
	28.8%	71.2%	100%	35.9%	64.1%	100%	7.1%	-7.1%		24.6	-10	
Cuban	22648	17689	40337	24025	13742	37767	1377	-3947	-2570	6.1	-22.3	-6.4
	56.1%	43.9%	100%	63.6%	36.4%	100%	7.5%	-7.5%		13.3	-17	
Guatemalan	8618	22205	30823	14216	25463	39679	5598	3258	8856	65	14.7	28.7
	28%	72%	100%	35.8%	64.2%	100%	7.9%	-7.9%		28.1	-10.9	
Panama-nian	13822	17479	31301	12011	12896	24907	-1811	-4583	-6394	-13.1	-26.2	-20.4
	44.2%	55.8%	100%	48.2%	51.8%	100%	4.1%	-4.1%		9.21	-7.3	
Argentinian	6578	10667	17245	6747	11948	18695	169	1281	1450	2.6	12	8.4
	38.1%	61.9%	100%	36.1%	63.9%	100.0%	-2.1%	2.1%		-5.4	3.3	
Venezuelan	3489	9157	12646	4907	9994	14901	1418	837	2255	40.6	9.1	17.8
	27.6%	72.4%	100%	33%	67%	100%	5.3%	-5.3%		19.4	-7.4	
Nicaraguan	3912	6101	10013	5405	6970	12375	1493	869	2362	38.2	14.2	23.6
	39.1%	60.9%	100%	43.7%	56.3%	100%	4.6%	-4.6%		11.8	-7.6	
Chilean	2860	5390	8250	3239	6088	9327	379	698	1077	13.3	13	13.1
	34.7%	65.3%	100%	34.7%	65.3%	100%	0.1%	-0.1%		0.2	-0.1	
Costa Rican	3413	4734	8147	3364	4357	7721	-49	-377	-426	-1.4	-8	-5.2

	2010			2018			Absolute Change			Percent Change		
NATIVITY	Native Born	Foreign Born	Total	Native Born	Foreign Born	Total	Native Born	Foreign Born	Total	NB	FB	Total
	41.9%	58.1%	100%	43.6%	56.4%	100%	1.68%	-1.68%		4	-2.9	
Spaniard	13132	9859	22991	17535	10552	28087	4403	693	5096	33.5	7	22.2
	57.1%	42.9%	100%	62.4%	37.6%	100%	5.3%	-5.3%		9.3	-12.4	
All other Latino	31827	6390	38217	58442	10775	69217	26615	4385	31000	83.6	68.6	81.1
	83.3%	16.7%	100%	84.4%	15.6%	100%	1.2%	-1.2%		1.4	-6.9	
Brazilian	3224	13163	16387	3177	13144	16321	-47	-19	-66	-1.5	-0.1	-0.4
	19.7%	80.3%	100%	19.5%	80.5%	100%	-0.2%	0.2%		-1.1	0.3	
Not Latin American	3748500	2044635	5793135	3830171	2073413	5903584	81671	28778	110449	2.2	1.4	1.9
	64.7%	35.3%	100%	64.9%	35.1%	100%	0.2%	-0.2%		0.3	-0.5	
Total	5158659	3039734	8198393	5305785	3073429	8379214	147126	33695	180821	2.9	1.1	2.2
	62.9%	37.1%	100%	63.3%	36.7%	100%	0.4%	-0.4%		0.6	-1.1	

Education and Employment

Most Guatemalans lack a high school degree, compared with only 11% of Venezuelans and Chileans. Similarly, while 15% of Hondurans and Guatemalans do hold a college degree (BA or higher), much larger proportions of Argentineans and of Spaniards do (53% and 59%, respectively). While these statistics reveal wide variation in the educational attainment of different Hispanic subgroups, the overall trends are quite positive. The shares of these groups who hold a college dree or higher has increased across the board. The share of non-high-school-educated individuals decreased among Hispanic subgroups, especially among Ecuadorians, Chileans, Costa Ricans, and Spaniards.

Employment rates increased moderately for most groups, particularly among Venezuelans and Nicaraguans, but they declined for Ecuadorians, Hondurans, Peruvians, and Panamanians. Puerto Ricans have the lowest employment rates among the Hispanic subgroups, and the largest share of individuals who are not in the labor force.

Age, Citizenship, and Voting

At the national level, the median Hispanic tends to be younger than the median non-Hispanic American. At the city level, however, most subgroups – most notably among Panamanians – seem to be aging. Panamanians, Argentineans, Chileans, Costa Ricans, and Cubans have a higher share of older (65+) individuals, while Mexicans, Salvadorans, and Dominicans have a higher share of the youngest age cohort (under 18). The proportion of individuals who are over the age of 18 and are also citizens – i.e., the proportion of potential voters. Puerto Ricans are naturally at the top of this list, and Cubans are not far behind (91%). Well over two-thirds, and in some cases three-quarters, of adults in most groups are citizens. Many of these groups, however, make up small proportions of the overall Hispanic population in the city. Among the two biggest groups (having already counted Puerto Ricans), the share of Dominicans who are citizens of voting age increased from 61% in 2010 to 69% in 2018 – a 13% increase in just a decade. Mexicans, while still below the majority threshold – also saw a big increase, and a much larger one at that: the citizen voting age population jumped from 27% in 2010 to 42% in 2018 – a 55% increase. The rate of change was positive for all groups, and very large for many (Mexicans, Salvadorans, Ecuadorans, Guatemalans, and Venezuelans).

Conclusion

The statistical portrait of Hispanics summarized in this section paints a clear picture of the assimilation of this group, at least as defined by these metrics. The group overall has seen increases in income, home ownership rates, educational attainment, English language acquisition, native-born individuals, age, and hence more citizens of voting age. This is coupled with a decrease in the poverty rate and a more mixed employment profile. Puerto Ricans, the oldest Hispanic group in the city and the most populous until recently, have suburbanized and dispersed in ways that are reminiscent of the trajectories that previous immigrant groups have followed in New York City. Looking toward the next decade, it will be important to note if other groups—namely, Dominicans, start to follow this trajectory as well. In addition, the long-term effects of the COVID pandemic are still largely unknown, as is the growth pattern of newer Central American immigrants that might alter some of the "traditional" Puerto Rican and Dominican strongholds in the city. What is clear from this analysis is that there is substantial variation *within* the Hispanic population of New York City by nearly every measure.

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Section IV: Asian New Yorkers

Tarry Hum

As mentioned at the outset, the decennial Censuses reported that New York City's population grew by 629,415 or 8%, between 2010 and 2020. This growth occurred despite the slight decline among non-Hispanic whites, who now comprise only 31% of New Yorkers, and the steeper decline among non-Hispanic Black New Yorkers, who, 1.8 million strong, comprise 20% of the city's population. As the previous section mentioned, this growth happened partly because the Hispanic population grew and now makes up 28% of the city's population at approximately 2.5 million. The most significant contribution to this growth, however, came from Asian New Yorkers, who now number approximately 1.4 million or 16% of New York City residents. More than half of the total net growth of 629,415 New Yorkers over the decade came from the net growth of the Asian population (345,472). To put this in perspective, the net growth of Asian New Yorkers exceeded the 2020 total population of the next three largest cities in New York State – Buffalo, Yonkers, and Rochester. New York City has more Asian American residents than any other city in the U.S.

The Asian population grew across all five boroughs, with the greatest percentage increase in Staten Island (69%). The Asian population increase in the Bronx (43%) and Brooklyn (43%) was also greater than the citywide Asian population increase of 34%. This increasing overall population has many parts. Asian Americans are highly diverse with respect to national origin, language, ethnicity, and religions and faiths. While the Chinese remain the largest ethnic group at 48% of Asian New Yorkers, the city's Asian population also includes substantial populations of Asian Indians (20%), Koreans (7%), Bangladeshis (6%), Filipinos (6%), Pakistanis (4%), Japanese (2%), Taiwanese (1%), Nepalese (1%) and Thai (1%) as well as small but significant groups of Sri Lankans, Burmese, Indonesians, Cambodians, and Malaysians. Moreover, the Asian Indian population itself is not a monolith because India is home to so many different religions, languages, cultures, and identities. Two percent of Asian New Yorkers identified as Other Asian (2%) or two or more Asian (2%).

Queens has become the epicenter of Asian New York, providing home to 49% of the city's Asian population. More than half of the population of Queens is Asian (27%) or Latinx (28%), with 23% white and 16% Black. Brooklyn has the second highest Asian population share (26%) followed by Manhattan (17%), Bronx (5%), and Staten Island (4%). However, the ethnic composition and concentration of Asian New Yorkers varies a great deal across the boroughs. Not surprisingly, given that it is the largest Asian ethnic group, the Chinese make up large shares of the Asian populations of Manhattan (52%), Brooklyn (65%), and Staten Island (48%). Even in hyperdiverse Queens, the Chinese make up 40% of its sizable Asian population. The Asian population in the Bronx is small, but it is majority South Asian, with only 12% of the borough's Asian population being Chinese.

Queens is home to an overwhelming majority of Nepalese (86%) and Indonesian (82%) New Yorkers. In addition to these small ethnic groups, a majority of New York's sizable Asian ethnic groups including Asian Indians (60%), Koreans (58%), Bangladeshis (67%), Filipinos (62%), Thais (67%) and Burmese (65%) call Queens home. For Chinese

New Yorkers, they are concentrated in Queens (42%) and Brooklyn (35%). For Pakistani New Yorkers, Brooklyn is home to half of Pakistanis (49%) while 32% reside in Queens. A majority of Koreans (58%) reside in Queens and 25% are Manhattanites along with the majority of Japanese New Yorkers (50%) who reside in this borough. The Bronx is home to a diverse Asian population including sizable portions of the Cambodian (53%), Vietnamese (21%) and Bangladeshi (15%) populations (Tang 2015). Sri Lankans are the only ethnic group concentrated in Staten Island with one half (49%) of the city's Sri Lankan population in the borough. Taiwanese New Yorkers are concentrated in Manhattan (35%) and Queens (48%).

Profiles in Change and Diversity

The Chinese remain the largest Asian subgroup at 48% followed by Asian Indians (20%), Koreans (7%), Bangladeshis (6%), Filipinos (6%), Pakistanis (4%), Japanese (2%), Taiwanese (1%), Nepalese (1%) and Thai (1%) as well as small but significant groups including Sri Lankans, Burmese, Indonesians, Cambodians and Malaysians. The overwhelming majority (86%) of Asian New Yorkers are foreign-born, and foreign-born Asian New Yorkers are concentrated in key neighborhoods (PUMAs) in contrast to native born Asians with comparable population numbers in Flushing/Whitestone as in Chelsea/Clinton/Midtown, Upper East Side, Brooklyn Heights/Fort Greene with largest concentration (5% native born Asians) in Greenwich Village/Financial District.

Asian New Yorkers are highly diverse in terms of national origin (ancestry), ethnicity, language (and dialects), religions and faiths, cultural practices, and more. This section provides detailed profiles of the largest Asian subgroups—Chinese, Asian Indian, Koreans, Bangladeshi, Filipinos, Pakistanis, and Indo-Caribbeans. The Asian subgroups were defined based on the Asian race and ancestry variables. Those who responded yes on Asian race and identified their ancestry as Guyanese, Trinidadian and Tobagonian, British West Indian, West Indian, Other West Indian, Grenadian, St. Lucia or St. Vincent Islander were grouped as Indo-Caribbeans. Those who responded yes on Asian race and identified their first ancestry as Chinese, Cantonese, Hong Kong or Fujianese were grouped as Chinese.

Chinese New Yorkers

Chinese New Yorkers remain the city's largest Asian subgroup. Table IV-1 provides some overall characteristics. Chinese New Yorkers are highly stratified by educational attainment and English speaking language ability. The percentage (36%) of highly educated Chinese adults (25 years and older) is comparable to the percentage of Chinese adults who have not completed a high school degree (33%). This bifurcation is also evident in English language speaking ability as 12% of Chinese New Yorkers indicate they speak only English and 14% speak no English. Chinese New Yorkers have a homeownership rate of 51% but the share of Chinese homeowners varies across "Chinatown" neighborhoods (as grouped in Census Bureau Public Use Microdata Areas or PUMAs). The median household income for Chinese New Yorkers is $66,877, significantly less than most Asian subgroups in New York City. The poverty rate for Chinese New Yorkers is 20% comparable to the poverty rate for Bangladeshi (22%) and Pakistani New Yorkers (21%). As shown in Map IV-1, Chinese New Yorkers are concentrated in Manhattan's historic Chinatown in Lower East Side and sizable "Chinatowns" in the Sunset Park in Brooklyn and Flushing/Whitestone in Northeast Queens.

[See Map of Chinese on line and Appendix II, Map IV-1]

Table IV-1 Chinese New Yorkers

Overview		
Median Household Income		$66,877
Homeownership Rate		51%
Percent Foreign Born		70%
Percent Voting Age Citizen		52%
Percent Poor		20%
PUMAs	**Frequency**	**Percent**
Flushing/Whitestone	74706	15.7
Bensonhurst	51907	10.9
Lower East Side/Chinatown	37654	7.9
Sunset Park	32328	6.8
Bayside/Little Neck	25929	5.5
Bay Ridge	20119	4.2
Hillcrest/Fresh Meadows	18050	3.8
Sheepshead Bay/Gravesend	16615	3.5
Elmhurst/Corona	15448	3.2
Forest Hills/Rego Park	14280	3
Top Ten PUMAs	**307036**	**65%**
Remainder Forty-Five PUMAs	168447	35%
Total Chinese New Yorkers	475483	100%
Age Composition	**Frequency**	**Percent**
Youth (0 17 years)	74406	16%
Working Age (18-64 Years)	310871	65%
Senior (65 Years and older)	90206	19%
Ability to Speak English (Age 5+)	**Frequency**	**Percent**
No English	63746	14%
Not Well	123388	28%
Well	89442	20%
Very Well	117468	26%
English Only	53240	12%
Educational Attainment (Age 25+)	**Frequency**	**Percent**
No HSD	123727	33%
HSD	68524	19%
Some College	45652	12%
BA or More	132250	36%

Source for all tables in this section: ACS 2016-2020 microdata for New York City

The Chinese in the Lower East Side/Chinatown are among the poorest New Yorkers with a poverty rate of 34% and a median household income of $32,360. Two in five (37%) Chinese are seniors (65 years and older) and the dominance of adults is underscored as only 8% of the Chinese residents in the Lower East Side/Chinatown are youth (17 years old and younger. The lack of English language speaking ability is acute as 59% of Chinese do not speak English or do not speak English well. A majority 59% of Chinese adults (25 years and older) in Lower East Side/Chinatown did not complete a high school education. Interestingly, 23% of Chinese adults (25 years and older) in this area have attained a college degree or more. The gentrification of Manhattan Chinatown is well-documented as luxury residential developments displace working-class Chinese families leaving a population that is increasingly comprised of poor seniors (Ngu 2019). Gentrification in Chinatown neighborhoods also entail the influx of Chinese with greater class resources including education (Reiders 2018).

The divergent economic profiles of Brooklyn's Chinese population in the Sunset Park and Bensonhurst is striking. The median income of Sunset Park's Chinese households at $52,798 is more than $20,000 less than the median household income of Bensonhurst's Chinese households at $75,000. Only a third (32%) of Sunset Park's Chinese population are homeowners compared to 62% of Bensonhurst's Chinese population. The economic disparity is also evidenced in the 27% poverty rate among the Chinese in Sunset Park compared to 15% of Bensonhurst's Chinese population who are poor.

With respect to educational attainment and English language speaking ability, the Chinese in Lower East Side/Chinatown and Sunset Park are similar in that a near majority of the Chinese population in both do not speak English or do not speak English well – 62% in Sunset Park and 59% in Lower East Side/Chinatown. Chinese adults (25 years and older) in both areas are also more likely to lack a high school education as 60% of Chinese adults in Lower East Side/Chinatown and Sunset Park PUMAs did not complete high school. In contrast, most Chinese adults in Bensonhurst and Flushing have completed at least a high school education. Relative to the other three districts with a concentrated and sizable Chinese population, Sunset Park stands out with the highest percentage of youth. Nearly a quarter (23%) of Sunset Park's Chinese population is 17 years old or younger.

Sunset Park's dramatic Chinese population growth is driven by Fujianese immigration starting in the late 1980s-early 1990s (Liang and Ye 2001, Liang 2001). The 1993 grounding of a freighter named Golden Venture on the shores of Rockaway Beach with 286 Chinese migrants (mostly from Fujian) abroad brought public awareness to the extensive international network of human smugglers, and an emergent population of undocumented Chinese in New York City (Kwong 1999). Much of the Chinese population in Sunset Park is now Fujianese who speak a different dialect and have distinct cultural practices compared to the Cantonese and Taishanese from Guangzhou who made up the overwhelming majority of post-1965 Chinese immigration.

The father of this section's author is Taishanese and her family moved to Sunset Park in 1974, where he continues to reside, though he observes that he doesn't recognize his neighborhood due to new developments and new residents. Through the mid-1990s, his next door neighbors were Italian and Irish but since then his neighbors are Fujianese. Since he does not speak Mandarin (China's official language) or the Fujian dialect, he is unable to communicate with his neighbors. Ms. Wai Yee Chan is a longtime community leader, a former director of the Chinese American Planning Council Brooklyn office in Sunset Park, and community liaison for City Council District 43 Member Justin Brannon. Ms. Chan started her current position as Executive Director of Homecrest Community

Services with offices in Bensonhurst and Sheepshead Bay in January 2022. Ms. Chan and *Sing Tao* reporter, Ms. Rong Xiaojing, both affirm that the Chinese in Bensonhurst are Cantonese and Taishanese homeowners who are "culturally different" than Sunset Park's Fujianese population.

Sunset Park's Chinese population and business expansion into neighboring Dyker Heights catalyzed concerns about quality of life issues including overcrowding, basement apartments, public infrastructure strain due to undocumented immigrants, and out of context development. The civic leadership in Dyker Heights including the Brooklyn Housing Preservation Alliance and Community Board 10 supported a study by a Hunter College Urban Planning student and CB 10 member, "When Neighborhoods Collide," and organized town halls with former City Council District 38 member Carlos Menchaca.

A spike in anti-Asian hate crimes elevated public safety as a key issue for Asian New Yorkers. At the Brooklyn NYC Districting Commission hearings, public testimony highlight public safety, meritocracy in public education, and economic prosperity (for small businesses) as "traditional" Chinese values and interests. For example, Asian Wave Alliance (AWA) President Yiatin Chu's August 22, 2022, written testimony to the NYC Districting Commission stated, "Chinese families in Brooklyn in need of political support for ***public safety***, ***business prosperity***, and ***education opportunities*** have been routinely ignored by current and past representation" (emphasis added). AWA held forums and interviews with candidates in the recent City Council, State legislative, and gubernatorial races and endorsed those candidates who supported their platform to repeal bail reform, oppose affirmative action and data disaggregation, and protect SHSAT and Gifted and Talented Programs.

Migrant civil society leaders including John Chan (owner of Golden Imperial Palace and chairman of American Chinese Commerce Association and numerous hometown associations) mentored civic leaders and political candidates including Yu Lin (2021 primary candidate in CD 38 Brooklyn), Andy Yi Chen (2021 primary candidate in CD 25 Queens), Jimmy Li (2022 primary candidate for Congressional District 10), and Kenneth Chui (2021 primary candidate in AD 40 Queens) (Rong 2020). Chan also founded Asian American Community Empowerment (BRACE) and Coalition of Asian-Americans for Civil Rights (CAACR) which mobilized thousands to (a) support NYPD rookie officer Peter Liang who accidentally fired a fatal shot killing innocent Akai Gurley in a NYCHA Pink Houses stairwell (b) protest Mayor de Blasio's efforts to reform high stakes entrance exams to NYC's specialized high schools, and © participate in anti-Asian hate rallies. Chan's Golden Imperial Palace restaurant often serves as a Sunset Park civic center. For example, Chan hosted a 2018 gubernatorial debate moderated by Gotham Gazette executive editor Ben Max and Politico New York education reporter Madina Toure, at which only candidate, Cynthia Nixon, showed up (Khurshid 2018). At the August 21, 2022, Brooklyn NYC Districting Commission hearing, Mr. Chan presented petitions with 7,000 signatures in support of a CD 43 to unite Asian residents in Bay Ridge, Sunset Park, Dyker Heights, and Bensonhurst who "have been splintered across four city districts, diluting our representation and ***subverting our priorities and concerns***" (emphasis added).

The Flushing/Whitestone district has the largest and densest Chinese population among the city's 55 public use microdata areas. Over half (54%) of Flushing/Whitestone is Asian with the overwhelming majority being Chinese and Korean, followed by Non-Hispanic whites at 24% and a sizable Latino population at 18%. In 2001, Flushing elected New York City (and state)'s first Asian American, John Liu, to public office as the representative for City Council District 20. Since this historic election, Flushing has elected Asian Americans to represent this section

of northeast Queens in the New York State Assembly and US House of Representatives. Although advisory and reactive, community boards represent an official body whose jurisdiction covers land use and zoning issues, municipal services delivery, and input on the city budgetary process regarding local service needs. Comprised of up to 50 volunteers, community board membership typically does not reflect the local demography. The leadership of Queens Community Board 7 which represents Flushing has long been dominated by Non-Hispanic White men and in the summer of 2021, Community Board 7 made the rare decision to remove a member, John Choe, a long-time Korean American community advocate and opponent of Flushing luxury commercial and residential developments.

A Pew Research Center study found that Asians have the highest income inequality among all racial groups (Kochhar and Cilluffo 2018). Flushing's changing built environment encapsulates this socioeconomic disparity. A 2020 *New York Times* article, "The Decade Dominated by the Ultraluxury Condo," noted that Flushing added the second highest number of luxury residential condos after Williamsburg, Brooklyn. The ACS 2016-2020 data finds that a quarter (23%) of Chinese in the Flushing/Whitestone PUMA is poor. The median household income for Chinese in the Flushing/Whitestone PUMA at $48,037 is well below the median income of Chinese in Bensonhurst at $75,000. Their 45% home ownership rate lags the 53% homeownership rate for Asians in Queens according to the NYS Comptroller's 2022 Third Quarter report.

South Asian New Yorkers

Asian Indian New Yorkers

Asian Indians are the second largest Asian subgroup in New York City, detailed in Table IV-2. Asian Indians are highly diverse in terms of language, religions and faiths, cultural practices, and more. Asian Indian New Yorkers have the highest median household income of all Asian subgroups at $116,064. However, median household incomes vary across neighborhoods. For example, the median household income for Asian Indians who reside in the Howard Beach/South Ozone Park is notably less at $94,161. The 12% poverty rate for Asian Indians is low compared to other Asian subgroups such as Bangladeshis (22%), Pakistanis (21%), and Chinese (20%). Half (49%) of Asian New Yorkers own their homes but, like median household incomes, homeownership varies by neighborhood. For Asian Indians in the eastern Queens Bellerose/Rosedale bordering Nassau County, the homeownership rate is 77%. Overall, Asian Indian New Yorkers are highly educated as 60% of adult Asian Indians (25 years and older) have a BA degree or more. The working age population is sizable at 71% of Asian Indian New Yorkers. Less than 10% percent of Asian Indian New Yorkers do not speak English or speak English poorly.

Table IV-2 Asian Indian New Yorkers

Overview		
Median Household Income		$116,064
Homeownership Rate		49%
Percent Foreign Born		68%
Percent Voting Age Citizen		57%
Percent Poor		12%
PUMAs	**Frequency**	**Percent**
Bellerose/Rosedale	13627	11.3
Kew Gardens/Woodhaven	9953	8.2
Howard Beach/So Ozone Pk	9182	7.6
Forest Hills/Rego Park	6161	5.1
Hillcrest/Fresh Meadows	5636	4.7
Upper East Side	5538	4.6
Stuyvesant Town/Turtle Bay	5155	4.3
Chelsea/Clinton/Midtown	4292	3.6
Jackson Heights	4153	3.4
Flushing/Whitestone	3454	2.9
Jamaica	3424	2.8
Sunnyside/Woodside	3316	2.7
Upper West Side	3307	2.7
Greenwich Village/Financial District	2974	2.5
Mid Island	2918	2.4

Astoria	2778	2.3
Morningside Heights/Hamilton Heights	2219	1.8
Elmhurst/Corona	2167	1.8
Brooklyn Heights/Ft Greene	2069	1.7
Williamsburg/Greenpoint	1850	1.5
Top Twenty PUMAs	**94173**	**78%**
Remainder Forty-Five PUMAs	26583	22%
Total Asian Indian New Yorkers	120756	100%
Age Composition	**Frequency**	**Percent**
Youth (0 17 years)	17191	14%
Working Age (18-64 Years)	85258	71%
Senior (65 Years and older)	18307	15%
Ability to Speak English (Age 5+)	**Frequency**	**Percent**
No English	3101	3%
Not Well	6987	6%
Well	14596	13%
Very Well	47857	42%
English Only	40936	36%
Educational Attainment (Age 25+)	**Frequency**	**Percent**
No HSD	14460	15%
HSD	11890	13%
Some College	11710	12%
BA or More	56721	60%

As depicted in Map IV-2, South Asian New Yorkers have distinctive residential patterns, with Asian Indians concentrated in Queens districts such as Bellerose/Rosedale, Kew Gardens/Woodhaven, and Howard Beach/South Ozone Park and to a lesser but still notable degree in the Upper East Side and Stuyvesant Town/Turtle Bay in Manhattan. The Bellerose/Rosedale in southeast Queens stands out as 11% of Asian New Yorkers reside in this area. The Bellerose/Rosedale district encompasses the neighborhoods of Cambria Heights, Laurelton and Springfield Gardens, long-standing Black middle class neighborhoods. In a 2006 New York Times article, Sam Roberts reported that Black median household incomes surpassed that of Whites in this part of Queens and noted the area's sizable West Indian population. Over half of the Bellerose/Rosedale population in 2020 is Non-Hispanic African American (23%) or Non-Hispanic Afro-Caribbean (30%) and a full 10% is Asian Indian. It is notable that Asian Indians are concentrated in the neighborhoods of Bellerose, Floral Park, and Queens Village while Cambria Heights, Rosedale, Laurelton and Springfield Gardens remain almost exclusively Black.

[See Map of Asian Indians on line and Appendix II, Map IV-2]

Bangladeshi New Yorkers

Bangladeshis are the fourth largest Asian subgroup in New York City and one of the city's fastest growing population groups. Of all Asian subgroups, Bangladeshi New Yorkers have the lowest median household income at $55,400, indicated in Table IV-3. Only 34% of Bangladeshi New Yorkers own their home. The poverty rate for Bangladeshi New Yorkers at 22% is higher the 19% poverty rate citywide. The majority (70%) of Bangladeshi New Yorkers are foreign born. Compared to other Asian New Yorkers, Bangladeshis have the lowest percent voting age citizens at 44% and a significant youth population (17 years and younger) at 26%. A small percentage (8%) of Bangladeshi New Yorkers are seniors and a small segment (14%) do not speak English or speak English not well. Notably, 37% of adult Bangladeshi New Yorkers have a college degree or more which is comparable to the percentage (36%) of Chinese New Yorkers with a BA or more even though there is a $11,000 differential in median household income as the median income for Chinese households is nearly $67,000.

Table IV-3 Bangladeshi New Yorkers

Overview		
Median Household Income		$55,400
Homeownership Rate		34%
Percent Foreign Born		70%
Percent Voting Age Citizen		44%
Percent Poor		22%
PUMAs	**Frequency**	**Percent**
Jamaica	15174	16.1
Soundview/Parkchester	9352	9.9
Hillcrest/Fresh Meadows	9135	9.7
Jackson Heights	7296	7.7
Sunnyside/Woodside	7277	7.7
Elmhurst/Corona	6223	6.6
Kew Gardens/Woodhaven	4859	5.2
Astoria	4089	4.3
Borough Park	3318	3.5
Howard Beach/So Ozone Pk	2887	3.1
Bellerose/Rosedale	2710	2.9
Flatbush	2181	2.3
Kingsbridge/Mosholu	1903	2
Pelham Parkway	1718	1.8
East New York/Starrett City	1393	1.5
Bedford Stuyvesant	1371	1.5
Coney Island	1159	1.2

No Crown Heights/Prospect Heights	1021	1.1
Flushing/Whitestone	921	1
Bensonhurst	851	0.9
Top Twenty PUMAs	84838	90%
Remainder Forty-Five PUMAs	9443	10%
Total Bangladeshi New Yorkers	94281	100%
Age Composition	**Frequency**	**Percent**
Youth (0-17 years)	24937	26%
Working Age (18-64 Years)	61826	66%
Senior (65 Years and older)	7518	8%
Ability to Speak English (Age 5+)	**Frequency**	**Percent**
No English	5449	6%
Not Well	15179	18%
Well	25652	30%
Very Well	34554	40%
English Only	5202	6%
Educational Attainment (Age 25+)	**Frequency**	**Percent**
No HSD	13505	22%
HSD	12853	21%
Some College	11749	19%
BA or More	22567	0%

As depicted in Map IV-3, Bangladeshi New Yorkers are concentrated in the Jamaica and Hillcrest-Fresh Meadows districts of Queens, which share Hillside Avenue as a boundary. The racial composition of the Jamaica is 33% Non-Hispanic African American, 27% Non-Hispanic Afro-Caribbean, and 15% Non-Hispanic Asian, of whom the overwhelming majority are Bangladeshi, Indo-Caribbean and Asian Indian. In the past decade, the Asian population in Jamaica grew by 90% in contrast to an overall 13% population increase and a slight decline of 6% in the Non-Hispanic Black population. Hillside Avenue between 166th and 171st Streets is defined by a concentration of Bangladeshi businesses and this section of Hillside Avenue is referred to as Little Bangladesh.

[See Map of Bangladeshis on line and Appendix II, Map IV-3]

North of Hillside Avenue is the Hillcrest- Fresh Meadows district, with a 35% plurality of Asians followed by Non-Hispanic Whites at 28% and Latinos at 18%. Earlier this year, the intersection of Homelawn Street and Hillside Avenue at the border of the Hillcrest-Fresh Meadows and Jamaica was designated Little Bangladesh Avenue (Mohamed 2022). Several Bangladeshi candidates including Dilip Nath, Soma Sayed, Mujib Rahman and Moumita Ahmed (endorsed by Bernie Sanders) ran in a February 2021 special election to replace Rory Lancman, who stepped down from the City Council District to take a position in the Cuomo administration. This special election was the first to use ranked-choice voting in New York City. James Gennaro was the only Non-Hispanic

White candidate competing against six South Asian candidates and he succeeded in his bid to represent Council District 24, a seat he had represented for three terms from 2002-2013.

In addition to the two Southeast Queens areas, the Soundview/Parkchester district of the Bronx also houses a substantial Bangladeshi population. Soundview/Parkchester is majority Latino (55%) and Non-Hispanic African American (17%) with an Asian population of 11%. In the past decade, its total population increased by 9% which much its growth driven by Asians whose numbers more than doubled (114%) in Soundview/Parkchester. An overwhelming majority (78%) of the Asian population in Soundview/Parkchester is comprised of Bangladeshis, Indo-Caribbeans, and Asian Indians. The Vishnu Mandir Temple in the Soundview neighborhood was featured in a December 18, 2022, *New York Times* article, "New York's Mosaic of Religions," and the temple's Hindu priest, Pandit Vyass, was quoted, "We don't just service the needs of the Hindu community or the South Asian community, but others in the Caribbean community, especially Guyana." The growing South Asian population in the Bronx's Soundview/Parkchester PUMA has also led to the formation of new non-profit organizations such as Sapna NYC which serves low-income South Asian immigrant women primarily Bangladeshi women.

Pakistani New Yorkers

One in two Pakistani New Yorkers reside in Brooklyn followed by Queens (30%) and Staten Island (9%). Pakistani Brooklynites are concentrated in the Flatbush and Midwood, and Bensonhurst PUMAs. Coney Island Avenue between Church Avenue and Avenue H in Brooklyn's Midwood neighborhood is well-known as Little Pakistan due to the concentration of Halal restaurants and grocery stores and shops where Urdu is frequently heard. This 1.5 mile section of Coney Island Avenue was recently named Muhammad Ali Jinnah Way after the founder of Pakistan. A near majority of Pakistanis are Muslim as Islam is the official state religion. Map IV-4 shows the overall distribution.

[See Map of Pakistanis on line and Appendix II, Map IV-4]

The socioeconomic profile of Pakistani New Yorkers provided in Table 4 indicates a working class population. The median household income is $69,065 and 21% of Pakistani New Yorkers are poor. The 30% homeownership rate for Pakistani New Yorkers is well below the citywide Asian homeownership rate of 45% according to the NYS Comptroller's report. Pakistani New Yorkers are young as a full quarter of this Asian subgroup are youth (17 years and younger). A small percentage of Pakistani New Yorkers (13%) are not proficient in speaking English. Considering the modest median household incomes and relatively high poverty rate, it is notable that nearly two-fifths of Pakistani adults have a BA or more.

Table IV-4 Pakistani New Yorkers

Overview		
Median Household Income		$69,065
Homeownership Rate		30%
Percent Foreign Born		66%
Percent Voting Age Citizen		50%
Percent Poor		21%
PUMAs	**Frequency**	**Percent**
Flatbush	5335	11.7
Bensonhurst	4780	10.5
Coney Island	2647	5.8
Sheepshead Bay/Gravesend	2595	5.7
Borough Park	2279	5
Hillcrest/Fresh Meadows	2242	4.9
Flushing/Whitestone	2133	4.7
Mid Island	1794	3.9
North Shore	1666	3.7
Flatlands/Canarsie	1578	3.5
Top Ten PUMAs	**27049**	**60%**
Remainder Forty-Five PUMAs	18375	40%
Total Pakistani New Yorkers	45424	100%

Age Composition	Frequency	Percent
Youth (0 17 years)	11321	25%
Working Age (18-64 Years)	30414	67%
Senior (65 Years and older)	3689	8%
Ability to Speak English (Age 5+)	**Frequency**	**Percent**
No English	1389	3%
Not Well	4159	10%
Well	12551	31%
Very Well	18245	45%
English Only	4585	11%
Educational Attainment (Age 25+)	**Frequency**	**Percent**
No HSD	6895	24%
HSD	6157	21%
Some College	5013	17%
BA or More	11306	39%

Korean New Yorkers

Although the population of Korean New Yorkers has declined slightly in the past decade, Koreans are the third largest Asian subgroup and their residential strongholds remain in Queens' Flushing/Whitestone and Bayside/Little Neck areas. Historically majority Non-Hispanic white neighborhoods, these two northeast Queens districts continue to be transformed by the growth of the Asian population. They now make up the largest racial group in Flushing/Whitestone at 54% and the Bayside/Little Neck at 46%. In Flushing/Whitestone, Non-Hispanic whites are still a majority in the waterfront neighborhoods of Whitestone, Bay Terrace, and College Point. Map IV-5 shows the overall distribution of Korean New Yorkers.

[See Map of Korean Americans on line and Appendix II, Map IV-5]

Over the past decade, the demographic trends of a declining Non-Hispanic white and increasing Asian populations has tipped the racial composition of all the Bayside/Little Neck neighborhoods, making Asians the largest racial group in Bayside, Auburndale, Douglaston, and Oakland Gardens. While the Chinese are the majority Asian subgroup in both districts, Koreans make up 15% of the Flushing/Whitestone and 24% of the Bayside/Little Neck Asian population. At the August 16, 2022, New York City Districting Commission public hearing in Queens, James Hong asked that the Commission treat Northern Boulevard, a major roadway connecting downtown Flushing with neighboring Murray Hill, as a thoroughfare and not a boundary which would divide "Flushing's vibrant Korean-American community. This is where Korean New Yorkers live, work, eat, shop, sing karaoke."

The household median income for Korean New Yorkers is $89,756, as shown in Table IV-5. A little less than a third (31%) own their homes although there is a notable difference between Koreans in Flushing/Whitestone, with a homeownership rate of 35%, compared to Koreans in Bayside/Little Neck, at 41%. The senior (ages 65 years and older) population share for Korean New Yorkers at 16% is greater than the youth (ages 17 years and younger) population share (11%). Like Asian Indian New Yorkers, a majority (60%) of Korean New Yorkers have a BA degree or more. Less than a quarter (23%) of Korean New Yorkers lack proficiency in speaking the English language.

Table IV-5 Korean New Yorkers

Overview		
Median Household Income		$89,756
Homeownership Rate		31%
Percent Foreign Born		68%
Percent Voting Age Citizen		58%
Percent Poor		16%
PUMAs	**Frequency**	**Percent**
Flushing/Whitestone	17143	23%
Bayside/Little Neck	10871	15%
Stuyvesant Town/Turtle Bay	3462	5%
Chelsea/Clinton/Midtown	3457	5%
Sunnyside/Woodside	3269	4%

Upper East Side	2668	4%
Astoria	2576	4%
Upper West Side	2561	3%
Hillcrest/Fresh Meadows	2521	3%
Brooklyn Heights/Ft Greene	2508	3%
Top Ten PUMAs	51036	68%
Remainder Forty-Five PUMAs	23512	32%
Total Korean New Yorkers	74548	100%
Age Composition	**Frequency**	**Percent**
Youth (0 17 years)	8226	11%
Working Age (18-64 Years)	54411	73%
Senior (65 Years and older)	11911	16%
Ability to Speak English (Age 5+)	**Frequency**	**Percent**
No English	2597	4%
Not Well	13799	19%
Well	15307	21%
Very Well	24664	35%
English Only	15093	21%
Educational Attainment (Age 25+)	**Frequency**	**Percent**
No HSD	4985	8%
HSD	9339	15%
Some College	10233	17%
BA or More	37480	60%

Racial change and transition in Bayside/Little Neck has been fraught. In 2009, Kevin Kim, the first CUNY Trustee of Korean descent who is currently Commissioner of the NYC Small Business Services, won the Democratic primary in the City Council District 19 election, elevating expectations of the first Korean American elected official in New York City. These hopes were dashed after an acrimonious and highly racialized general election competition. His Republican opponent sent a For Sale sign mailer to exploit fears of overdevelopment and diminished neighborhood quality of life and to associate Mr. Kim with Downtown Flushing developers and investors. The Asian American Legal Defense and Education Fund documented incidences of assault, intimidation, property destruction and disenfranchisement of Asian Americans at poll sites and submitted a letter to the US Department of Justice. Mr. Kim lost the election by a very narrow margin.

Filipino New Yorkers

Filipino New Yorkers have the highest median household income relative to the city's other large Asian subgroups at $119,574, more than double the median household income of Bangladeshi, Chinese, and Pakistani New Yorkers. Like Asian Indian and Korean New Yorkers, Filipino adults (25 years and older) are highly educated, with 68% having a BA degree or more, as indicated in Table IV-6. The population share who do not speak English well or at all is less than 10%. Along with a high level of English language proficiency, 63% of Filipino New Yorkers are voting age citizens. Nearly sixty percent (58.5%) of Filipino New Yorkers reside in Queens of which a sizable share reside in the multi-racial, multi-ethnic, immigrant Sunnyside/Woodside PUMA whose population is 39% Asian, 30% Latino and 27% Non-Hispanic White. Filipinos make up 14% of Sunnyside/Woodside PUMA's highly diverse Asian population where a quarter (22%) are composed of smaller Asian subgroups including Thais, Nepalis, Tibetans, and Indonesians.

Table IV-6 Filipino New Yorkers

Overview		
Median Household Income		$119,574
Homeownership Rate		45%
Percent Foreign Born		67%
Percent Voting Age Citizen		63%
Percent Poor		9%
PUMAs	**Frequency**	**Percent**
Sunnyside/Woodside	6160	10%
Hillcrest/Fresh Meadows	5641	9%
Elmhurst/Corona	5328	9%
Bellerose/Rosedale	2982	5%
Astoria	2168	3%
Kew Gardens/Woodhaven	2033	3%
Flushing/Whitestone	2024	3%
Forest Hills/Rego Park	1917	3%
Pelham Parkway	1849	3%
Upper East Side	1811	3%
Jackson Heights	1756	3%
Howard Beach/South Ozone Park	1563	3%
Middle Village/Ridgewood	1498	2%
Jamaica	1432	2%
Stuyvesant Town/Turtle Bay	1426	2%
Mid Island	1298	2%
North Shore	1248	2%
Throgs Neck/Coop City	1247	2%
Washington Heights/Inwood	1244	2%

Greenwich Village/Financial District	1072	2%
Top Twenty PUMAs	45697	74%
Remainder Forty-Five PUMAs	16444	26%
Total Filipino New Yorkers	62141	100%
Age Composition	**Frequency**	**Percent**
Youth (0 17 years)	8954	14%
Working Age (18-64 Years)	41947	68%
Senior (65 Years and older)	11240	18%
Ability to Speak English (Age 5+)	**Frequency**	**Percent**
No English	35	0.1%
Not Well	1436	2%
Well	9189	16%
Very Well	27890	46%
English Only	20659	35%
Educational Attainment (Age 25+)	**Frequency**	**Percent**
No HSD	1932	4%
HSD	4144	8%
Some College	10094	20%
BA or More	33597	68%

A mural painted in early summer 2020 at the corner of 69th Street and Roosevelt Avenue in Woodside features a Filipino phrase with many meanings including welcome (Griffin 2020). This place-making art project designates a section of Woodside as "Little Manila" and honors the Filipino community's essential contributions as healthcare workers during the height of the coronavirus pandemic. For a time, the 1898 Spanish-American War made the Philippines a U.S. territory, and one consequence of this colonial relationship was the establishment of hundreds of nursing schools to train healthcare workers to fill labor shortages in the United States as well as other parts of the world (Choy 2003). Many Filipinos employed as nurses and caregivers in the city's hospital and health industries reside in Woodside and Elmhurst, Queens, as depicted in Map IV-6. They were a part of the city's essential work-force during the COVID pandemic. Elmhurst Hospital Center made Elmhurst "the epicenter of the epicenter" of the pandemic in NYC (Correal and Jacobs 2020). Due to the concentration of Filipinas in the healthcare industry, they suffered the highest numbers of death due to the pandemic (Powell 2021, Martin and Yeung 2020).

[See Map on Filipino New Yorkers on line and Appendix II, Map V-6]

In November 2022, former Woodside on the Move executive director Steven Raga, won election to New York State Assembly District 30 made up of Woodside, Elmhurst, Maspeth and parts of Jackson Heights. Mr. Raga is the first Filipino elected to public office in the state. He was also a 2021 primary candidate for City Council District 26 (which includes Woodside, Sunnyside, and Long Island City) now represented by Korean American Julie Won, one of two Korean Americans who also made history in 2022 as the first Korean-Americans elected to the New York City Council.

Indo-Caribbean New Yorkers

Indo-Caribbean New Yorkers are the most spatially concentrated Asian subgroup as nearly two-thirds reside in three neighboring South Queens areas: South Ozone Park/Howard Beach, Kew Gardens/Richmond Hill/Woodhaven, and Jamaica. Indo-Caribbeans also stand out with a high home ownership rate of 62% and a high share of voting age citizens at 66%. The median household income for Indo-Caribbean New Yorkers is $87,400, shown in Table IV-7. Like Filipino and Asian Indian New Yorkers, 70% of Indo-Caribbean New Yorkers are working age (18-64 years old) and nearly all (98%) speak only English. Nearly a third of Indo-Caribbean adults (25 years and older) have not completed a high school diploma which is comparable to Chinese New Yorkers.

Table IV-7 Indo-Caribbean New Yorkers

Overview		
Median Household Income		$87,400
Homeownership Rate		62%
Percent Foreign Born		71%
Percent Voting Age Citizen		66%
Percent Poor		13%
PUMAs	**Frequency**	**Percent**
South Ozone Park/Howard Beach	12666	33%
Kew Gardens/Richmond Hill/Woodhaven	6072	16%
Jamaica	5994	16%
Bellerose/Rosedale	2767	7%
Hillcrest/Fresh Meadows	2036	5%
Soundview/Parkchester	1300	3%
Willamsbridge/Baychester	801	2%
East New York/Starrett City	732	2%
Rockaways	529	1%
East Flatbush	464	1%
Top Ten PUMAs	**33361**	**87%**
Remainder Forty-Five PUMAs	5062	13%
Total Indo-Caribbean New Yorkers	38423	100%
Age Composition	**Frequency**	**Percent**
Youth (0 17 years)	5169	13%
Working Age (18-64 Years)	26796	70%
Senior (65 Years and older)	6458	17%
Ability to Speak English (Age 5+)	**Frequency**	**Percent**
Well	37	1%
Very Well	898	2%
English Only	35908	98%

Educational Attainment (Age 25+)	Frequency	Percent
No HSD	9452	31%
HSD	8047	27%
Some College	6450	21%
BA or More	6401	21%

Indo-Caribbeans can be considered "twice migrants" because they began as Asian Indian indentured servants in Guyana, Trinidad and Tobago, and Suriname, but their descendants then moved to the United States, many settling in the Richmond Hill area of Queens (Khandelwal 2002). Broad racial categories (e.g., Asian) does not capture the complex racial identities and experiences of Indo-Caribbeans. For example, the term *dougla* refers to the multi-layered, post-colonial racial identities of some in the Caribbean diaspora who are of both African and Indian descent (Barratt and Ranjitsingh 2021). Anlisa Outar, a Chhaya CDC staff member (and Queens College alum), described the Indo-Caribbean and South Asian populations that concentrate in Richmond Hill, South Ozone Park and Ozone Park as a "richly diverse yet cohesive diaspora" at the August 2022 NYC Districting Commission in Queens.

Indo-Caribbean New Yorkers represent a long-standing community of interest in South Ozone Park and Richmond Hill, neighborhoods that continue to be divided among numerous political districts. At a 2001 Queens public hearing, community leaders testified that the Indo-Caribbean and Asian Indian populations in these neighborhoods comprised a community of interest. A 2001 Asian American Legal Defense and Education Fund survey on Asian neighborhood boundaries and common interests found that respondents defined the Richmond Hill, Ozone Park, and South Ozone Park neighborhoods as an area with a sizable and concentrated population of Indo-Caribbean and Sikh New Yorkers. Anlisa Outar's Macaulay Honors College thesis, "Redistricting Richmond Hill: Indo-Guyanese Political Representation in Queens," offers a comprehensive study of community engagement in redistricting advocacy for an Indo-Caribbean community of interest. She notes her thesis "barely scratches the surface of decades of Indo-Caribbean New Yorkers championing political representation."

Major street namings have been initiated by City Council Speaker Adrienne Adams to honor the area's Guyanese community -- the intersection of Lefferts Avenue and Liberty Avenue was renamed Little Guyana Avenue in June 2021, and earlier in 2021, 101st Avenue between 111th and 123rd Streets was renamed Punjab Way and 97th Avenue between Lefferts Blvd and 117th Street was renamed Gurdwara Street to recognize a Sikh house of worship (Parrott 2021).

Sikh New Yorkers are also concentrated in Richmond Hill and their community is anchored by several gurdwaras including the Sikh Cultural Society. This part of Richmond Hill is referred to as Little Punjab. In the aftermath of the 9/11 tragedies, anti-Muslim violence was directed at the Sikh community and Sikh men (who grow beards and wear turbans as articles of their faith). This past April, several members of Richmond Hill's Sikh community also suffered hate crimes (Stack and Asma-Sadeque 2022).

Japanese New Yorkers

As with Korean New Yorkers, the number of Japanese New Yorkers declined slightly during the past decade. One in two (49%) Japanese New Yorkers resides in Manhattan followed by concentrations in Queens and Brooklyn (24% each). The median household income for Japanese New Yorkers is $104,117, is shown in Table IV-8. English speaking ability and educational attainment is high for Japanese New Yorkers as 63% of Japanese adults have a BA degree or more. Notably, 79% are working age adults. Relative to other Asian subgroups in New York City, the percent of voting age citizens is low at only a third (33%) of Japanese New Yorkers.

Table IV-8 Japanese New Yorkers

Overview		
Median Household Income		$104,117
Homeownership Rate		24%
Percent Foreign Born		68%
Percent Voting Age Citizen		33%
Percent Poor		11%
PUMAs	**Frequency**	**Percent**
Upper East Side	1906	8%
Sunnyside/Woodside	1766	8%
Upper West Side	1762	8%
Chelsea/Clinton/Midtown	1607	7%
Stuyvesant Town/Turtle Bay	1267	6%
Greenwich Village/Financial District	1170	5%
Forest Hills/Rego Park	1157	5%
Lower East Side/Chinatown	1034	5%
Morningside Heights/Hamilton Heights	858	4%
Brooklyn Heights/Ft Greene	820	4%
Astoria	818	4%
Park Slope/Carroll Gardens	672	3%
Bushwick	625	3%
Williamsburg/Greenpoint	622	3%
Sunset Park	612	3%
Washington Heights/Inwood	595	3%
Bedford Stuyvesant	548	2%
East Harlem	543	2%
Elmhurst/Corona	485	2%
North Crown Heights/Prospect Heights	457	2%
Top Twenty PUMAs	**19324**	**86%**

Remainder Forty-Five PUMAs	3213	14%
Total Japanese New Yorkers	22537	100%
Age Composition	**Frequency**	**Percent**
Youth (0-17 years)	3131	13%
Working Age (18-64 Years)	18569	79%
Senior (65 Years and older)	1780	8%
Ability to Speak English (Age 5+)	**Frequency**	**Percent**
No English	149	1%
Not Well	2439	11%
Well	6039	28%
Very Well	7024	32%
English Only	6154	28%
Educational Attainment (Age 25+)	**Frequency**	**Percent**
No HSD	3403	15%
HSD	2359	10%
Some College	2993	13%
BA or More	14725	63%

Emerging Asian Communities

The highly diverse Asian American population in New York City includes Taiwanese (18,798) who concentrate in Flushing/Whitestone, Bayside/Little Neck, and Forest Hills/Rego in Queens along with Chinese and Korean New Yorkers. The Vietnamese (12,381) make up most of the Southeast Asian population. Sri Lankan New Yorkers grew significantly in Staten Island's North Shore. where nearly half (45%) of Sri Lankans reside along with notable numbers of Asian Indian and Pakistani New Yorkers.

Queens neighborhoods Woodside, Sunnyside, Elmhurst are home to a hyperdiverse Asian population including small but highly visible concentrations of Tibetan, Nepali and Thai New Yorkers. Numerous members of the Himalayan New York community testified at the New York City Districting Commission August public hearing in Queens to oppose a proposed cross-borough Queens-Manhattan District 26 that would have removed the Woodside neighborhood from the district.

Conclusion

Most Asian New Yorkers are working-age immigrants who will continue to transform the city's sociodemographic landscape. Hyperdiversity with vast differences in median household incomes, English speaking language ability, educational attainment and residential concentrations shape Asian New York. Stark socioeconomic bifurcation defines New York City's largest Asian subgroup evidenced in the profiles of the city's "Chinatown" neighborhoods in Manhattan Chinatown, Flushing, Queens, and Sunset Park and Bensonhurst in Brooklyn. The COVID pandemic and related rise in anti-Asian hate contributed to the mobilization of a Chinese migrant civil society centered on advancing a conservative social and political agenda. Queens remains an epicenter of the Asian population in New York City and its hyperdiversity is evidenced by neighborhoods that are described as global microcosms (Salvo and Lobo 2021).

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Section V: Emerging Communities in New York City

Keena Lipsitz

Just as "community of interest" is difficult to define, so is "emerging," particularly when it is used to describe a community. It typically suggests something that is coming into being or becoming apparent, in contrast to something that is "established." Art exhibits, for example, often feature "emerging" and "established" artists. In this sense, emerging communities are making their presence felt and are often reinvigorating something that has become familiar and even a bit stale. Immigrant groups are enlivening New York City with their constant churn and flux.

When immigrant groups – or any other group for that matter – gain a foothold in a particular neighborhood by creating restaurants and businesses and establishing places of worship, they begin to certainly make their presence felt. Such groups might be connected by national origin, religion, or even lifestyle. As in previous sections, we drew on the American Community Survey 5-year estimates centered on 2010 and 2018 to identify such groups based on the population of various ancestry groups (which may include native born as well as foreign born people who identify with a given ancestry). This allows us to identify people who are first, second, or even third generation who still have strong cultural ties to their ancestral group. For people who did not give an ancestry, as was true of 14 percent of cases in the latter period, we substituted a person's birthplace. We identified emerging communities by focusing on their size and rate of growth. We defined emerging communities to be members of a particular ancestry that had more than 20,000 members in 2020, fewer than 100,000 in 2010, and grew by more than 10 percent in between. This approach narrowed our list of emerging communities to six: Bangladeshis, Egyptians, Ghanaians, Guatemalans, Nigerians, Ukrainians, and Uzbeks.

This section also considers an emerging community that is religious in nature: Muslims. Although census data do not permit us to estimate the number of Muslims in New York City because it does not ask about religious identification, we know that adherents to Islam are growing in the United States and that the New York metro area has one of the largest concentrations. Although those who practice Islam come from a multitude of countries and speak a variety of languages, their shared religious and cultural practices create a bond that unites them.

The following discussion uses Census data to describe the demographics of each community, highlighting such factors as language usage and educational attainment that might speak to factors that help unite its members. Each community is also mapped to explore how its residential patterns overlap with other groups. If redistricting is to respect community boundaries, they must be geographically clustered. If a community is spread out thinly, it may be difficult or impossible to create a district that accommodates them. The following analysis reveals that it may be easier to create districts that encompass sizable portions of the Bangladeshi, Egyptian, Ukrainian, and Uzbek communities than the Nigerian and Guatemalan communities.

This section highlights several key themes for the city's emerging communities:

Economic stagnation—The incomes of emerging community households have not been keeping up with the rest of New York City. In fact, most have been experiencing income stagnation. Only two, Bangladeshis and Uzbeks, have seen their median household incomes rise over the last decade.

Citizenship status is increasing—The size of these communities is not only increasing: the proportion of their population that are citizens is as well. This is particularly true for Bangladeshis, Guatemalans, Ghanaians, and Nigerians. For example, the number of people with Nigerian ancestry increased by 40 percent between 2010 and 2018, but the proportion of that population who are citizens increased from 62 to 70 percent. This suggests the growth of the voting age people in each group will be more exponential than linear. As their numbers continue to grow, these communities may become important nodes of political power in the city.

Communities are spread out—Most of the communities discussed here have several geographic clusters. Often, these clusters are in different boroughs, which makes it difficult to preserve the community's boundaries in the redistricting process. In preparation for the next round of redistricting, the Commission needs to take steps to understand how these communities are dispersed throughout the city and decide which clusters of each community are more important from the standpoint of maximizing the community's political power.

Many communities are invisible—Most of the communities discussed below were not mentioned in the public testimony. As a result, their communities were invisible to the Districting Commission. In the future, the Commission must take steps to ensure that they give these communities the attention they deserve.

Our understanding of Muslim New Yorkers is poor—Estimates of the Muslim population in New York City vary and their demographic and political characteristics are poorly understood. The city government should prioritize research on this growing population, especially research that aims to understand the extent to which the political preferences of the various ancestral groups that practice Islam in the city overlap.

Bangladeshis

Previous sections of this report have already discussed Bangladeshis because approximately 8 percent identify as Black and because they are rapidly growing Asian community in New York City. Here, we expand on their history in New York City and map the community using the ACS data.

The first Bangladeshis, who began to arrive in the United States following their country's independence in the early 1970s were professionals and students seeking higher education. Once the U.S. instituted the diversity visa lottery, it created the possibility for less educated immigrants from the Indian subcontinent to immigrate. By 2000, the American Community Survey indicates there were approximately 95,000 people of Bangladeshi origin in the country.

Many of those who arrived in the 1990s found their way to New York and employment as cab drivers. By 2000, they constituted 14 percent of the city's nearly 100,000 licensed cabbies (Rahman 2011, 33). Many Bangladeshis who took these jobs had a college education but had no other options. Aside from economic hardship, Bangladeshis in

New York City have had other challenges. Following 9/11, many were the target of hate crimes and Bangladeshi businesses suffered. The US government also began to surveil their community as part of a program to infiltrate Muslim communities by using native speakers to collect information. Thus, many Bangladeshis felt unsafe both in public spaces and even private ones. Like many Muslims in New York, many Bangladeshi women decided not to wear a hijab to avoid harassment. Others in the Bangladeshi community went so far as to put up Christmas decorations (Rahman 2011, 83-84). Thus, 9/11 punctuated the Bangladeshi experience in New York City; for many, their US experience would be divided into a pre-9/11 experience and a post-9/11 experience (Rahman, 2011, 97). These hate crimes continued, culminating in 2016 with the murder of Imam Maulama Akonjee, who had moved to the US from Bangladesh just two years previously, and an associate. Just a few weeks later, another Bangladeshi woman, Nazma Khanam was stabbed to death. Hate crimes against Bangladeshis in the city appear to have declined since then, unfortunately, replaced by an increasing number of hate crimes against other Asians and Jews (https://www.nyc.gov/site/nypd/stats/reports-analysis/hate-crimes.page).

One bright spot among second generation Bangladeshi and youth more generally from the Indian subcontinent in New York City is their embrace of the *desi* culture. This is a subculture and identity that Bengali youth have created to help them navigate being "hybrids." It allows them to celebrate their culture while recognizing that they are not from their parent's generation. This subculture is pervasive among Bangladeshi youth in New York City and helps them find others who share and understand their experience (Rahman, 186-197).

New York City had and continues to have the highest concentration of Bangladeshis in the country. As Table V-1 shows, it is a young community, in part because it has such a high proportion of children in it. Nearly one third of the Bangladeshi community is under the age of 18 compared to 1 in 5 New Yorkers. Most of these children live in two parent households, as 87 percent of the Bangladeshi community in New York live in married couple households.

The economic prospects for Bangladeshis have improved over the last decade. Their median household income has increased by 28 percent from $54,094 to $69,299 (2022 dollars). This increase in income is significantly higher than the 16 percent of New Yorkers overall, even though they still earn well below that of other households in the city ($89,726). The traditional nature of Bangladeshi household structure may account for this. In 2010, only 30 percent of Bangladeshi women worked outside the home. By 2018, that number had increased significantly to 38 percent, but it is still low. Strangely, education levels have dropped in this community. Whereas 42 percent of the population in 2010 had a BA, only 36 percent does now. Even so, this group is putting down roots in the city with the number of Bangladeshis who are citizens of voting age increasing from 56 to 63 percent. Home ownership has also increased from 30 to 35 percent.

Table V-1: Demographics of the Bangladeshi community in New York City

Metric	2010	2018	Change
Population	78,718	113,925	35,207 (45%)
Under 18	25	28	3
18-64	72	70	-2
64+	3	3	0
Foreign born	81	75	-6
Citizen of voting age	56	63	7
Speaks English well	71	70	-1
HS diploma	20	20	0
BA	42	36	-6
Med. Household inc.	$54,094	$69,299	$15,205 (28%)
Home Ownership	30	35	5
% Men employed	74	73	-1
% Women employed	30	38	8

The map in the previous section (on line and in Appendix 2, Map IV-3) shows that people with Bangladeshi ancestry have clustered in three areas: the Parkchester and Soundview neighborhoods of the Bronx and Jackson Heights and Jamaica in Queens. Their residential patterns do not correlate strongly with any other national origin group except Indians (.35, p<.001).

Unlike other emerging communities discussed in this section, the Bangladeshi community was represented well in public testimony to the Districting Commission. The testimony describes how the Bangladeshi community is spreading out from Jamaica, moving east along the Hillside Avenue corridor and west into Richmond Hill, Ozone Park, and South Ozone Park (Compiled Public Testimony, 111). As a consequence, some like Council member James Gennaro, propose the creation of a "Bangladeshi-influence" district in this area. Others underscore the importance of keeping the Bangladeshi community in Parkchester whole, as well as the small but growing Bangladeshi community in Kensington, Brooklyn, which can be seen in Map IV-3, but is smaller than the other clusters in the city.

Egyptians

Beginning in 1971, changes to the Egyptian constitution allowed many to emigrate. While most Egyptian emigrants settled in neighboring oil-rich countries, some found their way to North America. This exodus was encouraged by massive population growth in Egypt that created a "youth bulge" (MPI, 4). Indeed, by 2013, 50 percent of the population was under 25, leading to unprecedented levels of unemployment. By the 2010s, the US had become the most common destination for Egyptians outside the Middle East. Most gained entry to the US through family reunification, while others took advantage of the diversity visa program. Despite being one of the smallest national origin groups in the United States, Egyptians tend to concentrate in urban centers, such as Los Angeles and New York.

According to Table V-2, the number of people with Egyptian ancestry in the city increased by almost a third between 2010 and 2020 (from 22,720 to 28,779). Seventy percent of Egyptians are foreign born. Over the last decade, Egyptians have had more children making it a younger population in the city. In 2010, 21 percent of the population was under 18, but in 2018 that number was 26 percent. Despite the high levels of educational attainment in the community, with 57 percent of those over 25 years of age having a degree, it is stagnating economically. The median household income declined slightly over the last decade (from $77,650 to $76,938), as did home ownership (from 38 to 34 percent). This was the case even though more Egyptian women entered the labor force (from 39 to 43 percent).

Table V-2: Demographics of the Egyptian community in New York City

Metric	2010	2018	Change
Population	22,720	28,779	6,059 (27%)
Under 18	21	26	5
18-64	68	63	-5
64+	11	11	0
Foreign born	70	70	0
Citizen of voting age	74	74	0
Speaks English well	86	86	2
HS diploma	17	19	2
BA	59	57	4
Med. Household inc.	$77,650	$76,938	-$712 (-1%)
Home Ownership	38	34	3
% Men employed	66	66	0
% Women employed	39	43	4

The residential patterns of Egyptians do not overlap with those who claim ancestry from other Middle Eastern and North African countries. For instance, the highest correlation with people from these countries is with Moroccans (.16, p<.001) followed by Palestinians and Lebanese (both .11). They do tend to live with people who characterize their ancestry as simply "Arabic" (.58, p<.001), however.

As Map V-1 illustrates, the small community of Egyptians in Astoria's Little Egypt have been joined by other larger groupings around the city. People with Egyptian ancestry live in the area between Ridgewood and Glendale, are distributed between Bay Ridge and Bensonhurst, and live on the west side of Staten Island. Unfortunately, none of the public testimony explicitly mentions these communities.

[See Map of Egyptians on line and Appendix II, Map V-1]

Ghanaians

The Immigration Act of 1990, which created the diversity visa program, accelerated immigration from Ghana with 39,669 Ghanaians legally entering the country between 1990 and 2000 (Biney 2011, 12). They were driven to emigrate by the economic consequences of their country having experienced five military coups between the country's independence in 1957 and 1985. Although Ghana is often cited as a model of how a country can successfully transition from a military regime to democratic rule, the government has failed to capitalize on the country's abundant natural resources and second largest-cocoa production in the world. A recession that began in 2012 forced a new wave of Ghanaians to leave, many of whom landed on the shores of the United States and, specifically, in New York City.

In 2018, over a quarter of the adult Ghanaian community worked in the health care industry. This has contributed to the fact that their median household income in 2018 was $85,104, which was close to the median household income for all New Yorkers of approximately $89,000. Table V-3 also reveals that this community is starting to age with the proportion of people in retirement age doubling from 4 to 9 percent between 2010 and 2018. This may be related to the sizable jump in the proportion of adults who are citizens, which increased by 14 percent from 51 to 65 percent over the same period. Despite their household incomes increasing and more Ghanaians becoming citizen, there has been no growth in home ownership, which remains quite low at just 16 percent.

Table V-3: Demographics of the Ghanaian community in New York City

Metric	2010	2018	Change
Population	29,562	35,698	6,136 (21%)
Under 18	18	19	1
18-64	78	72	-6
64+	4	9	5
Foreign born	81	77	-4
Citizen of voting age	51	65	14
Speaks English well	89	92	3
HS diploma	28	30	2
BA	22	26	4
Med. Household inc.	$76,264	$85,104	$8,840 (12%)
Home Ownership	14	16	2
% Men employed	75	70	-5
% Women employed	70	71	1

As Map V-2 illustrates, the Ghanaian community in New York City is concentrated in the Bronx with densely populated census tracts in Kingsbridge Heights, Fordham Heights, West Bronx, and Castle Hill. Most of the businesses and restaurants that cater to this community can be found in the West Bronx in an area some refer to as "Little Accra" (Halpern and McKibben 2014). A smaller concentration of this community lives in Brooklyn in the Prospect Lefferts Gardens neighborhood. The only public testimony that addressed Ghanaians said they live

near "Little Senegal" in Harlem along with other African immigrants (Compiled public testimony, 1902). While this may be true, this is not where they are most densely populated in the city.

[See Map of Ghanaians on line and Appendix II, Map V-2]

Nigerians

Nigerians began emigrating to the United States following the country's civil war between the Igbos and Hausas, which began in 1967. This trend was exacerbated by an economic downturn in the 1980s and a series of corrupt military rulers. Between 1970 and 1990, the number of Nigerians in the United States increased from 1500 to 35,300 (Umo Ette 2011, 27). After 1990, Nigerian immigration continued to grow, spurred by the pursuit of education, particularly for advanced degrees. The government encouraged this through scholarships, hoping that these individuals would return to Nigeria to develop the country's university system. Congress enacted the diversity visa lottery system in the late 1980s and identified Nigeria as an under-represented group in the US population. Driven by high rates of unemployment and inflation, Nigerians embraced the program and by 2010, it was the most successful country in the program with 6,006 Nigerians and their families winning the lottery. Between 2013 and 2015, Nigerians registered one-third of all applicants for the diversity lottery program. Their success with the program led the U.S. Department of State to bar Nigerians from the program for the first time. That prohibition remains in place because more than 50,000 Nigerians have immigrated to the United States in the last five years as workers for multi-national companies or by joining family members (Babtunde 2020). In terms of "push" factors, Nigerian immigrants continue to emphasize the lack of opportunities in their home country and a desire to further their education, as well as safety concerns, including kidnapping and armed robbery, which have increased in the last decade (Akanle et al. 2021; Oyebamiji and Adekoye 2019).

According to the American Community Survey, 39,646 Nigerians live in New York City. The largest group are Yoruba from the southwest of Nigeria, which includes the capital of Lagos. The remainder are mostly Igbo who are from the southeastern part of the county. The Hausa, who are from the north, tend not to emigrate due to their more prominent political and economic status in the country (API 2008).

The Nigerian community in New York City grew by a stunning 40 percent over the last decade despite the Department of State's mid-decade barring of Nigerians from applying to the diversity lottery program. Table V-4 also reveals that it is a young community with a quarter of its population under the age of 18. An increasing proportion of the Nigerian community has citizenship, with 70 percent of the over 18 population being eligible to vote. Like Egyptians, Nigerians are highly educated with 59 percent of the population over the age of 25 having a BA. In addition, most speak English well. Despite this, and the fact that women are nearly as likely to be employed in this community as men, their wages have stagnated. The median household income in 2018 and 2010 was approximately $100,000. Home ownership among this group has also declined from 43 to 37 percent. Economically speaking, Nigerians are running to stay in place.

Table V-4: Demographics of the Nigerian community in New York City

Metric	2010	2018	Change
Population	28,238	39,646	11,408 (40%)
Under 18	25	24	-1
18-64	70	70	0
64+	5	7	2
Foreign born	73	68	-5
Citizen of voting age	62	70	8
Speaks English well	90	91	1
HS diploma	11	13	2
BA	54	59	3
Med. Household inc.	$99,171	$102,234	$3,063 (3%)
Home Ownership	43	37	-6
% Men employed	71	71	0
% Women employed	65	67	2

Map V-3 shows the Nigerian community in New York City. The largest concentrations of people with Nigerian ancestry live in Brownsville but the population is scattered throughout the city. The residential patterns of the community do not correlate with any other African ancestry. If any, it correlates with people who identify their ancestry as simply Black (.35, p<.001). Thus, other than the cluster in Brownsville, it would be difficult to draw a district that included a significant proportion of those with Nigerian ancestry. Over the next decade we may see more people with Nigerian ancestry move into the Bronx, around Wakefield and Williamsbridge, where there are already a significant number. The other area to watch is around Laurelton and Rosedale in Brooklyn.

[See Map of Nigerians on line and Appendix II, Map V-3]

Unfortunately, none of the testimony provided to the Districting Commission mentioned the Nigerian community, specifically.

Guatemalans

The first wave of Guatemalan immigrants in the US were driven by their country's 36-year civil war (1960-96). The wave was a result of the Guatemalan army's attempt to root out what it perceived as leftist insurgent forces in the western Mayan Highlands during the late 1970s (Jonas 2013, 2). This fighting created a wave of refugees to Mexico, many of whom continued to the United States. This first wave of emigrants that began with the Civil War, was joined by a second post-war wave of mostly labor migrants who saw emigration as "a survival strategy" due to their country's high unemployment and extreme poverty (Jonas 2013, 3). Lack of employment has been exacerbated by natural disasters that have pummeled the country, including hurricanes in 1998, 2005, 2010, and an earthquake in 2012, and rising levels of violent crime fueled by drug traffickers and gangs. These "push" factors have contributed to rising Guatemalan immigrant population in the United States, which now numbers more than 1.5 million. In New York City, the Guatemalan community is the fastest growing Hispanic group.

Outside of Los Angeles, the New York City metro area has the largest concentration of Guatemalans with many congregating in the Bensonhurst and Bath Beach areas. They started putting down roots in the area in the 1990s because rents were low and landlords were willing to rent to Hispanics (Bensonhurst Bean 2012). Most of the migrants are Mayans from the same villages in the highlands and the population is disproportionately men who live in overcrowded housing and send remittances back to their families. The community is constantly in flux as new migrants arrive and return home, some by choice and some through deportation.

The pandemic was devastating for the Guatemalan community in New York City as 84 percent of those employed in the community are "essential workers" – the highest rate among Hispanics. Many worked through the pandemic for delivery services, enabling other New Yorkers to quarantine at home while they put their own health at risk without the benefit of health care. Although there are no numbers specifically for Guatemalans, the Mayor's Office of Immigrant Affairs has found that COVID killed Hispanic New Yorkers at a rate that was 2.1 times higher than for White New Yorkers. The fact that so many Guatemalans were essential workers and that they often live in overcrowded households likely made them especially vulnerable to the virus.

Table V-5: Demographics of the Guatemalan community in New York City

Metric	2010	2018	Change
Population	30,888	39,662	8,774 (28%)
Under 18	18	21	3
18-64	77	71	6
64+	5	7	2
Foreign born	76	69	-7
Citizen of voting age	39	46	7
Speaks English well	54	55	1
HS diploma	23	27	0
BA	23	27	4
Med. Household inc.	$77,531	$83,816	$6,285 (8%)
Home Ownership	15	15	0
% Men employed	83	79	4
% Women employed	55	53	2

Table V-5 shows that the Guatemalan community in New York City grew by 28 percent over the last decade from 30,888 to 39662. Approximately 1 in 5 individuals in this population are under 18 and a larger proportion of the community have become citizens of voting age over the last decade (46 v. 39 percent). Their level of educational attainment has increased during this time with 27 percent of those over 25 now having a BA (up from just 23 percent in 2010). Unfortunately, however, just like Egyptians and Nigerians, their wage increases have not kept up with the rest of the city. The eight percent increase from $77,531 to $83,816 is half of what it was for New Yorkers overall (16 percent).

New Yorkers with Guatemalan ancestry cluster in three areas of the city, according to Map V-4. The first is in the Bensonhurst and Bath Beach areas of Brooklyn. This cluster was acknowledged in the public testimony provided by Council member Justin Brannan who asked that "Little Guatemala," which is part of his district, be kept whole. Another large cluster of people with Guatemalan ancestry live in between Briarwood and Jamaica, Queens. The last cluster is in Far Rockaway.

[See Map of Guatemalans on line and Appendix II, Map V-4]

Ukrainians

The United States has the second largest Ukrainian population in the world, second only to Russia, and in the United States, the city with the largest concentration of Ukrainians is New York City. Ukrainians have arrived in waves, settling in different parts of it the city. After World War II, they settled in the East Village creating Little Ukraine. Another wave transformed Brighton Beach into "Little Odessa" as Soviet Jews from the port city found their way to America. After the fall of the Soviet Union, there was another influx of Ukrainians into Brighton Beach. Thus, Ukrainians are not an emerging community in the sense that they are well integrated into the fabric of the city, but the Russian-Ukrainian war has spurred a new wave that is reinvigorating an aging population.

The number of people with Ukrainian ancestry in New York City increased by just 3 percent between 2010 and 2018 from 76,314 to 78,511. They are included in this report because New York City is beginning to experience a new wave of immigration from this country that is likely to continue. The full-scale invasion of Ukraine by Russia is creating a flood of refugees around the world that has reached New York City. Under President Biden, the United States is taking in 100,000 Ukrainian refugees and as many as 1 in every 10 of these are expected to end up in NYC (Georgett et al. 2022). It is unclear how long these refugees will stay, but there is no question that the community will grow significantly.

Another reason for including Ukrainians in a discussion of emerging communities has to do with the increasing saliency of the Ukrainian identity for people from this part of the world. Russia's war on their ancestral homeland has made their Ukrainian identity more important to them. For example, in 2010, 49 percent of people born in Ukraine claimed they were Ukrainian. Now that number is 57 percent. Even if part of the population's growth can be attributed to semantics, it suggests that the Ukrainians are more likely to perceive themselves as part of this community and that as a community they share common concerns and needs.

Table V-6: Demographics of the Ukrainian community in New York City

Metric	2010	2018	Change
Population	76,314	78,511	2,197 (3%)
Under 18	6	9	3
18-64	67	59	-8
64+	27	32	5
Foreign born	82	79	-3
Citizen of voting age	85	83	2
Speaks English well	70	67	-3
HS diploma	16	14	-2
BA	54	59	5
Med. Household inc.	$87,705	$85,809	-$1,896 (-2%)
Home Ownership	39	39	0
% Men employed	61	63	2
% Women employed	53	51	-2

Table V-6 reveals that the Ukrainian community in New York City is a decidedly older one with an average age of 48. Only 9 percent of this community was under the age of 18 in 2018 compared to 21 percent of New Yorkers overall. One explanation is that there are few children in Ukrainian households: only 28 percent have children and just 2 percent have more than two. Nearly a third of Ukrainians were of retirement age in 2018. This may explain why only two-thirds of Ukrainian men are employed and just half of women. Without the influx of refugees due to the war, it is quite possible that this community would be better described as receding than emerging given its low fertility rates and aging population.

As mentioned above, New York's Ukrainian community is solidly middle class. More than half have a BA or higher and the median income for this group is on par with the city's median income ($86,809 v. $89,726). Nearly 40 percent of the community resides in owner-occupied dwellings. Like many other emerging groups, however, this population has stagnated economically over the last decade. The median household income decreased slightly and home ownership did not increase.

As Map V-5 illustrates, although the Ukrainian Village continues to be a cultural center for this community with its restaurants and orthodox churches, fewer and fewer live in the neighborhood. Instead, they cluster in Seagate, Coney Island, and Brighton beach, with the community extending northwest to Bensonhurst and north to Midwood. They also live along the southeastern side of Staten Island. The residential patterns of Ukrainians tend to overlap the most with Russians (.69, p<.001) and slightly with Poles (.15, p<.001).

[See Map of Ukrainians on line and Appendix II, Map V-5]

Only two people testified on behalf of the Ukrainian community, Nataliya Neyzhmakova, Vice President of Odessa Community of New York, and Council member Inna Vernikov. Unfortunately, they requested the opposite of each

other. Neyzhmakova asked that Trump Village, Luna Park, Brightwater Towers, and Brighton Beach be included in the 47th district. Council member Vernikov, however, asked to keep Brighton Beach and Trump Village in the 48th district which she represents.

Uzbeks

New York City is home to more than half of the Uzbeks in the United States. The first wave to arrive were Bukharan Jews in the 1970s who settled in the Forest Hills, Queens neighborhood, later spreading into Rego Park and Kew Gardens. After the collapse of the Soviet Union, they were joined by more of their brethren as the vast majority of Bukharan Jews left the central Asian republic. Once the U.S. began the visa lottery program in 1995, Uzbek Muslims began immigrating to the U.S. In New York City, they settled along with other immigrants from Russia and various post-Soviet republics in Brooklyn's Brighton Beach and Sheepshead Bay neighborhoods. Today, Uzbek restaurants and grocery stores line Coney Island Avenue creating what has been called a "New Uzbek Silk Road" that serves this growing community (Jacobson 2015)

The Uzbek community is not only growing, but its newest wave is beginning to put down roots. Between 2010 and 2018, the population grew by a stunning 74 percent from 19,902 to 34,670, according to Table V-7. Much of this growth is due in part to the birthrate for the community, which increased dramatically: in 2010, 12 percent of the population was under 18 but that number increased to 21 percent in 2018. The growing birthrate is also reflected in the fact that the percent of the population that is foreign born decreased from 97 to 86 percent during that time. The citizen voting age population similarly declined (from 58 to 45 percent). These trends will almost certainly reverse over the next decade as children with Uzbek ancestry in New York City become adults.

The economic prospects for the Uzbek community have been improving with its median household income increasing 23 percent from $64,266 to $79,025 between 2010 and 2018. Its educational attainment levels have been improving as well: in 2018, 53 percent of people over the age of 25 with Uzbek ancestry had a BA or higher, which was up 9 percent from 2010. Unfortunately, this success has not translated into gains in home ownership and unemployment remains stubbornly high compared to other emerging communities.

Table V-7: Demographics of the Uzbek community in New York City

Metric	2010	2018	Change
Population	19,902	34,670	14,768 (74%)
Under 18	12	21	9
18-64	76	69	-7
64+	12	10	-2
Foreign born	97	86	-11
Citizen of voting age	58	45	-13
Speaks English well	63	60	-3
HS diploma	25	22	-3
BA	44	53	9
Med. Household inc.	$64,266	$79,025	$14,759 (23%)
Home Ownership	27	25	-2
% Men employed	54	57	3
% Women employed	50	52	2

As mentioned above, many Uzbeks have chosen to settle in the Russian and Ukrainian neighborhoods of Brighton Beach and Sheepshead Bay. The ACS census tract level data confirms this with Uzbek residential patterns being high correlated with the two groups (.56 and .47, respectively). Map V-6, however, shows how the Uzbek community in Brooklyn stretches north through Midwood into the Flatbush neighborhood as well. Immigrants from Samarkand have tended to settle in this area, while those from Tashkent settle closer to the ocean (Jacobson 2015).

The Uzbek community was mentioned once in the public testimony. Horace Khan, who is on the board of the Muslim Democratic Club of New York, attests to their presence in Bath Beach, along Cropsey Avenue and Bath Avenue, mixed with other Muslim communities (Compiled Public Testimony, 1883). According to the ACS data shown in the map, there are some Uzbeks in the area, but much higher concentrations lie east of this area.

[See Map of Uzbeks on line and Appendix II, Map V-6]

Muslims

Attempts to estimate the number of Muslims in New York City are difficult because the Census does not include a question about religion. In 2016, Muslims for American Progress (MAP) estimated that there were about 770,000 Muslims in New York City or that 9 percent of New Yorkers practiced Islam (MAP 2018, 5). However, their methodology relies on an earlier one calculated in a Journey 2015 report for the *entire New York City metropolitan area*. The New York City metropolitan area includes Long Island, parts of the Hudson Valley, north and central New Jersey, as well as counties in Pennsylvania and Connecticut. In 2015, when the report was published, the metropolitan area had a population of approximately 20 million, while New York City had a population of just 8.5 million. If we adjust the Journey 2015 Muslim population estimate to account for the city's proportion of the metropolitan area population (approximately 42 percent), then the MAP estimate should be much lower,

approximately 322,000 in 2018 when their report came out. Other estimates are even lower than this. Two studies in 2014—one by Public Religion Research Institute and another by Pew—administered surveys that found 3 percent of the population in New York City practiced Islam (Jones 2016; Pew 2015). In 2014, that would have been approximately 253,000 people. Three percent of the New York City population in 2020 was 251,000.

Another way to calculate the number of Muslims in New York City is to use the 2020 Mosque Census conducted by the Institute for Social Policy and Understanding. The authors of that study do not estimate the number of mosques in New York City, but they estimate that the number of mosques in the metropolitan area is 275 and the average Jum'ah (Friday prayer) attendance in mosques across the country is 410 (Bagby 2020). This would yield just 113,000 Muslims for the entire NYC metropolitan area and presumably a substantially lower number for New York City.

A final method involves using the American Community Survey ancestry and birthplace variables to calculate the Muslim population in New York City. For example, one could code people by their ancestry and, if that was missing, their birthplace. This provides a population estimate for each ancestry in the city. This number could then be weighted by the proportion of people from each country who are Muslim. Table V-8 displays the results of using such an approach. Before discussing it, however, we stress that this method makes a number of assumptions.

First, it assumes that people who immigrate to the United States from a particular country are as likely to be Muslim as those who stay behind. It is possible, for instance, that Muslims from a particular country are actually less likely to immigrate to the United States than non-Muslims from that country, especially during periods when anti-Muslim sentiment is high. This approach also assumes that ancestry matters as much as birthplace, i.e. a second or third generation individual with a particular ancestry is as likely to practice Islam as someone born in that country. There is some evidence that second generation Muslims are as likely to practice Islam as their immigrant parents, but it is unclear if this is true of further removed generations (Voas and Fleischman 2012, 535).

An additional problem with this approach is that it assumes people born in a particular country identify with it. For example, it treats someone born to Chinese parents in Jamaica the same way as someone born to native Jamaicans. Finally, ancestry is an attitudinal variable, that is, by choosing one, the respondent tells us that they identify with that ancestry. Many responders (14 percent) choose not to specify any ancestry. This could be for a variety of reasons, but it signals that that person's ancestry is not important enough to them to mention it. Thus, it is best to consider the estimates in Table V-8 as an upper bound on the Muslim populations contributed by each ancestry. *The actual number is likely to be sign.ficantly lower.*

Table V-8: Estimated Muslim population contributed by each ancestry in New York City

Country	% Country Muslim	NYC Pop	% NYC Muslim
Bangladesh	90.4	113,925	102,988
Pakistan	96.5	56,289	54,319
Uzbekistan	96.5	34,559	33,349
Egypt	92.4	28,867	26,659
Albania	58.8	36,387	21,396
Yemen	99.1	21508	21,314
India	14.2	145,875	20,714
Russia	13.5	151,412	20,441
Nigeria	49.6	39,646	19,664
Turkey	99.2	15,197	15,075
Iran	99.4	13,217	13,138
Morocco	99	11,161	11,049
Syria	93	11,821	10,994
Senegal	96.1	8,137	7,820
Ghana	18	35,698	6,426
Lebanon	57.7	11,106	6,408
Guinea	89.1	6,927	6,172
Israel	18	33,346	6,002
Malaysia	61.3	8,933	5,476
Indonesia	87.2	6,071	5,294
Afghanistan	99.6	5,300	5,279
Arab	90	5,766	5,189
Algeria	99	4,082	4,041
Gambia	95.7	3,154	3,018

Source: Estimates made by authors using ACS 2016-20 5-year estimate and Pew 2015

Table V-8 shows the 25 most represented ancestries in New York City among its Muslim population. Every other ancestry in the ACS accounts for fewer than 3,000 Muslims in the city. The total of the 25 listed here is 432,355 and even when one includes other ancestries, the population of Muslims in New York City does not exceed 450,000 using this method. Moreover, as stated earlier, these numbers very likely overestimate the number of Muslims with each ancestral origin.

Based on Table V-8, Bangladeshis and Pakistanis together account for nearly one third of all Muslims in the city. These are followed by Uzbeks, Egyptians, Albanians, and Yemenis, who might account for an additional 100,000

Muslim New Yorkers. Interestingly, India and Russia, which have small native Muslim populations (approximately 14 percent each), could potentially contribute large numbers of Muslims to the city if their Muslim populations had migrated in proportion to non-Muslims. Each of those ancestries boasts populations of nearly 150,000 individuals.

The most important point illustrated by Table V-8 is that Muslims in New York City are quite diverse, representing a wide range of cultures and languages. They have roots in places as varied as South Asia, the Middle East, the Balkan Peninsula, and West Africa. In terms of their experience living in New York City, however, there is some overlap in the day-to-day experience of these groups. Table V-9 shows the demographics of the top 5 groups. As immigrant communities, more than two-thirds of their population are foreign born compared to just 37 percent of all New Yorkers. Bangladeshis, Pakistanis, Uzbeks, and Egyptians make a median household income below that of the median city's resident ($89,726). The Bangladeshi, Pakistani, and Albanian communities are relatively young with people under 18 accounting for nearly a third of their population. These three communities also have similar levels of educational attainment. In other words, even if these communities have distinct languages and come from different parts of the globe, their shared religion and struggles as immigrants in the United States may unite them.

Table V-9: Comparing Top Five Muslim Ancestries in NYC

Metric	Bangladeshi	Pakistani	Uzbek	Egyptian	Albanian
Under 18 share	28	31	12	21	27
18-64 share	70	64	76	68	66
64+ share	3	5	11	11	8
Foreign born	75	67	86	70	68
Citizen of voting age	63	70	57	74	69
Speaks English well	70	66	60	86	82
HS diploma share	20	20	14	19	34
BA share	36	28	53	57	34
Med. Household inc.	69,299	84,266	73,686	76,938	104,773
Home ownership share	36	32	25	34	38

Source: ACS 2016-2020 5-year estimates

Map V-7 shows that the areas of the city with the most concentrated number of Muslims are in Jamaica and Hollis, Queens, where large numbers of South Asians reside, as well as South Brooklyn, where South Asians are joined by MENA groups such as Egyptians and Yemeni. Additional clusters can be found in the Bronx due to the people of Albanian, Yemeni, and Bengali ancestry living there, and around Jackson Heights where many South Asians also reside.

[See Map of estimated Muslim population on line and Appendix II, Map V-7]

Many people from the Muslim communities provided public testimony. In total, about 60 testimonials mentioning "Muslim" and "Arab" communities living in neighborhoods across Queens, Brooklyn, the Bronx, and Staten Island.

In Queens, Muslims of South Asian and Indo-Caribbean descent submitted testimony attesting to residing in Richmond Hill, Jackson Heights, Woodside, Sunnyside, Long Island City, Astoria, Hillside Avenue, Jamaica, Queens Village, and Melrose. South Asian Muslims from Jackson Heights and Woodside were the most organized, submitting 51 copies of a template email requesting that the South Asian Muslim community remain intact as opposed to being separated across CD 25 and 26. CD 26 also includes Little Guyana in Richmond Hill, a diverse community with a coalition of Caribbean Queer Muslim advocates.

In Brooklyn, Muslims from a variety of backgrounds, including Pakistani, Uzbek, and Yemeni, submitted testimony and attested to residing in Bath Beach (especially Bath Avenue, Cropsey, Benson, all the way up to 86th), Bay Ridge, Kensington, Borough Park, East Flatbush, Canarsie, Riverside Village, Brighton Beach, Coney Island, Beach Haven, Bensonhurst, Dyker Heights, Trump Village, Warbasse, Luna Park, and Brightwater Towers. In CD 39, a Muslim-majority community was found to be food insecure, which led to the designation of local schools as halal school food distribution sites. One testimonial noted that, according to the most recent American Community Survey data, the neighborhood of Bay Ridge contains approximately 9,000 people of Arab ancestry, making it one of the largest Arab communities in NYC and throughout the US. Another testimonial claimed that the Arabic community in Bay Ridge is one of the oldest in the US. Those testifying put a particular emphasis on keeping the Muslim community intact as opposed to being separated across CDs 47 and 48.

In the Bronx, Muslims of Bangladeshi descent testified to living in Parkchester. Additionally, a Yemeni Muslim community residing in the Van Nest neighborhood of the Bronx was opposed to the splintering of their neighborhood across CD 13 and 15.

Conclusion

As many groups that once dominated New York City's political landscape, including the Irish, Germans, Italians, and East European Jews, decline in population, a diverse array of immigrant groups is taking their place. Some of these communities have put down roots and become politically active, successfully advocating for themselves and even electing members of their community to public office. Other groups, however, have not mobilized as effectively and, as a result, are less visible. This chapter has endeavored to make a handful of these communities more visible by focusing on those of significant size that are growing rapidly. Over the next decade, these groups will continue to grow, reshaping New York City's political landscape with them.

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Section VI: Summing Up and Looking Forward

In many respects, the 2010s were a great decade for most New York City residents as the population grew, median real household incomes rose, people reached higher levels of educational attainment, and the ranks of voting age citizens increased. Always heterogeneous, the city became more varied in ways that, though still troubled by discrimination and hate crimes, demonstrate that diversity need not lead to entrenched inter-group conflict. Increased affluence also leads to greater inequality.

In contrast, the decade of the 2020s began on several troubling notes. Since the first case was confirmed on February 29, 2020, an estimated 3 million cases of COVID have been diagnosed among New Yorkers and 43,699 have died as of this writing. Illness and mortality were concentrated in working class immigrant neighborhoods. The pandemic led to a sharp economic contraction from which the city has not recovered fully and perhaps may never, at least in the sense of returning to pre-2020 patterns of work and living. Some higher income families departed from the city at least temporarily and many lower income immigrants may not have been able to arrive. The federal response to the crisis assisted city government and New Yorkers in many ways, but federal antagonism to immigration in the Trump administration may also have hindered the arrival of new immigrants, especially in transit through Mexico. The changes in policy along the southern border may now bring new immigrant streams, but the situation is uncertain. The economic outlook for the city, so strong in the previous decade, is mixed in the short term as interest rates increase, the stock market declines, public revenues slow their rate of increase, and cost pressures rise.

Will New York continue to be the city of opportunity for so many groups? If history is a guide, it would be unwise to bet against this proposition. New York City has experienced many convulsive challenges since World War II, including suburbanization, deindustrialization, racial transition, technological revolution, property abandonment and arson, fiscal crisis, episodes of violent crime, and now pandemic illness, which could have doomed many a city, and did. It has always rallied in the wake of these events, reaching new heights of population, economic activity, and even creativity by 2020. Alone among the large old cities of the industrial Midwest and Northeast, it continues to attract and hold residents compared to five decades ago.

The city's future will not be a simple extrapolation of its recent past. To give one example, the rapid rise of the city's Mexican descent population appears to have come to a halt. Many of the office buildings of midtown and downtown Manhattan remain only partially tenanted. Yet the city is also experiencing unanticipated gains. Public life on many neighborhood streets has never been more vital and New Yorkers are adapting to new conditions. As this report documents, new groups are emerging as older ones decline. So how should we prepare in the coming decade to understand the city's communities of interest, past and future?

1. We need much better data on how New York City's residents are faring.

We have many data sources on living condition in New York City, ranging from the decennial Census and the American Community Survey to the Housing and Vacancy Survey, the Community Health Survey, and the wealth of 'big data' being generated both by open access to city administrative data and public use data from digital sources like cellphone use or web-based searches. When this data can be merged, it has led to creative new ways to do social research. But too often, the data sources are siloed, not comprehensive, and failing to ask key questions. To remedy this, New York City should sponsor a large- scale household panel study, to be carried out by academic partners and insulated from politics. It should have a sufficiently large sample to give reliable results by Community Board, legislative district, and small populations (perhaps a minimum group size of 10,000 city residents). This survey should collect information on basic socio-economic measures, program participation in a variety of social services, satisfaction with neighborhood and city conditions, and civic engagement. Research exemptions and non-disclosure provisions should be established to link the survey responses to administrative data of many different kinds, including contact with the criminal justice system, the school system, and the ensured employment recording system. This would require a significant investment but would yield great rewards in terms of understanding how the expenditure of more than $100 billion in city revenues affected the trajectories of different groups across generations.

2. The City University should establish the study of the evolution of the city's population groups and neighborhoods as a university-wide research priority.

The City University has a tremendous wealth of students and faculty who come from and seek to understand and promote the city's socio-economic groups and neighborhoods. Yet it lacks central support and coordination of the vast range of research activities they undertake, ranging from undergraduate honors theses or capstones to applied research at the master's degree level in its urban studies, planning, ethnic studies, and related programs and to basic research and doctoral studies on urban dynamics. This is a classic instance of sub-optimization. Now, the whole is less than the sum of the parts. Encouraging synergies across the campuses and taking advantage of our human resources would amply repay even modest synergies. This report provides ample instances of where CUNY students and faculty could fruitfully study emerging communities.

A particularly important aspect of such an effort would be to train new generations of social science doctoral students who come from and wish to serve the city's minority and immigrant communities. Such a comprehensive training program would recruit and support such students, train them in quantitative and qualitative research methods, equip them with state of the art skills in areas such as GIS and data sciences, and place them in research internships with nonprofit, public, and for-profit organizations that could lead to public service careers.

3. The City of New York should establish an inter-departmental working group to prepare for the 2030 Census and the 2031-2032 round of State and City redistricting.

Districting Commissions come to life once every decade and leave behind little or no organizational legacy, although individuals involved in one decade often become a resource in the next. Between the Departments of City Planning, Housing Preservation and Development, and Social Services, the Mayor's Office of Immigrant Affairs, the Deputy Mayors of Health, Housing, and Economic Development, and the Economic Development Corporation, substantial expertise exists within city government on social, economic, and demographic trends in the city. A light-weight interdepartmental working group should be convened to review what the city does to understand its neighborhood, residents, and their trajectories and find ways to cross-fertilize information.

4. In collaboration with CUNY and other university researchers, city government agencies should identify and map communities of interest prior to the next round of redistricting.

Well in advance of the next redistricting cycle, efforts should be made to map communities of interest in New York City. This report has taken a national origin approach to defining such communities, but the effort to identify and describe communities of interest might also involve designating key community-building institutions that promote solidarity, ranging from religious institutions to major workplaces, such as hospital complexes, to transportation networks and commercial corridors that bind people together. While ACS data can provide initial guidance as to where these communities are located, the inter-departmental working group mentioned above should work with CUNY and community partners to organize mapping drives to identify the core of these communities (Wang et al. 2022) and explore the activities and networks that bind them together. These maps will enable the next Districting Commission to supplement public testimony, reach out to communities that might not otherwise be self-reporting, and ensure that it is fully informed as to the geographical boundaries of each community.

5. The collaborative effort to identify, map, and study evolving communities of interest should pay close attention to the blurring boundaries between groups and their growing intermixtures and dimensions of collaboration and competition.

Redistricting, by nature, more easily recognizes geographically concentrated communities of interest, no matter how defined. Yet this report has shown that new groups are emerging and new and old groups are intermixed with each other in new patterns. It will thus be increasingly difficult to draw boundaries around distinct, more or less uniform groups. Some important national origin descent groups in the city are quite dispersed across the city's neighborhoods while others are more compact. Attention needs to be given to which groups align with each other (or differ from each other) to think about coalitions or combinations of communities as the basis for representation, not simply orienting the process to those groups which are most concentrated and in some cases most vocal about submitting testimony and advocacy as a result of their spatial distribution.

Author Biographies

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Steven Romalewski Directs the CUNY Mapping Service, a unit of the Center for Urban Research that engages with foundations, government agencies, businesses, nonprofits, and researchers to use spatial information and analysis techniques to develop and execute applied research projects. Recent projects include creating national, interactive, online mapping systems to track participation in the 2020 decennial Census, the redistricting process across U.S. states, and separate redistricting process systems for New York State and New York City. His BA is from the State University of New York at Stony Brook and his MS in Urban Planning from Colombia University, where he was also a Charles Revson Fellow. The Census Bureau's State Data Center Program awarded him its Randy Gustafson Memorial Award in 2021.

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Appendix I: Communities of Interests and the Courts

Jeffrey M. Wice and Caitlin Mussey

Appendix I: Communities of Interests and the Courts

Jeffrey M. Wice and Caitlin Mussey

There is no single legal definition of "communities of interest." Generally, "communities of interest" (COI) include geographic areas where residents share common interests. Due to geographic features, populations, and histories, statutes often define them according to local circumstances. Geography, socio-economic status, and economic factors provide for the strongest reasons for defining communities of interest.

Whiles COI do not always coincide with the boundaries of political subdivisions (cities or counties), they are often identified with economic, social, school district, community, or housing commonalities.[1]

The U.S. Supreme Court has not provided guidance to define communities of interest. However, when a COI is drawn to include racial communities, a court may find that the COI was used as a proxy for race. Where this happens, courts trigger heightened scrutiny to determine whether a COI was drawn to avoid rules against racial gerrymandering or other legal requirements. In addition, to defend a redistricting plan by claiming to preserve communities of interest, a defendant government must demonstrate that it considered communities of interest before adoption and not as a post-hoc justification.[2]

As an example, in 1996, Texas argued that COIs were used to develop a congressional map. It argued that the district's "urban character, and its shared media sources and transportation line," justified the map. The map was eventually rejected because Texas provided no contemporary COI data, but it did have a large database on race. [3]

Other jurisdictions were successful developing similar COI criterion. In 1973, special masters hired by a California court relied on urban, agricultural, and industrial data, "similar living standards;" "similar work opportunities;" and "use of the same transportation system."[4] While the California special masters did not recognize shared media outlets, the Supreme Court recognized media markets as a valid consideration in *Bush v. Vera*.

COIs are not always different from racial communities and redistricting authorities should be sure to provide evidence supporting their arguments. COIs that coincide with a racial or ethnic group may be required to demonstrate compliance with Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act.[5]

This memorandum outlines how federal and state courts have addressed COIs, whether to uphold maps that included COIs or where COI arguments failed to stand up to or prove their necessity. We have not come across any redistricting court decisions that rejected maps over the failure to create or maintain a COI.

1 See NCSL 2020 Redistricting Redbook, page 78
2 Ibid.
3 Bush v. Vera 517 U.S.952 (1996)
4 *Legislature v. Reinecke* (1973) 10 Cal.3d 396, 110 Cal.Rptr. 718, 516 P.2d 6
5 Ibid.

1. New York City Redistricting

New York City Charter, Chapter 2-A, § 52(1)(c) Communities of Interest Included as Criteria:

- (1) In the preparation of its plan for dividing the city into districts for the election of council members, the commission shall apply the criteria set forth in the following paragraphs to the maximum extent practicable. The following paragraphs shall be applied and given priority in the order in which they are listed.
    - (c) District lines shall keep intact neighborhoods and communities with established ties of common interest and association, whether historical, racial, economic, ethnic, religious, or other.

2. Supreme Court Cases

Miller v. Johnson, 515 US 900 (1995)

- "A State is free to recognize communities that have a particular racial makeup, provided its action is directed toward some common thread of relevant interests." (pg. 920)
- Link to case: https://supreme.justia.com/cases/federal/us/515/900/case.pdf

Bush v. Vera, 517 US 952 (1996)

- "...there was no evidence that 'the Legislature had these particular communities of interest in mind when drawing the boundaries of District 30'"
- "To the extent that the presence of obvious communities of interest among members of a district explicitly or implicitly guided the shape of District 30, it amounts to an entirely legitimate nonracial consideration (pg. 1026 (dissent))
- Link to case: https://supreme.justia.com/cases/federal/us/517/952/case.pdf

League of United Latin Am. Citizens v. Perry, 548 US 399 (2006)

- "The Latinos in the Rio Grande Valley and those in Central Texas, it found, are 'disparate communities of interest,' with 'differences in socio-economic status, education, employment, health, and other characteristics.'" Pg. 432
- "The recognition of nonracial communities of interest reflects the principle that a State may not 'assume from a group of voters' race that they "think alike, share the same political interests, and will prefer the same candidates at the polls."'" (Miller at pg. 920) – pg. 433
- "Legitimate yet differing communities of interest should not be disregarded in the interest of race. The practical consequence of drawing a district to cover two distant, disparate communities is that one or both groups will be unable to achieve their political goals." – pg. 434
- Link to case: https://supreme.justia.com/cases/federal/us/548/05-204/index.pdf

Lawyer v. Dep't of Justice, 521 US 567 (1997)

- Citizens of Senate District 21 in the Tampa Bay (FL) area filed suit claiming that District 21 violated the Equal Protection Clause.
- District Court found that the residents of District 21 "regard themselves as a community" (pg. 581)
    - District is comprised of "predominantly urban, low-income population...whose white and black members alike share a similarly depressed economic condition...and interests that reflect it." (pg. 581)
- Link to case: https://supreme.justia.com/cases/federal/us/521/567/case.pdf

3. New York State Cases

References to "communities of interest" are taken from the decisions from the publication date. The New York State Constitution added language to include consideration of "communities of interest" in a constitutional amendment adopted in 2014.

Favors v. Cuomo, 2012 US Dist LEXIS 36849 [EDNY Mar. 12, 2012, No. 11-CV-5632 (DLI)(RR)(GEL)]

- The New York State Constitution is silent on the issue of communities of interest (pg. 42)
- "A community of interest exists 'where residents share substantial cultural, economic, political, and social ties.'" Diaz v. Silver, 978 F.Supp. at 123. (pg. 43)
- "Nothing in the law precludes the coexistence of distinct communities of interest" (pg. 43)
- Communities of interest don't need to be based on race/ethnicity/national origin as some courts have recognized communities of interest based on socioeconomic factors (Lawyer v. Dept of Justice) (pg. 44)
- Link to case: https://www.govinfo.gov/content/pkg/USCOURTS-nyed-1_11-cv-05632/pdf/USCOURTS-nyed-1_11-cv-05632-3.pdf

Diaz v. Silver, 978 F.Supp. 96 (EDNY (1997))

- Latino and African American voters and residents of New York State's 12th Congressional District claimed the district violated their constitutional rights under the 14th and 15th Amendments.
- Special master defined communities of interest as "distinctive units which share common concerns with respect to one or more identifiable features such as geography, demography, ethnicity, culture, socio-economic status or trade." (pg. 105)
- "Courts will find the existence of a community of interest where residents share substantial, cultural, economic, political, and social ties" (pg. 123)
    - Defendants claimed that all residents of the 12th Community District vote for the same candidate for mayor, comptroller, and public advocate, but Court stated by using this standard every district in the City would be a community of interest. (pg. 123)
    - Asian American Legal Defense and Education Fund (AALDEF) argued 12th CD was a community of interest of Asian-American voters because they shared the same "cultural background, economic conditions, service organizations, and media market" (pg. 123)

        - Specifically, communities of Sunset Park and Chinatown "regularly work together, attend the same health clinics, and shop in the same stores" and "vote similarly...originate from the same area and speak the same dialect" (pg. 123)

    - LatinoJustice PRLDEF state that Latinos do not share a community of interest because they have very different cultures and traditions, but most importantly the groups have different political concerns (pg. 124)

        - "Puerto Ricans may have very different concerns and interest than Hispanics from Central or South American countries. There may be disputes and inter-ethnic conflicts between these groups. This would suggest that community of interest principles should lead to the formation, if possible, of a Puerto Rican district distinct from a district dominated by Dominicans, Colombians, and other Central and South Americans" – quote from Professor Arrington, expert who special master relied on (pg. 124)

- Court decides there is no evidence to demonstrate that all Latinos within the 12th CD share common agendas and concerns, unless race itself creates a community of interest (pg. 125)
- Link to case: https://law.justia.com/cases/federal/district-courts/FSupp/978/96/2136046/

2022 New York State Special Master Report (from *Harkenrider et al v. Hochul et al*):[6]

- Special Master was appointed to redraw the Congressional and State Senate Districts. He released a report along with the maps to discuss his reasoning. In that report he states that communities of interest are "notoriously difficult to precisely define" (pg. 15)
- Satisfying New York's congressional one person one vote requirement can force some irregularity in a district perimeter and may limit the potential for fully incorporating particular neighborhoods or communities of interest into a single district. (pgs. 7-8)
- If jurisdictional boundaries are treated as "non-constraining" and allow maps to "wander", it becomes easy for mapmakers to claim they are preserving communities of interest as a mask for what is actually partisan or incumbency preservation gerrymandering (pg. 14)
- Thinking of communities of interest only in racial or linguistic terms is another reason to maintain county and municipal boundaries in the special master's eyes (pg. 14)
- Units such as cities and counties are "cognizable communities" and can be viewed as communities of interest because residents of such units have interests in common (pg. 15)
- Combining COI may be necessary because COI are often smaller than a single Congressional district or State Senate district (pg. 15)
- "Changes which seem desirable from the standpoint of one COI may have fewer desirable consequences for other COI." (pg. 18)

6 NYS Supreme Court, Steuben County, Index No. E2022-0116CV (May 20, 2022), ECF Doc. 670

4. Other Relevant State/District Court Decisions

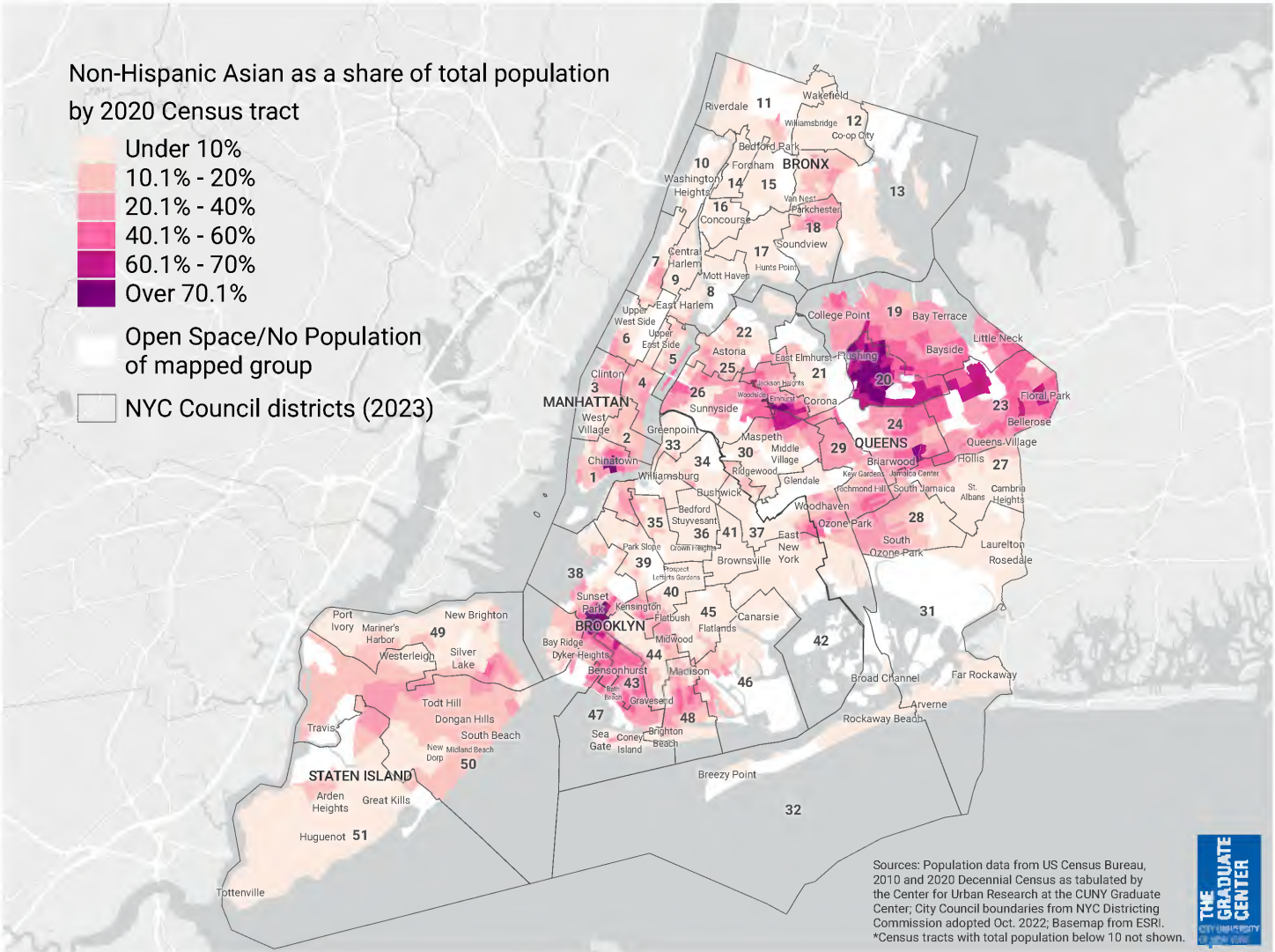
Valle v. Secretary for the Dept. of Corr., 459 F.3d 1206 (11th Cir. 2006)

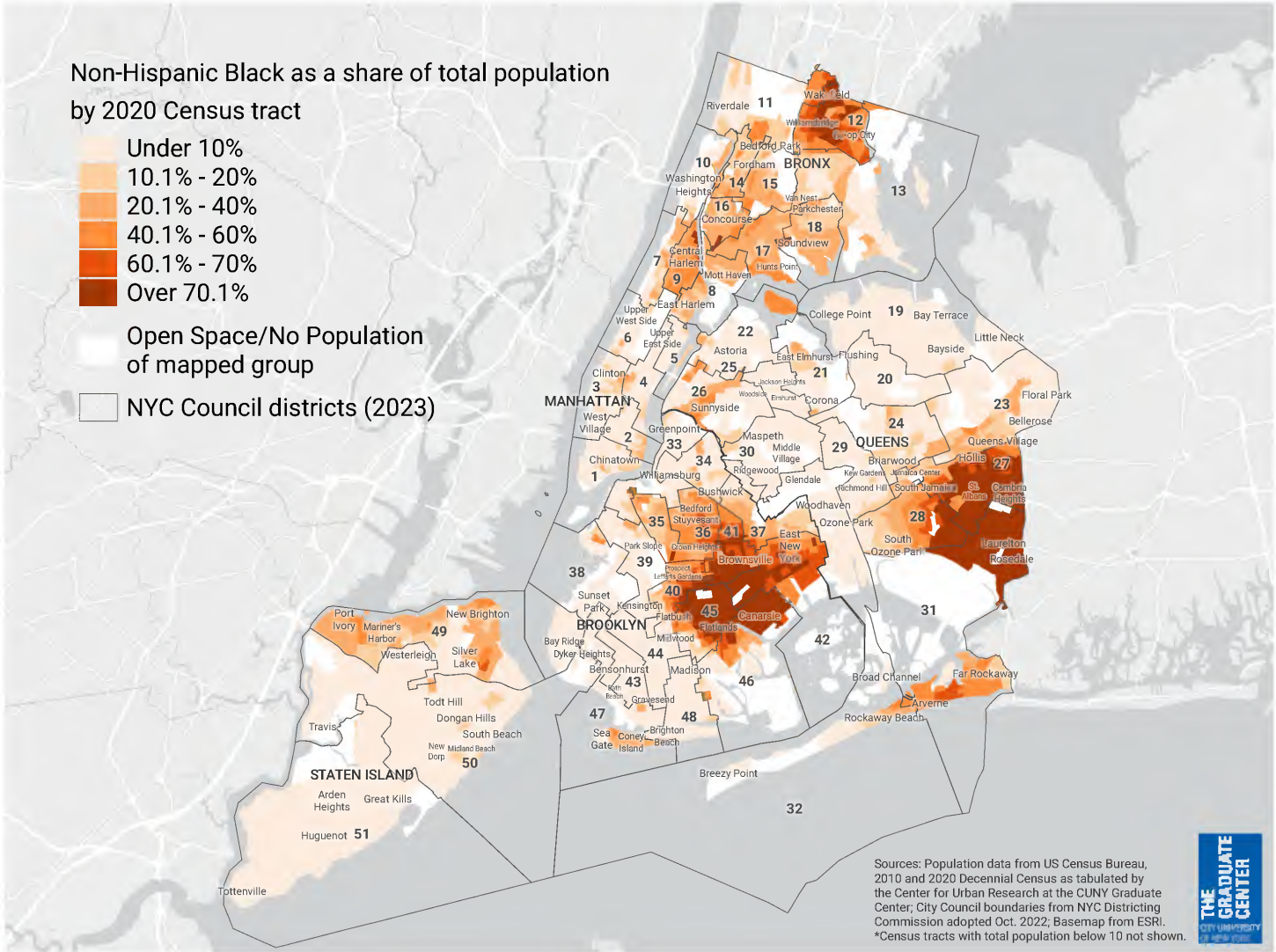
- Plaintiff claimed the jury who indicted were selected in a way that grossly underrepresented Latinos, which violates the Equal Protection Clause
    - State courts concluded plaintiff failed to prove "Latins were an identifiable minority" (pg. 1215)
    - *Castaneda v. Partida* (1977) requires a defendant "to show that a group is a cognizable class by demonstrating the group is 'singled out for different treatment under the laws, as written or as applied." (pg. 1215)
- Case not necessarily related to communities of interest but offers a different lens where groups who share similarities can be treated as one or separately
- Link to case: https://caselaw.findlaw.com/us-11th-circuit/1256685.html

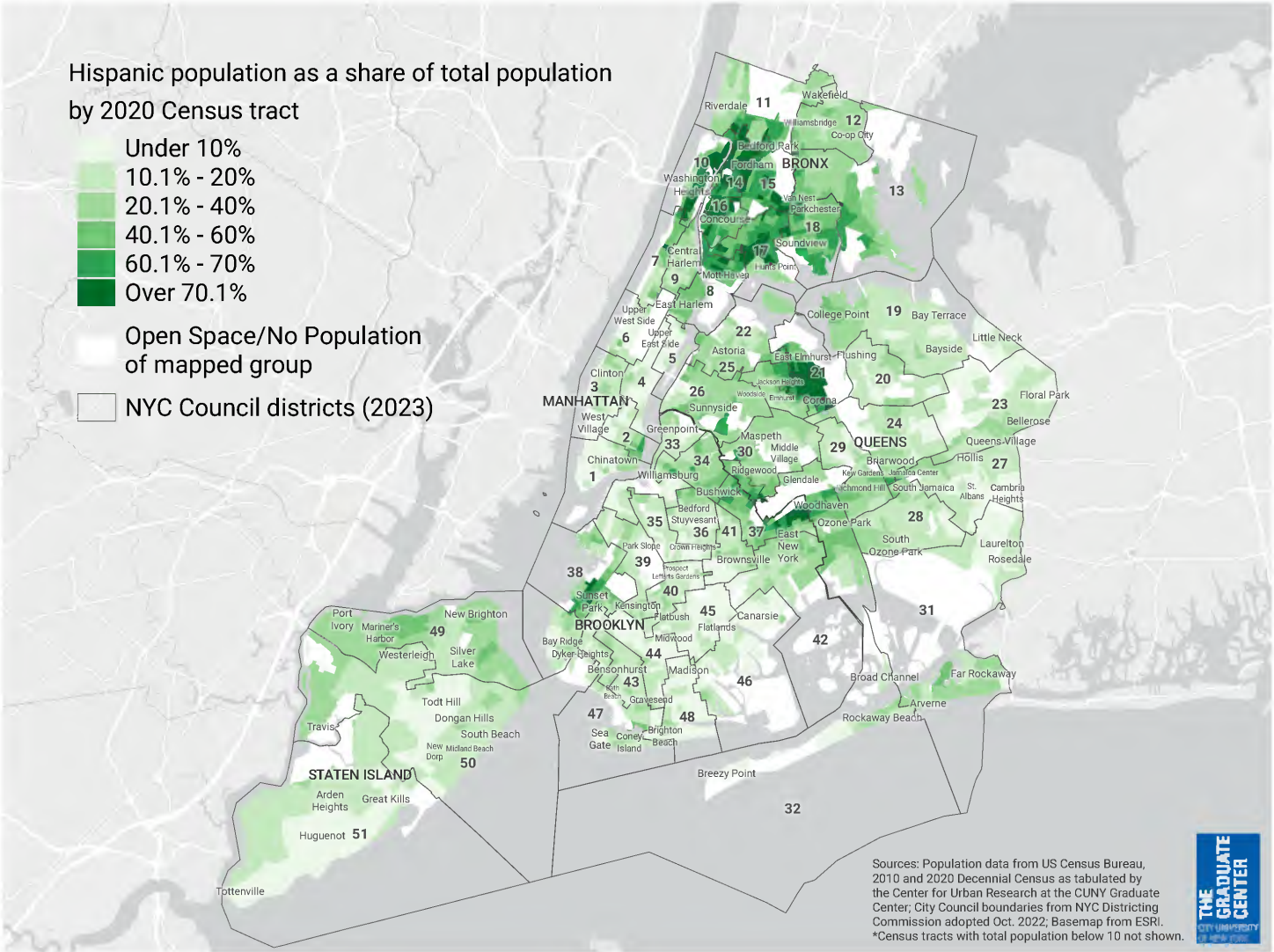
Huot v. City of Lowell, 280 F.Supp.3d 228 (D. Mass 2017)

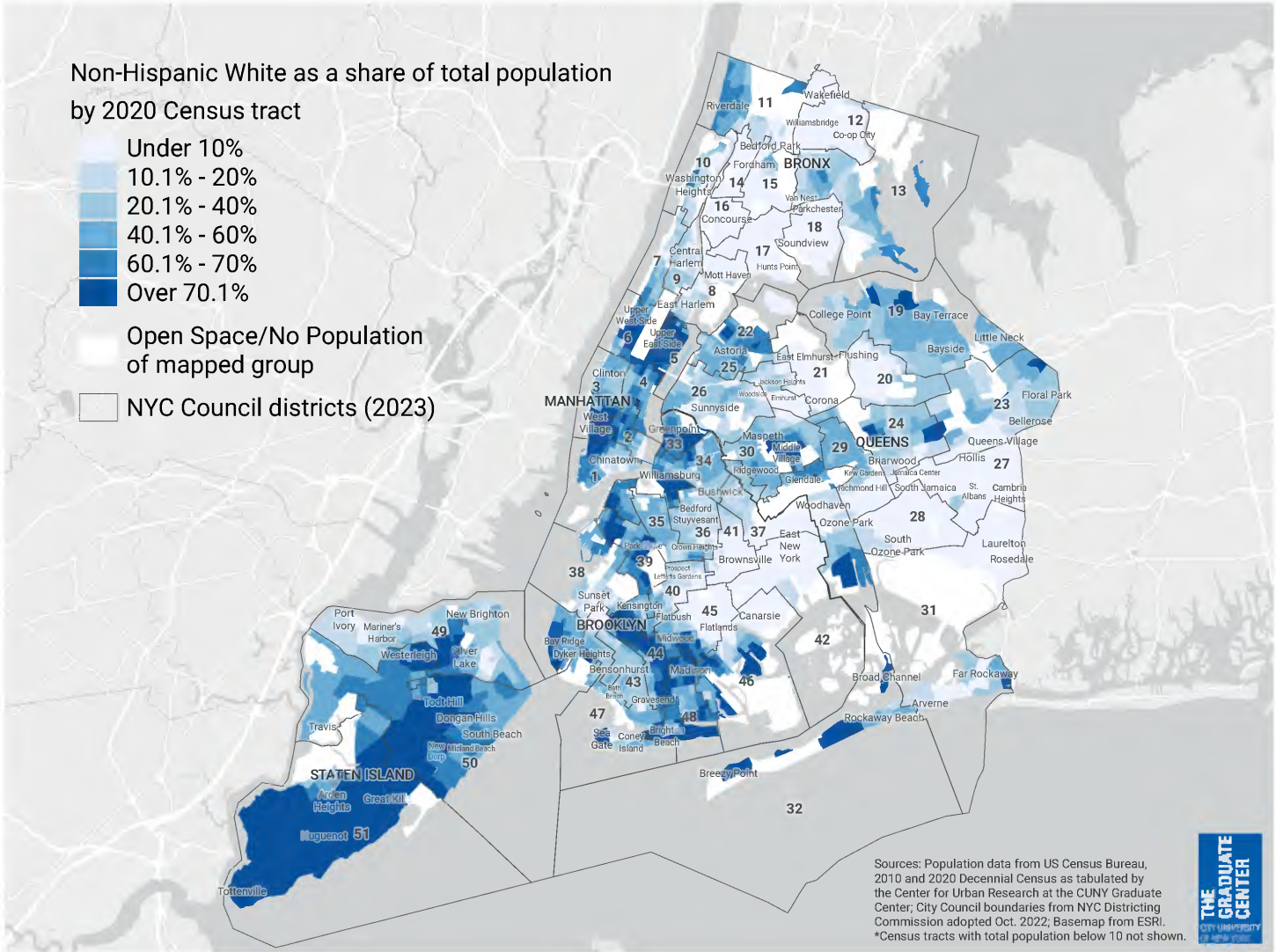
- Circumstances allegedly demonstrate that "Asian-American and Hispanic/Latino voters together have less opportunity than other members of the electorate to participate in the political process and to elect candidates of their choice..." (pg. 231)
    - The City's Hispanic/Latino and Asian-American residents together are "allegedly sufficiently numerous and geographically compact to form a majority of the total population, voting age population, and citizen voting age population in at least one district of a reasonable and properly apportioned district-based election system." (pg. 231)
- Discussion is based on whether minority coalitions are allowed under Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act
    - Minority coalition is a district where the combined racial minorities make up a majority of the population and where the voters from these different racial groups vote together to elect the minority-preferred candidate (definition from Redistricting: Key Terms pdf from All About Redistricting website)
        - Can be compared somewhat to a community of interest? Minority coalitions are encroaching more on the majority-minority districts discussion but in order to create MMDs communities of interest may be taken into account and created/combined

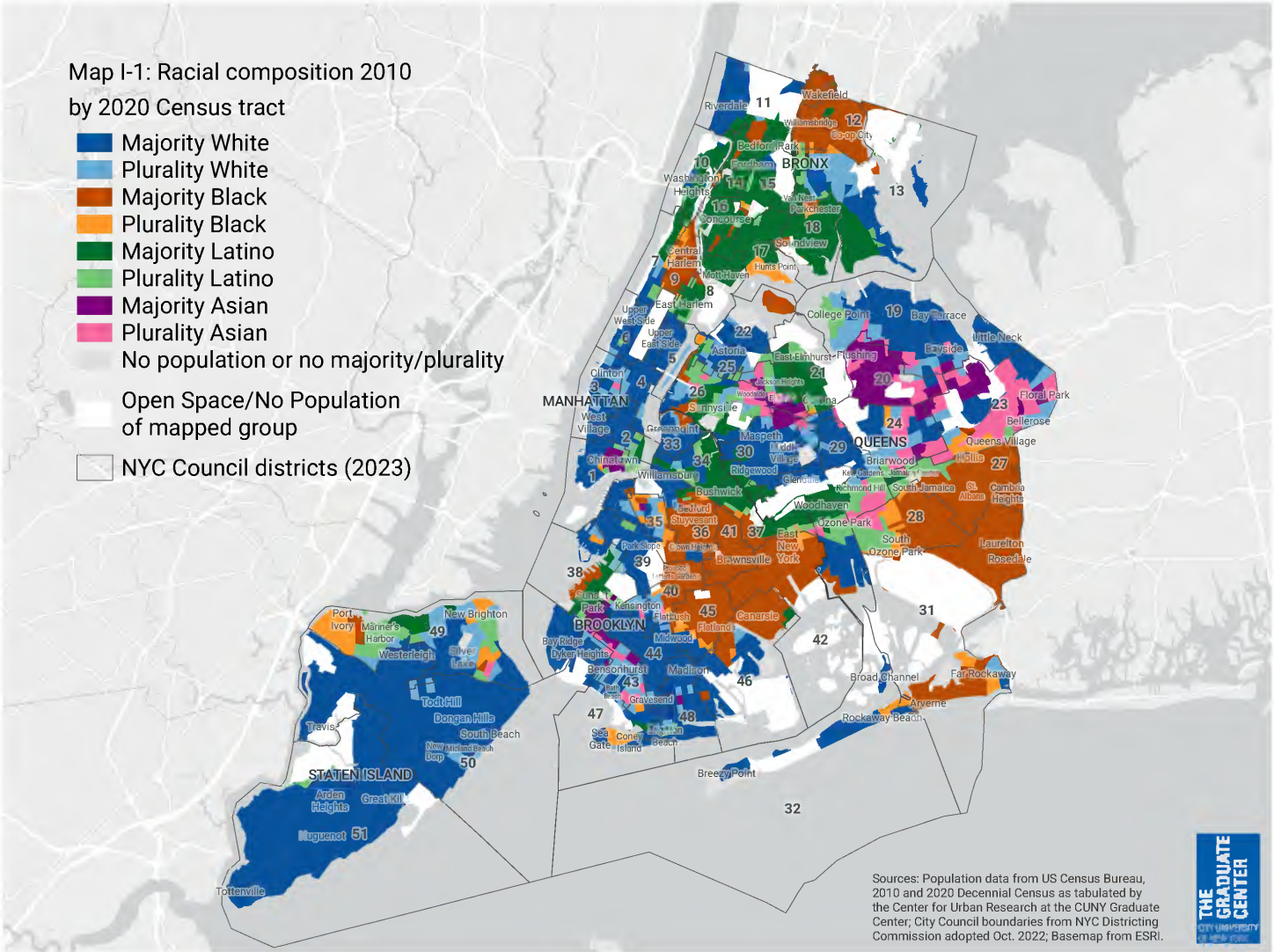
Appendix II: Maps

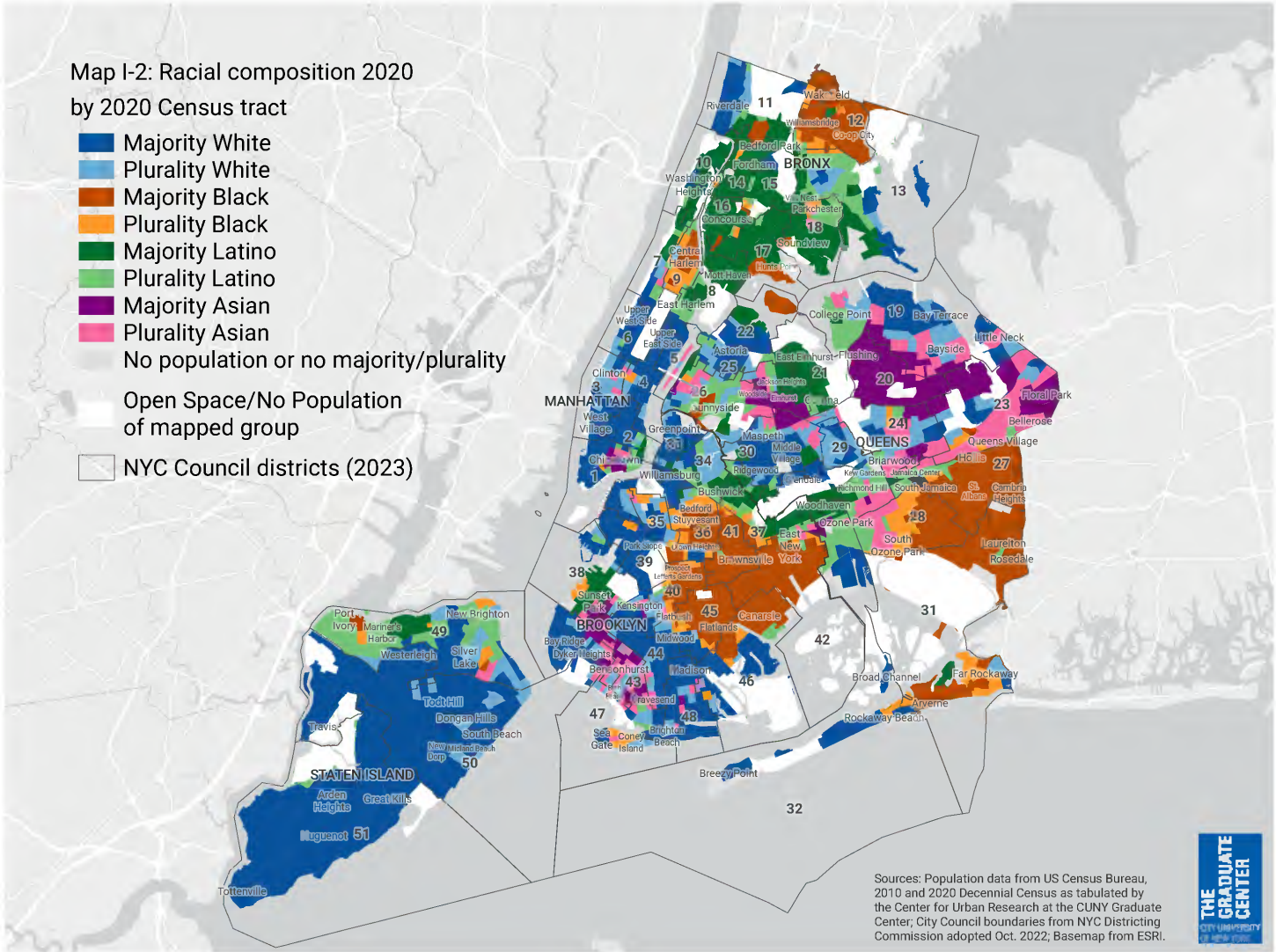

Non-Hispanic Asian as a share of total population
by 2020 Census tract
Under 10%
10.1% - 20%
20.1% - 40%
40.1% - 60%
60.1% - 70%
Over 70.1%
Open Space/No Population of mapped group
NYC Council districts (2023)
MANHATTAN
BRONX
BROOKLYN
QUEENS
STATEN ISLAND
Riverdale
Wakefield
Williamsbridge
Co-op City
Bedford Park
Fordham
Washington Heights
Van Nest
Parkchester
Concourse
Soundview
Central Harlem
Hunts Point
Mott Haven
East Harlem
Upper West Side
Upper East Side
College Point
Bay Terrace
Little Neck
Bayside
Astoria
East Elmhurst
Flushing
Clinton
Jackson Heights
Woodside
Elmhurst
Corona
Floral Park
Bellerose
Sunnyside
West Village
Greenpoint
Maspeth
Middle Village
Queens Village
Chinatown
Williamsburg
Ridgewood
Glendale
Briarwood
Kew Gardens
Jamaica Center
Hollis
Richmond Hill
South Jamaica
St. Albans
Cambria Heights
Bushwick
Woodhaven
Bedford Stuyvesant
Ozone Park
Park Slope
Crown Heights
East New York
Brownsville
South Ozone Park
Laurelton
Rosedale
Prospect Lefferts Gardens
Sunset Park
Kensington
Flatbush
Canarsie
Flatlands
Midwood
Bay Ridge
Dyker Heights
Bensonhurst
Madison
Broad Channel
Far Rockaway
Bath Beach
Gravesend
Arverne
Rockaway Beach
Sea Gate
Coney Island
Brighton Beach
Breezy Point
Port Ivory
Mariner's Harbor
New Brighton
Westerleigh
Silver Lake
Todt Hill
Dongan Hills
Travis
South Beach
New Dorp
Midland Beach
Arden Heights
Great Kills
Huguenot
Tottenville
Sources: Population data from US Census Bureau, 2010 and 2020 Decennial Census as tabulated by the Center for Urban Research at the CUNY Graduate Center; City Council boundaries from NYC Districting Commission adopted Oct. 2022; Basemap from ESRI.
*Census tracts with total population below 10 not shown.
THE GRADUATE CENTER

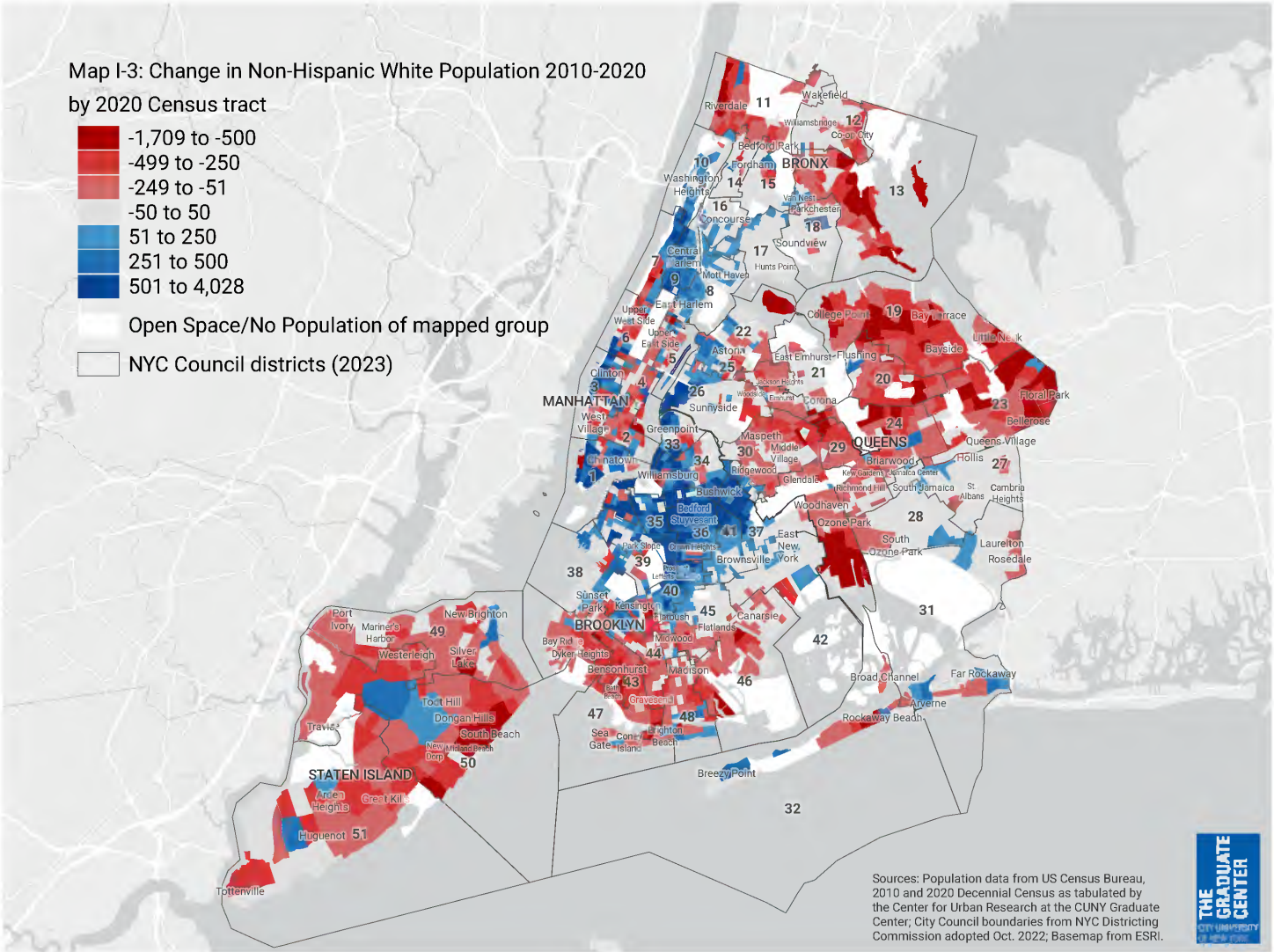

Non-Hispanic Black as a share of total population
by 2020 Census tract
Under 10%
10.1% - 20%
20.1% - 40%
40.1% - 60%
60.1% - 70%
Over 70.1%
Open Space/No Population of mapped group
NYC Council districts (2023)
MANHATTAN
BRONX
BROOKLYN
QUEENS
STATEN ISLAND
Riverdale
Wakefield
Bedford Park
Fordham
Washington Heights
Concourse
Van Nest
Parkchester
Soundview
Central Harlem
Hunts Point
Mott Haven
East Harlem
Upper West Side
Upper East Side
College Point
Bay Terrace
Little Neck
Bayside
Astoria
East Elmhurst
Flushing
Clinton
West Village
Greenpoint
Sunnyside
Jackson Heights
Woodside
Elmhurst
Corona
Floral Park
Bellerose
Queens Village
Maspeth
Middle Village
Ridgewood
Glendale
Briarwood
Kew Gardens
Jamaica Center
Hollis
Richmond Hill
South Jamaica
St. Albans
Cambria Heights
Chinatown
Williamsburg
Bushwick
Bedford Stuyvesant
Woodhaven
Ozone Park
South Ozone Park
Laurelton
Rosedale
Park Slope
Crown Heights
East New York
Brownsville
Prospect Lefferts Gardens
Sunset Park
Kensington
Flatbush
Canarsie
Flatlands
Bay Ridge
Dyker Heights
Midwood
Bensonhurst
Madison
Broad Channel
Far Rockaway
Arverne
Rockaway Beach
Gravesend
Sea Gate
Coney Island
Brighton Beach
Breezy Point
Port Ivory
Mariner's Harbor
New Brighton
Westerleigh
Silver Lake
Todt Hill
Dongan Hills
South Beach
New Dorp
Midland Beach
Travis
Arden Heights
Great Kills
Huguenot
Tottenville
Sources: Population data from US Census Bureau, 2010 and 2020 Decennial Census as tabulated by the Center for Urban Research at the CUNY Graduate Center; City Council boundaries from NYC Districting Commission adopted Oct. 2022; Basemap from ESRI.
*Census tracts with total population below 10 not shown.
THE GRADUATE CENTER

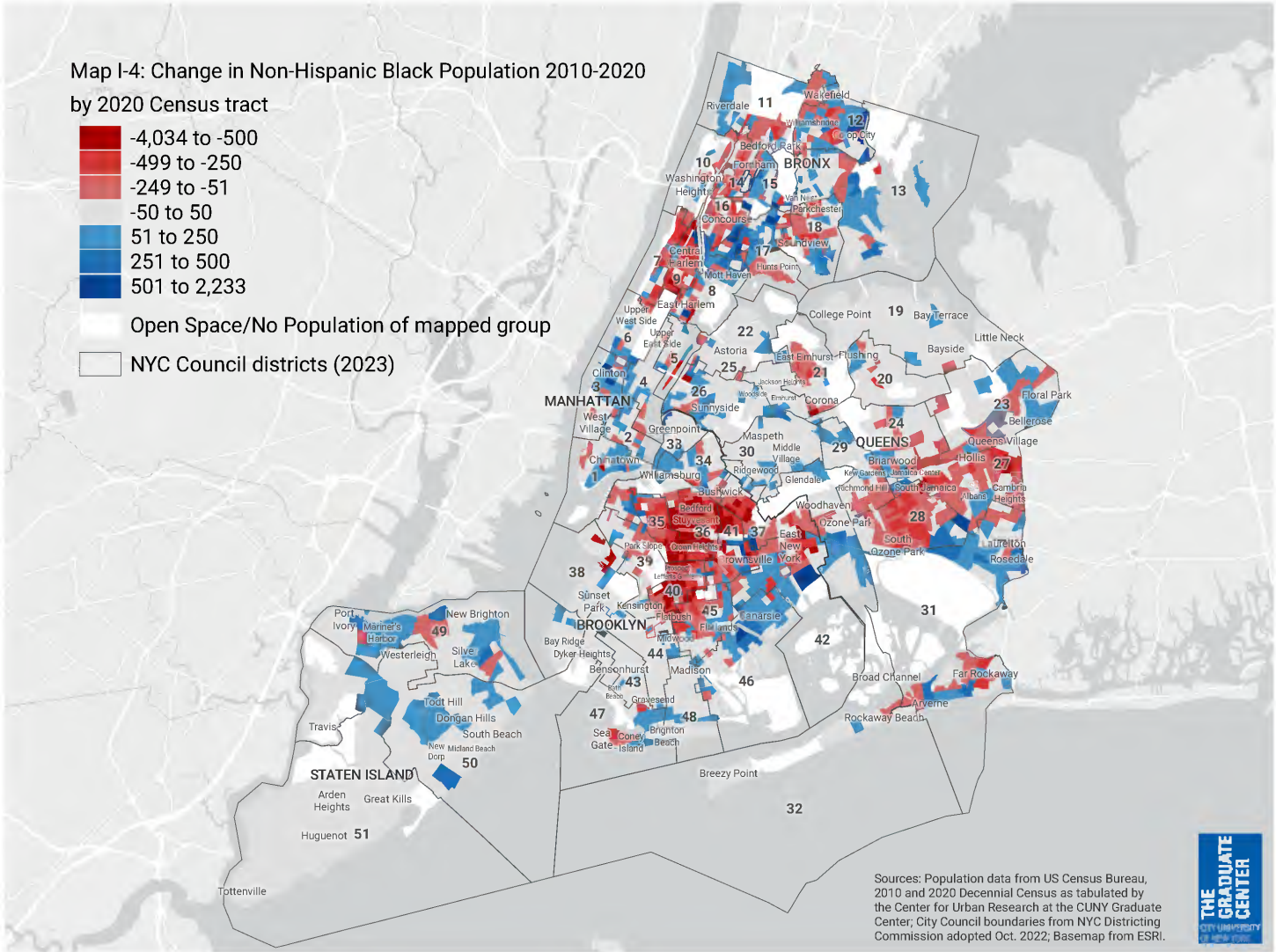

Hispanic population as a share of total population by 2020 Census tract
Under 10%
10.1% - 20%
20.1% - 40%
40.1% - 60%
60.1% - 70%
Over 70.1%
Open Space/No Population of mapped group
NYC Council districts (2023)
MANHATTAN
BRONX
BROOKLYN
QUEENS
STATEN ISLAND
Riverdale
Wakefield
Williamsbridge
Co-op City
Bedford Park
Fordham
Washington Heights
Van Nest
Parkchester
Concourse
Soundview
Hunts Point
Central Harlem
Mott Haven
East Harlem
Upper West Side
Upper East Side
College Point
Bay Terrace
Little Neck
Bayside
Astoria
East Elmhurst
Flushing
Jackson Heights
Woodside
Elmhurst
Corona
Floral Park
Bellerose
Queens Village
Hollis
Clinton
West Village
Greenpoint
Sunnyside
Maspeth
Middle Village
Ridgewood
Glendale
Brarwood
Kew Gardens
Jamaica Center
Richmond Hill
South Jamaica
St. Albans
Cambria Heights
Chinatown
Williamsburg
Bushwick
Bedford Stuyvesant
Woodhaven
Ozone Park
South Ozone Park
Laurelton
Rosedale
Park Slope
Crown Heights
Brownsville
East New York
Prospect Lefferts Gardens
Sunset Park
Kensington
Flatbush
Canarsie
Flatlands
Midwood
Bay Ridge
Dyker Heights
Bensonhurst
Madison
Broad Channel
Far Rockaway
Arverne
Rockaway Beach
Graveseend
Sea Gate
Coney Island
Brighton Beach
Breezy Point
Port Ivory
Mariner's Harbor
New Brighton
Westerleigh
Silver Lake
Todt Hill
Dongan Hills
South Beach
New Dorp
Midland Beach
Travis
Arden Heights
Great Kills
Huguenot
Tottenville
Sources: Population data from US Census Bureau, 2010 and 2020 Decennial Census as tabulated by the Center for Urban Research at the CUNY Graduate Center; City Council boundaries from NYC Districting Commission adopted Oct. 2022; Basemap from ESRI.
*Census tracts with total population below 10 not shown.
THE GRADUATE CENTER

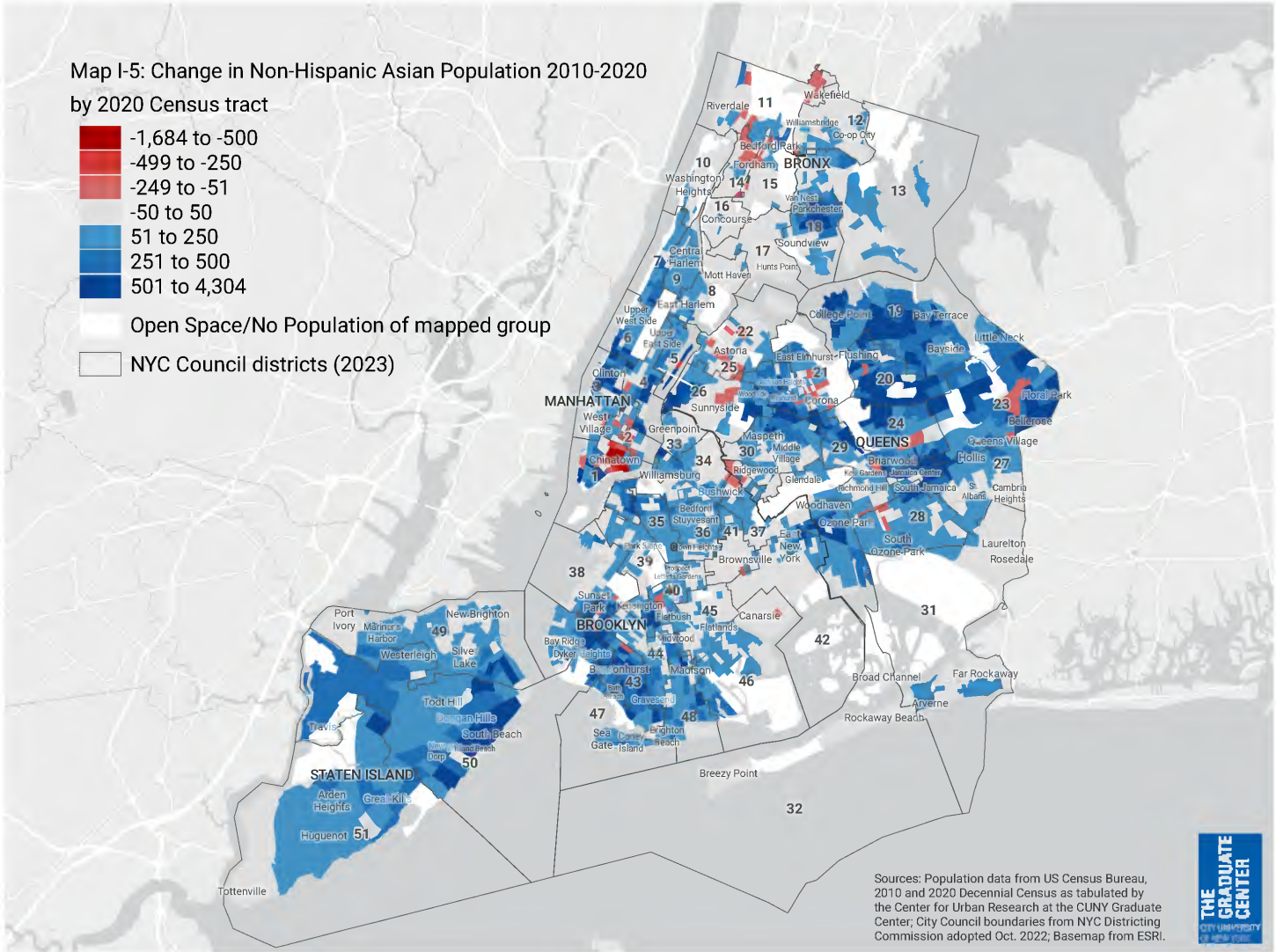

Non-Hispanic White as a share of total population by 2020 Census tract
Under 10%
10.1% - 20%
20.1% - 40%
40.1% - 60%
60.1% - 70%
Over 70.1%
Open Space/No Population of mapped group
NYC Council districts (2023)
BRONX
MANHATTAN
QUEENS
BROOKLYN
STATEN ISLAND
Riverdale
Wakefield
Williamsbridge
Co-op City
Bedford Park
Fordham
Washington Heights
Van Nest
Parkchester
Concourse
Soundview
Central Harlem
Hunts Point
Mott Haven
East Harlem
Upper West Side
Upper East Side
College Point
Bay Terrace
Little Neck
Bayside
Astoria
East Elmhurst
Flushing
Clinton
Jackson Heights
Woodside
Elmhurst
Corona
Floral Park
Sunnyside
West Village
Greenpoint
Maspeth
Middle Village
Bellerose
Queens Village
Chinatown
Ridgewood
Briarwood
Hollis
Williamsburg
Glendale
Kew Gardens
Jamaica Center
Richmond Hill
South Jamaica
St. Albans
Cambria Heights
Bushwick
Woodhaven
Bedford Stuyvesant
Ozone Park
Park Slope
Crown Heights
East New York
South Ozone Park
Laurelton
Rosedale
Brownsville
Prospect Lefferts Gardens
Sunset Park
Kensington
Flatbush
Canarsie
Flatlands
Port Ivory
Mariner's Harbor
New Brighton
Westerleigh
Silver Lake
Bay Ridge
Dyker Heights
Midwood
Bensonhurst
Madison
Broad Channel
Far Rockaway
Bath Beach
Gravesend
Arverne
Todt Hill
Dongan Hills
Travis
South Beach
Sea Gate
Coney Island
Brighton Beach
Rockaway Beach
New Dorp
Midland Beach
Breezy Point
Arden Heights
Great Kills
Huguenot
Tottenville
Sources: Population data from US Census Bureau, 2010 and 2020 Decennial Census as tabulated by the Center for Urban Research at the CUNY Graduate Center; City Council boundaries from NYC Districting Commission adopted Oct. 2022; Basemap from ESRI.
*Census tracts with total population below 10 not shown.
THE GRADUATE CENTER
CITY UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK


Map I-1: Racial composition 2010
by 2020 Census tract
Majority White
Plurality White
Majority Black
Plurality Black
Majority Latino
Plurality Latino
Majority Asian
Plurality Asian
No population or no majority/plurality
Open Space/No Population of mapped group
NYC Council districts (2023)
MANHATTAN
BRONX
BROOKLYN
QUEENS
STATEN ISLAND
Sources: Population data from US Census Bureau, 2010 and 2020 Decennial Census as tabulated by the Center for Urban Research at the CUNY Graduate Center; City Council boundaries from NYC Districting Commission adopted Oct. 2022; Basemap from ESRI.
THE GRADUATE CENTER


Map I-2: Racial composition 2020
by 2020 Census tract
Majority White
Plurality White
Majority Black
Plurality Black
Majority Latino
Plurality Latino
Majority Asian
Plurality Asian
No population or no majority/plurality
Open Space/No Population of mapped group
NYC Council districts (2023)
MANHATTAN
BRONX
QUEENS
BROOKLYN
STATEN ISLAND
Sources: Population data from US Census Bureau, 2010 and 2020 Decennial Census as tabulated by the Center for Urban Research at the CUNY Graduate Center; City Council boundaries from NYC Districting Commission adopted Oct. 2022; Basemap from ESRI.
THE GRADUATE CENTER


Map I-3: Change in Non-Hispanic White Population 2010-2020
by 2020 Census tract
-1,709 to -500
-499 to -250
-249 to -51
-50 to 50
51 to 250
251 to 500
501 to 4,028
Open Space/No Population of mapped group
NYC Council districts (2023)
MANHATTAN
BRONX
QUEENS
BROOKLYN
STATEN ISLAND
Sources: Population data from US Census Bureau, 2010 and 2020 Decennial Census as tabulated by the Center for Urban Research at the CUNY Graduate Center; City Council boundaries from NYC Districting Commission adopted Oct. 2022; Basemap from ESRI.
THE GRADUATE CENTER


Map I-4: Change in Non-Hispanic Black Population 2010-2020
by 2020 Census tract
-4,034 to -500
-499 to -250
-249 to -51
-50 to 50
51 to 250
251 to 500
501 to 2,233
Open Space/No Population of mapped group
NYC Council districts (2023)
MANHATTAN
BRONX
QUEENS
BROOKLYN
STATEN ISLAND
Riverdale
Wakefield
Co-op City
Bedford Park
Fordham
Washington Heights
Inwood
Van Nest
Parkchester
Concourse
Soundview
Central Harlem
Hunts Point
Mott Haven
East Harlem
Upper West Side
Upper East Side
College Point
Bay Terrace
Little Neck
Bayside
Astoria
East Elmhurst
Flushing
Clinton
Jackson Heights
Woodside
Elmhurst
Corona
Floral Park
Bellerose
Sunnyside
West Village
Greenpoint
Maspeth
Middle Village
Queens Village
Chinatown
Williamsburg
Ridgewood
Glendale
Briarwood
Kew Gardens
Jamaica Center
Hollis
Richmond Hill
South Jamaica
Cambria Heights
Albans
Bushwick
Woodhaven
Ozone Park
Bedford Stuyvesant
Park Slope
Crown Heights
East New York
South Ozone Park
Utrelton
Rosedale
Sunset Park
Kensington
Flatbush
Canarsie
Fill lands
Midwood
Bay Ridge
Dyker Heights
Bensonhurst
Madison
Broad Channel
Far Rockaway
Gravesend
Aryerne
Rockaway Beach
Port Ivory
Mariner's Harbor
New Brighton
Westerleigh
Silver Lake
Todt Hill
Dongan Hills
Travis
South Beach
New Dorp
Midland Beach
Sea Gate
Coney Island
Brighton Beach
Arden Heights
Great Kills
Huguenot
Tottenville
Breezy Point
Sources: Population data from US Census Bureau, 2010 and 2020 Decennial Census as tabulated by the Center for Urban Research at the CUNY Graduate Center; City Council boundaries from NYC Districting Commission adopted Oct. 2022; Basemap from ESRI.
THE GRADUATE CENTER



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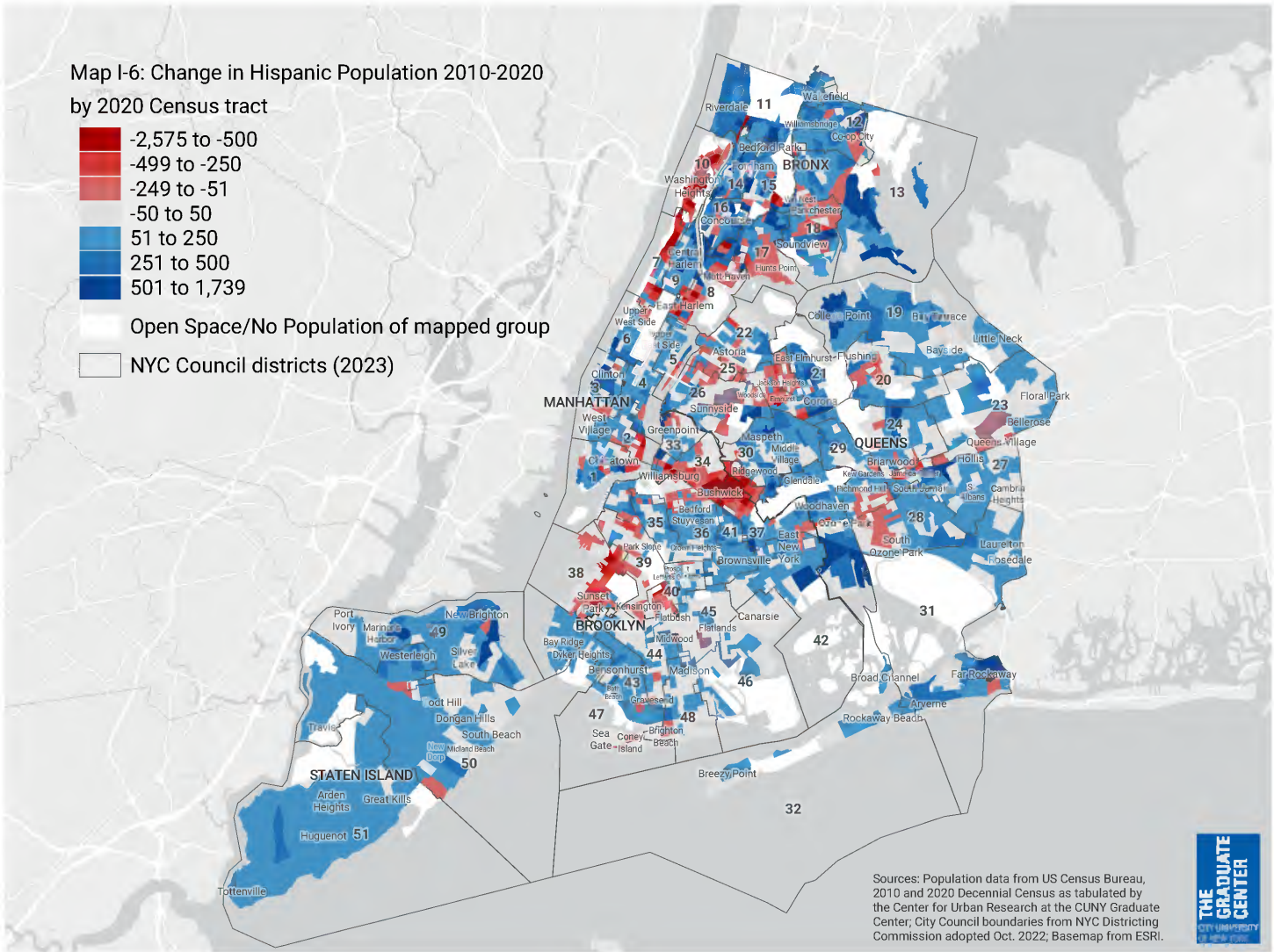
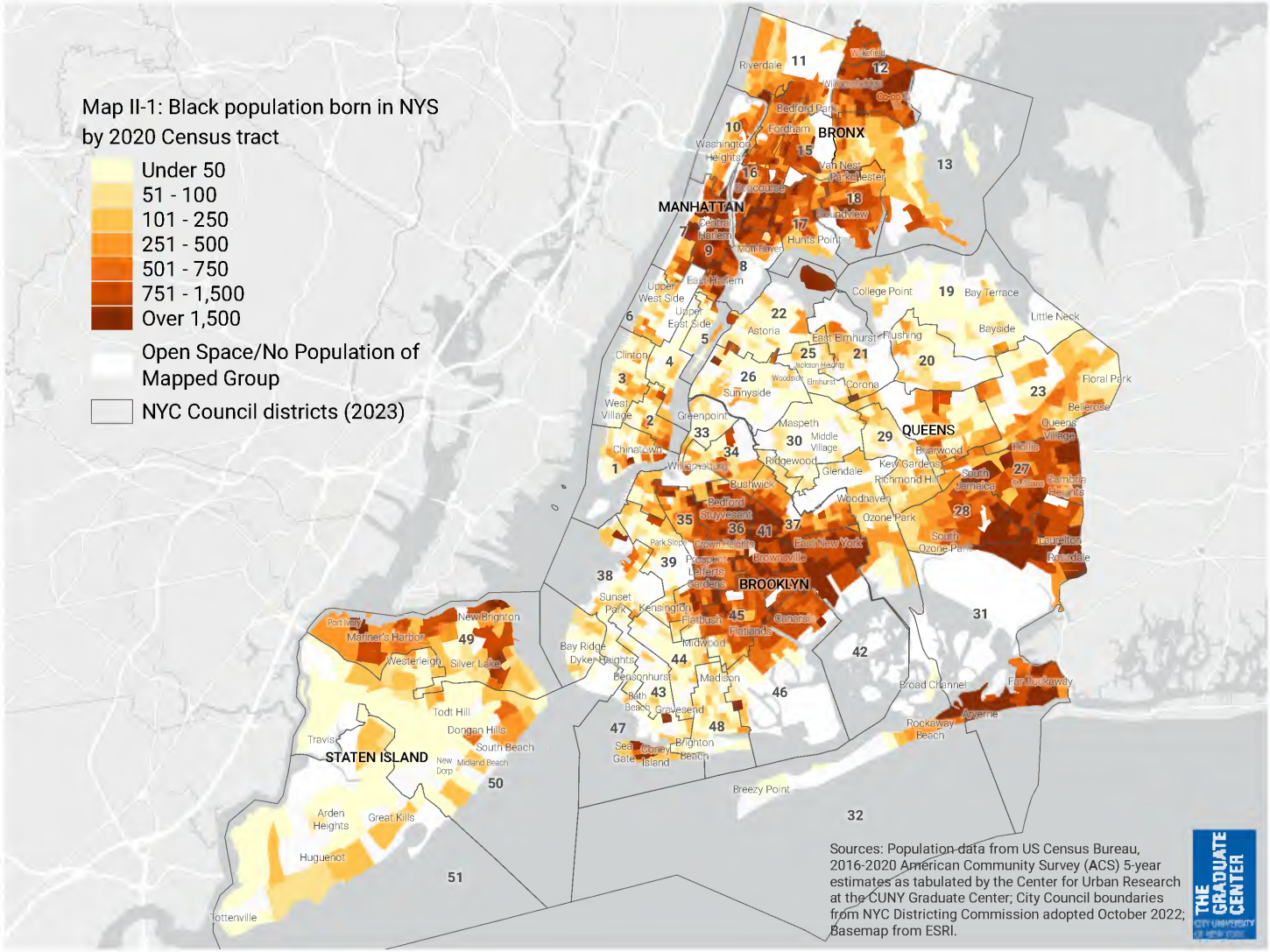
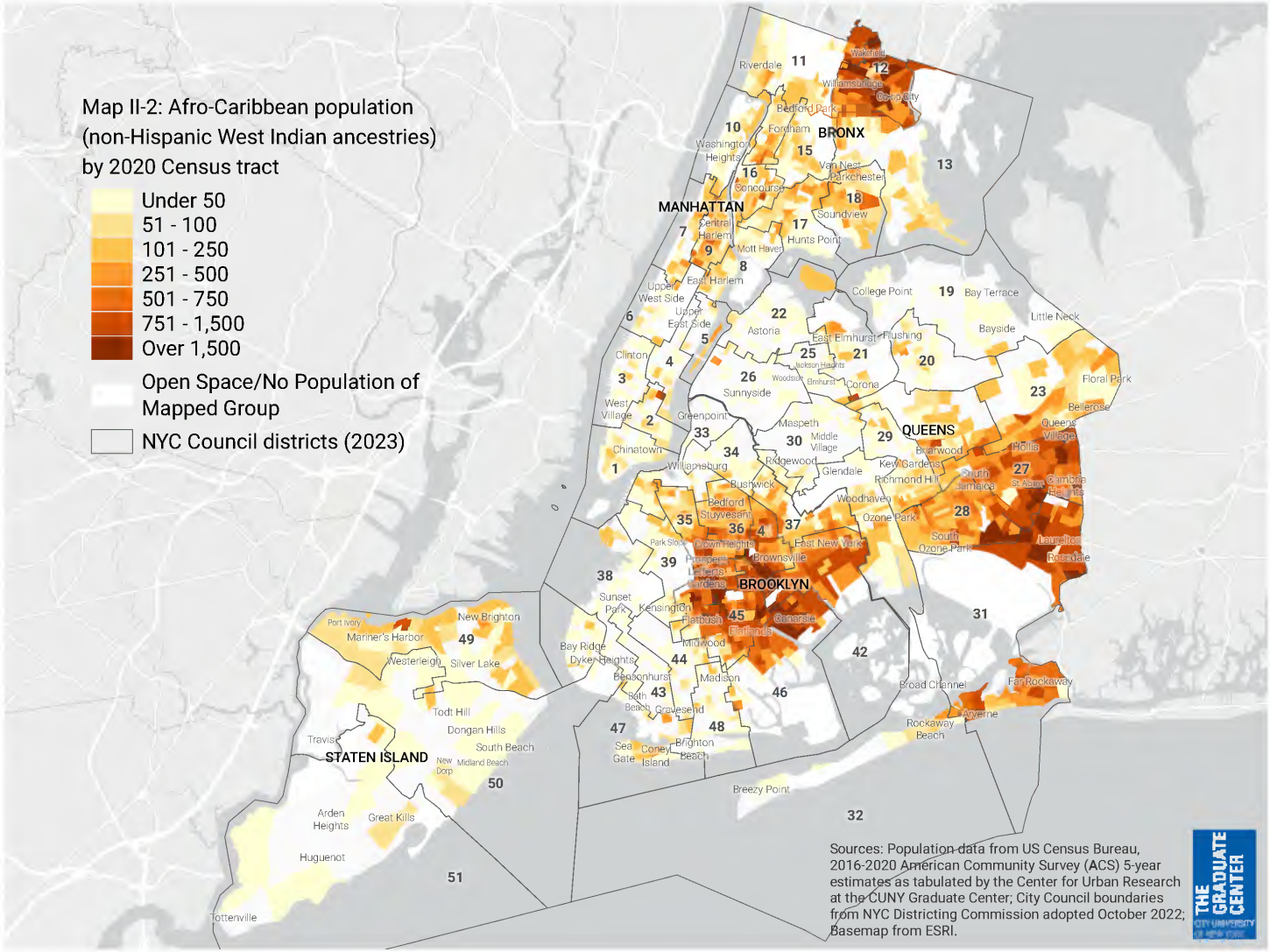
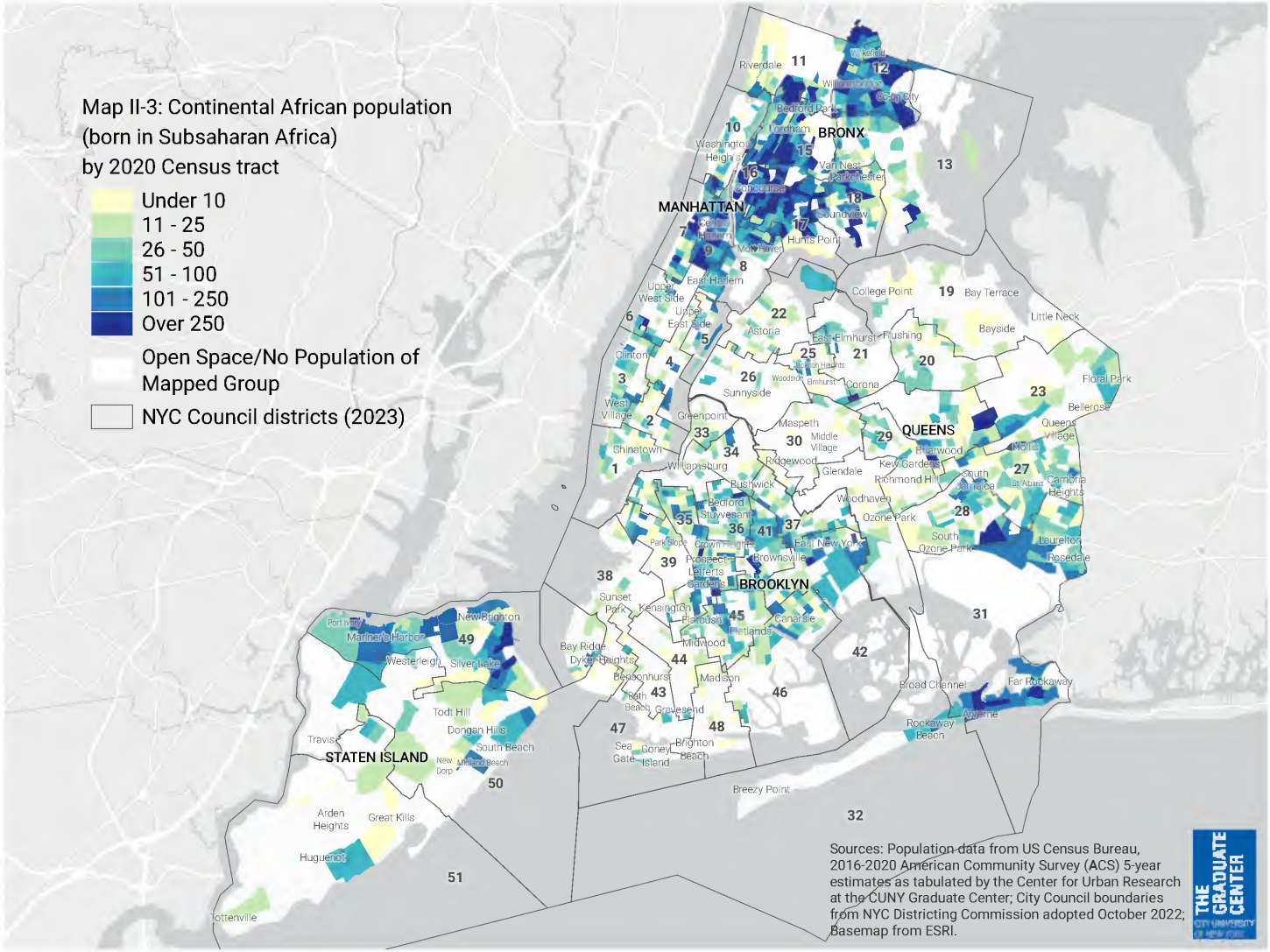
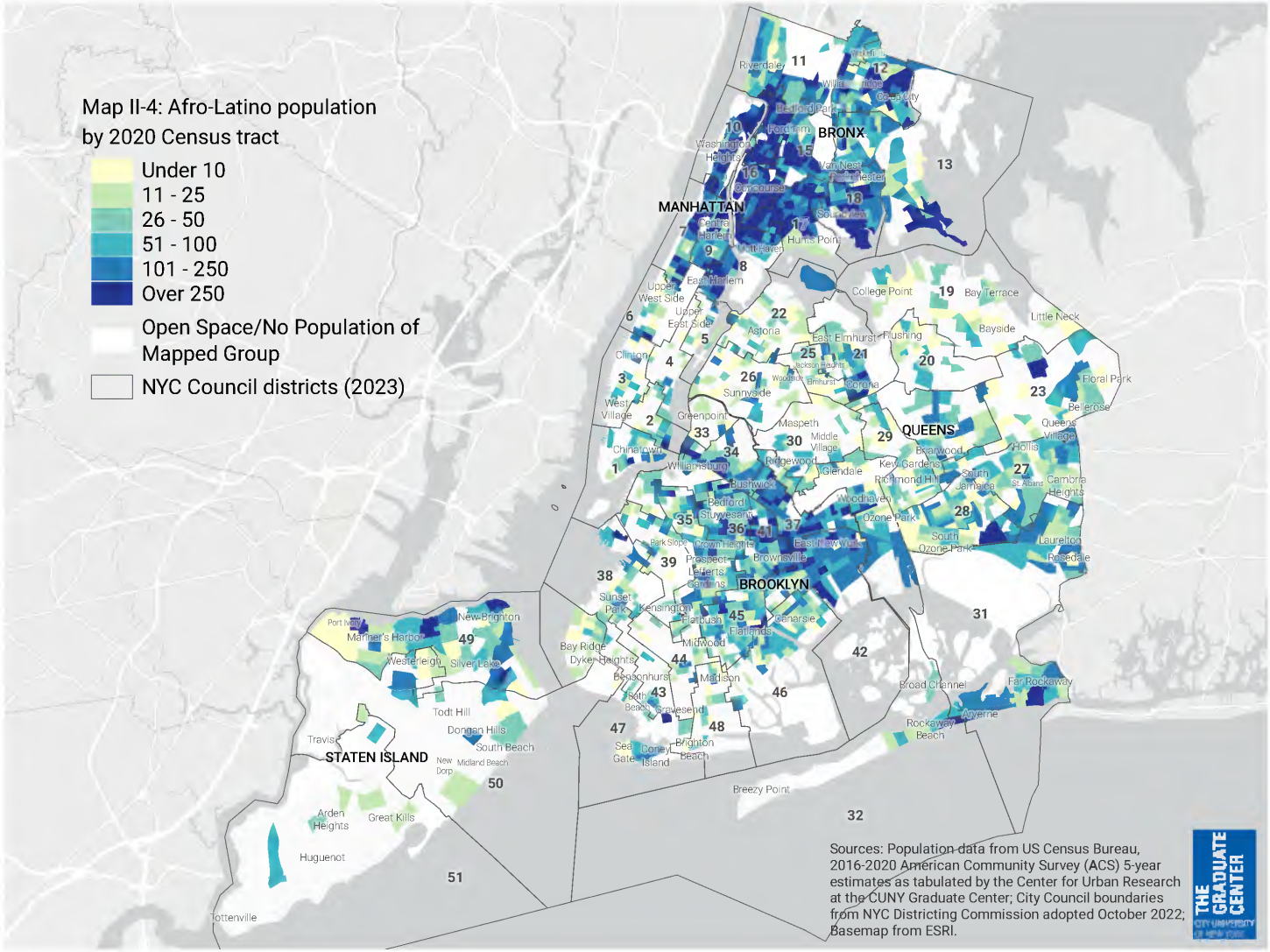
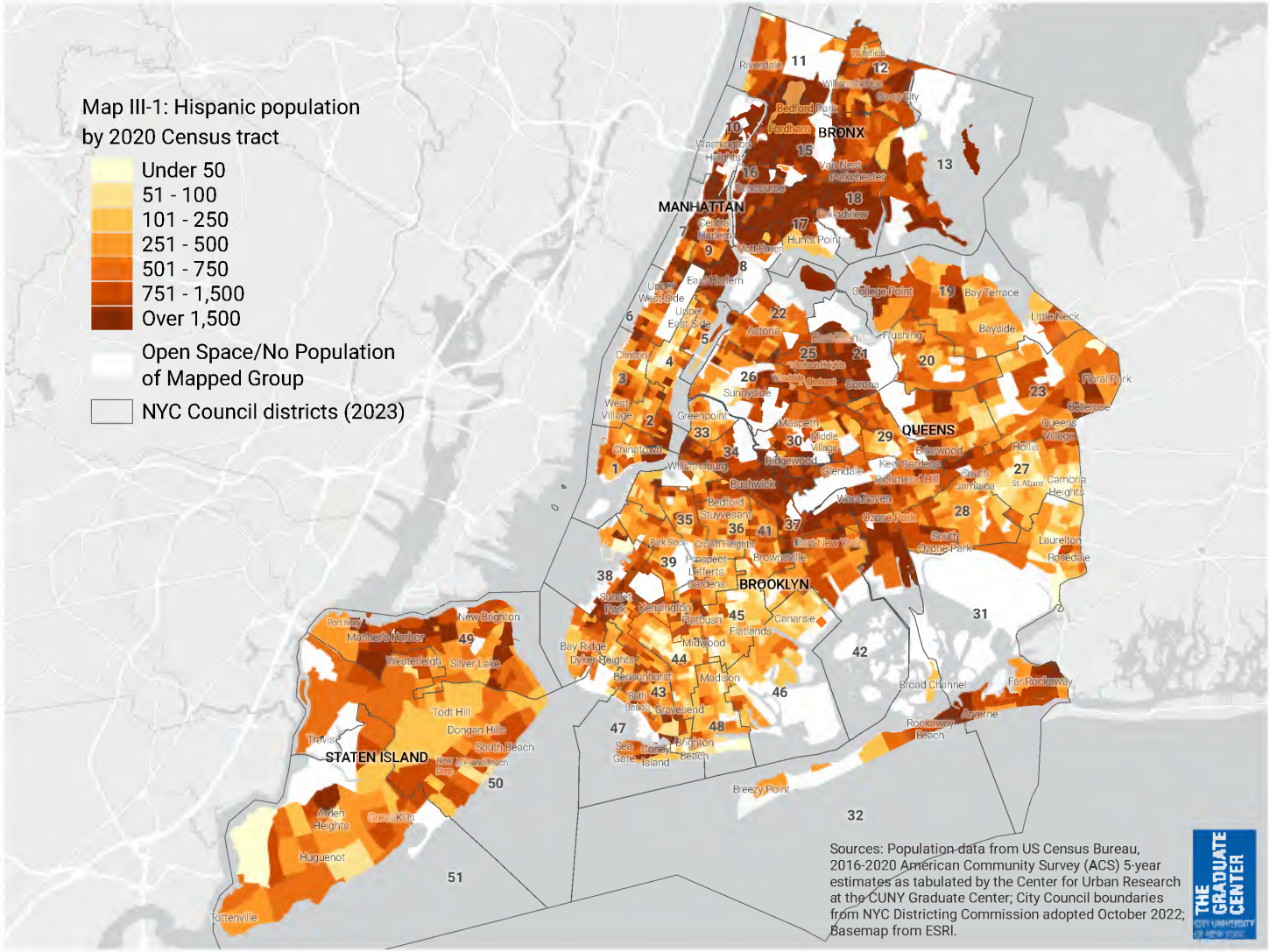

Map I-6: Change in Hispanic Population 2010-2020
by 2020 Census tract
-2,575 to -500
-499 to -250
-249 to -51
-50 to 50
51 to 250
251 to 500
501 to 1,739
Open Space/No Population of mapped group
NYC Council districts (2023)
MANHATTAN
BRONX
QUEENS
BROOKLYN
STATEN ISLAND
Sources: Population data from US Census Bureau, 2010 and 2020 Decennial Census as tabulated by the Center for Urban Research at the CUNY Graduate Center; City Council boundaries from NYC Districting Commission adopted Oct. 2022; Basemap from ESRI.
THE GRADUATE CENTER


Map II-1: Black population born in NYS by 2020 Census tract
Under 50
51 - 100
101 - 250
251 - 500
501 - 750
751 - 1,500
Over 1,500
Open Space/No Population of Mapped Group
NYC Council districts (2023)
BRONX
MANHATTAN
QUEENS
BROOKLYN
STATEN ISLAND
Sources: Population data from US Census Bureau, 2016-2020 American Community Survey (ACS) 5-year estimates as tabulated by the Center for Urban Research at the CUNY Graduate Center; City Council boundaries from NYC Districting Commission adopted October 2022; Basemap from ESRI.
THE GRADUATE CENTER


Map II-2: Afro-Caribbean population (non-Hispanic West Indian ancestries) by 2020 Census tract
Under 50
51 - 100
101 - 250
251 - 500
501 - 750
751 - 1,500
Over 1,500
Open Space/No Population of Mapped Group
NYC Council districts (2023)
BRONX
MANHATTAN
QUEENS
BROOKLYN
STATEN ISLAND
Riverdale
Fordham
Washington Heights
Van Nest
Parkchester
Concourse
Soundview
Hunts Point
Central Harlem
Mott Haven
East Harlem
Upper West Side
Upper East Side
College Point
Bay Terrace
Little Neck
Bayside
Astoria
East Elmhurst
Flushing
Jackson Heights
Woodside
Elmhurst
Corona
Floral Park
Bellerose
Queens Village
Hollis
Clinton
West Village
Greenpoint
Sunnyside
Maspeth
Middle Village
Briarwood
Kew Gardens
Richmond Hill
South Jamaica
St Albans
Jamaica Hts
Chinatown
Williamsburg
Ridgewood
Glendale
Bushwick
Woodhaven
Ozone Park
South Ozone Park
Laurelton
Rosedale
Bedford Stuyvesant
Park Slope
Crown Heights
East New York
Brownsville
Sunset Park
Kensington
Flatbush
Canarsie
Flatlands
Midwood
Bay Ridge
Dyker Heights
Bensonhurst
Madison
Broad Channel
Far Rockaway
Rockaway Beach
Arverne
Bath Beach
Gravesend
Sea Gate
Coney Island
Brighton Beach
Breezy Point
Port Ivory
Mariner's Harbor
New Brighton
Westerleigh
Silver Lake
Todt Hill
Dongan Hills
South Beach
Travis
New Dorp
Midland Beach
Arden Heights
Great Kills
Huguenot
Tottenville
Sources: Population data from US Census Bureau, 2016-2020 American Community Survey (ACS) 5-year estimates as tabulated by the Center for Urban Research at the CUNY Graduate Center; City Council boundaries from NYC Districting Commission adopted October 2022; Basemap from ESRI.
THE GRADUATE CENTER


Map II-3: Continental African population
(born in Subsaharan Africa)
by 2020 Census tract
Under 10
11 - 25
26 - 50
51 - 100
101 - 250
Over 250
Open Space/No Population of Mapped Group
NYC Council districts (2023)
BRONX
MANHATTAN
QUEENS
BROOKLYN
STATEN ISLAND
Riverdale
Bedford Park
Fordham
Washington Heights
Van Nest
Parkchester
Soundview
Hunts Point
Mott Haven
East Harlem
Upper West Side
Upper East Side
Clinton
Astoria
College Point
Bay Terrace
Bayside
Little Neck
East Elmhurst
Flushing
Floral Park
Bellerose
Queens Village
Hollis
Jackson Heights
Woodside
Elmhurst
Corona
Sunnyside
West Village
Greenpoint
Maspeth
Middle Village
Ridgewood
Glendale
Kew Gardens
Richmond Hill
South Ozone Park
Laurelton
Rosedale
Chinatown
Williamsburg
Bushwick
Bedford Stuyvesant
Woodhaven
Ozone Park
Park Slope
Crown Heights
East New York
Brownsville
Prospect Lefferts Gardens
Sunset Park
Kensington
Flatbush
Canarsie
Flatlands
Midwood
Bay Ridge
Dyker Heights
Bensonhurst
Madison
Bath Beach
Gravesend
Broad Channel
Far Rockaway
Arverne
Rockaway Beach
Sea Gate
Coney Island
Brighton Beach
Breezy Point
Port Ivory
Mariners Harbor
New Brighton
Westerleigh
Silver Lake
Todt Hill
Dongan Hills
South Beach
New Dorp
Travis
Arden Heights
Great Kills
Huguenot
Tottenville
Sources: Population data from US Census Bureau, 2016-2020 American Community Survey (ACS) 5-year estimates as tabulated by the Center for Urban Research at the CUNY Graduate Center; City Council boundaries from NYC Districting Commission adopted October 2022; Basemap from ESRI.
THE GRADUATE CENTER


Map II-4: Afro-Latino population by 2020 Census tract
Under 10
11 - 25
26 - 50
51 - 100
101 - 250
Over 250
Open Space/No Population of Mapped Group
NYC Council districts (2023)
BRONX
MANHATTAN
QUEENS
BROOKLYN
STATEN ISLAND
Riverdale
Bedford Park
Fordham
Washington Heights
Concourse
Van Nest
Pelham Bay
Hunts Point
Central Harlem
Mott Haven
East Harlem
Upper West Side
Upper East Side
Astoria
College Point
Bay Terrace
Little Neck
Bayside
East Elmhurst
Flushing
Jackson Heights
Woodside
Elmhurst
Corona
Floral Park
Bellerose
Queens Village
Hollis
Clinton
West Village
Greenpoint
Sunnyside
Maspeth
Middle Village
Briarwood
Kew Gardens
Richmond Hill
South Jamaica
St. Albans
Cambria Heights
Chinatown
Williamsburg
Ridgewood
Glendale
Bushwick
Woodhaven
Ozone Park
South Ozone Park
Laurelton
Rosedale
Bedford Stuyvesant
Park Slope
Crown Heights
East New York
Prospect Lefferts Gardens
Brownsville
Sunset Park
Kensington
Flatbush
Canarsie
Flatlands
Midwood
Bay Ridge
Dyker Heights
Bensonhurst
Madison
Bath Beach
Gravesend
Sea Gate
Coney Island
Brighton Beach
Broad Channel
Far Rockaway
Arverne
Rockaway Beach
Breezy Point
Port Ivory
Mariner's Harbor
New Brighton
Westerleigh
Silver Lake
Todt Hill
Dongan Hills
South Beach
Travis
New Dorp
Midland Beach
Arden Heights
Great Kills
Huguenot
Tottenville
Sources: Population data from US Census Bureau, 2016-2020 American Community Survey (ACS) 5-year estimates as tabulated by the Center for Urban Research at the CUNY Graduate Center; City Council boundaries from NYC Districting Commission adopted October 2022; Basemap from ESRI.
THE GRADUATE CENTER
CITY UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK


Map III-1: Hispanic population by 2020 Census tract
Under 50
51 - 100
101 - 250
251 - 500
501 - 750
751 - 1,500
Over 1,500
Open Space/No Population of Mapped Group
NYC Council districts (2023)
BRONX
MANHATTAN
QUEENS
BROOKLYN
STATEN ISLAND
Sources: Population data from US Census Bureau, 2016-2020 American Community Survey (ACS) 5-year estimates as tabulated by the Center for Urban Research at the CUNY Graduate Center; City Council boundaries from NYC Districting Commission adopted October 2022; Basemap from ESRI.
THE GRADUATE CENTER

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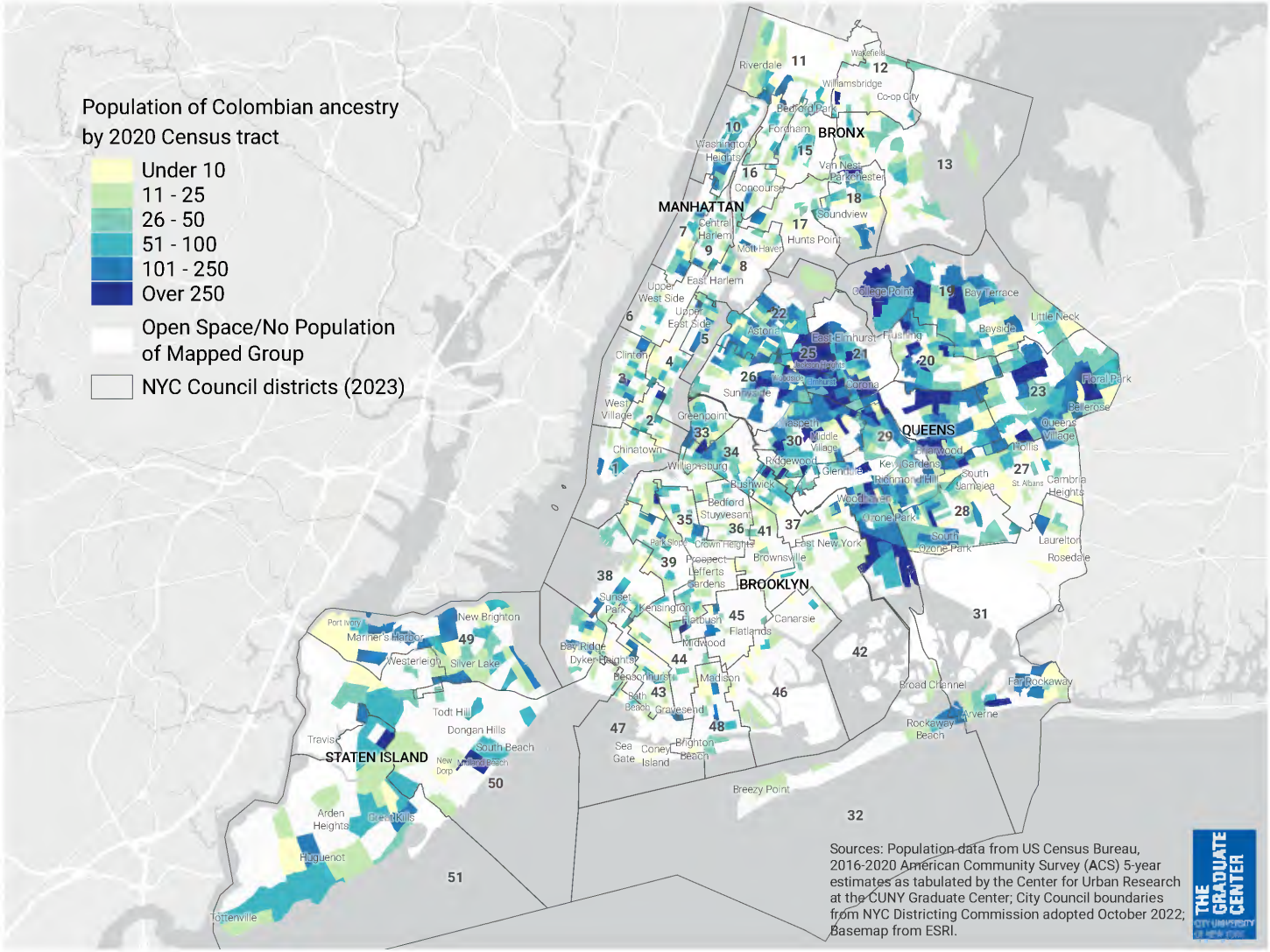
Population of Colombian ancestry by 2020 Census tract
Under 10
11 - 25
26 - 50
51 - 100
101 - 250
Over 250
Open Space/No Population of Mapped Group
NYC Council districts (2023)
BRONX
MANHATTAN
QUEENS
BROOKLYN
STATEN ISLAND
Riverdale
Wakefield
Williamsbridge
Co-op City
Bedford Park
Fordham
Washington Heights
Van Nest
Parkchester
Concourse
Soundview
Central Harlem
Hunts Point
Mott Haven
East Harlem
Upper West Side
Upper East Side
College Point
Bay Terrace
Little Neck
Bayside
Astoria
East Elmhurst
Flushing
Clinton
Jackson Heights
Corona
Floral Park
Bellerose
West Village
Greenpoint
Sunnyside
Queens Village
Chinatown
Middle Village
Hollis
Williamsburg
Ridgewood
Glendale
Kew Gardens
Richmond Hill
South Jamaica
St Albans
Cambria Heights
Bushwick
Woodhaven
Bedford Stuyvesant
Ozone Park
Park Slope
Crown Heights
East New York
South Ozone Park
Laurelton
Rosedale
Prospect Lefferts Gardens
Brownsville
Sunset Park
Kensington
Flatbush
Canarsie
Flatlands
Midwood
Bay Ridge
Dyker Heights
Bensonhurst
Madison
Broad Channel
Far Rockaway
Bath Beach
Gravesend
Rockaway Beach
Arverne
Sea Gate
Coney Island
Brighton Beach
Breezy Point
Port Ivory
Manner's Harbor
New Brighton
Westerleigh
Silver Lake
Todt Hill
Dongan Hills
Travis
South Beach
New Dorp
Midland Beach
Arden Heights
Great Kills
Huguenot
Tottenville
Sources: Population data from US Census Bureau, 2016-2020 American Community Survey (ACS) 5-year estimates as tabulated by the Center for Urban Research at the CUNY Graduate Center; City Council boundaries from NYC Districting Commission adopted October 2022; Basemap from ESRI.
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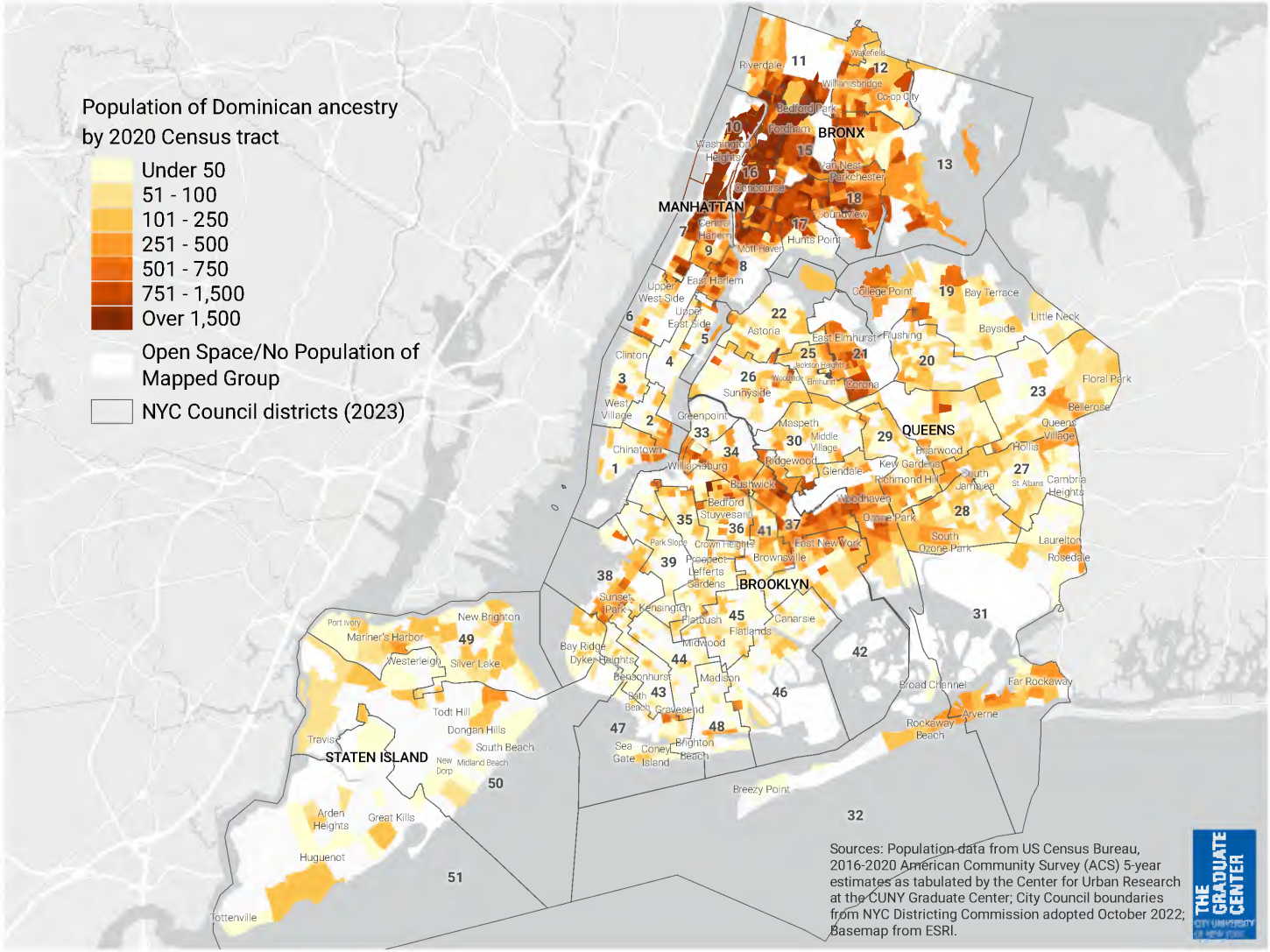
Population of Dominican ancestry by 2020 Census tract
Under 50
51 - 100
101 - 250
251 - 500
501 - 750
751 - 1,500
Over 1,500
Open Space/No Population of Mapped Group
NYC Council districts (2023)
BRONX
MANHATTAN
QUEENS
BROOKLYN
STATEN ISLAND
Riverdale
Wakefield
Williamsbridge
Co-op City
Bedford Park
Fordham
Washington Heights
Van Nest
Parkchester
Concourse
Soundview
Hunts Point
Mott Haven
Central Harlem
East Harlem
Upper West Side
Upper East Side
Astoria
College Point
Bay Terrace
Little Neck
Bayside
East Elmhurst
Flushing
Clinton
Woodside
Jackson Heights
Elmhurst
Corona
Floral Park
Sunnyside
West Village
Greenpoint
Maspeth
Middle Village
Bellerose
Queens Village
Chinatown
Williamsburg
Ridgewood
Glendale
Kew Gardens
Hollis
Richmond Hill
South Jamaica
St. Albans
Cambria Heights
Bushwick
Bedford Stuyvesant
Woodhaven
Ozone Park
Park Slope
Crown Heights
East New York
South Ozone Park
Laurelton
Rosedale
Prospect Lefferts Gardens
Brownsville
Sunset Park
Kensington
Flatbush
Canarsie
Flatlands
Midwood
Bay Ridge
Dyker Heights
Bensonhurst
Madison
Broad Channel
Far Rockaway
Bath Beach
Gravesend
Rockaway Beach
Arverne
Sea Gate
Coney Island
Brighton Beach
Breezy Point
Port Ivory
Mariner's Harbor
New Brighton
Westerleigh
Silver Lake
Todt Hill
Dongan Hills
South Beach
Travis
New Dorp
Midland Beach
Arden Heights
Great Kills
Huguenot
Tottenville
Sources: Population data from US Census Bureau, 2016-2020 American Community Survey (ACS) 5-year estimates as tabulated by the Center for Urban Research at the CUNY Graduate Center; City Council boundaries from NYC Districting Commission adopted October 2022; Basemap from ESRI.
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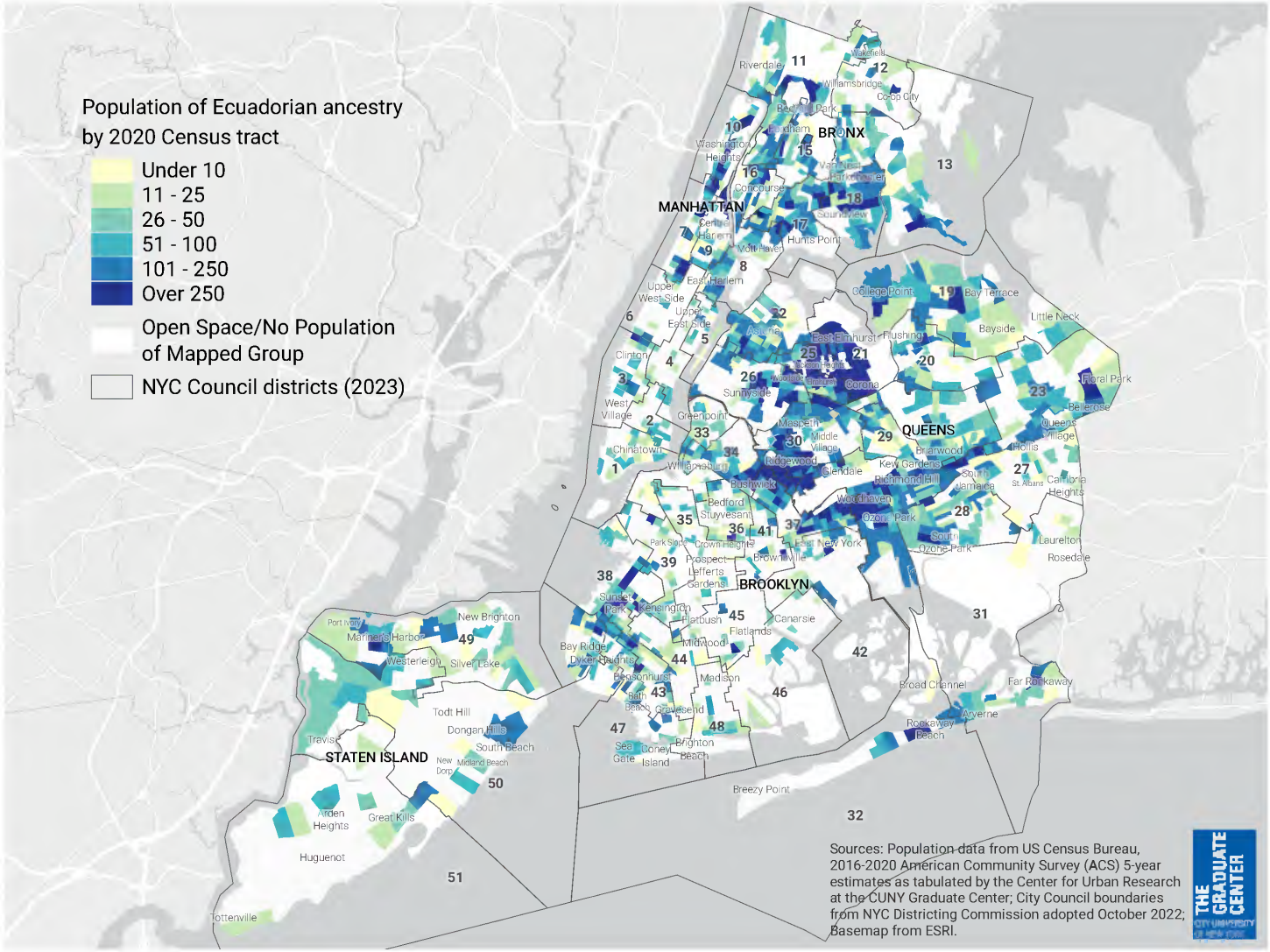
Population of Ecuadorian ancestry by 2020 Census tract
Under 10
11 - 25
26 - 50
51 - 100
101 - 250
Over 250
Open Space/No Population of Mapped Group
NYC Council districts (2023)
BRONX
MANHATTAN
QUEENS
BROOKLYN
STATEN ISLAND
Sources: Population data from US Census Bureau, 2016-2020 American Community Survey (ACS) 5-year estimates as tabulated by the Center for Urban Research at the CUNY Graduate Center; City Council boundaries from NYC Districting Commission adopted October 2022; Basemap from ESRI.
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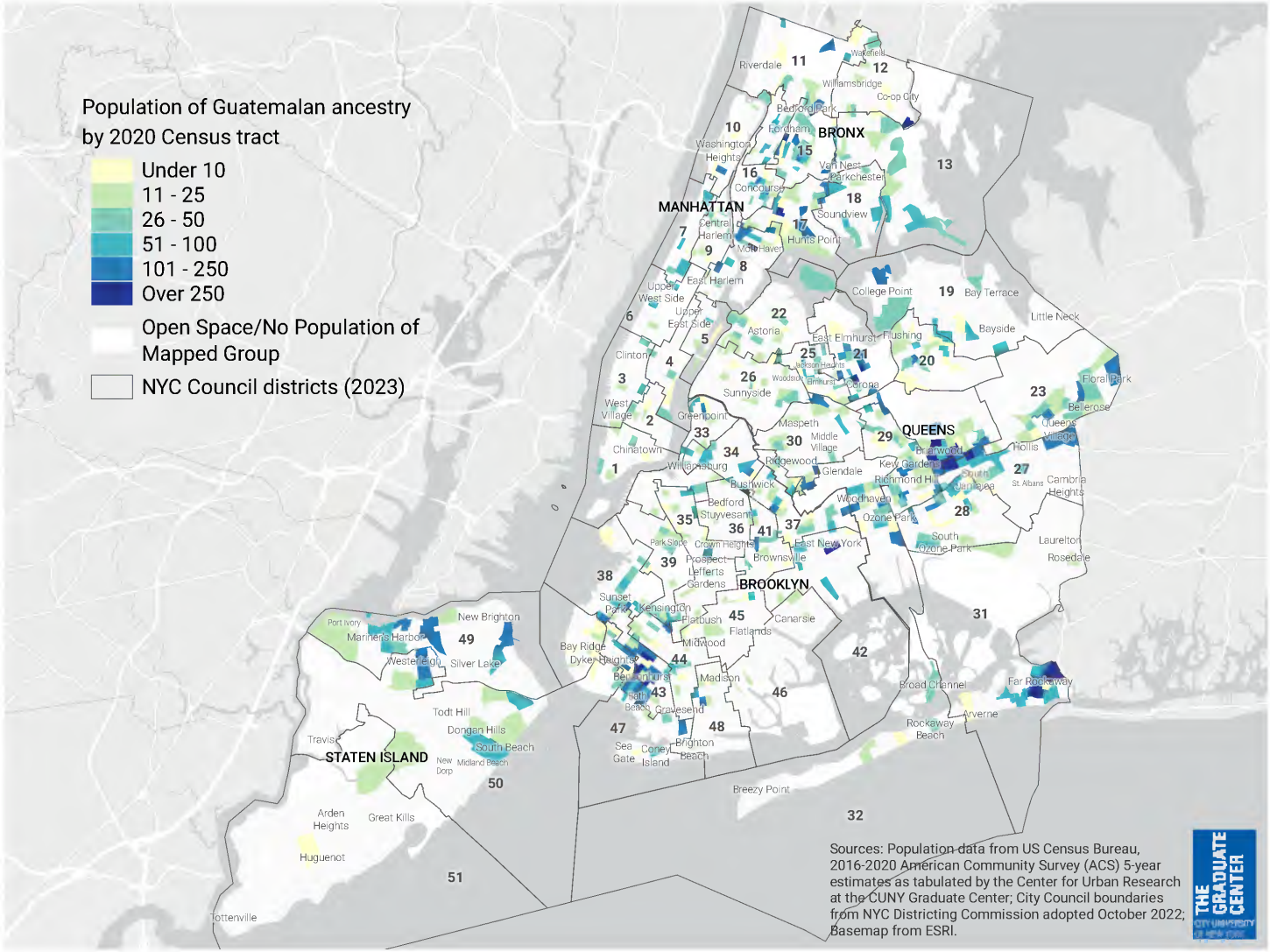
Population of Guatemalan ancestry by 2020 Census tract
Under 10
11 - 25
26 - 50
51 - 100
101 - 250
Over 250
Open Space/No Population of Mapped Group
NYC Council districts (2023)
BRONX
MANHATTAN
QUEENS
BROOKLYN
STATEN ISLAND
Riverdale
Wakefield
Williamsbridge
Co-op City
Bedford Park
Fordham
Washington Heights
Van Nest
Parkchester
Concourse
Soundview
Hunts Point
Mott Haven
Central Harlem
East Harlem
Upper West Side
Upper East Side
College Point
Bay Terrace
Little Neck
Bayside
Astoria
East Elmhurst
Flushing
Clinton
Sunnyside
Woodside
Jackson Heights
Elmhurst
Corona
Floral Park
Bellerose
Queens Village
West Village
Greenpoint
Maspeth
Middle Village
Chinatown
Williamsburg
Ridgewood
Glendale
Kew Gardens
Richmond Hill
Briarwood
Hollis
South Ozone Park
Cambria Heights
Bushwick
Bedford Stuyvesant
Woodhaven
Ozone Park
Park Slope
Crown Heights
East New York
Brownsville
Prospect Lefferts Gardens
Laurelton
Rosedale
Sunset Park
Kensington
Flatbush
Canarsie
Flatlands
Midwood
Bay Ridge
Dyker Heights
Bensonhurst
Madison
Gerritsen Beach
Gravesend
Broad Channel
Far Rockaway
Rockaway Beach
Arverne
Todt Hill
Dongan Hills
South Beach
Travis
New Dorp
Midland Beach
Sea Gate
Coney Island
Brighton Beach
Breezy Point
Arden Heights
Great Kills
Huguenot
Tottenville
New Brighton
Port Ivory
Mariners Harbor
Westerleigh
Silver Lake
Sources: Population data from US Census Bureau, 2016-2020 American Community Survey (ACS) 5-year estimates as tabulated by the Center for Urban Research at the CUNY Graduate Center; City Council boundaries from NYC Districting Commission adopted October 2022; Basemap from ESRI.
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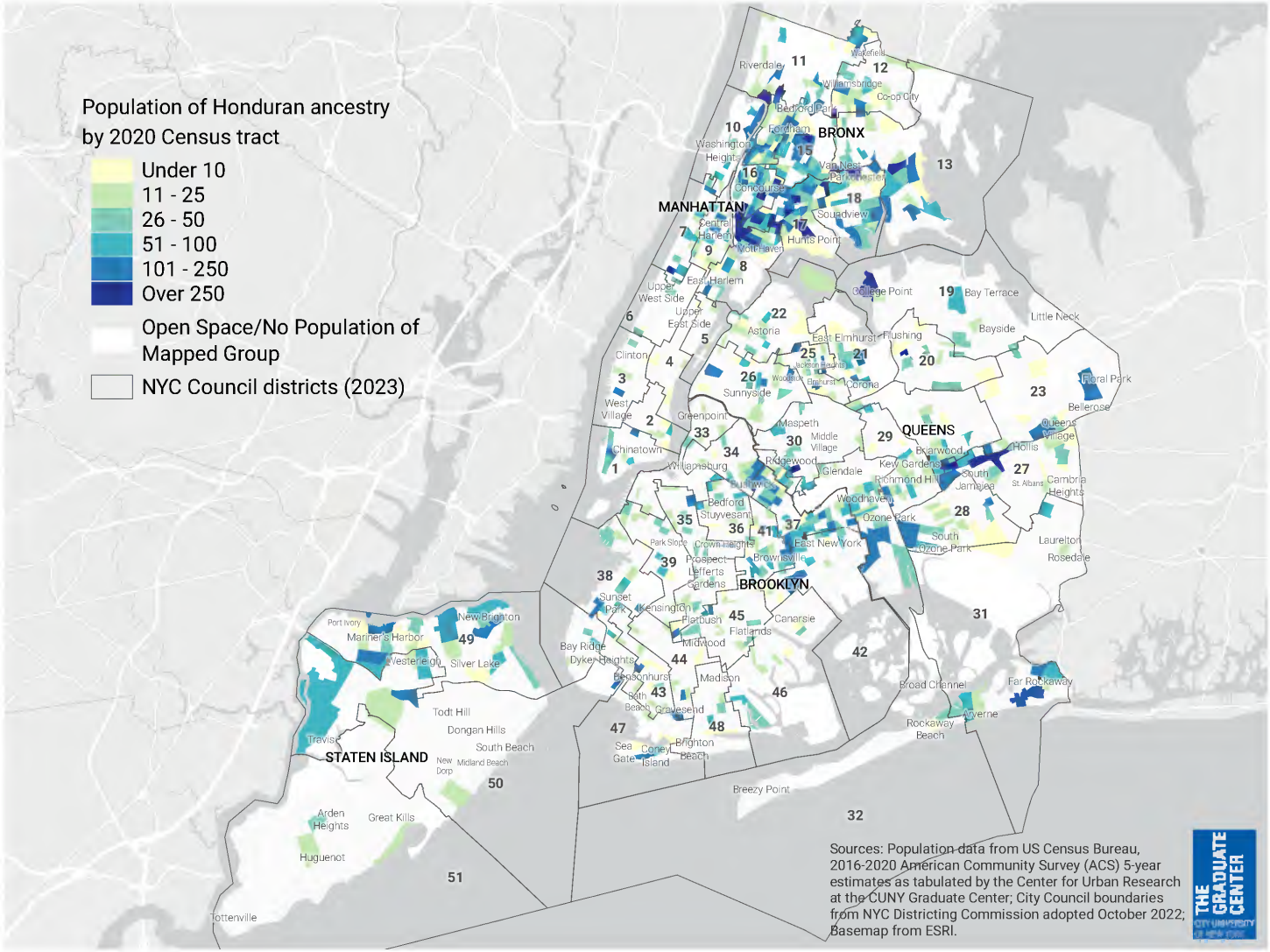
Population of Honduran ancestry by 2020 Census tract
Under 10
11 - 25
26 - 50
51 - 100
101 - 250
Over 250
Open Space/No Population of Mapped Group
NYC Council districts (2023)
BRONX
MANHATTAN
QUEENS
BROOKLYN
STATEN ISLAND
Riverdale
Wakefield
Williamsbridge
Co-op City
Bedford Park
Fordham
Washington Heights
Van Nest
Parkchester
Concourse
Soundview
Central Harlem
Hunts Point
Mott Haven
East Harlem
Upper West Side
Upper East Side
Astoria
College Point
Bay Terrace
Little Neck
Bayside
East Elmhurst
Flushing
Clinton
Jackson Heights
Woodside
Elmhurst
Corona
Sunnyside
Floral Park
Bellerose
West Village
Greenpoint
Maspeth
Middle Village
Queens Village
Hollis
Chinatown
Williamsburg
Ridgewood
Briarwood
Kew Gardens
Glendale
Richmond Hill
South Jamaica
St. Albans
Cambria Heights
Bushwick
Bedford Stuyvesant
Woodhaven
Ozone Park
Park Slope
Crown Heights
East New York
South Ozone Park
Laurelton
Rosedale
Prospect Lefferts Gardens
Brownsville
Sunset Park
Kensington
Flatbush
Canarsie
Flatlands
Midwood
Port Ivory
Mariner's Harbor
New Brighton
Westerleigh
Silver Lake
Bay Ridge
Dyker Heights
Bensonhurst
Madison
Bath Beach
Gravesend
Broad Channel
Far Rockaway
Arverne
Rockaway Beach
Todt Hill
Dongan Hills
South Beach
Travis
New Dorp
Midland Beach
Sea Gate
Coney Island
Brighton Beach
Breezy Point
Arden Heights
Great Kills
Huguenot
Tottenville
Sources: Population data from US Census Bureau, 2016-2020 American Community Survey (ACS) 5-year estimates as tabulated by the Center for Urban Research at the CUNY Graduate Center; City Council boundaries from NYC Districting Commission adopted October 2022; Basemap from ESRI.
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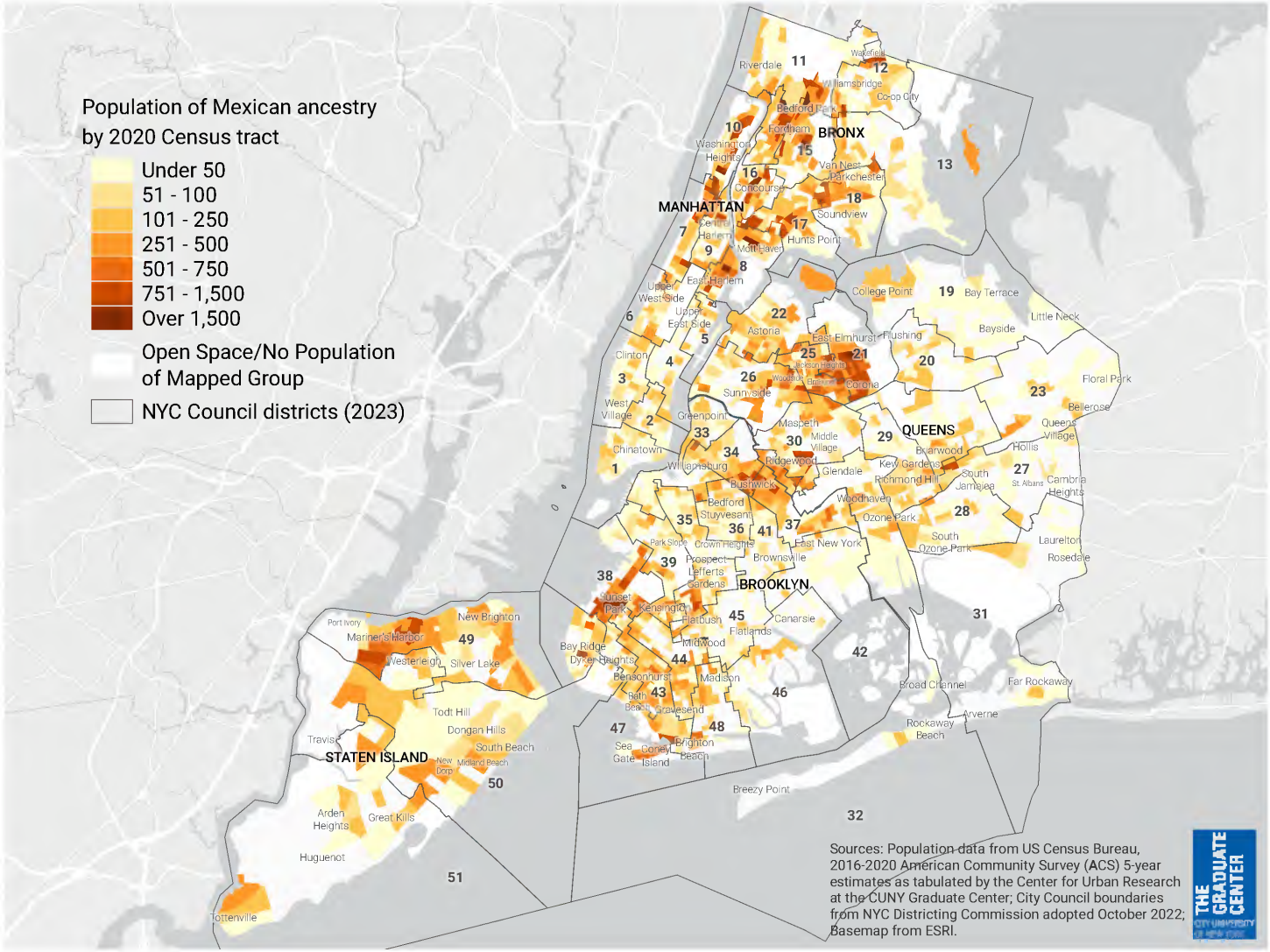
CITY UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK


Population of Mexican ancestry by 2020 Census tract
Under 50
51 - 100
101 - 250
251 - 500
501 - 750
751 - 1,500
Over 1,500
Open Space/No Population of Mapped Group
NYC Council districts (2023)
MANHATTAN
BRONX
QUEENS
BROOKLYN
STATEN ISLAND
Riverdale
Fordham
Washington Heights
Central Harlem
East Harlem
Upper West Side
Upper East Side
Clinton
West Village
Chinatown
Greenpoint
Williamsburg
Bushwick
Bedford Stuyvesant
Sunset Park
Bay Ridge
Dyker Heights
Bensonhurst
Bath Beach
Gravesend
Sea Gate
Coney Island
Brighton Beach
Flatbush
Midwood
Madison
Canarsie
Flatlands
Brownsville
East New York
Crown Heights
Prospect Lefferts Gardens
Park Slope
Ridgewood
Glendale
Middle Village
Maspeth
Sunnyside
Woodside
Jackson Heights
Corona
East Elmhurst
Astoria
Long Island City
Hunters Point
Mott Haven
Concourse
Van Nest
Parkchester
Soundview
Williamsbridge
Bedford Park
Co-op City
Wakefield
College Point
Flushing
Bayside
Little Neck
Bay Terrace
Floral Park
Bellerose
Queens Village
Hollis
Briarwood
Kew Gardens
Richmond Hill
South Jamaica
St. Albans
Cambria Heights
Laurelton
Rosedale
Ozone Park
South Ozone Park
Woodhaven
Howard Beach
Broad Channel
Far Rockaway
Rockaway Beach
Arverne
Breezy Point
Port Ivory
Mariner's Harbor
Westerleigh
Silver Lake
New Brighton
Todt Hill
Dongan Hills
South Beach
New Dorp
Midland Beach
Travis
Arden Heights
Great Kills
Huguenot
Tottenville
Sources: Population data from US Census Bureau, 2016-2020 American Community Survey (ACS) 5-year estimates as tabulated by the Center for Urban Research at the CUNY Graduate Center; City Council boundaries from NYC Districting Commission adopted October 2022; Basemap from ESRI.
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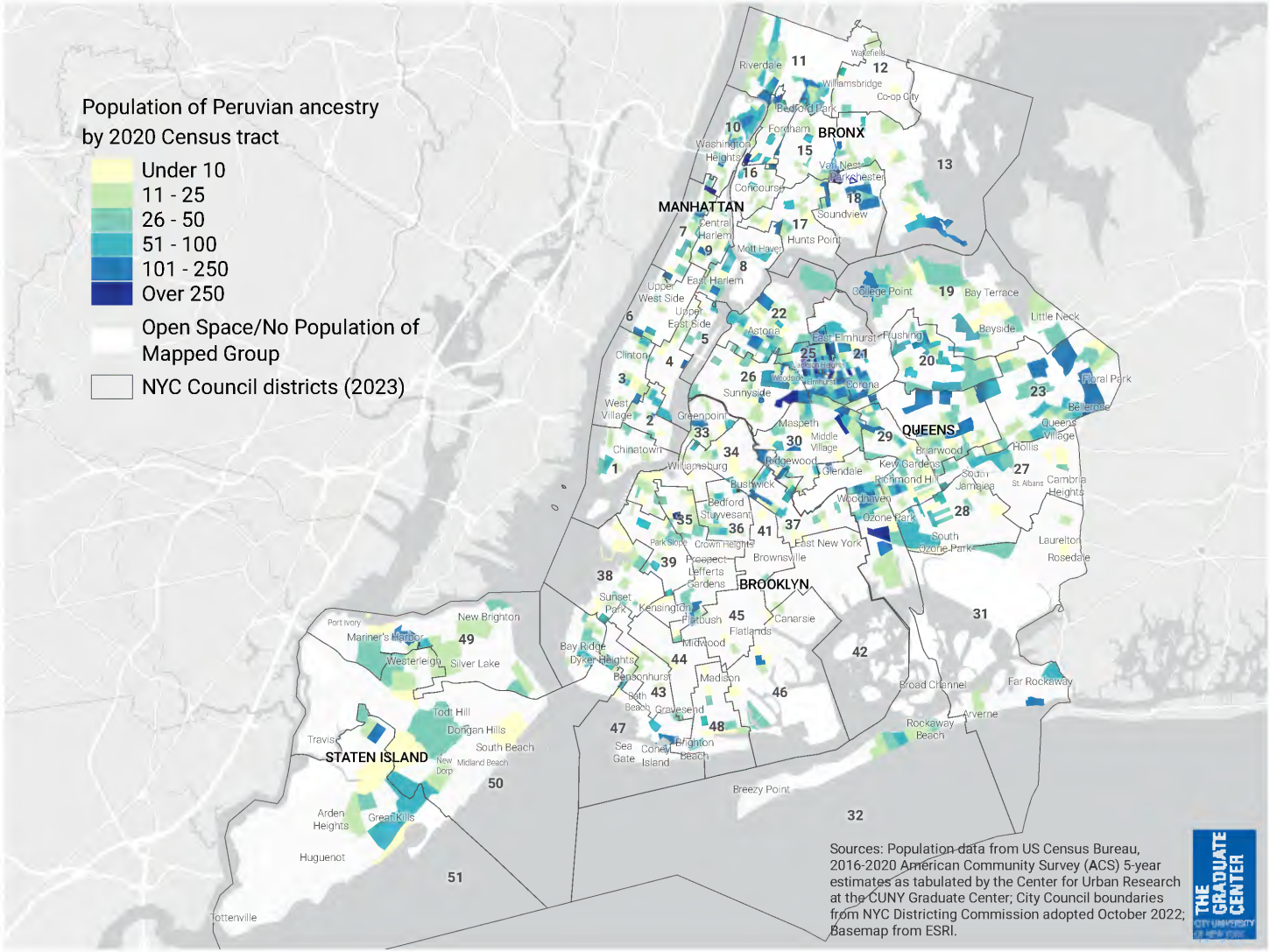
Population of Peruvian ancestry by 2020 Census tract
Under 10
11 - 25
26 - 50
51 - 100
101 - 250
Over 250
Open Space/No Population of Mapped Group
NYC Council districts (2023)
BRONX
MANHATTAN
QUEENS
BROOKLYN
STATEN ISLAND
Riverdale
Wakefield
Williamsbridge
Co-op City
Bedford Park
Fordham
Washington Heights
Van Nest
Parkchester
Concourse
Soundview
Central Harlem
Hunts Point
Mott Haven
East Harlem
Upper West Side
Upper East Side
College Point
Bay Terrace
Little Neck
Astoria
East Elmhurst
Flushing
Bayside
Clinton
Sunnyside
Floral Park
West Village
Greenpoint
Maspeth
Middle Village
Bellerose
Queens Village
Chinatown
Williamsburg
Ridgewood
Glendale
Briarwood
Hollis
Kew Gardens
Richmond Hill
South Jamaica
St. Albans
Cambria Heights
Bushwick
Bedford Stuyvesant
Woodhaven
Ozone Park
Park Slope
Crown Heights
East New York
South Ozone Park
Laurelton
Rosedale
Brownsville
Prospect Lefferts Gardens
Sunset Park
Kensington
Flatbush
Canarsie
Flatlands
Midwood
Bay Ridge
Dyker Heights
Bensonhurst
Madison
Broad Channel
Far Rockaway
Bath Beach
Gravesend
Rockaway Beach
Arverne
Todt Hill
Travis
Dongan Hills
South Beach
Sea Gate
Coney Island
Brighton Beach
New Dorp
Midland Beach
Breezy Point
Arden Heights
Great Kills
Huguenot
Tottenville
Port Ivory
Mariner's Harbor
New Brighton
Westerleigh
Silver Lake
Sources: Population data from US Census Bureau, 2016-2020 American Community Survey (ACS) 5-year estimates as tabulated by the Center for Urban Research at the CUNY Graduate Center; City Council boundaries from NYC Districting Commission adopted October 2022; Basemap from ESRI.
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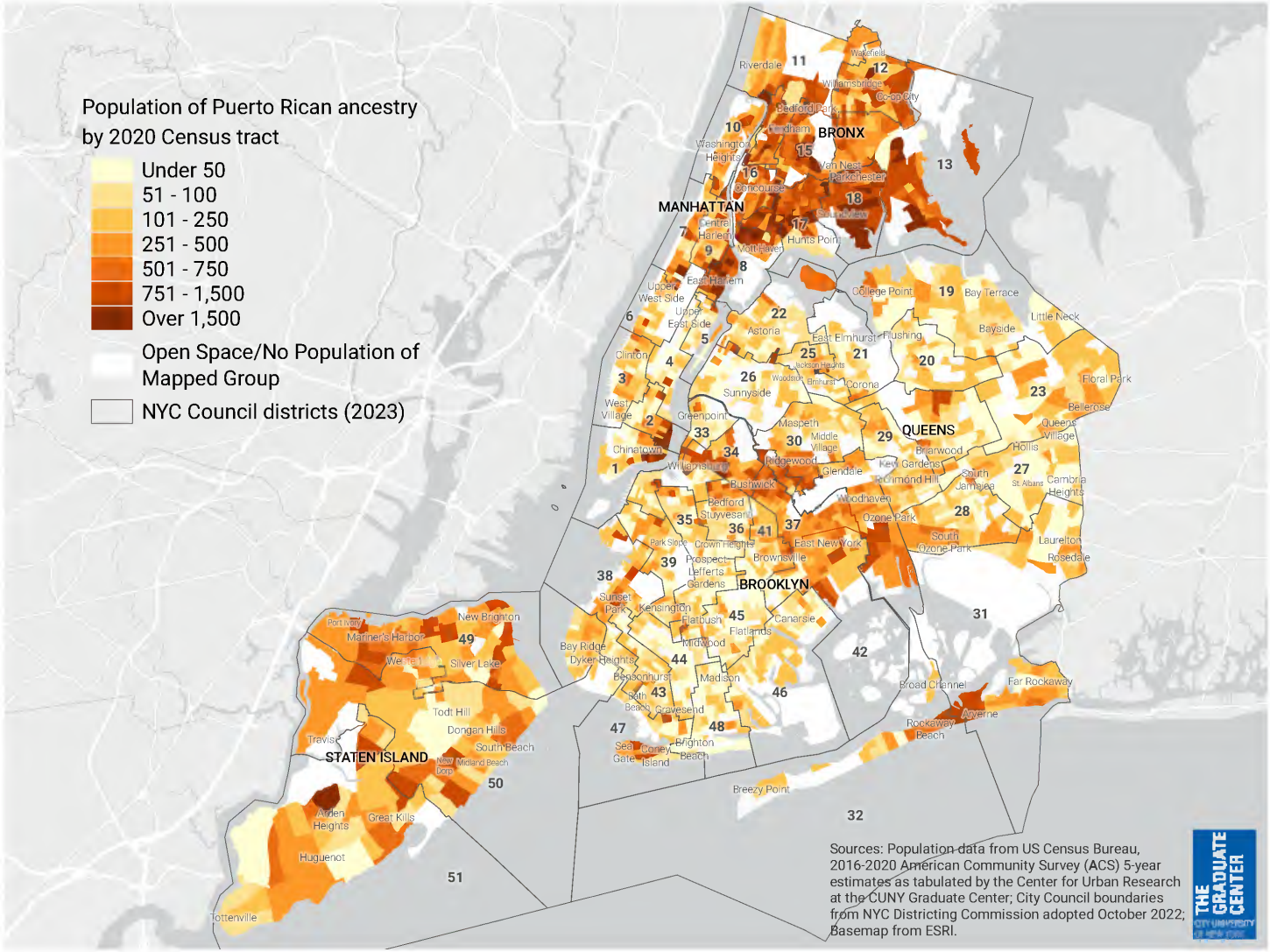
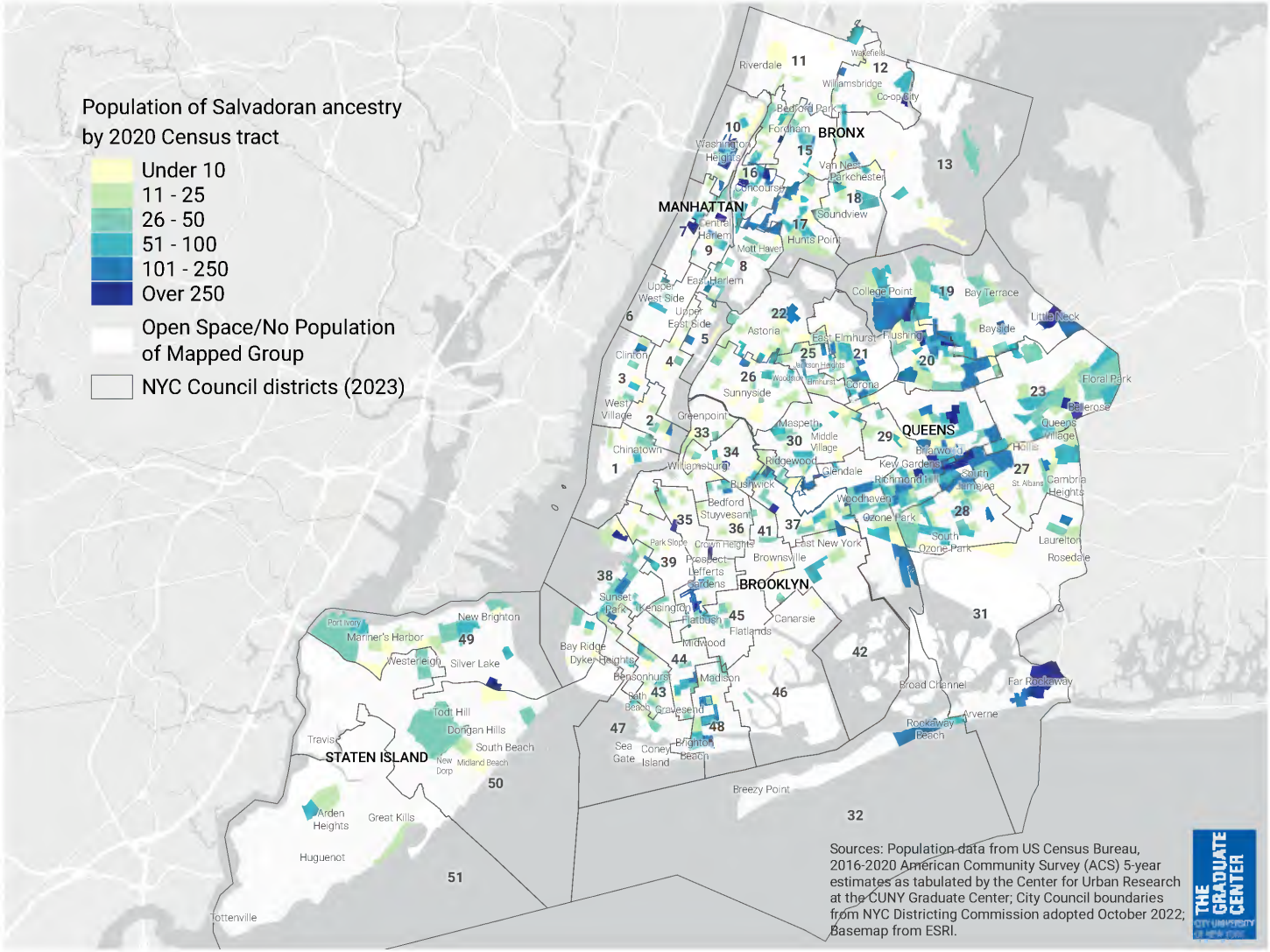
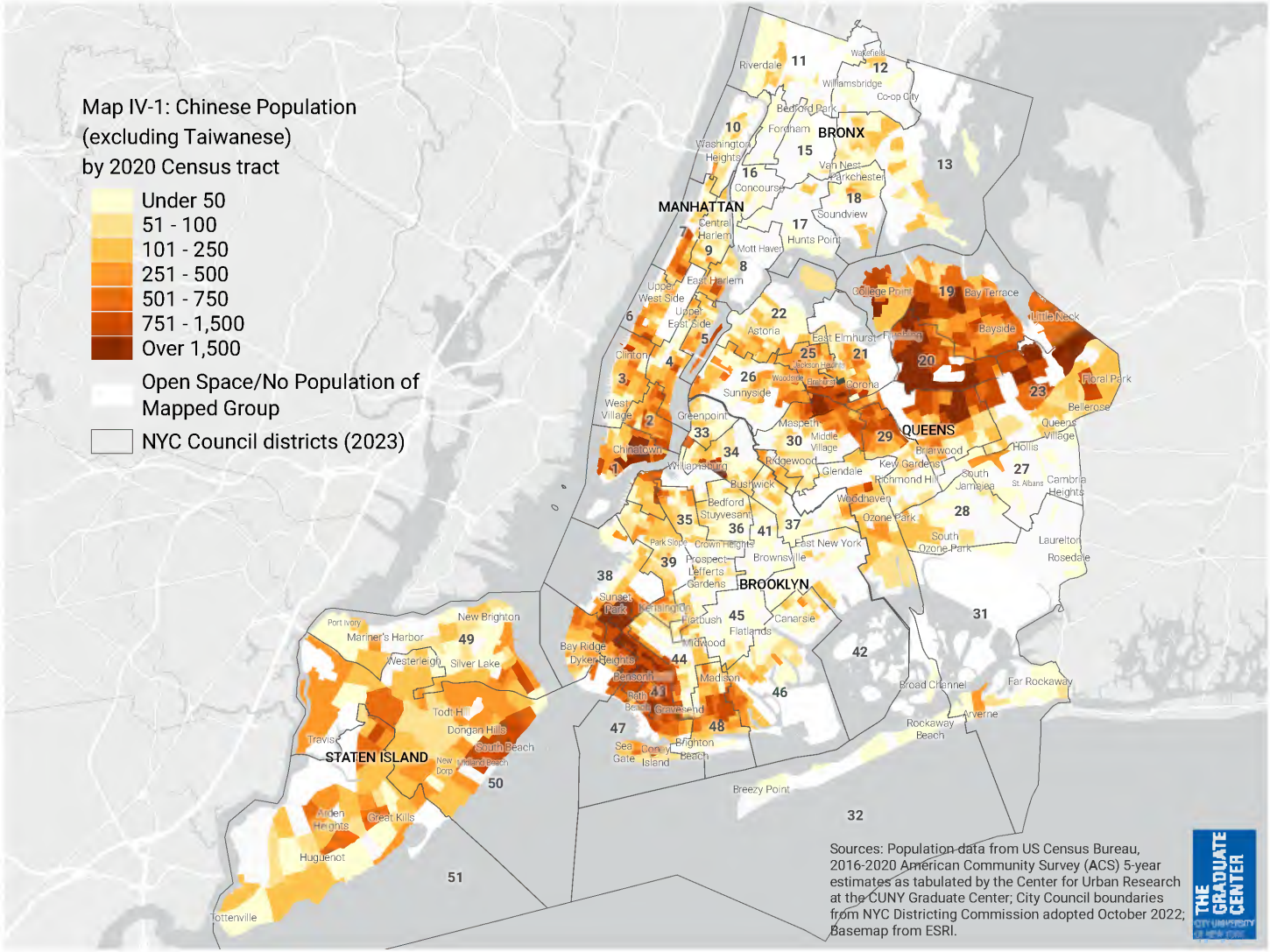
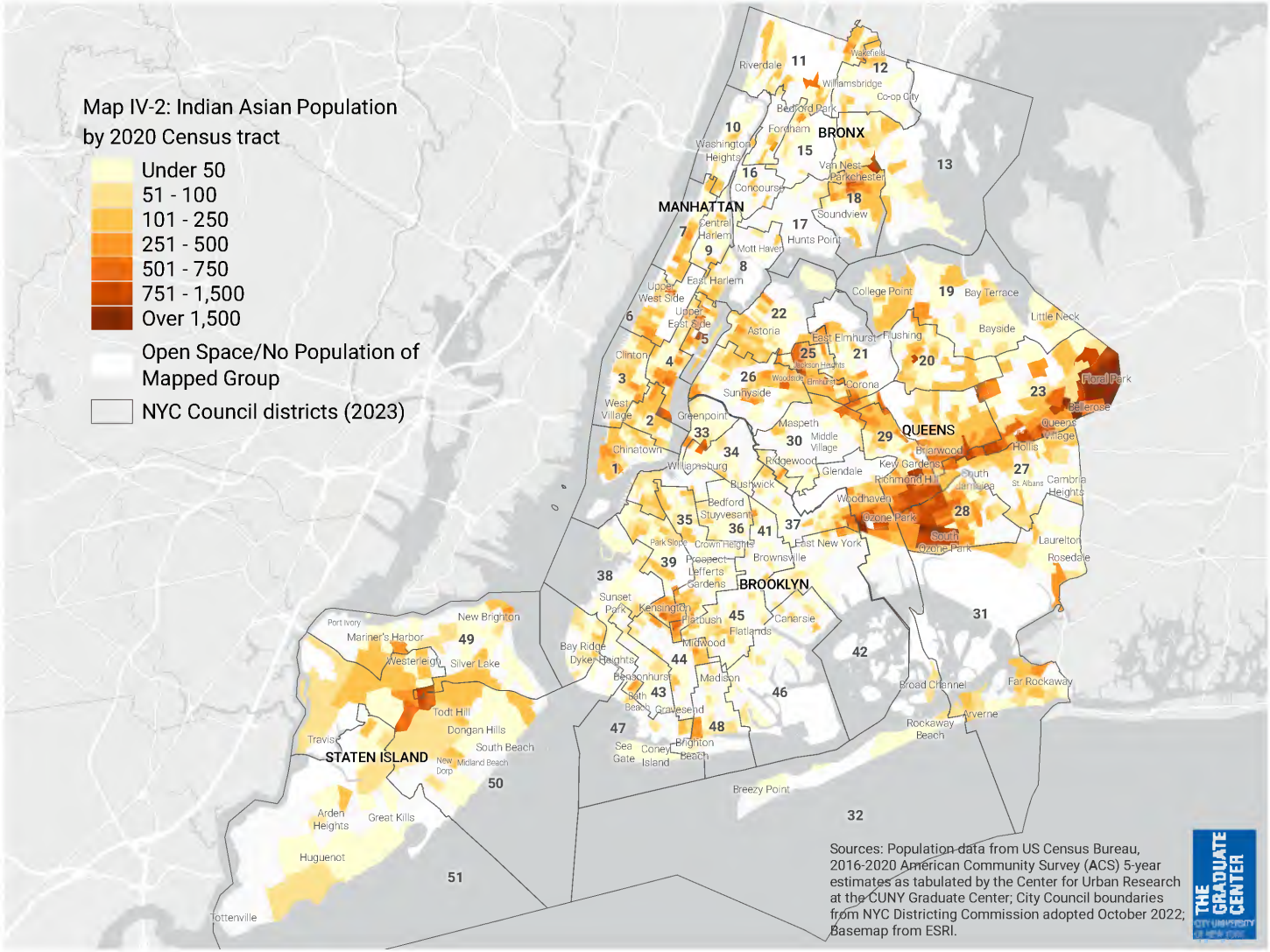
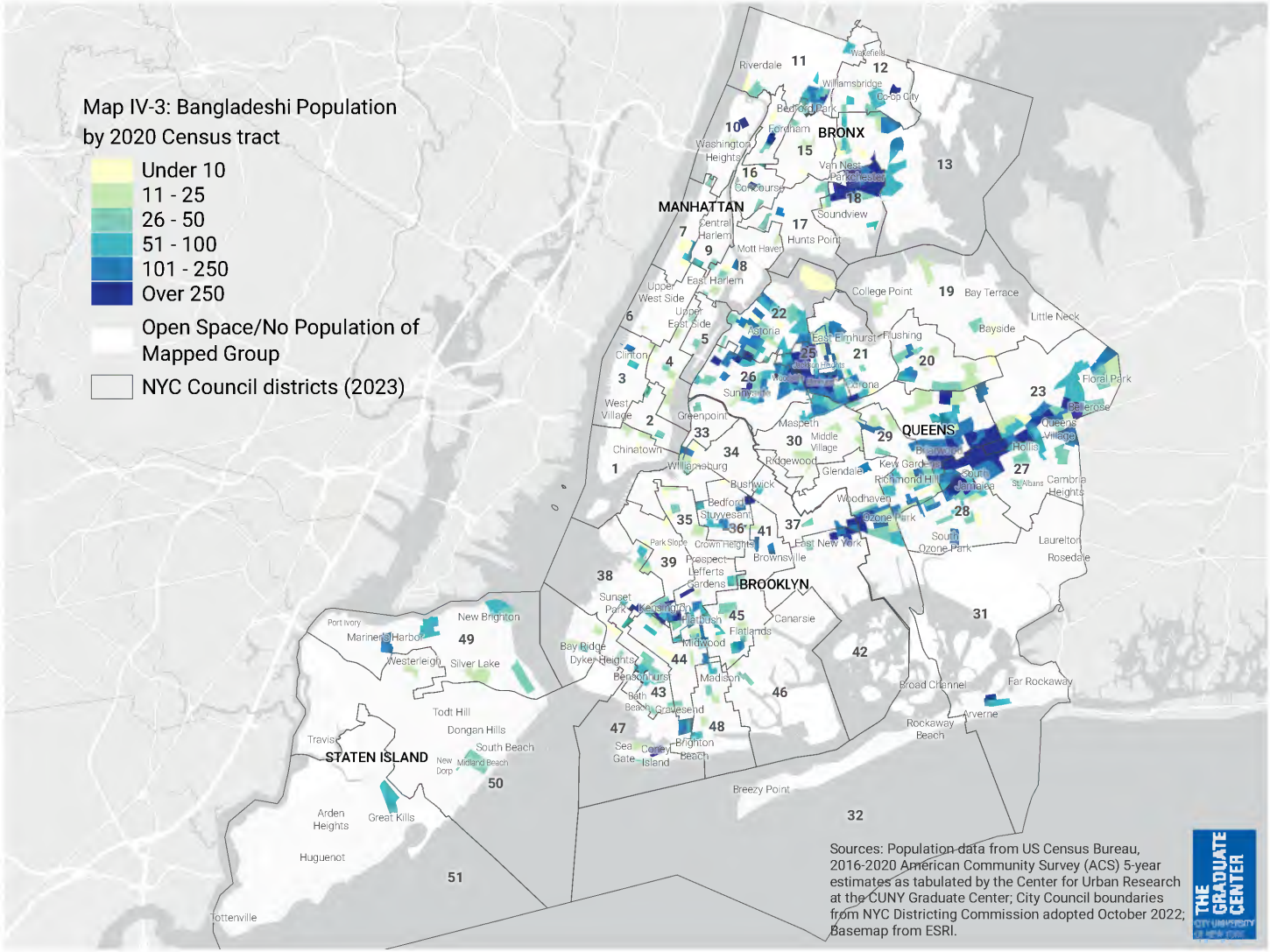

Population of Puerto Rican ancestry by 2020 Census tract
Under 50
51 - 100
101 - 250
251 - 500
501 - 750
751 - 1,500
Over 1,500
Open Space/No Population of Mapped Group
NYC Council districts (2023)
BRONX
MANHATTAN
QUEENS
BROOKLYN
STATEN ISLAND
Sources: Population data from US Census Bureau, 2016-2020 American Community Survey (ACS) 5-year estimates as tabulated by the Center for Urban Research at the CUNY Graduate Center; City Council boundaries from NYC Districting Commission adopted October 2022; Basemap from ESRI.
THE GRADUATE CENTER


Population of Salvadoran ancestry by 2020 Census tract
Under 10
11 - 25
26 - 50
51 - 100
101 - 250
Over 250
Open Space/No Population of Mapped Group
NYC Council districts (2023)
BRONX
MANHATTAN
QUEENS
BROOKLYN
STATEN ISLAND
Riverdale
Wakefield
Williamsbridge
Co-op City
Bedford Park
Fordham
Washington Heights
Van Nest
Parkchester
Soundview
Hunts Point
Mott Haven
Central Harlem
East Harlem
Upper West Side
Upper East Side
Clinton
West Village
Chinatown
Greenpoint
Williamsburg
Astoria
College Point
Bay Terrace
Bayside
Little Neck
East Elmhurst
Flushing
Jackson Heights
Woodside
Elmhurst
Corona
Sunnyside
Floral Park
Bellerose
Queens Village
Hollis
Maspeth
Middle Village
Ridgewood
Glendale
Kew Gardens
Richmond Hill
South Jamaica
St. Albans
Cambria Heights
Bushwick
Bedford Stuyvesant
Woodhaven
Ozone Park
South Ozone Park
Laurelton
Rosedale
Park Slope
Crown Heights
East New York
Brownsville
Prospect Lefferts Gardens
Sunset Park
Kensington
Flatbush
Flatlands
Canarsie
Midwood
Bay Ridge
Dyker Heights
Bensonhurst
Madison
Bath Beach
Gravesend
Broad Channel
Far Rockaway
Arverne
Rockaway Beach
Sea Gate
Coney Island
Brighton Beach
Breezy Point
Port Ivory
Manner's Harbor
New Brighton
Westerleigh
Silver Lake
Todt Hill
Dongan Hills
South Beach
Travis
New Dorp
Midland Beach
Arden Heights
Great Kills
Huguenot
Tottenville
Sources: Population data from US Census Bureau, 2016-2020 American Community Survey (ACS) 5-year estimates as tabulated by the Center for Urban Research at the CUNY Graduate Center; City Council boundaries from NYC Districting Commission adopted October 2022; Basemap from ESRI.
THE GRADUATE CENTER
CITY UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK


Map IV-1: Chinese Population
(excluding Taiwanese)
by 2020 Census tract
Under 50
51 - 100
101 - 250
251 - 500
501 - 750
751 - 1,500
Over 1,500
Open Space/No Population of Mapped Group
NYC Council districts (2023)
BRONX
MANHATTAN
QUEENS
BROOKLYN
STATEN ISLAND
Riverdale
Wakefield
Williamsbridge
Co-op City
Bedford Park
Fordham
Washington Heights
Van Nest
Parkchester
Concourse
Soundview
Central Harlem
Hunts Point
Mott Haven
East Harlem
Upper West Side
Upper East Side
College Point
Bay Terrace
Little Neck
Bayside
Astoria
East Elmhurst
Flushing
Clinton
Jackson Heights
Elmhurst
Corona
Floral Park
Sunnyside
West Village
Greenpoint
Maspeth
Middle Village
Bellerose
Queens Village
Chinatown
Williamsburg
Ridgewood
Glendale
Kew Gardens
Briarwood
Hollis
Bushwick
Richmond Hill
South Jamaica
St. Albans
Cambria Heights
Bedford Stuyvesant
Woodhaven
Ozone Park
Park Slope
Crown Heights
East New York
South Ozone Park
Laurelton
Rosedale
Prospect Lefferts Gardens
Brownsville
Sunset Park
Kensington
Flatbush
Canarsie
Flatlands
Midwood
Bay Ridge
Dyker Heights
Bensonhurst
Madison
Broad Channel
Far Rockaway
Rockaway Beach
Arverne
Path Beach
Gravesend
Sea Gate
Coney Island
Brighton Beach
Breezy Point
Port Ivory
Mariner's Harbor
New Brighton
Westerleigh
Silver Lake
Todt Hill
Dongan Hills
South Beach
New Dorp Beach
Travis
Arden Heights
Great Kills
Huguenot
Tottenville
Sources: Population data from US Census Bureau, 2016-2020 American Community Survey (ACS) 5-year estimates as tabulated by the Center for Urban Research at the CUNY Graduate Center; City Council boundaries from NYC Districting Commission adopted October 2022; Basemap from ESRI.
THE GRADUATE CENTER
CITY UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK


Map IV-2: Indian Asian Population by 2020 Census tract
Under 50
51 - 100
101 - 250
251 - 500
501 - 750
751 - 1,500
Over 1,500
Open Space/No Population of Mapped Group
NYC Council districts (2023)
BRONX
MANHATTAN
QUEENS
BROOKLYN
STATEN ISLAND
Riverdale
Williamsbridge
Co-op City
Bedford Park
Fordham
Washington Heights
Van Nest
Parkchester
Concourse
Soundview
Hunts Point
Central Harlem
Mott Haven
East Harlem
Upper West Side
Upper East Side
Astoria
College Point
Bay Terrace
Little Neck
Bayside
East Elmhurst
Flushing
Clinton
Jackson Heights
Woodside
Elmhurst
Corona
Floral Park
Bellerose
Sunnyside
West Village
Greenpoint
Maspeth
Middle Village
Queens Village
Chinatown
Williamsburg
Ridgewood
Glendale
Kew Gardens
Briarwood
Hollis
Richmond Hill
South Jamaica
St. Albans
Cambria Heights
Bushwick
Woodhaven
Ozone Park
Bedford Stuyvesant
Park Slope
Crown Heights
East New York
Brownsville
Laurelton
Rosedale
Prospect Lefferts Gardens
Sunset Park
Kensington
Flatbush
Canarsie
Flatlands
Midwood
Bay Ridge
Dyker Heights
Beasonhurst
Madison
Broad Channel
Far Rockaway
Rockaway Beach
Arverne
Gravesend
Coney Island
Brighton Beach
Sea Gate
Breezy Point
Port Ivory
New Brighton
Mariner's Harbor
Silver Lake
Westerleigh
Todt Hill
Dongan Hills
South Beach
Travis
New Dorp
Midland Beach
Arden Heights
Great Kills
Huguenot
Tottenville
Sources: Population data from US Census Bureau, 2016-2020 American Community Survey (ACS) 5-year estimates as tabulated by the Center for Urban Research at the CUNY Graduate Center; City Council boundaries from NYC Districting Commission adopted October 2022; Basemap from ESRI.
THE GRADUATE CENTER


Map IV-3: Bangladeshi Population by 2020 Census tract
Under 10
11 - 25
26 - 50
51 - 100
101 - 250
Over 250
Open Space/No Population of Mapped Group
NYC Council districts (2023)
BRONX
MANHATTAN
QUEENS
BROOKLYN
STATEN ISLAND
Sources: Population data from US Census Bureau, 2016-2020 American Community Survey (ACS) 5-year estimates as tabulated by the Center for Urban Research at the CUNY Graduate Center; City Council boundaries from NYC Districting Commission adopted October 2022; Basemap from ESRI.
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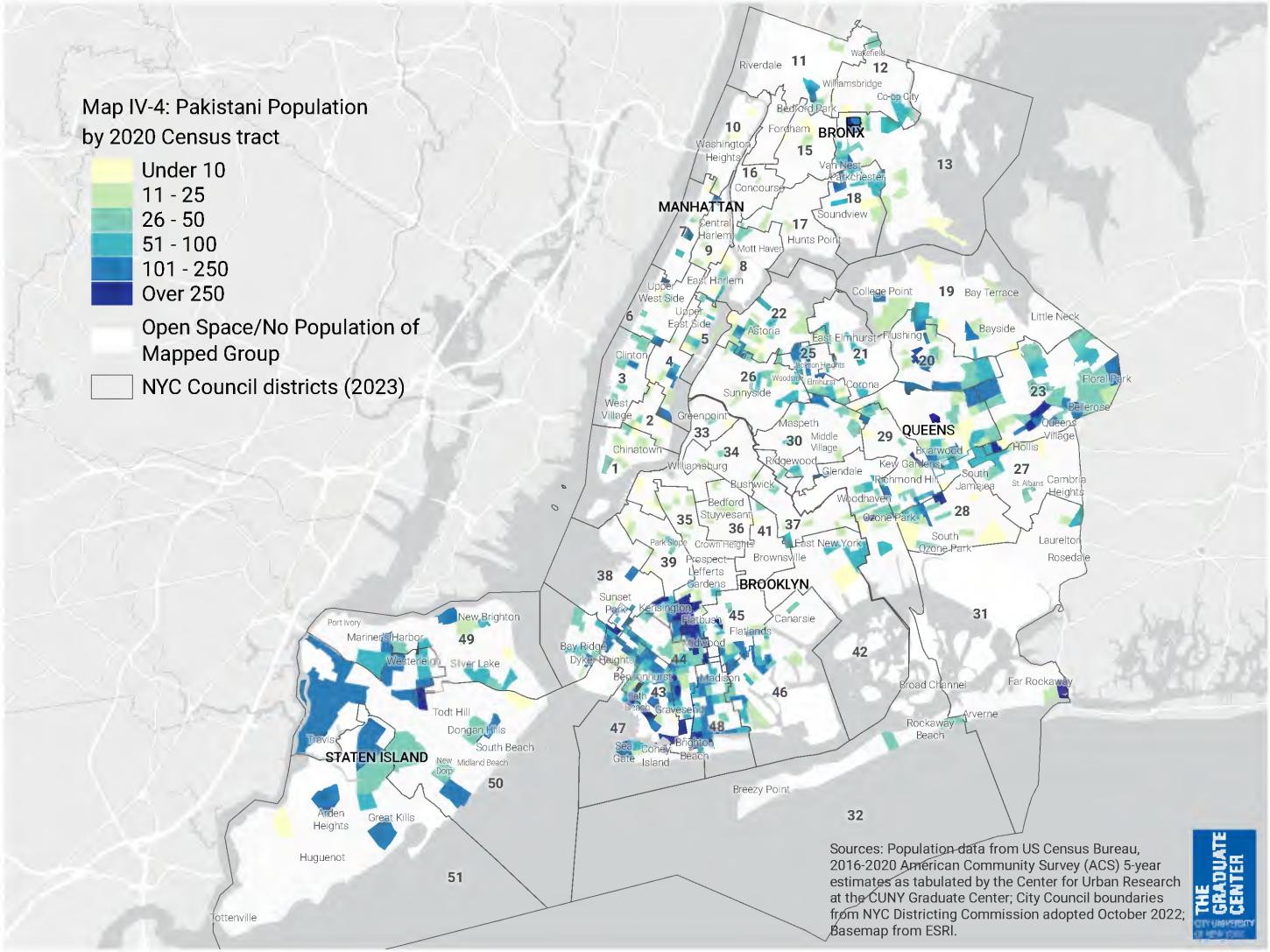
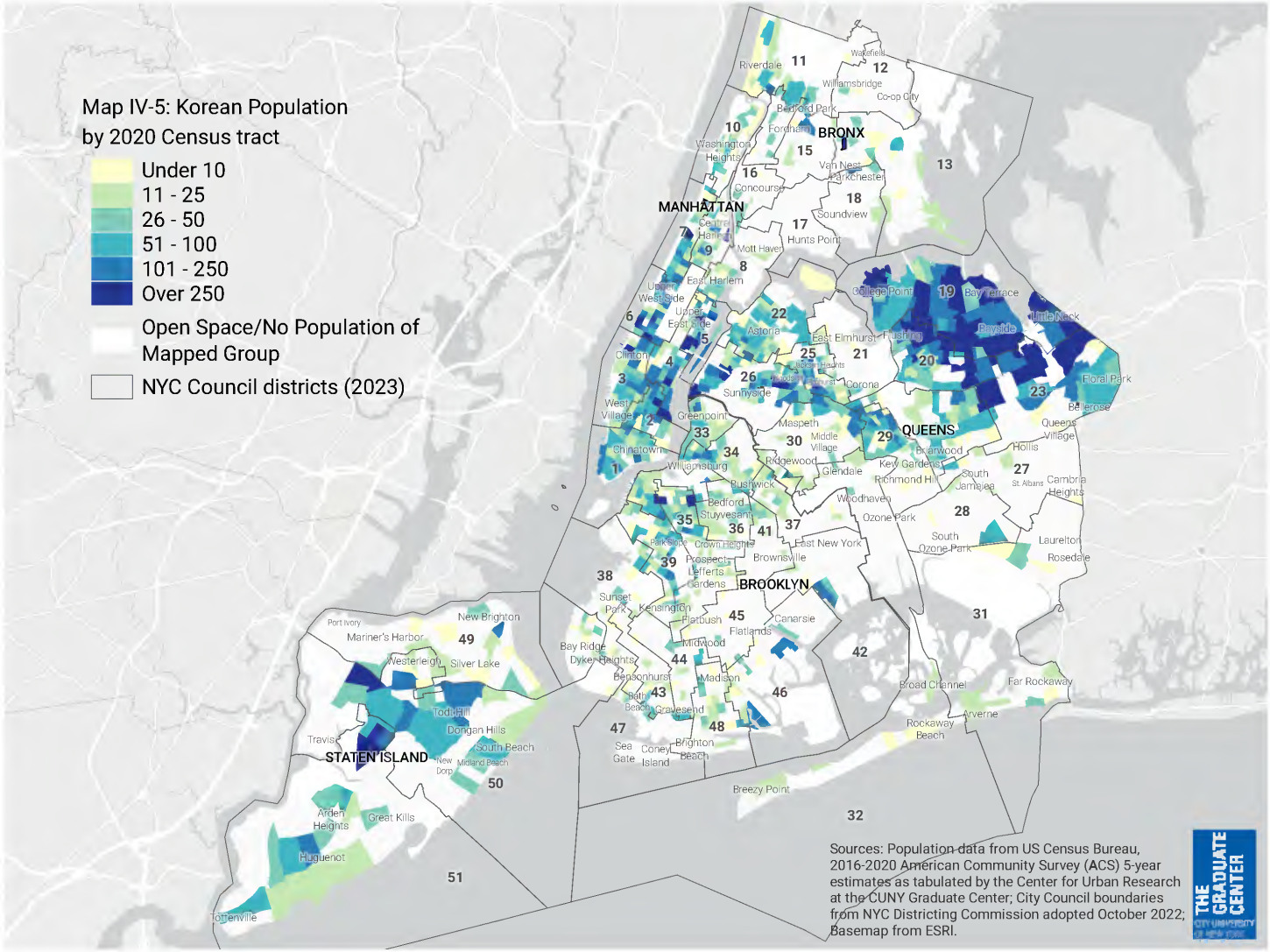

Map IV-4: Pakistani Population by 2020 Census tract
Under 10
11 - 25
26 - 50
51 - 100
101 - 250
Over 250
Open Space/No Population of Mapped Group
NYC Council districts (2023)
BRONX
MANHATTAN
QUEENS
BROOKLYN
STATEN ISLAND
Riverdale
Williamsbridge
Co-op City
Fordham
Washington Heights
Van Nest
Parkchester
Concourse
Soundview
Hunts Point
Central Harlem
Mott Haven
East Harlem
Upper West Side
Upper East Side
Clinton
West Village
Chinatown
Greenpoint
Williamsburg
Astoria
College Point
Bay Terrace
Little Neck
Bayside
East Elmhurst
Flushing
Jackson Heights
Woodside
Elmhurst
Corona
Sunnyside
Maspeth
Middle Village
Ridgewood
Glendale
Bushwick
Bedford Stuyvesant
Kew Gardens
Richmond Hill
Woodhaven
Ozone Park
South Jamaica
Queens Village
Hollis
Cambria Heights
Laurelton
Rosedale
Floral Park
Bellerose
Park Slope
Crown Heights
Prospect Lefferts Gardens
Brownsville
East New York
South Ozone Park
Sunset Park
Kensington
Flatbush
Canarsie
Flatlands
Midwood
Bay Ridge
Dyker Heights
Bensonhurst
Madison
Gravesend
Broad Channel
Far Rockaway
Rockaway Beach
Arverne
Breezy Point
Sea Gate
Coney Island
Brighton Beach
New Brighton
Port Ivory
Mariners Harbor
Westerleigh
Silver Lake
Todt Hill
Dongan Hills
South Beach
Travis
New Dorp
Midland Beach
Arden Heights
Great Kills
Huguenot
Tottenville
Sources: Population data from US Census Bureau, 2016-2020 American Community Survey (ACS) 5-year estimates as tabulated by the Center for Urban Research at the CUNY Graduate Center; City Council boundaries from NYC Districting Commission adopted October 2022; Basemap from ESRI.
THE GRADUATE CENTER


Map IV-5: Korean Population by 2020 Census tract
Under 10
11 - 25
26 - 50
51 - 100
101 - 250
Over 250
Open Space/No Population of Mapped Group
NYC Council districts (2023)
BRONX
MANHATTAN
QUEENS
BROOKLYN
STATEN ISLAND
Riverdale
Wakefield
Williamsbridge
Co-op City
Bedford Park
Fordham
Washington Heights
Van Nest
Parkchester
Concourse
Soundview
Hunts Point
Mott Haven
East Harlem
Central Harlem
Upper West Side
Upper East Side
Clinton
West Village
Chinatown
Greenpoint
Williamsburg
Astoria
East Elmhurst
Jackson Heights
Corona
Sunnyside
College Point
Bay Terrace
Flushing
Bayside
Little Neck
Floral Park
Bellerose
Queens Village
Hollis
Maspeth
Middle Village
Ridgewood
Glendale
Kew Gardens
Richmond Hill
South Jamaica
St. Albans
Cambria Heights
Briarwood
Woodhaven
Ozone Park
South Ozone Park
Laurelton
Rosedale
Bushwick
Bedford Stuyvesant
Park Slope
Crown Heights
East New York
Brownsville
Prospect Lefferts Gardens
Sunset Park
Kensington
Flatbush
Canarsie
Flatlands
Midwood
Bay Ridge
Dyker Heights
Bensonhurst
Madison
Bath Beach
Gravesend
Sea Gate
Coney Island
Brighton Beach
Broad Channel
Far Rockaway
Rockaway Beach
Arverne
Breezy Point
Port Ivory
Mariner's Harbor
New Brighton
Westerleigh
Silver Lake
Todt Hill
Dongan Hills
Travis
South Beach
New Dorp
Midland Beach
Arden Heights
Great Kills
Huguenot
Tottenville
Sources: Population data from US Census Bureau, 2016-2020 American Community Survey (ACS) 5-year estimates as tabulated by the Center for Urban Research at the CUNY Graduate Center; City Council boundaries from NYC Districting Commission adopted October 2022; Basemap from ESRI.
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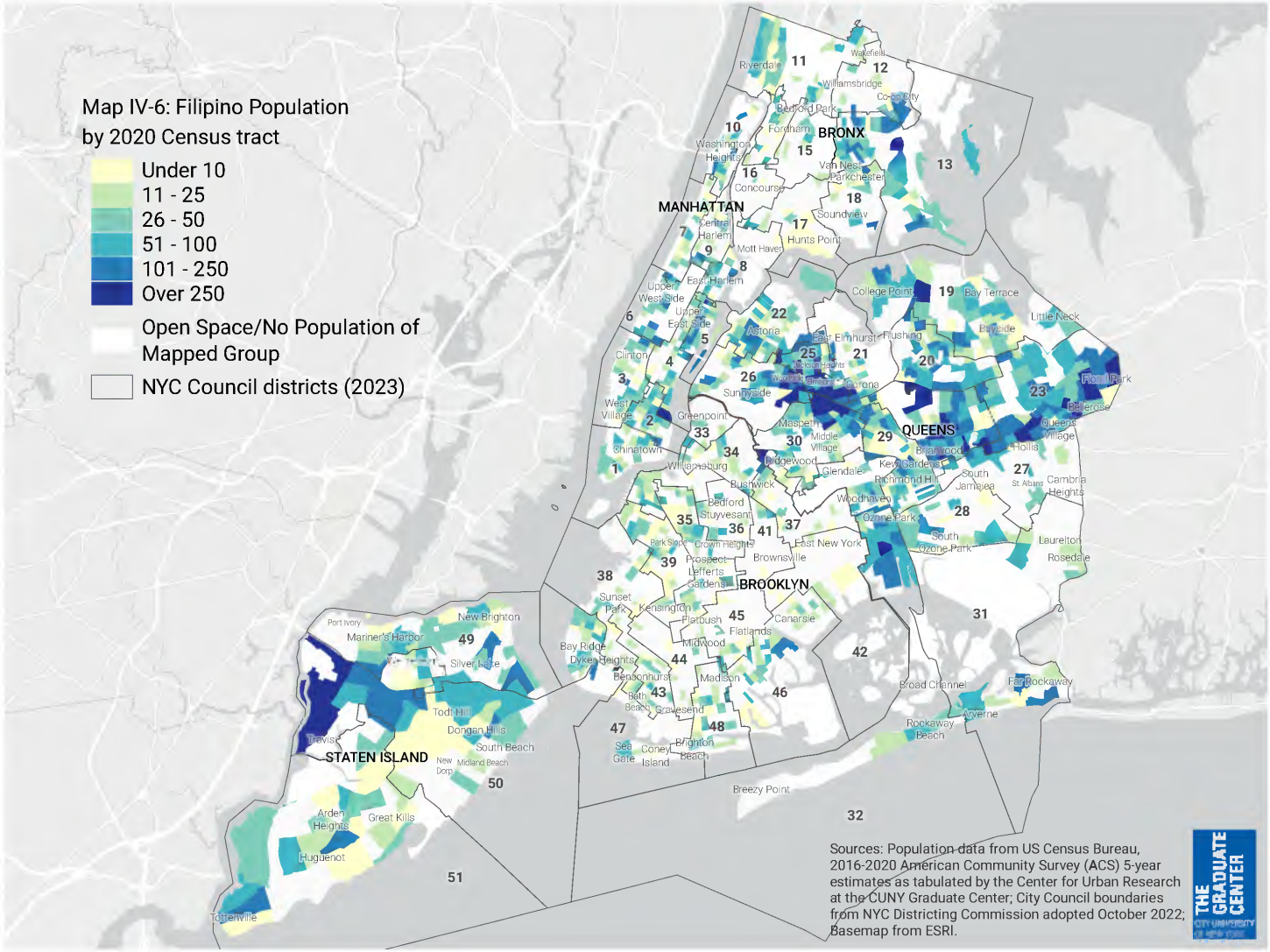
Map IV-6: Filipino Population by 2020 Census tract
Under 10
11 - 25
26 - 50
51 - 100
101 - 250
Over 250
Open Space/No Population of Mapped Group
NYC Council districts (2023)
BRONX
MANHATTAN
QUEENS
BROOKLYN
STATEN ISLAND
Sources: Population data from US Census Bureau, 2016-2020 American Community Survey (ACS) 5-year estimates as tabulated by the Center for Urban Research at the CUNY Graduate Center; City Council boundaries from NYC Districting Commission adopted October 2022; Basemap from ESRI.
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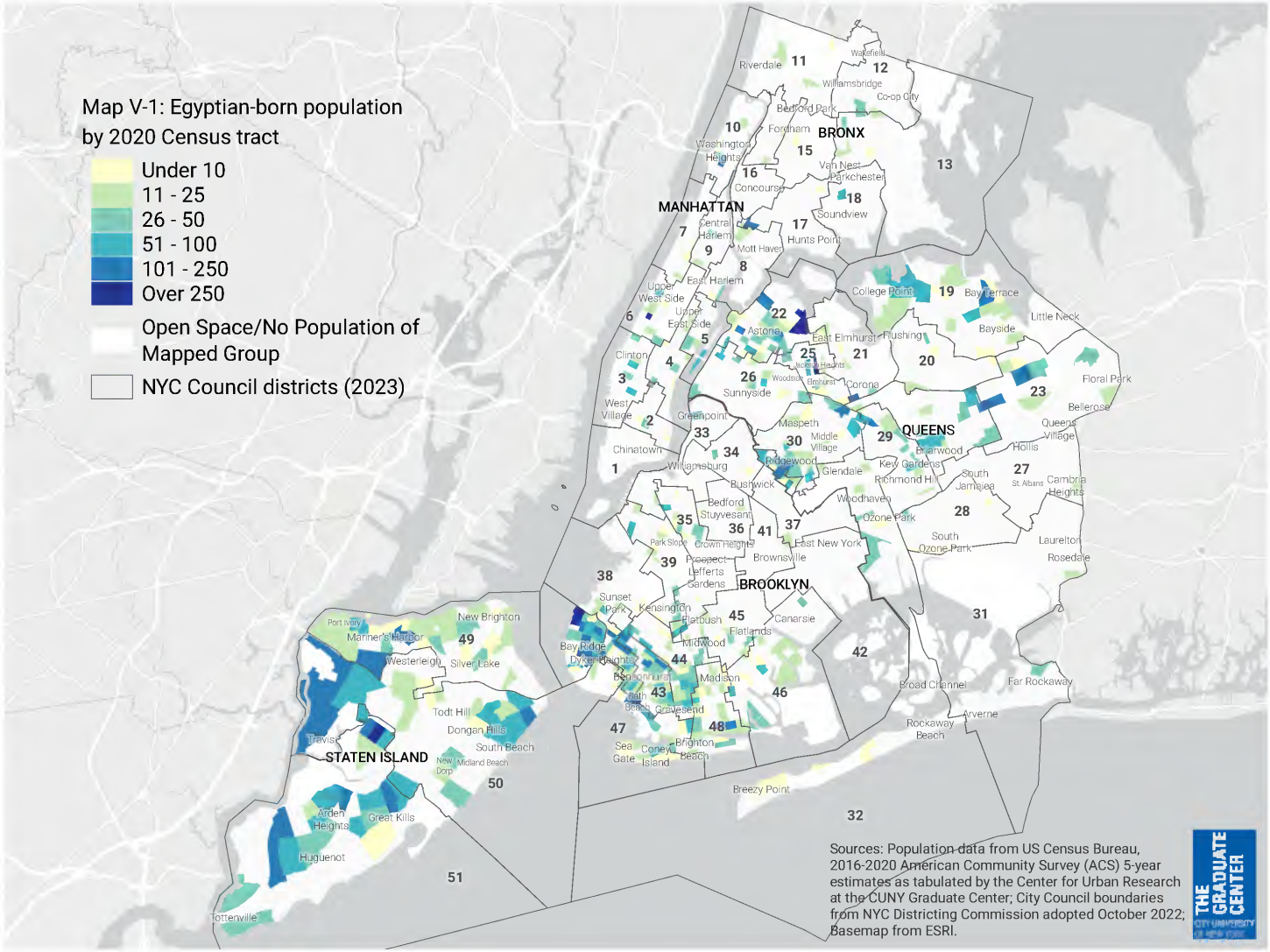

Sources: Population data from US Census Bureau, 2016-2020 American Community Survey (ACS) 5-year estimates as tabulated by the Center for Urban Research at the CUNY Graduate Center; City Council boundaries from NYC Districting Commission adopted October 2022; Basemap from ESRI.

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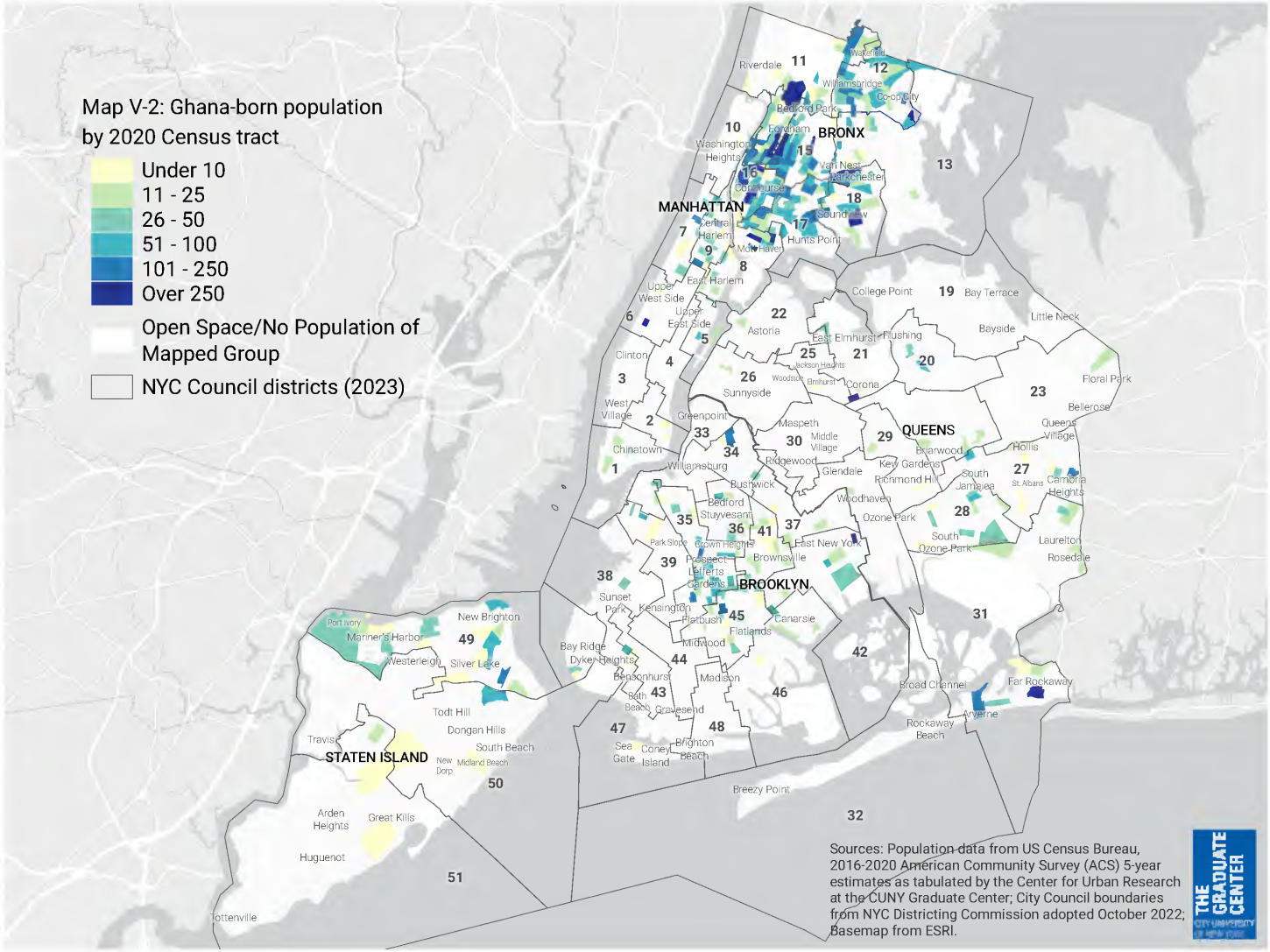
Map V-2: Ghana-born population by 2020 Census tract
Under 10
11 - 25
26 - 50
51 - 100
101 - 250
Over 250
Open Space/No Population of Mapped Group
NYC Council districts (2023)
BRONX
MANHATTAN
QUEENS
BROOKLYN
STATEN ISLAND
Riverdale
Wakefield
Williamsbridge
Co-op City
Bedford Park
Fordham
Washington Heights
Van Nest
Parkchester
Concourse
Sound View
Central Harlem
Hunts Point
Mott Haven
East Harlem
Upper West Side
Upper East Side
College Point
Bay Terrace
Little Neck
Bayside
Astoria
East Elmhurst
Flushing
Jackson Heights
Woodside
Elmhurst
Corona
Floral Park
Clinton
Sunnyside
West Village
Greenpoint
Maspeth
Middle Village
Bellerose
Queens Village
Chinatown
Williamsburg
Ridgewood
Briarwood
Hollis
Glendale
Kew Gardens
Richmond Hill
South Jamaica
St. Albans
Cambria Heights
Bushwick
Woodhaven
Bedford Stuyvesant
Ozone Park
Park Slope
Crown Heights
East New York
South Ozone Park
Laurelton
Rosedale
Prospect Lefferts Gardens
Brownsville
Sunset Park
Kensington
Flatbush
Canarsie
Flatlands
Midwood
Port Ivory
Mariner's Harbor
New Brighton
Westerleigh
Silver Lake
Bay Ridge
Dyker Heights
Bensonhurst
Madison
Bath Beach
Gravesend
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Far Rockaway
Arverne
Rockaway Beach
Todt Hill
Dongan Hills
South Beach
Travis
New Dorp
Midland Beach
Sea Gate
Coney Island
Brighton Beach
Breezy Point
Arden Heights
Great Kills
Huguenot
Tottenville
Sources: Population data from US Census Bureau, 2016-2020 American Community Survey (ACS) 5-year estimates as tabulated by the Center for Urban Research at the CUNY Graduate Center; City Council boundaries from NYC Districting Commission adopted October 2022; Basemap from ESRI.
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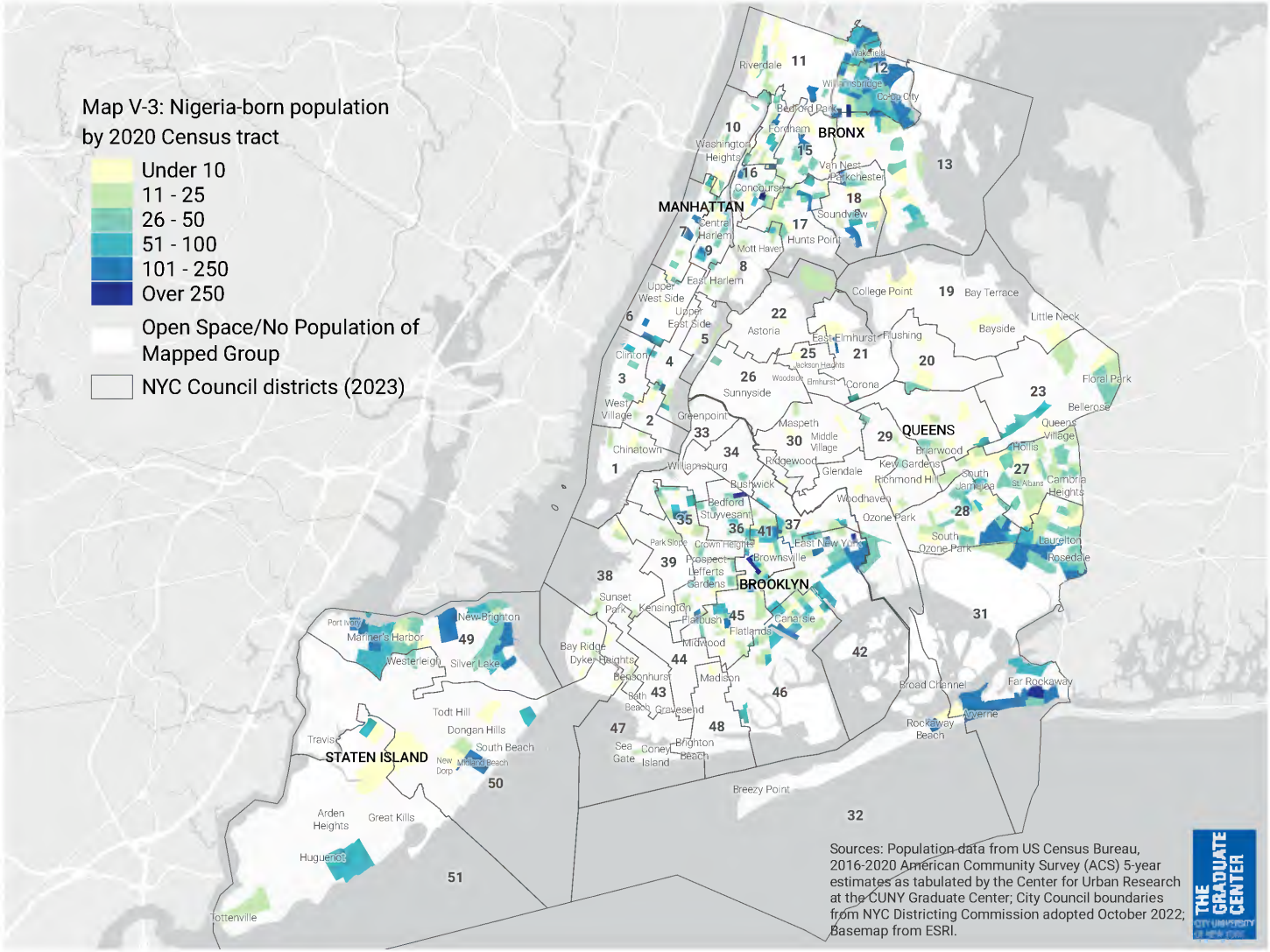
Map V-3: Nigeria-born population by 2020 Census tract
Under 10
11 - 25
26 - 50
51 - 100
101 - 250
Over 250
Open Space/No Population of Mapped Group
NYC Council districts (2023)
BRONX
MANHATTAN
QUEENS
BROOKLYN
STATEN ISLAND
Riverdale
Wakefield
Williamsbridge
Co-op City
Bedford Park
Fordham
Washington Heights
Van Nest
Parkchester
Concourse
Soundview
Central Harlem
Hunts Point
Mott Haven
East Harlem
Upper West Side
Upper East Side
College Point
Bay Terrace
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Corona
Floral Park
Bellerose
Queens Village
Hollis
Clinton
West Village
Greenpoint
Sunnyside
Maspeth
Middle Village
Briarwood
Kew Gardens
Richmond Hill
South Jamaica
St. Albans
Cambria Heights
Chinatown
Williamsburg
Ridgewood
Glendale
Bushwick
Woodhaven
Ozone Park
Bedford Stuyvesant
Park Slope
Crown Heights
East New York
South Ozone Park
Laurelton
Rosedale
Prospect Lefferts Gardens
Brownsville
Sunset Park
Kensington
Flatbush
Canarsie
Flatlands
Midwood
Bay Ridge
Dyker Heights
Bensonhurst
Madison
Bath Beach
Gravesend
Broad Channel
Far Rockaway
Arverne
Rockaway Beach
Port Ivory
Mariner's Harbor
New Brighton
Westerleigh
Silver Lake
Todt Hill
Dongan Hills
South Beach
Travis
New Dorp
Midland Beach
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Coney Island
Brighton Beach
Breezy Point
Arden Heights
Great Kills
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Tottenville
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Sources: Population data from US Census Bureau, 2016-2020 American Community Survey (ACS) 5-year estimates as tabulated by the Center for Urban Research at the CUNY Graduate Center; City Council boundaries from NYC Districting Commission adopted October 2022; Basemap from ESRI.
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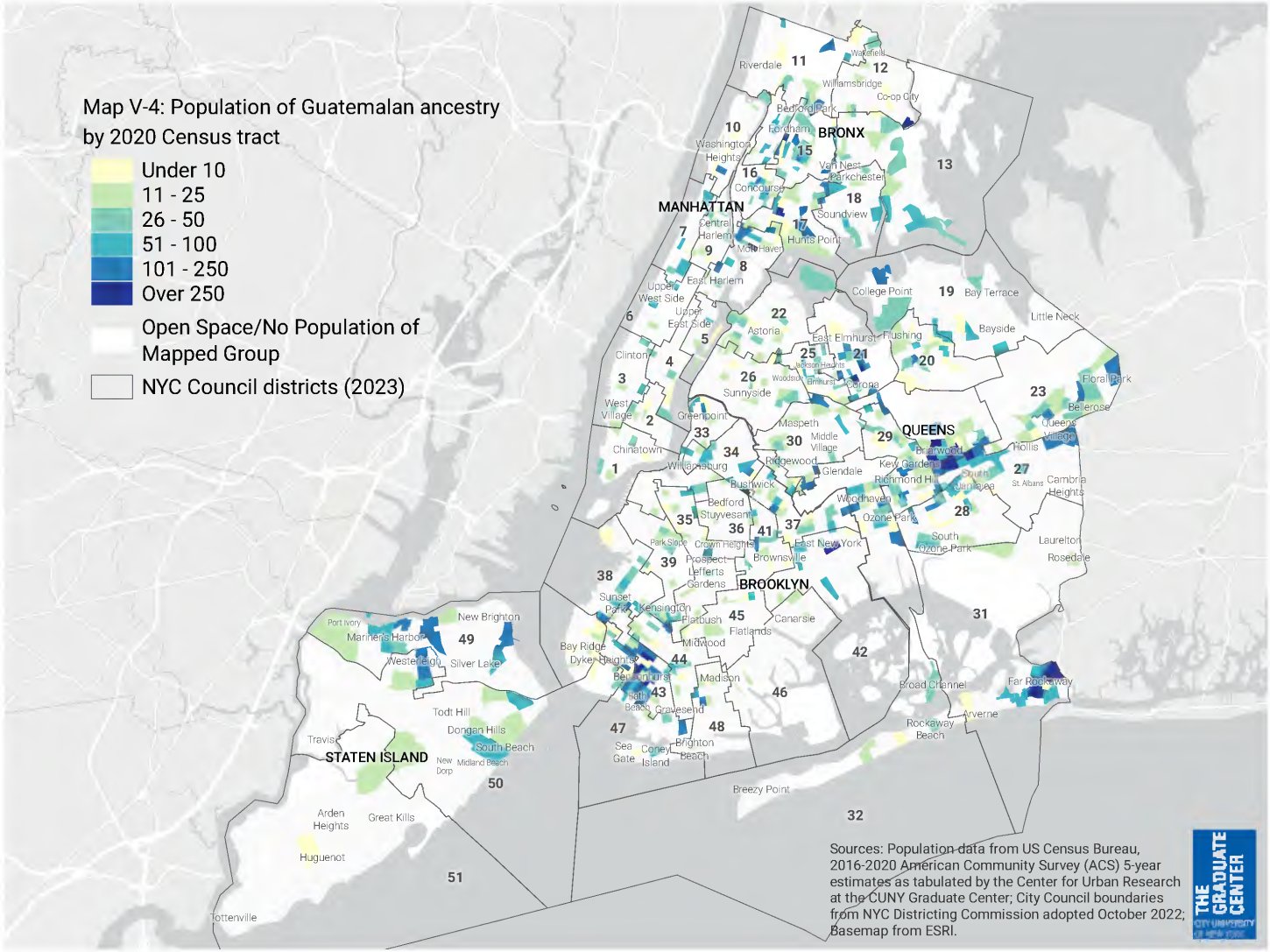
Map V-4: Population of Guatemalan ancestry by 2020 Census tract
Under 10
11 - 25
26 - 50
51 - 100
101 - 250
Over 250
Open Space/No Population of Mapped Group
NYC Council districts (2023)
BRONX
MANHATTAN
QUEENS
BROOKLYN
STATEN ISLAND
Riverdale
Wakefield
Williamsbridge
Co-op City
Bedford Park
Fordham
Washington Heights
Van Nest
Parkchester
Concourse
Soundview
Hunts Point
Mott Haven
Central Harlem
East Harlem
Upper West Side
Upper East Side
College Point
Bay Terrace
Little Neck
Bayside
Astoria
East Elmhurst
Flushing
Clinton
Sunnyside
Woodside
Jackson Heights
Elmhurst
Corona
Floral Park
Bellerose
Queens Village
West Village
Greenpoint
Maspeth
Middle Village
Chinatown
Williamsburg
Ridgewood
Glendale
Kew Gardens
Richmond Hill
Briarwood
Hollis
South Ozone Park
Cambria Heights
St. Albans
Bushwick
Bedford Stuyvesant
Woodhaven
Ozone Park
Park Slope
Crown Heights
East New York
Brownsville
Laurelton
Rosedale
Prospect Lefferts Gardens
Sunset Park
Kensington
Flatbush
Canarsie
Flatlands
Midwood
Bay Ridge
Dyker Heights
Bensonhurst
Madison
Gravesend
Broad Channel
Far Rockaway
Rockaway Beach
Arverne
Port Ivory
Mariners Harbor
New Brighton
Westerleigh
Silver Lake
Todt Hill
Dongan Hills
South Beach
Travis
New Dorp
Midland Beach
Sea Gate
Coney Island
Brighton Beach
Breezy Point
Arden Heights
Great Kills
Huguenot
Tottenville
Sources: Population data from US Census Bureau, 2016-2020 American Community Survey (ACS) 5-year estimates as tabulated by the Center for Urban Research at the CUNY Graduate Center; City Council boundaries from NYC Districting Commission adopted October 2022; Basemap from ESRI.
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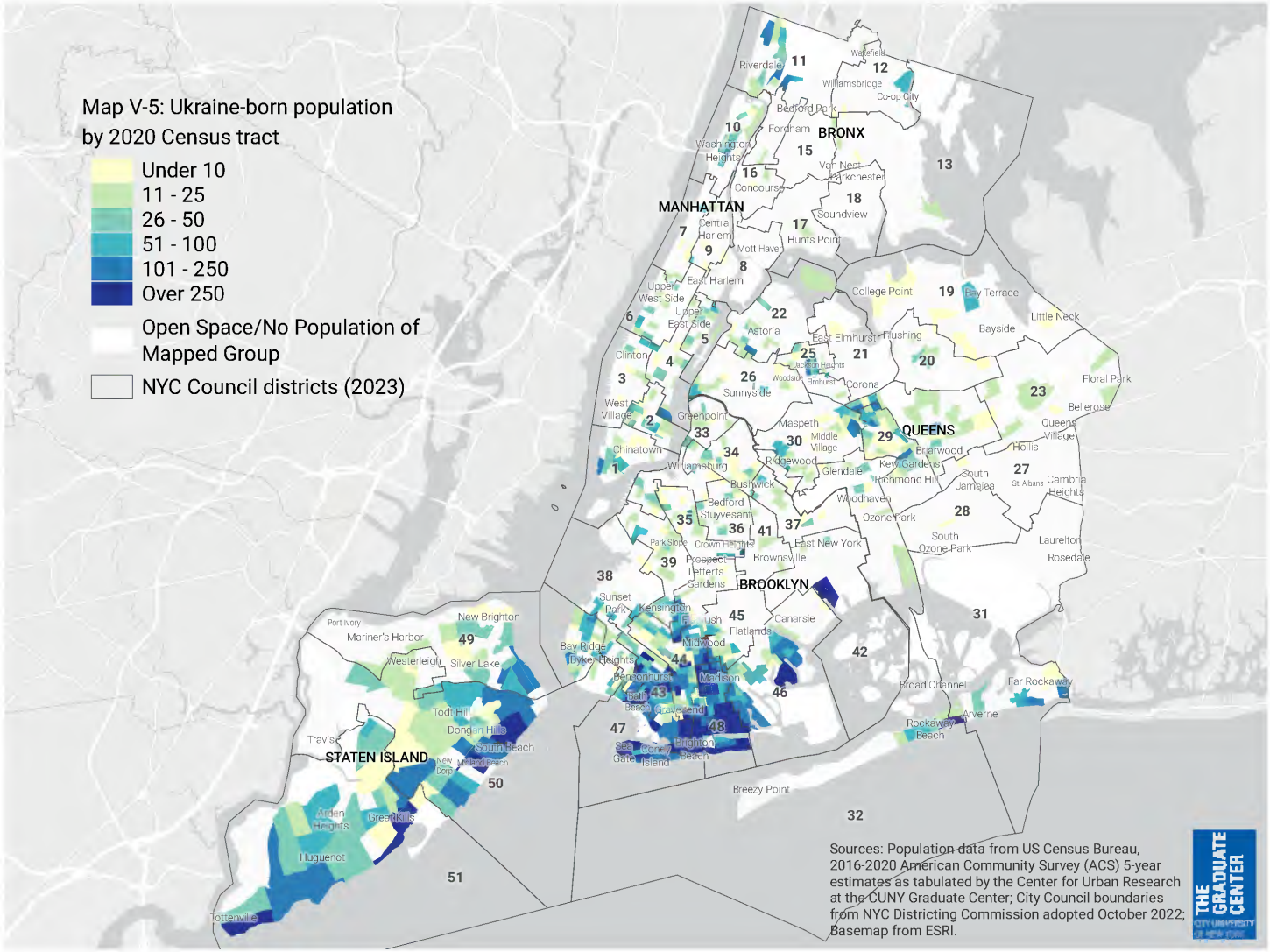
Map V-5: Ukraine-born population by 2020 Census tract
Under 10
11 - 25
26 - 50
51 - 100
101 - 250
Over 250
Open Space/No Population of Mapped Group
NYC Council districts (2023)
BRONX
MANHATTAN
QUEENS
BROOKLYN
STATEN ISLAND
Riverdale
Wakefield
Williamsbridge
Co-op City
Bedford Park
Fordham
Washington Heights
Van Nest
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Central Harlem
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Upper West Side
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Bay Terrace
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Cambria Heights
Bushwick
Woodhaven
Bedford Stuyvesant
Ozone Park
Park Slope
Crown Heights
East New York
South Ozone Park
Laurelton
Rosedale
Prospect Lefferts Gardens
Brownsville
Sunset Park
Kensington
Canarsie
Flatlands
Port Ivory
New Brighton
Mariner's Harbor
Westerleigh
Silver Lake
Bay Ridge
Dyke Heights
Midwood
Bensonhurst
Madison
Bath Beach
Gravesend
Broad Channel
Far Rockaway
Todt Hill
Dongan Hills
South Beach
Travis
Sea Gate
Coney Island
Brighton Beach
Rockaway Beach
Arverne
New Dorp
Midland Beach
Breezy Point
Arden Heights
Great Kills
Huguenot
Tottenville
Sources: Population data from US Census Bureau, 2016-2020 American Community Survey (ACS) 5-year estimates as tabulated by the Center for Urban Research at the CUNY Graduate Center; City Council boundaries from NYC Districting Commission adopted October 2022; Basemap from ESRI.
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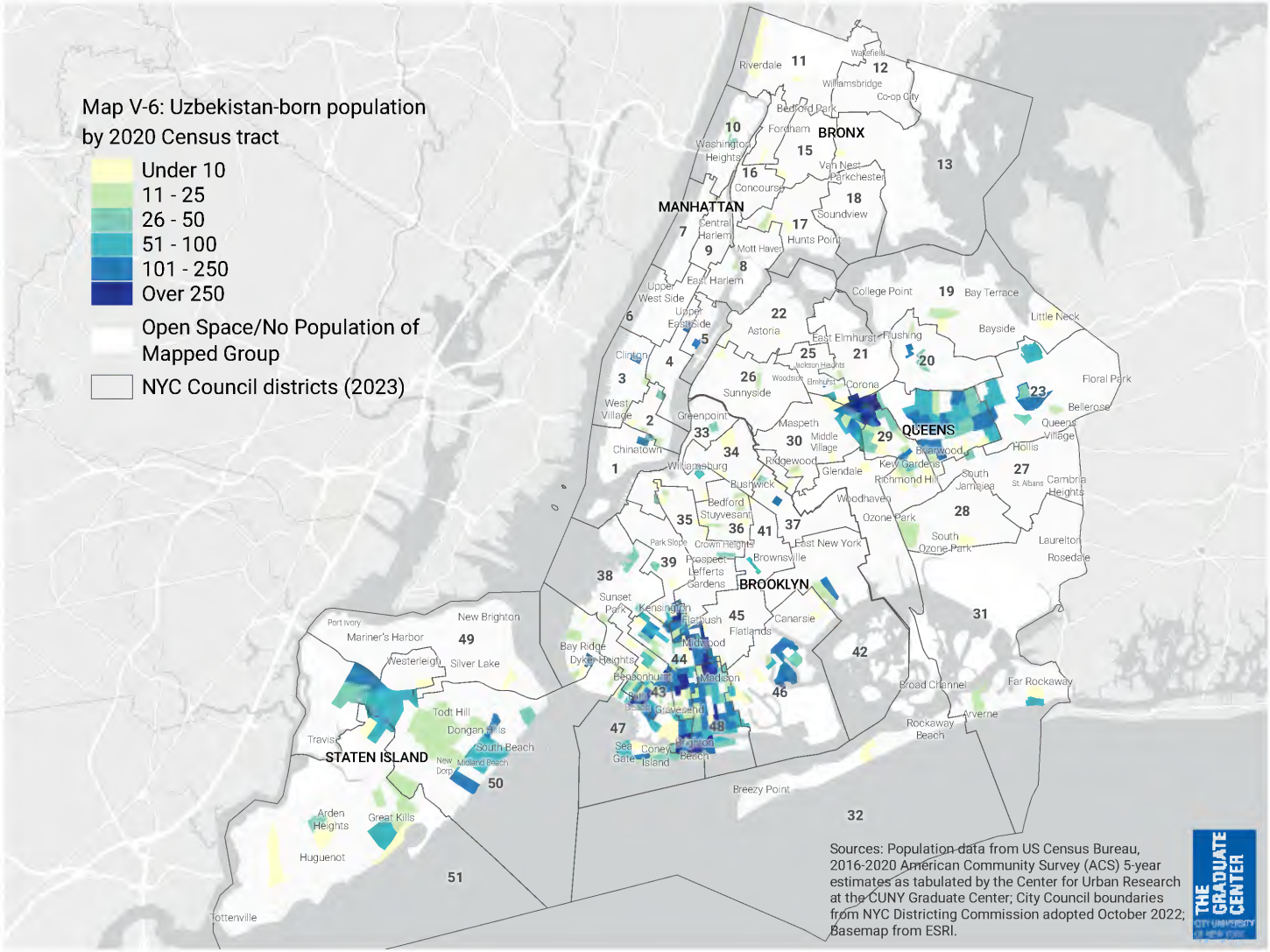
Map V-6: Uzbekistan-born population by 2020 Census tract
Under 10
11 - 25
26 - 50
51 - 100
101 - 250
Over 250
Open Space/No Population of Mapped Group
NYC Council districts (2023)
BRONX
MANHATTAN
QUEENS
BROOKLYN
STATEN ISLAND
Riverdale
Wakefield
Williamsbridge
Co-op City
Bedford Park
Fordham
Washington Heights
Van Nest
Parkchester
Concourse
Soundview
Central Harlem
Hunts Point
Mott Haven
East Harlem
Upper West Side
Upper East Side
College Point
Bay Terrace
Little Neck
Bayside
Astoria
East Elmhurst
Flushing
Floral Park
Bellerose
Queens Village
Hollis
Clinton
West Village
Greenpoint
Sunnyside
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Woodside
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Middle Village
Ridgewood
Glendale
Kew Gardens
Richmond Hill
South Jamaica
St. Albans
Cambria Heights
Chinatown
Williamsburg
Bushwick
Bedford Stuyvesant
Woodhaven
Ozone Park
South Ozone Park
Laurelton
Rosedale
Park Slope
Crown Heights
East New York
Brownsville
Prospect Lefferts Gardens
Sunset Park
Kensington
Flatbush
Canarsie
Flatlands
Midwood
Bay Ridge
Dyker Heights
Bensonhurst
Madison
Gravesend
Coney Island
Brighton Beach
Sea Gate
Broad Channel
Far Rockaway
Rockaway Beach
Arverne
Breezy Point
Port Ivory
Mariner's Harbor
New Brighton
Westerleigh
Silver Lake
Todt Hill
Travis
Dongan Hills
South Beach
New Dorp
Midland Beach
Arden Heights
Great Kills
Huguenot
Tottenville
Sources: Population data from US Census Bureau, 2016-2020 American Community Survey (ACS) 5-year estimates as tabulated by the Center for Urban Research at the CUNY Graduate Center; City Council boundaries from NYC Districting Commission adopted October 2022; Basemap from ESRI.
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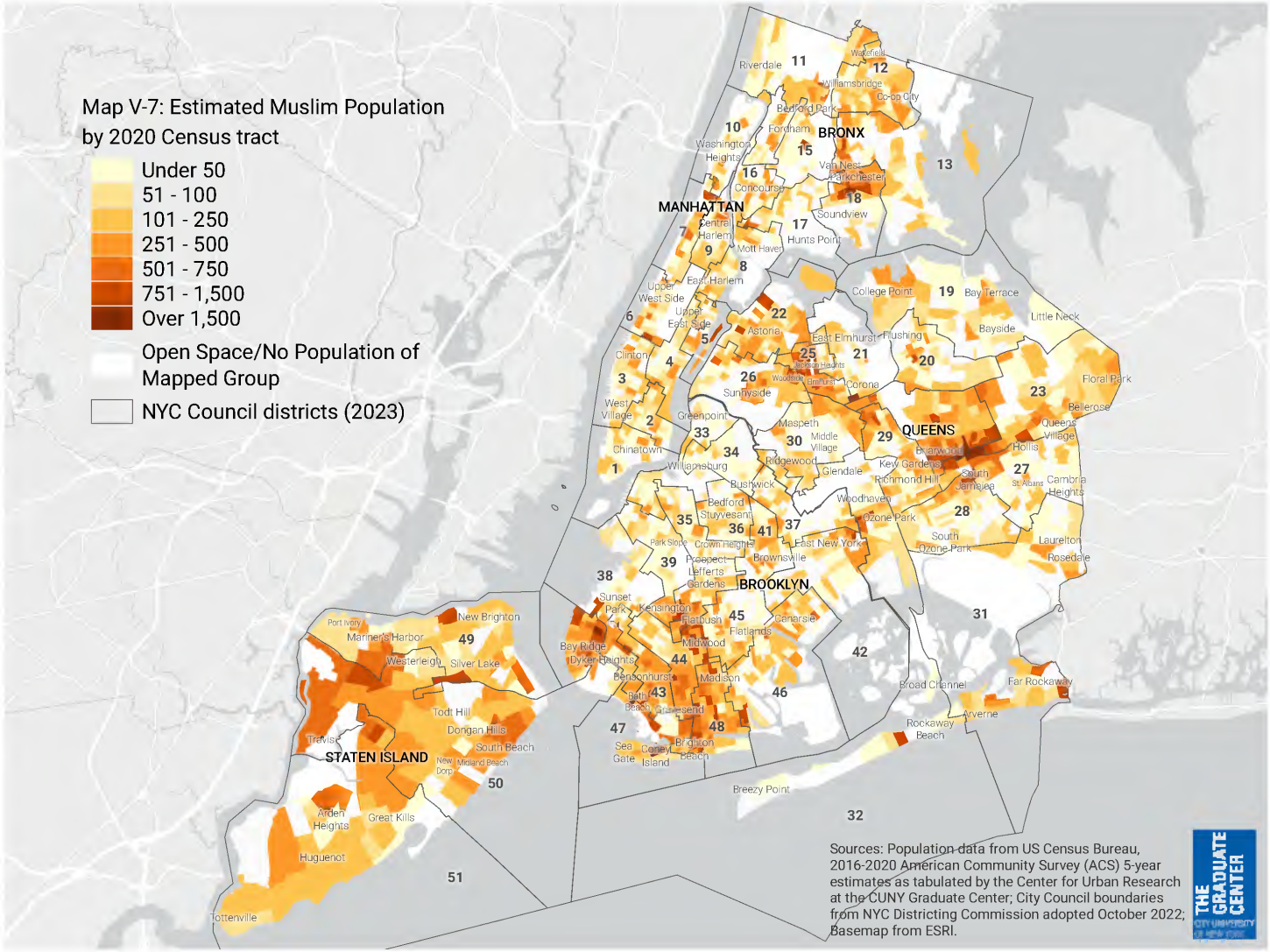
Map V-7: Estimated Muslim Population by 2020 Census tract
Under 50
51 - 100
101 - 250
251 - 500
501 - 750
751 - 1,500
Over 1,500
Open Space/No Population of Mapped Group
NYC Council districts (2023)
BRONX
MANHATTAN
QUEENS
BROOKLYN
STATEN ISLAND
Riverdale
Fordham
Washington Heights
Central Harlem
East Harlem
Upper West Side
Upper East Side
Clinton
West Village
Chinatown
Greenpoint
Williamsburg
Bushwick
Astoria
College Point
Bay Terrace
Bayside
Little Neck
Flushing
East Elmhurst
Corona
Sunnyside
Maspeth
Middle Village
Ridgewood
Glendale
Kew Gardens
Richmond Hill
Jamaica
Hollis
Briarwood
Queens Village
Floral Park
Bellerose
Cambria Heights
Woodhaven
Ozone Park
South Ozone Park
Laurelton
Rosedale
Far Rockaway
Broad Channel
Rockaway Beach
Arverne
Breezy Point
Bedford Stuyvesant
Crown Heights
Park Slope
East New York
Brownsville
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Flatbush
Canarsie
Flatlands
Midwood
Bay Ridge
Dyker Heights
Bensonhurst
Madison
Bath Beach
Gravesend
Sea Gate
Coney Island
Brighton Beach
New Brighton
Port Ivory
Mariners Harbor
Westerleigh
Silver Lake
Todt Hill
Dongan Hills
South Beach
Travis
New Dorp
Midland Beach
Arden Heights
Great Kills
Huguenot
Tottenville
Sources: Population data from US Census Bureau, 2016-2020 American Community Survey (ACS) 5-year estimates as tabulated by the Center for Urban Research at the CUNY Graduate Center; City Council boundaries from NYC Districting Commission adopted October 2022; Basemap from ESRI.
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Exhibit C

New York City's Population Estimates and Trends

2025

May Release

NYC Department of City Planning
Population Division

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Key Takeaways: Overview

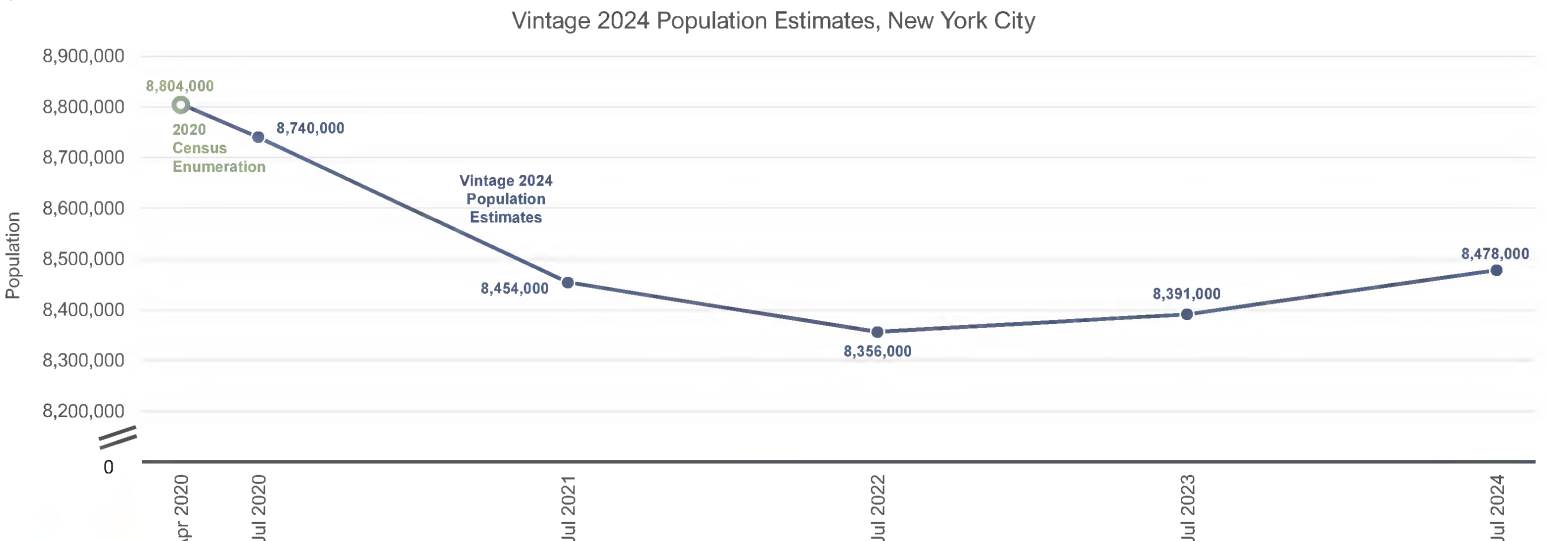
- New York City's population grew by 87,000 between July 2023 and July 2024, reaching 8,478,000.
- All five boroughs grew between mid-2023 and mid-2024, led by population increases in Manhattan, which was also the first borough to begin growing again after losses early in the pandemic.
- Despite early pandemic-era losses for NYC and many large U.S cities, the most populous places exhibited strong growth from mid-2023 to mid-2024.
- Last year's July 2023 population estimate was revised upwards by 133,000 and showed population growth of 35,000 from July 2022 to July 2023. Two consecutive years of growth suggest that pandemic-era losses were short-lived.
- This update reflects an improved methodology for estimating international migration and more complete data on the population in shelters.
- As the number of births decreases, following national trends, migration patterns are becoming even more impactful on overall population change.

NYC PLANNING

Key Takeaways: Two Consecutive Years of Population Growth in New York City

New York City's population grew by 87,000 between July 2023 and July 2024, reaching 8,478,000. Two consecutive years of growth suggest that pandemic-era losses were a short-lived shock.

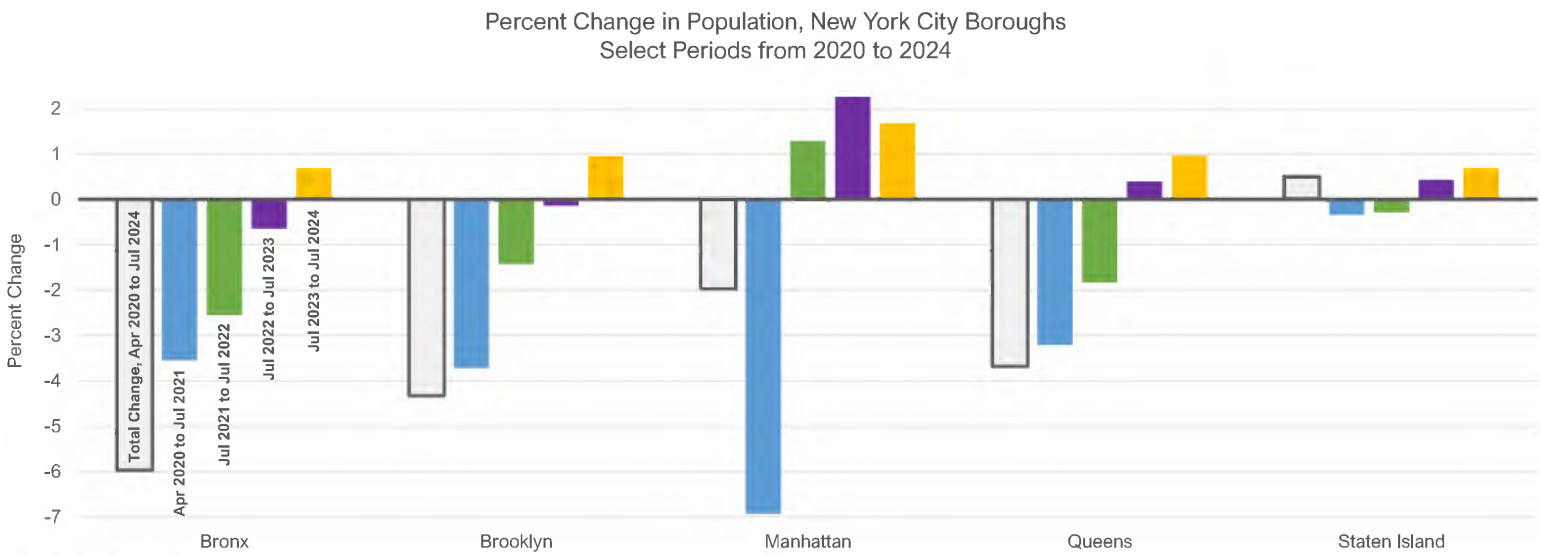
(More information on pages 10 to 11)



Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2020 Census and Population Estimates Program (Vintage 2024)

Key Takeaways: The Population Grew in All Five Boroughs

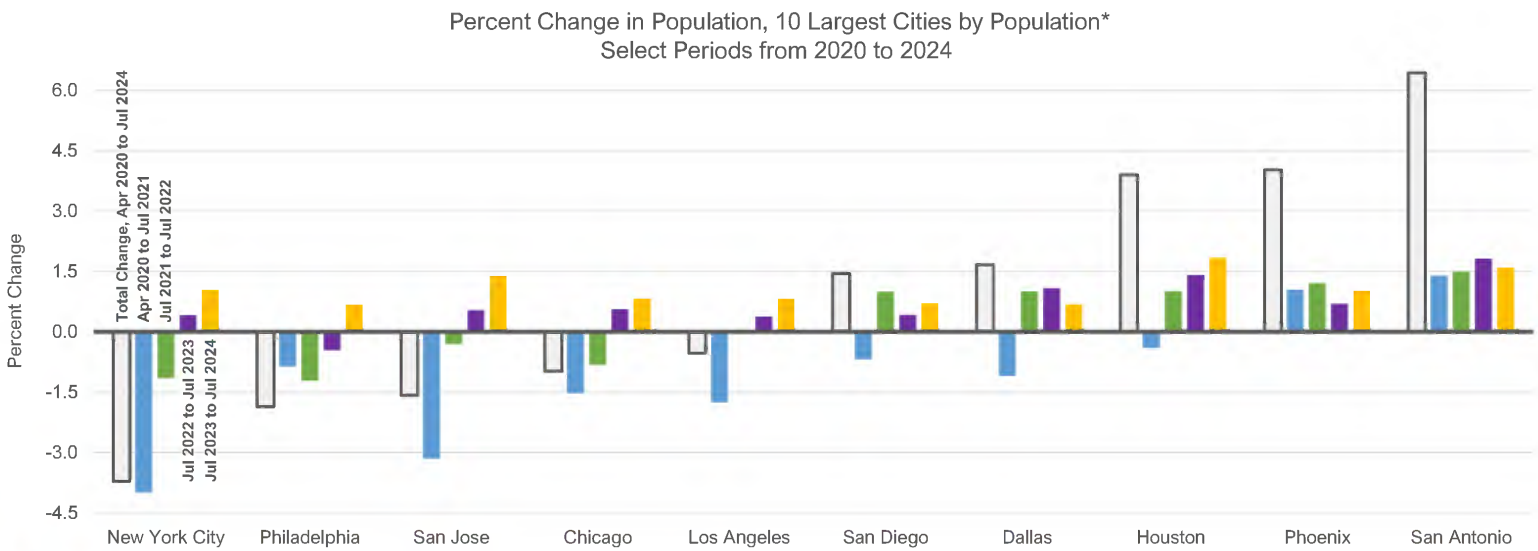
All five boroughs grew between 2023 and 2024, led by population growth in Manhattan, which was also the first borough to begin growing again after losses early in the pandemic. (More information on page 12)



Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2020 Census and Population Estimates Program (Vintage 2024); New York City Department of City Planning, Population Division
Note: Changes from April 2020 to July 2024 and April 2020 to July 2021 are calculated from the 2020 Census, rather than the estimates base provided in the Vintage 2024 population estimates.

Key Takeaways: The 10 Most Populous U.S. Cities Grew Between Mid-2023 and Mid-2024

Despite early pandemic-era losses for NYC and many large U.S cities, the most populous places exhibited strong growth from mid-2023 to mid-2024. (More information on page 13)



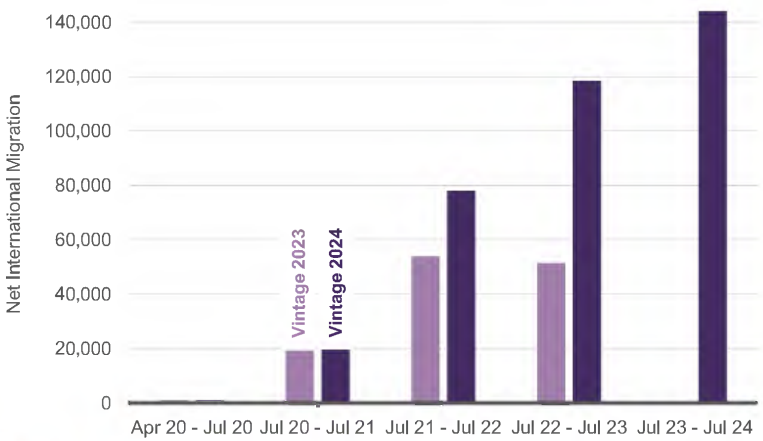
NYC PLANNING

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2020 Census and Population Estimates Program (Vintage 2024); New York City Department of City Planning, Population Division
Note: Changes from April 2020 to July 2024 and April 2020 to July 2021 are calculated from the 2020 Census, rather than the estimates base provided in the Vintage 2024 population estimates.
*10 largest cities by population as of the 2020 Census.

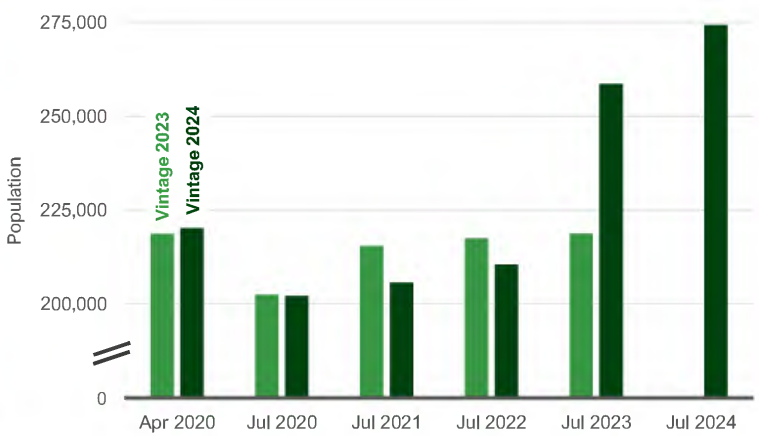
Key Takeaways: Substantial Upward Revisions to Previous Estimate

The July 2023 population estimate was revised upwards by 133,000, largely reflecting the Census Bureau's improved methodology for estimating international migration, as well as data NYC supplied to the Census Bureau to correct underestimates of the population in shelters. (More information on pages 15 to 17)

Vintage 2023 and 2024 Estimates of Net International Migration, New York City



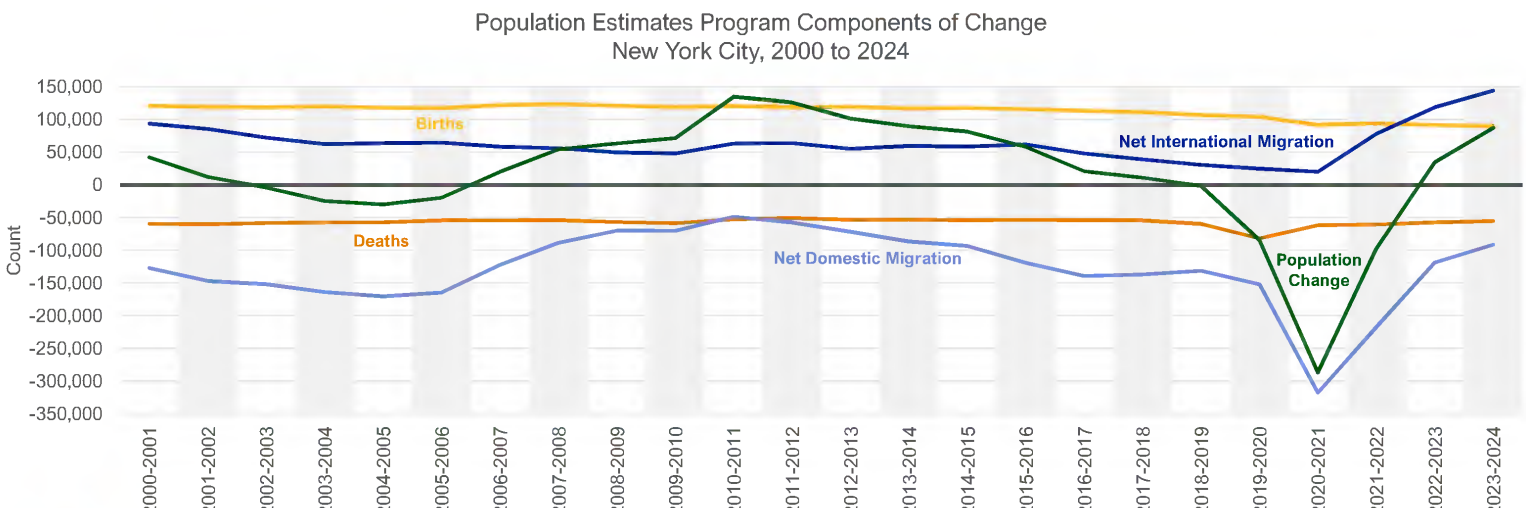
Vintage 2023 and 2024 Estimated Group Quarters Population, New York City



Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2020 Census and Population Estimates Program (Vintage 2023, Vintage 2024)

Key Takeaways: Emerging Patterns in the Components of Change

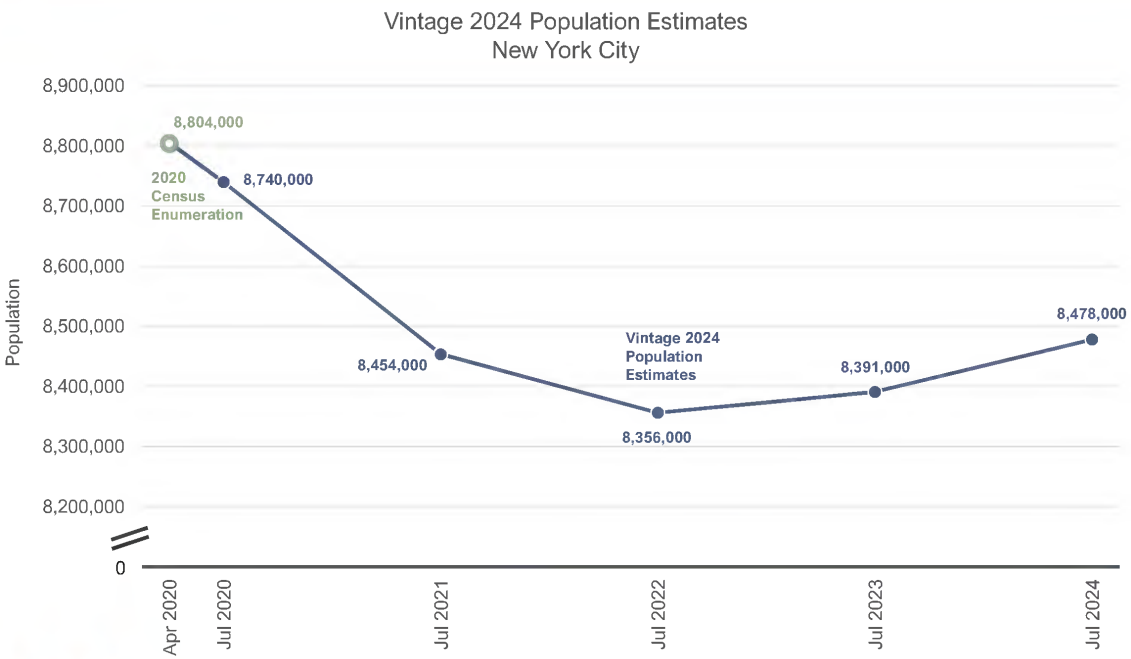
Historically high **net international immigration**, diminishing **net migration losses to the rest of the U.S.**, and more subtle, long-term changes in **births** and **deaths** resulted in **population growth** between July 2023 and July 2024. (More information on pages 20 to 23)



Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Population Estimates Program (2000-2010 and 2010-2020 Intercensal Estimates, Vintage 2010, Vintage 2020, Vintage 2024); Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, CDC WONDER (births and deaths for July 2019-July 2020); New York City Department of City Planning, Population Division
Note: Dates refer to July of each year. For example, change from 2000-2001 represents estimates for July 2000 to July 2001. Components may not sum to population change; for 2000 to 2020, population change and components come from different sources, and for 2020 to 2024 there is a residual in the estimation process.

The Census Bureau's Vintage 2024 Population Estimates for NYC

Two Consecutive Years of Population Growth in New York City



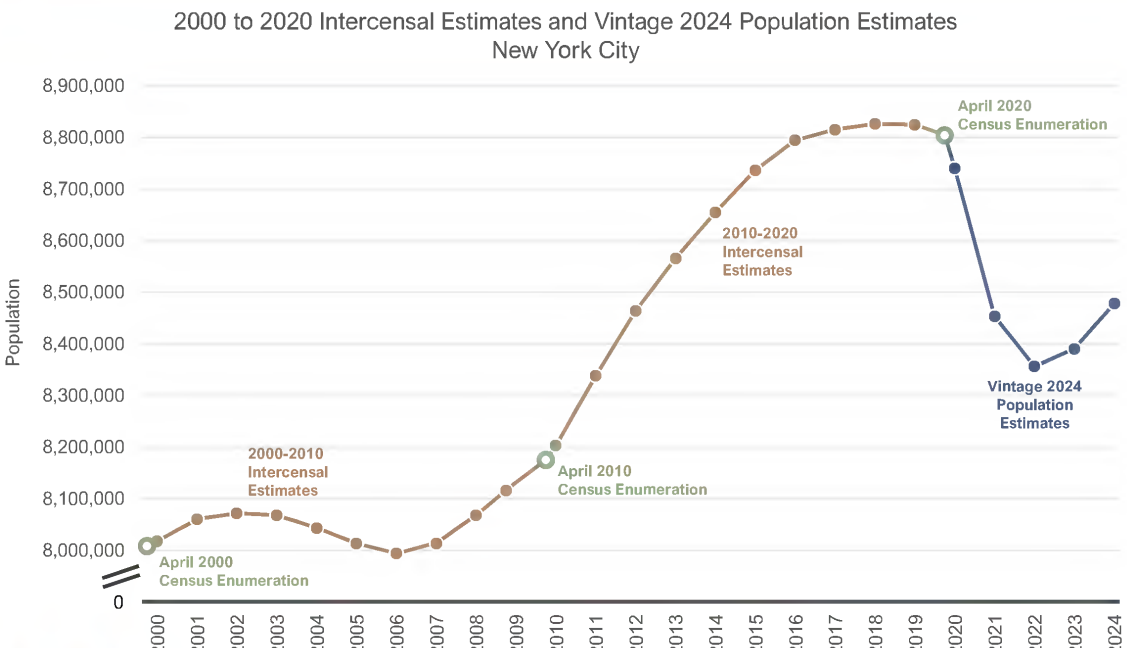
- New York City's population is estimated at 8.48 million as of July 1, 2024.
- The increase of 87,000 from July 2023 to July 2024 was more than twice the pace of the prior year's gains.
- Two consecutive years of growth suggest that pandemic-era losses were a short-lived population shock.

NYC PLANNING

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2020 Census and Population Estimates Program (Vintage 2024)

10

Recent Population Increases Return NYC to Long-term Trend of Growth



- New York City's population growth has been uneven over the past quarter century.
- Despite fluctuations with periods of growth and decline, the long-term pattern is one of population increase.
- A brief period of large population losses early in the pandemic has given way to recent population growth.

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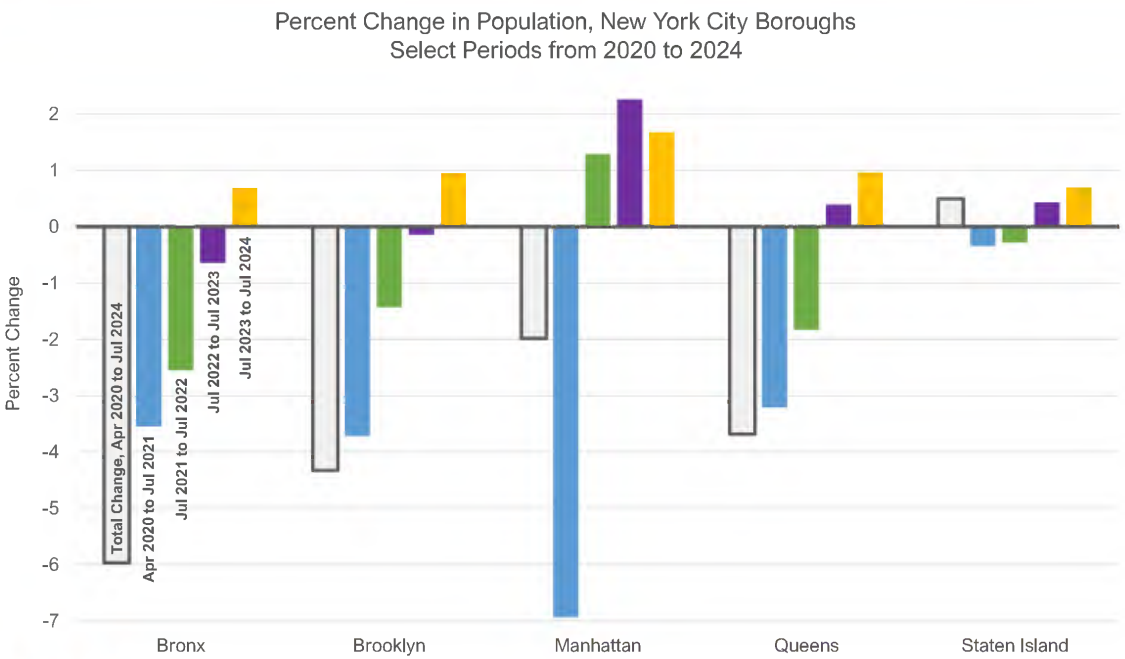
Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2000, 2010, and 2020 Censuses and Population Estimates Program (2000-2010 and 2010-2020 Intercensal Estimates, Vintage 2024)
Note: Intercensal and Vintage 2024 population estimates are as of July of given year. Census enumerations are as of April of given year.

All Five Boroughs Experienced Population Growth from Mid-2023 to Mid-2024



- All five boroughs grew between July 2023 and July 2024.
- While Manhattan had the steepest losses early in the pandemic, it also was the first borough to return to population growth and has experienced the fastest growth in recent years.
- From mid-2023 to mid-2024, Manhattan grew by 1.7 percent, Brooklyn and Queens by roughly 1.0 percent, and the Bronx and Staten Island by roughly 0.7 percent.

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Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2020 Census and Population Estimates Program (Vintage 2024); New York City Department of City Planning, Population Division
Note: Changes from April 2020 to July 2024 and April 2020 to July 2021 are calculated from the 2020 Census, rather than the estimates base provided in the Vintage 2024 population estimates.

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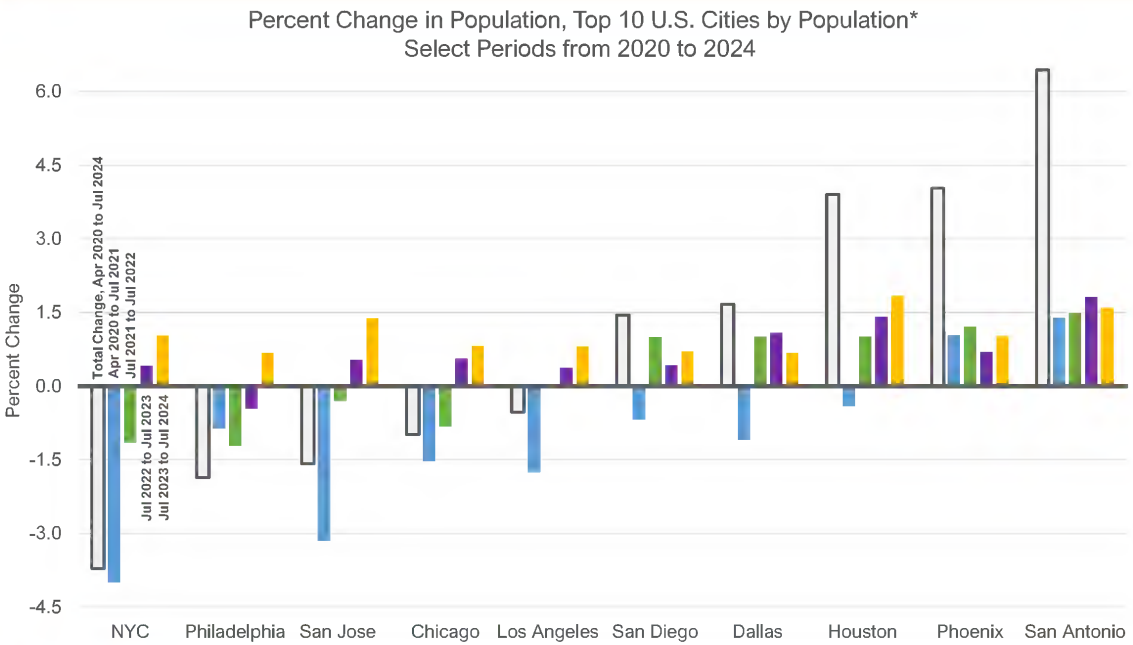
NYC's Population Grew from Mid-2023 to Mid-2024 Along with Other Most Populous U.S. Cities



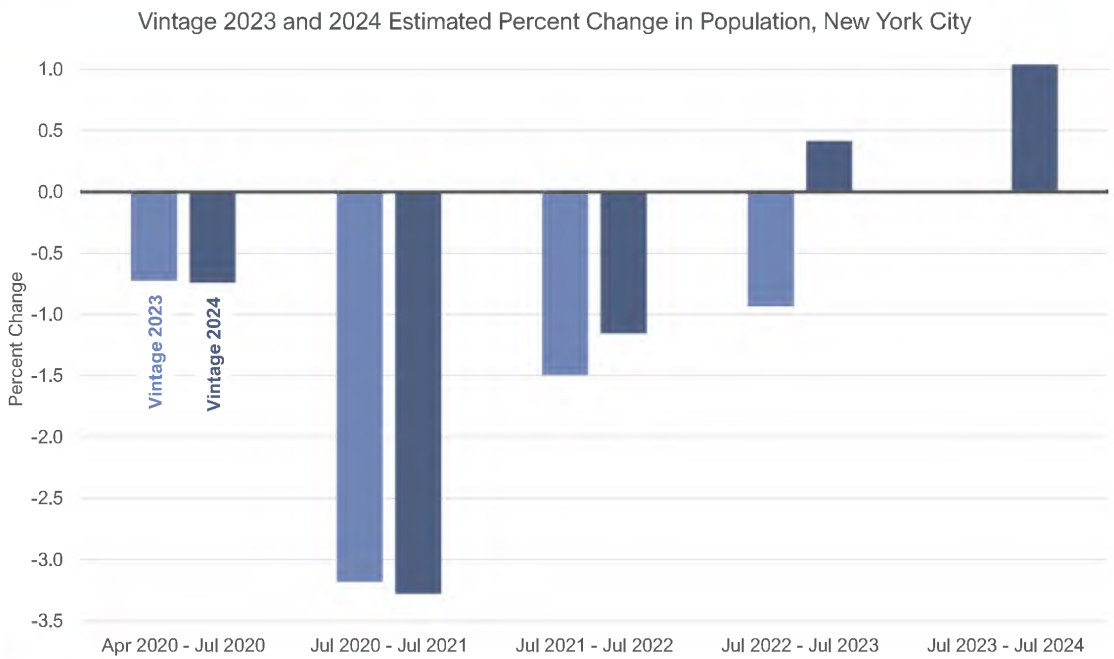
- NYC's population grew by 87,000 from July 2023 to July 2024, leading major U.S. cities in a broader national trend of urban growth.
- Recent growth across major cities signals a recovery from pandemic-era population declines.
- Since 2020, most major Sun Belt cities have experienced population growth, while large cities in the Northeast continue to recover from earlier pandemic-era losses—with NYC growing faster than the Northeast region as a whole.

NYC PLANNING

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2020 Census and Population Estimates Program (Vintage 2024); New York City Department of City Planning, Population Division
Note: Changes from April 2020 to July 2024 and April 2020 to July 2021 are calculated from the 2020 Census, rather than the estimates base provided in the Vintage 2024 population estimates.
*10 largest cities by population as of the 2020 Census.

An Upward Revision to Recent Estimates

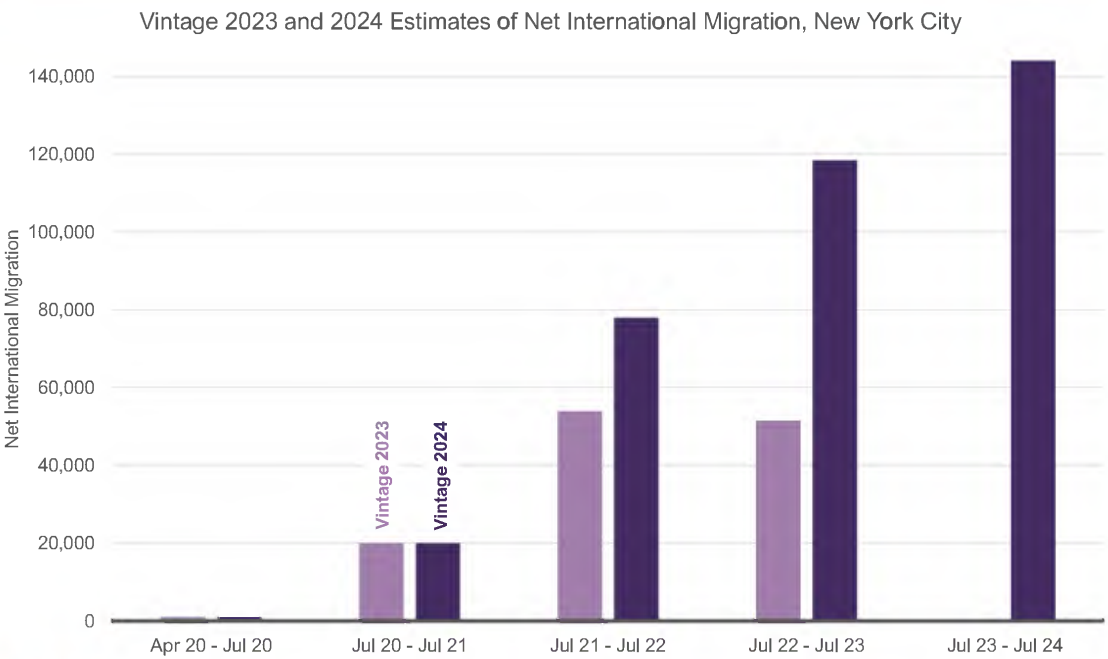
Growth from Mid-2022 to Mid-2023 Supersedes Earlier Estimates of Losses



Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2020 Census and Population Estimates Program (Vintage 2023, Vintage 2024)

- Each year, the Census Bureau releases a new series of population estimates for the years from the most recent census to the current vintage year. Vintage 2024 estimates include a new estimate for July 2024, as well as revised estimates for July 2020, 2021, 2022, and 2023.
- An estimated loss from mid-2022 to mid-2023 has been revised to growth of nearly 0.5% over the same period.
- Changes reflect methodological improvements as well as the inclusion of updated data.

Census Bureau Improved Methodology for Estimating Net International Migration



- In the Vintage 2024 estimates, the Population Estimates Program included a new adjustment to better incorporate international inflows of humanitarian migrants.
- This updated methodology resulted in a substantial upward revision to net international migration in recent years, in large part because of asylum seeker flows to New York City.

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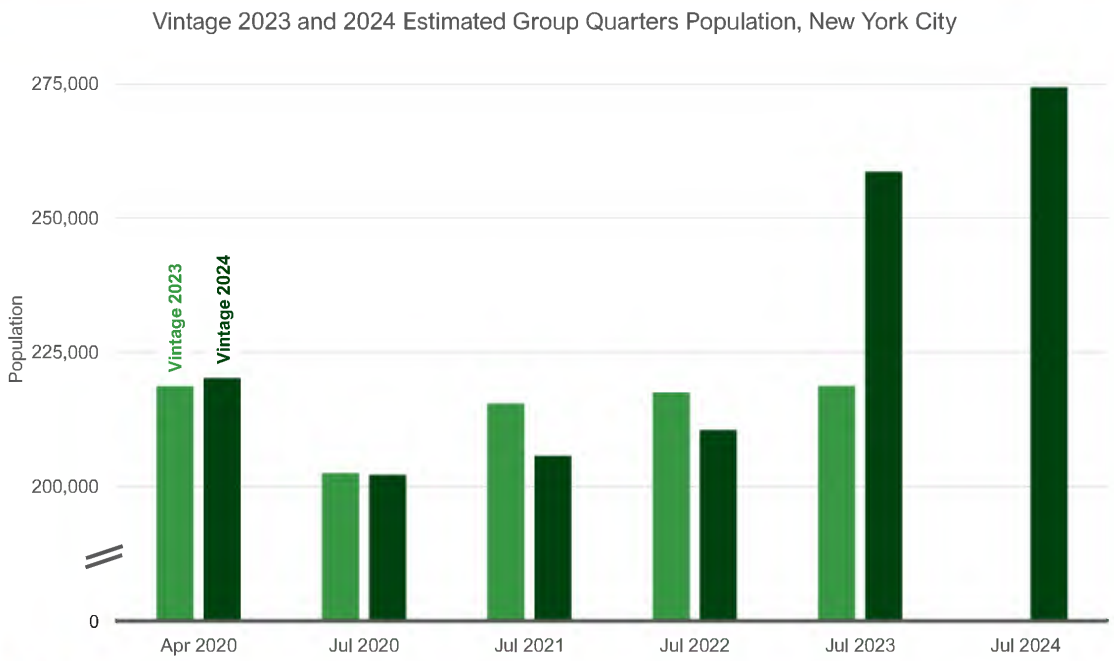
Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Population Estimates Program (Vintage 2023, Vintage 2024)

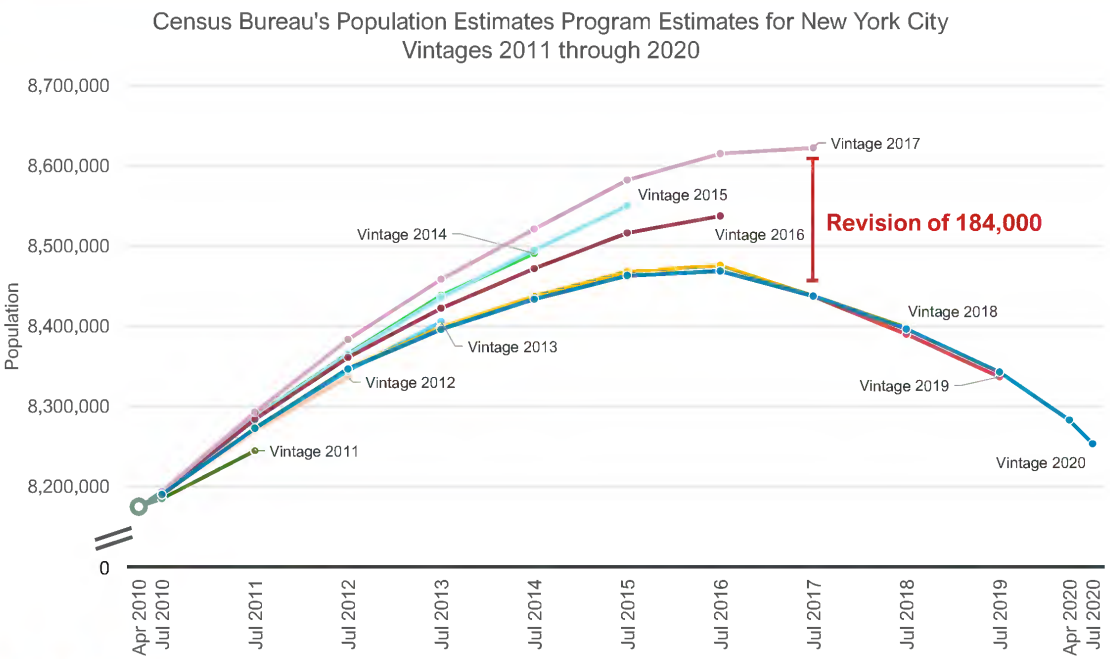
Group Quarters Population Estimates Reflect Updated and More Complete Data



Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Population Estimates Program (Vintage 2023, Vintage 2024)

- The Census Bureau estimates the population living in group quarters (GQ) as well as the total population, including those living in households.
- GQ includes facilities such as college dormitories, skilled nursing homes, correctional facilities, and temporary shelters.
- Last year's Vintage 2023 estimates did not reflect the increase in asylum seekers in NYC shelters since 2022. New York City worked with the Census Bureau to provide more complete data.
- Change in GQ population is reflected as domestic migration.

Annual Revisions to Previous Estimates Reflect Ongoing Updates and Improvements



- Revisions to previous estimates are a standard part of the process, reflecting updated data and methodological changes.
- Adjustments were made across the 2010s, yielding retroactive increases and decreases to New York City's population estimates.
- For example, the 2018 vintage revised the 2017 population down by a substantial 184,000, highlighting uncertainty in the estimates.
- Revisions similar in magnitude to the one between Vintage 2023 and Vintage 2024 have occurred before, and future revisions are possible.

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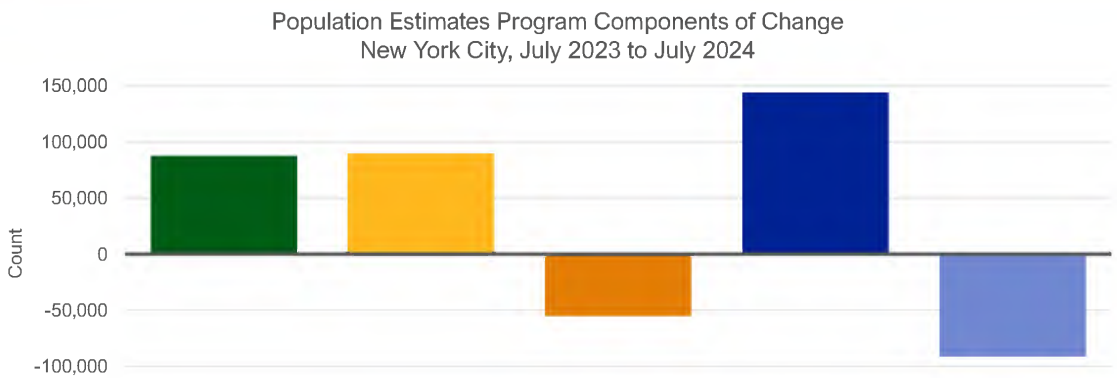
Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2010 Census and Population Estimates Program (Vintages 2011 through 2020); NYC Department of City Planning, Population Division

Census Bureau Population Estimates Program Components of Change

Births and Net International Inflows Drove Population Growth from Mid-2023 to Mid-2024



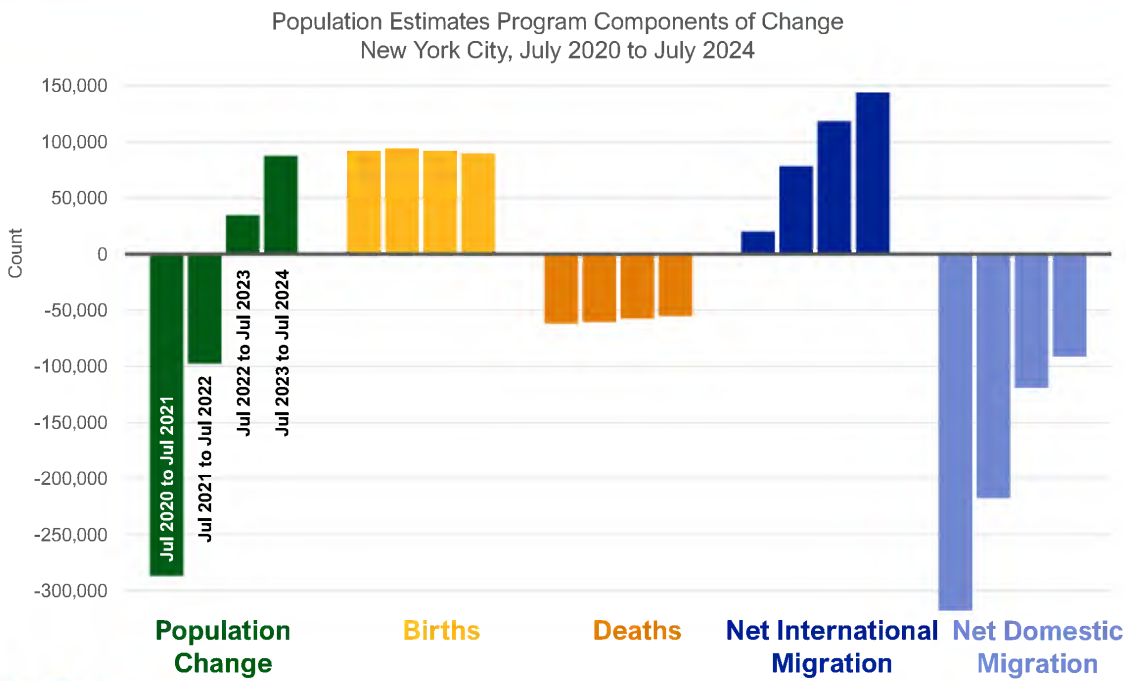
Population Change = **Births** - **Deaths** + **Net International Migration** + **Net Domestic Migration**

- Population change occurs through the *components of change* – births, deaths, and migration.
- From July 2023 to July 2024, NYC's population grew because there were more births than deaths, and net international inflows outpaced net domestic outflows, meaning that more people moved into NYC than moved out.

NYC PLANNING

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Population Estimates Program (Vintage 2024)

Since 2020, Net Domestic Outflows Have Decreased, and Net International Inflows Have Increased



- Since 2020, net international inflows have grown, meaning that immigration has increasingly outpaced emigration of New Yorkers.
- While more people move out of NYC to other places in the country than move in, this balance has shifted to smaller net domestic migration losses each year since 2020.
- Births and deaths have shifted by a relatively small amount between 2020 and 2024.

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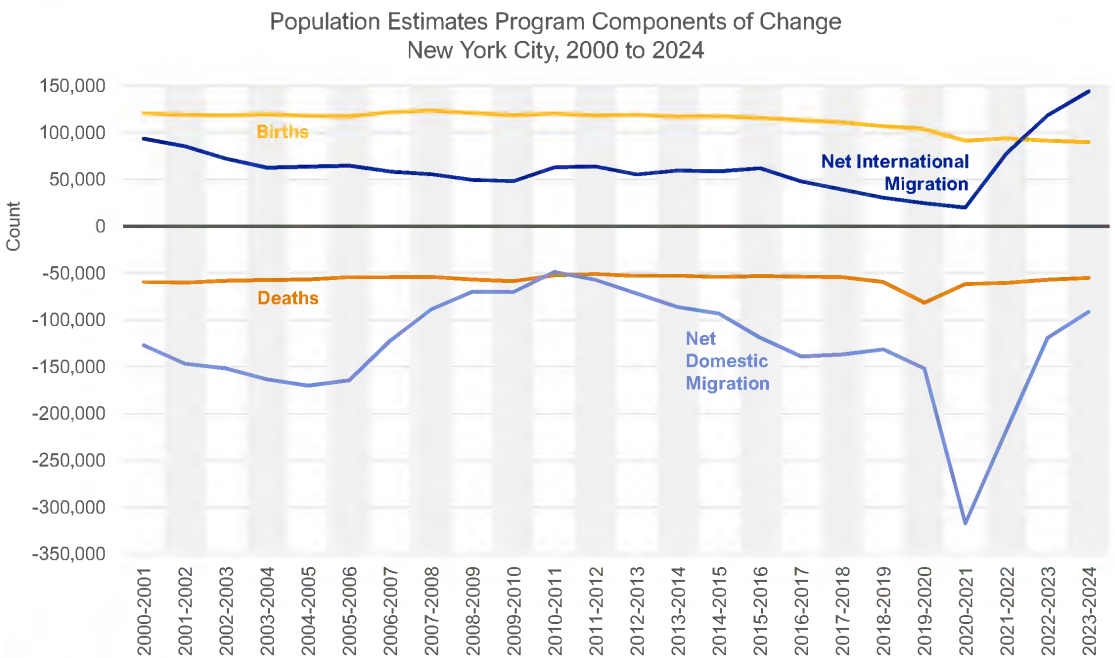
Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Population Estimates Program (Vintage 2024)
Note: The estimated components of population change may not sum to the total population change because of a residual produced in the estimation process.

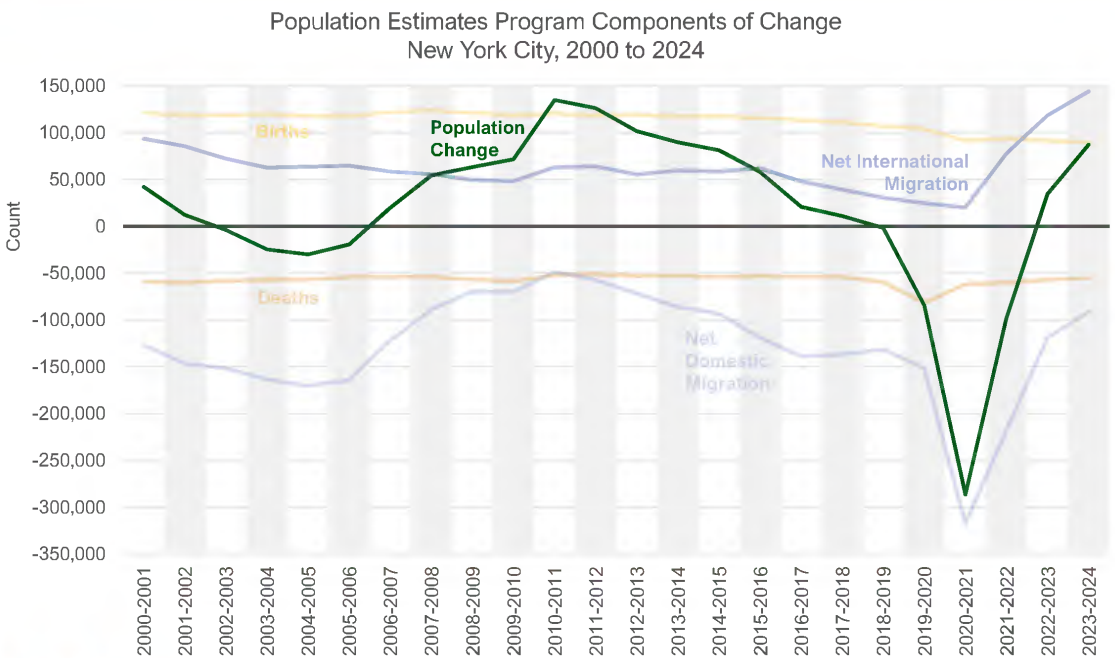
Migration Is Highly Variable over Time, Births Declining, Deaths Roughly Steady



- Net international migration has reached the highest levels of the last quarter century.
- Net domestic migration has recovered from pandemic-era lows to levels comparable with the 2000s and 2010s.
- Births have continued a slow downward trend, mirroring state and national patterns.
- Deaths have remained relatively stable since 2000, except for a notable increase early in the Covid-19 pandemic.

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Population Estimates Program (2000-2010 and 2010-2020 Intercensal Estimates, Vintage 2010, Vintage 2020, Vintage 2024); Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, CDC WONDER (births and deaths for July 2019-July 2020); New York City Department of City Planning, Population Division
Note: Dates refer to July of each year. For example, change from 2000-2001 represents estimates for July 2000 to July 2001.

Migration Trends Have the Largest Impact on Estimated Population Change



- New York City's population has grown most years over the past quarter century.
- Migration patterns have the greatest impact on overall population change, since birth and death trends tend to shift more slowly and subtly.
- Early in the Covid-19 pandemic, steep population losses were driven primarily by diminished net international inflows and increased net domestic outflows.
- Pared net domestic losses and historically high net international gains have led to population growth in recent years.

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Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Population Estimates Program (2000-2010 and 2010-2020 Intercensal Estimates, Vintage 2010, Vintage 2020, Vintage 2024); Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, CDC WONDER (births and deaths for July 2019-July 2020); New York City Department of City Planning, Population Division
Note: Dates refer to July of each year. For example, change from 2000-2001 represents estimates for July 2000 to July 2001. Components may not sum to population change; for 2000 to 2020, population change and components come from different sources, and for 2020 to 2024 there is a residual in the estimation process.

Appendix A:
Vintage 2024 Population Estimates
Detailed Tables

Population and Change, Census Bureau Estimates
New York City and Boroughs, April 1, 2020, and July 1, 2020 to 2024

	Census	Estimates					Change				
	Apr 2020	Jul 2020	Jul 2021	Jul 2022	Jul 2023	Jul 2024	Apr 2020 to Jul 2024 Number (Percent)	Jul 2020 to Jul 2021 Number (Percent)	Jul 2021 to Jul 2022 Number (Percent)	Jul 2022 to Jul 2023 Number (Percent)	Jul 2023 to Jul 2024 Number (Percent)
New York City	8,804,190	8,740,306	8,453,772	8,356,179	8,390,888	8,478,072	-326,118 (-3.7)	-286,534 (-3.3)	-97,593 (-1.2)	34,709 (0.4)	87,184 (1.0)
Bronx	1,472,654	1,459,323	1,420,392	1,384,189	1,375,266	1,384,724	-87,930 (-6.0)	-38,931 (-2.7)	-36,203 (-2.5)	-8,923 (-0.6)	9,458 (0.7)
Brooklyn	2,736,074	2,716,455	2,634,268	2,596,607	2,592,937	2,617,631	-118,443 (-4.3)	-82,187 (-3.0)	-37,661 (-1.4)	-3,670 (-0.1)	24,694 (1.0)
Manhattan	1,694,251	1,679,602	1,576,787	1,597,103	1,633,229	1,660,664	-33,587 (-2.0)	-102,815 (-6.1)	20,316 (1.3)	36,126 (2.3)	27,435 (1.7)
Queens	2,405,464	2,389,813	2,328,286	2,285,640	2,294,682	2,316,841	-88,623 (-3.7)	-61,527 (-2.6)	-42,646 (-1.8)	9,042 (0.4)	22,159 (1.0)
Staten Island	495,747	495,113	494,039	492,640	494,774	498,212	2,465 (0.5)	-1,074 (-0.2)	-1,399 (-0.3)	2,134 (0.4)	3,438 (0.7)

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Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2020 Census and Population Estimates Program (Vintage 2024)
Note: Change from April 2020 to July 2024 is calculated from the 2020 Census, rather than the estimates base provided in the Vintage 2024 population estimates.

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Estimates of the Components of Population Change
New York City and Boroughs, Change from April 1, 2020 to July 1, 2024, and Annual Change from July 1, 2023 to July 1, 2024

		Total Population Change	Natural Change			Net Migration		
			Total	Births	Deaths	Total	Net Domestic Migration	Net International Migration
Jul 2023 to Jul 2024	New York City	87,184	34,627	89,851	55,224	52,859	-91,239	144,098
	Bronx	9,458	6,743	16,901	10,158	2,705	-25,698	28,403
	Brooklyn	24,694	15,400	31,350	15,950	9,511	-28,158	37,669
	Manhattan	27,435	2,588	13,030	10,442	24,881	-5,225	30,106
	Queens	22,159	9,031	23,725	14,694	13,219	-30,918	44,137
	Staten Island	3,438	865	4,845	3,980	2,543	-1,240	3,783
Apr 2020 to Jul 2024	New York City	-326,118	120,087	390,809	270,722	-432,295	-793,880	361,585
	Bronx	-87,930	22,118	72,389	50,271	-110,360	-181,864	71,504
	Brooklyn	-118,443	58,878	138,941	80,063	-172,289	-266,650	94,361
	Manhattan	-33,587	8,556	57,181	48,625	-33,907	-108,858	74,951
	Queens	-88,623	27,925	101,296	73,371	-114,867	-226,496	111,629
	Staten Island	2,465	2,610	21,002	18,392	-872	-10,012	9,140

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Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2020 Census and Population Estimates Program (Vintage 2024)
Note: Change from April 2020 to July 2024 is calculated from the 2020 Census, rather than the estimates base provided in the Vintage 2024 population estimates. The estimated components of population change may not sum to the total population change because of a residual produced in the estimation process.

Estimates of the Components of Population Change
New York City and Boroughs, Annual Change from July 1, 2020 to July 1, 2023

		Total Population Change	Natural Change			Net Migration		
			Total	Births	Deaths	Total	Net Domestic Migration	Net International Migration
Jul 2022 to Jul 2023	New York City	34,709	34,178	91,371	57,193	-445	-118,918	118,473
	Bronx	-8,923	6,504	16,985	10,481	-16,185	-39,704	23,519
	Brooklyn	-3,670	15,516	32,323	16,807	-19,190	-50,087	30,897
	Manhattan	36,126	2,676	13,241	10,565	33,166	8,454	24,712
	Queens	9,042	8,581	23,914	15,333	490	-35,775	36,265
	Staten Island	2,134	901	4,908	4,007	1,274	-1,806	3,080
Jul 2021 to Jul 2022	New York City	-97,593	33,716	94,092	60,376	-139,294	-217,330	78,036
	Bronx	-36,203	6,039	17,183	11,144	-45,326	-60,446	15,120
	Brooklyn	-37,661	15,927	33,756	17,829	-55,360	-75,822	20,462
	Manhattan	20,316	2,992	13,841	10,849	17,000	1,038	15,962
	Queens	-42,646	7,887	24,228	16,341	-53,425	-78,032	24,607
	Staten Island	-1,399	871	5,084	4,213	-2,183	-4,068	1,885
Jul 2020 to Jul 2021	New York City	-286,534	29,690	91,466	61,776	-297,416	-317,413	19,997
	Bronx	-38,931	5,555	16,929	11,374	-42,120	-46,288	4,168
	Brooklyn	-82,187	14,736	33,117	18,381	-91,543	-96,621	5,078
	Manhattan	-102,815	2,050	13,363	11,313	-97,251	-101,229	3,978
	Queens	-61,527	6,741	23,189	16,448	-64,588	-70,976	6,388
	Staten Island	-1,074	608	4,868	4,260	-1,914	-2,299	385

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Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2020 Census and Population Estimates Program (Vintage 2024)
Note: The estimated components of population change may not sum to the total population change because of a residual produced in the estimation process.

Appendix B:
2010 to 2020 Intercensal Estimates
Detailed Tables

Intercensal Estimates
New York City and Boroughs, 2010 to 2020

	2010 Census	Intercensal Estimates										2020 Census
	Apr 2010	Jul 2010	Jul 2011	Jul 2012	Jul 2013	Jul 2014	Jul 2015	Jul 2016	Jul 2017	Jul 2018	Jul 2019	Apr 2020
New York City	8,175,133	8,203,084	8,337,907	8,463,961	8,565,517	8,655,238	8,736,590	8,794,592	8,815,395	8,826,377	8,824,751	8,804,190
Bronx	1,385,108	1,388,573	1,405,193	1,425,939	1,442,945	1,458,516	1,474,117	1,484,928	1,487,801	1,486,756	1,479,222	1,472,654
Brooklyn	2,504,700	2,514,665	2,564,525	2,611,093	2,649,210	2,681,874	2,708,040	2,726,337	2,731,444	2,736,071	2,737,209	2,736,074
Manhattan	1,585,873	1,590,931	1,618,186	1,641,641	1,653,028	1,663,961	1,677,134	1,684,128	1,687,323	1,694,959	1,702,471	1,694,251
Queens	2,230,722	2,238,813	2,276,504	2,310,213	2,342,084	2,370,533	2,394,554	2,412,601	2,418,581	2,415,645	2,411,304	2,405,464
Staten Island	468,730	470,102	473,499	475,075	478,250	480,354	482,745	486,598	490,246	492,946	494,545	495,747

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Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2010 and 2020 Censuses and Population Estimates Program (2010-2020 Intercensal Estimates)
Note: For methodological details, please see the Census Bureau's statement Methodology for the Intercensal Population and Housing Unit Estimates: 2010 to 2020, November 2024.

Appendix C:
Population Estimates Program Vintage 2024
Methods Summary

Vintage 2024 Population Estimates Program Methodology

- The Census Bureau produces estimates by reflecting changes in population due to births, deaths, and migration.
- The starting population for estimates is as of April 1, 2020. The age, sex, race, and Hispanic origin composition of the starting population is determined by the blended base, or a combination of data sets including the 2020 Census, the Demographic Analysis, and Vintage 2020 Population Estimates.
- The population living in group quarters (e.g. dormitories, nursing homes, shelters, or correctional facilities, among other congregate facilities) is estimated separately from the household population. Estimates are based on data provided by the Federal-State Cooperative for Population Estimates, among other data sources.
- Data on births and deaths are primarily provided by the National Center for Health Statistics.
- Net domestic migration, or movement within the 50 states and the District of Columbia, are estimated using rates derived from IRS tax filings and Medicare enrollee records.
- Net international migration is estimated separately for immigration and emigration of non-US-born, migration between the US and Puerto Rico, net emigration of the US-born, and movement of the Armed Forces. Adjustments are made to reflect reduced migration due to Covid-19 from April 1, 2020 to June 30, 2021, as well as for increases in humanitarian migrants from July 1, 2021 to June 30, 2024.
- For full details on methodology, refer to the Census Bureau's methodology statement: Methodology for the United States Population Estimates: Vintage 2024, Nation, States, Counties, and Puerto Rico – April 1, 2020 to July 1, 2024.
- For details on changes in methodology from the previous vintage, refer to the Census Bureau's Vintage 2024 Release Notes.

NYC PLANNING

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www.nyc.gov/population

First released: March 13, 2025
Updated: May 19, 2025

Exhibit D

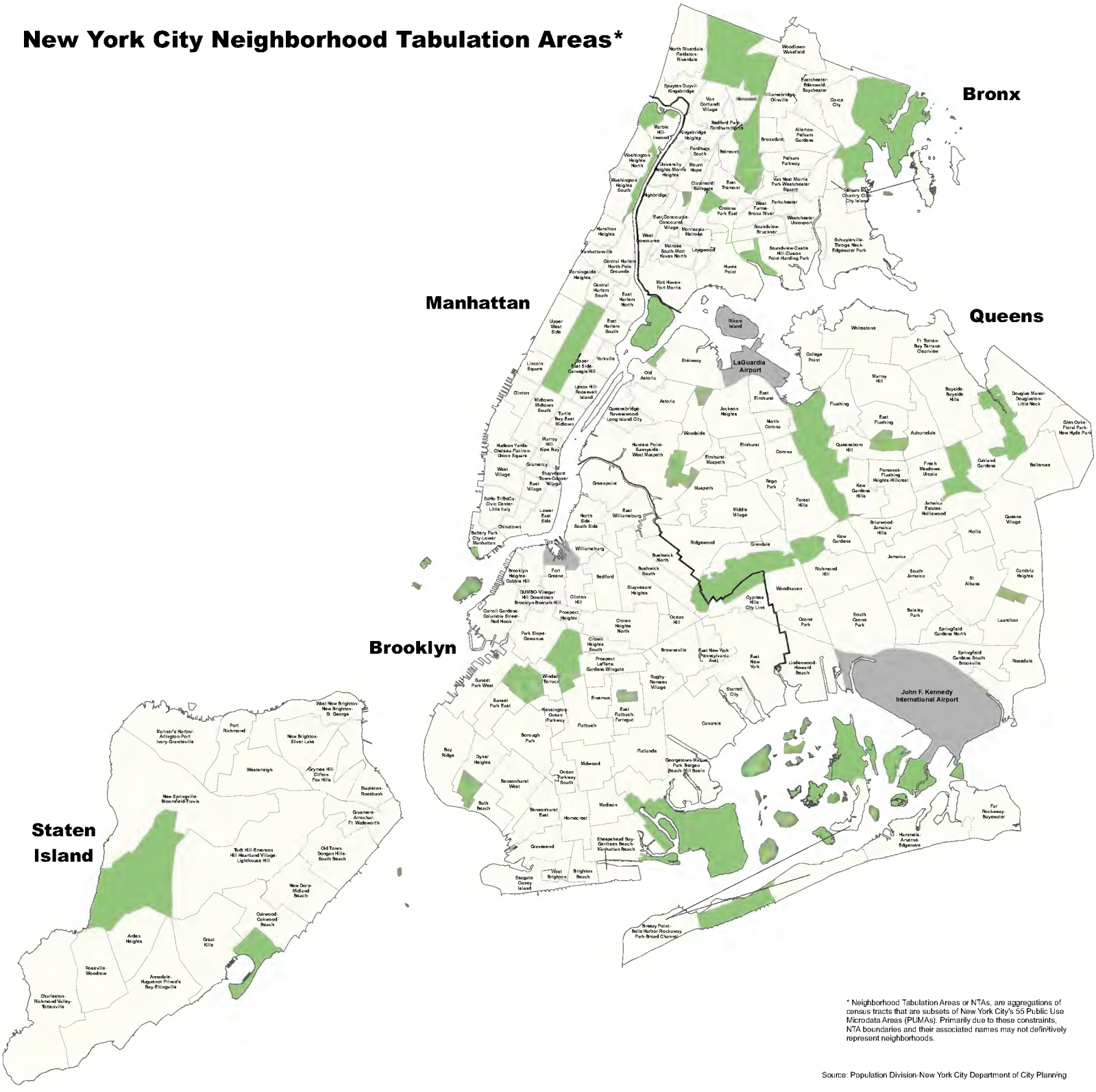
DRA Composite Compactness Scores (36 states with 3 or more districts)
2024 Congressional Plans

State	Score	State	Score	State	Score
Indiana	93	Connecticut	58	New Mexico	47
Nevada	77	Georgia	58	South Carolina	37
Florida	70	Washington	58	New Jersey	36
Utah	70	Kansas	56	Alabama	36
Mississippi	65	Ohio	56	Kentucky	35
New York	**63**	Virginia	54	Maryland	35
Michigan	62	Iowa	53	California	33
North Carolina	61	Minnesota	53	Massachusetts	31
Missouri	60	Arizona	51	Texas	26
Arkansas	59	Oklahoma	50	Tennessee	21
Oregon	59	Colorado	50	Louisiana	11
Pennsylvania	59	Wisconsin	50	Illinois	10

Source: By state via Dave's Redistricting under Analyze tab
https://davesredistricting.org/maps#home
New York link:
https://davesredistricting.org/maps#ratings::948da7ae-d2f9-48d8-a04a-433f5ff88fcd

Exhibit E

New York City Neighborhood Tabulation Areas*



* Neighborhood Tabulation Areas or NTAs, are aggregations of census tracts that are subsets of New York City's 55 Public Use Microdata Areas (PUMAs). Primarily due to these constraints, NTA boundaries and their associated names may not definitively represent neighborhoods.

Source: Population Division-New York City Department of City Planning

Bronx Neighborhood Tabulation Areas*

*Neighborhood Tabulation Areas or NTAs, are aggregations of census tracts that are subsets of New York City's 55 Public Use Microdata Areas (PUMAs). Primarily due to these constraints, NTA boundaries and their associated names may not definitively represent neighborhoods.

Population Division - New York City Department of City Planning

Brooklyn Neighborhood Tabulation Areas*

*Neighborhood Tabulation Areas or NTAs, are aggregations of census tracts that are subsets of New York City's 55 Public Use Microdata Areas (PUMAs). Primarily due to these constraints, NTA boundaries and their associated names may not definitively represent neighborhoods.

Population Division - New York City Department of City Planning

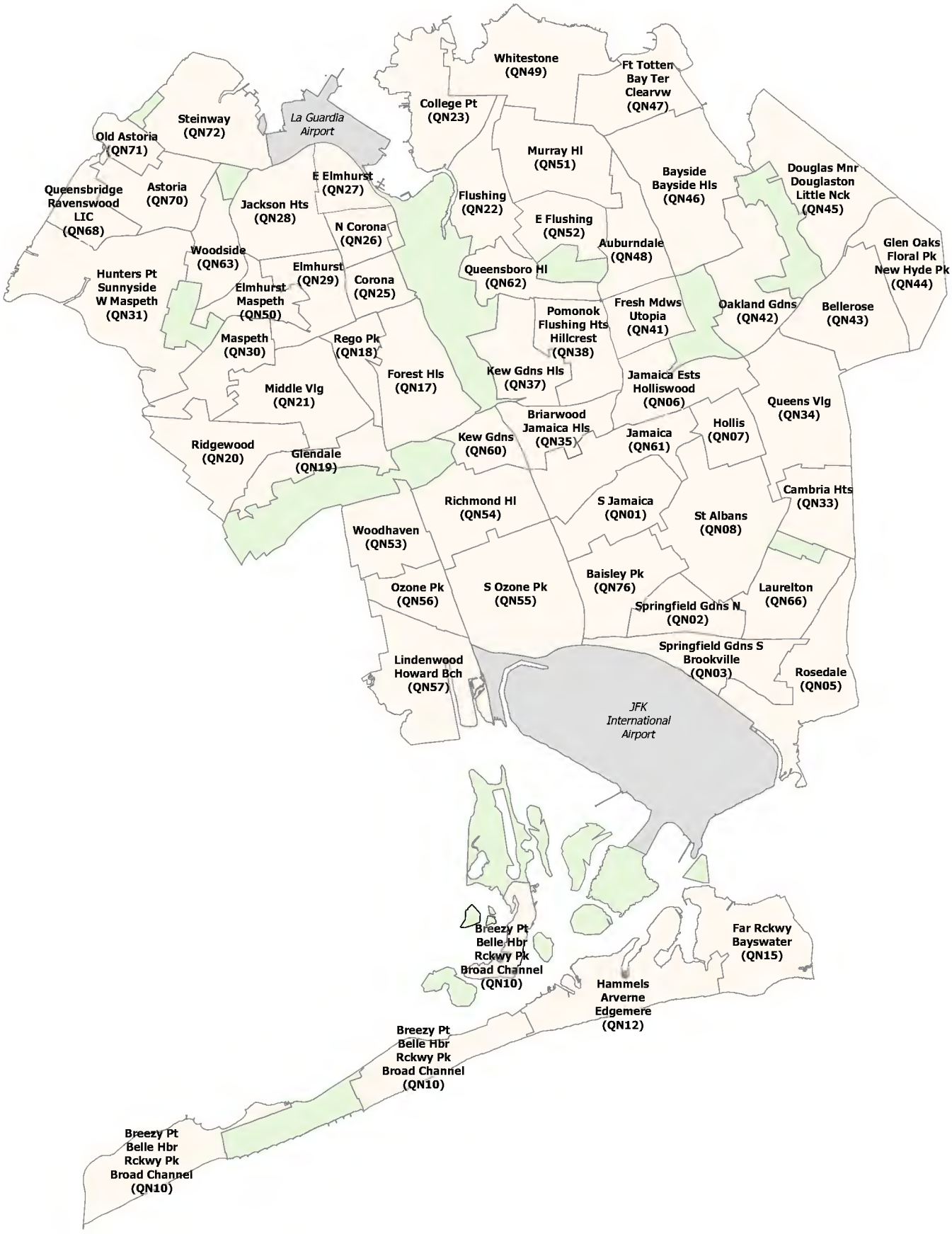
Manhattan Neighborhood Tabulation Areas*

*Neighborhood Tabulation Areas or NTAs, are aggregations of census tracts that are subsets of New York City's 55 Public Use Microdata Areas (PUMAs). Primarily due to these constraints, NTA boundaries and their associated names may not definitively represent neighborhoods.

Population Division - New York City Department of City Planning

PET_000371

Queens Neighborhood Tabulation Areas*



*Neighborhood Tabulation Areas or NTAs, are aggregations of census tracts that are subsets of New York City's 55 Public Use Microdata Areas (PUMAs). Primarily due to these constraints, NTA boundaries and their associated names may not definitively represent neighborhoods.

Population Division - New York City Department of City Planning

Staten Island Neighborhood Tabulation Areas*

*Neighborhood Tabulation Areas or NTAs, are aggregations of census tracts that are subsets of New York City's 55 Public Use Microdata Areas (PUMAs). Primarily due to these constraints, NTA boundaries and their associated names may not definitively represent neighborhoods.

Population Division - New York City Department of City Planning

PET_000373

Exhibit F-1

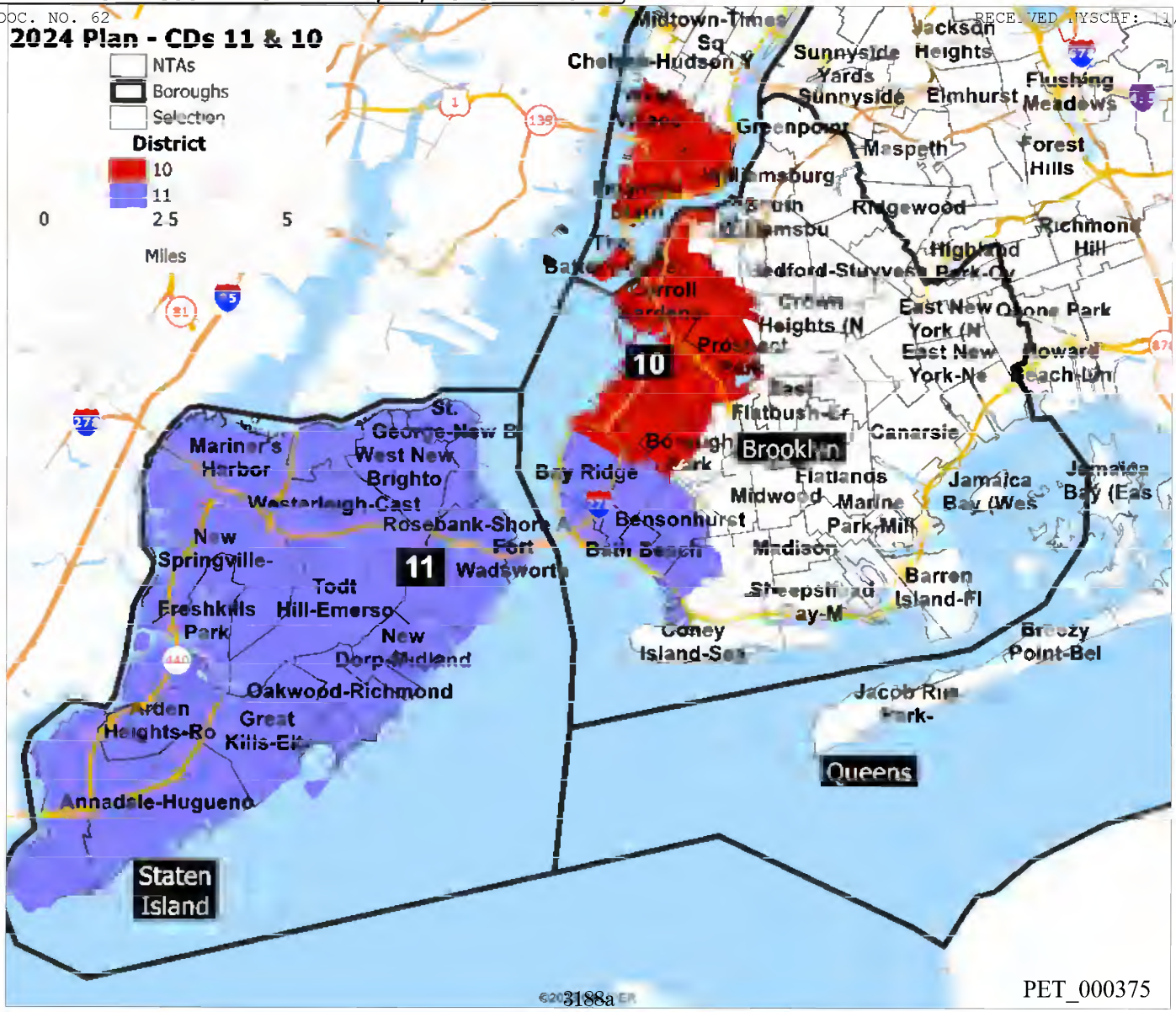

2024 Plan - CDs 11 & 10
NTAs
Boroughs
Selection
District
10
11
0
2.5
5
Miles
10
11
Brooklyn
Queens
Staten Island
Midtown-Times Sq
Sunnyside Yards
Sunnyside
Jackson Heights
Elmhurst
Flushing Meadows
Greenpoint
Maspeth
Forest Hills
Williamsburg
Ridgewood
Richmond Hill
Highland Park-Ov
Bedford-Stuyvesa
Carroll Gardens
Crown Heights (N
East New York (N
Ozone Park
Prospect Park
East New York-Ne
Howard Beach-Lin
East Flatbush-Er
Canarsie
Borough Park
Bay Ridge
Flatlands
Midwood
Marine Park-Mill
Jamaica Bay (Wes
Jamaica Bay (Eas
Bensonhurst
Bath Beach
Madison
Barren Island-Fl
Sheepshead Bay-M
Coney Island-Sea
Breezy Point-Bel
Jacob Riis Park-
St. George-New B
Mariner's Harbor
West New Brighto
Westerleigh-Cast
Rosebank-Shore A
Fort Wadsworth
New Springville-
Todt Hill-Emerso
Freshkills Park
New Dorp-Midland
Oakwood-Richmond
Arden Heights-Ro
Great Kills-Elt
Annadale-Hugueno

Exhibit F-2

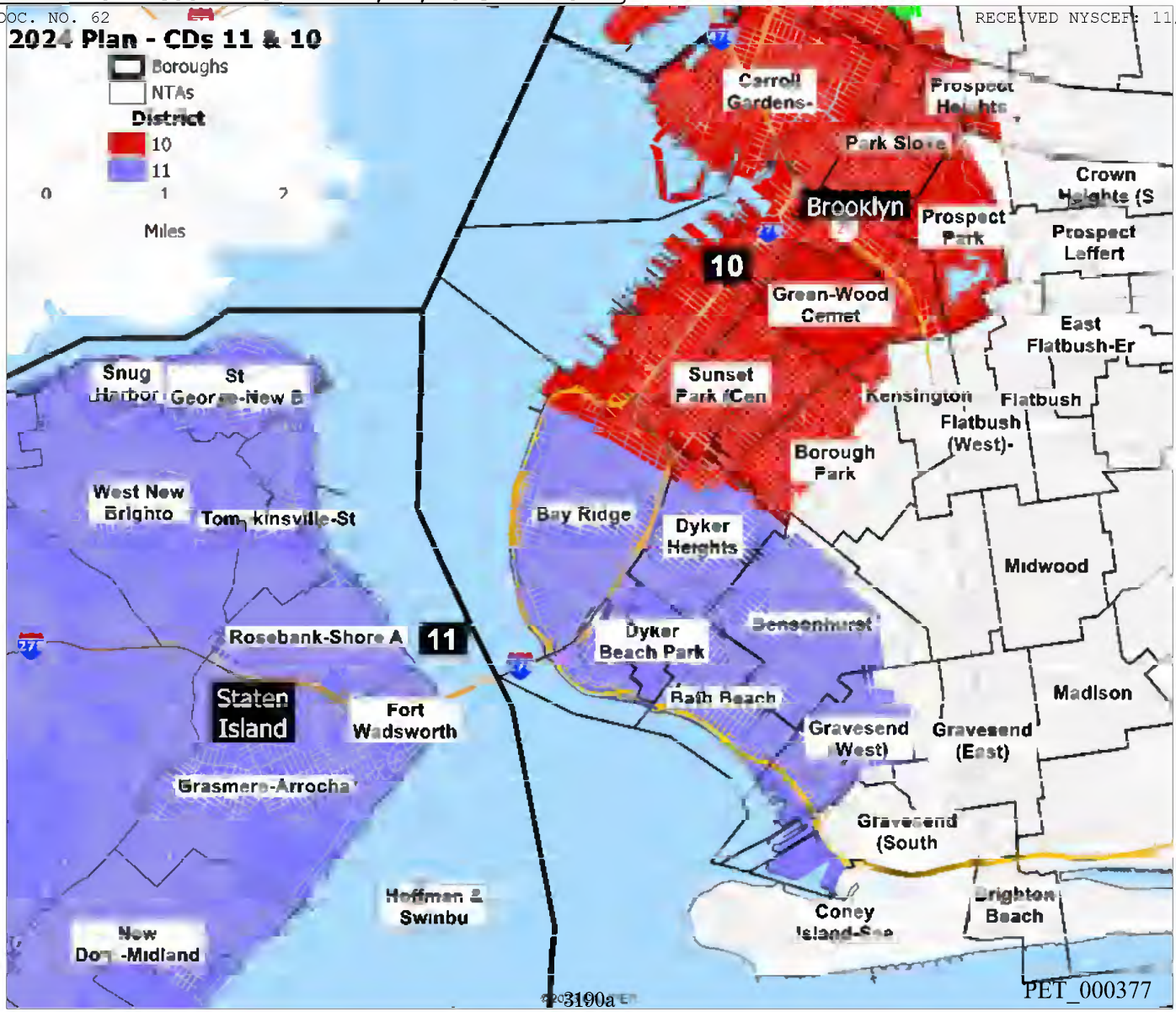

2024 Plan - CDs 11 & 10
Boroughs
NTAs
District
10
11
0
1
2
Miles
Carroll Gardens-
Prospect Heights
Park Slope
Crown Heights (S
Brooklyn
Prospect Park
Prospect Leffert
10
Green-Wood Cemet
East Flatbush-Er
Snug Harbor
St George-New B
Sunset Park (Cen
Kensington
Flatbush
Flatbush (West)-
Borough Park
West New Brighto
Tompkinsville-St
Bay Ridge
Dyker Heights
Midwood
Rosebank-Shore A
11
Dyker Beach Park
Bensonhurst
Staten Island
Fort Wadsworth
Bath Beach
Madison
Gravesend (West)
Gravesend (East)
Grasmere-Arrocha
Gravesend (South
Hoffman & Swinbu
Coney Island-Sea
Brighton Beach
New Dorp-Midland

Exhibit F-3

User:
Plan Name: NYC_2024_Plan__
Plan Type:

Measures of Compactness Report

Sunday, November 16, 2025 6:39 PM

	Reock	Polsby-Popper
Sum	N/A	N/A
Min	0.43	0.35
Max	0.52	0.57
Mean	0.48	0.46
Std. Dev.	0.06	0.16

District	Reock	Polsby-Popper
10	0.43	0.35
11	0.52	0.57

Measures of Compactness Report

NYC_2024_Plan__

Measures of Compactness Summary

Reock	The measure is always between 0 and 1, with 1 being the most compact.
Polsby-Popper	The measure is always between 0 and 1, with 1 being the most compact.

Exhibit F-4

User:
Plan Name: NYC_2024_Plan__
Plan Type:

Communities of Interest (Landscape, 11x8.5)

Sunday, November 16, 2025 6:44 PM

County Subdivision	District	Population	%	[Hispanic Origin]	%	NH_Wht	%	NH_AP_Blk	%	NH_Asn	%
Brooklyn	10	431,905	60.6	95,044	67.8	200,133	62.2	28,508	83.7	90,821	47.2
Brooklyn	11	281,224	39.4	45,071	32.2	121,694	37.8	5,539	16.3	101,548	52.8
Manhattan	10	345,067	100.0	53,716	100.0	178,117	100.0	21,724	100.0	77,758	100.0
Staten Island	11	495,747	100.0	96,960	100.0	277,981	100.0	51,824	100.0	58,753	100.0

Communities of Interest (Landscape, 11x8.5)

NYC_2024_Plan__

County Subdivision -- Listed by District

	Population	%	[Hispanic Origin]	%	NH_Wht	%	NH_AP_Blk	%	NH_Asn	%
District 10										
Brooklyn (part)	431,905	60.6	95,044	67.8	200,133	62.2	28,508	83.7	90,821	47.2
Manhattan	345,067	100.0	53,716	100.0	178,117	100.0	21,724	100.0	77,758	100.0
District 10 Totals	**776,972**		**148,760**		**378,250**		**50,232**		**168,579**	
District 11										
Brooklyn (part)	281,224	39.4	45,071	32.2	121,694	37.8	5,539	16.3	101,548	52.8
Staten Island	495,747	100.0	96,960	100.0	277,981	100.0	51,824	100.0	58,753	100.0
District 11 Totals	**776,971**		**142,031**		**399,675**		**57,363**		**160,301**	

Summary Statistics

Number of County Subdivision not split	2
Number of County Subdivision split	1
Number of County Subdivision split in 2	1
Total number of splits	2

Exhibit F-5

User:
Plan Name: NYC_2024_Plan__
Plan Type:

Communities of Interest (Condensed)

Sunday, November 16, 2025 6:46 PM

Whole 2020_NTAs : 32
2020_NTAs Splits: 4
Zero Population 2020_NTAs Splits: 2

District	2020_NTAs	Population	% Pop
10	Dyker Heights	5,148	11.01%
10	Bay Ridge	10,243	11.80%
11	Dyker Heights	41,608	88.99%
11	Bay Ridge	76,536	88.20%

Exhibit F-6