Report on NYC 2020 Census Enumeration Rates

Rates as of September 8th, 2020

New York City Department of City Planning

Population Division

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(Percent of Housing Units Enumerated as of September 8th)
New York City Department of City Planning—Population Division

This final report – the 18th in the series – 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, 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 30th.

DCP's *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 now, our analyses have been restricted only to measures of self-response. Information is now 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. There are several other ways that a housing unit can be enumerated in NRFU 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.[1] The NRFU

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[1] The last of these usually ends 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.

completion rate is used by the Census Bureau to determine whether a neighborhood has been completely enumerated, but DCP is unable to assess the quality of the data collected by the Census Bureau during NRFU.

According to our analysis of U.S. Census Bureau data, when NRFU is taken into account along with self-response, more than 88 percent of all housing units in the city have been enumerated as of September 8th.[2] That may sound like a big number, but there are three major reasons we should not be complacent:

1. The total figure of 88 percent enumerated is an average; neighborhood rates vary from an estimated high of 95.6 percent to a low of 73.6 percent. Most neighborhoods with the lowest rates are predominantly Black, Hispanic,[3] or Asian,[4] and are most susceptible to an undercount.

2. The difference between an accurate census and one that is unsuccessful is largely determined by the enumeration of the last 10 percent of households. These households have neither self-responded nor responded to a census enumerator's knock on the door. Given the fact that this last 10 percent of households consists of those hardest to engage, every additional percentage point requires more and more effort, all in the face of increasing pressure to complete the count.

3. Self-response in the city continues to increase thanks to outreach efforts by the NYC Census 2020 team and the hundreds of community-based organizations, among

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[2] Since the estimated enumeration rate calculated by the Department of City Planning is based in part on the Nonresponse Followup completion rate, the DCP enumeration rate is calculated using slightly different information than the Census Bureau uses for the state-level enumeration rate. The DCP-estimated enumeration rate has a small upward bias. 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.*

[3] 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.

[4] 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*). 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 us to calculate how many housing units have been 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. We then applied the tract self-response rate to this count of housing units to produce the number of housing units that have self-responded in each tract. The balance of units – those that did not self-respond – 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 gives us our best estimate of the number of housing units that have been completed in NRFU for each census tract. We then add the housing units completed in NRFU to housing units that have self-responded 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 *upwards*, i.e. they are probably slightly higher 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 and removes other units that are found to be non-existent or in some other category. 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 formula and the Census Bureau's published enumeration rates at the state level, DCP's estimates are probably within a few percentage points of the "true" figure at the city, borough, and neighborhood levels.

others, that work closely with the city's efforts, which have helped bump up the total enumeration rate. The Census Bureau employs an array of methods to enumerate those who have not self-responded or been captured 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 these methods 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. 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.

As with our earlier efforts to point out the lowest self-response areas of the city, this final 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 these rates are 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 have improved 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). As 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, Brownsville, Rugby-Remsen Village, and Canarsie. While these areas are predominantly populated by Black residents, low enumeration rates in Brooklyn can be found in neighborhoods that span the racial/ethnic and socioeconomic spectrums. In addition to the cluster identified above, low enumeration rates can be found in Greenpoint, Williamsburg,

Bushwick North and South, Bedford, Borough Park, and Sunset Park East, a diverse set of Brooklyn neighborhoods. To better understand the demographic, social, and economic characteristics of New York City NTAs that that need 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 10 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.[5] 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.

As of September 8th, New York City's estimated enumeration rate stands at 88.2 percent (see Figure 1). Within New York City, Staten Island has the highest enumeration rate, with 93.5 percent of housing units counted, while Brooklyn has the lowest, at 83.9 percent. Enumeration

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[5] 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.

rates for Queens, Manhattan, and the Bronx stand at 91.9, 89.1, and 87.8 percent, respectively. However, enumeration rates vary widely by neighborhood within boroughs. 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[6] (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 30 neighborhoods below the city average, 27 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, and Bensonhurst (see Appendix A for a reference map of neighborhoods). Some areas in southern Brooklyn that were among the lowest self-response 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. Indeed, Midtown has among the lowest enumeration rates in the city, although most neighborhoods in Manhattan have enumeration rates near the city average. A handful of neighborhoods stand out with high response rates, particularly in northern Manhattan, including Inwood, Washington Heights, and the Upper West Side, though the highest enumeration rate in Manhattan is in Stuyvesant Town-Cooper Village.

The Bronx, as well, has a wide range of enumeration rates with Williamsbridge-Olinville and Belmont at the low end of the spectrum, and with Co-op City and Parkchester standing out as neighborhoods with particularly high enumeration rates, though most neighborhoods are near the city average.

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[6] For more information on NTAs, see https://www1.nyc.gov/assets/planning/download/pdf/data-maps/open-data/nynta_metadata.pdf?r=20c.

All neighborhoods in Staten Island have enumeration rates above the city average, ranging from 91.6 percent in Stapleton-Rosebank to 94.9 percent in Arden Heights. However, the city's highest enumeration rate is in Queens in Oakland Gardens with 95.6 percent of housing units enumerated, and most neighborhoods in Queens are above the city average. The lowest enumeration rate in Queens is 86.4 percent in South Jamaica.

Figure 1. New York City 2020 Enumeration Rates* as of September 8th by Neighborhood Tabulation Area**
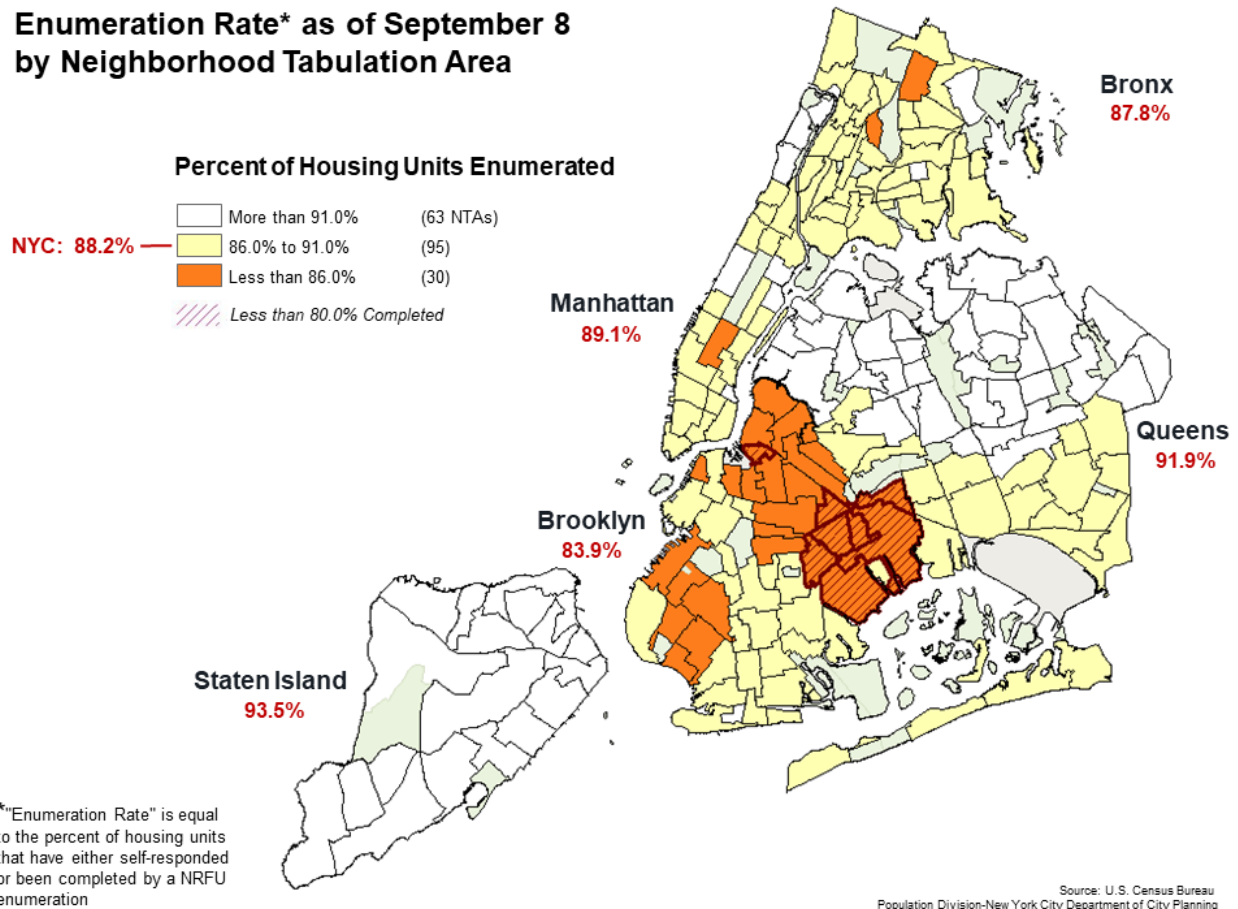
**See Appendix A for a reference map of NTAs with NTA names.

All maps in this document can be found in interactive format online here: https://nycplanning.carto.com/u/dcpbuilder/builder/e0fcfb65-5150-4e36-ad6f-adbdd4018af9/embed.

Table 1. Overall Neighborhood Enumeration Rates as of September 8th for NTAs with Below Average Enumeration Rates (Less than 86.0 Percent)*

Borough	Neighborhood	Percent Enumerated
NYC	**Total**	**88.2**
Brooklyn	Cypress Hills-City Line	73.6
Brooklyn	East New York (Pennsylvania Ave)	75.5
Brooklyn	Canarsie	76.6
Brooklyn	East New York	77.0
Brooklyn	Rugby-Remsen Village	78.1
Brooklyn	Ocean Hill	78.2
Brooklyn	Williamsburg	79.1
Brooklyn	Brownsville	79.2
Brooklyn	Crown Heights North	80.4
Brooklyn	Crown Heights South	80.6
Brooklyn	Prospect Lefferts Gardens-Wingate	80.7
Brooklyn	Stuyvesant Heights	80.9
Brooklyn	Borough Park	81.1
Brooklyn	Bedford	81.1
Brooklyn	Bushwick North	81.7
Brooklyn	Bushwick South	81.9
Brooklyn	Greenpoint	82.0
Brooklyn	North Side-South Side	82.4
Brooklyn	Sunset Park East	82.4
Manhattan	Midtown-Midtown South	83.3
Brooklyn	Clinton Hill	83.5
Brooklyn	Dyker Heights	83.5
Brooklyn	Bensonhurst West	83.9
Brooklyn	Sunset Park West	84.3
Brooklyn	East Williamsburg	84.4
Brooklyn	Bath Beach	84.4
Bronx	Belmont	85.2
Brooklyn	Fort Greene	85.2
Bronx	Williamsbridge-Olinville	85.6
Brooklyn	Brooklyn Heights-Cobble Hill	85.7

*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.[7] Self-response in these neighborhoods has increased by 3.9 points on average between August 3rd and September 8th. Despite these increases, NRFU has not been able to make substantial inroads into most of these neighborhoods, which are in danger of falling behind 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 8th is 82.5 percent — 5.7 percentage points lower than the citywide enumeration rate of 88.2 percent. Enumeration rates among neighborhoods with predominantly Black residents range from a high of 90.4 percent (Springfield Gardens North and Cambria Heights, Queens) to a low of just 75.5 percent (East New York [Pennsylvania Ave], Brooklyn).

Table 2. The Five Neighborhoods with the Lowest Enumeration Rates as of September 8th Among NTAs where 60 Percent or More of the Population is Black Nonhispanic

Borough	Neighborhood	Percent Enumerated
Brooklyn	East New York (Pennsylvania Ave)	75.5
Brooklyn	Canarsie	76.6
Brooklyn	East New York	77.0
Brooklyn	Rugby-Remsen Village	78.1
Brooklyn	Ocean Hill	78.2

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[7] 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, Rugby-Remsen Village, Ocean Hill, Brownsville, Crown Heights North, Prospect Lefferts Gardens-Wingate, 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 8ᵗʰ for Neighborhoods that are at Least 60 Percent Black Nonhispanic
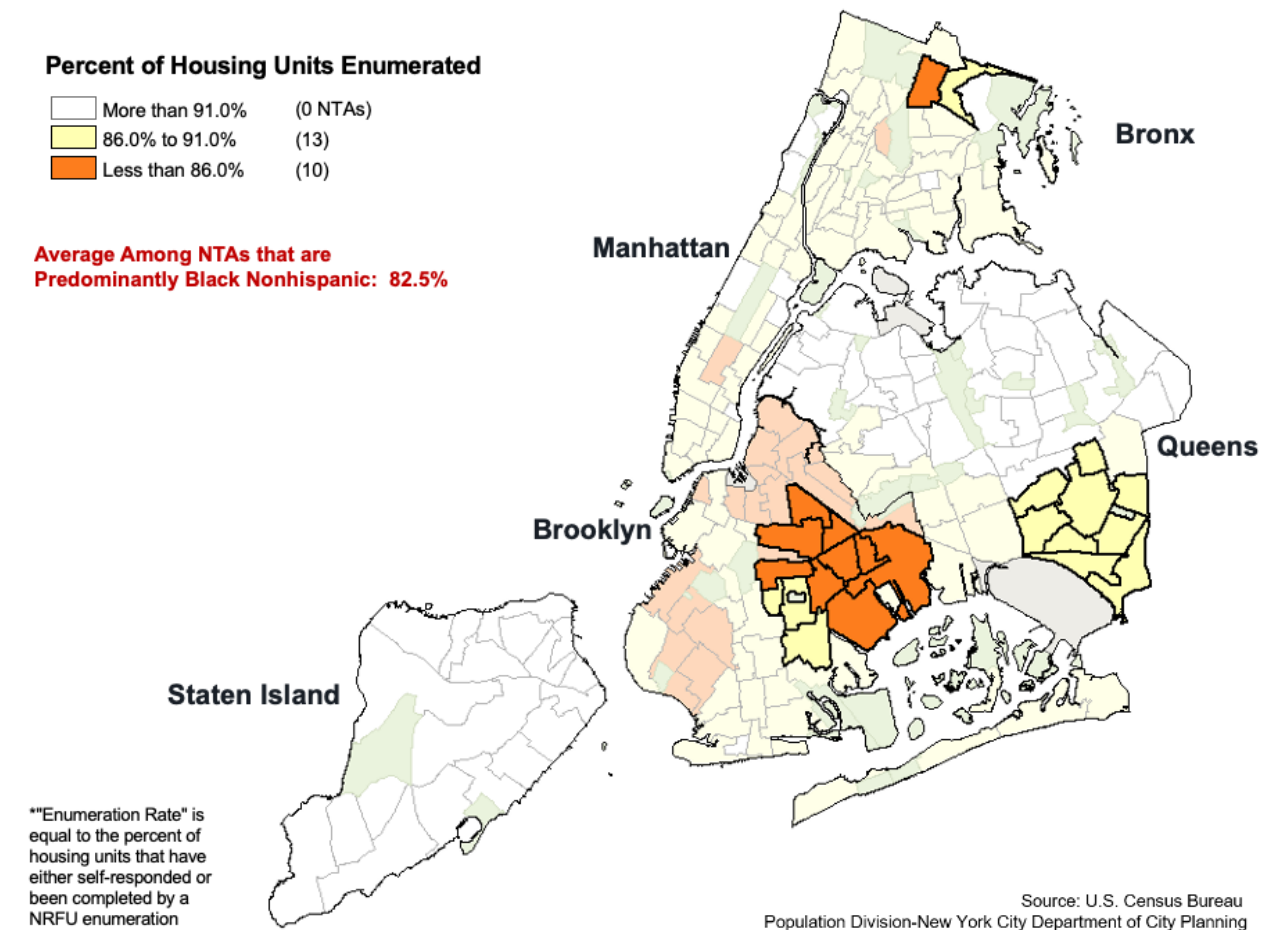
While the overall enumeration rates for neighborhoods with predominantly Black populations are low, several communities with a majority or plurality of Black residents have enumeration rates above the city average, including Rochdale Village and Cambria Heights in Queens, Flatbush in Brooklyn, and Co-op City and Parkchester in the Bronx.

Enumeration Rates in Neighborhoods with a Predominantly Hispanic Population

Taken as a group, neighborhoods with a predominantly Hispanic[8] population in New York City have an enumeration rate nearly identical to the city as whole. There are 30 neighborhoods where 60 percent or more of the population is Hispanic (Figure 3).[9] As of September 8th, the enumeration rate for these neighborhoods is 88.0 percent, compared to the citywide rate of 88.2 percent. However, there is a wide range among neighborhoods with predominantly Hispanic residents, spanning from a high of 93.4 percent in the Queens neighborhood of Corona, to a low of 73.6 percent in Cypress Hills-City Line in Brooklyn – nearly 15 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 — less than three-quarters of households have been enumerated there so far despite the late stage of census operations. Brooklyn's other predominantly Hispanic neighborhoods, Bushwick North and Sunset Park West, also have below average enumeration rates at 81.7 and 84.3 percent respectively. Brooklyn's predominantly Hispanic neighborhoods are notable for their particularly large Puerto Rican and Mexican presence.

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[8] 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.

[9] 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.

Table 3. The Five Neighborhoods with the Lowest Enumeration Rates as of September 8th Among NTAs where 60 Percent or More of the Population is Hispanic

Borough	Neighborhood	Percent Enumerated
Brooklyn	Cypress Hills-City Line	73.6
Brooklyn	Bushwick North	81.7
Brooklyn	Sunset Park West	84.3
Bronx	Belmont	85.2
Bronx	Crotona Park East	86.1

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 deleted, marked as vacant, or as a refusal. 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 92 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.

Figure 3. Enumeration Rates* as of September 8ᵗʰ for Neighborhoods that are at Least 60 Percent Hispanic
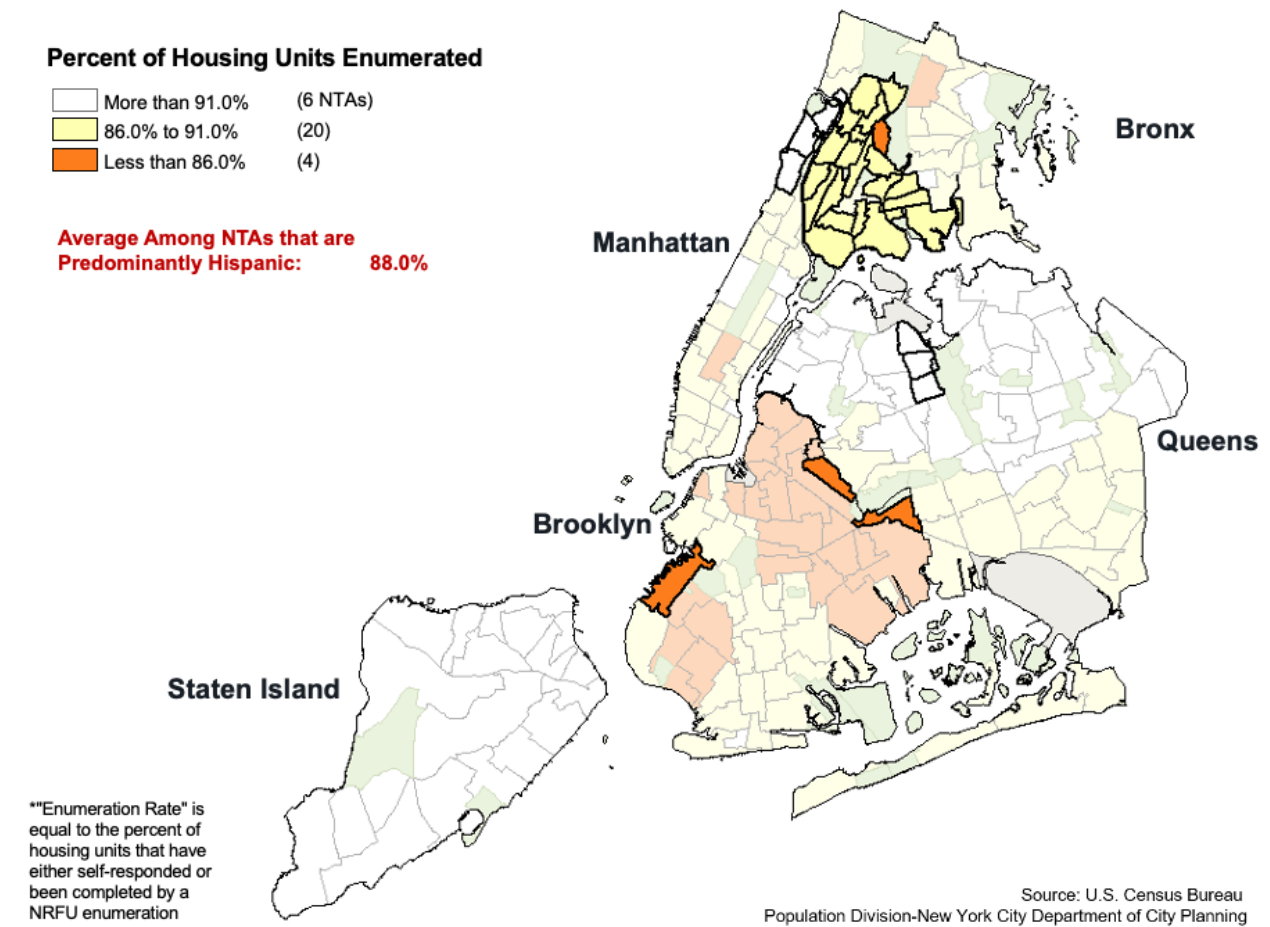
Percent of Housing Units Enumerated

☐	More than 91.0%	(6 NTAs)
☐	86.0% to 91.0%	(20)
■	Less than 86.0%	(4)

Average Among NTAs that are Predominantly Hispanic: 88.0%

*"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 Asian Census Tracts

There are seven neighborhoods where Asians[10] comprise a majority[11] of the population

(Flushing, Queensboro Hill, East Flushing, Elmhurst-Maspeth, Chinatown, Murray Hill

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[10] The U.S. Census Bureau's designation "Asian" includes groups from West, South, East, and Southeast Asia.

[11] 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 82.4 percent, as well as in adjacent tracts in Dyker Heights (83.5 percent), and Borough Park (81.1 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 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 has an enumeration rate close to the city average, as do Woodhaven, Ozone Park, and Richmond Hill in Queens. But 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 93.3 percent; Jamaica's rate is just 2 percentage points lower. Neighborhoods in eastern Queens, which tend to be relatively wealthy, have among the highest enumeration rates in the city. These include Oakland Gardens (95.6 percent), as well as Auburndale and Bayside (94.6 percent each), which are primarily Chinese, with significant numbers of Koreans and Indians.

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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.

Figure 4. Enumeration Rates* as of September 8th for Neighborhoods with Census Tracts that are at Least 50 Percent Asian Nonhispanic

Percent of Housing Units Enumerated

	More than 91.0%	(21 NTAs)
	86.0% to 91.0%	(9)
	Less than 86.0%	(6)
	Tracts where are least 50% of the population is Asian Nonhispanic	
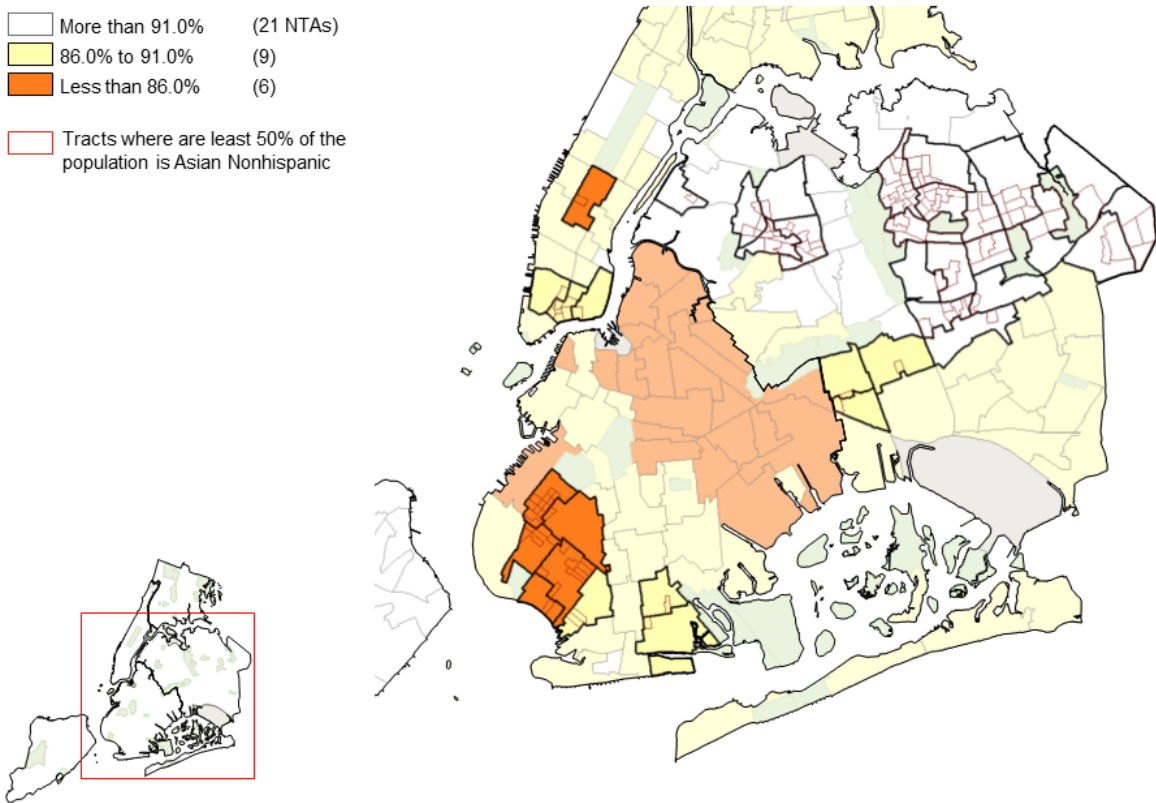
*"Enumeration Rate" is equal to the percent of housing units that have either self-responded or been completed by a NRFU enumeration

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

Flushing, East Flushing, Murray Hill, 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 well above average. The same is true in Elmhurst, 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.

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).[12]

Table 4. The Five Neighborhoods with the Lowest Enumeration Rates as of September 8th Among NTAs where 50 Percent or More of the Population is Foreign-Born

Borough	Neighborhood	Percent Enumerated
Brooklyn	Rugby-Remsen Village	78.1
Brooklyn	Sunset Park East	82.4
Brooklyn	Bensonhurst West	83.9
Brooklyn	Bath Beach	84.4
Brooklyn	East Flatbush-Farragut	86.1

In Queens, most neighborhoods with large foreign-born concentrations have above average enumeration rates. Richmond Hill and South Ozone Park, home to Guyanese, Indians, and other South Asians, are the only two immigrant neighborhoods in Queens with enumeration rates that are around the average, at 88.8 percent and 86.8 percent, respectively. In East Elmhurst and North Corona, where the largest immigrant groups are Ecuadorians, Mexicans, and Dominicans, enumeration rates stand at 92.7 percent and 93.4 percent, respectively. The above average enumeration rates in these two neighborhoods stand in contrast to their initial low self-response rates. This indicates that a relatively large proportion of housing units in East Elmhurst and North Corona have been enumerated during NRFU

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[12] 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.

operations. Some of the other majority immigrant neighborhoods in Queens with above average enumeration rates included Jackson Heights (94.9 percent), Elmhurst (94.0 percent), Rego Park (92.5 percent), Jamaica Estates-Holliswood (94.2 percent), Murray Hill (93.8 percent), and Auburndale (94.6 percent).

Figure 5. Enumeration Rates* as of September 8th for Neighborhoods that are at Least 50 Percent Foreign-Born

Source: U.S. Census Bureau
Population Division-New York City Department of City Planning
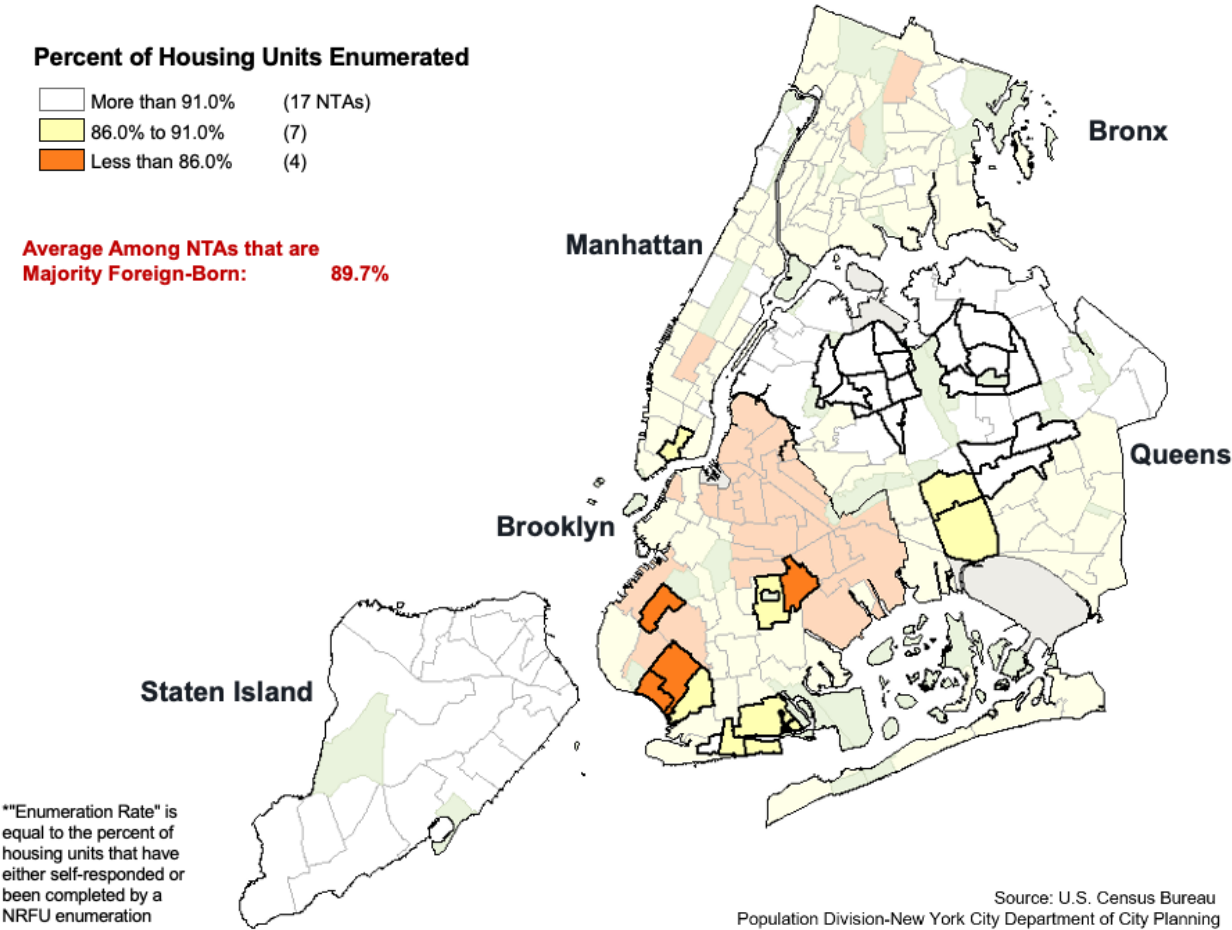
Neighborhoods in Brooklyn with an immigrant majority have lower enumeration rates in general. In Rugby-Remsen Village (where Jamaicans and Trinidadians are the largest foreign-born groups), the enumeration rate is just 78.1 percent. The adjacent neighborhood of East Flatbush-Farragut (Haitians, Jamaicans, and Trinidadians) is 8 points higher, at 86.1 percent.

Many neighborhoods in Brooklyn with a large foreign-born Chinese presence have low enumeration rates, including Sunset Park East (82.4 percent), Bensonhurst West (83.9 percent), and Bath Beach (84.4 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 from the 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.

Table 5. The Five Neighborhoods with the Lowest Enumeration Rates as of September 8th in each Borough

Borough and Neighborhood	Percent Enumerated
Bronx	**87.8**
Belmont	85.2
Williamsbridge-Olinville	85.6
Crotona Park East	86.1
Woodlawn-Wakefield	86.2
Van Nest-Morris Park-Westchester Square	86.3
Brooklyn	**83.9**
Cypress Hills-City Line	73.6
East New York (Pennsylvania Ave)	75.5
Canarsie	76.6
East New York	77.0
Rugby-Remsen Village	78.1
Manhattan	**89.1**
Midtown-Midtown South	83.3
SoHo-TriBeCa-Civic Center-Little Italy	86.0
Turtle Bay-East Midtown	86.5
Upper East Side-Carnegie Hill	86.5
Battery Park City-Lower Manhattan	87.0
Queens	**91.9**
South Jamaica	86.4
South Ozone Park	86.8
Breezy Point-Belle Harbor-Rockaway Park-Broad Channel	86.9
Springfield Gardens South-Brookville	86.9
Far Rockaway-Bayswater	87.2
Staten Island	**93.5**
Stapleton-Rosebank	91.6
West New Brighton-New Brighton-St. George	92.1
Port Richmond	92.5
Mariner's Harbor-Arlington-Port Ivory-Graniteville	92.7
Grasmere-Arrochar-Ft. Wadsworth	93.1

Every borough has areas that need a boost. In the Bronx, there is Belmont and

Williamsbridge-Olinville, with a reminder that part of the low enumeration in Belmont may be

due to the continued absence of students at nearby universities. (The Census Bureau has

reached out to universities throughout the city to obtain student records to help fill this void.) 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 Jamaica is 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.

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 the representation and resources it deserves.

Appendix A

New York City Neighborhood Tabulation Areas Reference Map

New York City Neighborhood Tabulation Areas*

Bronx

Manhattan

Queens

Brooklyn

Staten Island

North Riverdale-Fieldston-Riverdale
Woodlawn-Wakefield
Spuyten Duyvil-Kingsbridge
Van Cortlandt Village
Norwood
Williamsbridge-Olinville
Eastchester-Edenwald-Baychester
Co-op City
Marble Hill-Inwood
Kingsbridge Heights
Bedford Park-Fordham North
Bronxdale
Allerton-Pelham Gardens
Fordham South
Washington Heights North
University Heights-Morris Heights
Mount Hope
Belmont
Pelham Parkway
Washington Heights South
Claremont-Bathgate
East Tremont
Van Nest-Morris Park-Westchester Square
Pelham Bay-Country Club-City Island
Highbridge
East Concourse-Concourse Village
Crotona Park East
West Farms-Bronx River
Parkchester
Hamilton Heights
West Concourse
Morrisania-Melrose
Longwood
Westchester-Unionport
Manhattanville
Central Harlem North-Polo Grounds
Melrose South-Mott Haven North
Soundview-Bruckner
Soundview-Castle Hill-Clason Point-Harding Park
Schuylerville-Throgs Neck-Edgewater Park
Morningside Heights
Central Harlem South
East Harlem North
Mott Haven-Port Morris
Hunts Point

Upper West Side
East Harlem South
Rikers Island
Whitestone
College Point
Ft. Totten-Bay Terrace-Clearview
Yorkville
Steinway
LaGuardia Airport
Lincoln Square
Upper East Side-Carnegie Hill
Old Astoria
Murray Hill
Bayside-Bayside Hills
Douglas Manor-Douglaston-Little Neck
Clinton
Lenox Hill-Roosevelt Island
Astoria
Flushing
Midtown-Midtown South
Queensbridge-Ravenswood-Long Island City
Jackson Heights
East Elmhurst
East Flushing
Auburndale
Glen Oaks-Floral Park-New Hyde Park
Turtle Bay-East Midtown
North Corona
Queensboro Hill
Oakland Gardens
Hudson Yards-Chelsea-Flatiron-Union Square
Murray Hill-Kips Bay
Woodside
Elmhurst
Corona
Fresh Meadows-Utopia
Bellerose
West Village
Gramercy
Hunters Point-Sunnyside-West Maspeth
Elmhurst-Maspeth
Pomonok-Flushing Heights-Hillcrest
Kew Gardens Hills
SoHo-TriBeCa-Civic Center-Little Italy
Stuyvesant Town-Cooper Village
East Village
Rego Park
Forest Hills
Jamaica Estates-Holliswood
Queens Village
Maspeth
Briarwood-Jamaica Hills
Lower East Side
Chinatown
Greenpoint
Middle Village
Kew Gardens
Hollis
Battery Park City-Lower Manhattan
North Side-South Side
East Williamsburg
Ridgewood
Glendale
Richmond Hill
Jamaica
South Jamaica
St. Albans
Cambria Heights
Williamsburg
Bushwick North
Woodhaven
Brooklyn Heights-Cobble Hill
Fort Greene
Bedford
Bushwick South
Cypress Hills-City Line
Ozone Park
Baisley Park
Laurelton
DUMBO-Vinegar Hill-Downtown-Brooklyn-Boerum Hill
Clinton Hill
Stuyvesant Heights
South Ozone Park
Springfield Gardens North
Carroll Gardens-Columbia Street-Red Hook
Prospect Heights
Crown Heights North
Ocean Hill
East New York (Pennsylvania Ave)
Lindenwood-Howard Beach
Springfield Gardens South-Brookville
Rosedale
Park Slope-Gowanus
Crown Heights South
Brownsville
East New York
Starrett City
John F. Kennedy International Airport
Sunset Park West
Prospect Lefferts Gardens-Wingate
Rugby-Remsen Village
Windsor Terrace
Erasmus
Sunset Park East
Kensington-Ocean Parkway
East Flatbush-Farragut
Flatbush
Georgetown-Marine Park-Bergen Beach-Mill Basin
Borough Park
Flatlands
Bay Ridge
Dyker Heights
Midwood
Ocean Parkway South
Madison
Far Rockaway-Bayswater
Bensonhurst West
Bensonhurst East
Homecrest
Bath Beach
Gravesend
Sheepshead Bay-Gerritsen Beach-Manhattan Beach
Hammels-Arverne-Edgemere
Seagate-Coney Island
West Brighton
Brighton Beach
Breezy Point-Belle Harbor-Rockaway Park-Broad Channel

West New Brighton-New Brighton-St. George
Mariner's Harbor-Arlington-Port Ivory-Graniteville
Port Richmond
New Brighton-Silver Lake
Westerleigh
Grymes Hill-Clifton-Fox Hills
Stapleton-Rosebank
New Springville-Bloomfield-Travis
Grasmere-Arrochar-Ft. Wadsworth
Todt Hill-Emerson Hill-Heartland Village-Lighthouse Hill
Old Town-Dongan Hills-South Beach
New Dorp-Midland Beach
Oakwood-Oakwood Beach
Arden Heights
Great Kills
Rossville-Woodrow
Annadale-Huguenot-Prince's Bay-Eltingville
Charleston-Richmond Valley-Tottenville

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

Source: Population Division-New York City Department of City Planning

Appendix B

Enumeration Rates by Neighborhood

New York City

	Percent Enumerated September 8th
New York City Total	**88.2**

Bronx

Neighborhood Name	Percent Enumerated September 8th
Bronx Total	**87.8**
Belmont	85.2
Williamsbridge-Olinville	85.6
Crotona Park East	86.1
Woodlawn-Wakefield	86.2
Van Nest-Morris Park-Westchester Square	86.3
West Farms-Bronx River	86.3
Schuylerville-Throgs Neck-Edgewater Park	86.5
Soundview-Bruckner	86.6
Allerton-Pelham Gardens	86.6
Westchester-Unionport	86.6
Mount Hope	86.7
Eastchester-Edenwald-Baychester	86.8
Morrisania-Melrose	86.9
Mott Haven-Port Morris	87.0
Fordham South	87.0
Hunts Point	87.2
Longwood	87.2
Bedford Park-Fordham North	87.3
East Tremont	87.3
University Heights-Morris Heights	87.5
Claremont-Bathgate	87.6
Pelham Bay-Country Club-City Island	87.7
Highbridge	87.8
Bronxdale	87.9
Melrose South-Mott Haven North	88.0
Norwood	88.1
East Concourse-Concourse Village	88.2
Kingsbridge Heights	88.7
Pelham Parkway	88.8
Soundview-Castle Hill-Clason Point-Harding Park	89.0
Van Cortlandt Village	89.2
West Concourse	89.2
Spuyten Duyvil-Kingsbridge	90.8
North Riverdale-Fieldston-Riverdale	90.8
Parkchester	91.4
Co-op City	91.6

Brooklyn

Neighborhood Name	Percent Enumerated September 8th
Brooklyn Total	**83.9**
Cypress Hills-City Line	73.6
East New York (Pennsylvania Ave)	75.5
Canarsie	76.6
East New York	77.0
Rugby-Remsen Village	78.1
Ocean Hill	78.2
Williamsburg	79.1
Brownsville	79.2
Crown Heights North	80.4
Crown Heights South	80.6
Prospect Lefferts Gardens-Wingate	80.7
Stuyvesant Heights	80.9
Borough Park	81.1
Bedford	81.1
Bushwick North	81.7
Bushwick South	81.9
Greenpoint	82.0
North Side-South Side	82.4
Sunset Park East	82.4
Clinton Hill	83.5
Dyker Heights	83.5
Bensonhurst West	83.9
Sunset Park West	84.3
East Williamsburg	84.4
Bath Beach	84.4
Fort Greene	85.2
Brooklyn Heights-Cobble Hill	85.7
East Flatbush-Farragut	86.1
Starrett City	86.4
Erasmus	86.5
Carroll Gardens-Columbia Street-Red Hook	86.5
Kensington-Ocean Parkway	86.5
DUMBO-Vinegar Hill-Downtown Brooklyn-Boerum Hill	86.5
Bay Ridge	86.9
Ocean Parkway South	87.0
Park Slope-Gowanus	87.1
Prospect Heights	87.4
Bensonhurst East	87.5
Homecrest	87.6
Brighton Beach	88.0
Seagate-Coney Island	88.8
Georgetown-Marine Park-Bergen Beach-Mill Basin	89.1
Flatbush	89.2
Windsor Terrace	89.3
Flatlands	89.5
Madison	89.5
Sheepshead Bay-Gerritsen Beach-Manhattan Beach	89.5
Midwood	89.9
Gravesend	90.0
West Brighton	91.6

Manhattan	
Neighborhood Name	**Percent Enumerated September 8th**
Manhattan Total	**89.1**
Midtown-Midtown South	83.3
SoHo-TriBeCa-Civic Center-Little Italy	86.0
Turtle Bay-East Midtown	86.5
Upper East Side-Carnegie Hill	86.5
Battery Park City-Lower Manhattan	87.0
West Village	87.1
Gramercy	87.7
East Village	87.7
Hudson Yards-Chelsea-Flatiron-Union Square	87.8
Murray Hill-Kips Bay	87.9
Chinatown	88.1
Clinton	88.3
Lenox Hill-Roosevelt Island	88.5
Lincoln Square	88.8
Central Harlem North-Polo Grounds	89.9
Lower East Side	90.4
Central Harlem South	90.4
East Harlem North	90.7
Morningside Heights	90.8
Hamilton Heights	90.8
Manhattanville	90.9
Yorkville	91.1
East Harlem South	91.2
Upper West Side	91.2
Marble Hill-Inwood	92.2
Washington Heights South	92.3
Washington Heights North	92.6
Stuyvesant Town-Cooper Village	93.2

Queens

Neighborhood Name	Percent Enumerated September 8th
Queens Total	**91.9**
South Jamaica	86.4
South Ozone Park	86.8
Breezy Point-Belle Harbor-Rockaway Park-Broad Channel	86.9
Springfield Gardens South-Brookville	86.9
Far Rockaway-Bayswater	87.2
Baisley Park	87.2
Hammels-Arverne-Edgemere	87.3
Rosedale	87.4
St. Albans	88.1
Ozone Park	88.2
Hollis	88.7
Richmond Hill	88.8
Laurelton	89.3
Ridgewood	89.7
Maspeth	89.9
Lindenwood-Howard Beach	89.9
Woodhaven	90.0
Glendale	90.3
Cambria Heights	90.4
Springfield Gardens North	90.4
Queens Village	90.6
Jamaica	91.2
Middle Village	91.3
Hunters Point-Sunnyside-West Maspeth	91.7
North Corona	92.0
College Point	92.2
Elmhurst-Maspeth	92.3
Woodside	92.4
Queensboro Hill	92.5
Rego Park	92.5
Kew Gardens	92.6
East Elmhurst	92.7
East Flushing	92.8
Flushing	92.9
Briarwood-Jamaica Hills	93.3
Corona	93.4
Kew Gardens Hills	93.8
Murray Hill	93.8
Pomonok-Flushing Heights-Hillcrest	93.9
Whitestone	93.9
Elmhurst	94.0
Forest Hills	94.2
Jamaica Estates-Holliswood	94.2
Queensbridge-Ravenswood-Long Island City	94.2
Steinway	94.2
Old Astoria	94.2
Bellerose	94.4
Bayside-Bayside Hills	94.6
Auburndale	94.6
Astoria	94.6
Glen Oaks-Floral Park-New Hyde Park	94.7
Jackson Heights	94.9
Ft. Totten-Bay Terrace-Clearview	95.1
Douglas Manor-Douglaston-Little Neck	95.2
Fresh Meadows-Utopia	95.3
Oakland Gardens	95.6

Staten Island

Neighborhood Name	Percent Enumerated September 8th
Staten Island Total	**93.5**
Stapleton-Rosebank	91.6
West New Brighton-New Brighton-St. George	92.1
Port Richmond	92.5
Mariner's Harbor-Arlington-Port Ivory-Graniteville	92.7
Grasmere-Arrochar-Ft. Wadsworth	93.1
Charleston-Richmond Valley-Tottenville	93.3
Old Town-Dongan Hills-South Beach	93.3
Staten Island:Grymes Hill-Clifton-Fox Hills	93.3
New Dorp-Midland Beach	93.6
New Brighton-Silver Lake	93.8
New Springville-Bloomfield-Travis	93.9
Rossville-Woodrow	93.9
Todt Hill-Emerson Hill-Heartland Village-Lighthouse Hill	93.9
Annadale-Huguenot-Prince's Bay-Eltingville	94.2
Westerleigh	94.4
Great Kills	94.5
Oakwood-Oakwood Beach	94.7
Arden Heights	94.9