PEOPLE OF AFRICAN DESCENT IN NYC

COMMUNITIES OF INTEREST REPORT 2010-2019

A PUBLICATION OF
CENTER FOR LAW AND SOCIAL JUSTICE
AT MEDGAR EVERS COLLEGE, CUNY

CENTER FOR LAW AND SOCIAL JUSTICE

AT MEDGAR EVERS COLLEGE,
THE CITY UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK

INTERIM EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
LURIE DANIEL FAVORS, ESQ.

DEPUTY DIRECTOR
DONNA LENNON, ESQ.

REDISTRICTING RESEARCH DIRECTOR
ZULEMA BLAIR, PHD, J.D.

RESEARCH TEAM
KEIANA DUNN, MS
DELA HARLLEY
ESMERALDA SIMMONS, ESQ.

REDISTRICTING PROJECT DIRECTOR
L. JOY WILLIAMS

TABLE OF CONTENTS

MESSAGE FROM OUR INTERIM EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Continuing the CLSJ Legacy as A Redistricting Champion for Black New Yorkers

The Center for Law and Social Justice at Medgar Evers College, CUNY (CLSJ) envisions a civically educated and engaged Black electorate that consistently builds community-centered political power in order to marshal the representation and resources necessary for its communities to thrive. To realize this vision, CLSJ works to address racial justice issues by providing quality legal advocacy, conducting community education campaigns, facilitating research and building organizing capacity on behalf of Black New Yorkers and the disenfranchised.

CLSJ uses the federal Voting Rights Act to protect the voting rights of Black New Yorkers and other electorally disenfranchised communities. The decennial redistricting process is part and parcel of that fight. Redistricting occurs when voting district lines are redrawn based on census data. Since every elected official at each level of government represents constituents who live in a district, the way those district boundary lines are drawn, matters immensely. District maps play a decisive role in determining the extent of the political power of the constituents who live within them.

One thing is clear: regardless of how many New Yorkers of African descent are registered to vote, regardless of how many turn out to vote, when electoral district lines in communities of African descent are not equitably drawn, those communities risk losing political power.

A key element of equitable redistricting is understanding where communities of interest comprised of people of African descent are located. What follows is a report that explores this question in depth through the use of the data provided by the U.S. Census Bureau's American Community Survey. This report is provided so that communities of interest of New Yorkers of African descent will understand what is at stake and enable them to more fully participate in New York State's 2021 redistricting process.

Lurie Daniel Favors

LURIE DANIEL FAVORS, ESQ.

INTERIM EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

OUR REDISTRICTING HISTORY

An Established Redistricting Champion for Black New Yorkers

Redistricting poses a key opportunity to shift electoral power among groups of voters. The Center for Law and Social Justice at Medgar Evers College, CUNY (CLSJ), from its initial days, has effectively worked to defend the equitable voting rights of Black New Yorkers and other New Yorkers of color who are protected by the federal Voting Rights Act. **To this end, CLSJ has organized and led or co-led historic, major redistricting legal advocacy thrusts in New York.**

- **The New Majority for Charter Change (1987-1989)** successfully advocated for progressive redistricting reform in NYC, which included new, prioritized voting rights redistricting criteria, creating 51 single member City Council districts, rather than the former 35 districts and 5 "at- large" seats, as well as a new NYC Districting Commission.

- **The Majority Coalition for Fair Redistricting (1991-1992)** successfully advocated and secured fair redistricting for people of color in NYC during the initial 51 City Council seat districting. Reflecting the city's population, the majority of the council seats were won by candidates of color.

- **CLSJ is a founding member of the New York Voting Rights Consortium (1993-present)** a coalition of leading local and national voting rights organizations advocating for the protection of voters of color in the New York metropolitan area.

CLSJ has won victories in all of our redistricting cases through the decades:

- 1992 NYS Redistricting Reid v. Bruno – federal redistricting litigation created several new assembly seats for Black and Latino communities in NYC and forced equitable congressional redistricting.

- 2001 NYC Council Redistricting – CLSJ's maps were heavily relied upon by the Redistricting Commission in drawing district lines, especially in Brooklyn. The results were protective of communities of color and existing districts in protected classes' political geography.

- 2002 NYS Redistricting Rodriquez v. Pataki – federal redistricting litigation created new assembly seats for Black and Latino communities in NYC and forced equitable congressional redistricting.

- **"Prison Gerrymandering" 2010** – Successfully advocated for the legislative abolition of "Prison Gerrymandering" as a leading member of a coalition; successfully co-represented petitioners-interveners in the state court case, Little v. LATFOR and the NYS Dept. of Corrections, that attempted to invalidate the law before the 2012 state redistricting process started.

- 2012 NYS Redistricting Favors v. Cuomo: UNITY MAPS – successfully represented Black petitioners-interveners in federal redistricting litigation which forced the adoption of a court-drawn Congressional plan that was heavily influenced by the UNITY MAP drawn by CLSJ with our NY Voting Rights Consortium partners, Latino Justice and the Asian American Legal Defense and Education Fund that created new congressional seats for Latino and Asian communities. Major elements of our UNITY MAP for the Assembly, which created new assembly seats for Black and Asian communities in NYC, were adopted by the state legislature. *(The plaintiffs and CLSJ's intervenors unsuccessfully challenged the enacted New York State Senate redistricting plan as being discriminatory against Black and Latino voters due to the "packing" of senate districts downstate.)*

- NYC Council Redistricting 2013 UNITY MAP – The Unity Map for the New York City Council drawn by CLSJ with our NY Voting Rights Consortium partners, Latino Justice and the Asian American Legal Defense and Education Fund was heavily relied upon by the NYC Redistricting Commission in drawing the 2013 lines, especially in Brooklyn, Queens and the Bronx. Several additional seats were drawn to the benefit of the Asian, Latino, and Black communities.

REDISTRICTING 2021 - 2023

CLSJ is currently engaged in the NYS redistricting process and actively preparing for the NYC redistricting process which should be commencing shortly. We are committed to creating a second set of UNITY MAPS with our consortium partners. We are presently engaging in the communities of interest and census research, as well as community organizing and community education around redistricting for New Yorkers of African Descent.

INTRODUCTION

The Center for Law and Social Justice at Medgar Evers College's Communities of Interest of People of African Descent in New York City (NYC) research project and this resulting report aim to identify the Communities of Interest (COIs) of people of African descent in New York City (NYC) based on the data provided by the US Census Bureau's American Community Survey (ACS) data through 2019.

Our goal is to identify and understand where in NYC these communities have been traditionally located, how they can be grouped according to ethnic, cultural, or policy interests, and whether the neighborhoods that have traditionally been inhabited by people of African descent have changed over time or remained constant (Logan, Zhang, and Alba 2002; Mollenkopf 2016).

Although identifying and locating people of African descent may seem relatively simple, when gathering data about communities of African descent, the task is often convoluted by historic inconsistencies in the determination of which groups are included in the definition of "African descent." Invariably, the composition and names of those groups remain shrouded in historical nuances and innuendo due to the terminology that has been and continues to be used by ACS through 2019 to describe the major groups of African descendant people (census.gov/aces 2017).

For that reason this study goes a step further to provide a definition for who people of African descent are. When defining African descent, it is essential to provide a brief historical account of the stark differences between the way the Census Bureau defines people of African descent and the way people of African descent define themselves.[1] Next, this study will discuss the shifts within the COI of people of African descent.

The one term that both people of African descent and the Census seem to agree on is "multiracial Black". Multiracial Black is defined as a person of African descent who is of mixed race. While there is some agreement on the use of this term, it is not without its own controversial history when applied to people of African descent. This controversy stems from differences between the current self-identification process and that which was used in a pre-1960 version of the Census.

---

1   For example, the Census uses the terms "native Black" while the Black community uses "African American"; the Black community uses "Caribbean" to comprise all individuals in the Caribbean Sea, while the Census uses the term "Black West Indian"; the Black community uses "African Immigrant" or "Continental African" while the Census uses the term "sub-Sahara African."

The United States Census Bureau counts the American population and collects myriad other information - social and demographic - to create a snapshot of American people and where they live. The result of the decennial census count determines the number of seats each state will receive in the House of Representatives, shapes how federal assistance gets allocated, and serves as the foundation for redrawing district boundary lines. Simply put, census data holds the keys to who receives not only political power, but the fiscal allocations that come with it. Having an accurate count is vital for the betterment of society.

The quality of the count for people of African descent has been a source of concern for decades. Census undercounts reduce the share of federal assistance allocated to at-risk populations. The Census Bureau's American Community Survey (ACS) data unjustly misrepresents people of African descent. This misrepresentation has hindered many African descendant people from being counted in ways that will contribute to greater resources for their COIs such as accessing affordable housing, better education, adequate health care, and economic development opportunities. Thus, it is imperative to highlight how people of African descent are underrepresented in the ACS data in order to create new solutions to this long-standing problem.

When redistricting officials are aware of and correct the survey's data shortcomings, affected communities of interest can benefit from the use of more accurate census information. As a result, these communities will gain access to their equitable share of resources, services and political power - resources, services and political power which are intended to improve the quality of life within their communities.

Hence, this report examines how the ACS counts people of African descent in New York City by:

- Defining people of African descent: Census and public officials changed the name and definition of people of African descent numerous times. The shifting definition resulted in diverting groups of people away from the African descent category;
- Identifying existing and new COIs: Locating historic and developing communities of interest shows the collective power that resides in communities of African descent; and
- Determining demographic trends and population transfers.

The data identify where these COIs, coalitions of said groups, Black leaders, and advocacy groups should direct their focus to develop strategic solutions and initiatives to address what the data have revealed. Voices from the community can use the information to galvanize support for existing and new COIs composed of people of African descent. COIs are the bedrock of the community; their members must advocate on the issues that bind their members together for greater stability, stronger representation in the legislature and economic growth.

COMMUNITIES OF INTEREST

Communities of Interest (COI) is a race-neutral principle consisting of people who share common interests, concerns or beliefs within a particular geographical location. These so-called common interests, or common concerns or beliefs are generally based on ethnic, cultural, or religious backgrounds. However, a common interest can also be related to advocacy and/or legislation regarding a community interest. The words "community" and "interest" must interact simultaneously as underlying principles for districting and redistricting to ward off any accusations of political and racial gerrymandering (Tolbert II, Desean, and Blanchard 2003). While there are no explicit criteria or rules for defining a COI, there are acceptable approaches to recognizing a COI. When determining what goes into the overarching principle of communities of interest, it is necessary to review the community aspect of this terminology.

In discussions related to communities of interest, one must take into consideration the role of geography. To determine how districts will be drawn, the geographic area becomes a central concern because states have adopted, via various lawsuits, redistricting principles such as compactness, contiguity, and respect for political boundaries that are of geographical concern. The interests that concern a particular population must lie within a specific geographical area and lend themselves to some form of advocacy. Geography usually involves specific corridors, landmarks, and other points of interest in a region of a district that usually separates neighborhoods or groups of people along the lines of ethnicity, language, and culture.

The location of communities of African descent throughout NYC has been in flux for years. Over the course of the five year period between 2014 and 2019, data revealed several population trends. Historically, African Americans usually migrate to Harlem, Bedford Stuyvesant, Crown Heights, Flatbush, Brownsville, East New York, or Coney Island. In contrast, Caribbeans of African descent typically migrate to Flatbush, East Flatbush, Crown Heights, Prospect Heights, Canarsie, Flatlands, the Wakefield section of the Bronx, Harlem, or the southeastern section of Queens.

These predominantly Black communities in the Northern Bronx, Central Brooklyn, Harlem, and southeastern Queens are traditionally known to have the largest Black populations. The neighborhoods that notably comprise Central Brooklyn, such as Bedford Stuyvesant, Crown Heights, East New York, Brownsville, Prospect Heights, Prospect Lefferts Gardens, Flatbush, East Flatbush, and recently Canarsie, Flatlands, collectively have the largest and most concentrated Black populations in all of North America. These COIs grew exponentially through influxes of people of African descent from the southern parts of the U.S., the Caribbean, Latin America, South America, Africa, or by simply relocating to these neighborhoods from other neighborhoods in NYC to be closer to their respective community of interest.

While it appeared that Black New York's rapid growth came to an abrupt halt in most of its sizable Black majority neighborhoods, a thorough review of the data reveals that, in fact, there were population shifts and swaps that are contributing to the reconfiguration of many neighborhoods throughout NYC in which people of African descent did not always have a foothold. That may lead to neighborhoods with less concentrations of people of African descent which may be attributed to unfavorable economic or public policies, or the lack thereof.

THE FORMATION OF COMMUNITIES OF INTERESTS

The answer to the question of "Who are people of African descent?" in the United States has consistently sparked wide-spread debates and controversy (Census.gov 2011; Davis 2010). Significant literature, historical accounts and data from the Census Bureau describe how people of African descent are defined, who defines them, and what being someone of African descent means with respect to an accurate count of this community (ibid.). Still, many nuances may cause people of African descent to be undefined and therefore undercounted.

It would seem that the question "Who are people of African descent?" should not be a difficult question to answer, yet, it remains controversial. For many census undertakings, the determination of what census category an individual belonged to, was determined by the opinion of the census-taker who worked for the Census Bureau (Census.gov 2011). Since the 1960 decennial census, however, the determination of what census category an individual belongs to was a decision left to the opinion of the person filling out the Census form on their own behalf. This made the ethnic classification factor and number count an even more powerful indicator of who belongs to a particular category.

For decades, most community leaders and advocacy groups for people of African descent had not considered the multiracial category of Black people when it came to redistricting. This is a curious oversight since the historical "One Drop" Black racial categorization social practice is still widespread in US society, and among African Americans. The One Drop categorization social practice is the concept which says that if a person has one drop of Black blood within them, the person is considered Black. This oversight excluded a significant portion of the very population these community leaders and advocacy groups purported to advocate for. Many advocacy groups have utilized the "Black-alone" category in drawing districts, further excluding people of African descent who identify with another category.

This process contributed to a cycle whereby Black people were undercounted during the decennial census, which, in turn, created an underrepresentation of the total number of people of African descent in the redistricting cycle. More recently, however, the power of self-identification, coupled with the history of determining who is of African descent in the United States, have made it considerably easier to identify who is considered to be of African descent today.

People of African descent have tended to self-identify by ethnicity. The Census Bureau has likewise specified ethnic labels, but uses its own monikers. For example, the Census Bureau refers to those who are African American as "Black natives." With regards to West Indians, and all other Caribbeans ethnicities, they are merged into a single category of "West Indians." Continental African immigrants are labeled as "individuals from Sub-Saharan Africa" and although Afro-Latinos are in the "Hispanic" category they are uncounted as "Black" due to the non-extrapolation of racial categories from the Hispanic/Latino ethnic category. The process of identification and categorization has been a continual struggle related to people of African descent because of the inconsistencies in classification.

The term "Black", has never been thoroughly defined in a way that leaves most people who identify as Black, completely satisfied with the definition. For many, in the late 20th century, the term "Black" became synonymous with "African American," a name adopted to acknowledge ancestry from the continent of Africa (Davis 2010). "African American" was also used by the Census Bureau to replace terminologies associated with the Black racial category that have been considered derogatory or slurs in the late 20th Century (e.g., "Colored" and "Negro"). For others, it was about being a Black "native" of America or the Americas.

Either way, the confusion about whether to check "Black" on the Census application, rests on how often the label for this group of people has been changed historically, and to some extent, how it has been captured in different iterations of the Census form.

The confusion around how people of African descent are operationalized in the census is not a secret, given that people of African descent have had far more variations than others in how they have been identified on census forms since the very first census in 1790 (Census.gov 2011). Due to Black peoples' diverse historic points of origin, their arrival from different parts of the world, and their means of arrival in the U.S., it is often hard to capture all the nuances of their social construct within one term. For example, many people of African descent born outside of the U.S., generally tend to identify themselves along the lines of their ethnic, national, or cultural constructs. This variety also contributes to an undercount of people of African descent. As a result, the populations that make up people of African descent are not being captured in their entirety by the ACS. These populations include Latin/Hispanic; people of African descent born in the Caribbean who also have Hispanic roots; and people of African descent from South or Central American countries who may or may not have Hispanic origins. Thus, it may appear that the number of people of African descent are trending downward when, in fact, they are trending upwards, especially if Multiracial people of African descent are considered.

For this report, however, we counted people of African descent by including the categories of those who checked only "Black" on their census form, and those who identify as both Black and another race on the census form.

The Black categories per the Census include those who are "natives" or born in the United States (who are often denoted as African Americans) and those who are foreign-born. It also includes those whose ancestry is listed as sub-Saharan African which the Black community often self-operationalizes as African Immigrants or Continental Africans; and those whose ancestry is classified as West Indian or Caribbean with no other racial or Hispanic origin.

It is known that NYC from its beginnings has had a long history of people of African descent of all ethnicities migrating to its urban geography – from the Caribbean, Africa, South and Central Americas, and, during the Great Migration, from the U.S. South. The neighborhoods that once stood as strongholds of these COIs, were either being held onto for different reasons (which may be questioned in the literature) or are slowly "loosening" (Mollenkopf 2016). Nevertheless, the total population of people of African descent has increased significantly, with the African American community accounting for the largest increase.

A further finding of great importance is the population shift and/or swap that has taken place between the West Indian communities and the African American communities. This finding will educate specific COIs in the Black community and show how the Black community is positioning districts in NYC to have more stability and growth into the 21st Century.

DATA AND METHODOLOGY

Data for this report came from the American Community Survey (ACS). Data were used from its five-year estimates to obtain more detailed counts of the Black population at sub-county levels. Population estimates for New York City residents for people of African descent were taken from the 2010 – 2014 and 2015 – 2019 cohort for each local community district (CD) in each borough of the city.

Data for each ethnicity for people of African descent were extrapolated from the larger population to find out exactly where people of African descent were located or where they were relocating to. This allowed for a better understanding of the COIs in existence or that were formed, for tracking purposes. However, with the uneven sums that were calculated, it became obvious that the ACS had different methodologies, than one would typically infer, about how the population totals for people of African descent are calculated. Therefore, separate analyses were conducted on different segments of the communities that make up people of African descent, to determine if these COIs were mainstays, shifters, or newcomers to certain CDs.

The categories for how people of African descent are defined are: Black and another race; Black only; non-Hispanic Black West Indian; and Sub-Saharan African which, as noted previously, may be different from how people of African descent self-identify. For example, West Indian has been synonymous with the Caribbean; however, to differentiate between Hispanic and non-Hispanic Caribbean COIs, a traditional terminology of West Indian is used by ACS to separate Hispanic from non-Hispanic people of African descent (ACS 2010 – 2014; ACS 2015 – 2019). This categorization does not recognize other Black ethnicities common to the Caribbean from colonial experiences: Francophone, Dutch, East Indian.

The five-year ACS estimates were used from 2010 – 2014 and 2015 – 2019 to prevent the overlapping of years. Additionally, differences were taken on the counts between the two time frames to determine the population growths and shifts in each relevant CD for each county in NYC. Hence, Tables and Graphs 1 through 6, reflect a macro perspective of NYC's Black population, along with a micro perspective by relevant CDs for each of New York City's five counties.

RESULTS AND FINDINGS

Over the last decade, the total Black population in NYC overall has increased (*See Table 1A*). More specifically, there was an increase in Multiracial Black and African American populations *(See Tables 1A and 1C)*. However, there were significant declines in the non-Hispanic Black West Indian and the Continental African populations *(See Tables 1D and 1E)*.

TABLE 1A – NYC'S BLACK MULTIRACIAL POPULATION

COUNTY	2010-2014	2015-2019	DIFFERENCE
BRONX	508,740	540,591	31,851
BROOKLYN	897,326	870,095	-27,231
MANHATTAN	278,968	278,406	-562
QUEENS	457,875	451,396	-6,479
STATEN ISLAND	49,435	54,517	5,082
TOTAL	2,192,344	2,195,005	2,661

SOURCE: CENSUS BUREAU'S AMERICAN COMMUNITY SURVEY 5-YEAR ESTIMATE

The Bronx and Staten Island have seen significant increases, while Brooklyn, Manhattan, and Queens have seen decreases (See Tables 1D and 1E). These declines are not reflected in the overall count of the Black community in NYC, because there appear to be population shifts between counties and amongst ethnicities. Given that there is very little difference between the numerical population increases in the Bronx and Staten Island and the population decrease in Brooklyn, Manhattan, and Queens, this is a reasonable assumption. More specifically, NYC's non-Hispanic Black West Indian and Black Continental African populations have been the primary contributors to the Black population shifts (See Tables 1D and 1E). The non-Hispanic Black West Indian/Caribbean population decreased by 135,749; Brooklyn accounting for 54% of this decline, followed by the Bronx coming in at a distant second with approximately 23% of the decline, and Manhattan, Queens, and Staten Island accounting for the remaining 23% of NYC's non-Hispanic Black West-Indian population decline.

TABLE 1B – NYC'S BLACK ALONE POPULATION BY COUNTY

COUNTY	2010-2014	2015-2019	DIFFERENCE
BRONX	477,844	540,814	26,970
BROOKLYN	871,044	833,683	-37,361
MANHATTAN	245,256	240,993	-4,263
QUEENS	424,129	418,514	-5,615
STATEN ISLAND	49,435	48,958	-477
TOTAL	2,067,708	2,046,962	-20,746

SOURCE: CENSUS BUREAU'S AMERICAN COMMUNITY SURVEY 5-YEAR ESTIMATE

Continental African populations also saw a decline of 17,778 individuals, albeit much less significant than the Black West Indian community, with Brooklyn accounting for approximately 68% of this decline; followed by Queens, Manhattan, and Staten Island. The Bronx is the only county that saw a population increase by 7,513, which offset some of the small decrease in the Black Continental African population by increasing this population in the Bronx.

TABLE 1C – NYC'S AFRICAN AMERICAN POPULATION

COUNTY	2010-2014	2015-2019	DIFFERENCE
BRONX	334,282	389,435	55,153
BROOKLYN	537,013	595,111	58,098
MANHATTAN	225,592	235,810	10,218
QUEENS	277,656	301,103	23,447
STATEN ISLAND	8,496	6,374	-2,122
TOTAL	1,383,039	1,527,833	144,794

SOURCE: CENSUS BUREAU'S AMERICAN COMMUNITY SURVEY 5-YEAR ESTIMATE

TABLE 1D – NYC'S BLACK WEST INDIAN POPULATION

COUNTY	2010-2014	2015-2019	DIFFERENCE
BRONX	108,959	78,144	-30,815
BROOKLYN	310,240	236,916	-73,324
MANHATTAN	25,836	18,891	-6,945
QUEENS	154,100	131,511	-22,589
STATEN ISLAND	7,523	5,447	-2,076
TOTAL	606,658	470,909	-135,749

SOURCE: CENSUS BUREAU'S AMERICAN COMMUNITY SURVEY 5-YEAR ESTIMATE

THE BRONX

The Bronx in particular saw an increase for most COIs for people of African descent – Black multiracial, Black alone, African American, and Continental Africans – but saw a significant decrease in its West Indian population (See Tables 2A through 2E). Bronx CD 9, which consists of the Castle Hill, Clawson Point, and Parkchester neighborhoods and has a large Black West Indian population, is one of the only CDs that saw a significant decline in its Black multiracial, Black alone, and non-Hispanic Black West Indian populations. The only group that withstood this decline in this neighborhood was the Black Continental African population. The non-Hispanic Black West Indian population declined significantly in the Bronx, accounting for 23% of NYC's non-Hispanic Black West Indian population.

The Bronx also saw significant growth in its African American population, representing 38% of NYC's increase for that group with the Bronx CDs 3 and 6 – Belmont, Crotona Park East, and Tremont – boasting the largest increase in that population in the city; and CD 12 – Wakefield, Williamsbridge, and Woodlawn – accounting for the second largest increase.

TABLE 1E – NYC'S BLACK CONTINENTAL AFRICAN POPULATION

COUNTY	2010-2014	2015-2019	DIFFERENCE
BRONX	65,499	73,012	7,513
BROOKLYN	50,073	38,068	-12,005
MANHATTAN	27,532	23,705	-3,827
QUEENS	26,119	18,782	-7,337
STATEN ISLAND	8,496	6,374	-2,122
TOTAL	177,719	159,941	-17,778

SOURCE: CENSUS BUREAU'S AMERICAN COMMUNITY SURVEY 5-YEAR ESTIMATE

BROOKLYN

However, Brooklyn's non-Hispanic Black West Indian population declined the most in NYC, although it still accounted for 54% of NYC's non-Hispanic Black West Indian population. All of Brooklyn's African descent population decreased, except for the African American population (See Table 3C). While some Brooklyn CDs had a slight loss of their African American population – CD 3 – Bedford Stuyvesant (1,148); CD 4 – Bushwick (2,926); and CD 16 – Brownsville and Ocean Hill (167) – it was insignificant in comparison to the overall growth of Brooklyn's African American population (see Table 3C). This change accounted for 40% of NYC's African American population increase, given that Brooklyn consistently boasts the largest population of people of African descent in NYC.

CDs where people of African descent are a majority in Brooklyn, have seen significant shifts (See Tables 3A through 3E). Ten out of eighteen community districts witnessed population shifts with most of these shifts occurring in Central Brooklyn's CDs. The gains for people of African descent were made in CDs that normally do not have large populations of people of African descent, such as CDs 1 (Greenpoint and Williamsburg), 6 (Park Slope, Carroll Gardens, and Red Hook), 10 (Bay Ridge and Dyker Heights), 11 (Bensonhurst and Bath Beach), 12 (Borough Park, Kensington, and Ocean Parkway), 13 (Brighton Beach), 15 (Sheepshead Bay, Gerritsen Beach, and Homecrest).

CD 5 (East New York and Starrett City) did see a significant population increase, the only Brooklyn neighborhood with people of African descent to do so (See Tables 3A, 3B, 3C, and 3E). Nevertheless, even with the population shifts, on average, the traditional neighborhoods that have been strongholds for people of African descent retained their stronghold (See Table 3A through 3E) with specific references to CDs 3, 5, 8, 9, 16, 17, and 18.

MANHATTAN

In Manhattan, people of African descent had a very small population shift, with Central Harlem retaining its majority of people of African descent (See Tables 4A through 4E). Similar to Brooklyn, Manhattan saw an increase in people of African descent in CDs that are not "traditionally" considered home for them. CDs 1 and 2 (Battery Park City, Greenwich, and Soho), 3 (Chinatown and the Lower East Side), 6 (Murray Hill, Gramercy, and Stuyvesant Heights), 11 (East Harlem), and 12 (Washington Heights, Inwood, and Marble Hill) saw increases in people of African descent.

QUEENS

Queens witnessed slight population shifts in people of African descent in most of its CDs and like other counties, increases in CDs that have not "traditionally" been home to people of African descent (See Tables 5A to 5E). In CDs 12 (Jamaica, Hollis, and St. Albans) and 13 (Queens Village, Cambria Heights, & Rosedale), people of African descent continue to hold a supermajority, meanwhile boasting a significant increase in CD 14 (Far Rockaway, Breezy Point, & Broad Channel).

STATEN ISLAND

Staten Island, with only three CDs, saw a slight population shift, as it had been gaining a significant headcount for people of African descent throughout the decade. However, only one of its CDs saw a slight increase, with the other two witnessing a minimal decrease (See Tables 6A through 6E). The only county that had a decline in its African American population was Staten Island (See Table 6C). Staten Island also saw an increase of 3,906 in its African American population (see Table 6C). This increase was reflected by a significant increase of 3,839 in CD 1 which consists of the neighborhoods of Port Richmond, Stapleton, and Mariner's Harbor, and a slight increase of 318 in CD 2, which consist of the neighborhoods of New Springville and South Beach; to offset a small decline of 251 individuals in CD 3 which consist of the neighborhoods of Tottenville, Great Kills, and Annadale.

MULTIRACIAL BLACKS

NYC's population of people of African descent grew over the last decade, from 2,192,344 to 2,195,005 (see Table 1A). The Bronx, as mentioned previously, led NYC in its increase in the Census Bureau's Black multiracial category. More specifically, CDs 3 and 6 – Belmont, Crotona Park East (CPE), and Tremont – had the largest increase of Black multiracial individuals, followed by CD 5 which consists of Morris Park, Fordham South, and Mt. Hope. Brooklyn lost a significant amount of its Black multiracial population but gained in areas such as CD 5 – East New York and Starrett City and CD 1 – Greenpoint and Williamsburg. Manhattan's Black multiracial population increases occurred in CD 3 – Chinatown and the Lower East Side and CD 12 – Washington Heights, Inwood, and Marble Hill. Most of these communities enjoy cultural diversity, the increase in geographical amenities, new housing developments, and are taking advantage of the rapid changes that occurred in different neighborhoods across the five NYC boroughs. This is also true for Queens' CD 8, which consists of Briarwood, which confirms the inferences drawn on the increase in Black multiracial populations in certain pockets of NYC. Briarwood may not have always been home to the Black community. Although CD 14 – Far Rockaway – has boasted large Black populations, the COI that grew around new housing developments is maintained given that this community's housing and other geographical needs grew after Hurricane Sandy (See Tables 2A, 3A, and 4A).

However, there were significant declines in this population, particularly in Brooklyn's CD 3 – Bedford Stuyvesant, CD 4 – Bushwick, CD 9 – Crown Heights South, Prospect Lefferts, and Wingate, and CD 16 – Brownsville and Ocean Hill. (Many theories attempt to explain the declines. However, CDs 3, 4, 9 had the highest gentrification rates in NYC along with high crime rates. There were also educational disparities triggered by new educational policies, school co-locations, and a growing concern around the lack of culturally responsive educational programs.) Manhattan's CDs 7, 9, and 10, which consist of the Upper West Side and West Side; Hamilton Heights, Manhattanville, and West Harlem; and Central Harlem, respectively had slight population declines in Multiracial Blacks.

BLACK ALONE

People of African descent who are not affiliated with any other racial group, "Black Alone," increased tremendously throughout the Bronx, but decreased tremendously throughout Brooklyn. Brooklyn is a county that is traditionally known for housing a majority population of people of African descent. The Brooklyn CD that accounted for a significant increase in the Census Bureau's Black Alone population, is CD 5 – East New York and Starrett City. This increase may also be attributed to affordable housing, such as the pilot affordable housing developments deliberately created in the area and other commercial accommodations that have grown throughout the decade.

AFRICAN AMERICAN

NYC's African American population increased the most by 144,794 (See Table 1C). As noted previously, this increase primarily occurred throughout the Bronx, but even more extreme in CDs 17 and 18 in Brooklyn. There were considerable declines in the West Indian community due to foreclosure and other public policy issues, such as immigration. A similar population swap also occurred in Queens' CDs 8, 10, 12, and 13. This is a significant swap and population shift within the communities that house most people of African descent and may determine how COIs are engaged during this process. Staten Island's CD 1, consisting of Port Richmond, Stapleton, and Mariner's Harbor, also saw a significant increase in its African American population, which is attributed to affordable housing.

BLACK NON-HISPANIC WEST INDIAN

Another stark contrast that stood apart from the upward trend of the population count of the Black community is the hemorrhaging of the Black non-Hispanic West Indian community in NYC. The non-Hispanic Black West Indian/Caribbean population decreased by 135,749, with Brooklyn accounting for 54% of this decline, followed by the Bronx coming in at a distant second with approximately 23% of the decline, and Manhattan, Queens, and Staten Island accounting for the remaining 23%.

The counties with the largest decreases are Brooklyn, Bronx, and Queens. Brooklyn's CD 9, which consists of Crown Heights South, Prospect Lefferts Garden, and Wingate; CDs 14 – Flatbush, 16 – Brownsville, 17 – East Flatbush and Farragut, and 18 – Canarsie and Flatlands, accounted for the bulk of NYC's West Indian population and were severely impacted by the foreclosure crisis in NYC. Bronx's CD 9 – Castle Hill, Clawson Point, and Parkchester; and CD 12 – Wakefield, Woodlawn, and Williamsbridge; and Queens' CD 10 – Howard Beach and Ozone Park; CD 12 – Jamaica, Hollis, and St. Albans and CD 13 – Queens Village, Cambria Heights, and Rosedale also accounted for the largest declines in the West Indian community. The West Indian community is known to have strongholds in CD 12 in the Bronx; CDs 8, 9, 14, 17, and 18 in Brooklyn, and CDs 12 and 13 in Queens.

These communities have strong COIs not only where ethnicity and culture are concerned, but, as a group with a high proportion of small property owners, they share the negative impact of unfavorable economic and housing policies. The decline in the West Indian population has also been attributed to housing issues, especially where the foreclosure crisis is concerned, and perhaps the results of that same crisis has led to an increase in rental units in these areas now occupied by African Americans. We are seeing a growth of the African American populations in these areas and a decline of Caribbean people in what was formerly one of their ethnic enclaves.

While little attention has been given to the "the foreign-born" population, it has not been eliminated in this discussion, as they are a subset of the Black alone, Continental Africans, and non-Hispanic Black West Indian population. Black Foreign-born individuals contribute significantly to the Black population count. They will continue to do so, most notably in the areas that house West Indian and Continental African populations (See Graph 1).

Black Foreign-born individuals gravitate towards certain areas because, like other ethnic groups, they find a "community of interest" that they have a preference to reside in over others. Unfortunately for non-Hispanic Black West Indians and, to a lesser extent, continental Africans, public policies have not been favorable to their housing, economic, and migration interests.

CONTINENTAL AFRICANS

Continental African populations also saw a decline of 17,778 individuals, albeit much less significant than the decline of Black West Indian community with Brooklyn accounting for approximately 68% of this decline and followed by Queens, Manhattan, and Staten Island. The Bronx is the only county that saw a population increase of 7,513, which offset some of the small decreases in the Black Continental African populations.

The counties with the largest decline of Black Continental Africans were Brooklyn and Queens. At the same time, the Bronx continues to see significant increases in the Black community all around, including Black Continental Africans. Similar to the West Indian community, a combination of the previously mentioned public policy issues along with changes in immigration policy may also be a serious concern for Black Continental Africans. However, East New York saw an increase in this population, which may be related to commercial interests, similar to the population shift to the Bronx. Brooklyn's Central Brooklyn Community, mainly Crown Heights, witnessed significant declines in this population.
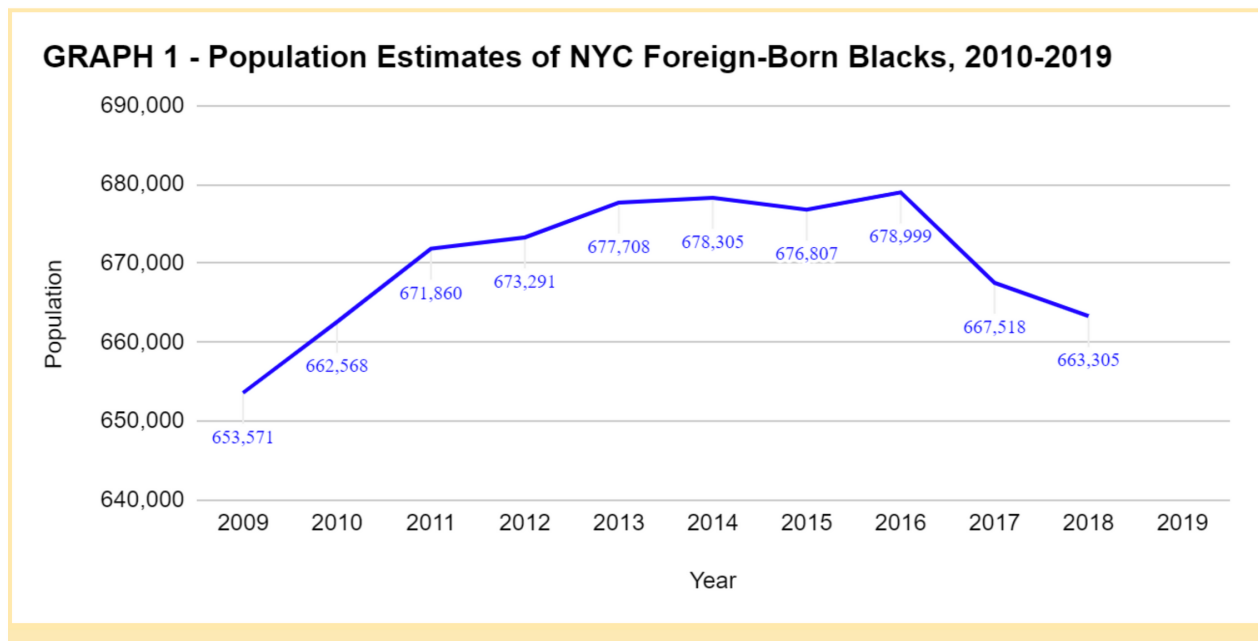
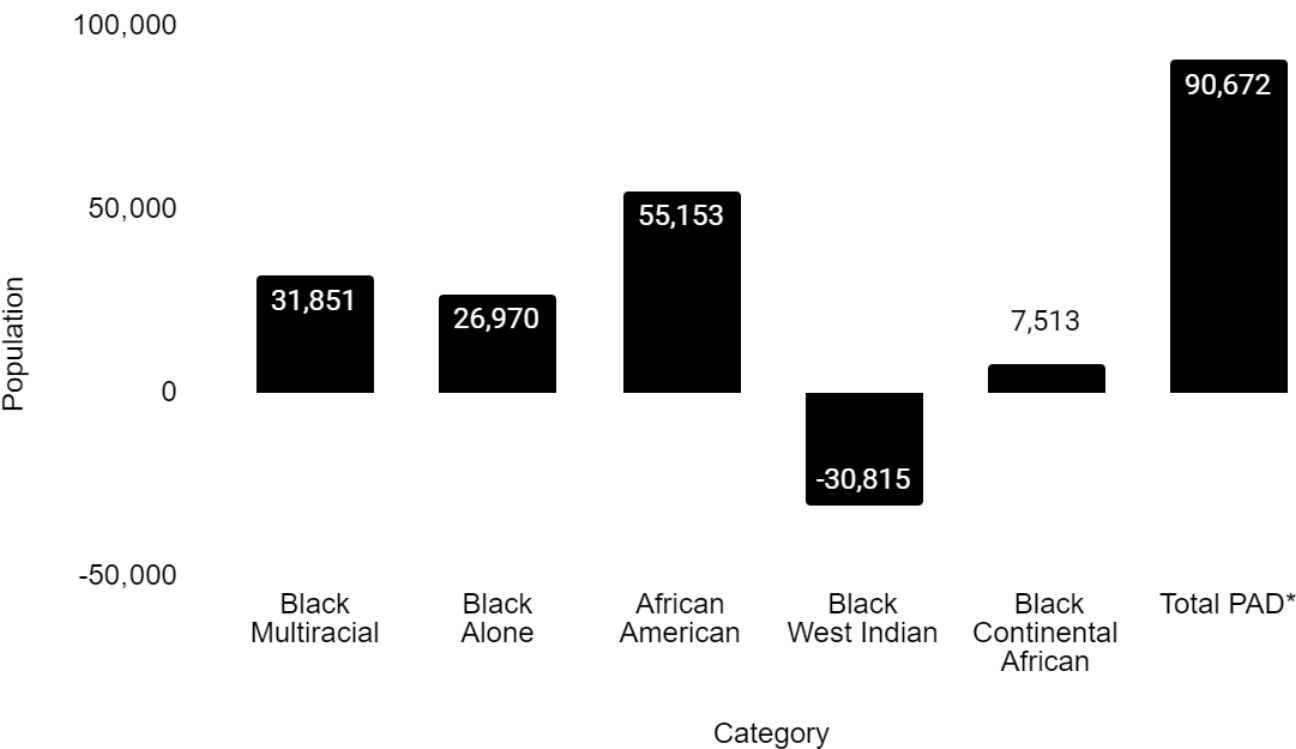*Source: Census Bureau's American Community Survey 5-year estimate*

APPENDICES

GRAPH 2 - Change in Population in PAD* the Bronx 2010-2014 to 2015-2019

PAD=People of African descent*
Source: Census Bureau's American Community Survey 5-year estimate

TABLE 2A – BRONX'S BLACK MULTIRACIAL POPULATION DIFFERENTIALS

COMMUNITY DISTRICT	2010 - 2014	2015 – 2019	DIFFERENCE
CD 1 & 2 – HUNTS POINT, LONGWOOD, & MELROSE	56,582	57,784	1,202
CD 3 & 6[1] – BELMONT, CPE, & EAST TREMONT	61,185	73,420	12,235
CD 4 – CONCOURSE, HIGHBRIDGE & MT. EDEN	54,002	55,741	1,739
CD 5 – MORRIS HEIGHTS, FORDHAM SOUTH, & MT. HOPE	46,772	53,356	6,584
CD 7 – BEDFORD PARK, FORDHAM NORTH, & NORWOOD	28,950	29,725	775
CD 8 – RIVERDALE, FIELDSTON, & KINGSBRIDGE	19,327	20,662	1,335
CD 9 – CASTLE HILL, CLAWSON PT., & PARKCHESTER	71,460	66,568	-4,892
CD 10 – CO-OP CITY, PELHAM BAY, & SCHUYLERVILLE	38,299	42,733	4,434
CD 11 – PELHAM PARKWAY, MORRIS PARK, & LACONIA	33,043	35,282	2,239
CD 12 – WAKEFIELD, WILLIAMSBRIDGE, & WOODLAWN	99,120	105,320	6,200
TOTAL	508,740	540,591	31,851

---

1. *ACS data used here is tabulated at Public Use Microdata Areas (PUMA) level, which is the lowest geography that closely resembles NYC Community Districts at the time. There are 55 PUMAs for the 59CDs, resulting in substantial PUMA-CD mismatch, because CDs are combined with adjacent ones to meet the minimum PUMA population threshold of 100,000. However, with the 2020 census, the NYC Department of City Planning is developing a new geography, Community District Tabulation Areas (CDTA), which will allow them to produce ACS data that most closely approximate Community Districts (CDs)*

Source: NYC Department of City Planning, July 2021. 2020 Census Reconfiguration of STATISTICAL GEOGRAPHIES. A Guide for New York City. https://storymaps.arcgis.com/stories/d30850ba28944619b94e8ee4f746d5c4

TABLE 2B – BRONX'S BLACK-ALONE POPULATION DIFFERENTIALS

COMMUNITY DISTRICT	2010 - 2014	2015 – 2019	DIFFERENCE
CD 1 & 2 – HUNTS POINT, LONGWOOD, & MELROSE	54,170	53,536	-634
CD 3 & 6 – BELMONT, CPE, & EAST TREMONT	57,714	68,938	11,224
CD 4 – CONCOURSE, HIGHBRIDGE & MT. EDEN	51,121	52,216	1,095
CD 5 – MORRIS HEIGHTS, FORDHAM SOUTH, & MT. HOPE	43,606	50,394	6,788
CD 7 – BEDFORD PARK, FORDHAM NORTH, & NORWOOD	25,370	26,567	1,197
CD 8 – RIVERDALE, FIELDSTON, & KINGSBRIDGE	16,778	17,875	1,097
CD 9 – CASTLE HILL, CLAWSON PT., & PARKCHESTER	65,371	61,818	-3,553
CD 10 – CO-OP CITY, PELHAM BAY, & SCHUYLERVILLE	36,136	39,179	3,043
CD 11 – PELHAM PARKWAY, MORRIS PARK, & LACONIA	30,862	31,813	951
CD 12 – WAKEFIELD, WILLIAMSBRIDGE, & WOODLAWN	96,716	102,478	5,762
TOTAL	477,844	504,814	26,970

TABLE 2C – BRONX'S AFRICAN AMERICAN POPULATION DIFFERENTIALS

COMMUNITY DISTRICT	2010 - 2014	2015 – 2019	DIFFERENCE
CD 1 & 2 – HUNTS POINT, LONGWOOD, & MELROSE	47,016	45,390	-1,626
CD 3 & 6 – BELMONT, CPE, & EAST TREMONT	44,540	57,327	12,787
CD 4 – CONCOURSE, HIGHBRIDGE & MT. EDEN	35,839	39,845	4,006
CD 5 – MORRIS HEIGHTS, FORDHAM SOUTH, & MT. HOPE	32,663	40,696	8,033
CD 7 – BEDFORD PARK, FORDHAM NORTH, & NORWOOD	19,676	23,157	3,481
CD 8 – RIVERDALE, FIELDSTON, & KINGSBRIDGE	13,363	16,444	3,081
CD 9 – CASTLE HILL, CLAWSON PT., & PARKCHESTER	53,705	50,649	-3,056
CD 10 – CO-OP CITY, PELHAM BAY, & SCHUYLERVILLE	24,933	29,322	4,389
CD 11 – PELHAM PARKWAY, MORRIS PARK, & LACONIA	18,979	24,472	5,493
CD 12 – WAKEFIELD, WILLIAMSBRIDGE, & WOODLAWN	43,568	54,871	11,303
TOTAL	334,282	389,435	55,153

TABLE 2D – BRONX'S BLACK NON-HISPANIC WEST INDIAN POPULATION

COMMUNITY DISTRICT	2010 - 2014	2015 – 2019	DIFFERENCE
CD 1 & 2 – HUNTS POINT, LONGWOOD, & MELROSE	3,410	2,579	-831
CD 3 & 6 – BELMONT, CPE, & EAST TREMONT	6,285	4,410	-1,875
CD 4 – CONCOURSE, HIGHBRIDGE & MT. EDEN	5,824	3,823	-2,001
CD 5 – MORRIS HEIGHTS, FORDHAM SOUTH, & MT. HOPE	5,245	3,710	-1,535
CD 7 – BEDFORD PARK, FORDHAM NORTH, & NORWOOD	5,290	3,349	-1,941
CD 8 – RIVERDALE, FIELDSTON, & KINGSBRIDGE	2,812	1,551	-1,261
CD 9 – CASTLE HILL, CLAWSON PT., & PARKCHESTER	11,749	7,262	-4,487
CD 10 – CO-OP CITY, PELHAM BAY, & SCHUYLERVILLE	9,695	9,715	-20
CD 11 – PELHAM PARKWAY, MORRIS PARK, & LACONIA	10,959	7,826	-3,133
CD 12 – WAKEFIELD, WILLIAMSBRIDGE, & WOODLAWN	47,690	41,181	-6,509
TOTAL	108,959	78,144	-30,815

TABLE 2E – BRONX'S BLACK CONTINENTAL AFRICAN POPULATION DIFFERENTIALS

COMMUNITY DISTRICT	2010 - 2014	2015 – 2019	DIFFERENCE
CD 1 & 2 – HUNTS POINT, LONGWOOD, & MELROSE	6,156	9,815	3,659
CD 3 & 6 – BELMONT, CPE, & EAST TREMONT	10,360	11,683	1,323
CD 4 – CONCOURSE, HIGHBRIDGE & MT. EDEN	12,339	12,073	-266
CD 5 – MORRIS HEIGHTS, FORDHAM SOUTH, & MT. HOPE	8,864	8,950	86
CD 7 – BEDFORD PARK, FORDHAM NORTH, & NORWOOD	3,984	3,219	-765
CD 8 – RIVERDALE, FIELDSTON, & KINGSBRIDGE	3,152	2,667	-485
CD 9 – CASTLE HILL, CLAWSON PT., & PARKCHESTER	6,006	8,657	2,651
CD 10 – CO-OP CITY, PELHAM BAY, & SCHUYLERVILLE	3,671	3,696	25
CD 11 – PELHAM PARKWAY, MORRIS PARK, & LACONIA	3,105	2,984	-121
CD 12 – WAKEFIELD, WILLIAMSBRIDGE, & WOODLAWN	7,862	9,268	1,406
TOTAL	65,499	73,012	7,513

GRAPH 3 - Change in Population in PAD* the Brooklyn 2010-2014 to 2015-2019
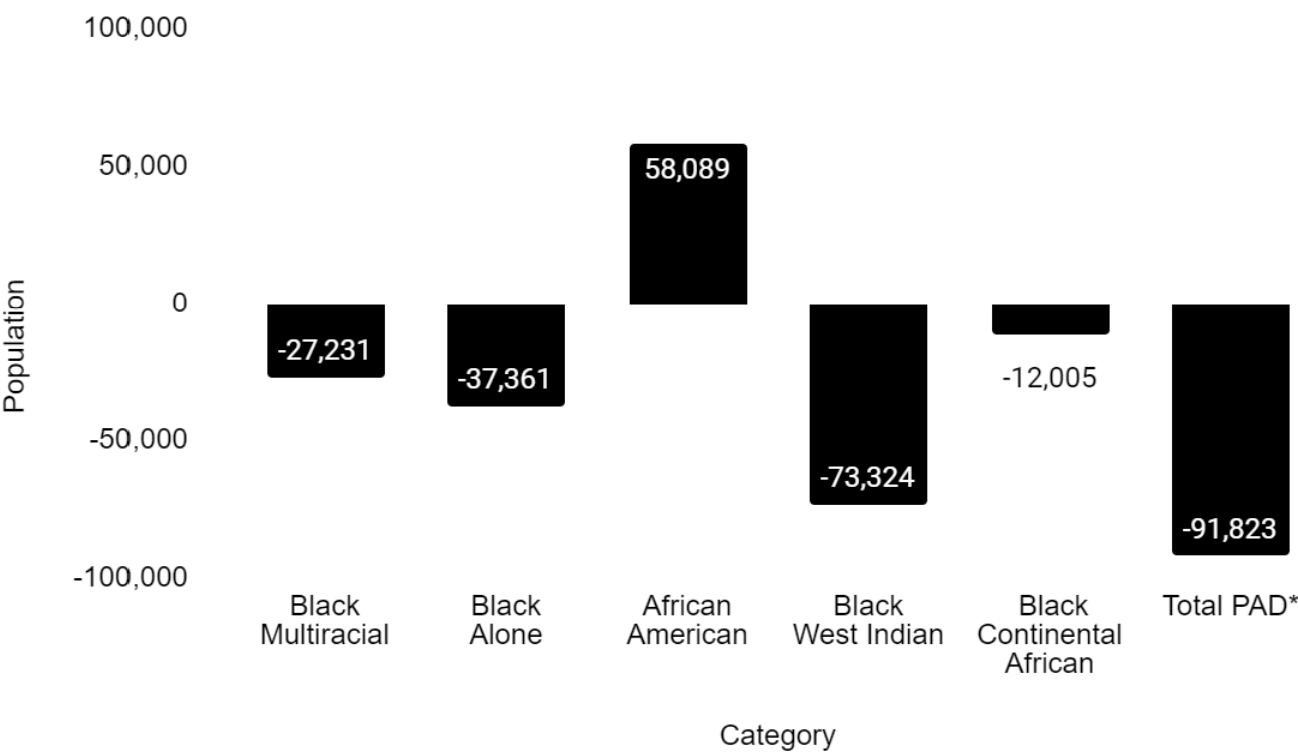
PAD*=People of African descent
Source: Census Bureau's American Community Survey 5-year estimate

TABLE 3A – BROOKLYN'S MULTIRACIAL POPULATION DIFFERENTIAL

COMMUNITY DISTRICT	2010 - 2014	2015 – 2019	DIFFERENCE
CD 1 – GREENPOINT & WILLIAMSBURG	9,506	12,602	3,096
CD 2 – BK HEIGHTS & FORT GREENE	40,453	39,767	-686
CD 3 – BEDFORD STUYVESANT	87,296	80,585	-6,711
CD 4 – BUSHWICK	38,800	33,341	-5,459
CD 5 – ENY & STARRETT CITY	90,039	94,378	4,339
CD 6 – PARK SLOPE, CARROLL GARDENS, AND RED HOOK	10,669	13,327	2,658
CD 7 – SUNSET PARK & WINDSOR TERRACE	6,878	7,317	439
CD 8 – CROWN HEIGHTS NORTH & PROSPECT HEIGHTS	83,660	81,528	-2,132
CD 9 – CROWN HEIGHTS SOUTH, PROSPECT LEFFERTS, & WINGATE	81,779	71,463	-10,316
CD 10 – BAY RIDGE & DYKER HEIGHTS	3,507	4,732	1,225
CD 11 – BENSONHURST & BATH BEACH	2,532	3,713	1,181
CD 12 – BOROUGH PARK, KENSINGTON, & OCEAN PARKWAY	4,038	5,148	1,110
CD 13 – BRIGHTON BEACH & CONEY ISLAND	13,892	14,538	646
CD 14 – FLATBUSH & MIDWOOD	56,137	52,897	-3,240
CD 15 – SHEEPSHEAD BAY, GERRITSEN BEACH, & HOMECREST	6,444	7,853	1,409
CD 16 – BROWNSVILLE & OCEAN HILL	101,658	92,111	-9,547
CD 17 – EAST FLATBUSH, FARRAGUT, & RUGBY	125,385	121,361	-4,024
CD 18 – CANARSIE & FLATLANDS	134,653	133,434	-1,219
TOTAL	897,326	870,095	-27,231

TABLE 3B – BROOKLYN'S BLACK-ALONE POPULATION DIFFERENTIALS

COMMUNITY DISTRICT	2010 - 2014	2015 – 2019	DIFFERENCE
CD 1 – GREENPOINT & WILLIAMSBURG	8,283	10,230	1,947
CD 2 – BK HEIGHTS & FORT GREENE	37,392	36,388	-1,004
CD 3 – BEDFORD STUYVESANT	85,475	76,659	-8,816
CD 4 – BUSHWICK	36,456	31,195	-5,259
CD 5 – ENY & STARRETT CITY	88,215	92,080	3,865
CD 6 – PARK SLOPE, CARROLL GARDENS, AND RED HOOK	9,048	10,869	1,821
CD 7 – SUNSET PARK & WINDSOR TERRACE	5,447	5,434	-13
CD 8 – CROWN HEIGHTS NORTH & PROSPECT HEIGHTS	81,740	78,298	-3,442
CD 9 – CROWN HEIGHTS SOUTH, PROSPECT LEFFERTS, & WINGATE	80,620	69,363	-11,257
CD 10 – BAY RIDGE & DYKER HEIGHTS	2,519	3,281	762
CD 11 – BENSONHURST & BATH BEACH	1,758	2,726	968
CD 12 – BOROUGH PARK, KENSINGTON, & OCEAN PKWY	3,640	3,780	140
CD 13 – BRIGHTON BEACH & CONEY ISLAND	12,686	13,547	861
CD 14 – FLATBUSH & MIDWOOD	54,678	51,404	-3274
CD 15 – SHEEPSHEAD BAY, GERRITSEN BEACH, & HOMECREST	5,689	7,026	1,337
CD 16 – BROWNSVILLE & OCEAN HILL	100,374	89,747	-10,627
CD 17 – EAST FLATBUSH, FARRAGUT, & RUGBY	123,965	119,999	-3,966
CD 18 – CANARSIE & FLATLANDS	133,059	131,657	-1,402
TOTAL	871,044	833,683	-37,361

TABLE 3C – BROOKLYN'S AFRICAN AMERICAN POPULATION DIFFERENTIALS

COMMUNITY DISTRICT	2010 - 2014	2015 – 2019	DIFFERENCE
CD 1 – GREENPOINT & WILLIAMSBURG	7,960	11,576	3,616
CD 2 – BK HEIGHTS & FORT GREENE	31,813	33,072	1,259
CD 3 – BEDFORD STUYVESANT	69,958	68,810	-1,148
CD 4 – BUSHWICK	32,024	29,098	-2,926
CD 5 – ENY & STARRETT CITY	67,962	70,976	3,014
CD 6 – PARK SLOPE, CARROLL GARDENS, AND RED HOOK	7,898	11,483	3,585
CD 7 – SUNSET PARK & WINDSOR TERRACE	4,705	6,339	1,634
CD 8 – CROWN HEIGHTS NORTH & PROSPECT HEIGHTS	50,691	58,457	7,766
CD 9 – CROWN HEIGHTS SOUTH, PROSPECT LEFFERTS, & WINGATE	40,081	43,477	3,396
CD 10 – BAY RIDGE & DYKER HEIGHTS	2,385	4,114	1,729
CD 11 – BENSONHURST & BATH BEACH	2,159	2,955	796
CD 12 – BOROUGH PARK, KENSINGTON, & OCEAN PARKWAY	2,653	3,607	954
CD 13 – BRIGHTON BEACH & CONEY ISLAND	11,795	12,293	498
CD 14 – FLATBUSH & MIDWOOD	27,717	28,755	1,038
CD 15 – SHEEPSHEAD BAY, GERRITSEN BEACH, & HOMECREST	4,801	6,068	1,267
CD 16 – BROWNSVILLE & OCEAN HILL	70,544	70,377	-167
CD 17 – EAST FLATBUSH, FARRAGUT, & RUGBY	44,602	67,031	22,429
CD 18 – CANARSIE & FLATLANDS	56,808	66,623	9,815
TOTAL	537,013	595,111	58,098

## TABLE 3D – BROOKLYN'S BLACK NON-HISPANIC WEST INDIAN POPULATION

COMMUNITY DISTRICT	2010 - 2014	2015 – 2019	DIFFERENCE
CD 1 – GREENPOINT & WILLIAMSBURG	1,331	568	-763
CD 2 – BK HEIGHTS & FORT GREENE	6,591	4,843	-1,748
CD 3 – BEDFORD STUYVESANT	14,314	9,333	-4,981
CD 4 – BUSHWICK	5,687	3,460	-2,227
CD 5 – ENY & STARRETT CITY	17,558	16,266	-1,292
CD 6 – PARK SLOPE, CARROLL GARDENS, & RED HOOK	2,314	1,264	-2,150
CD 7 – SUNSET PARK & WINDSOR TERRACE	1,698	652	-1,046
CD 8 – CROWN HEIGHTS NORTH & PROSPECT HEIGHTS	27,582	20,746	-6,836
CD 9 – CROWN HEIGHTS SOUTH, PROSPECT LEFFERTS, & WINGATE	36,233	24,544	-11,689
CD 10 – BAY RIDGE & DYKER HEIGHTS	481	416	-65
CD 11 – BENSONHURST & BATH BEACH	324	599	275
CD 12 – BOROUGH PARK, KENSINGTON, & OCEAN PARKWAY	931	1,107	176
CD 13 – BRIGHTON BEACH & CONEY ISLAND	1,671	1,522	-149
CD 14 – FLATBUSH & MIDWOOD	26,475	21,330	-5,145
CD 15 – SHEEPSHEAD BAY, GERRITSEN BEACH, & HOMECREST	1,360	1,432	72
CD 16 – BROWNSVILLE & OCEAN HILL	26,764	17,799	-8,965
CD 17 – EAST FLATBUSH, FARRAGUT, & RUGBY	66,982	50,033	-16,949
CD 18 – CANARSIE & FLATLANDS	71,944	61,002	-10,942
TOTAL	310,240	236,916	-73,324

TABLE 3E – BROOKLYN'S BLACK CONTINENTAL AFRICAN POPULATION DIFFERENTIALS

COMMUNITY DISTRICT	2010 - 2014	2015 – 2019	DIFFERENCE
CD 1 – GREENPOINT & WILLIAMSBURG	215	458	243
CD 2 – BK HEIGHTS & FORT GREENE	2,049	1,852	-197
CD 3 – BEDFORD STUYVESANT	3,024	2,442	-582
CD 4 – BUSHWICK	1,089	783	-306
CD 5 – ENY & STARRETT CITY	4,519	7,136	2,617
CD 6 – PARK SLOPE, CARROLL GARDENS, & RED HOOK	457	580	123
CD 7 – SUNSET PARK & WINDSOR TERRACE	475	326	-149
CD 8 – CROWN HEIGHTS NORTH & PROSPECT HEIGHTS	5,387	2,325	-3,062
CD 9 – CROWN HEIGHTS SOUTH, PROSPECT LEFFERTS, & WINGATE	5,465	3,442	-2,023
CD 10 – BAY RIDGE & DYKER HEIGHTS	641	202	-439
CD 11 – BENSONHURST & BATH BEACH	49	159	110
CD 12 – BOROUGH PARK, KENSINGTON, & OCEAN PKWY	454	434	-20
CD 13 – BRIGHTON BEACH & CONEY ISLAND	426	723	297
CD 14 – FLATBUSH & MIDWOOD	1,945	2,812	867
CD 15 – SHEEPSHEAD BAY, GERRITSEN BEACH, & HOMECREST	283	353	70
CD 16 – BROWNSVILLE & OCEAN HILL	4,350	3,935	-415
CD 17 – EAST FLATBUSH, FARRAGUT, & RUGBY	13,801	4,297	-9,504
CD 18 – CANARSIE & FLATLANDS	5,901	5,809	-92
TOTAL	50,073	38,068	-12,005

GRAPH 4 - Change in Population in PAD* the Manhattan 2010-2014 to 2015-2019
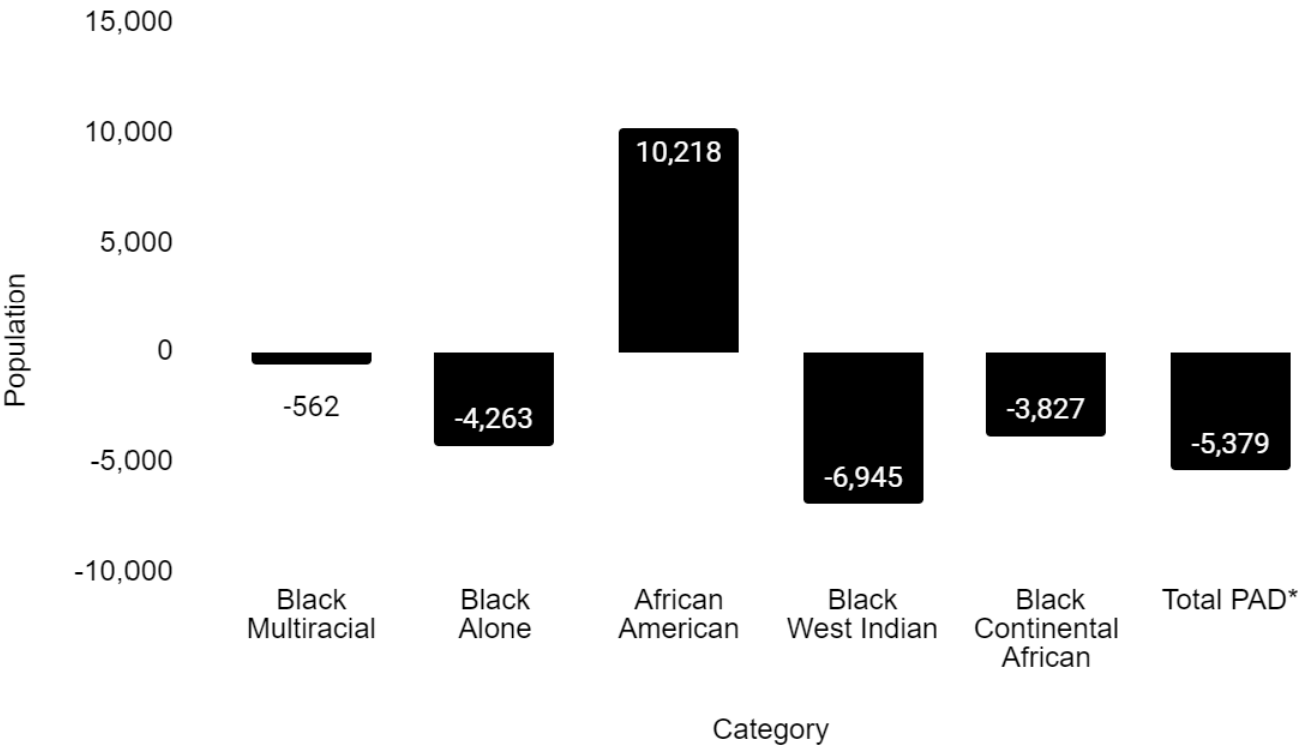
PAD*=People of African descent
Source: Census Bureau's American Community Survey 5-year estimate

TABLE 4A – MANHATTAN'S BLACK MULTIRACIAL POPULATION DIFFERENTIALS

COMMUNITY DISTRICT	2010 - 2014	2015 – 2019	DIFFERENCE
CD 1 & 2 – BATTERY PARK CITY, GREENWICH VILLAGE, & SOHO	5,371	5,244	-127
CD 3 – CHINATOWN & LOWER EAST SIDE	15,337	18,910	3,573
CD 4 & 5 -CHELSEA, CLINTON, & MIDTOWN BUSINESS DISTRICT	10,964	11,378	414
CD 6 – MURRAY HILL, GRAMERCY, & STUYVESANT TOWN	6,499	8,152	1,653
CD 7 – UPPER WEST SIDE & WEST SIDE	19,414	15,912	-3,502
CD 8 – UPPER EAST SIDE	8,711	7,941	-770
CD 9 – HAMILTON HEIGHTS, MANHATTANVILLE, & WEST HARLEM	47,189	41,572	-5,617
CD 10 – CENTRAL HARLEM	87,485	84,948	-2,537
CD 11 – EAST HARLEM	44,517	47,078	2,561
CD 12 – WASHINGTON HEIGHTS, INWOOD, & MARBLE HILL	33,473	37,271	3,798
TOTAL	278,960	278,406	-554

TABLE 4B – MANHATTAN'S BLACK ALONE POPULATION DIFFERENTIALS

COMMUNITY DISTRICT	2010 - 2014	2015 – 2019	DIFFERENCE
CD 1 & 2 – BATTERY PARK CITY, GREENWICH VILLAGE, & SOHO	3,917	3,951	34
CD 3 – CHINATOWN & LOWER EAST SIDE	12,686	15,410	2,724
CD 4 & 5 -CHELSEA, CLINTON, & MIDTOWN BUSINESS DISTRICT	9,187	8,998	-189
CD 6 – MURRAY HILL, GRAMERCY, & STUYVESANT TOWN	5,455	6,774	1,319
CD 7 – UPPER WEST SIDE & WEST SIDE	17,360	13,194	-4,166
CD 8 – UPPER EAST SIDE	7,004	6,048	-956
CD 9 – HAMILTON HEIGHTS, MANHATTANVILLE, & WEST HARLEM	36,390	31,894	-4,496
CD 10 – CENTRAL HARLEM	83,268	80,068	-3,200
CD 11 – EAST HARLEM	42,672	44,662	1,990
CD 12 – WASHINGTON HEIGHTS, INWOOD, & MARBLE HILL	27,317	29,994	2,677
TOTAL	245,256	240,993	-4,263

TABLE 4C – MANHATTAN'S AFRICAN AMERICAN POPULATION DIFFERENTIALS

COMMUNITY DISTRICT	2010 - 2014	2015 – 2019	DIFFERENCE
CD 1 & 2 – BATTERY PARK CITY, GREENWICH VILLAGE, & SOHO	3,715	4,322	607
CD 3 – CHINATOWN & LOWER EAST SIDE	13,290	17,203	3,913
CD 4 & 5 -CHELSEA, CLINTON, & MIDTOWN BUSINESS DISTRICT	7,635	9,167	1,532
CD 6 – MURRAY HILL, GRAMERCY, & STUYVESANT TOWN	4,847	5,990	1,143
CD 7 – UPPER WEST SIDE & WEST SIDE	15,624	13,325	-2,299
CD 8 – UPPER EAST SIDE	5,566	6,059	493
CD 9 – HAMILTON HEIGHTS, MANHATTANVILLE, & WEST HARLEM	39,504	35,647	-3,857
CD 10 – CENTRAL HARLEM	69,358	68,510	-848
CD 11 – EAST HARLEM	38,857	42,671	3,814
CD 12 – WASHINGTON HEIGHTS, INWOOD, & MARBLE HILL	27,196	32,916	5,720
TOTAL	225,592	235,810	10,218

## TABLE 4D – MANHATTAN'S NON-HISPANIC BLACK WEST INDIAN POPULATION DIFFERENTIALS

COMMUNITY DISTRICT	2010 - 2014	2015 – 2019	DIFFERENCE
CD 1 & 2 – BATTERY PARK CITY, GREENWICH VILLAGE, & SOHO	752	551	-201
CD 3 – CHINATOWN & LOWER EAST SIDE	1,029	929	-100
CD 4 & 5 -CHELSEA, CLINTON, & MIDTOWN BUSINESS DISTRICT	1,205	773	-432
CD 6 – MURRAY HILL, GRAMERCY, & STUYVESANT TOWN	592	1,551	959
CD 7 – UPPER WEST SIDE & WEST SIDE	2,535	1,580	-955
CD 8 – UPPER EAST SIDE	1,645	719	-926
CD 9 – HAMILTON HEIGHTS, MANHATTANVILLE, & WEST HARLEM	4,050	2,972	-1078
CD 10 – CENTRAL HARLEM	7,917	5,445	-2472
CD 11 – EAST HARLEM	2,341	2,246	-95
CD 12 – WASHINGTON HEIGHTS, INWOOD, & MARBLE HILL	3,770	2,125	-1645
TOTAL	25,836	18,891	-6945

TABLE 4E – MANHATTAN'S BLACK CONTINENTAL AFRICAN POPULATION DIFFERENTIALS

COMMUNITY DISTRICT	2010 - 2014	2015 – 2019	DIFFERENCE
CD 1 & 2 – BATTERY PARK CITY, GREENWICH VILLAGE, & SOHO	904	371	-533
CD 3 – CHINATOWN & LOWER EAST SIDE	1,018	778	-240
CD 4 & 5 -CHELSEA, CLINTON, & MIDTOWN BUSINESS DISTRICT	2,124	1,438	-686
CD 6 – MURRAY HILL, GRAMERCY, & STUYVESANT TOWN	1,060	611	-449
CD 7 – UPPER WEST SIDE & WEST SIDE	1,255	1,007	-248
CD 8 – UPPER EAST SIDE	1,500	1,163	-337
CD 9 – HAMILTON HEIGHTS, MANHATTANVILLE, & WEST HARLEM	3,635	2,953	-682
CD 10 – CENTRAL HARLEM	10,210	10,993	783
CD 11 – EAST HARLEM	3,319	2,161	-1158
CD 12 – WASHINGTON HEIGHTS, INWOOD, & MARBLE HILL	2,507	2,230	-277
TOTAL	25,836	23,705	-3,827

GRAPH 4 - Change in Population in PAD* the Manhattan 2010-2014 to 2015-2019
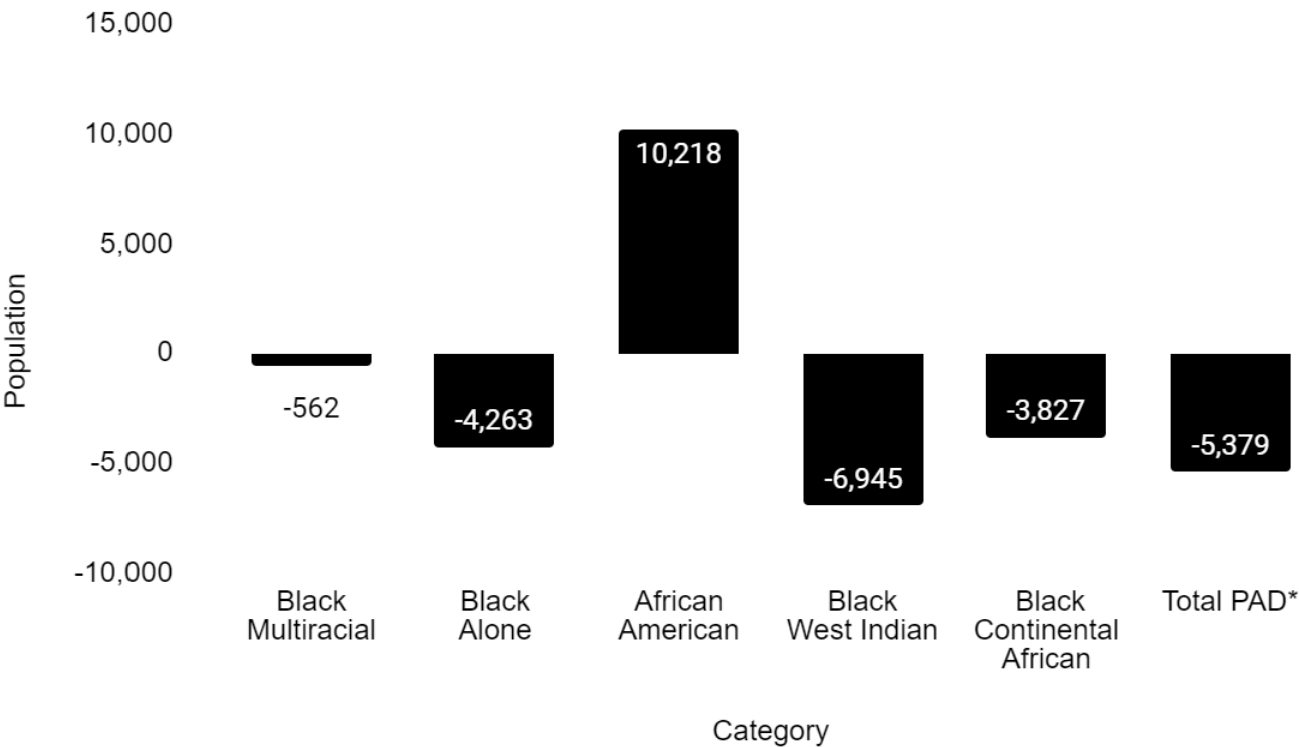
PAD*=People of African descent

Source: Census Bureau's American Community Survey 5-year estimate

TABLE 5A – QUEENS' BLACK MULTIRACIAL POPULATION DIFFERENTIALS

COMMUNITY DISTRICT	2010 - 2014	2015 – 2019	DIFFERENCE
CD 1 – ASTORIA & LI CITY	15,668	14,502	-1,166
CD 2 – SUNNYSIDE & WOODSIDE	4,048	4,437	389
CD 3 – JACKSON HEIGHTS & NORTH CORONA	14,530	12,196	-2,334
CD 4 – ELMHURST & SOUTH CORONA	13,578	10,704	-2,874
CD 5 – RIDGEWOOD, GLENDALE, & MIDDLE VILLAGE	4,319	5,681	1,362
CD 6 – FOREST HILLS & REGO PARK	3,878	5,785	1,907
CD 7 – FLUSHING, MURRAY HILL, & WHITESTONE	7,743	7,123	-620
CD 8 – BRIARWOOD, FRESH MEADOWS, & HILLCREST	20,881	24,759	3,878
CD 9 – RICHMOND HILL & WOODHAVEN	14,380	13,744	-636
CD 10 – HOWARD BEACH & OZONE PARK	25,492	24,449	-1,043
CD 11 – BAYSIDE, DOUGLASTON, & LITTLE NECK	3,619	4,504	885
CD 12 – JAMAICA, HOLLIS, & ST. ALBANS	162,171	153,544	-8,627
CD 13 – QUEENS VILLAGE, CAMBRIA HEIGHTS, & ROSEDALE	120,397	18,000	-2,397
CD 14 – FAR ROCKAWAY, BREEZY POINT, & BROAD CHANNEL	47,171	51,968	4,797
TOTAL	**457,875**	**451,396**	**-6,479**

TABLE 5B – QUEENS' BLACK ALONE POPULATION DIFFERENTIALS

COMMUNITY DISTRICT	2010 - 2014	2015 – 2019	DIFFERENCE
CD 1 – ASTORIA & LI CITY	13,737	12,501	-1,236
CD 2 – SUNNYSIDE & WOODSIDE	2,920	3,106	186
CD 3 – JACKSON HEIGHTS & NORTH CORONA	12,366	10,490	-1,876
CD 4 – ELMHURST & SOUTH CORONA	12,530	9,182	-3,348
CD 5 – RIDGEWOOD, GLENDALE, & MIDDLE VILLAGE	3,112	3,973	861
CD 6 – FOREST HILLS & REGO PARK	3,164	3,886	722
CD 7 – FLUSHING, MURRAY HILL, & WHITESTONE	5,763	5,643	-120
CD 8 – BRIARWOOD, FRESH MEADOWS, & HILLCREST	18,980	21,971	2,991
CD 9 – RICHMOND HILL & WOODHAVEN	11,498	10,627	-871
CD 10 – HOWARD BEACH & OZONE PARK	22,144	20,241	-1,903
CD 11 – BAYSIDE, DOUGLASTON, & LITTLE NECK	2,559	3,698	1,139
CD 12 – JAMAICA, HOLLIS, & ST. ALBANS	153,695	149,082	-4,613
CD 13 – QUEENS VILLAGE, CAMBRIA HEIGHTS, & ROSEDALE	116,437	114,494	-1,943
CD 14 – FAR ROCKAWAY, BREEZY POINT, & BROAD CHANNEL	45,224	49,620	4,396
TOTAL	424,129	418,514	-5,615

TABLE 5C – QUEENS' AFRICAN AMERICAN POPULATION DIFFERENTIALS

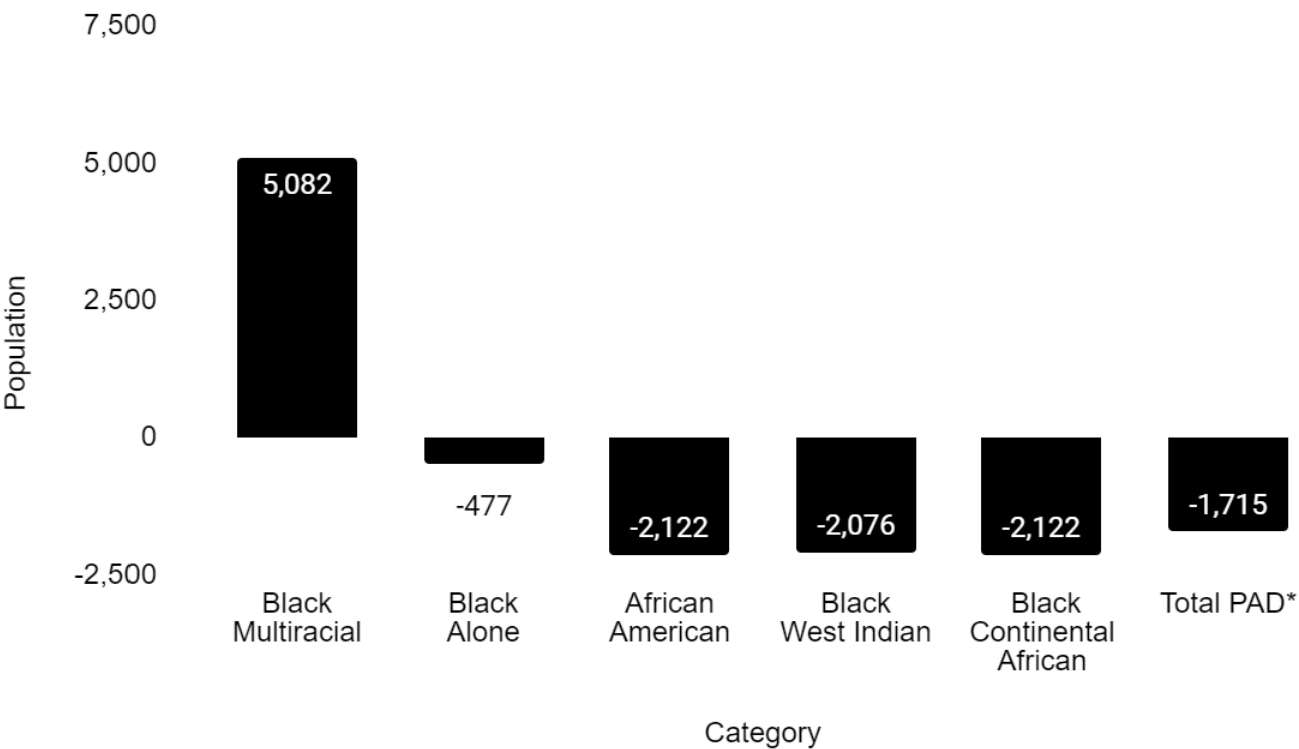| COMMUNITY DISTRICT	2010 - 2014	2015 – 2019	DIFFERENCE
CD 1 – ASTORIA & LI CITY	13,444	13,290	-154
CD 2 – SUNNYSIDE & WOODSIDE	3,064	3,762	698
CD 3 – JACKSON HEIGHTS & NORTH CORONA	10,667	10,707	40
CD 4 – ELMHURST & SOUTH CORONA	9,164	7,355	-1,809
CD 5 – RIDGEWOOD, GLENDALE, & MIDDLE VILLAGE	3,255	4,729	1,474
CD 6 – FOREST HILLS & REGO PARK	2,383	4,498	2,115
CD 7 – FLUSHING, MURRAY HILL, & WHITESTONE	5,801	5,278	-523
CD 8 – BRIARWOOD, FRESH MEADOWS, & HILLCREST	11,901	17,232	5,331
CD 9 – RICHMOND HILL & WOODHAVEN	8,276	9,212	936
CD 10 – HOWARD BEACH & OZONE PARK	12,937	15,983	3,046
CD 11 – BAYSIDE, DOUGLASTON, & LITTLE NECK	2,111	3,313	1,202
CD 12 – JAMAICA, HOLLIS, & ST. ALBANS	99,791	100,124	333
CD 13 – QUEENS VILLAGE, CAMBRIA HEIGHTS, & ROSEDALE	-60,166	66,473	6,307
CD 14 – FAR ROCKAWAY, BREEZY POINT, & BROAD CHANNEL	33,705	39,147	5,442
TOTAL	277,656	301,103	23,438

TABLE 5D – QUEENS' BLACK WEST INDIAN POPULATION DIFFERENTIALS

COMMUNITY DISTRICT	2010 - 2014	2015 – 2019	DIFFERENCE
CD 1 – ASTORIA & LI CITY	1,349	845	-504
CD 2 – SUNNYSIDE & WOODSIDE	768	475	-293
CD 3 – JACKSON HEIGHTS & NORTH CORONA	3,249	1,247	-2,002
CD 4 – ELMHURST & SOUTH CORONA	2,066	1,680	-386
CD 5 – RIDGEWOOD, GLENDALE, & MIDDLE VILLAGE	831	774	-57
CD 6 – FOREST HILLS & REGO PARK	1,332	902	-430
CD 7 – FLUSHING, MURRAY HILL, & WHITESTONE	1,475	1,270	-205
CD 8 – BRIARWOOD, FRESH MEADOWS, & HILLCREST	7,282	6,147	-1,135
CD 9 – RICHMOND HILL & WOODHAVEN	5,082	4,206	-876
CD 10 – HOWARD BEACH & OZONE PARK	11,885	8,170	-3,715
CD 11 – BAYSIDE, DOUGLASTON, & LITTLE NECK	1,046	1,147	101
CD 12 – JAMAICA, HOLLIS, & ST. ALBANS	54,849	47,754	-7,095
CD 13 – QUEENS VILLAGE, CAMBRIA HEIGHTS, & ROSEDALE	53,892	47,393	-6,499
CD 14 – FAR ROCKAWAY, BREEZY POINT, & BROAD CHANNEL	10,040	9,501	-539
TOTAL	154,100	13,1511	-22,589

TABLE 5E – QUEENS' BLACK CONTINENTAL AFRICAN POPULATION DIFFERENTIALS

COMMUNITY DISTRICT	2010 - 2014	2015 – 2019	DIFFERENCE
CD 1 – ASTORIA & LI CITY	875	367	-508
CD 2 – SUNNYSIDE & WOODSIDE	216	200	-16
CD 3 – JACKSON HEIGHTS & NORTH CORONA	614	242	-372
CD 4 – ELMHURST & SOUTH CORONA	2,348	1,669	-679
CD 5 – RIDGEWOOD, GLENDALE, & MIDDLE VILLAGE	233	178	-55
CD 6 – FOREST HILLS & REGO PARK	163	385	222
CD 7 – FLUSHING, MURRAY HILL, & WHITESTONE	467	575	108
CD 8 – BRIARWOOD, FRESH MEADOWS, & HILLCREST	1,698	1,380	-318
CD 9 – RICHMOND HILL & WOODHAVEN	1,022	326	-696
CD 10 – HOWARD BEACH & OZONE PARK	670	296	-374
CD 11 – BAYSIDE, DOUGLASTON, & LITTLE NECK	462	44	-418
CD 12 – JAMAICA, HOLLIS, & ST. ALBANS	7,531	5,666	-1865
CD 13 – QUEENS VILLAGE, CAMBRIA HEIGHTS, & ROSEDALE	6,394	4,134	-2260
CD 14 – FAR ROCKAWAY, BREEZY POINT, & BROAD CHANNEL	3,426	3,320	-106
TOTAL	26,119	18,782	-7,337

GRAPH 6 - Change in Population in PAD* the Staten Island 2010-2014 to 2015-2019

PAD*=People of African descent

Source: Census Bureau's American Community Survey 5-year estimate

TABLE 6D – STATEN ISLAND'S NON-HISPANIC BLACK WEST INDIAN POPULATION DIFFERENTIALS

COMMUNITY DISTRICT	2010 - 2014	2015 – 2019	DIFFERENCE
CD 1 – PORT RICHMOND, STAPLETON, & MARINER'S HARBOR	6,163	4,175	-1,988
CD 2 – NEW SPRINGVILLE & SOUTH BEACH	1,009	886	-123
CD 3 – TOTTENVILLE, GREAT KILLS, & ANNANDALE	351	386	35
TOTAL	7,523	5,447	-2,076

TABLE 6E – STATEN ISLAND'S BLACK CONTINENTAL AFRICAN POPULATION DIFFERENTIALS

COMMUNITY DISTRICT	2010 - 2014	2015 – 2019	DIFFERENCE
CD 1 – PORT RICHMOND, STAPLETON, & MARINER'S HARBOR	7,700	5,285	-2,415
CD 2 – NEW SPRINGVILLE & SOUTH BEACH	453	992	539
CD 3 – TOTTENVILLE, GREAT KILLS, & ANNANDALE	343	97	-246
TOTAL	8,496	6,374	-2,122

TABLE 6A – STATEN ISLAND'S BLACK MULTIRACIAL POPULATION DIFFERENTIALS

COMMUNITY DISTRICT	2010 - 2014	2015 – 2019	DIFFERENCE
CD 1 – PORT RICHMOND, STAPLETON, & MARINER'S HARBOR	45,638	45,074	-564
CD 2 – NEW SPRINGVILLE & SOUTH BEACH	6,266	7,000	734
CD 3 – TOTTENVILLE, GREAT KILLS, & ANNANDALE	2,905	2,443	-462
TOTAL	54,809	54,517	-292

TABLE 6B – STATEN ISLAND'S BLACK ALONE POPULATION DIFFERENTIALS

COMMUNITY DISTRICT	2010 - 2014	2015 – 2019	DIFFERENCE
CD 1 – PORT RICHMOND, STAPLETON, & MARINER'S HARBOR	41,649	41,547	-102
CD 2 – NEW SPRINGVILLE & SOUTH BEACH	5,583	5,755	172
CD 3 – TOTTENVILLE, GREAT KILLS, & ANNANDALE	2,203	1,656	-547
TOTAL	49,435	48,958	-477

TABLE 6C – STATEN ISLAND'S AFRICAN AMERICAN POPULATION DIFFERENTIALS

COMMUNITY DISTRICT	2010 - 2014	2015 – 2019	DIFFERENCE
CD 1 – PORT RICHMOND, STAPLETON, & MARINER'S HARBOR	31,775	35,614	3,839
CD 2 – NEW SPRINGVILLE & SOUTH BEACH	4,804	5,122	318
CD 3 – TOTTENVILLE, GREAT KILLS, & ANNANDALE	2,211	1,960	-251
TOTAL	38,790	42,696	3,906

REFERENCES

American Community Survey. 2017. Information Guide.
https://www.census.gov/content/dam/Census/programs-
surveys/acs/about/ACS_Information_Guide.pdf

Census.Gov. (2011). "Who Is Black?"
https://www.census.gov/newsroom/cspan/black/2012.07.06_cspan_blacks.pdf

Davis, F. James. (1991). Who is Black?: One Nation's Definition. Penn State
University Press; 10th Anniversary edition.

Logan, J., Zhang, W., & Alba, R. (2002). Immigrant Enclaves and Ethnic
Communities in New York and Los Angeles. American Sociological Review, 67(2),
299-322.

Malone, S. (1997). Recognizing Communities of Interest in a Legislative
Apportionment Plan. Virginia Law Review, 83(2), 461-492.

Mollenkopf, John. "The Evolution of New York City's Black Neighborhoods",
Metropolitics, 9 May 2017. http://www.metropolitiques.eu/The-Evolution-of-New-
York-City-s.html

Tolbert, C., Deseran, F., & Blanchard, T. (2003). Communities of Interest, Social
Justice, and Congressional Redistricting: The Case of Louisiana's Fourth District in
the 1990s. Social Justice, 30(4 (94)), 91-107. Retrieved May 29, 2021, from
http://www.jstor.org/stable/29768226

CONTACT

Center for Law and Social Justice
Medgar Evers College, CUNY
1150 Carroll Street, Brooklyn, NY 11225

www.clsj.org
info@clsj.org
@clsj_mec