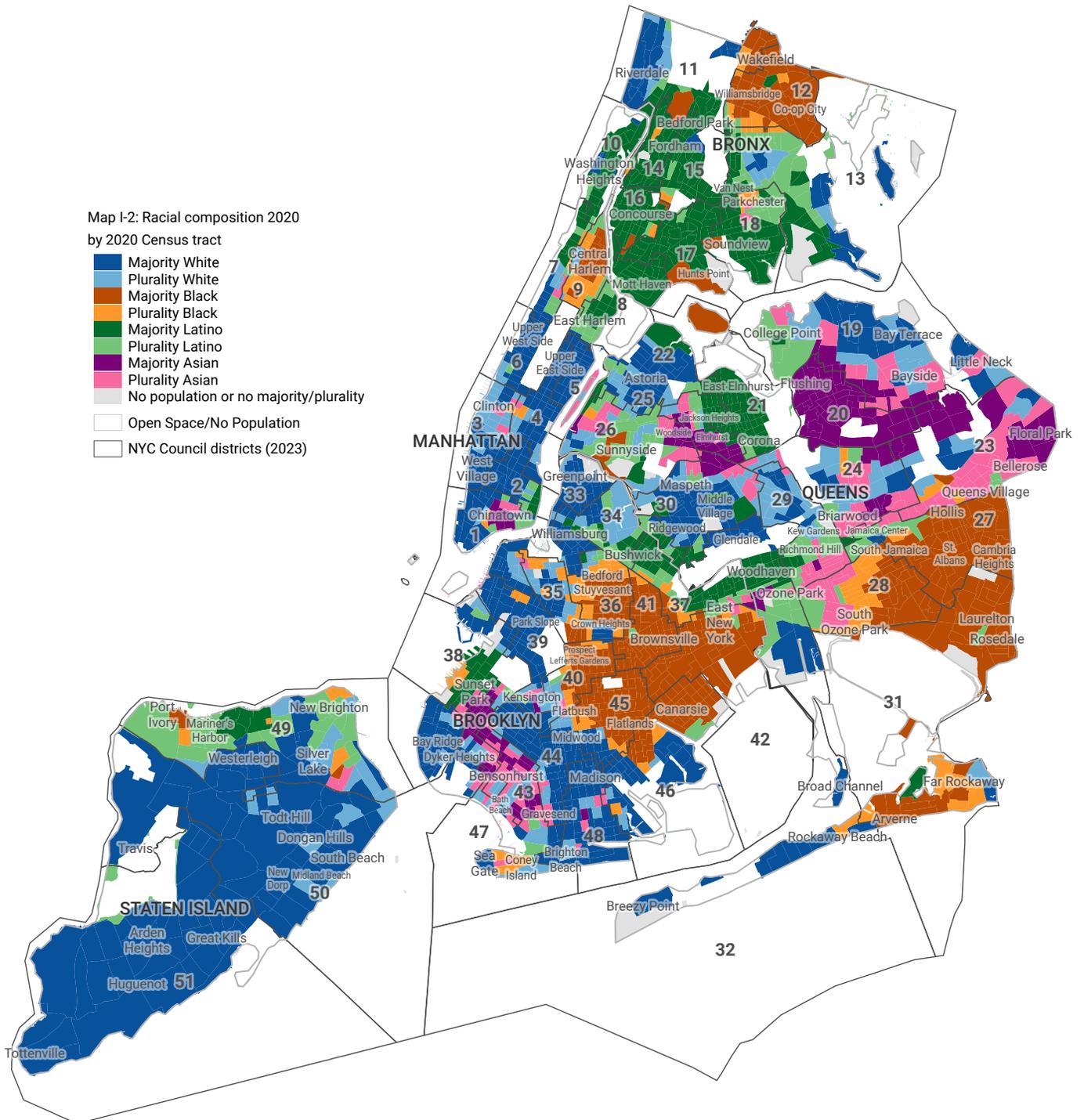


How Communities of Interest Are Evolving in New York City Today

Communities of Interest 2023 Report

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
- NYC Council districts (2023)





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Dr. John Flateau
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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

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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.commonsgc.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 online. 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 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

Racial Group	Population				Voting Age Citizens			
	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

Racial-ethnic group	Population				Voting Age Citizens			
	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

Racial-ethnic group	Population				Voting Age Citizens			
	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 ancestors 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 2010) 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 15.9%	63982 13.1%	25827 65.7%
Afro-American US	88753 36.9%	78476 16%	-10277 -11.6%
Afro-Caribbean	86380 35.9%	117004 23.9%	30624 35.5%
African	4,281 4.5%	9564 2%	5283 123.4%
Afro-Latino	21959 9.1%	31,831 6.5%	9872 45%
Afro-Asian	9884 0.4%	1393 0.3%	405 41%
All Blacks	240516 100%	490179 100%	249663 103%

Table II-5 Home Ownership

Subgroup	2010	2018	Change
African American NY	218,884 33.6%	217,053 33.5%	-1,831 -0.8%
African American US	64,426 9.9%	52,654 8.1%	-11,772 -18.3%
Afro-Caribbean	297,895 45.7%	288,130 44.5%	-9,765 -3.3%
Continental African	18,567 2.8%	25,961 4%	7,394 39.8%
Afro-Latino	45,402 7%	55,864 8.6%	10,462 23%
Afro-Asian	6,962 1%	8,410 1.3%	1,448 20.8%
All Blacks	652,136 100%	648,072 100%	-4,064 -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
	72.4%	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 0.7%	16,652 0.7%	1,631 10%
Mexico	3,682 0.2%	3,140 0.1%	-542 -17%
Belize	6,086 0.3%	5,076 0.2%	-1,010 -2%
Honduras	7,075 0.3%	6,049 0.3%	-1,026 -17%
Panama	12,607 0.6%	9,675 0.4%	-2,932 -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	0	9	20	8
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						
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						
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

NATIVITY	2010			2018			Absolute Change			Percent Change		
	Native Born	Foreign Born	Total	Native Born	Foreign Born	Total	Native Born	Foreign Born	Total	NB	FB	Total
Dominican	263913 40.7%	383776 59.3%	647689 100%	324432 42.6%	437332 57.4%	761764 100%	60519 1.8%	53556 -1.8%	114075	22.9 4.5	14 -3.1	17.6
Puerto Rican	754062 99.1%	6582 0.9%	760644 100%	666087 98.8%	8250 1.2%	674337 100%	-87975 -0.4%	1668 0.4%	-86307	-11.7 -0.4	25.3 41.4	-11.4
Mexican	132525 42%	182999 58%	315524 100%	162920 50.9%	157255 49.1%	320175 100%	30395 8.9%	-25744 -8.9%	4651	22.9 21.2	-14.1 -15.3	1.47
Ecuadoran	64289 32.2%	135507 67.8%	199796 100%	72350 37.8%	118974 62.2%	191324 100%	8061 5.6%	-16533 -5.6%	-8472	12.5 17.5	-12.2 -8.3	-4.24
Colombian	34879 33.1%	70410 66.9%	105289 100.0%	38916 36.2%	68581 63.8%	107497 100%	4037 3.1%	-1829 -3.1%	2208	11.6 9.3	-2.6 -4.6	2.1
Salvadoran	16243 34.6%	30734 65.4%	46977 100%	22904 43.7%	29515 56.3%	52419 100%	6661 9.1%	-1219 -9.1%	5442	41 26.4	-4 -13.9	11.6
Honduran	18381 36.6%	31783 63.4%	50164 100%	21461 41.6%	30151 58.4%	51612 100%	3080 4.9%	-1632 -4.9%	1448	16.8 13.5	-5.1 -7.8	2.9
Peruvian	12344 28.8%	30474 71.2%	42818 100%	13476 35.9%	24029 64.1%	37505 100%	1132 7.1%	-6445 -7.1%	-5313	9.2 24.6	-21.2 -10	-12.4
Cuban	22648 56.1%	17689 43.9%	40337 100%	24025 63.6%	13742 36.4%	37767 100%	1377 7.5%	-3947 -7.5%	-2570	6.1 13.3	-22.3 -17	-6.4
Guatemalan	8618 28%	22205 72%	30823 100%	14216 35.8%	25463 64.2%	39679 100%	5598 7.9%	3258 -7.9%	8856	65 28.1	14.7 -10.9	28.7
Panama- nian	13822 44.2%	17479 55.8%	31301 100%	12011 48.2%	12896 51.8%	24907 100%	-1811 4.1%	-4583 -4.1%	-6394	-13.1 9.21	-26.2 -7.3	-20.4
Argentinian	6578 38.1%	10667 61.9%	17245 100%	6747 36.1%	11948 63.9%	18695 100.0%	169 -2.1%	1281 2.1%	1450	2.6 -5.4	12 3.3	8.4
Venezuelan	3489 27.6%	9157 72.4%	12646 100%	4907 33%	9994 67%	14901 100%	1418 5.3%	837 -5.3%	2255	40.6 19.4	9.1 -7.4	17.8
Nicaraguan	3912 39.1%	6101 60.9%	10013 100%	5405 43.7%	6970 56.3%	12375 100%	1493 4.6%	869 -4.6%	2362	38.2 11.8	14.2 -7.6	23.6
Chilean	2860 34.7%	5390 65.3%	8250 100%	3239 34.7%	6088 65.3%	9327 100%	379 0.1%	698 -0.1%	1077	13.3 0.2	13 -0.1	13.1
Costa Rican	3413	4734	8147	3364	4357	7721	-49	-377	-426	-1.4	-8	-5.2

NATIVITY	2010			2018			Absolute Change			Percent Change		
	Native Born	Foreign Born	Total	Native Born	Foreign Born	Total	Native Born	Foreign Born	Total	NB	FB	Total
Spaniard	41.9%	58.1%	100%	43.6%	56.4%	100%	1.68%	-1.68%		4	-2.9	
	13132	9859	22991	17535	10552	28087	4403	693	5096	33.5	7	22.2
All other Latino	57.1%	42.9%	100%	62.4%	37.6%	100%	5.3%	-5.3%		9.3	-12.4	
	31827	6390	38217	58442	10775	69217	26615	4385	31000	83.6	68.6	81.1
Brazilian	83.3%	16.7%	100%	84.4%	15.6%	100%	1.2%	-1.2%		1.4	-6.9	
	3224	13163	16387	3177	13144	16321	-47	-19	-66	-1.5	-0.1	-0.4
Not Latin American	19.7%	80.3%	100%	19.5%	80.5%	100%	-0.2%	0.2%		-1.1	0.3	
	3748500	2044635	5793135	3830171	2073413	5903584	81671	28778	110449	2.2	1.4	1.9
Total	64.7%	35.3%	100%	64.9%	35.1%	100%	0.2%	-0.2%		0.3	-0.5	
	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 Argentines 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 degree 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 than 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 workforce 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 *dougl*a 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 39,662. 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 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 significantly 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	21,508	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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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/US-COURTS-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

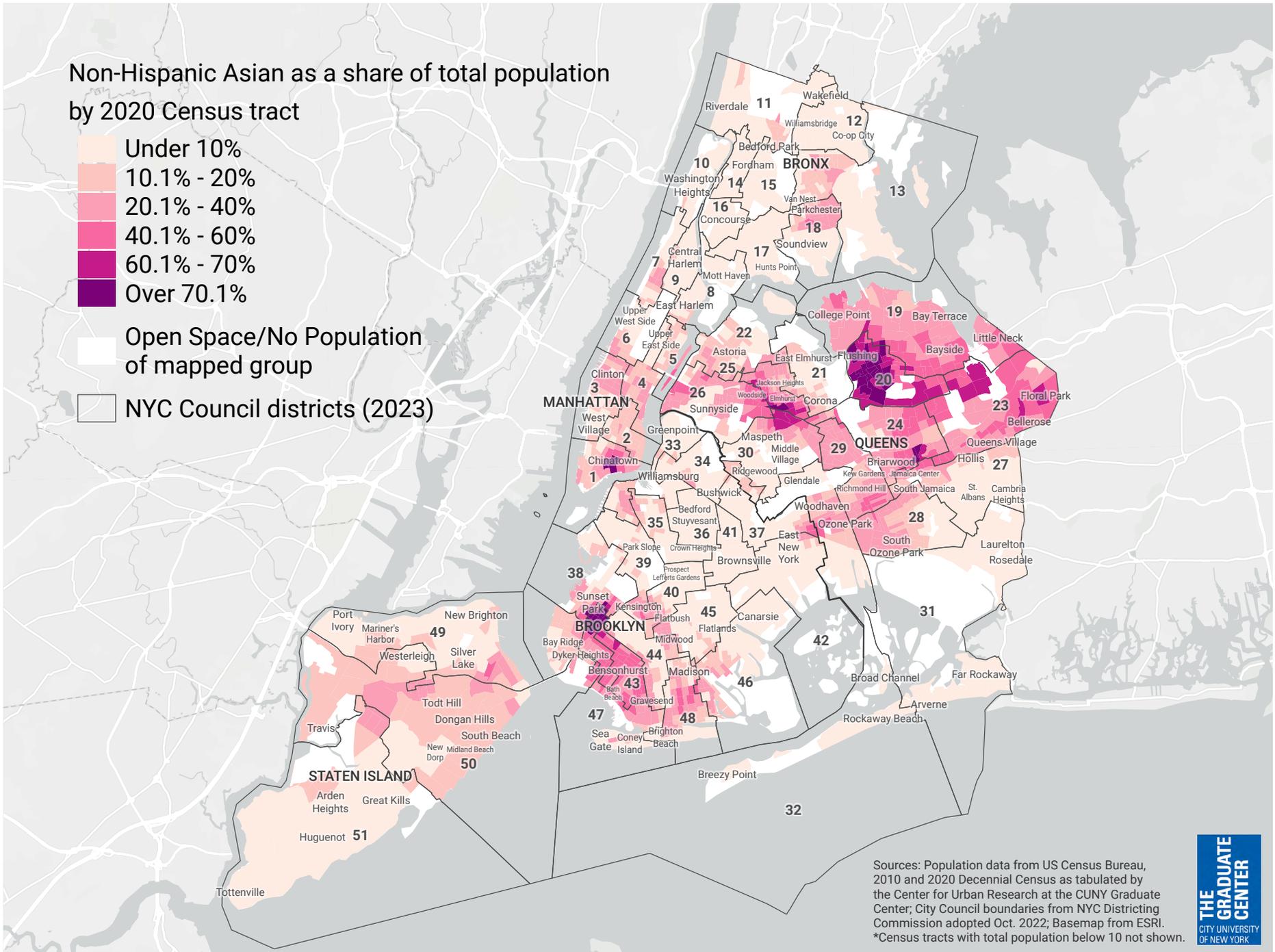
Valle v. Secretary for the Dept. of Corr., 459 F.3d 1206 (11th Cir. 2006)

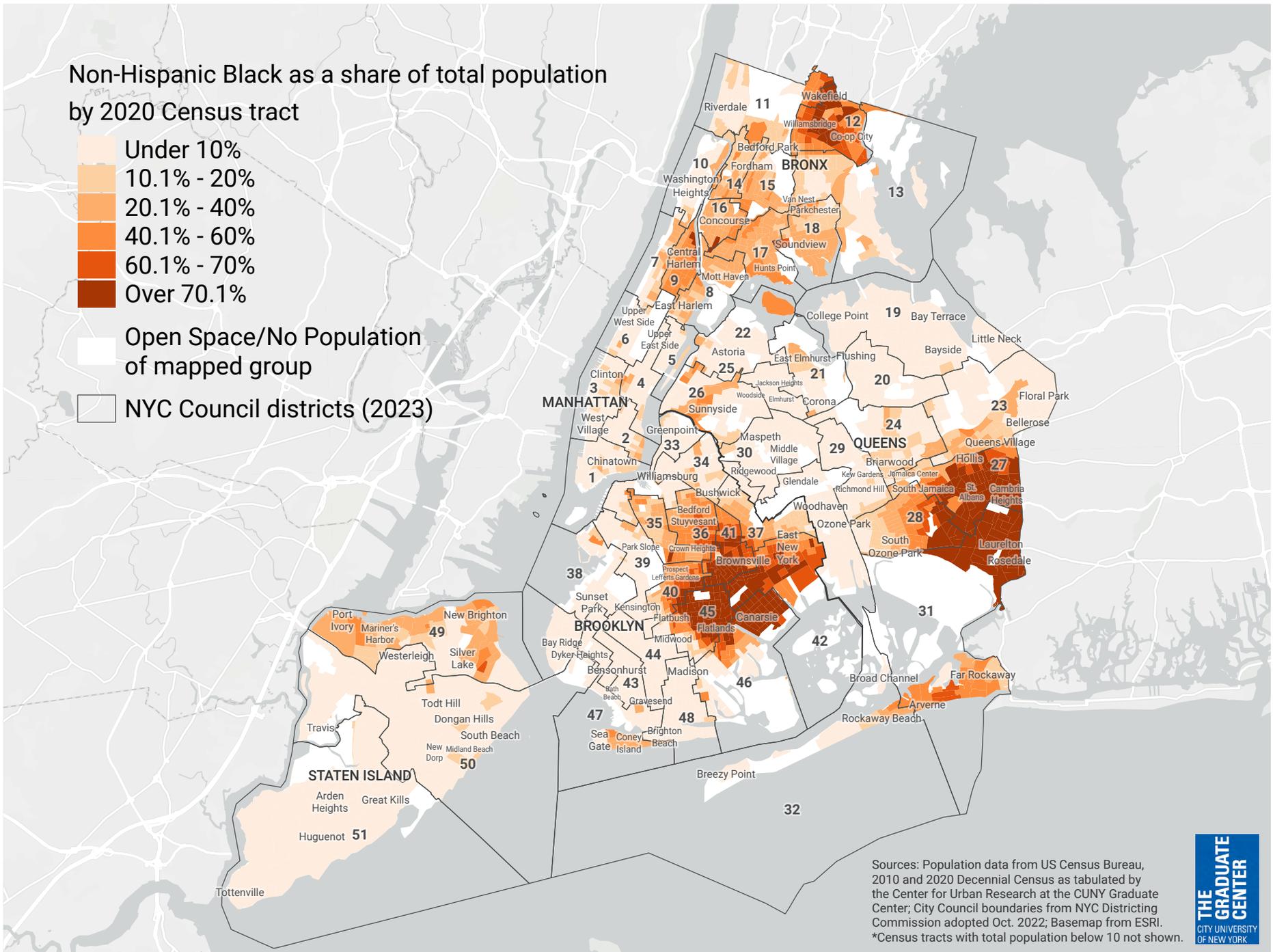
- Plaintiff claimed the jury who indicted were selected in a way that grossly underrepresented Latinos, which violates the Equal Protection Clause
 - State courts concluded plaintiff failed to prove “Latinos were an identifiable minority” (pg. 1215)
 - *Castaneda v. Partida* (1977) requires a defendant “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>

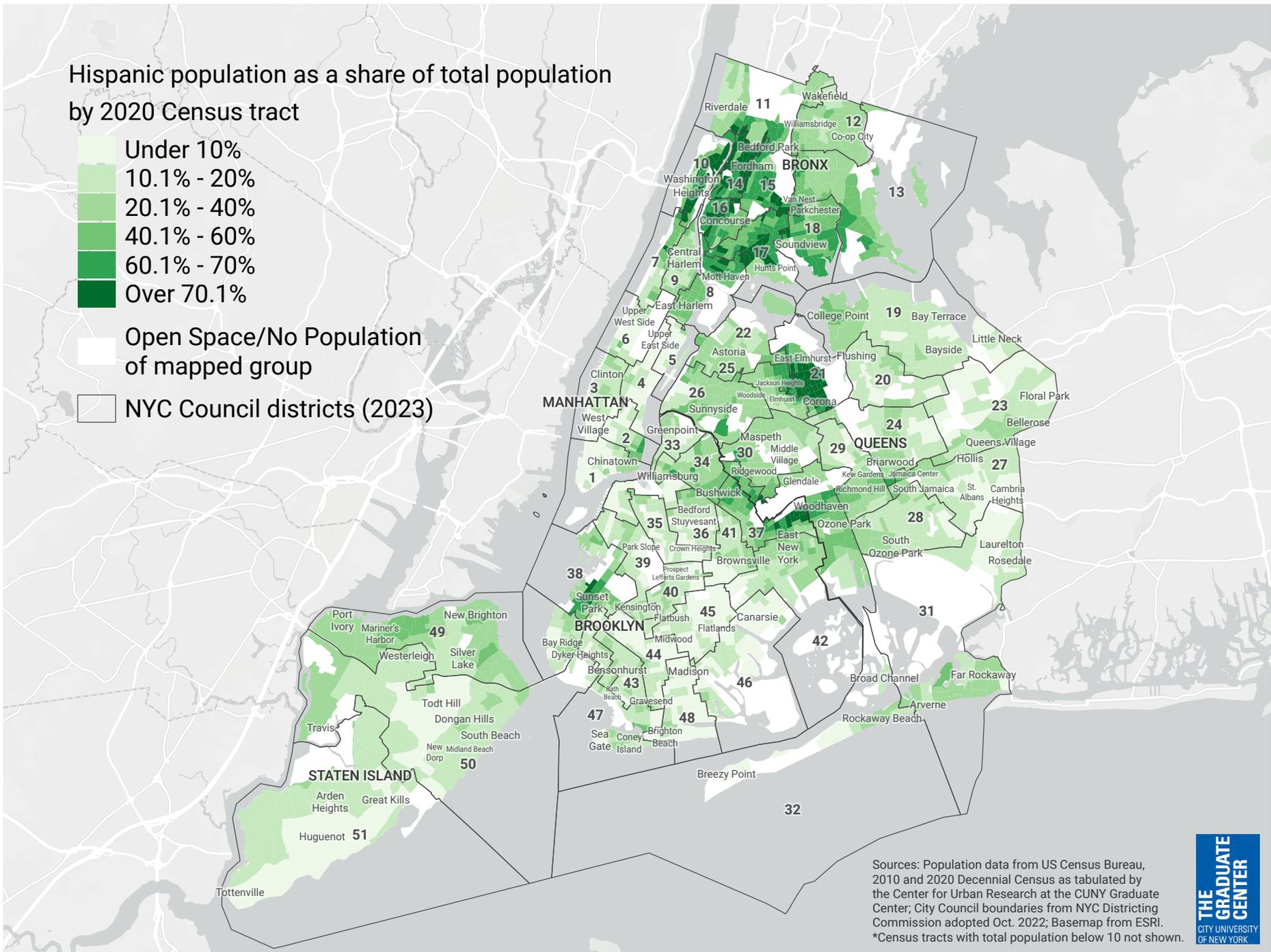
Huot v. City of Lowell, 280 F.Supp.3d 228 (D. Mass 2017)

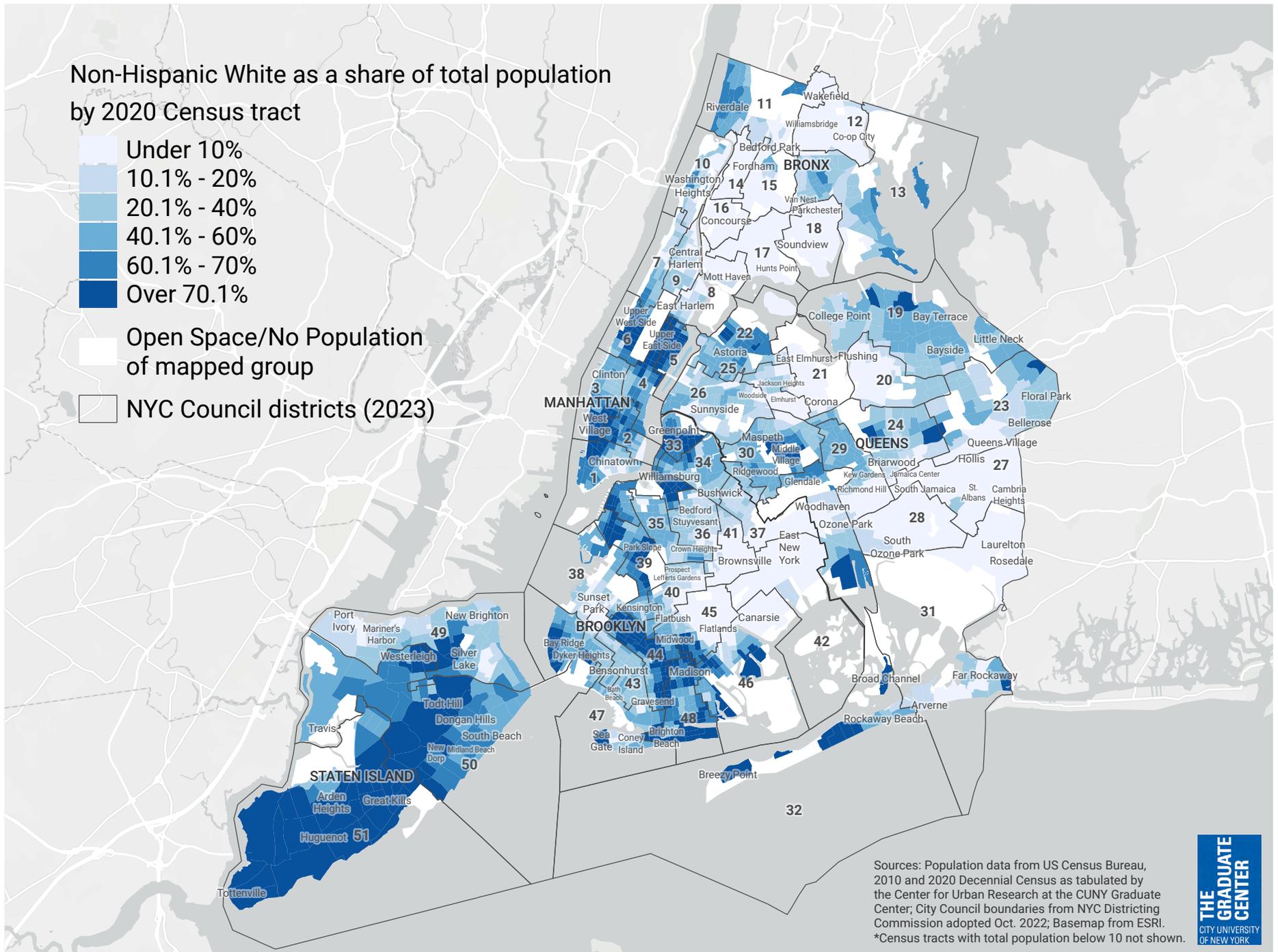
- Circumstances allegedly demonstrate that “Asian-American and Hispanic/Latino voters together have less opportunity than other members of the electorate to participate in the political process and to elect candidates of their choice...” (pg. 231)
 - The City’s Hispanic/Latino and Asian-American residents 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







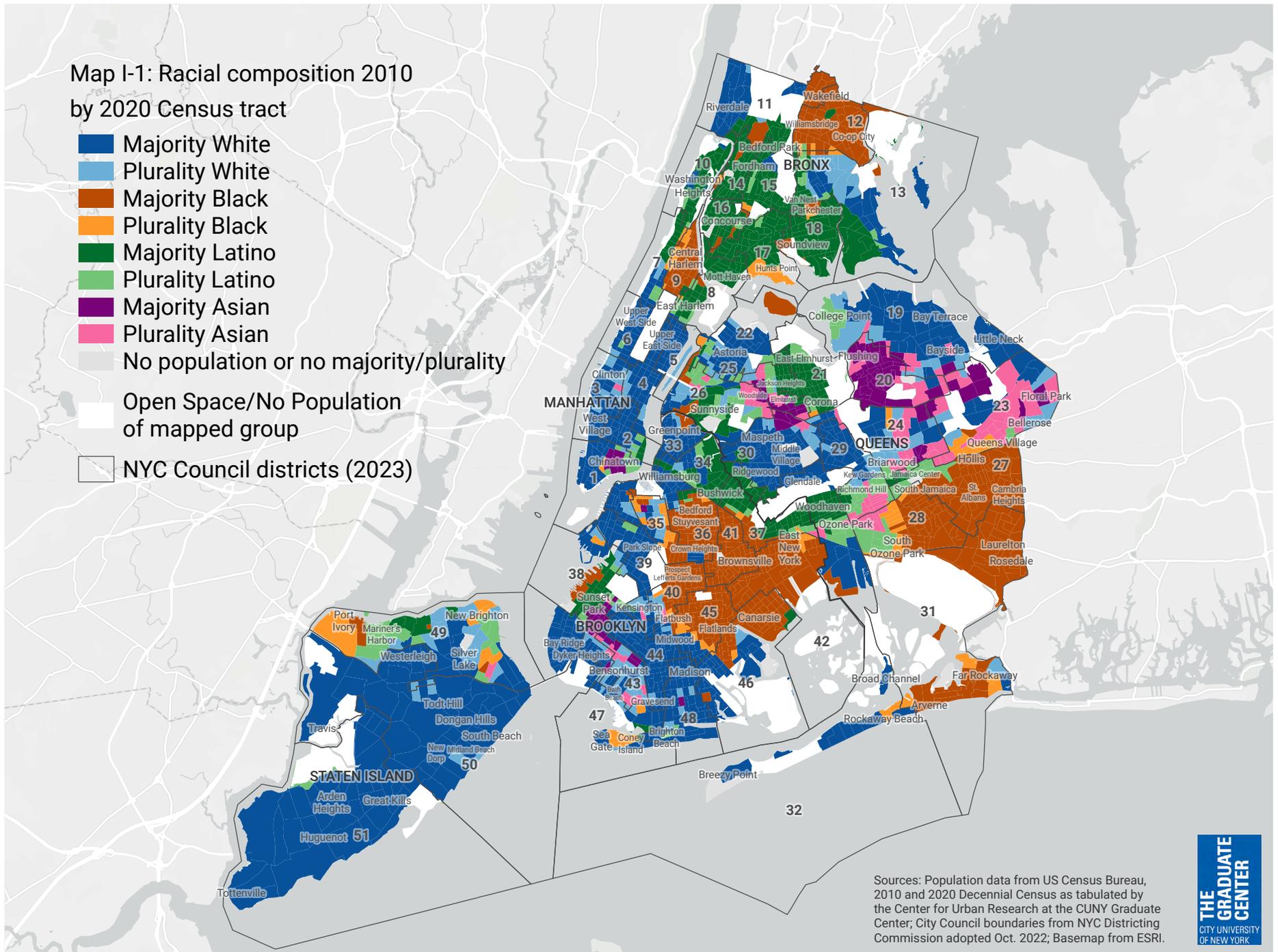


Sources: Population data from US Census Bureau, 2010 and 2020 Decennial Census as tabulated by the Center for Urban Research at the CUNY Graduate Center; City Council boundaries from NYC Districting Commission adopted Oct. 2022; Basemap from ESRI.
 *Census tracts with total population below 10 not shown.



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)

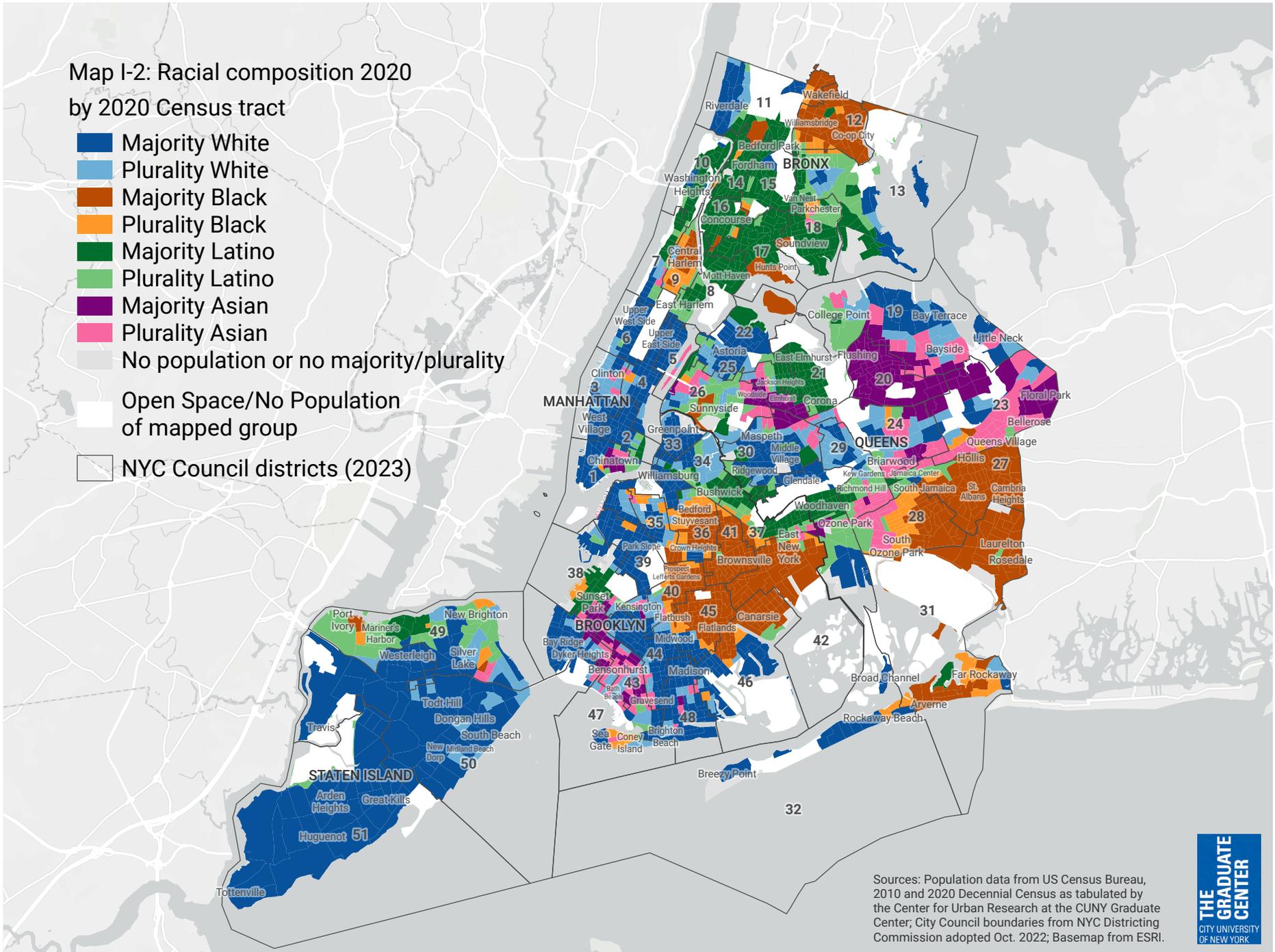


Sources: Population data from US Census Bureau, 2010 and 2020 Decennial Census as tabulated by the Center for Urban Research at the CUNY Graduate Center; City Council boundaries from NYC Districting Commission adopted Oct. 2022; Basemap from ESRI.



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)

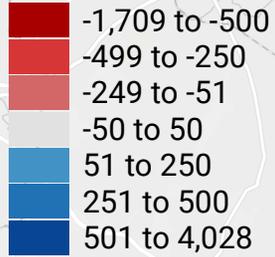


Sources: Population data from US Census Bureau, 2010 and 2020 Decennial Census as tabulated by the Center for Urban Research at the CUNY Graduate Center; City Council boundaries from NYC Districting Commission adopted Oct. 2022; Basemap from ESRI.



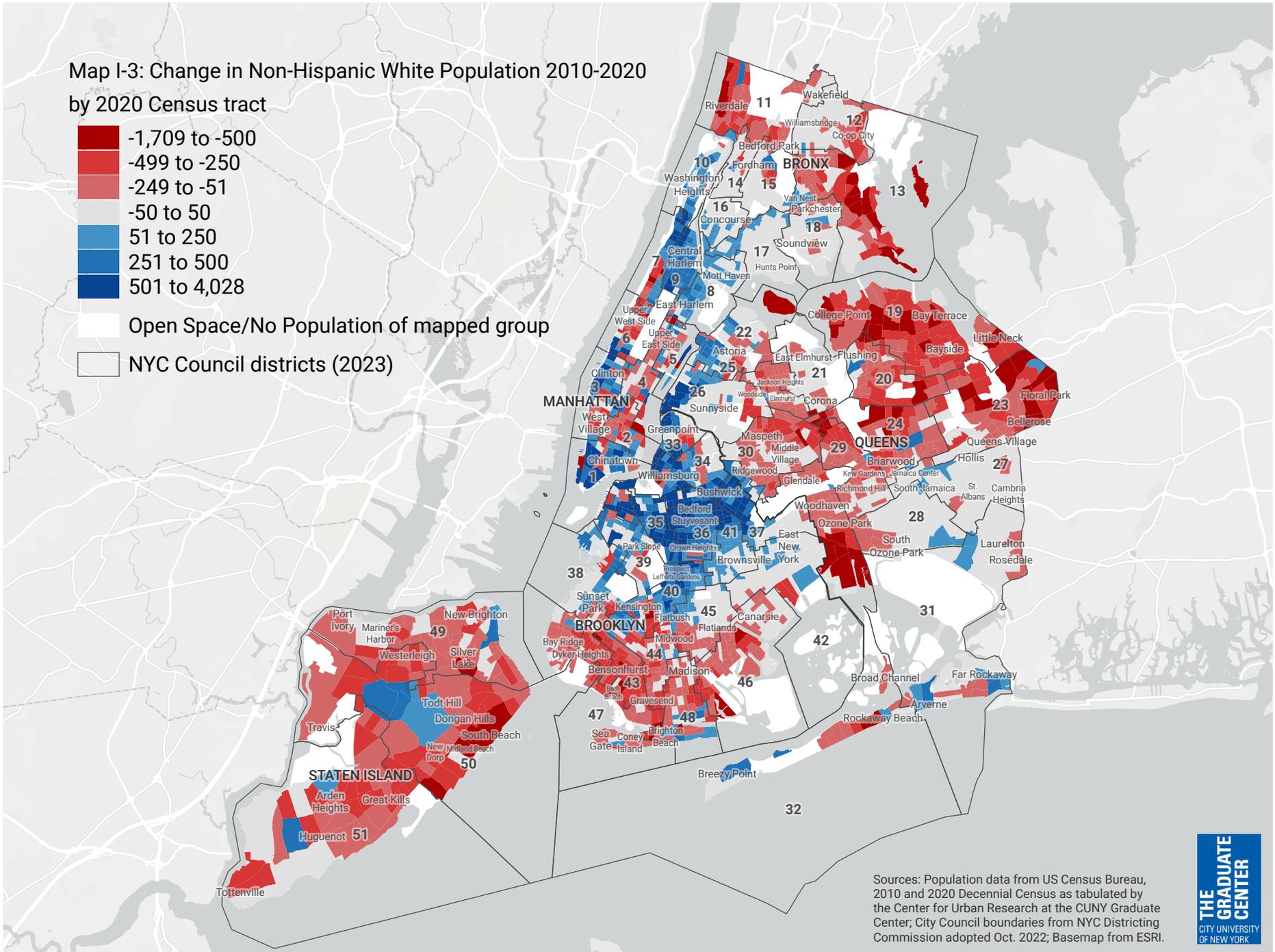
Map I-3: Change in Non-Hispanic White Population 2010-2020

by 2020 Census tract



Open Space/No Population of mapped group

NYC Council districts (2023)

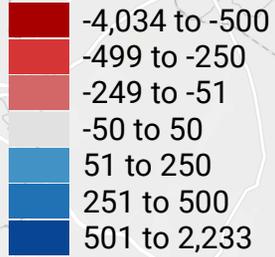


Sources: Population data from US Census Bureau, 2010 and 2020 Decennial Census as tabulated by the Center for Urban Research at the CUNY Graduate Center; City Council boundaries from NYC Districting Commission adopted Oct. 2022; Basemap from ESRI.



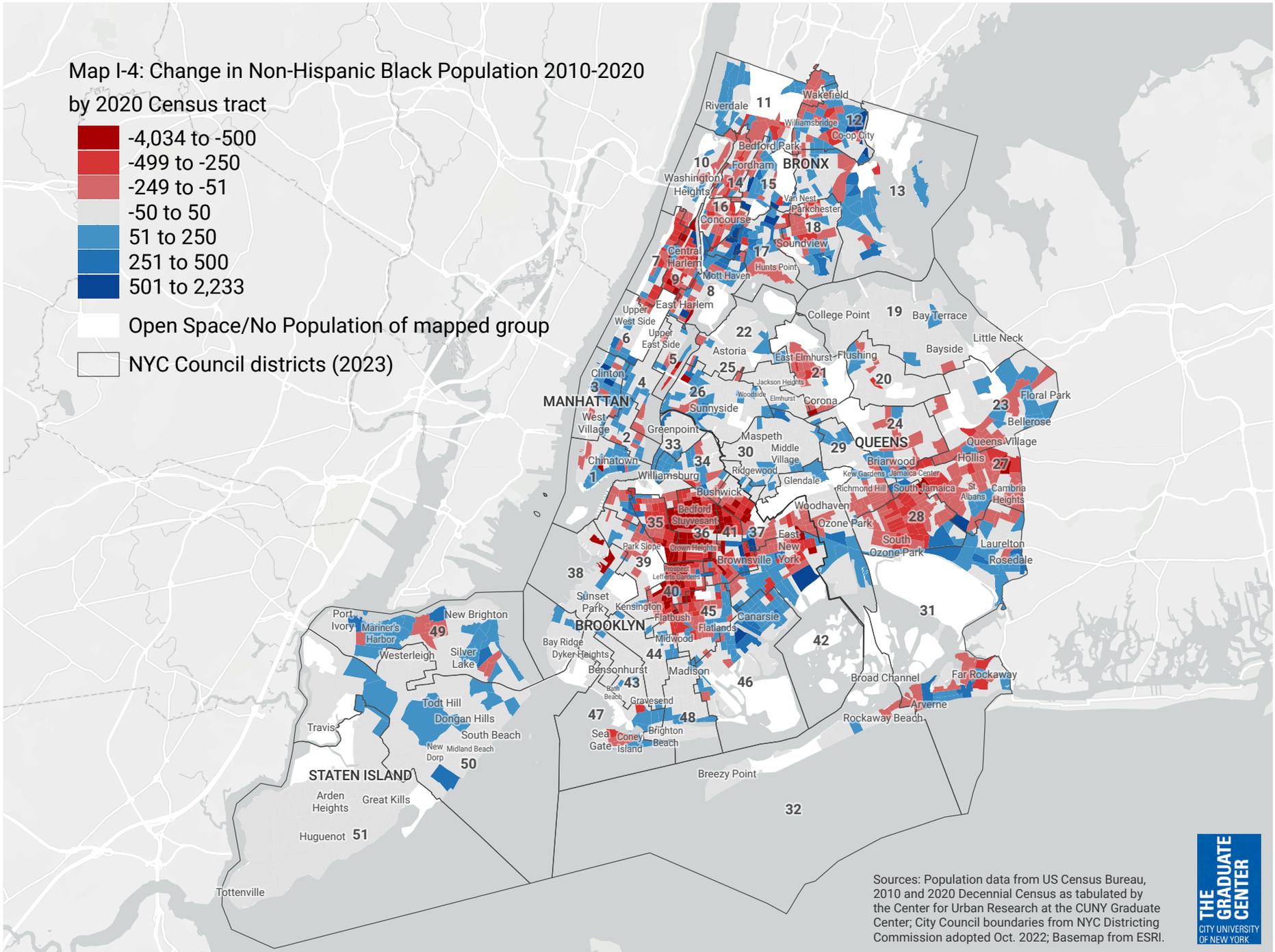
Map I-4: Change in Non-Hispanic Black Population 2010-2020

by 2020 Census tract



Open Space/No Population of mapped group

NYC Council districts (2023)

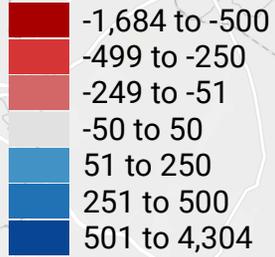


Sources: Population data from US Census Bureau, 2010 and 2020 Decennial Census as tabulated by the Center for Urban Research at the CUNY Graduate Center; City Council boundaries from NYC Districting Commission adopted Oct. 2022; Basemap from ESRI.

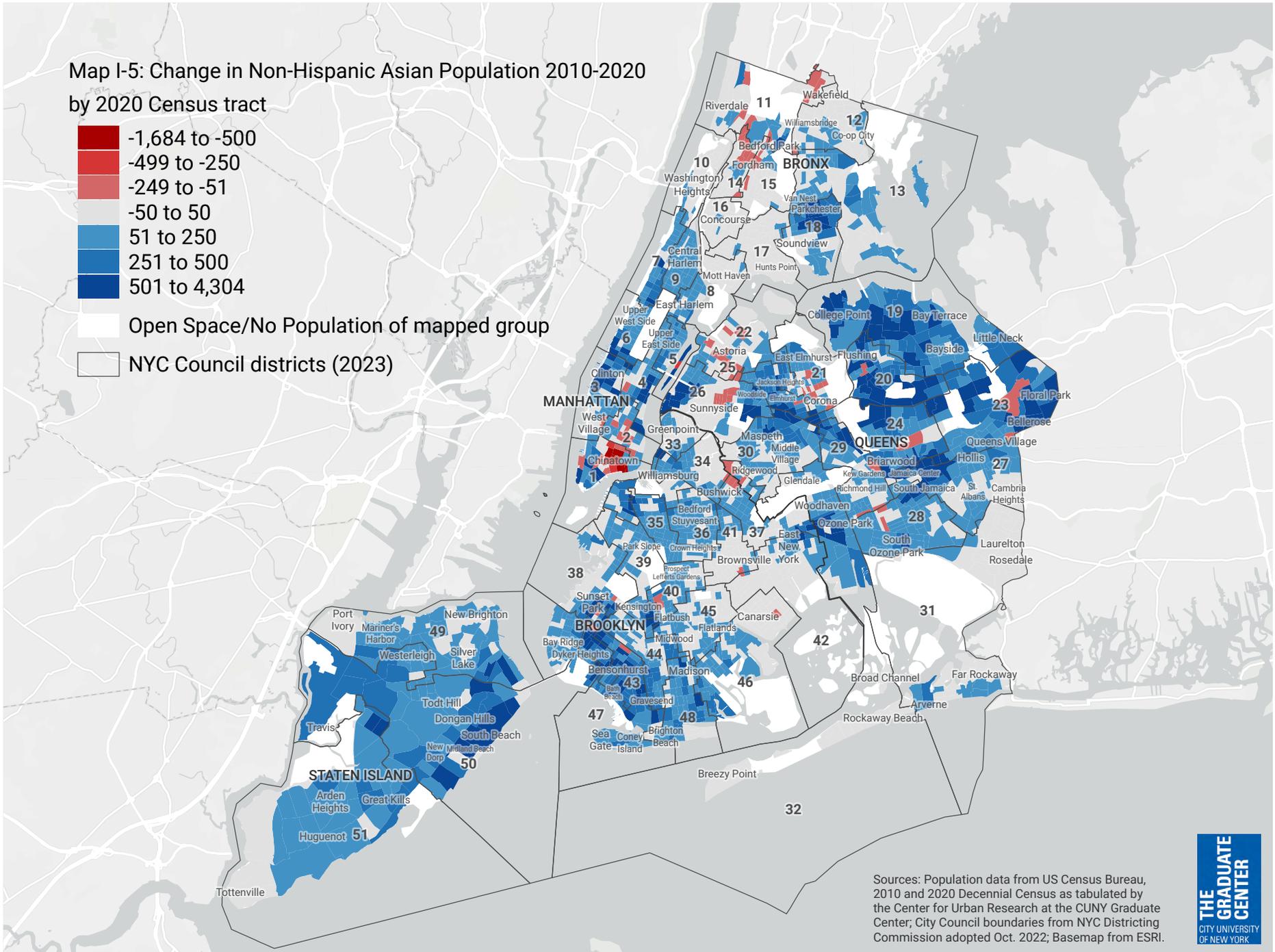


Map I-5: Change in Non-Hispanic Asian Population 2010-2020

by 2020 Census tract



Open Space/No Population of mapped group
 NYC Council districts (2023)

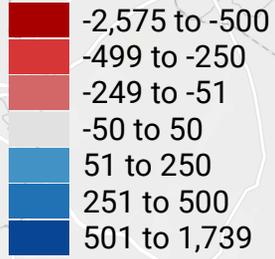


Sources: Population data from US Census Bureau, 2010 and 2020 Decennial Census as tabulated by the Center for Urban Research at the CUNY Graduate Center; City Council boundaries from NYC Districting Commission adopted Oct. 2022; Basemap from ESRI.

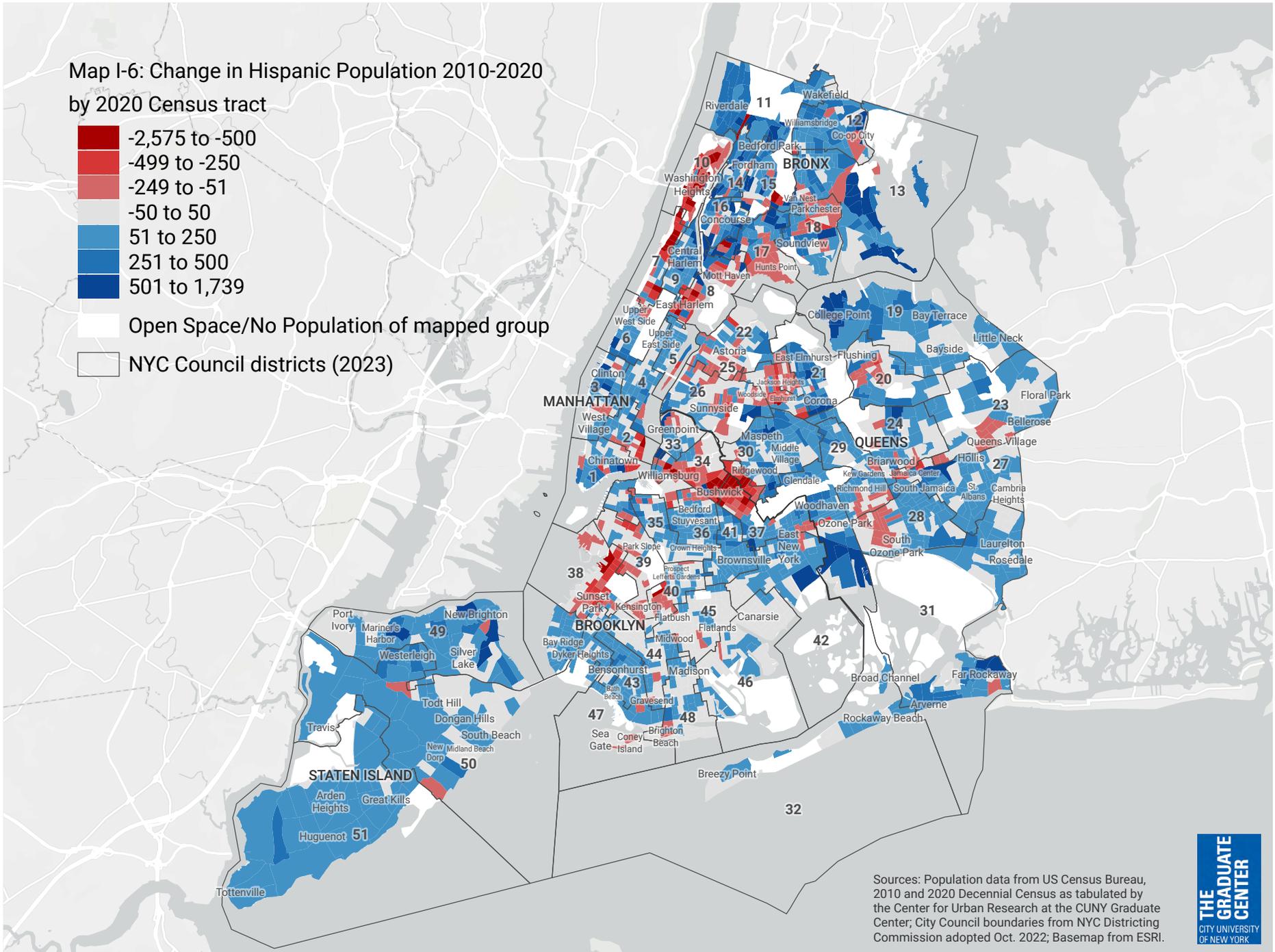


Map I-6: Change in Hispanic Population 2010-2020

by 2020 Census tract



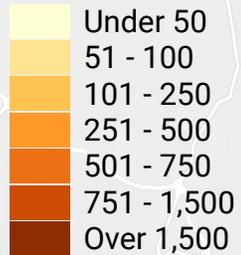
Open Space/No Population of mapped group
 NYC Council districts (2023)



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.

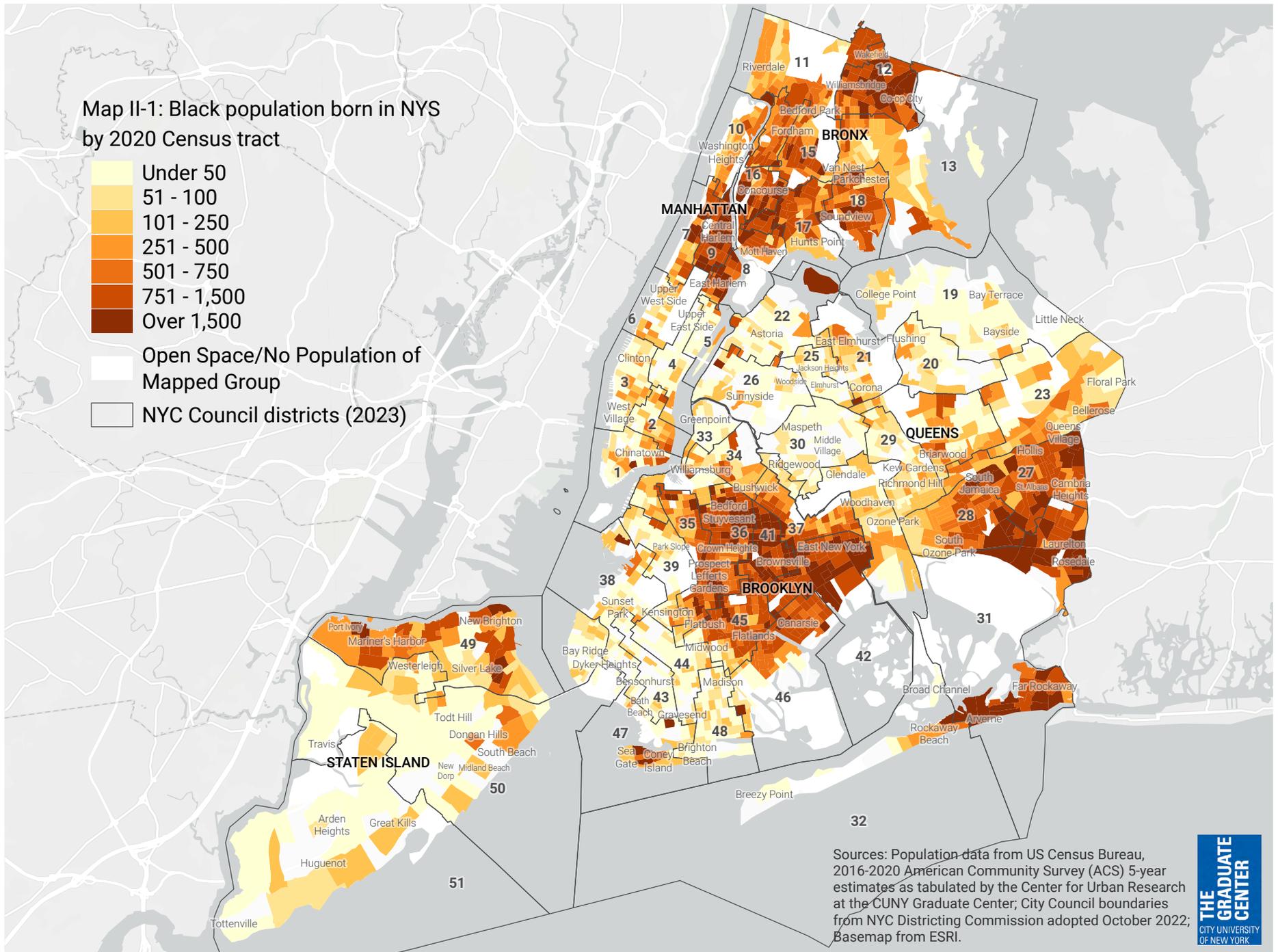


Map II-1: Black population born in NYS by 2020 Census tract



Open Space/No Population of Mapped Group

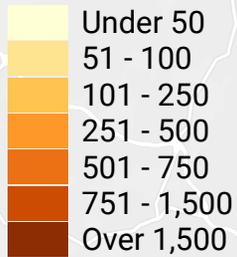
NYC Council districts (2023)



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.

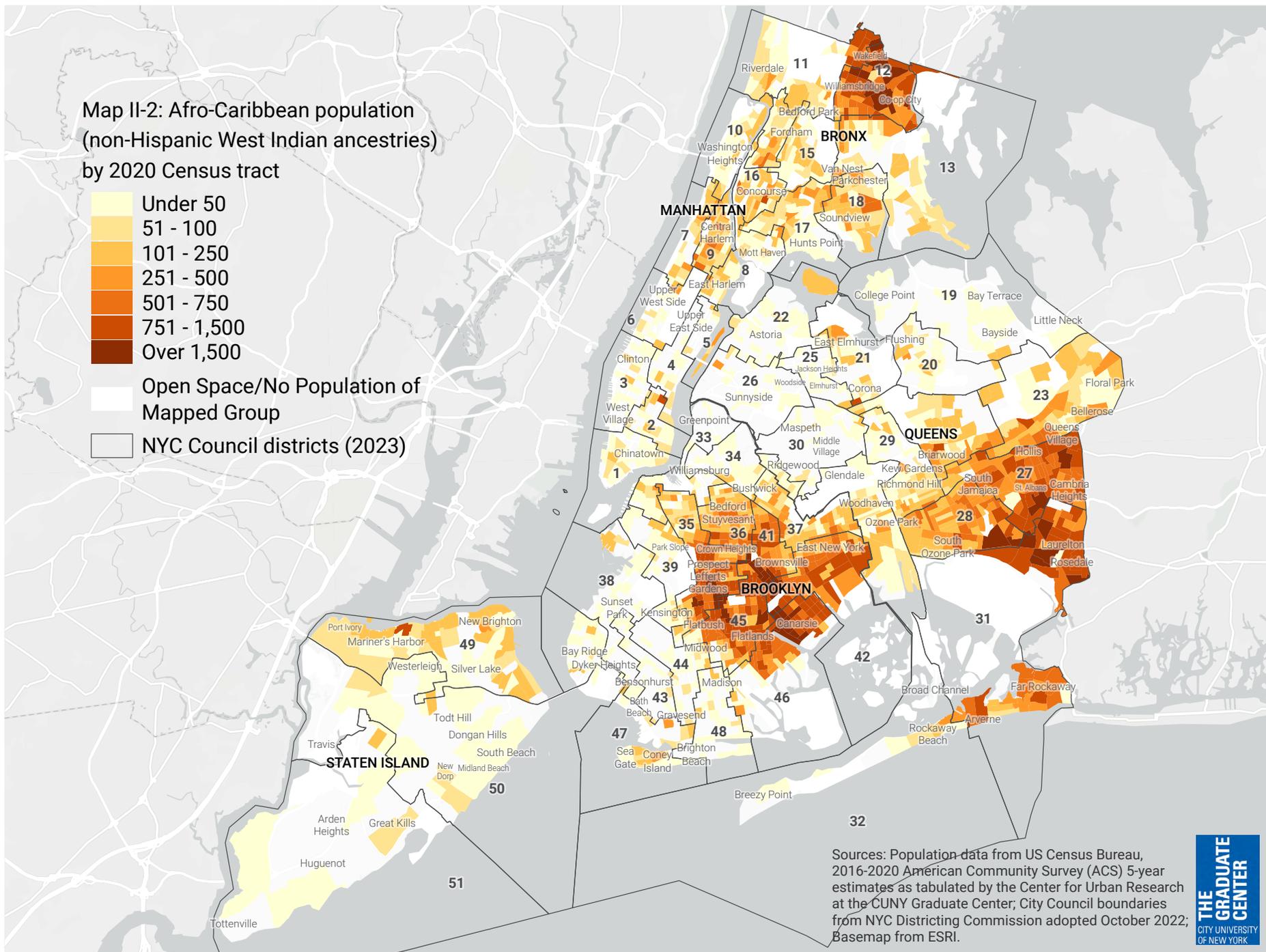


**Map II-2: Afro-Caribbean population
(non-Hispanic West Indian ancestries)
by 2020 Census tract**



Open Space/No Population of Mapped Group

NYC Council districts (2023)



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.

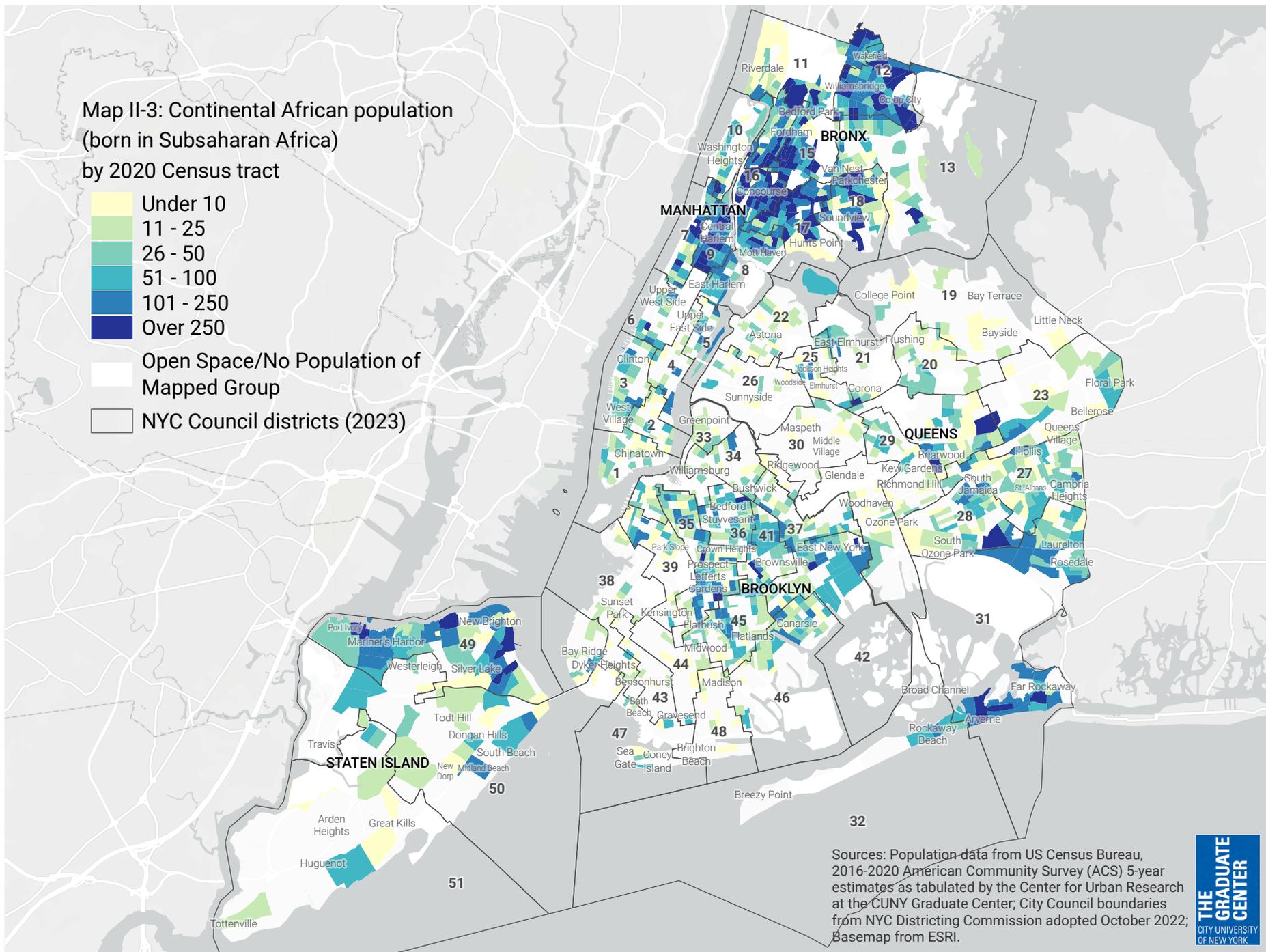


**Map II-3: Continental African population
(born in Subsaharan Africa)
by 2020 Census tract**



Open Space/No Population of Mapped Group

NYC Council districts (2023)



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.

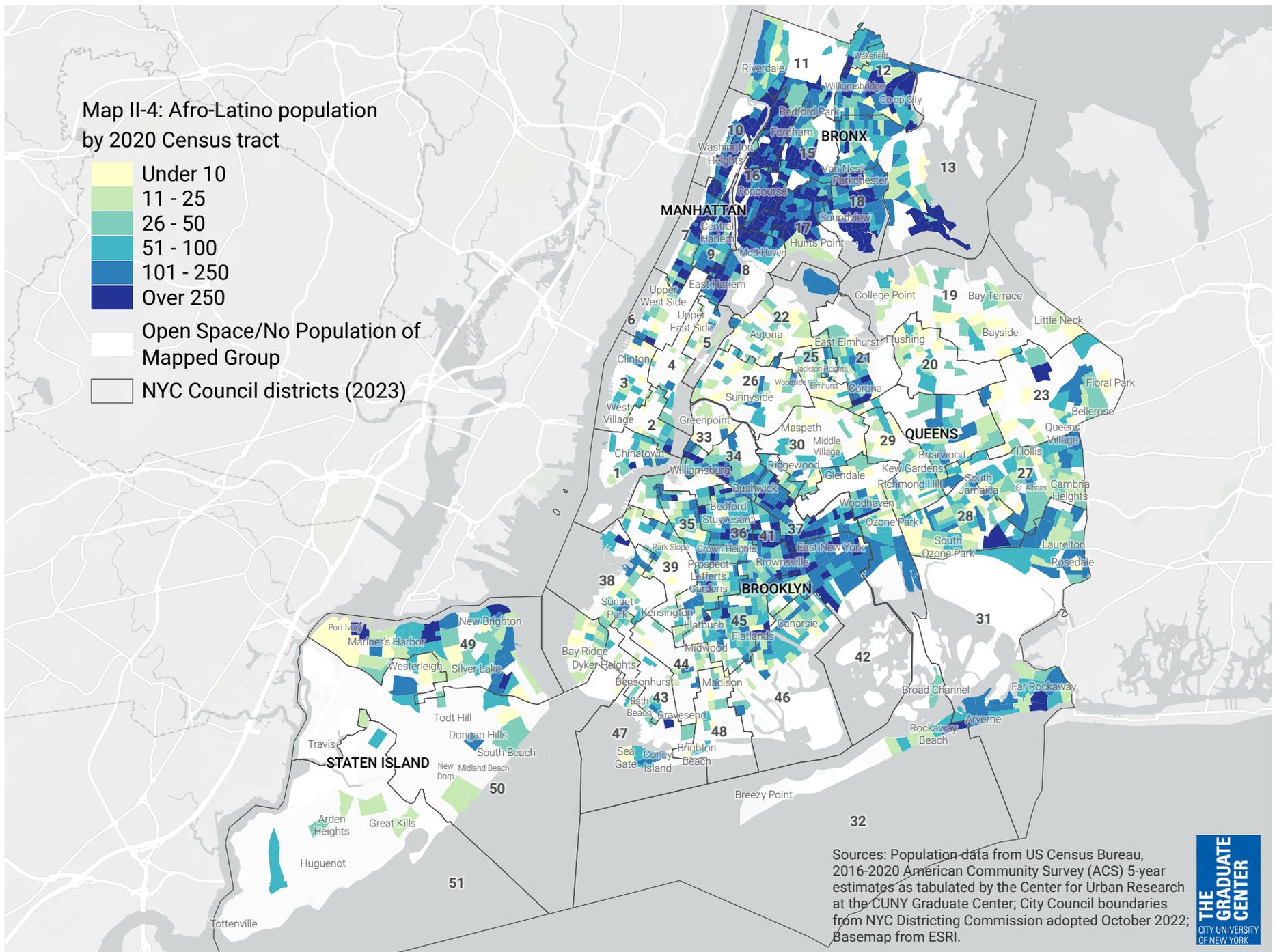


Map II-4: Afro-Latino population by 2020 Census tract



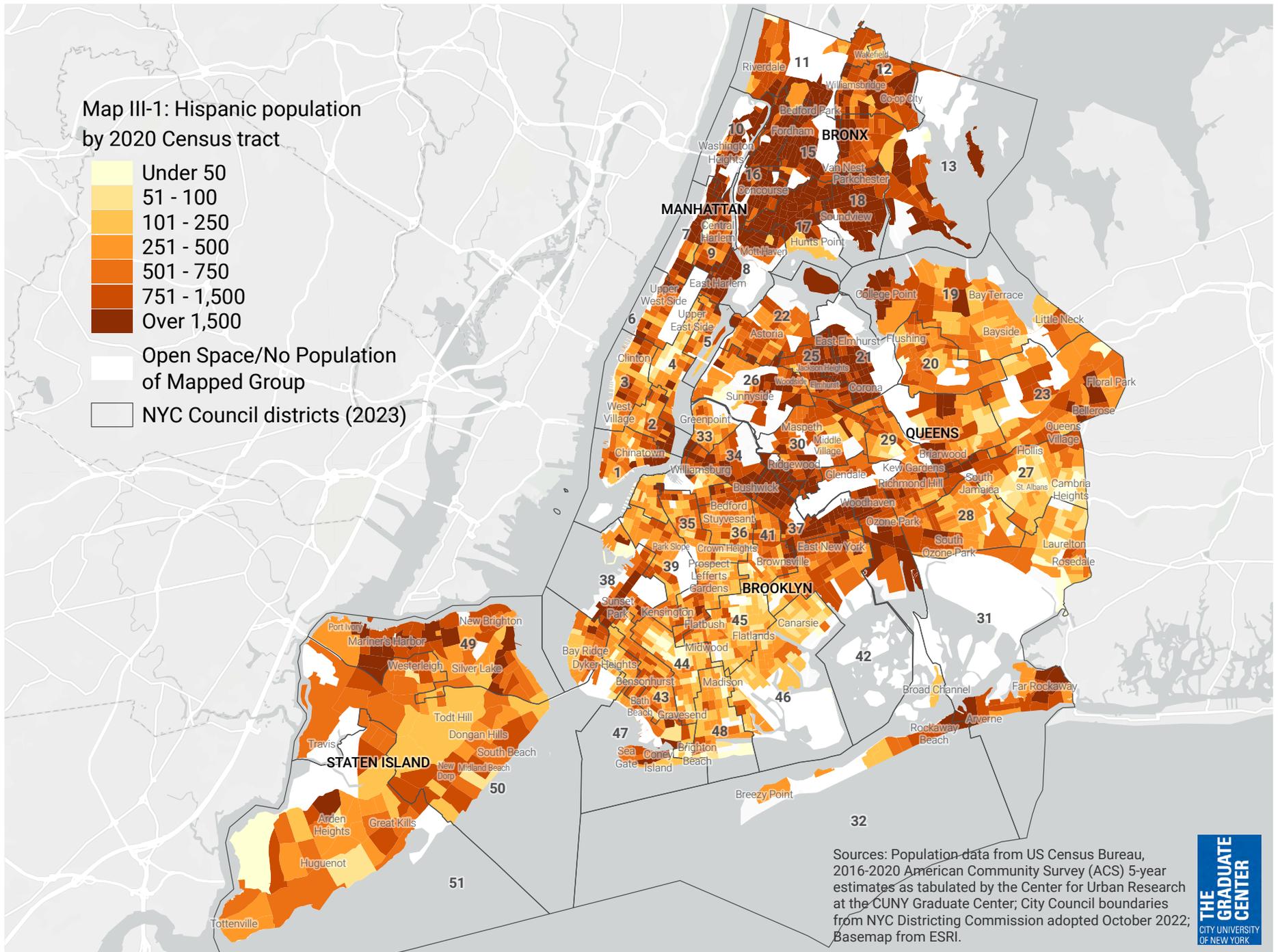
Open Space/No Population of Mapped Group

NYC Council districts (2023)



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.





Map III-1: Hispanic population by 2020 Census tract

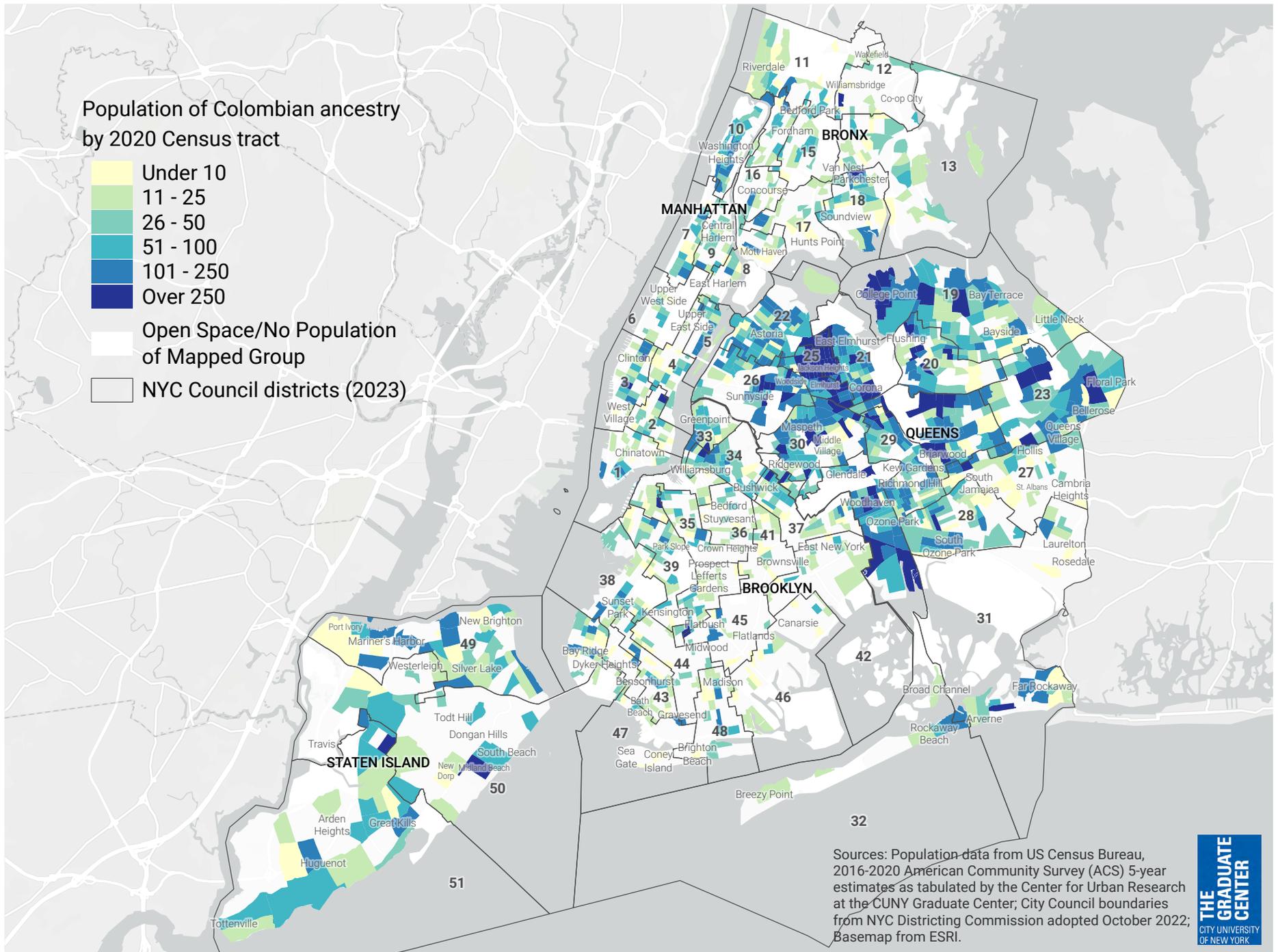
- Under 50
- 51 - 100
- 101 - 250
- 251 - 500
- 501 - 750
- 751 - 1,500
- Over 1,500

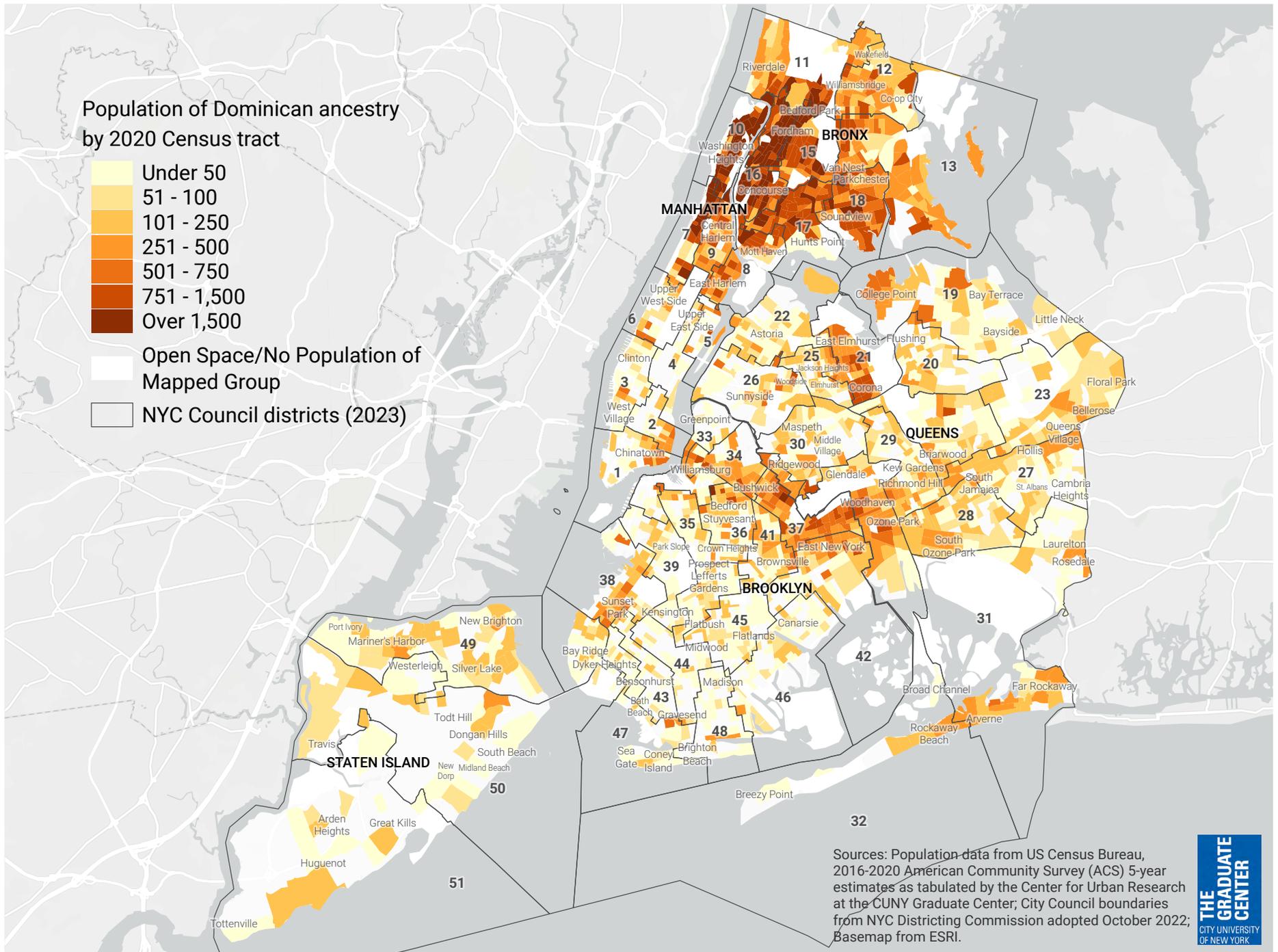
Open Space/No Population of Mapped Group

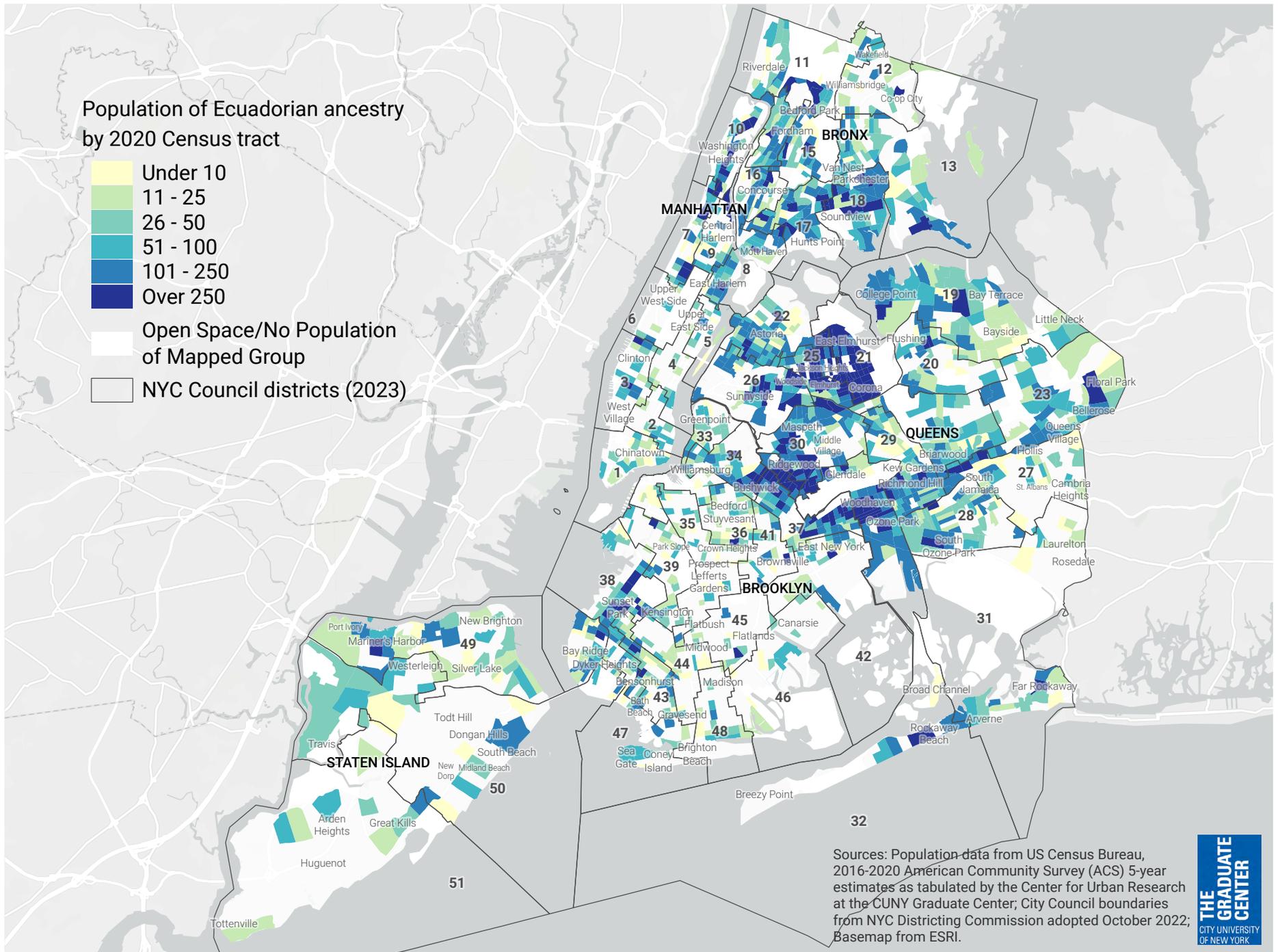
NYC Council districts (2023)

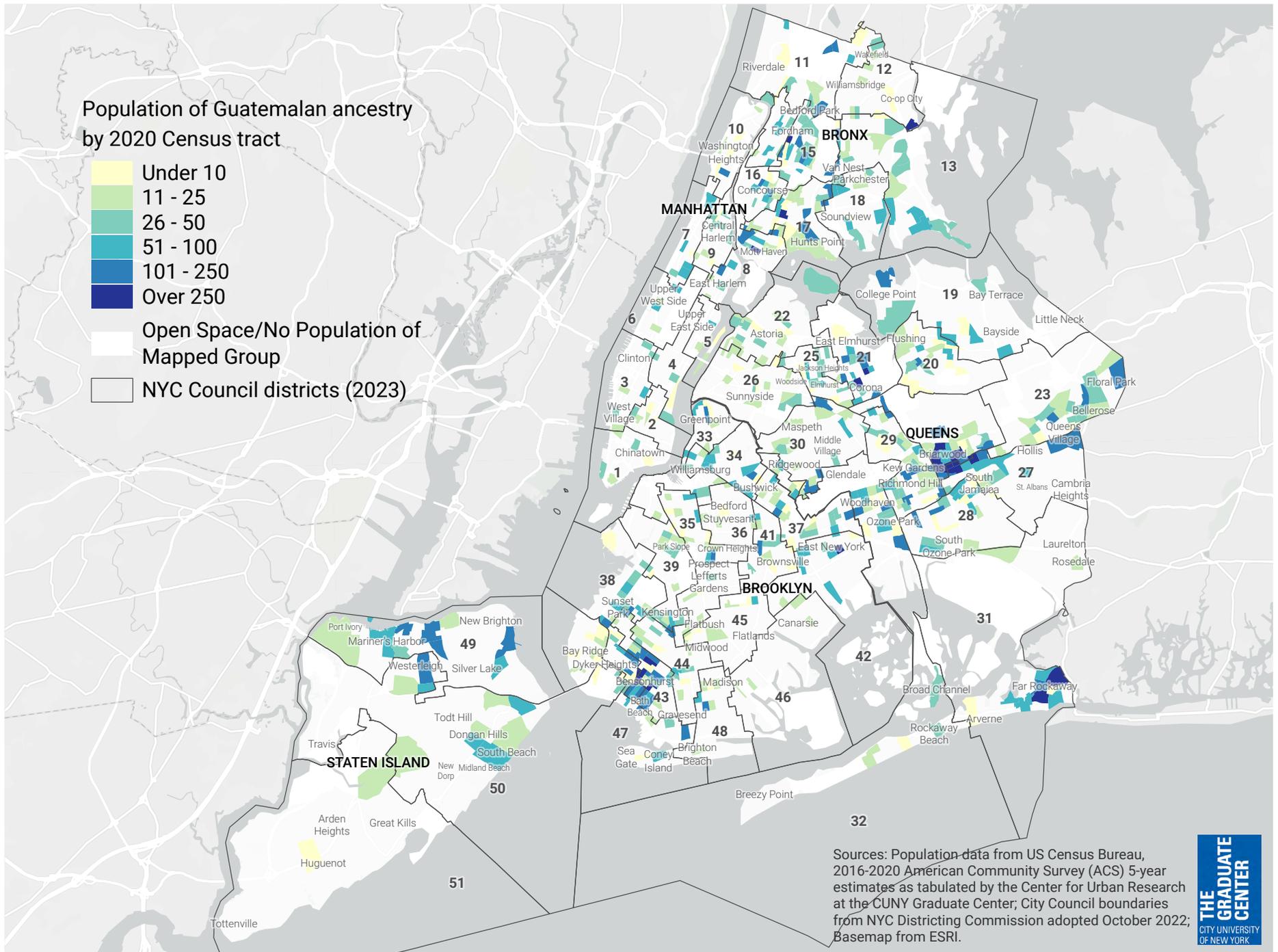
Sources: Population data from US Census Bureau, 2016-2020 American Community Survey (ACS) 5-year estimates as tabulated by the Center for Urban Research at the CUNY Graduate Center; City Council boundaries from NYC Districting Commission adopted October 2022; Basemap from ESRI.

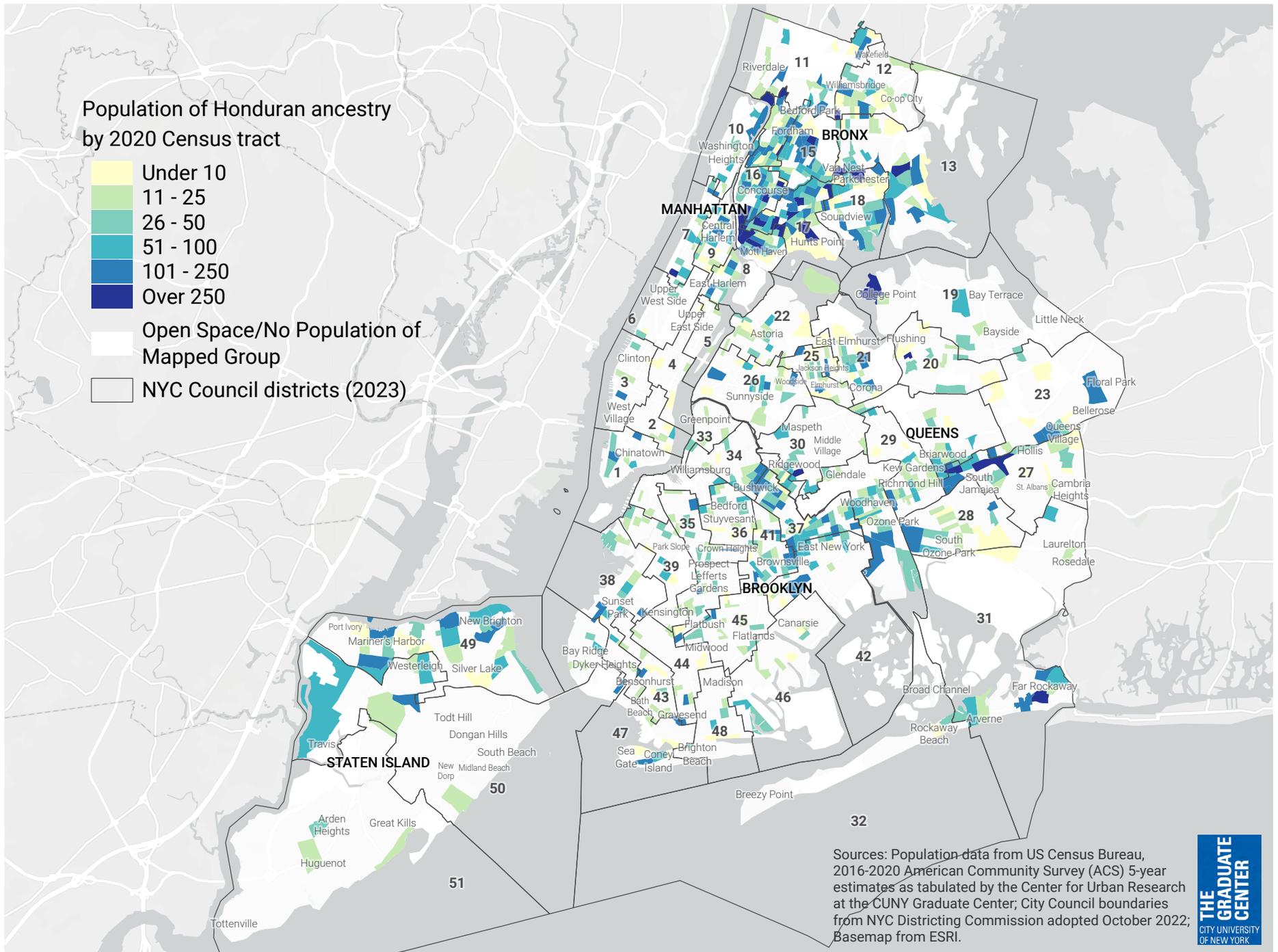


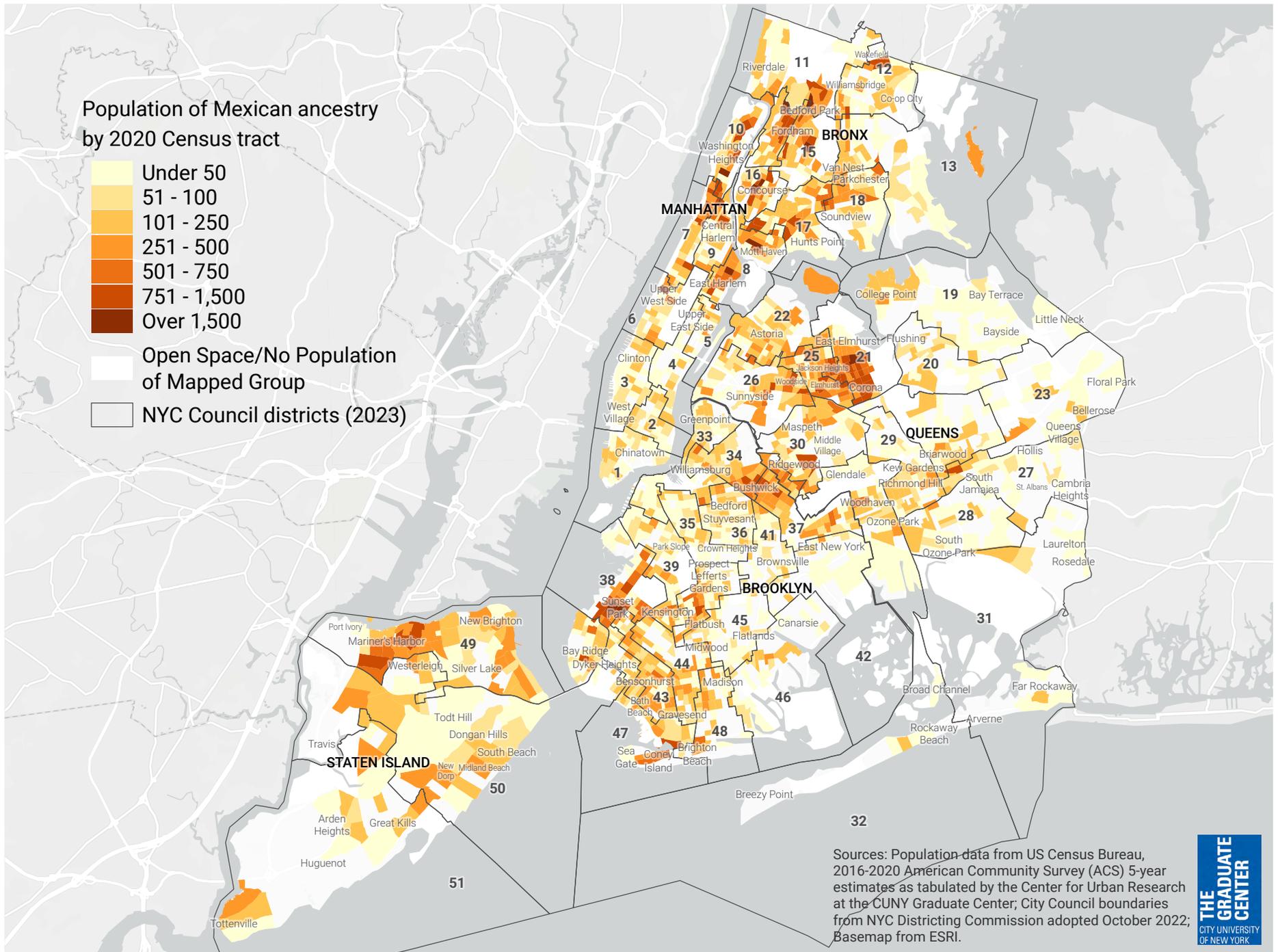


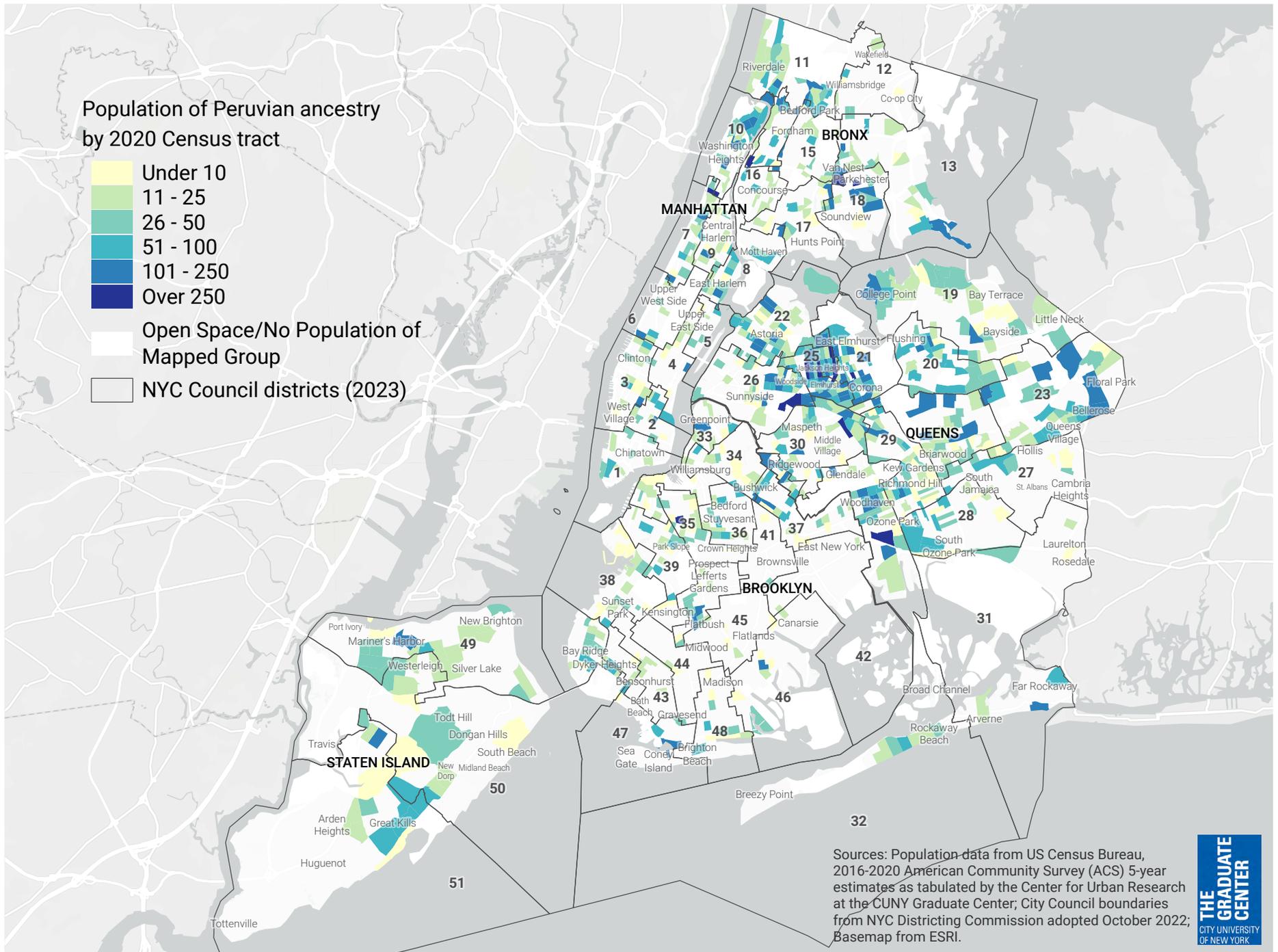


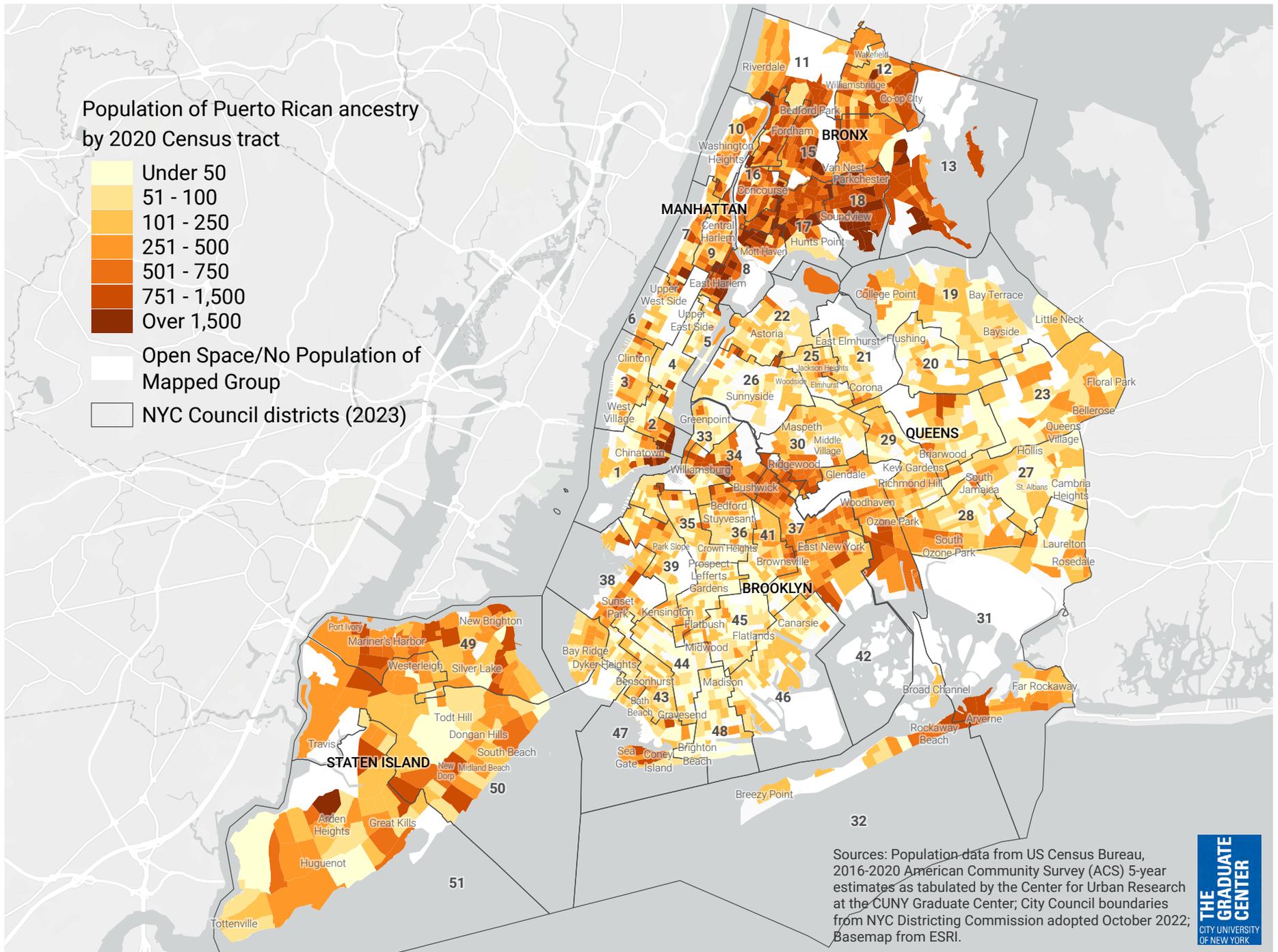


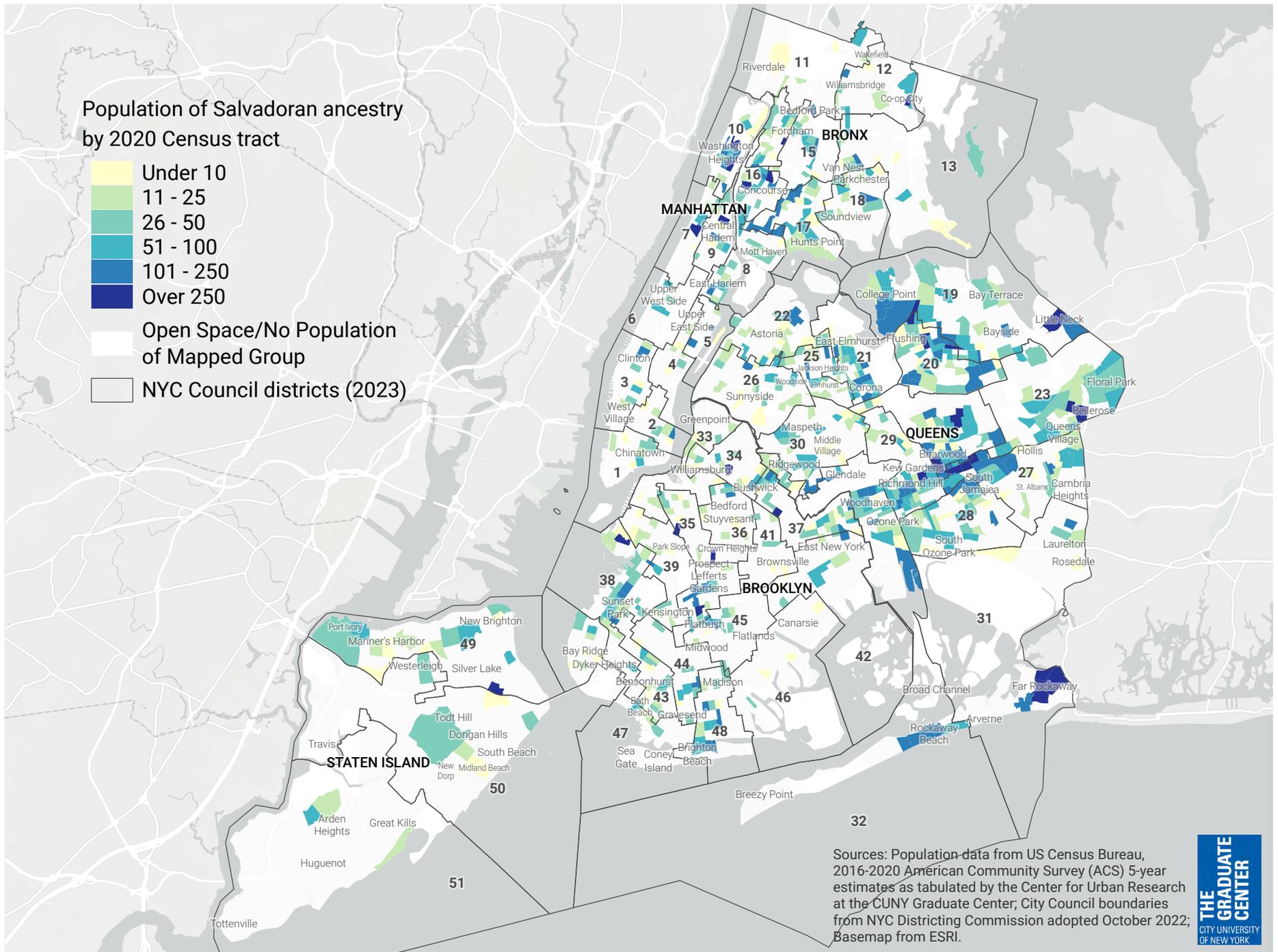


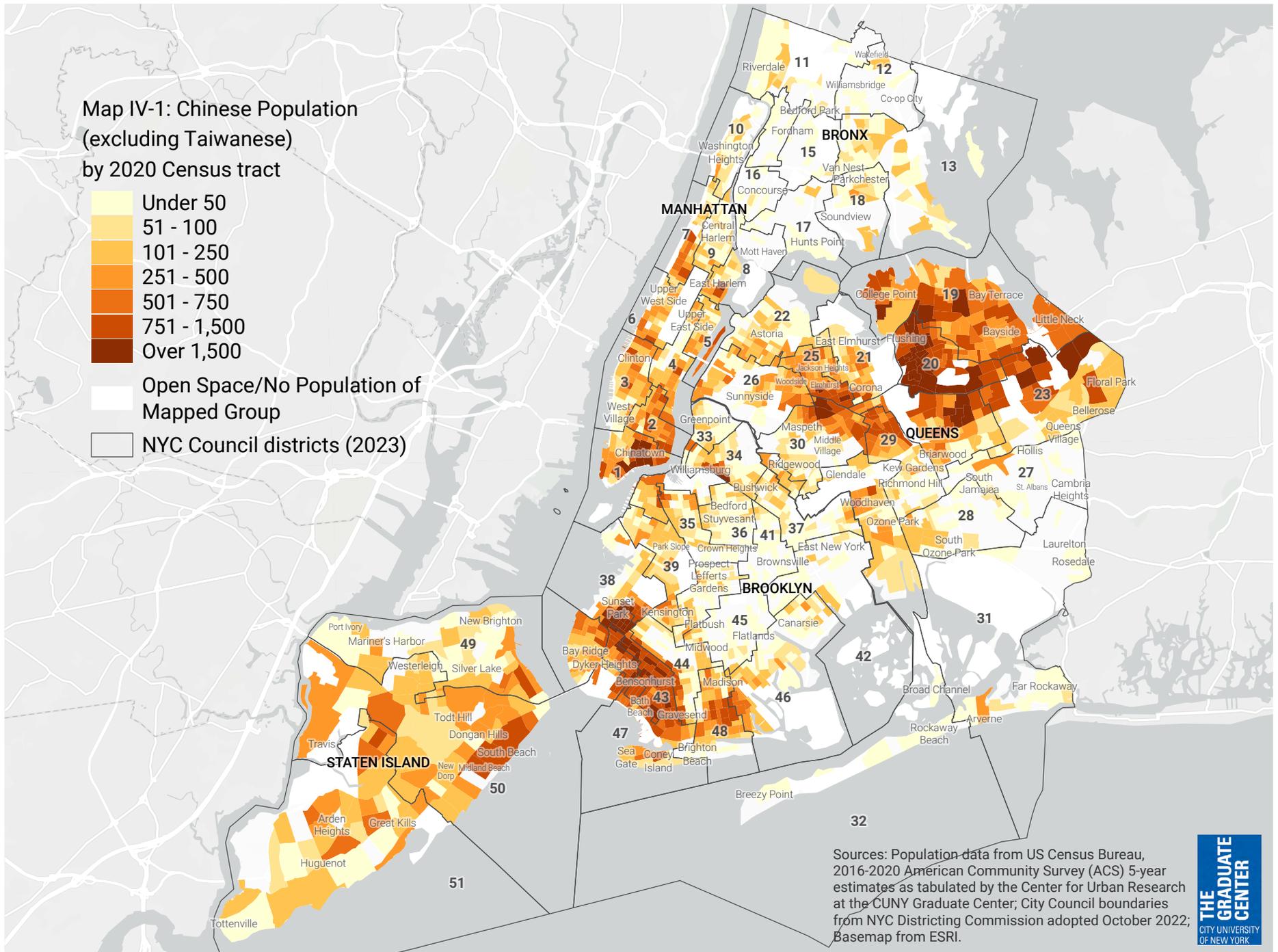




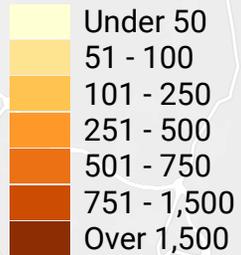






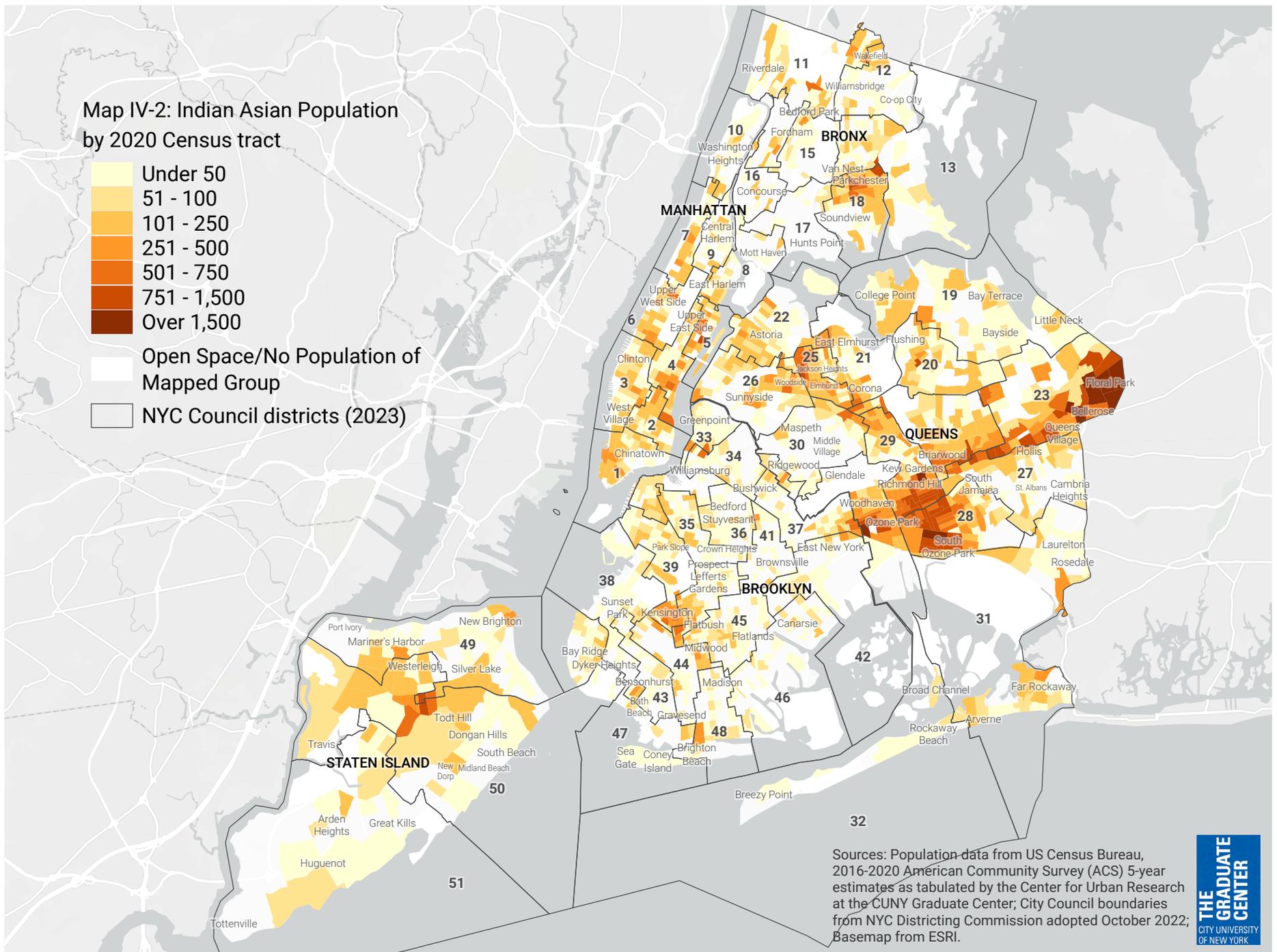


Map IV-2: Indian Asian Population by 2020 Census tract



Open Space/No Population of Mapped Group

NYC Council districts (2023)



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.

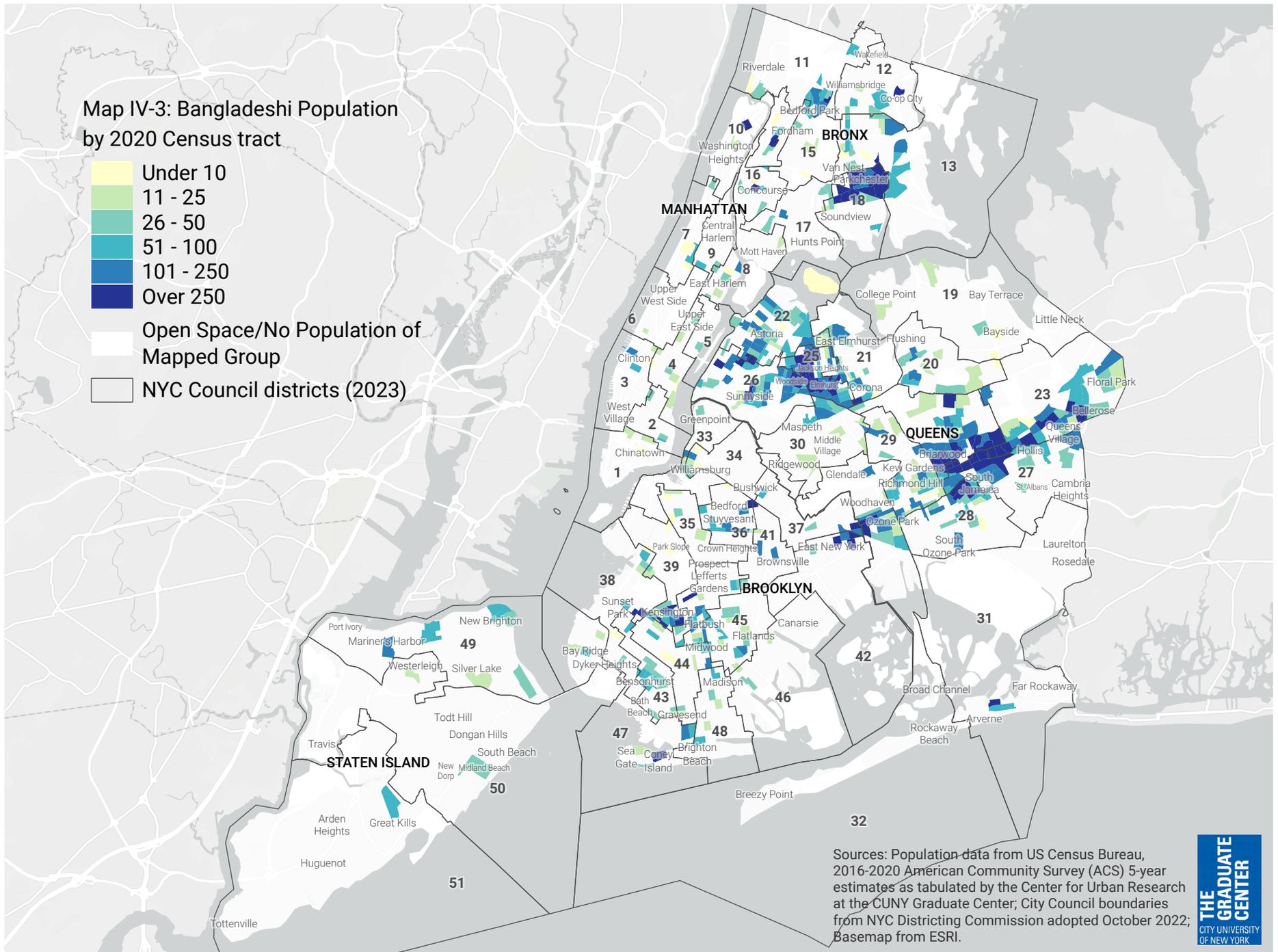


Map IV-3: Bangladeshi Population by 2020 Census tract



Open Space/No Population of Mapped Group

NYC Council districts (2023)



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.

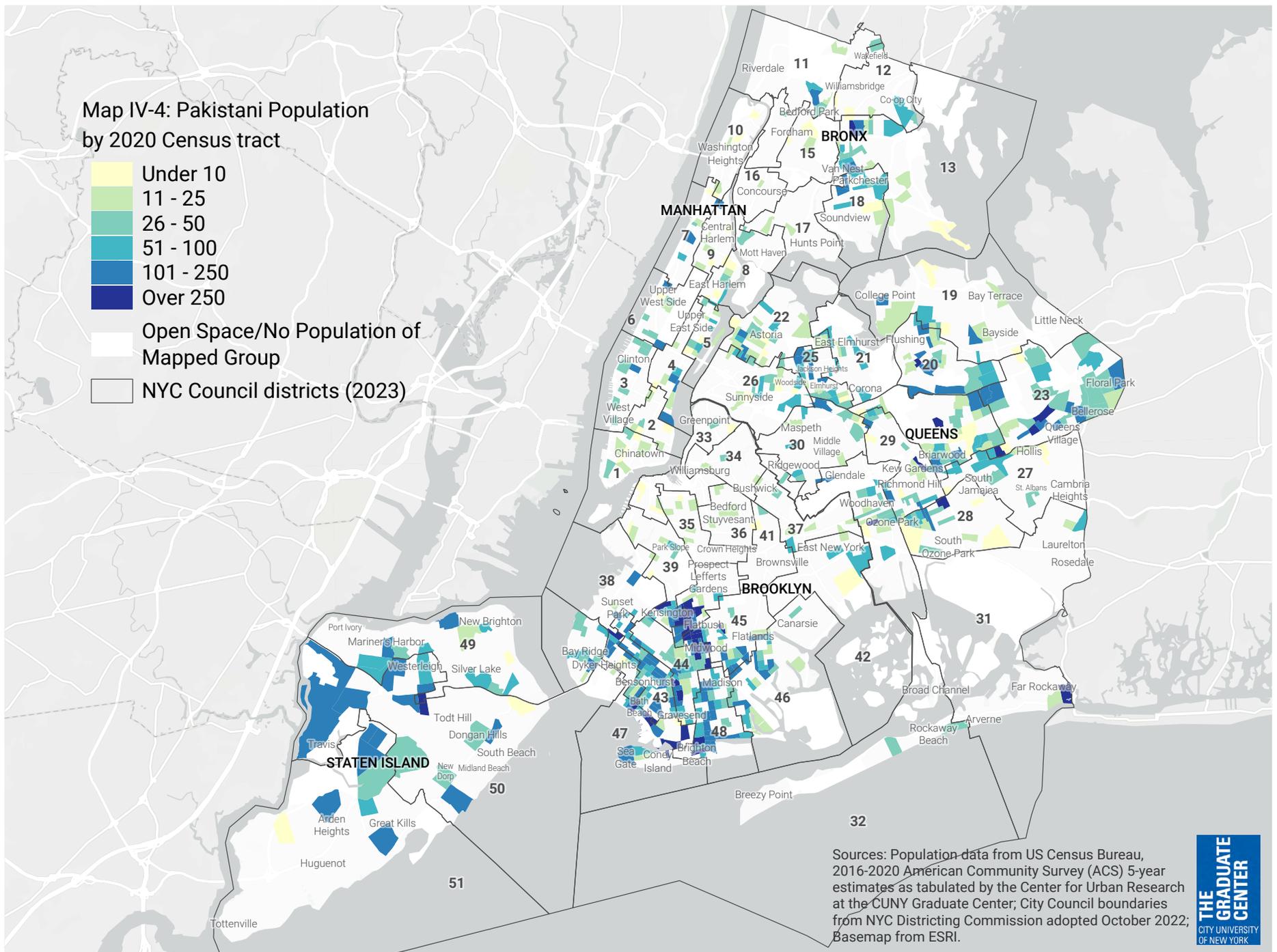


Map IV-4: Pakistani Population by 2020 Census tract



Open Space/No Population of Mapped Group

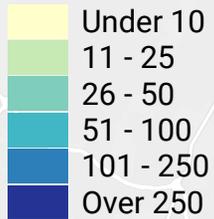
NYC Council districts (2023)



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.

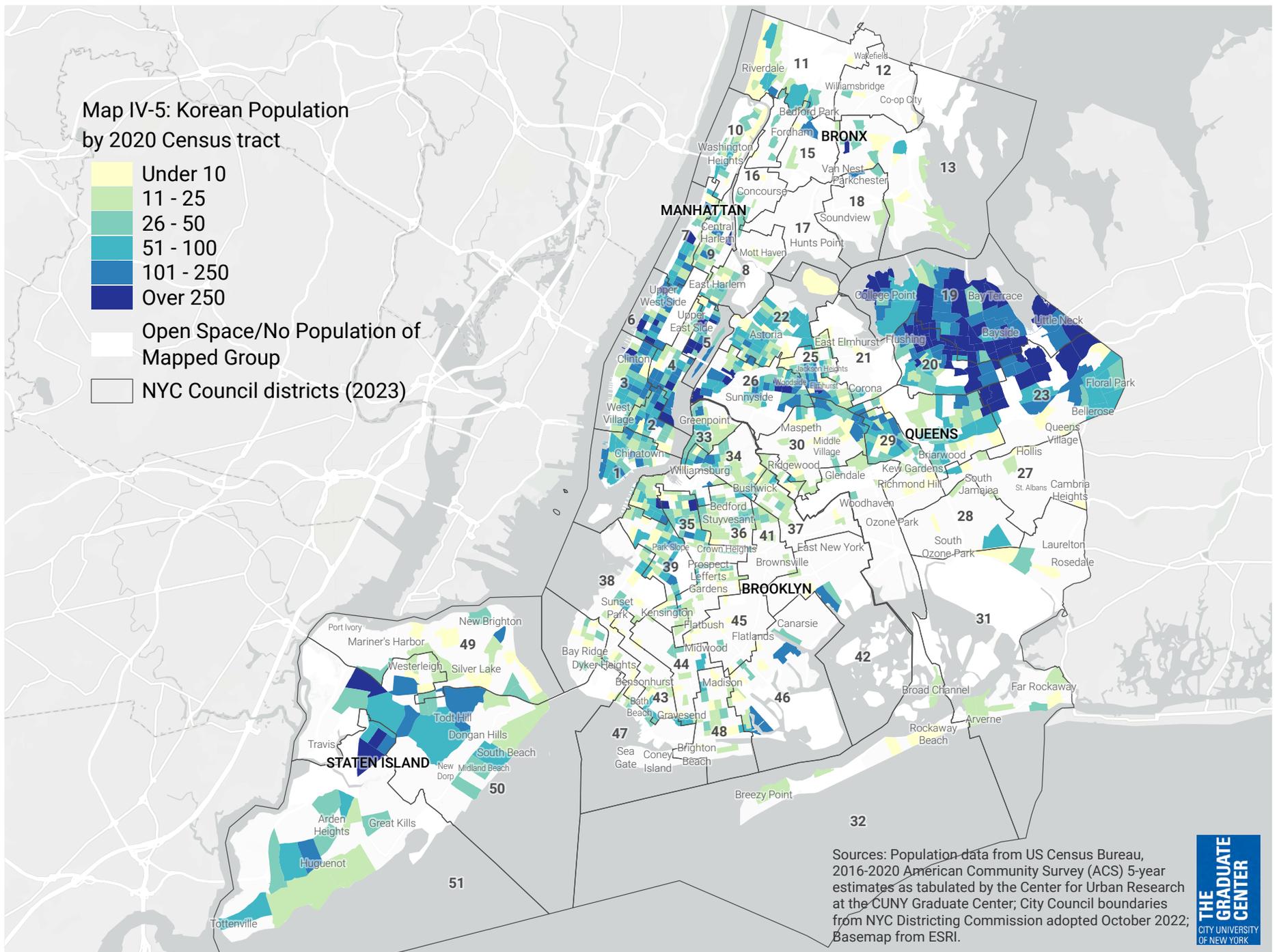


Map IV-5: Korean Population by 2020 Census tract



Open Space/No Population of Mapped Group

NYC Council districts (2023)



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.

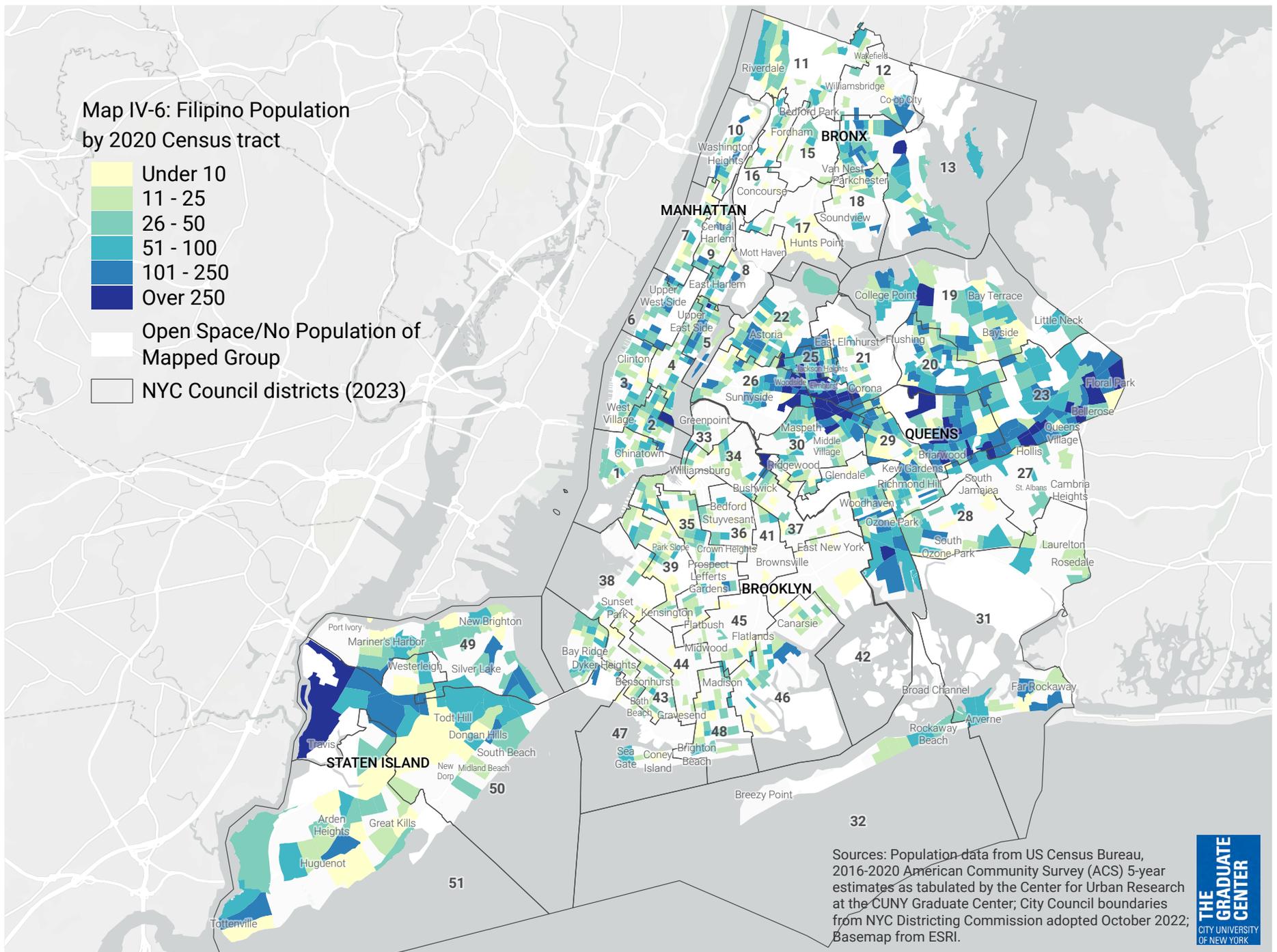


Map IV-6: Filipino Population by 2020 Census tract



Open Space/No Population of Mapped Group

NYC Council districts (2023)



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.

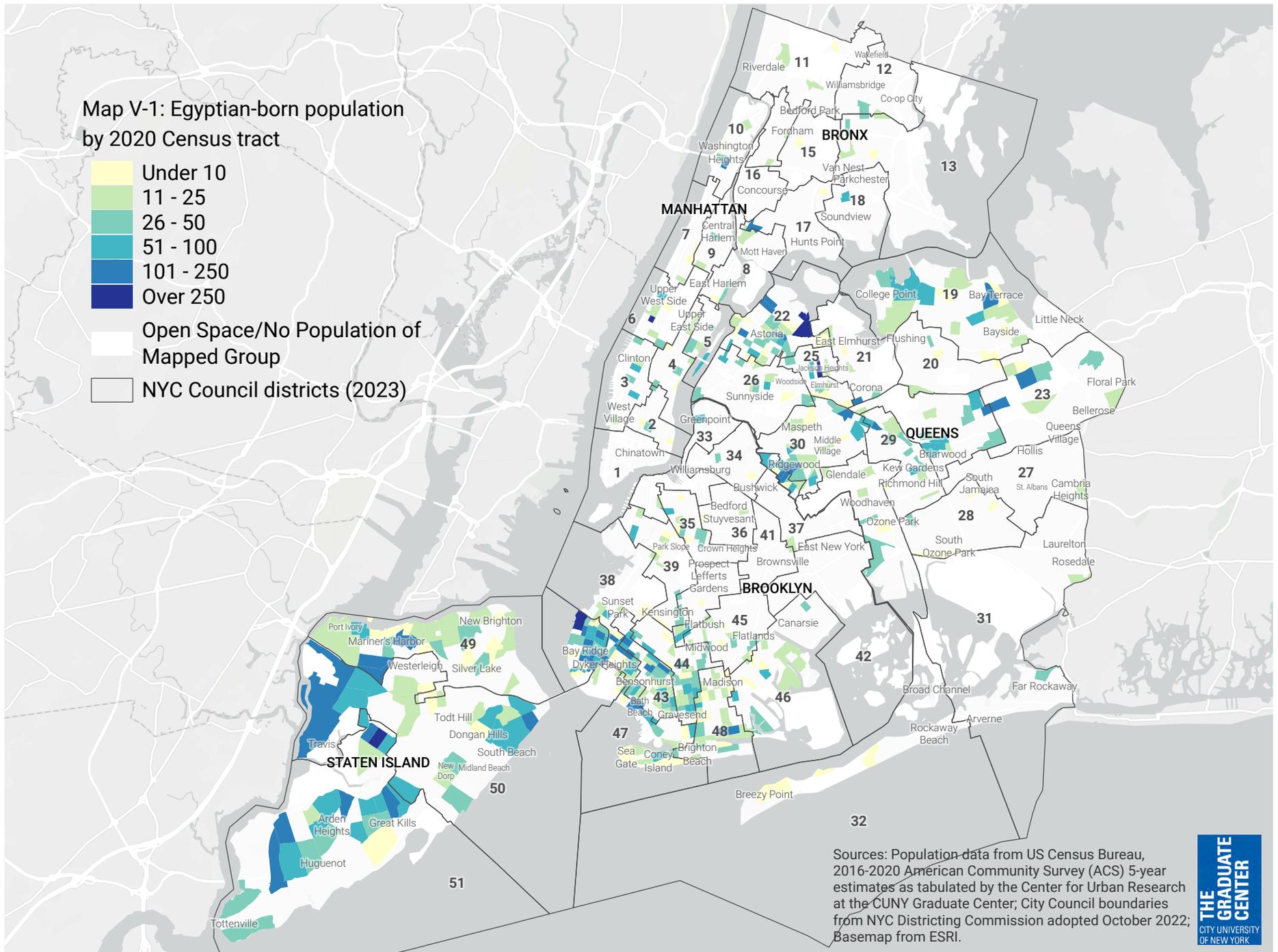


Map V-1: Egyptian-born population by 2020 Census tract



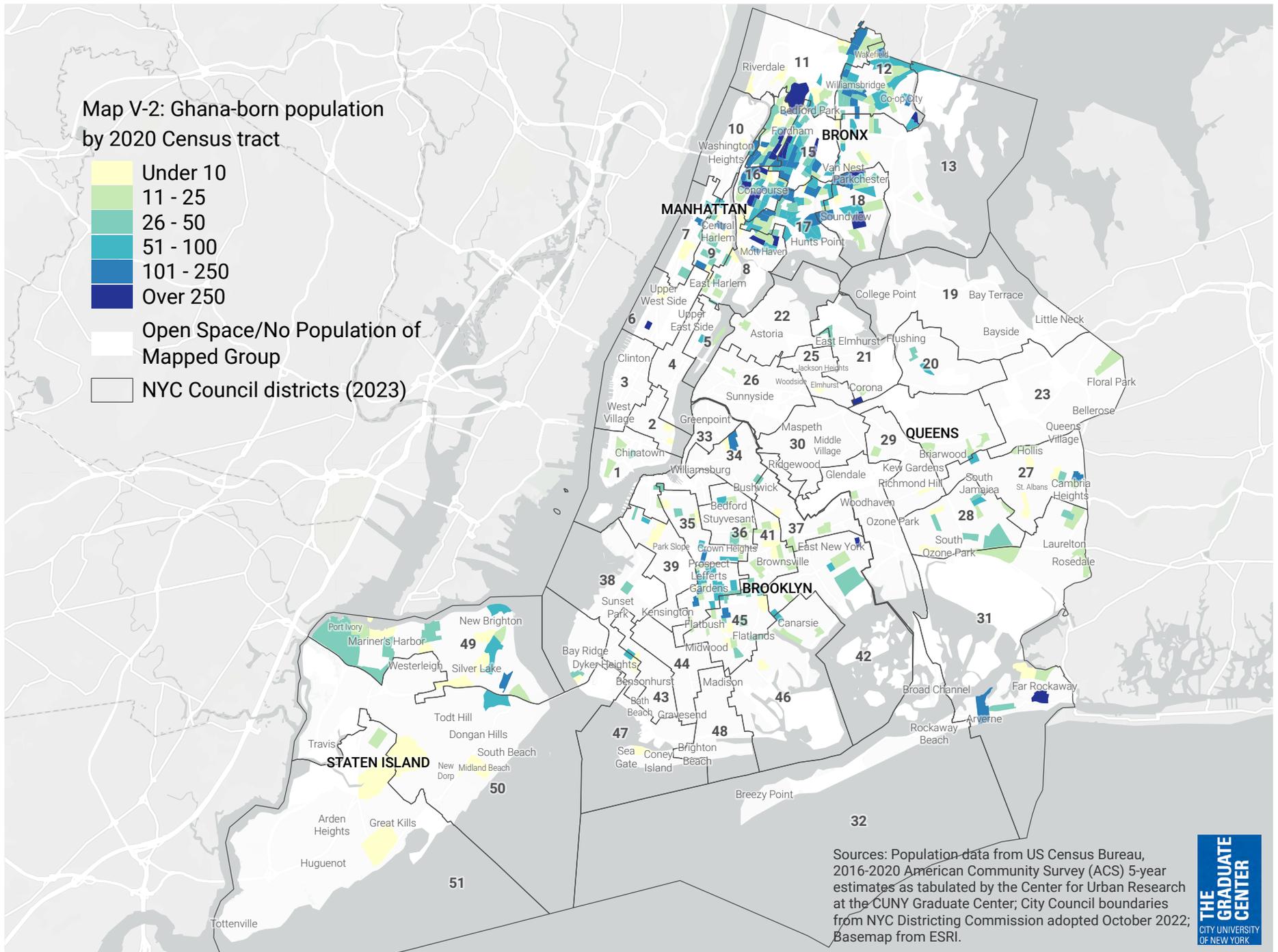
Open Space/No Population of Mapped Group

NYC Council districts (2023)



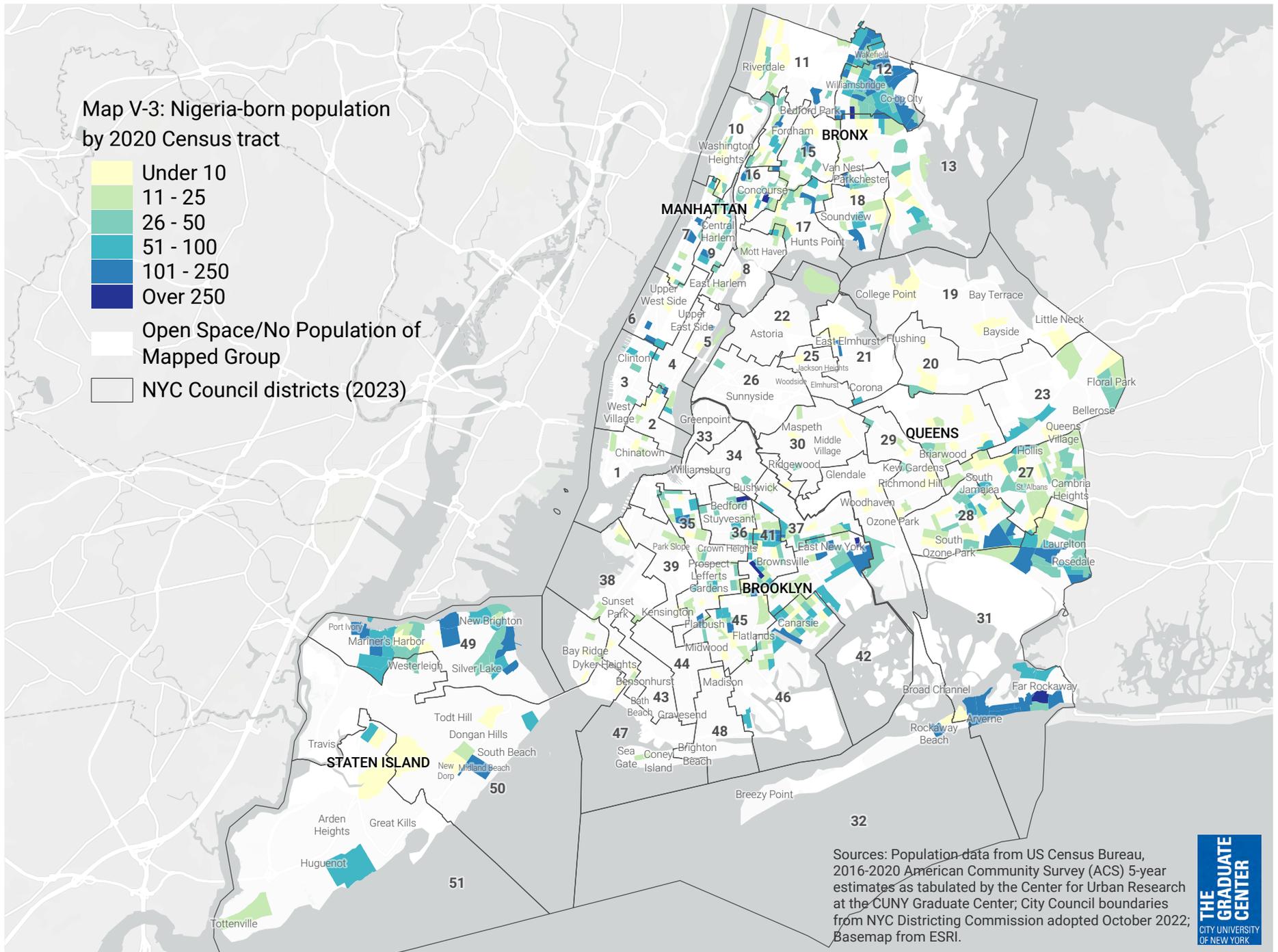
Sources: Population data from US Census Bureau, 2016-2020 American Community Survey (ACS) 5-year estimates as tabulated by the Center for Urban Research at the CUNY Graduate Center; City Council boundaries from NYC Districting Commission adopted October 2022; Basemap from ESRI.





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.



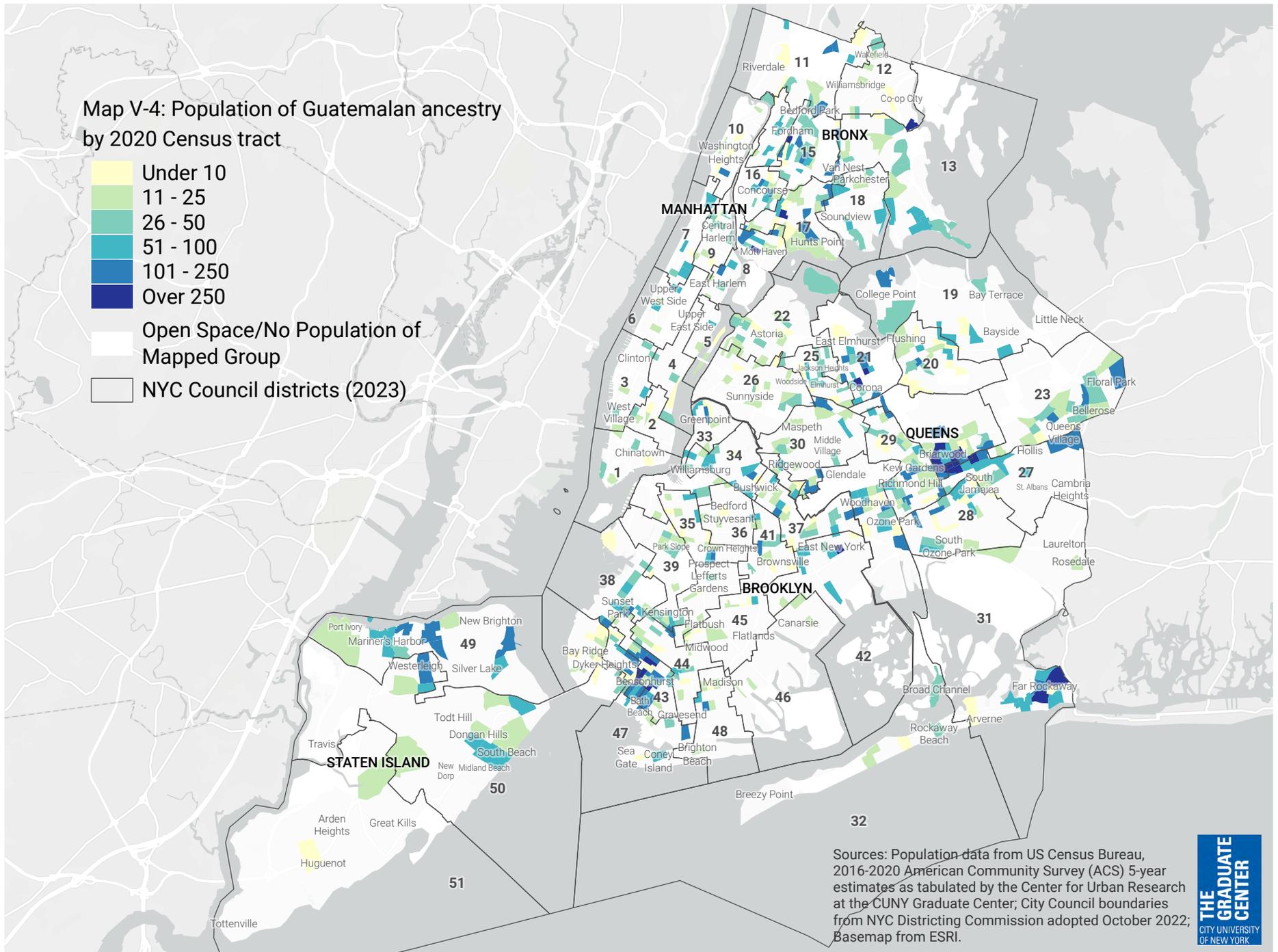


Map V-4: Population of Guatemalan ancestry by 2020 Census tract



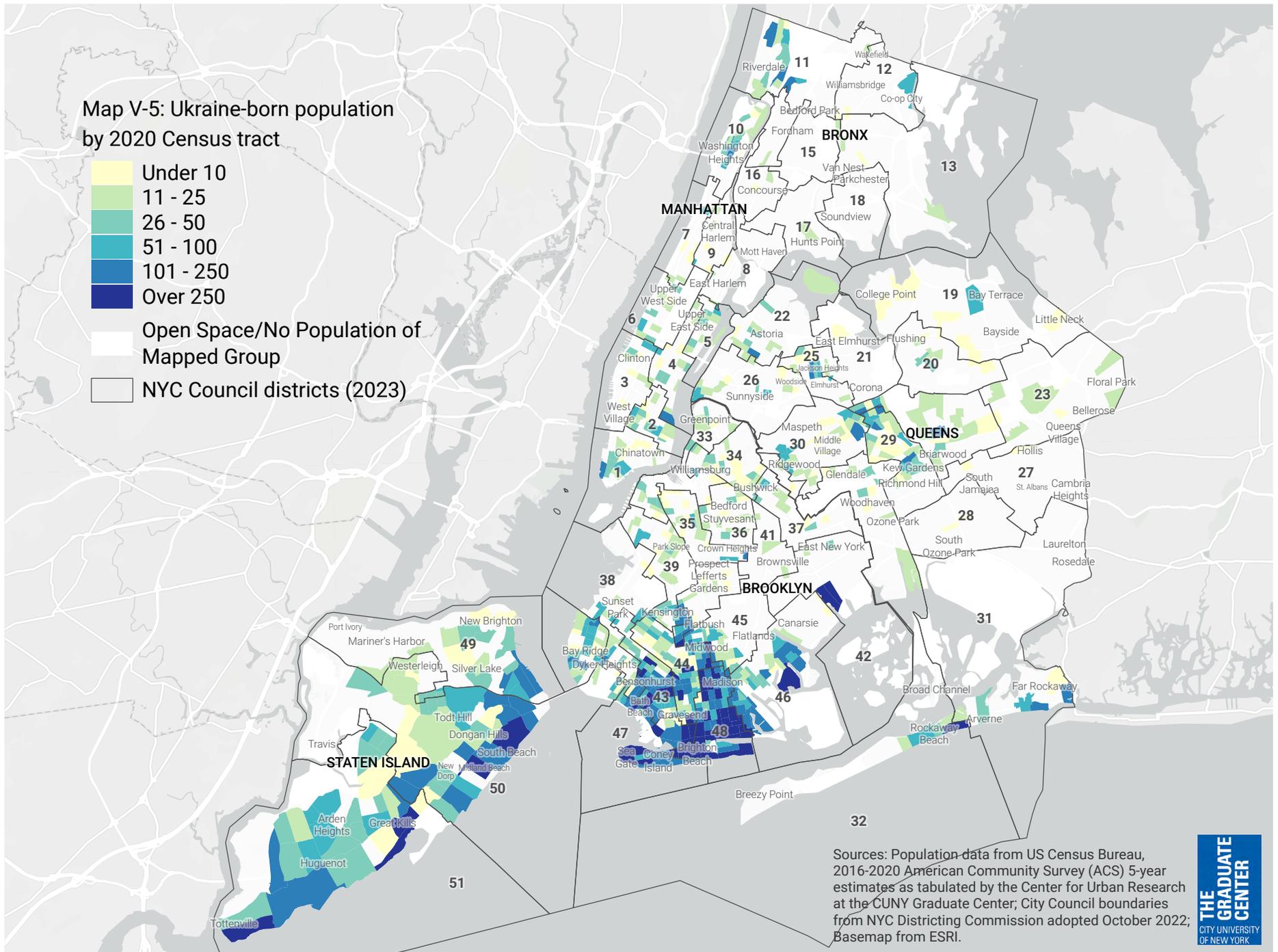
Open Space/No Population of Mapped Group

NYC Council districts (2023)



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.



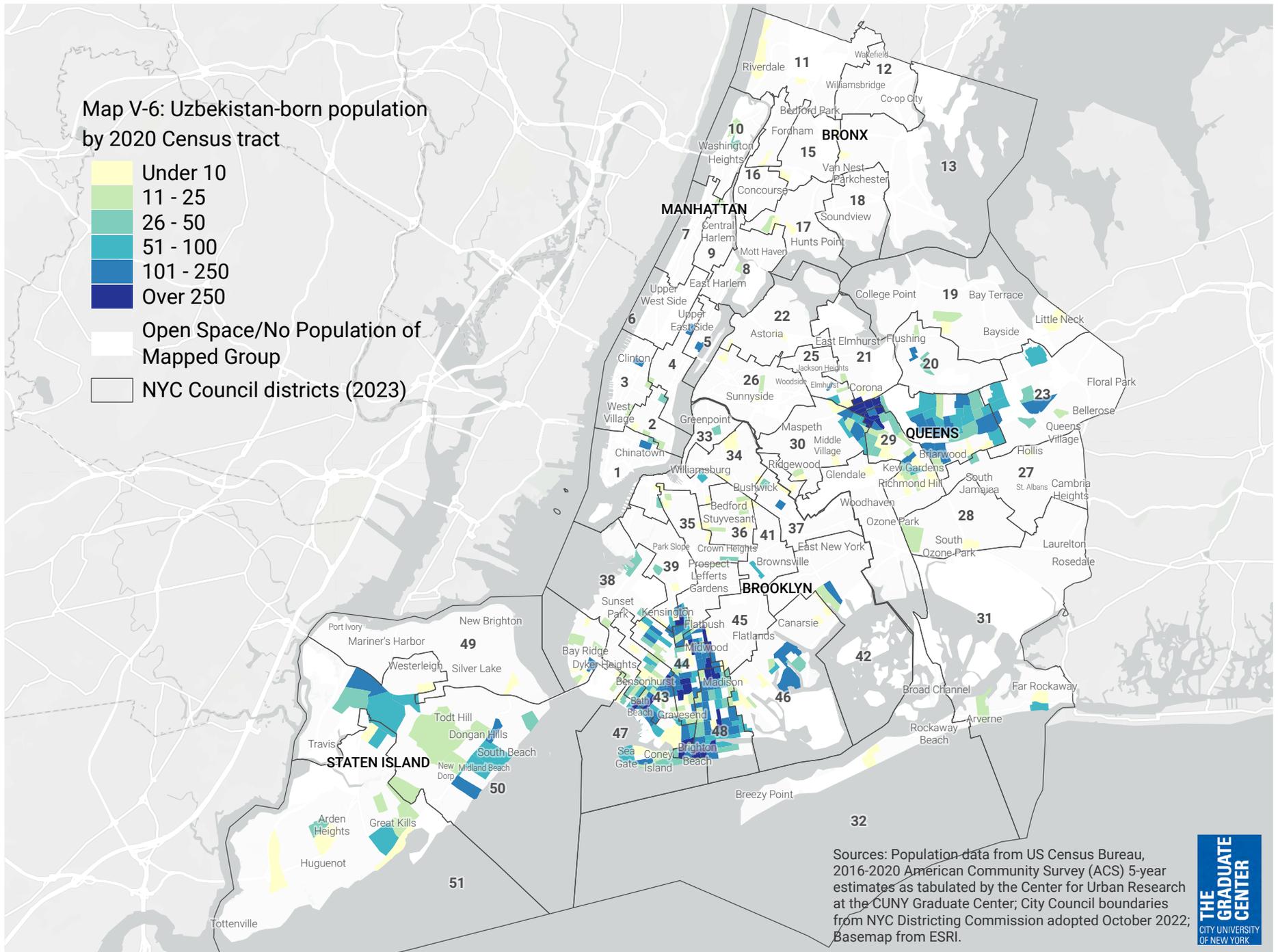


Map V-6: Uzbekistan-born population by 2020 Census tract



Open Space/No Population of Mapped Group

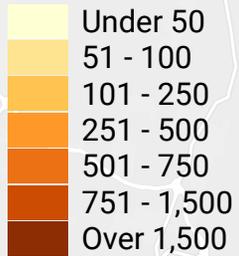
NYC Council districts (2023)



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.

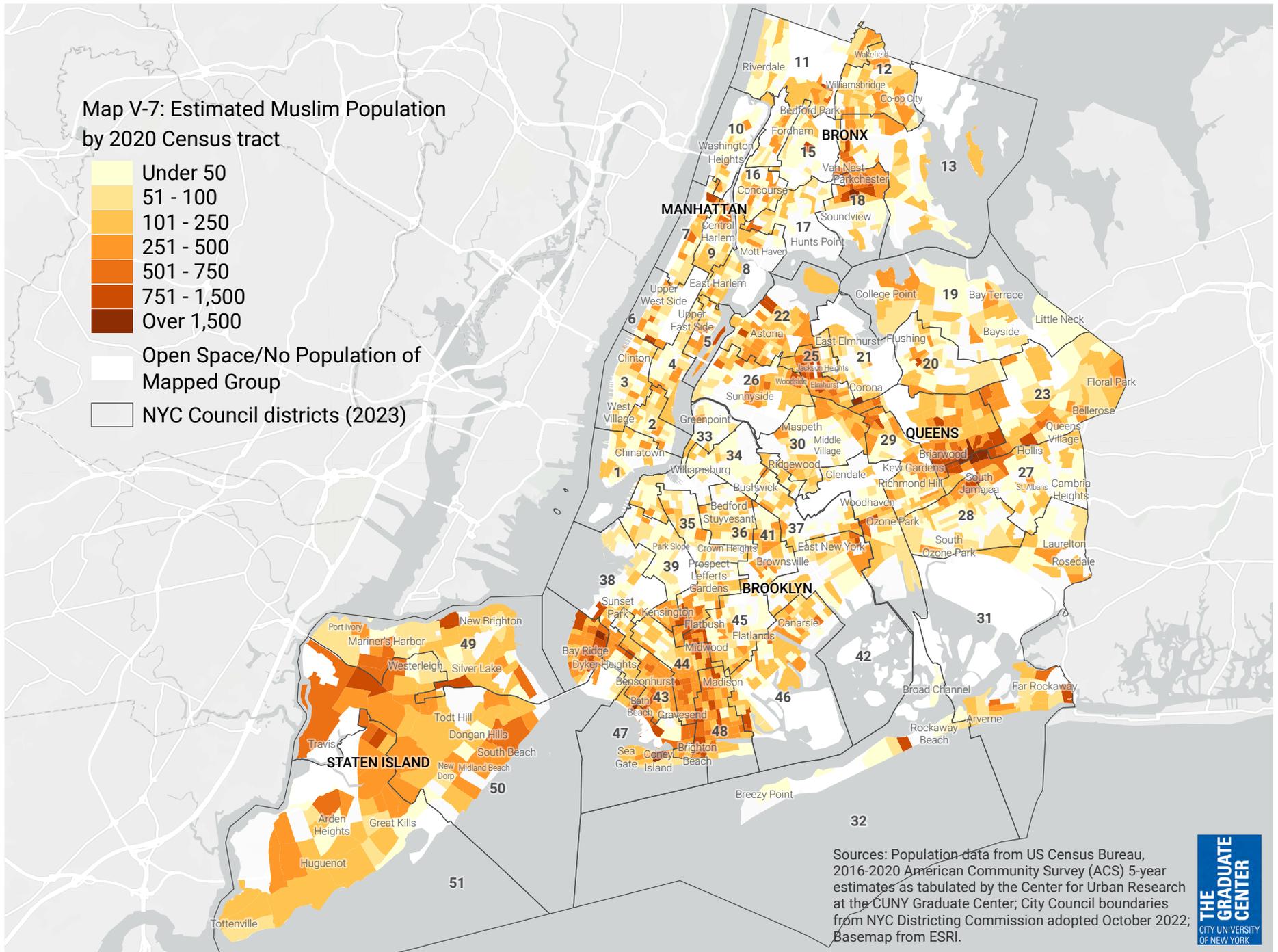


Map V-7: Estimated Muslim Population by 2020 Census tract



Open Space/No Population of Mapped Group

NYC Council districts (2023)



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.



