

# Report on NYC 2020 Census Enumeration Rates

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Rates as of September 22<sup>nd</sup>, 2020



New York City Department of City Planning  
Population Division

**Report on NYC 2020 Census Enumeration Rates  
(Percent of Housing Units Enumerated as of September 22<sup>nd</sup>)  
New York City Department of City Planning – Population Division**

This report is a clarion call to action in the home stretch of the 2020 Census. Regardless of the timeline produced by current litigation, the end of the 2020 Census is fast-approaching and the need for a smart, focused effort in these last weeks is essential if New York City is to avoid an undercount of its population.

The period from mid-March to early August was set aside exclusively for households to *self-respond* – via the internet, telephone, or paper. Nearly 55 percent of New York City households had self-responded by August 3<sup>rd</sup>, which marked the start of the Census Bureau’s Nonresponse Followup (NRFU) operations in the city. Over the following few days, the U.S. Census Bureau began deploying tens of thousands of field enumerators across the city’s neighborhoods, to knock on the doors of housing units that did not self-respond. This is the final phase of the 2020 Census and these in-person visits are currently scheduled to end on September 30<sup>th</sup>.

The Department of City Planning’s (DCP) *Report on NYC 2020 Census Enumeration Rates* is intended to support the last phase of outreach by providing an overall picture of total enumeration levels in New York City by neighborhood. Up until recently, our analyses have been restricted only to measures of self-response. Since September 1<sup>st</sup>, data have been provided by the Census Bureau on “workload completed” in NRFU. The enumeration rate used in this report is the sum of the percentage of housing units captured in self-response and those accounted for in NRFU. It is important to recognize that a conversation with household residents is not the only way to enumerate a household in NRFU. There are several other ways that a housing unit can be enumerated without in-person contact, including a determination that a housing unit does not exist (aka “delete”) or that it is vacant (sometimes referencing a postal record); information from a proxy respondent (e.g., neighbor); enumeration via an

administrative records match; or after multiple visits, a refusal.<sup>1</sup> The NRFU completion rate is used by the Census Bureau to determine whether a neighborhood has been completely enumerated, but DCP is unable to assess exactly how households within neighborhoods were enumerated, including in cases where there was no in-person contact.

According to our analysis of U.S. Census Bureau data, when NRFU is taken into account along with self-response, 95 percent of all housing units in the city have been enumerated as of September 22<sup>nd</sup>.<sup>2</sup> That may sound like a high percentage, but there are three major reasons we should not be complacent:

1. It is important to put the 95 percent enumeration in context. The number may seem high, but the remaining 5 percent are the hardest to enumerate. The 1990 decennial census, which is widely believed to be a flawed enumeration, undercounted the city's population by 3.2 percent or 244,000 persons, by the Census Bureau's own account. This undercount shortchanged the city in terms of representation and resources.
2. The total figure of 95 percent enumerated is an average; neighborhood rates vary from an estimated high of 97.9 percent to a low of 88.3 percent. Most neighborhoods with the lowest rates are predominantly Black, Hispanic,<sup>3</sup> or Asian,<sup>4</sup> and are most susceptible to an undercount. And, make no mistake about it: neighborhoods with rates in the high 80s

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<sup>1</sup> The last of these usually end up being resolved in a post-enumeration process called "imputation," a statistical procedure that assigns the characteristics of a household that responded as a substitute for one that failed to respond.

<sup>2</sup> The estimated enumeration rate calculated by the Department of City Planning is based in part on the Nonresponse Followup completion rate issued by the Census Bureau. The DCP enumeration rate is calculated using slightly different information than the Census Bureau uses to determine the state-level enumeration rate. This may result in a small bias in the DCP enumeration rate, likely in the range of 1 percentage point. Thus, the enumeration rates provided in this report are not intended for direct comparison to state or national rates issued by the Census Bureau. For more details, see page 3 for the *Methodology for Estimating the Percent of Enumerated Housing Units*.

<sup>3</sup> DCP acknowledges that there are other conventions (e.g., Latinx) used to refer to this population. DCP uses "Hispanic" in order to maintain consistency with data provided and terminology used by the U.S. Census Bureau.

<sup>4</sup> The U.S. Census Bureau's designation "Asian" includes groups from West, South, East, and Southeast Asia.

## Methodology for Estimating the Percent of Enumerated Housing Units

The Census Bureau provides the percent of all housing units that have been enumerated, but only for the nation and for each state, so DCP developed a methodology for calculating the percent of housing units enumerated for New York City, its boroughs, and neighborhoods. This section explains how this rate was calculated using other data provided by the Census Bureau. For sub-state areas, the Census Bureau provides self-response rates (the percent of housing units that have responded to the census on their own) and Nonresponse Followup (NRFU) completion rates (percentage of housing units completed *in the NRFU workload*). The Census Bureau has further clarified that the NRFU workload was defined as all those housing units that had not self-responded as of June 23<sup>rd</sup>. Since that date, all housing units that self-responded have also been counted as a NRFU completion. Self-response rates are published at the census tract level, but NRFU completion rates are provided only for Area Census Offices (ACO) – sub-borough areas that are much larger than census tracts or even neighborhoods.

Deriving the percent of all housing units that are enumerated required DCP to calculate how many housing units have been uniquely enumerated through self-response and through NRFU. We used the latest Address Count Listing File (October 2019) provided by the Census Bureau as a base for the total number of housing units for every census tract in the city. Since self-response after June 23<sup>rd</sup> was included in NRFU completion rates we applied the tract self-response rate as of that date to the count of housing units to produce the number of housing units that had self-responded in each tract. The balance of units – those that had not yet self-responded – is treated as the NRFU workload. Since we are only given the NRFU completion rate at the ACO level, we apply each ACO's rate of NRFU completion to the count of non-responding housing units in component census tracts (census tracts nest within ACO boundaries). This yields DCP's best estimate of the number of housing units in the NRFU workload that have been completed for each census tract. We then add the housing units completed from the NRFU workload to the housing units that had already self-responded as of June 23<sup>rd</sup> to produce the total number of housing units enumerated in each tract, and divide it by the total number of housing units to obtain the percent of all housing units that have been enumerated. These rates are calculated for neighborhoods, boroughs, and for the city overall.

It is important to remember that these are *estimates* of the percentage of units that have been enumerated – and may be biased, i.e. they are probably slightly different than what the Census Bureau would have calculated. This is due to the fact that the “true” NRFU workload is likely to differ slightly from DCP's calculations, since the Census Bureau includes an undisclosed number of housing units for quality control purposes. Nevertheless, these estimates are useful as we are not making fine-tuned distinctions between neighborhoods, but rather distinguishing neighborhoods where the percent of households enumerated are below average from those with average or above average rates of enumeration. Based on the difference between DCP's calculations and the Census Bureau's published enumeration rates at the state level, DCP's estimates are probably within one percentage point of the “true” figure at the city, borough, and neighborhood levels.

to low 90s with just a week left in the enumeration present the Census Bureau with a formidable challenge, involving a massive reallocation of resources from areas nearing completion to those in need of a big boost in the final days of the census.

3. There is nothing better than responses from household residents themselves for a complete and accurate count, and for data that truly reflect the neighborhoods of the city. The Census Bureau employs an array of methods to enumerate those who have not self-responded or been interviewed in NRFU. These include the use of administrative records, information from proxy respondents (e.g. neighbors), and imputation (i.e. using data from those who respond as a substitute for those who fail to do so), but such methods can still result in a substantial undercount. Thus, it is more important than ever to continue to encourage people to self-respond and cooperate with census enumerators. And, thanks to outreach efforts by the NYC Census 2020 team, working in tandem with hundreds of community-based organizations, self-response in the city continues to increase, which has helped bump up the total enumeration rate.

As with our earlier efforts to point out the lowest self-response areas of the city, this updated analysis points to neighborhoods in the city where the need for outreach in NRFU is most acute, as indicated by what we call the *enumeration rate*. It is clear that, while rates have improved, they are still lowest in Brooklyn, which may reflect logistical or organizational issues, or, possibly, certain linguistic and/or cultural barriers. On the other hand, many neighborhoods in Queens had low levels of self-response, but Census Bureau data show that they continue to improve substantially in NRFU, which may be a result of comparatively well-staffed Census Bureau operations that started earlier than in other boroughs. The low enumeration rates in many Brooklyn neighborhoods may be tied to a later start in NRFU operations. Historically there have been difficulties in recruitment, training and attrition, with success being a function of the ability to reallocate resources to meet the day-to-day demands of fieldwork caseloads (which can be unpredictable). If staffing resources are reallocated to Brooklyn, this will hopefully be reflected in higher enumeration rates in neighborhoods across the borough.

Regardless, Brooklyn requires attention, since it has the largest number of communities lagging, with the highest priority cluster consisting of Cypress Hills-City Line, East New York,

Canarsie, Ocean Hill, Brownsville, Rugby-Remsen Village, Crown Heights South, and Prospect-Lefferts Gardens-Wingate. While these neighborhoods are predominantly populated by Black and Hispanic residents, low enumeration rates in Brooklyn can be found in neighborhoods that span the racial/ethnic and socioeconomic spectrums (see detailed analysis below). To better understand the demographic, social, and economic characteristics of New York City neighborhoods that need a boost in their enumeration rates, information can be found in the [New York City Population FactFinder \(https://popfactfinder.planning.nyc.gov/\)](https://popfactfinder.planning.nyc.gov/).

It would be a mistake, however, to conclude that the outcome of this analysis points to difficulties solely in Brooklyn. While not as acute, our analysis shows that there are a number of neighborhoods in each borough in which enumeration is lagging. From a borough perspective, enumeration rates in many of these neighborhoods may seem high; however, it bears repeating that the experience in past censuses indicates that getting the last 5 percent of respondents requires the largest allocation of resources per capita.

### **How Do Enumeration Rates Vary within New York City?**

Self-response rates measure the percentage of housing units that have responded to the census by internet, mail, or phone. NRFU completion rates measure the percentage of housing units in the NRFU workload that have been enumerated or resolved.<sup>5</sup> The enumeration rates issued in this report are calculated by the Department of City Planning to estimate the percentage of housing units that have been enumerated either through self-response or NRFU operations. (Please see box on page 3 for a detailed description of the methodology used to estimate enumeration rates for the city's neighborhoods.) If an area has a low enumeration rate, it is likely that people in the area may be missed or counted inaccurately. This report aims to illuminate neighborhood differences in enumeration rates within New York City.

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<sup>5</sup> Nonresponse Followup workloads include both non-responding housing units as well as quality control cases to check the accuracy of responses or to confirm addresses of housing units that responded without their assigned census ID.

As of September 22<sup>nd</sup>, New York City's estimated enumeration rate stands at 95.0 percent (see Figure 1). Within New York City, Staten Island has the highest enumeration rate, with 97.5 percent of housing units counted, while Brooklyn has the lowest, at 93.3 percent. Enumeration rates for Queens, Manhattan, and the Bronx stand at 96.2, 95.5, and 94.4 percent, respectively. However, within boroughs, enumeration rates vary widely by neighborhood. Figure 1 presents enumeration rates in three categories to demarcate neighborhoods that are close to, above, or below the city average. Presenting only three categories allows neighborhoods with low enumeration rates to be easily highlighted. Neighborhoods with exceedingly low rates are further highlighted with hatching.

While Brooklyn has a handful of Neighborhood Tabulation Areas or NTAs<sup>6</sup> (which are also referred to as neighborhoods) with enumeration rates above the city average, it also has most of the neighborhoods with the lowest enumeration rates in the city. Of the 27 neighborhoods below the city average, 24 are in Brooklyn. Low enumeration rates are largely clustered across northern and eastern Brooklyn – from Greenpoint, Williamsburg, and Bushwick through Cypress Hills-City Line, East New York, and Canarsie – and in southwest Brooklyn – through Sunset Park, Borough Park, Bensonhurst, Dyker Heights, and Bath Beach (see Appendix A for a reference map of neighborhoods). Some areas in southern Brooklyn that were among the lowest self-responding neighborhoods in the city before NRFU operations began, including Ocean Parkway, Homecrest, and Brighton Beach, have improved considerably with NRFU.

The lowest enumeration rates are not exclusive to Brooklyn. Williamsbridge-Olinville, Woodlawn-Wakefield, and Van Nest-Morris Park in the Bronx also have below average enumeration rates. The highest enumeration rates in the Bronx are in Co-op City and Parkchester, with 95.6 and 95.3 percent of housing units enumerated, though these enumeration rates are around the city average.

Most neighborhoods in Manhattan have enumeration rates near the city average, as well. Despite low self-response rates in Midtown, the Upper East Side, and SoHo-TriBeCa,

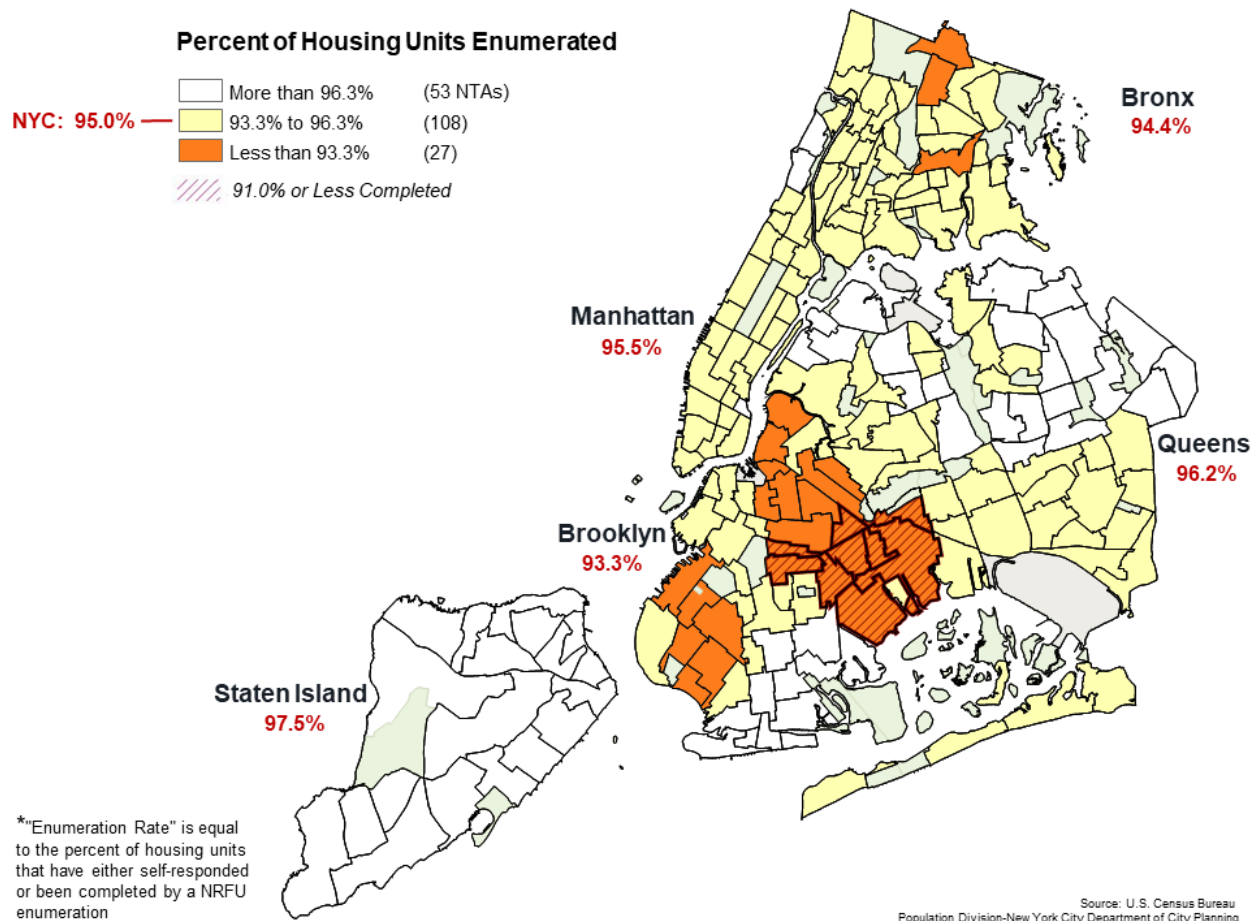
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<sup>6</sup> For more information on NTAs, see [https://www1.nyc.gov/assets/planning/download/pdf/data-maps/open-data/nynta\\_metadata.pdf?r=20c](https://www1.nyc.gov/assets/planning/download/pdf/data-maps/open-data/nynta_metadata.pdf?r=20c).

NRFU operations have led to enumeration rates near the city average. A handful of neighborhoods stand out with high response rates – Washington Heights and Stuyvesant Town-Cooper Village.

All neighborhoods in Staten Island have enumeration rates above the city average, ranging from 96.9 percent in Stapleton-Rosebank to 97.9 percent in Arden Heights, the highest enumeration rate in the city. Neighborhoods in Queens are also all near or above the city average, with rates ranging from 94.4 percent in South Ozone Park to 97.6 in Oakland Gardens.

**Figure 1. New York City 2020 Enumeration Rates\* as of September 22<sup>nd</sup> by Neighborhood Tabulation Area\*\***



\*\*See Appendix A for a reference map of NTAs with NTA names.

All maps in this document can be found in interactive format online [here](https://dcpbuilder.carto.com/builder/ddac212e-112d-4321-b7ec-65b48e84d2c5/embed):  
<https://dcpbuilder.carto.com/builder/ddac212e-112d-4321-b7ec-65b48e84d2c5/embed>.



**Table 1. Overall Neighborhood Enumeration Rates as of September 22<sup>nd</sup> for NTAs with Below Average Enumeration Rates (Less than 93.3 Percent)\***

<b>Borough</b>	<b>Neighborhood</b>	<b>Percent Enumerated</b>
<b>NYC</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>95.0</b>
Brooklyn	Cypress Hills-City Line	88.3
Brooklyn	East New York (Pennsylvania Ave)	89.0
Brooklyn	Canarsie	89.3
Brooklyn	East New York	89.5
Brooklyn	Brownsville	90.4
Brooklyn	Rugby-Remsen Village	90.6
Brooklyn	Ocean Hill	90.6
Brooklyn	Crown Heights South	91.0
Brooklyn	Prospect Lefferts Gardens-Wingate	91.0
Brooklyn	Crown Heights North	91.3
Brooklyn	Williamsburg	91.6
Brooklyn	Borough Park	92.0
Brooklyn	Sunset Park East	92.0
Brooklyn	Stuyvesant Heights	92.1
Brooklyn	Bedford	92.2
Brooklyn	Bushwick North	92.4
Brooklyn	Bushwick South	92.5
Brooklyn	Greenpoint	92.6
Brooklyn	Dyker Heights	92.6
Brooklyn	North Side-South Side	92.6
Brooklyn	Bensonhurst West	92.7
Brooklyn	Bath Beach	92.9
Bronx	Williamsbridge-Olinville	92.9
Brooklyn	Sunset Park West	93.0
Brooklyn	Clinton Hill	93.1
Bronx	Woodlawn-Wakefield	93.1
Bronx	Van Nest-Morris Park-Westchester Square	93.2

\*See Appendix B for a complete table of NTA enumeration rates.

**Enumeration Rates in Neighborhoods with a Predominantly Black Population**

Neighborhoods with large Black populations are by no means monolithic. They are comprised of populations that are historically African-American, Afro-Caribbean, and of African affiliation. In addition, they are socio-economically diverse, ranging from neighborhoods that experience poverty, to neighborhoods with high incomes and homeownership. There are 23 neighborhoods where 60 percent or more of the population is Black nonhispanic.<sup>7</sup> Self-response in these neighborhoods has increased by 5.5 percentage points on average between August 3<sup>rd</sup> and September 22<sup>nd</sup>. Despite these increases, NRFU has been slower to make substantial inroads into many of these neighborhoods, which are in danger of falling short compared to the rest of the city in terms of their overall enumeration rate. The percent of housing units enumerated in these 23 neighborhoods as of September 22<sup>nd</sup> is 92.4 percent — 2.6 percentage points lower than the citywide enumeration rate of 95.0 percent. Enumeration rates among neighborhoods with predominantly Black residents range from a high of 97.2 percent (Flatlands, Brooklyn) to a low of just 89.0 percent (East New York [Pennsylvania Ave], Brooklyn).

**Table 2. The Five Neighborhoods with the Lowest Enumeration Rates as of September 22<sup>nd</sup> Among NTAs where 60 Percent or More of the Population is Black Nonhispanic**

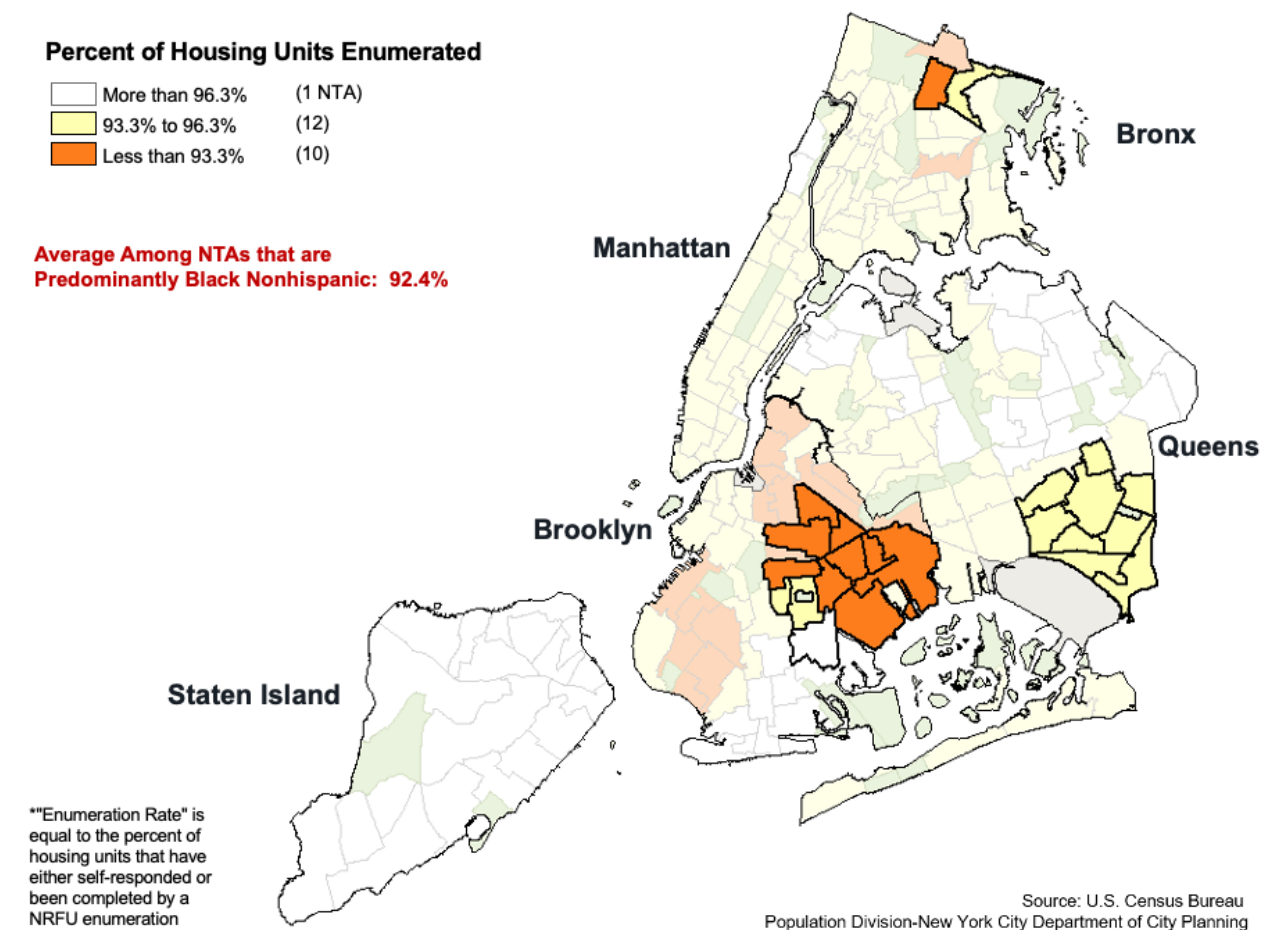
<b>Borough</b>	<b>Neighborhood</b>	<b>Percent Enumerated</b>
Brooklyn	East New York (Pennsylvania Ave)	89.0
Brooklyn	Canarsie	89.3
Brooklyn	East New York	89.5
Brooklyn	Brownsville	90.4
Brooklyn	Rugby-Remsen Village	90.6

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<sup>7</sup> We use this high threshold to associate the majority population with a neighborhood’s enumeration rate. We cannot determine at an *individual* level who has and who has not been enumerated in the census, nor can we attribute characteristics of neighborhoods to individuals within those neighborhoods. It is important to note this when discussing aggregated characteristics of neighborhoods, such as proportion of the population of different races/Hispanic origins and/or nativity. These overviews offer a broad picture of census enumeration based on the aggregate characteristics of neighborhoods.

Despite improvements in self-response, a large cluster of neighborhoods in Brooklyn with a predominantly Black population are seriously lagging, with below average enumeration rates (Figure 2). These neighborhoods include East New York (Pennsylvania Ave), Canarsie, East New York, Brownsville, Rugby-Remsen Village, Ocean Hill, Prospect Lefferts Gardens-Wingate, Crown Heights North, and Stuyvesant Heights. Additionally, Williamsbridge-Olinville in the Bronx is one of the few neighborhoods outside of Brooklyn with a below average enumeration rate. Many neighborhoods with predominantly Black populations already had low levels of self-response, which is now coupled with the slower-than-average progress of enumerators following up in-person. More attention will be needed to help these neighborhoods catch up and avoid being undercounted.

**Figure 2. Enumeration Rates\* as of September 22<sup>nd</sup> for Neighborhoods that are at Least 60 Percent Black Nonhispanic**



While the overall enumeration rates for neighborhoods with predominantly Black populations are low, several communities with a majority or plurality of Black residents have enumeration rates above the city average, including Rochdale Village and Cambria Heights in Queens, Flatbush in Brooklyn, and Co-op City and Parkchester in the Bronx.

### **Enumeration Rates in Neighborhoods with a Predominantly Hispanic Population**

Taken as a group, neighborhoods with a predominantly Hispanic<sup>8</sup> population in New York City have an enumeration rate just slightly below the average for the city as whole. There are 30 neighborhoods where 60 percent or more of the population is Hispanic (Figure 3).<sup>9</sup> As of September 22<sup>nd</sup>, the enumeration rate for these neighborhoods is 94.7 percent, compared to the citywide rate of 95.0 percent. However, there is a wide range among neighborhoods with predominantly Hispanic residents, spanning from a high of 96.7 percent in the Manhattan neighborhood of Washington Heights North, to a low of 88.3 percent in Cypress Hills-City Line in Brooklyn – 6.7 percentage points below the citywide average.

The Brooklyn neighborhood of Cypress Hills-City Line has the lowest enumeration rate of all neighborhoods in the city – more than one-tenth of households have yet to be enumerated there despite the very late stage of census operations. Brooklyn’s other predominantly Hispanic neighborhoods, Bushwick North and Sunset Park West, also have below average enumeration rates at 92.4 and 93.0 percent respectively. Brooklyn’s

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<sup>8</sup> DCP acknowledges that there are other conventions (e.g., Latinx) used to refer to this population. DCP uses “Hispanic” in order to maintain consistency with data provided and terminology used by the U.S. Census Bureau.

<sup>9</sup> We use this high threshold to associate the majority population with a neighborhood’s enumeration rate. We cannot determine at an *individual* level who has and who has not been enumerated in the census, nor can we attribute characteristics of neighborhoods to individuals within those neighborhoods. It is important to note this when discussing aggregated characteristics of neighborhoods, such as proportion of the population of different races/Hispanic origins and/or nativity. These overviews offer a broad picture of census enumeration based on the aggregate characteristics of neighborhoods.

predominantly Hispanic neighborhoods are notable for their particularly large Puerto Rican and Mexican presence.

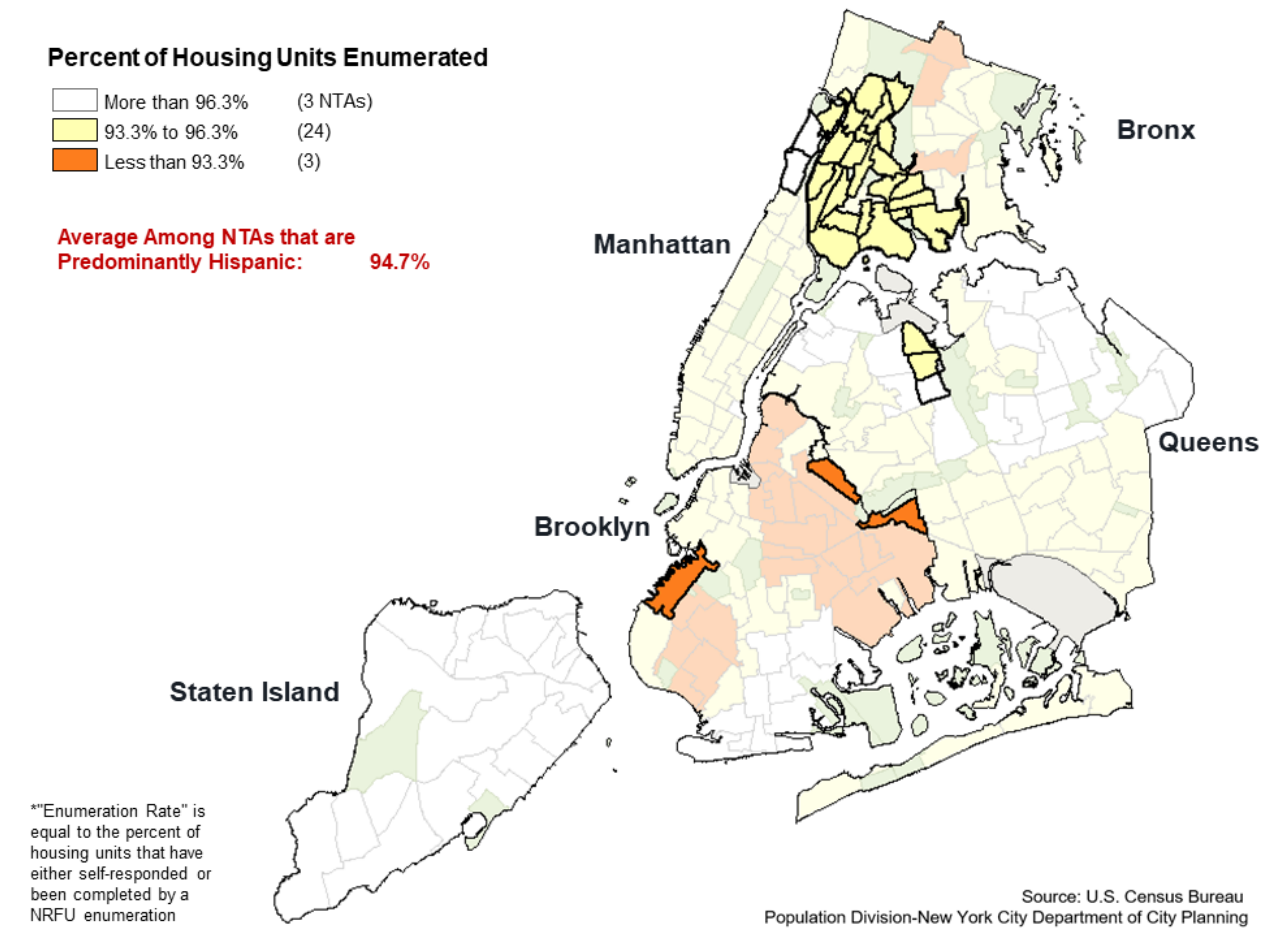
The Hispanic communities in Corona, North Corona, and East Elmhurst are in a unique position in that these neighborhoods had low initial self-response, but NRFU operations have resulted in a large share of units being enumerated. It is important to note that we don't know how this breaks down into the share of NRFU responses enumerated through actual interviews, proxy responses, or administrative records, nor do we know how many units were marked as vacant or as a refusal, or were deleted. This is especially important to keep in mind, given that the self-response rates in these neighborhoods are among the lowest in the city, and these neighborhoods are predominantly population by Hispanic communities that are newer to New York City, such as Mexicans, Ecuadorians, and Guatemalans, as compared to more established populations, such as Dominicans and Puerto Ricans.

In Upper Manhattan, Washington Heights North and South, together with Marble Hill-Inwood, have seen higher levels of response in past censuses and are continuing that trend in 2020. Their high levels of self-response have helped all three neighborhoods achieve enumeration rates above 96 percent. Dominicans make up nearly two-thirds of the Hispanic population in this area of Manhattan and have been associated with higher response rates as a group, due in part to strong community organizing efforts surrounding the census. Dominicans also make up a large portion of the population in many West Bronx neighborhoods that have enumeration rates higher than the citywide average, such as the West Concourse, Kingsbridge Heights, and Van Cortlandt Village.

**Table 3. The Five Neighborhoods with the Lowest Enumeration Rates as of September 22<sup>nd</sup> Among NTAs where 60 Percent or More of the Population is Hispanic**

Borough	Neighborhood	Percent Enumerated
Brooklyn	Cypress Hills-City Line	88.3
Brooklyn	Bushwick North	92.4
Brooklyn	Sunset Park West	93.0
Bronx	West Farms-Bronx River	93.3
Bronx	Soundview-Bruckner	93.4

**Figure 3. Enumeration Rates\* as of September 22<sup>nd</sup> for Neighborhoods that are at Least 60 Percent Hispanic**



\*\*"Enumeration Rate" is equal to the percent of housing units that have either self-responded or been completed by a NRFU enumeration

### Enumeration Rates in Neighborhoods with Majority Asian Census Tracts

There are seven neighborhoods where Asians<sup>10</sup> comprise a majority<sup>11</sup> of the population (Flushing, Queensboro Hill, East Flushing, Elmhurst-Maspeth, Chinatown, Murray Hill

<sup>10</sup> The U.S. Census Bureau's designation "Asian" includes groups from West, South, East, and Southeast Asia.

<sup>11</sup> We use this high threshold to associate the majority population with a neighborhood's enumeration rate. We cannot determine at an *individual* level who has and who has not been enumerated in the census,

[Queens], and Sunset Park East). Given their high share of the population, one can more easily associate Asians with the enumeration rate in these neighborhoods. To cast a wider net, however, the map outlines an additional 29 neighborhoods that include census tracts where Asians comprise at least half the population.

There are large Asian concentrations in Sunset Park East in Brooklyn, which has an enumeration rate of 92.0 percent, as well as in adjacent tracts in Dyker Heights (92.6 percent), and Borough Park (92.0 percent). Many in this area, sometimes referred to as “Brooklyn’s Chinatown,” trace their origins to Fujian province in China. Enumeration rates are well below average in in this section of Brooklyn, the only large Asian cluster in the city with below average enumeration rates. The adjacent neighborhoods of Bensonhurst West and Bath Beach, home to many census tracts with an Asian majority, also had enumeration rates that were below the city average.

In Manhattan, Chinatown and the Lower East Side have enumeration rates close to the city average, as do Woodhaven, Ozone Park, and Richmond Hill in southwest Queens, and Woodside and Elmhurst in the northwest section of that borough. Farther east, Flushing, East Flushing, and Queensboro Hill have a large presence of Chinese, Koreans, and South Asians, but have lower median income and have less educational attainment overall, relative to the city average. However, each of these neighborhoods has an enumeration rate around the city average.

Nearly every other neighborhood in Queens containing majority Asian census tracts has an enumeration rate above the citywide average. A cluster of tracts that starts in Briarwood-Jamaica Hills and goes south into Jamaica is notable for its significant Indian and Bangladeshi presence. Briarwood-Jamaica Hills has an enumeration rate of 97 percent; Jamaica’s rate is just 1 percentage point lower. Neighborhoods in eastern Queens, which tend to be relatively wealthy, have among the highest enumeration rates in the city. These include Oakland Gardens (97.6 percent), as well as Auburndale and Bayside (around 97 percent each), which are primarily

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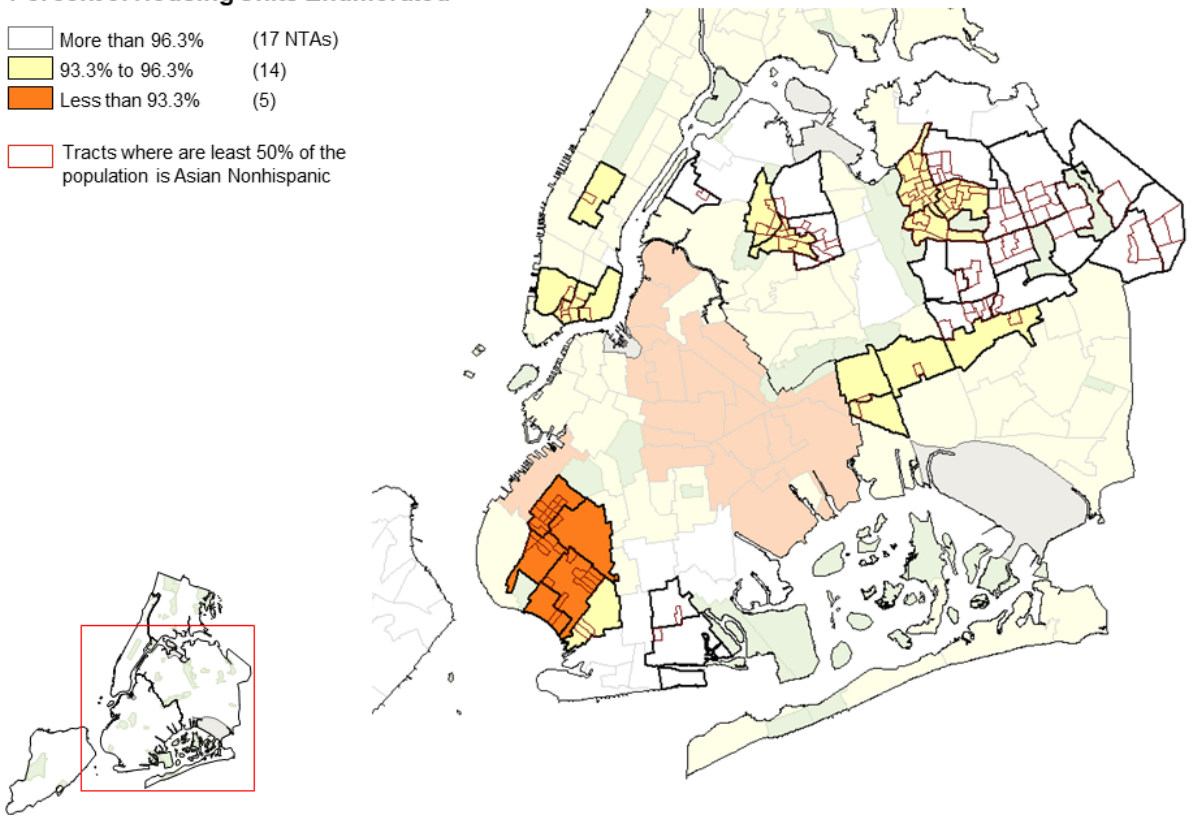
nor can we attribute characteristics of neighborhoods to individuals within those neighborhoods. It is important to note this when discussing aggregated characteristics of neighborhoods, such as proportion of the population of different races/Hispanic origins and/or nativity. These overviews offer a broad picture of census enumeration based on the aggregate characteristics of neighborhoods.

Chinese, with significant numbers of Koreans and Indians. Elmhurst, too, has an enumeration rate close to 97 percent, which is notable given that it is more diverse than most of the other Asian-majority neighborhoods, with a significant presence of Chinese, South Asians, Filipinos, and other Southeast Asians.

**Figure 4. Enumeration Rates\* as of September 22<sup>nd</sup> for Neighborhoods with Census Tracts that are at Least 50 Percent Asian Nonhispanic**

**Percent of Housing Units Enumerated**

- More than 96.3% (17 NTAs)
- 93.3% to 96.3% (14)
- Less than 93.3% (5)
- Tracts where are least 50% of the population is Asian Nonhispanic



\*"Enumeration Rate" is equal to the percent of housing units that have either self-responded or been completed by a NRFU enumeration

Source: U.S. Census Bureau  
Population Division-New York City Department of City Planning



**Enumeration Rates in Neighborhoods with Majority Foreign-born Populations**

The foreign-born account for 37 percent of the city’s population, with the largest concentrations in Queens and Brooklyn. The adjacent map looks at enumeration rates for neighborhoods with high immigrant concentrations, highlighting neighborhoods that are at least one-half foreign-born (Figure 5).<sup>12</sup>

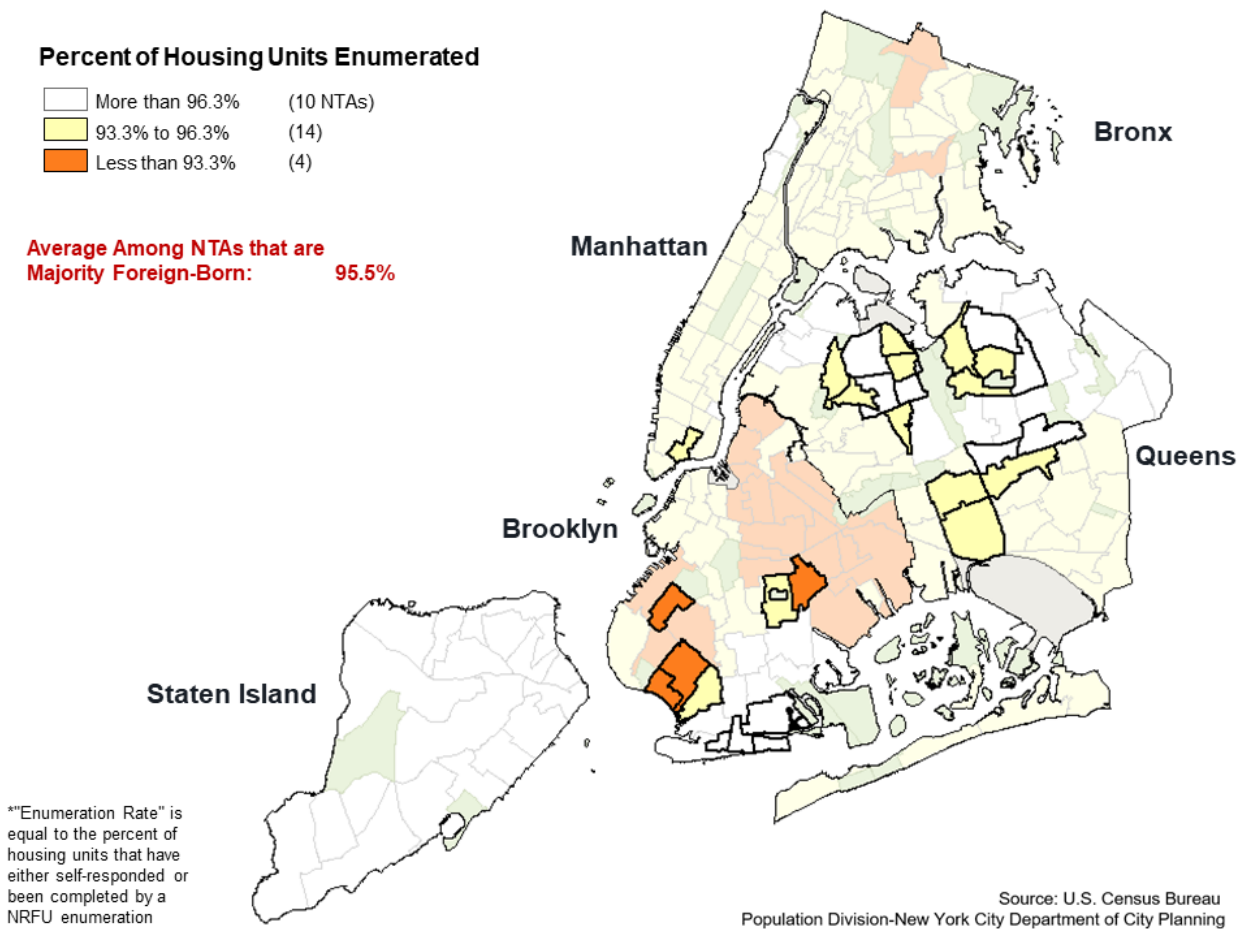
In Queens, most neighborhoods with large foreign-born concentrations have average to above average enumeration rates. Richmond Hill and South Ozone Park, home to Guyanese, Indians, and other South Asians, have enumeration rates around 95 percent. East Elmhurst and North Corona, where the largest immigrant groups are Ecuadorians, Mexicans, and Dominicans, each have an enumeration rate of 96 percent. Both neighborhoods had low initial self-response rates, which indicates that a relatively large proportion of housing units in East Elmhurst and North Corona have been enumerated during NRFU operations. Some of the other majority immigrant neighborhoods in Queens with above average enumeration rates included Jackson Heights, Auburndale, Jamaica Estates-Holliswood, and Elmhurst, each with an enumeration rate in the vicinity of 97 percent.

**Table 4. The Five Neighborhoods with the Lowest Enumeration Rates as of September 22<sup>nd</sup> Among NTAs where 50 Percent or More of the Population is Foreign-Born**

<b>Borough</b>	<b>Neighborhood</b>	<b>Percent Enumerated</b>
Brooklyn	Rugby-Remsen Village	90.6
Brooklyn	Sunset Park East	92.0
Brooklyn	Bensonhurst West	92.7
Brooklyn	Bath Beach	92.9
Queens	South Ozone Park	94.4

<sup>12</sup> We use this high threshold to associate the majority population with a neighborhood’s enumeration rate. We cannot determine at an *individual* level who has and who has not been enumerated in the census, nor can we attribute characteristics of neighborhoods to individuals within those neighborhoods. It is important to note this when discussing aggregated characteristics of neighborhoods, such as proportion of the population of different races/Hispanic origins and/or nativity. These overviews offer a broad picture of census enumeration based on the aggregate characteristics of neighborhoods.

**Figure 5. Enumeration Rates\* as of September 22<sup>nd</sup> for Neighborhoods that are at Least 50 Percent Foreign-Born**



Neighborhoods in Brooklyn with an immigrant majority have lower enumeration rates in general. In Rugby-Remsen Village (where Jamaicans and Trinidadians are the largest foreign-born groups), the enumeration rate is just 90.6 percent. Many neighborhoods in Brooklyn with a large foreign-born Chinese presence have low enumeration rates, including Sunset Park East (92.0 percent), Bensonhurst West (92.7 percent), and Bath Beach (92.9 percent). Immigrant Russians and other Eastern European groups also have a substantial presence in the latter two neighborhoods, as well as in Bensonhurst East, West Brighton, Brighton Beach, and Sheepshead Bay-Gerritsen Beach-Manhattan Beach, where enumeration rates are average to above average.

## Conclusion

The 2020 Census will go down in the history books as a perfect storm of problems, even in the context of past censuses. The pandemic struck hard in New York City, precisely at the beginning of the census mail-out in March, effectively ending any prospect of the physical on-the-ground outreach that has proven to be so integral to success in past censuses, and forcing outreach to move to a virtual platform of social media, phone-banking, and texting. This made the task of overcoming the traditional barriers to the census – language, privacy concerns, and fear of government – much more difficult. Fear of government has been especially palpable in immigrant communities even before the pandemic struck, compounded by attempts to add a question on citizenship to the 2020 census. While the citizenship question was blocked by the U.S. Supreme Court, lingering fears over those efforts have continued to pose a threat to response. A presidential executive order to exclude undocumented immigrants from state apportionment counts further threatens census response, as there are more than one million persons living in mixed status households citywide. Finally, after openly acknowledging that an extension of the census timeline was needed, the administration abruptly reneged and truncated their revised schedule by a full month. As of this writing, both the executive order and the change in the end date for the census are in litigation, but the message these actions send is clear. Given these impediments, it is remarkable that outreach efforts have still managed to get a majority of most communities to self-respond.

Although Brooklyn has the neighborhoods with the lowest enumeration rates in the city, every borough has areas that need a boost (Table 5). In the Bronx, there is Williamsbridge-Olinville, Woodlawn-Wakefield, and Van Nest-Morris Park-Westchester Square. In Manhattan, there is the continuing issue of what may be temporary vacancies in Midtown-Midtown South and in some of the other neighborhoods listed. In these places and others where access may be an issue, efforts to help the Census Bureau gain entry to large apartment buildings may be particularly fruitful. In Queens, South Ozone Park, South Jamaica and Richmond Hill are at the

top of the list of neighborhoods below the borough average, and Stapleton-Rosebank in Staten Island lags in a borough with very high overall rates.

**Table 5. The Five Neighborhoods with the Lowest Enumeration Rates as of September 22<sup>nd</sup> in each Borough**

Borough and Neighborhood	Percent Enumerated
<b>Bronx</b>	<b>94.4</b>
Williamsbridge-Olinville	92.9
Woodlawn-Wakefield	93.1
Van Nest-Morris Park-Westchester Square	93.2
West Farms-Bronx River	93.3
Eastchester-Edenwald-Baychester	93.4
<b>Brooklyn</b>	<b>93.3</b>
Cypress Hills-City Line	88.3
East New York (Pennsylvania Ave)	89.0
Canarsie	89.3
East New York	89.5
Brownsville	90.4
<b>Manhattan</b>	<b>95.5</b>
Midtown-Midtown South	93.7
SoHo-TriBeCa-Civic Center-Little Italy	94.5
Upper East Side-Carnegie Hill	94.7
Turtle Bay-East Midtown	94.8
Battery Park City-Lower Manhattan	94.9
<b>Queens</b>	<b>96.2</b>
South Ozone Park	94.4
South Jamaica	94.5
Richmond Hill	94.6
Springfield Gardens South-Brookville	94.7
Baisley Park	94.8
<b>Staten Island</b>	<b>97.5</b>
Stapleton-Rosebank	96.9
West New Brighton-New Brighton-St. George	97.0
Port Richmond	97.1
Mariner’s Harbor-Arlington-Port Ivory-Graniteville	97.2
Charleston-Richmond Valley-Tottenville	97.3

In the final analysis, NRFU will make or break the census in the city’s neighborhoods. Breaking down barriers to response has always been a very difficult task in every census, made incredibly more difficult in an era of overt hostility to a number of groups, coupled with restrictions imposed by a pandemic. It is important to recognize, however, that community-based outreach efforts can overcome just about any barrier, as can be seen in communities

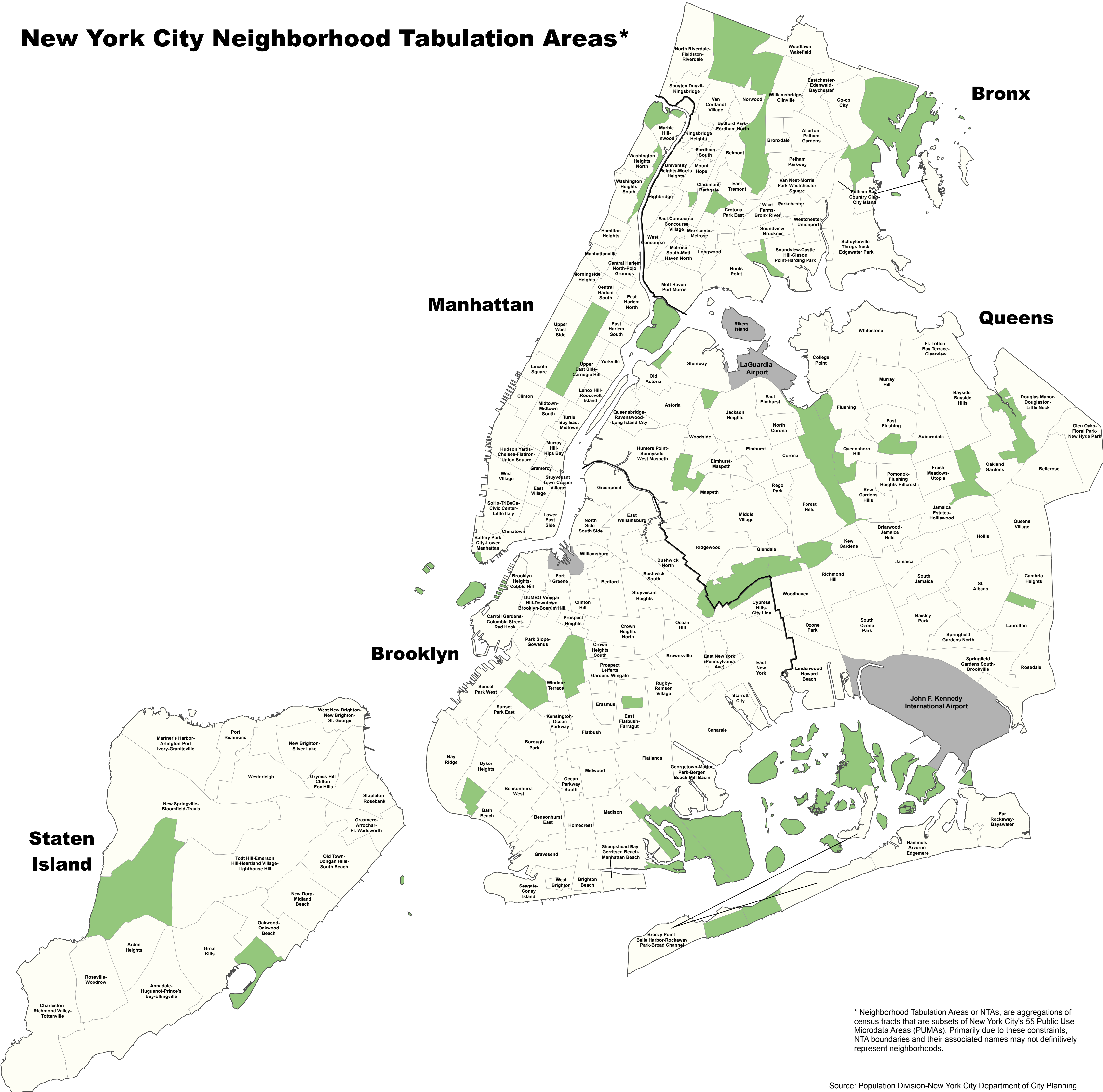
throughout the city. Washington Heights in Manhattan, Kingsbridge Heights and the West Concourse in The Bronx, and Astoria and Jackson Heights in Queens are all cases in point. Even North Corona and Richmond Hill, Queens, where self-response trailed for so long, have now moved forward in the final stages of the census. They have all risen to the occasion, despite an environment that is hostile towards immigrants. Efforts need to be focused on making sure that every neighborhood is fully enumerated so that New York City can get its fair share of representation and resources.

**Appendix A**

**New York City Neighborhood Tabulation Areas Reference Map**



# New York City Neighborhood Tabulation Areas\*



\* Neighborhood Tabulation Areas or NTAs, are aggregations of census tracts that are subsets of New York City's 55 Public Use Microdata Areas (PUMAs). Primarily due to these constraints, NTA boundaries and their associated names may not definitively represent neighborhoods.

**Appendix B**  
**Enumeration Rates by Neighborhood**



<b>New York City</b>	
	<b>Percent Enumerated September 22nd</b>
<b>New York City Total</b>	95.0

<b>Bronx</b>	
<b>Neighborhood Name</b>	<b>Percent Enumerated September 22nd</b>
<b>Bronx Total</b>	<b>94.4</b>
Williamsbridge-Olinville	92.9
Woodlawn-Wakefield	93.1
Van Nest-Morris Park-Westchester Square	93.2
West Farms-Bronx River	93.3
Eastchester-Edenwald-Baychester	93.4
Soundview-Bruckner	93.4
Allerton-Pelham Gardens	93.4
Westchester-Unionport	93.4
Schuylerville-Throgs Neck-Edgewater Park	93.4
Belmont	93.8
Bronxdale	93.9
Pelham Bay-Country Club-City Island	94.0
Crotona Park East	94.2
Pelham Parkway	94.2
East Tremont	94.4
Mount Hope	94.4
Soundview-Castle Hill-Clason Point-Harding Park	94.5
Fordham South	94.5
Morrisania-Melrose	94.5
Mott Haven-Port Morris	94.5
Hunts Point	94.6
Longwood	94.6
Bedford Park-Fordham North	94.6
University Heights-Morris Heights	94.7
Claremont-Bathgate	94.7
Norwood	94.8
Highbridge	94.9
Melrose South-Mott Haven North	94.9
East Concourse-Concourse Village	94.9
Kingsbridge Heights	95.2
North Riverdale-Fieldston-Riverdale	95.2
Spuyten Duyvil-Kingsbridge	95.3
Van Cortlandt Village	95.3
West Concourse	95.3
Parkchester	95.3
Co-op City	95.6

**Brooklyn**

Neighborhood Name	Percent Enumerated September 22nd
<b>Brooklyn Total</b>	<b>93.3</b>
Cypress Hills-City Line	88.3
East New York (Pennsylvania Ave)	89.0
Canarsie	89.3
East New York	89.5
Brownsville	90.4
Rugby-Remsen Village	90.6
Ocean Hill	90.6
Crown Heights South	91.0
Prospect Lefferts Gardens-Wingate	91.0
Crown Heights North	91.3
Williamsburg	91.6
Borough Park	92.0
Sunset Park East	92.0
Stuyvesant Heights	92.1
Bedford	92.2
Bushwick North	92.4
Bushwick South	92.5
Greenpoint	92.6
Dyker Heights	92.6
North Side-South Side	92.6
Bensonhurst West	92.7
Bath Beach	92.9
Sunset Park West	93.0
Clinton Hill	93.1
Starrett City	93.3
East Williamsburg	93.3
Fort Greene	93.7
Kensington-Ocean Parkway	93.8
Carroll Gardens-Columbia Street-Red Hook	93.9
Bay Ridge	94.0
DUMBO-Vinegar Hill-Downtown Brooklyn-Boerum Hill	94.0
Brooklyn Heights-Cobble Hill	94.1
Park Slope-Gowanus	94.3
Prospect Heights	94.4
Windsor Terrace	95.1
East Flatbush-Farragut	95.2
Erasmus	95.8
Bensonhurst East	95.9
Ocean Parkway South	96.0
Flatbush	96.2
Homecrest	96.8
Brighton Beach	96.9
Seagate-Coney Island	97.1
Georgetown-Marine Park-Bergen Beach-Mill Basin	97.1
Flatlands	97.2
Madison	97.2
Sheepshead Bay-Gerritsen Beach-Manhattan Beach	97.2
Midwood	97.3
Gravesend	97.3
West Brighton	97.7

<b>Manhattan</b>	
<b>Neighborhood Name</b>	<b>Percent Enumerated September 22nd</b>
<b>Manhattan Total</b>	<b>95.5</b>
Midtown-Midtown South	93.7
SoHo-TriBeCa-Civic Center-Little Italy	94.5
Upper East Side-Carnegie Hill	94.7
Turtle Bay-East Midtown	94.8
Battery Park City-Lower Manhattan	94.9
West Village	94.9
Chinatown	94.9
East Village	95.0
Hudson Yards-Chelsea-Flatiron-Union Square	95.1
Gramercy	95.2
Murray Hill-Kips Bay	95.2
Clinton	95.3
Lenox Hill-Roosevelt Island	95.4
Lincoln Square	95.4
Central Harlem North-Polo Grounds	95.6
Central Harlem South	95.8
Lower East Side	95.8
East Harlem North	96.0
Hamilton Heights	96.0
Manhattanville	96.1
Morningside Heights	96.1
East Harlem South	96.2
Yorkville	96.2
Upper West Side	96.3
Marble Hill-Inwood	96.3
Washington Heights South	96.6
Washington Heights North	96.7
Stuyvesant Town-Cooper Village	97.0

<b>Queens</b>	
<b>Neighborhood Name</b>	<b>Percent Enumerated September 22nd</b>
<b>Queens Total</b>	<b>96.2</b>
South Ozone Park	94.4
South Jamaica	94.5
Richmond Hill	94.6
Springfield Gardens South-Brookville	94.7
Baisley Park	94.8
Breezy Point-Belle Harbor-Rockaway Park-Broad Channel	94.9
Rosedale	94.9
Far Rockaway-Bayswater	94.9
Hammels-Arverne-Edgemere	95.0
Ozone Park	95.0
Ridgewood	95.1
Maspeth	95.1
Hollis	95.1
St. Albans	95.1
Woodhaven	95.2
Glendale	95.3
Laurelton	95.6
Middle Village	95.8
Lindenwood-Howard Beach	95.8
Queens Village	95.9
Jamaica	95.9
Hunters Point-Sunnyside-West Maspeth	95.9
Springfield Gardens North	95.9
Cambria Heights	96.0
North Corona	96.0
College Point	96.1
Woodside	96.1
Elmhurst-Maspeth	96.1
Queensboro Hill	96.1
Rego Park	96.2
Kew Gardens	96.2
East Elmhurst	96.3
East Flushing	96.3
Flushing	96.3
Briarwood-Jamaica Hills	96.6
Corona	96.6
Murray Hill	96.8
Elmhurst	96.8
Pomonok-Flushing Heights-Hillcrest	96.8
Kew Gardens Hills	96.8
Whitestone	96.9
Steinway	97.0
Forest Hills	97.0
Jamaica Estates-Holliswood	97.0
Queensbridge-Ravenswood-Long Island City	97.0
Old Astoria	97.0
Bellerose	97.1
Auburndale	97.1
Bayside-Bayside Hills	97.2
Astoria	97.2
Jackson Heights	97.3
Glen Oaks-Floral Park-New Hyde Park	97.4
Fresh Meadows-Utopia	97.4
Douglas Manor-Douglaston-Little Neck	97.5
Ft. Totten-Bay Terrace-Clearview	97.5
Oakland Gardens	97.6

<b>Staten Island</b>	
<b>Neighborhood Name</b>	<b>Percent Enumerated September 22nd</b>
<b>Staten Island Total</b>	<b>97.5</b>
Stapleton-Rosebank	96.9
West New Brighton-New Brighton-St. George	97.0
Port Richmond	97.1
Mariner's Harbor-Arlington-Port Ivory-Graniteville	97.2
Charleston-Richmond Valley-Tottenville	97.3
Grasmere-Arrochar-Ft. Wadsworth	97.4
Staten Island:Grymes Hill-Clifton-Fox Hills	97.4
Old Town-Dongan Hills-South Beach	97.4
New Dorp-Midland Beach	97.5
New Springville-Bloomfield-Travis	97.6
Rossville-Woodrow	97.6
Todt Hill-Emerson Hill-Heartland Village-Lighthouse Hill	97.6
New Brighton-Silver Lake	97.6
Annadale-Huguenot-Prince's Bay-Eltingville	97.6
Westerleigh	97.8
Great Kills	97.8
Oakwood-Oakwood Beach	97.9
Arden Heights	97.9