

# Exhibit B

SUPREME COURT OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK  
COUNTY OF NEW YORK

-----X  
Michael Williams, José Ramírez-Garofalo, Aixa Torres, and  
Melissa Carty,

Index No. 164002/2025

Petitioners,

-against-

**Expert Report of Thomas J.  
Sugrue**

Board of Elections of the State of New York; Kristen Zebrowski Stavisky, in her official capacity as Co-Executive Director of the Board of Elections of the State of New York; Raymond J. Riley, III, in his official capacity as Co-Executive Director of the Board of Elections of the State of New York; Peter S. Kosinski, in his official capacity as Co-Chair and Commissioner of the Board of Elections of the State of New York; Henry T. Berger, in his official capacity as Co-Chair and Commissioner of the Board of Elections of the State of New York; Anthony J. Casale, in his official capacity as Commissioner of the Board of Elections of the State of New York; Essma Bagnuola, in her official capacity as Commissioner of the Board of Elections of the State of New York; Kathy Hochul, in her official capacity as Governor of New York; Andrea Stewart-Cousins, in her official capacity as Senate Majority Leader and President *Pro Tempore* of the New York State Senate; Carl E. Heastie, in his official capacity as Speaker of the New York State Assembly; and Letitia James, in her official capacity as Attorney General of New York,

Respondents,

-and-

Representative Nicole Malliotakis, Edward L. Lai, Joel Medina, Solomon B. Reeves, Angela Sisto, and Faith Togba

Intervenor-Respondents.

-----X

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

STATEMENT OF QUALIFICATIONS .....	1
SCOPE OF REPORT.....	3
SUMMARY OF CONCLUSIONS.....	4
BACKGROUND .....	5
RACIAL SEGREGATION ON STATEN ISLAND.....	8
A. Racial Divisions on Staten Island .....	9
B. Statistical Measures of Residential Segregation .....	14
C. Public Policy, Real Estate Practices, and Housing Segregation .....	16
D. White Hostility and Racial Harassment.....	29
E. Violence and Hate Crimes .....	32
SOCIO-ECONOMIC DISPARITIES.....	38
DISPARITIES IN POLICING: HARASSMENT, BRUTALITY, STOP-AND-FRISK .....	40
DISPARITIES IN VOTING RIGHTS AND POLITICAL PARTICIPATION.....	43
RACIAL APPEALS ON STATEN ISLAND .....	45

**EXPERT REPORT OF THOMAS J. SUGRUE****STATEMENT OF QUALIFICATIONS**

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

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

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

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

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

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

### **SCOPE OF REPORT**

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

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

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

### **SUMMARY OF CONCLUSIONS**

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

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

market.

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

## BACKGROUND

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

---

<sup>1</sup>Profile: Richmond County, New York, U.S. Census Bureau, <https://data.census.gov/profile?q=richmond+county,+new+york>.

<sup>2</sup> Minna C. Wilkins, "Sandy Ground: A Tiny Racial Island," 7 *Staten Island Historian* 1, 2–10 (Summer-Fall 1989); Howard Weiner, "Sandy Ground," *Encyclopedia of the City of New York*, ed. Kenneth T. Jackson 1040-104 (New



nineteenth century, especially in the Stapleton area (home to Stapleton AME Church, the borough's oldest Black church).<sup>3</sup>

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

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

---

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

<sup>3</sup> Muñoz et al, *People's Guide*, 316-317.

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

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

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

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

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

---

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

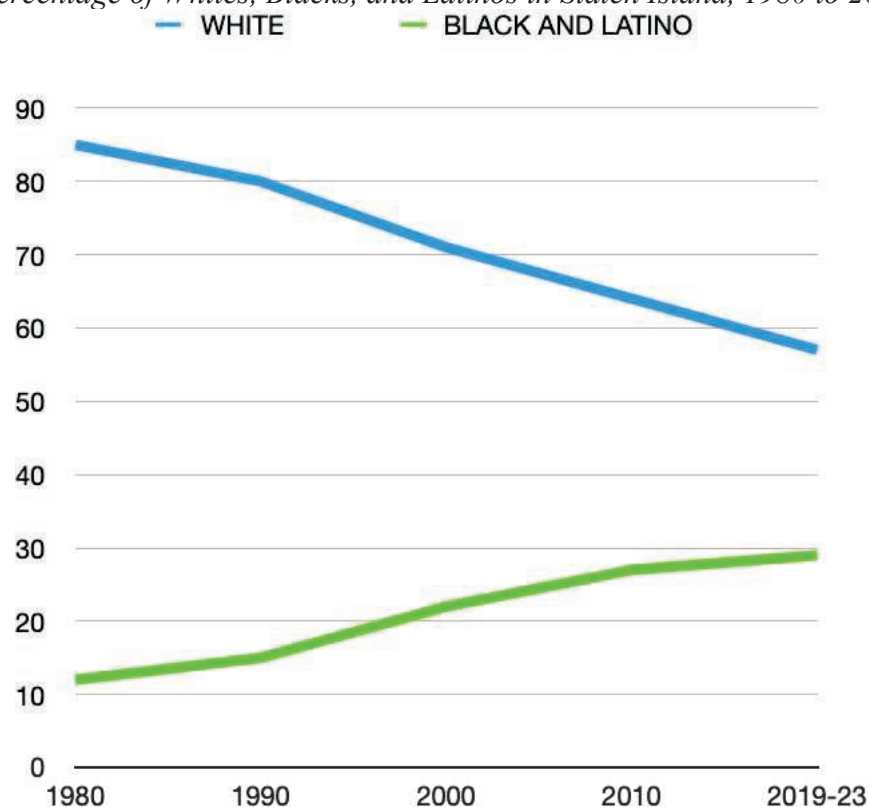
<sup>8</sup> All data in this paragraph come from U.S. Census Bureau, American Community Survey, Five-Year Estimates, 2019-2023. Hereafter U.S. Census, ACS, 2019-23. Data are for white alone, black alone, and Latino, who may be of any race. Data for figures throughout this report were collected using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

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

<sup>10</sup> 2.2 percent of Staten Island residents are of “two or more races.” 0.5 percent fall into the category “some other race alone.” Only 0.2 percent of Staten Island residents are American Indian or Native Alaskan; a negligible percent are Hawaiian or Pacific Islander.

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

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



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

### RACIAL SEGREGATION ON STATEN ISLAND

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

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

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

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

#### **A. Racial Divisions on Staten Island**

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

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

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

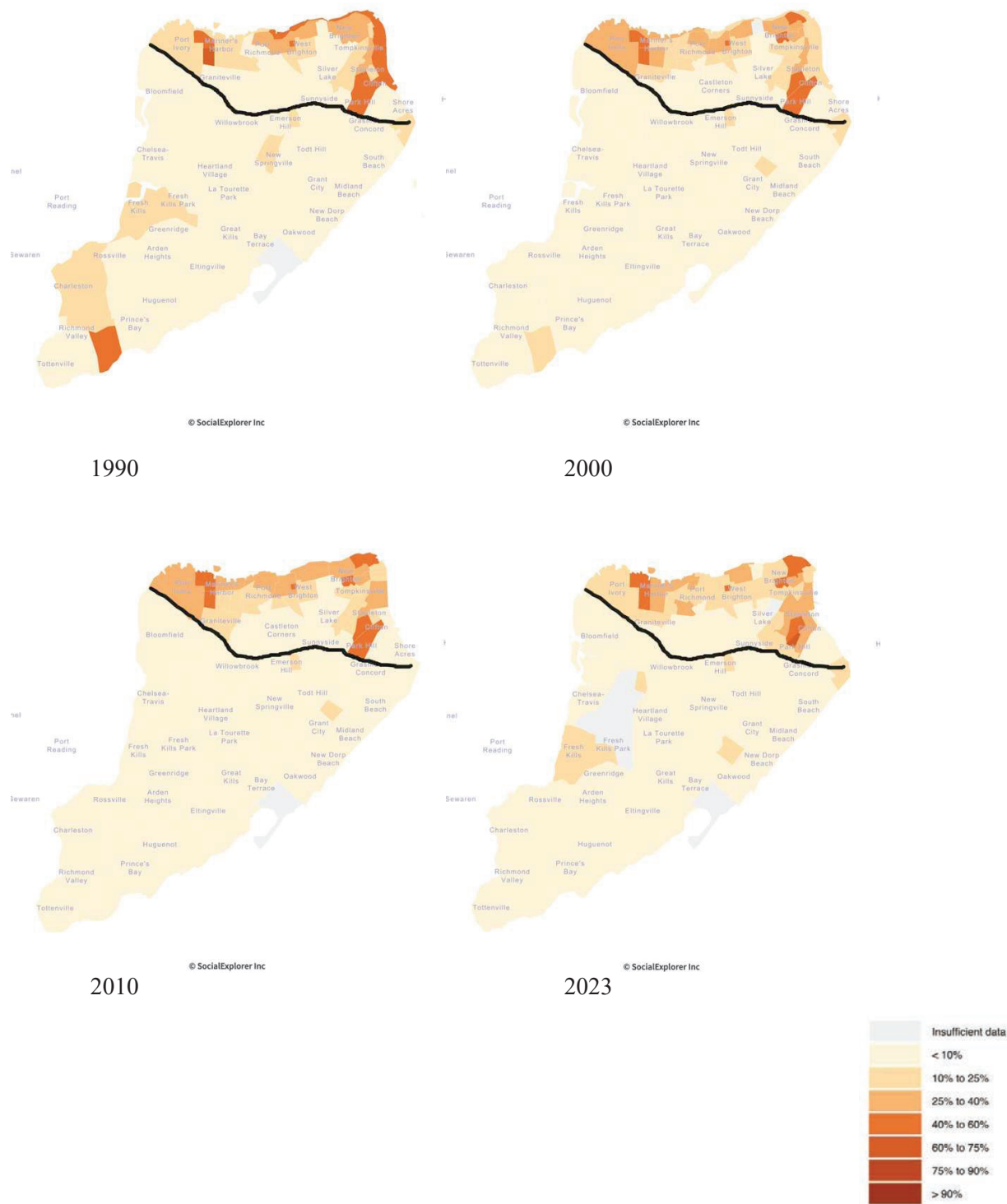
19. At the end of the twentieth century and into the twenty-first, Staten Island's Black population grew larger and denser but remained disproportionately concentrated in the same North Shore neighborhoods. Many lived in neighborhoods near postwar public housing projects. Some Blacks dispersed south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

---

<sup>14</sup> Weiner, "Sandy Ground;" Tracey Porpora, "Bulldozers Rule in Shrinking Sandy Ground," *Staten Island Advance*, May 10, 1999.

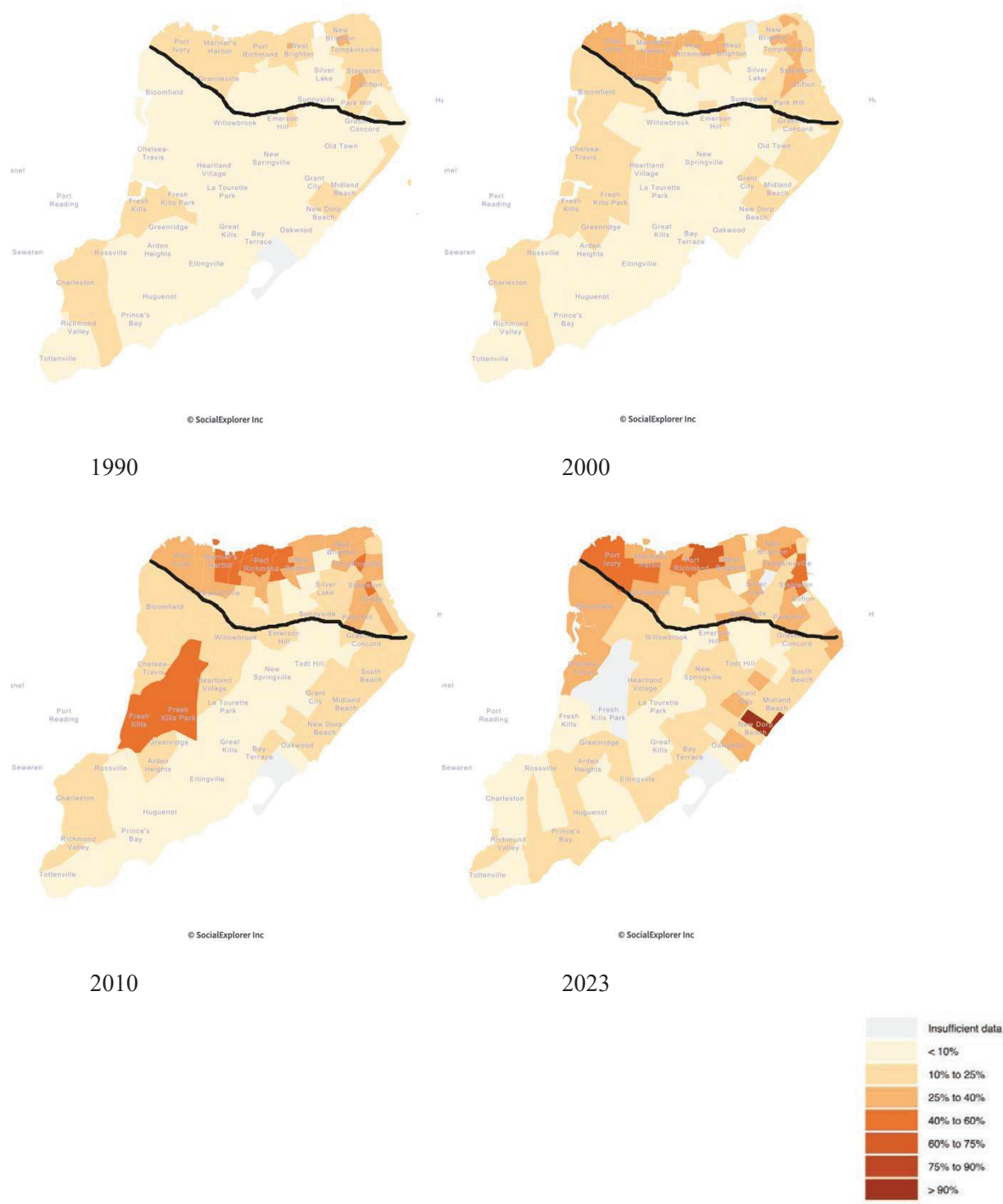
20. Figure 3 shows concentrations of Latino residents in Staten Island since 1990. Here too we can see certain patterns very clearly. Over more than three decades, Staten Island's Latinos have been disproportionately concentrated in North Shore neighborhoods—often living in close proximity to Blacks.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

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

Figure 2: Black Population on Staten Island, 1990 to 2019-2023<sup>15</sup>

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

Figure 3: Latino Population on Staten Island, 1990 to 2019-2023<sup>16</sup>



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



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

---

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

<sup>18</sup> “Black Leaders Cite North Shore Race Woes,” *Staten Island Advance*, September 20, 1987.

<sup>19</sup> For references to the Mason-Dixon line, see Bill Stephens, “Panelists Outline Ways to Fight Housing Discrimination,” *Staten Island Advance*, April 19, 1989; Joseph Berger and Ian Urbina, “Along with Population and Diversity, Stress Rises on Staten I.” *New York Times*, September 25, 2003. “Staten Island’s Mason-Dixon Line,” *Stat Island*, n.d. [ca. 2013], [http://statisland.com/mason\\_dixon.html](http://statisland.com/mason_dixon.html); Ashley Halsey III, “A Crusade of Defeat the Legacy of Highways Rammed Through Poor Neighborhoods,” *Washington Post*, March 29, 2016, [https://www.washingtonpost.com/local/trafficandcommuting/defeating-the-legacy-of-highways-rammed-through-poor-neighborhoods/2016/03/28/ffcfb5ae-f2a1-11e5-a61f-e9c95c06edca\\_story.html](https://www.washingtonpost.com/local/trafficandcommuting/defeating-the-legacy-of-highways-rammed-through-poor-neighborhoods/2016/03/28/ffcfb5ae-f2a1-11e5-a61f-e9c95c06edca_story.html); Major Danny Sjursen, “Disturbing Deep-Rooted Patterns in Staten Island’s Racial Geography,” *SI Live*, May 22, 2017, [https://www.silive.com/news/2017/05/disturbing\\_deep-rooted\\_pattern.html](https://www.silive.com/news/2017/05/disturbing_deep-rooted_pattern.html); Sydney Kashiwagi, “A New Generation of Leadership on Staten Island’s North Shore,” *City & State New York*, November 16, 2020, <https://www.cityandstateny.com/politics/2020/11/a-new-generation-of-leadership-on-staten-islands-north-shore/175451/>.

<sup>20</sup> Seth Barron, “New York’s Red Borough,” *City Journal* (Winter 2018), <https://www.city-journal.org/article/new-yorks-red-borough>.



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

## B. Statistical Measures of Residential Segregation

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

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

---

<sup>21</sup> Richard Mudgett, "We Must End De Facto Housing Discrimination," *Staten Island Advance*, November 3, 1992.

<sup>22</sup> NYU Furman Center, Neighborhood Profiles, Staten Island, Neighborhood Indicators, Tottenville/Great Kills, SI03, <https://furmancenter.org/neighborhoods/view/tottenville-great-kills>.

<sup>23</sup> The classic study using indices of dissimilarity is Karl Taeuber and Alma Taeuber, *Negroes in Cities: Residential Segregation and Neighborhood Change* (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company, 1965); the classic recent work is Douglas S. Massey and Nancy A. Denton, *American Apartheid: Segregation and the Making of the Underclass* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993). On Latino segregation, see Mary J. Fischer and Marta Tienda, "Redrawing Spatial Color Lines: Hispanic Metropolitan Dispersal, Segregation, and Economic Opportunity," in *Hispanics and the Future of America*, ed. Marta Tienda and Faith Mitchell (Washington, DC: National Academies Press, 2006); Daniel T. Lichter, Domenico Parisi, Michael C. Taquino, and Steven Michael Grice, "Residential Segregation in New Hispanic Destinations: Cities, Suburbs, and Rural Communities Compared," *Social Science Review* 39 (2010): 215–230; Jacob Rugh and Douglas S. Massey, "Segregation in Post-Civil Rights America: Stalled Integration or End of the Segregated Century?" *Du Bois Review* 11:2 (2014): 205–232.

<sup>24</sup> U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (hereafter HUD), HUD Exchange, Lessons from the Ground: Best Practices in Fair Housing Planning, <https://www.hudexchange.info/programs/fair-housing/best-practices-in-fair-housing-planning/analyzing-data/identifying-areas-of-segregation-integration-and-concentrated-poverty/>.

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

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

*Figure 4: Residential Segregation on Staten Island, 1990 to 2019-2023*<sup>25</sup>

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

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

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

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

---

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

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

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

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

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

- a. historical and ongoing discrimination and the stigmatization of people considered to be non-white;
- b. federal and local housing policies that created and maintained racial segregation and their legacy;
- c. past and ongoing discriminatory practices by real estate brokers, landlords, and mortgage lenders.

I will consider each of these in detail now.

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

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

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

---

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

<sup>27</sup> “Staten Islanders Object to Negro Moving into Home,” *New York Age*, September 6, 1924; “Negro Vindicated’ in Clash with Whites,” *St Louis Post-Dispatch*, August 22, 1925.

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

<sup>29</sup> New York City Council, Minutes of the Proceedings for the Stated Meeting (October 31, 2017), 3818, [https://www.nyc.gov/assets/dcas/downloads/pdf/cityrecord/stated-meetings/2017/stated\\_meeting\\_2017\\_10\\_31.pdf](https://www.nyc.gov/assets/dcas/downloads/pdf/cityrecord/stated-meetings/2017/stated_meeting_2017_10_31.pdf).

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

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

---

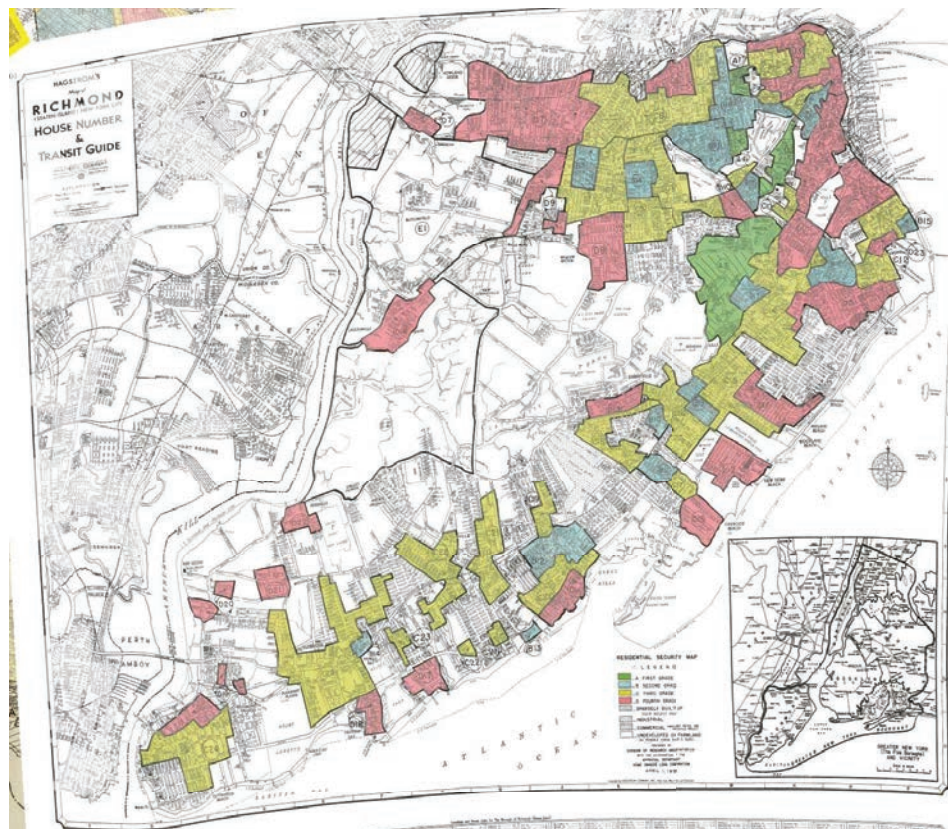
<sup>30</sup> There is a large body of historical scholarship on this topic. See LaDale C. Winling and Todd M. Michney, "The Roots of Redlining: Academic, Governmental and Professional Networks in the Making of the New Deal Lending Regime," *Journal of American History* 108 (2021), 42-69; Todd M. Michney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

<sup>31</sup> Woods, "Federal Home Loan Bank Board," 1038.

<sup>32</sup> Woods, "Federal Home Loan Bank Board," 1039.



Figure 5: Federal Home Loan Bank Board Richmond County, New York, Home Security Map, 1940<sup>33</sup>



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

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

term “redlining” referred to “D” neighborhoods, where residents frequently had difficulty obtaining federally-guaranteed mortgages and conventional mortgages—fifteen to thirty-year mortgages with low down payments and modest interest rates.<sup>34</sup>

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

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

---

<sup>34</sup> For a description of the maps and their methodology, see Robert K. Nelson, “Introduction,” Redlining in New Deal America.

trend, if any would be downward.”<sup>35</sup> Nearby Rossville and Charleston, affected by “Negro infiltration” were also ranked D.<sup>36</sup>

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

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

---

<sup>35</sup> Staten Island, New York, Area Description, D-21, Redlining in New Deal America.

<sup>36</sup> Staten Island, New York, Area Descriptions, D-20, D-22, Redlining in New Deal America.

<sup>37</sup> Staten Island, New York, Area Descriptions, D-6, D-8, C-6, C-8, Redlining in New Deal America.

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



waste. As scholar Melissa Checker shows, there is a high “density of toxic sites with proximity to low-income communities of color” on Staten Island’s North Shore.<sup>39</sup>

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

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

---

<sup>39</sup> Melissa Checker, *The Sustainability Myth* 2–3, 99–100 (New York: NYU Press, 2020). Checker discusses environmental issues on Staten Island’s North Shore at length in her book.

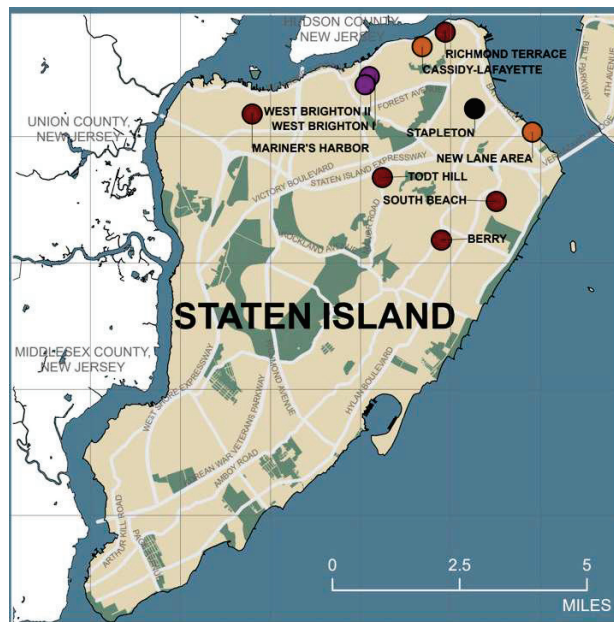
<sup>40</sup> Arnold R. Hirsch, “Searching for a ‘Sound Negro Policy’: A Racial Agenda for the Housing Acts of 1949 and 1954,” *Housing Policy Debate* 11:2 (2000): 393–441; Arnold R. Hirsch, “‘Containment on the Home Front’: Race and Federal Housing Policy from the New Deal to the Cold War,” *Journal of Urban History* 26 (2000): 158–189.

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

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

<sup>43</sup> New York City Housing Authority, Official Map, 2025; See also Patrick Nugent, “The Urban Environmental Order:

Figure 6: NYCHA Sites in Staten Island, 2025<sup>44</sup>



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

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

Planning and Politics on Staten Island, 1945-1984” (Ph.D. diss. George Washington University, 2016), 246.

<sup>44</sup> New York City Housing Authority, Official Map, 2025.

<sup>45</sup> Bloom, *When Public Housing Worked*, 86-89.

<sup>46</sup> Bloom, *When Public Housing Worked*, 169-175.

<sup>47</sup> Bloom, *When Public Housing Worked*, 124-125.

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

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

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

---

<sup>48</sup> Kramer and Flanagan. *Staten Island*, 54-55.

<sup>49</sup> Kramer and Flanagan, *Staten Island*, 54.

<sup>50</sup> "Fox Hills: Big Plans and Much Denial," *Staten Island Advance*, March 28, 1968.

<sup>51</sup> "Transplant of a Slum," *Staten Island Advance*, August 1, 1967.

projects.”<sup>52</sup> In addition, the court found that “at the six projects where the plaintiffs contend whites received admission preferences, white families constituted almost 70% of the move-ins during that period.”<sup>53</sup> These pro-segregation practices reinforced Staten Island’s deep racial divisions.

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

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

---

<sup>52</sup> *Davis v. New York City Hous. Auth.*, No. 90 CIV. 0628 (PNL), 1992 WL 420923, at \*4 (S.D.N.Y. Dec. 31, 1992).

<sup>53</sup> *Davis v. New York City Hous. Auth.* The year after the case was concluded, the Berry Homes in Dongan Hills was 80 percent white; the Cassidy-Lafayette Houses in New Brighton was 74 percent white; the New Lane Houses in Rosebank was 86 percent white; the South Beach Houses was 72 percent white; the Todt Hill Houses in Castleton Corners was 67 percent white. Brian Larkin, “Families Being Sought in ‘Racial Steering Case,’” *Staten Island Advance*, January 18, 1993. For further details, see Bloom, *When Public Housing Worked*, 323-324, note 30.

<sup>54</sup> These practices originated with the rise of the professional real estate industry nationwide, especially real estate ethics codes that forbade the sale or rental of properties to “incompatible” groups, including Blacks through the mid-twentieth century; and persistent expectations that realtors would protect neighborhood homogeneity. Charles Abrams, *Forbidden Neighbors: A Study of Prejudice in Housing* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1955); Rose Helper, *Racial Policies and Practices of Real Estate Brokers* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1969).

<sup>55</sup> “Staten Island Realty Board Fights Bias Laws,” *New York Amsterdam News*, December 14, 1963.

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

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

---

<sup>56</sup> Martha Biondi, *To Stand and Fight: Civil Rights in Postwar New York City* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2003), 132.

<sup>57</sup> United States Housing and Home Finance Agency, Intergroup Relations Service, *Fair Housing Laws: Summaries and Text of State and Municipal Laws* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1964).

<sup>58</sup> Thomas J. Sugrue, “From Jim Crow to Fair Housing,” in Gregory D. Squires, ed., *The Fight for Fair Housing: Causes, Consequences and Future Implications of the 1968 Federal Fair Housing Act* (New York: Routledge, 2018), 14-27.

<sup>59</sup> “Gaeta Renews Efforts to Establish Island Human Rights Office,” *Staten Island Advance*, March 1, 1983; “Tiny Steps of Progress,” *Staten Island Advance*, June 30, 1984; Michael H. Schill, “Local Enforcement of Laws Prohibiting Discrimination in Housing: The New York City Human Rights Commission,” *Fordham Urban Law Journal* 23 (1996) 991-1030; USCCR, New York Advisory Committee Report, 75.

<sup>60</sup> W. Edward Orser, “Blockbusting,” in *The Wiley-Blackwell Encyclopedia of Urban and Regional Studies*, ed.

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

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

---

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

<sup>61</sup> “Rights Agency to Probe Blockbusting on Island,” *Staten Island Advance*, January 9, 1967; “New Brighton Residents Score ‘Slum’ Conditions,” *Staten Island Advance*, January 12, 1967; DA to Check Alleged Realty Blockbusting,” *Staten Island Advance*, July 31, 1969; 2 Island Realtors Named in Local Blockbusting Case,” *Staten Island Advance*, December 18, 1969; “State Penalized Realty Brokers for Blockbusting,” *Staten Island Advance*, December 12, 1970.

<sup>62</sup> “Rights Agency to Probe Blockbusting.”

<sup>63</sup> “New Brighton Residents Score ‘Slum’ Conditions,” *Staten Island Advance*, January 12, 1967.

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

<sup>65</sup> Steven V. Roberts, “Bias Charged in Housing on S.I.,” *New York Times*, January 20, 1967.



houses “south of New Dorp,” in an overwhelmingly white part of Staten Island. Instead, their broker “said that there were none, but told family members that there were several possibilities in New Brighton, where more minorities reside.”<sup>66</sup>

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

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

---

<sup>66</sup> Sydney Freedberg, “Real Estate Brokers Face Probe on Racial Steering,” *Staten Island Advance*, February 16, 1978.

<sup>67</sup> “Claim Bias in Staten Is. Housing,” *New York Amsterdam News*, May 25, 1963.

<sup>68</sup> *Dix-Jones v. Saxon Apts. Assocs. II*, 1987 WL 12033 (E.D.N.Y.1987) as cited in *Open Housing Center, Inc. v. Samson Management Corp.*, 152 FRD 472 (S.D.N.Y. December 14, 1993). See also Karla Schuster, “Suit Guarantees Apartments for Minorities,” *Staten Island Advance*, June 27, 1989.

<sup>69</sup> “Complex Agrees to Offer Blacks Apartments,” *Staten Island Advance*, June 11, 1988.

discrimination suit.<sup>70</sup>

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

#### **D. White Hostility and Racial Harassment**

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

---

<sup>70</sup> “S.I. Hi Rise Has Two Doors—One Black, One White,” *New York Amsterdam News*, September 18, 1993.

<sup>71</sup> See for example, “Staten Island is ‘More Racist than Any City Down South,’” *Staten Island Advance*, November 28, 1983; “Human Rights Office Needed on the Island,” *Staten Island Advance*, March 1, 1983; “Equal Housing, Jobs Among the Priorities of Island NAACP,” *Staten Island Advance*, February 27, 1984.

<sup>72</sup> “Woman Alleges Bias in Condo Denial Case,” *Staten Island Advance*, May 30, 1986.

<sup>73</sup> “Island Housing Bias: Blame Goes in Circles,” *Staten Island Advance*, July 13, 1986; “An Apartment, But What a Price to Pay,” *Staten Island Advance*, July 13, 1986.

<sup>74</sup> “Housing Discrimination Suit Nears Trial Date,” *Staten Island Advance*, February 13, 1987.

<sup>75</sup> “Human Rights Office Needed on the Island,” *Staten Island Advance*, March 1, 1983. See also, “Real Estate Agents



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

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

---

Pin Bias Rap on Residents," *Staten Island Advance*, September 22, 1987.

<sup>76</sup> Paul L. Montgomery, "Fire at Black's House Stirs Fear and Rumor on S.I. Block," *New York Times*, April 25, 1973; John Hanley, "Aftermath of SI Fire: A Plea for Brotherhood," *New York Times*, April 28, 1972; "NAACP Letter Was Key in Staten Island Indictment," *New York Amsterdam News*, October 29, 1975.

<sup>77</sup> Max Siegel, "4 Guilty of Harassing Black S.I. Family," *New York Times*, June 4, 1976.

<sup>78</sup> Laura Bruno, "New Neighbors Rile Community," *Staten Island Advance*, October 23, 1991.

<sup>79</sup> "Islanders Step Up to Counter Bigotry for Navy Chief," *Staten Island Advance*, December 19, 1991.

<sup>80</sup> Michael Scholl, "Home Defaced by Racist Scrawl," *Staten Island Advance*, April 4, 2000; "Racist Graffiti Painted At Black Woman's Home," *New York Times*, April 5, 2000; Over the previous year, Blacks were the target of eight bias crimes; Jews six. Lesbians and gays were also targets.

<sup>81</sup> Frank Donnelly, "Words of Hate Gone—Problem Lingers," *Staten Island Advance*, April 4, 2000.

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

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

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

---

<sup>82</sup> "Legal Services NYC Files Federal Complaint Against Luxury Housing Complex in Staten Island Alleging Racial Discrimination," July 11, 2018, <https://www.legalservicesnyc.org/news/lsnyc-files-federal-complaint-against-luxury-housing-complex-in-staten-island-alleging-racial-discrimination/>.

<sup>83</sup> Serena Trangle, "Urby in Stapleton Settles Race Discrimination Lawsuit," AMNY, November 28, 2018, <https://www.amny.com/real-estate/urby-staten-island-1-24007479/>.

<sup>84</sup> New York Human Rights Commission, Prospective Tenant Settles Race Discrimination Claim with Staten Island Landlord Who Denied Her Housing, November/December 2019.

<sup>85</sup> *City of New York v. Sansom Management*, No. 451144/2019 (Sup. Ct., New York County 2019).

renters.<sup>86</sup> The case was resolved with a 2021 consent decree.<sup>87</sup>

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

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

#### **E. Violence and Hate Crimes**

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

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

---

<sup>86</sup> *U.S. v Village Realty of Staten Island Ltd. and Denis Donovan*, Complaint, September 30, 2020, E.D.N.Y, Civil No. 20-CV-4647, <https://www.justice.gov/crt/case-document/file/1324221/dl>.

<sup>87</sup> *U.S. v Village Realty of Staten Island Ltd. and Denis Donovan*, Consent Decree, April 5 2021, E.D.N.Y, Civil No. 20-CV-4647, <https://www.justice.gov/crt/case-document/file/1385971/dl>

<sup>88</sup> *Fair Justice Housing Center v. Yudi Niaznov et al.* Complaint, E.D.N.Y. 24 Civ. 4201, June 12, 2024.

<sup>89</sup> Fair Justice Housing Center, "Steven and Maya's Fair Housing Story," July 8, 2025, <https://fairhousingjustice.org/personal-stories/he-said-he-was-going-to-be-straight-with-us/>.

<sup>90</sup> "White Bigots N.Y. Style in Staten Island," *New York Amsterdam News*, October 18, 1980.

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

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

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

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

---

<sup>91</sup> Kramer and Flanagan, *Staten Island*, 107.

<sup>92</sup> David Hatchet, “New York City Becoming Hot-Bed of Racial Hatred?” *New York Amsterdam News*, September 26, 1987.

<sup>93</sup> Kramer and Flanagan, *Staten Island*, 108.

<sup>94</sup> Jim O’Grady, “Neighborhood Report: Northern Staten Island: Dr. King’s Highway Should Say Dr. King, Critics Argue,” *New York Times*, March 3, 2002.

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

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

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

---

<sup>95</sup> Sam Howe Verhovek, “Race and a Death Dividing Two Neighborhoods on S.I.,” *New York Times*, October 17, 1988. See also “March for Decency in Staten Island Death,” *New York Amsterdam News*, October 29, 1988.

<sup>96</sup> “Klan is Outlawed in New York State,” *New York Times*, July 30, 1946.

<sup>97</sup> Carl Campanile, “Island Klan Activities Denounced,” *Staten Island Advance*, October 26, 1992.

<sup>98</sup> “Racist Scrawlings Found on Bull’s Head Man’s Car,” *Staten Island Advance*, October 6, 1999; Robert Gavin and Michael Scholl, “A Second Car Defaced with Racist Scrawl,” *Staten Island Advance*, October 8, 1999.

<sup>99</sup> Jeff Harrell, “Cops Investigating Racist Slurs Found Inside Borough Hall,” *Staten Island Advance*, March 3, 2005.

<sup>100</sup> Berger and Urbina, “Along with Population and Diversity, Stress Rises on Staten I;” Shin Maki, “Activists Meet To Bridge Racial Divide on S.I.,” *New York Daily News*, October 12, 2003.

from Nicaragua, and 1 percent from Honduras).<sup>101</sup>

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

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

---

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

---

<sup>107</sup> Liotta, “‘We Are At War.’”

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

---

<sup>112</sup> Annie McDonough, "Where Are Asylum-Seekers Living in New York City?," *City & State New York*, March 25, 2024. <https://www.cityandstateny.com/policy/2024/03/where-are-asylum-seekers-living-new-york-city/395176/>.

<sup>113</sup> Total enrollment from New York State Education Department, NYC Geog. Dist. #31, Staten Island at a Glance, 2023-24, <https://data.nysed.gov/profile.php?instid=800000042056>. Refugee enrollment from New York City Comptroller, Accounting for Asylum Seeker Services: Asylum Seeker Consensus, March 11, 2024, <https://comptroller.nyc.gov/services/for-the-public/accounting-for-asylum-seeker-services/asylum-seeker-census/>.

<sup>114</sup> Garsd, "On N.Y.'s Staten Island."

<sup>115</sup> Fahy and Vilchis, "Suing. Heckling. Cursing."



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

### SOCIO-ECONOMIC DISPARITIES

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

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

---

<sup>116</sup> Lovullo, "They Put Family First."

<sup>117</sup> Raymond E. Wolfinger and Steven J. Rosenstone, *Who Votes?* (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1980), 20–21, 25; Steven J. Rosenstone and John Mark Hansen, *Mobilization, Participation, and Democracy in America* (New York, Macmillan, 1993).

*Figure 7: Highest Educational Attainment: Blacks, Latinos, and Whites, Staten Island, 2019-2023<sup>118</sup>*

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

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

*Figure 8: Socio-Economic Status by Race and Ethnicity, Staten Island, 2019-2023<sup>119</sup>*

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

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

<sup>118</sup> U.S. Census, ACS, 2019-23.

<sup>119</sup> U.S. Census, ACS, 2019-23.

inferior housing. And finally, homeownership is strongly correlated with political participation.<sup>120</sup>

*Figure 9: Housing Tenure by Race and Ethnicity, Staten Island, 2019-2023*<sup>121</sup>

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

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

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

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

<sup>120</sup> John I. Gilderbloom and John P. Markham, “The Impact of Homeownership on Political Beliefs,” *Social Forces* 73:4 (1995), 1589-1607; Warren Miller and J. Merrill Shanks, *The New American Voter* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1996), 86, 88, 195, 274-75.

<sup>121</sup> U.S. Census, ACS, 2019-23.

<sup>122</sup> Emily M. Brooks, *Gotham’s War Within a War: Policing and the Birth of Law-And-Order Liberalism in World War II-Era New York City* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2023), 136-137.

<sup>123</sup> Brooks, *Gotham’s War Within*, 136-143. Quotes 136.



running from a stolen car in 1972, and injured three others, including two bystanders, and only received one-year probation and the loss of twenty vacation days for “recklessly firing his service revolver.”<sup>124</sup>

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

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

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

---

<sup>124</sup> Marilyn S. Johnson, *Street Justice: A History of Police Violence in New York City* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2004), 277; see also M. Cordell Thompson and Carolyn Erwin, “Death is Price Paid by Youth Crime Suspects,” *Jet*, September 14, 1972; U.S. House of Representatives, Judiciary Committee, 98<sup>th</sup> Congress, First Session on Police Misconduct, Part II, Serial No. 50, June 16, July 18, September 19, and November 28, 1983 (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1984), 1002.

<sup>125</sup> Denise Rinaldo, “Account on ‘Brutality’ by Island Cops Released,” *Staten Island Advance*, November 15, 1984.

<sup>126</sup> Craig Schneider and Angela Mosconi, “Death...Then Outrage,” *Staten Island Advance*, April 30, 1994.

<sup>127</sup> Craig Schneider and Anne Marie Calzolari, “The Findings: Medical Examiner Labels Sayon’s Death a Homicide,” *Staten Island Advance*, May 10, 1994.

of Staten Island is approximately 75.4 percent white, 9 percent Black, 8.6 percent Hispanic, and 6.7 percent Asian.”<sup>128</sup>

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

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

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

---

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

<sup>129</sup> Greg Ridgeway, *Analysis of Racial Disparities in the New York Police Department's Stop, Question, and Frisk Practices* (Santa Monica, CA: RAND Corporation, 2007). [https://www.nyc.gov/assets/nypd/downloads/pdf/public\\_information/TR534\\_FINALCompiled.pdf](https://www.nyc.gov/assets/nypd/downloads/pdf/public_information/TR534_FINALCompiled.pdf).

<sup>130</sup> Summary of the RAND Report on NYPD's Stop, Question, and Frisk, Testimony Presented Before the New York City Council Committee on Public Safety and Committee on Civil Rights by Greg Ridgeway, April 30, 2009. [https://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/testimonies/2009/RAND\\_CT329.pdf](https://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/testimonies/2009/RAND_CT329.pdf).

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

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

### DISPARITIES IN VOTING RIGHTS AND POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

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

---

<sup>132</sup> Ian Fisher, “Kelly Bans Choke Holds By Officers,” *New York Times*, November 24, 1993.

<sup>133</sup> For the video, see “Eric Garner: The Haunting Last Words of a Dying Man,” CNN, December 4, 2014. <https://www.cnn.com/2014/12/04/us/garner-last-words/index.html>.

<sup>134</sup> Garner’s arrest and death generated so much local and international press coverage that it is impossible to cite all of the sources here. A comprehensive overview can be found in Al Baker, J. David Goodman, and Benjamin Mueller, “Beyond the Chokehold: The Path to Eric Garner’s Death,” *New York Times*, June 6, 2014.

<sup>135</sup> Richard Cohen, “Decision in New York Exacerbates Distrust in Criminal Justice System,” Southern Poverty Law Center, December 3, 2014: <https://www.splcenter.org/resources/stories/decision-new-york-city-exacerbates-mistrust-justice-system/>.

<sup>136</sup> Alexander Keyssar, *The Right to Vote: The Contested History of Democracy in the United States*, Revised Edition (New York: Basic Books, 2009), 117-18.

<sup>137</sup> U.S. Civil Rights Commission, *Report of the U.S. Civil Rights Commission, 1959* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1959), 68.

some Black voters were disqualified because of literacy tests through the 1960s.<sup>138</sup>

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

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

---

<sup>138</sup> *Goosby v. Town Board. of the Town of Hempstead, NY*, 956 F. Supp. 326 (E.D.N.Y. 1997), 352.

<sup>139</sup> *Katzenbach v. Morgan*, 384 U.S. 641 (1966).

<sup>140</sup> U.S. Civil Rights Commission, *The Voting Rights Act, Ten Years After* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1975), 4-25.

<sup>141</sup> Keyssar, *Right to Vote*, 222-23.

<sup>142</sup> “Negro Woman Gets Staten Island Post,” *New York Times*, January 1, 1962



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

### RACIAL APPEALS ON STATEN ISLAND

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

---

<sup>143</sup> Kramer and Flanagan, *Staten Island*, 5-6.

<sup>144</sup> A.G. Sulzberger, “Staten Island Elects its First Black Council Member,” *New York Times*, November 9, 2009.

<sup>145</sup> Judy L. Randall, “Political Trailblazer from Rosebank Posed to Light a Fire Under Albany,” *Staten Island Advance*, November 11, 2010. In 2020, a Marist poll showed that 50 percent of Latinos registered voters had an unfavorable view versus 35 percent of Latino registered voters who had a favorable view of Malliotakis. 15 percent replied “unsure—never heard.” Marist Polls, New York CD-11 Race, October 2020, [https://maristpoll.marist.edu/wp-content/uploads/2020/10/NBC-4-NY\\_Marist-Poll\\_CD11-Registered-Voters\\_NOS-and-Tables\\_202010230908.pdf](https://maristpoll.marist.edu/wp-content/uploads/2020/10/NBC-4-NY_Marist-Poll_CD11-Registered-Voters_NOS-and-Tables_202010230908.pdf).

<sup>146</sup> La Fleur Stephens-Dougan, *Race to the Bottom: How Racial Appeals Work in American Politics* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2020); Nicholas A Valentino, Vincent L Hutchings, and Ismail K White, “Cues That Matter: How Political Ads Prime Racial Attitudes During Campaigns,” *American Political Science Review* 96 (2002), 75-90; Tali Mandelberg, *The Race Card: Campaign Strategy, Implicit Messages, and the Norm of Equality* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001).

<sup>147</sup> La Fleur Stephens-Dougan, “The Persistence of Racial Cues and Appeals in American Elections,” *Annual Review of Political Science* 24 (2021), 303-304.

<sup>148</sup> Stephens-Dougan, “Persistence of Racial Cues,” 311.

elections on Staten Island.

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

Figure 10: Cartoon depicting Staten Island opposition to “ghetto areas”<sup>149</sup>



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

<sup>149</sup> “Unwelcome Import,” *Staten Island Advance*, August 1, 1967.

<sup>150</sup> Richard Briffault, “Voting Rights, Home Rule, and Metropolitan Governance: The Secession of Staten Island As

complicated mix of race and ideology that is difficult to entangle.”<sup>151</sup> Some Staten Island residents continued to see the borough as “a bastion for the descendants of white Europeans.”<sup>152</sup>

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

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

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

---

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

<sup>151</sup> Kramer and Flanagan, *Staten Island*, 119–121, quote, 128; Melosi, *Fresh Kills*, 380–383.

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

<sup>153</sup> “There’s Still Time to Learn,” *Staten Island Advance*, October 3, 1993.

<sup>154</sup> See Patrick Nugent, “The Urban Environmental Order: Planning and Politics on Staten Island, 1945–1984” (Ph.D. diss. George Washington University, 2016), 243–45.

<sup>155</sup> Nugent, “The Urban Environmental Order,” 247–48.

<sup>156</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>157</sup> Melosi, *Fresh Kills*, 381.

<sup>158</sup> Joseph Viteritti, “Should Staten Island Leave the City?” *City Journal* (Autumn 1992), <https://www.city-journal.org/article/should-staten-island-leave-the-city>

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

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

---

<sup>159</sup> Julia G. Clarke, "Where Will We Turn?: Staten Island's African-American Leaders and Anti-Poverty Advocates Fear the Consequences of Secession," *City Limits* (February 1994), 22-26, quote 22. <https://citylimits.org/wp-content/uploads/2024/03/74787692-City-Limits-Magazine-February-1994-Issue.pdf>

<sup>160</sup> Mary Engels, "Freedom Bus to Roll into S.I.," *New York Daily News*, October 29, 1993.

<sup>161</sup> Stevie Lacie-Pendleton, "African Americans: Many Feel They Would Be Shunned," *Staten Island Advance*, March 17, 1993; Laura Bruno, "Secession: Around the Table: Single Mother Worries about Jobs, Costs, Racism," *Staten Island Advance*, March 17, 1993.

<sup>162</sup> *Staten Island Advance*, November 30, 1993, reprinted in "65 Percent of Staten Islanders Voted to Secede From New York City in 1993," *SI Live*, August 5, 2023. <https://www.silive.com/news/2023/08/65-of-staten-islanders-voted-to-secede-from-new-york-city-in-1993-from-the-vault.html>

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

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

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

---

<sup>163</sup> Richard Briffault, “Voting Rights, Home Rule, and Metropolitan Governance: The Secession of Staten Island As a Case Study in the Dilemmas of Local Self-Determination,” 92 COLUM. L. REV. 775 (1992) at 844 (citations omitted).

<sup>164</sup> Kramer and Flanagan, *Staten Island*, 131-132.

<sup>165</sup> Amanda Farinacci, “Smear Tactics’: How a Lawyer Roiled City Politics Using Misleading Facebook Pages,” NY1, August 25, 2017; <https://ny1.com/nyc/all-boroughs/news/2017/08/24/anatomy-of-a-social-media--smear-tactic---how-a-staten-island-lawyer-ran-misleading-facebook-pages-and-roiled-city-politics>.

<sup>166</sup> Jim Dwyer, “Lawyer Accused of Using Fake Facebook Pages to Sway Elections in Staten Island,” *New York Times*, August 31, 2017/.

*Figure 11: Fake Facebook Post Attributed to Debi Rose, 2017<sup>167</sup>*



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

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

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

<sup>167</sup> Reprinted in Dwyer, “Lawyer Accused of Using Fake Facebook Pages.”

<sup>168</sup> U.S. Department of Justice, Press Release: Three Staten Island, NY Men Indicted on Federal Hate Crime Conspiracy Charges, January 7, 2009, <https://www.justice.gov/archive/opa/pr/2009/January/09-crt-011.html>.

<sup>169</sup> U.S. Department of Justice, Press Release: Four Men Sentenced to a Combined 293 Months in Prison for Election Night Assaults,” September 10, 2009, <https://www.justice.gov/archives/opa/pr/four-men-sentenced-combined-293-months-prison-election-night-assaults>.



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

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

---

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

<sup>171</sup> Deborah Young, “Staten Island Education Appointee Email Ignites Firestorm,” *Staten Island Advance*, March 2, 2009.

<sup>172</sup> Young, “Staten Island Education Appointee Email Ignites Firestorm.”

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


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

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



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

Dated: November 17, 2025



---

Thomas J. Sugrue

---

<sup>176</sup> Joseph Ostapiuk, “Man Charged with Hate Crime After Allegedly Defacing North Shore Candidate Posters,” *SI Live*, March 24, 2021, <https://www.silive.com/crime-safety/2021/03/man-charged-with-hate-crime-after-allegedly-defacing-north-shore-candidate-posters.html>.

<sup>177</sup> Frank Donnelly, “He Admits Hate Crime for Racist Graffiti on SI Campaign Posters,” *SI Live*, December 1, 2021, <https://www.silive.com/crime-safety/2021/12/he-admits-hate-crime-for-racist-graffiti-on-si-campaign-posters-must-undergo-racial-insensitivity-treatment.html>.

# Appendix 1

Thomas J. Sugrue

Page 1

**THOMAS J. SUGRUE**

New York University, 20 Cooper Square, Room 438  
New York, NY 10003

**EDUCATION**

Ph.D. (1992) Harvard University (American History)  
A.M. (1987) Harvard University (American History)  
M.A. (1990) Cambridge University (British History)  
B.A. (1986) Cambridge University (British History, *Honours*, Doncaster History Prize)  
B.A. (1984) Columbia University (History, *Summa Cum Laude*, Phi Beta Kappa)

**HONORARY DEGREES**

D.H.L. (2016) Wayne State University (Doctorate in Humane Letters, *Honoris Causa*)  
M.A. (1997) University of Pennsylvania (Master of Arts, *Honoris Causa*)

**POSITIONS HELD**

New York University (2015-)

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

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

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

Founding Director of Program in Urban Studies (2024-)

Director of the Metropolitan Studies Program (2019-24)

Director of the American Studies Program (2016-18)

Director of the NYU Cities Collaborative (2015-)

University of Pennsylvania (1991-2015)

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

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

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

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

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

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

**Visiting Positions**

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

**Thomas J. Sugrue****Page 2**

Princeton University, Lawrence Stone Professor (April 2009).

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

**FELLOWSHIPS, AWARDS, GRANTS, AND HONORS**

Distinguished Service Award, Urban History Association, 2023.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

President, Urban History Association (2013-14).

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

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

Finalist, Benjamin Hooks Book Award (2011).

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

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

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

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

History News Network, Top Young Historian (2006).

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

John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Fellowship (2005).

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

American Philosophical Society, Franklin Research Grant (2005).

**Thomas J. Sugrue****Page 3**

Edmund J. and Louise W. Kahn Endowed Term Professorship (2004-10).  
Distinguished Lecturer, Organization of American Historians (2002-).  
Bicentennial Class of 1940 Term Chaired Professorship, University of Pennsylvania (1999-2004).  
Kellogg Foundation Non-Profits, Universities, Communities and Schools Grant (1998-2001).  
SAS Faculty Research Fellowship, University of Pennsylvania (1998-99).  
Richard S. Dunn Teaching Award, University of Pennsylvania (1998).  
Bancroft Prize in American History (1998).  
Philip Taft Prize for Best Book in Labor History (1997).  
Urban History Association Jackson Prize for Best Book in North American Urban History (1997).  
Sidney Hillman Foundation Award (1997). Co-Winner with members of the Steering Committee for a National Teach-In with the Labor Movement.  
President's Book Award, Social Science History Association (1996).  
Best Article Prize, Urban History Association (1996).  
Columbia University Seminars, Publication Grant (1996).  
Outstanding Professor Award, University of Pennsylvania Greek Council (1996).  
American Council of Learned Societies Fellowship (1995-96).  
National Endowment for the Humanities, Grant for Conference: W.E.B. Du Bois's *The Philadelphia Negro: A Centenary Reappraisal* (1994-96), Co-Principal Investigator.  
University of Pennsylvania Research Foundation Grants (1994-95, 1995-96).  
University of Pennsylvania, Center for Community Partnerships, Research Grant (1995).  
Ford Foundation, Undergraduate Social Science Initiatives Grants (1994-1996).  
Brookings Institution, Research Fellowship in Governmental Studies (1990-91).  
Social Science Research Council (SSRC), Committee for Research on the Urban Underclass, Dissertation Fellowship (1991) and Research Grant (1990-91).  
Bordin-Gillette Research Travel Fellowship, Bentley Library, University of Michigan (1990).  
Kaiser Family Foundation Fellowship, Walter P. Reuther Library (1990).  
Josephine De Kármán Foundation Fellowship (1989-90).  
Kellett Fellowship, King's College, Cambridge and Columbia University (1984-86).  
Harry S Truman Scholarship (1982-84, 1986-88).

**BOOKS**

*Segregating Cities: An Arnold R. Hirsch Reader*, edited (University of Chicago Press, 2026, in press).  
*The Long Year: A 2020 Reader*, co-edited with Caitlin Zaloom (Columbia University Press, 2022).  
*Neoliberal Cities: The Remaking of Postwar Urban America*, co-edited with Andrew J. Diamond (NYU Press, 2020).  
*Immigration and Metropolitan Revitalization in the United States*, co-edited with Domenic Vitiello (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2017).

Thomas J. Sugrue

Page 4

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

- ◆ Revised textbook edition with new material (2016).
- ◆ Abridged and revised textbook edition with new material published as *These United States: A Nation in the Making, 1945 to the Present* (2016).
- ◆ History Book Club and Military History Book Club Selections (2015).

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

- ◆ Chinese edition: 甚至还未过去 奥巴马与美国的种族负担 (Guangxi Normal University Press, 2022).
- ◆ French edition: *Le poids de passé: Barack Obama et la question raciale*. With an introduction by Denis Lacorne and a new chapter. (Éditions Fahrenheit, 2012).
- ◆ Finalist, Benjamin Hooks Book Prize, 2011.

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

- ◆ Finalist, *Los Angeles Times* Book Prize in History, 2009.
- ◆ Main Selection, History Book Club, 2008.
- ◆ Symposia on *Sweet Land of Liberty* at the Social Science History Association Conference (2008), The Newberry Library, Chicago (2008), Université Denis Diderot, Paris-7 (2009), and American Society for Legal History Conference (2009).
- ◆ Roundtable on *Sweet Land of Liberty* in *Labor: Studies in Working-Class History of the Americas* 7:1 (2010)

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

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

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

- ◆ Princeton Classics Edition with a new preface, 2005.
- ◆ Princeton Classics Paperback with a new preface, 2014.
- ◆ Chinese edition with a new preface: forthcoming 2025.
- ◆ Japanese edition with a new preface: アメリカの都市危機と「アンダークラス」：自動車都市デトロイトの戦後史 / *Amerika no toshi kiki to andakurasu: jidōsha toshi detoroito no sengoshi*. Translated by Masaki Kawashima (Akashi Shoten, 2002).
- ◆ One of 100 most influential books published in the last century featured in *A Century of Books: Princeton University Press, 1905-2005* (Princeton University Press, 2005).
- ◆ 1998 Bancroft Prize in History
- ◆ 1997 Philip Taft Prize in Labor History
- ◆ 1997 Kenneth T. Jackson Prize for Best Book in North American Urban History, Urban History Association
- ◆ 1997 Choice Outstanding Academic Book
- ◆ 1996 President's Book Award, Social Science History Association

Thomas J. Sugrue

Page 5

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

**WORKS-IN-PROGRESS**

*Rent: An American History* (book in progress).

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

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

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

**EDITED JOURNAL ISSUES**

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

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

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

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

**ARTICLES AND BOOK CHAPTERS** (\* peer-reviewed)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



Thomas J. Sugrue

Page 6

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

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

♦ Reprinted as "Barack Obama's Urban Policy," in *Obama's Fractured Legacy: The Politics and Policies of an Embattled Presidency*, ed. François Vergniolle de Chantal (Edinburgh University Press, 2020).

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

\* "The Reconfiguration of Political History," *Tocqueville Review/la Revue Tocqueville* 36 (2015), 11-20.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Thomas J. Sugrue

Page 7

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Thomas J. Sugrue

Page 8

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Thomas J. Sugrue

Page 9

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

"The Impoverished Politics of Poverty," *Yale Journal of Law and Humanities* 6 (1994), 163-79.

\* "The Structures of Urban Poverty: The Reorganization of Space and Work in Three Periods of American History," in *The "Underclass" Debate: Views from History*, ed. Michael B. Katz (Princeton University Press, 1993), 85-117.

- ◆ Translated and published as "A városi szegénység szerkezete: a tér és a munka újjászerveződése az amerikai történelem három korszakában," *Budapesti Negyed* 26-27 (1999-2000), 234-74.

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

### EXPERT REPORTS

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

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

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

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

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

National Commission on Fair Housing and Equal Opportunity (July 2008). Wrote report, testified.

*U.S. v. City of Euclid*, 580 F. Supp. 2d 584 (N.D. Ohio 2008). Wrote report, was deposited, testified.

*Gutter v. Bollinger*, 137 F. Supp. 2d 821 (E.D. Mich. 2001). Wrote report.

*Gratz v. Bollinger*, 122 F. Supp.2d 811 (E.D. Mich. 2000). Wrote report.

### PUBLISHED INTERVIEWS

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

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

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

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

Entretien [Interview]: "Une nouvelle conscience des injustices raciales est en train d'émerger aux Etats-Unis," *Alternatives Economiques* [France], June 8, 2020. Interviewed by Régis Meyran.

Entretien [Interview]: "Les conditions d'un soulèvement plus large sont là," *L'Obs* [Paris], June 6, 2020. Interviewed by Rémi Noyon.

Thomas J. Sugrue

Page 10

"Public Thinker: Thomas J. Sugrue on History's Hard Lessons," interviewed by Destin Jenkins, *Public Books*, April 2, 2019.

"L'historien éclaire-t-il le présent? Entretien avec Thomas J. Sugrue," *La Vie des Idées*, May 25, 2016.

"The Historian as Public Intellectual," interview with Thomas J. Sugrue, *Books and Ideas*, November 2014.

"Detroit: A Lose-Lose Situation for All Involved: An Interview with University of Pennsylvania Historian Thomas Sugrue," *Toronto Globe and Mail*, July 19, 2013.

"Unconventional Wisdom: Urban Historian Thomas Sugrue Revisits Detroit," interview by W. Kim Heron, *Metro Times*, November 9, 2005.

"Historically Speaking: An Interview with Thomas J. Sugrue," by Julian Zelizer, *Journal of Multi-Media History* 2 (Fall 1999).

### **BOOK REVIEWS**

"In Praise of the Black Men and Women Who Built Detroit," *New York Times Book Review* (September 10, 2017), review of Herb Boyd, *Black Detroit: A People's History of Self-Determination*.

"White Trash," *New York Times Book Review* (June 19, 2016), review of Nancy Isenberg, *White Trash: The 400-Year Untold History of Class in America*.

"Inner City Blues," *Bookforum* (Summer 2016), review of Mitchell Duneier, *Ghetto: The Invention of a Place, The History of an Idea*.

"Shut Out," *New York Times Book Review* (July 5, 2015), review of Kristen Green, *Something Must be Done about Prince Edward County: A Family, A Virginia Town, A Civil Rights Battle*.

"Notown," *Democracy* (Spring 2013), 116-23, review of Mark Binelli, *Detroit City is the Place to Be: The Afterlife of an American Metropolis*.

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

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

"Chicago and the Primacy of the Social," *Public Books* (September 2012), review of Robert Sampson, *Great American City*.

"Lincoln, Resurrected," *Dissent* (Fall 2010), 106-09, review of Michael Burlingame, *Abraham Lincoln: A Life*.

"Levittown to Laos," *London Review of Books* (July 22, 2010), review of Steven M. Gillon, *The Kennedy Assassination: 24 Hours After*.

Douglas Blackmon, *Slavery by Another Name: The Re-Enslavement of Black Americans from the Civil War to World War II*, *Firedoglake* (August 16, 2009).

"The Hundred Days War," *The Nation* (April 27, 2009), review of H.W. Brands, *Traitor to His Class: The Privileged Life and Radical Presidency of Franklin Delano Roosevelt* and Adam Cohen, *Nothing to Fear: FDR's Inner Circle and the Hundred Days that Created Modern America*.

"It's Not the Bus, It's Us," *London Review of Books* (November 20, 2008), review of Louis Masur, *The Soiling of Old Glory*.

"Orthogonian Visions," *The Nation* (September 1/8, 2008), review of Rick Perlstein, *Nixonland*. Letter and Sugrue response, *The Nation* (October 6, 2008).



Thomas J. Sugrue

Page 11

"Hearts and Minds," *The Nation* (May 12, 2008), review of Richard Thompson Ford, *The Race Card*; Randall Kennedy, *Sellout*; Bill Cosby and Alan Poussaint, *Come on People*; and Stephen Steinberg, *Race Relations: A Critique*.

"In Your Guts You Know He's Nuts," *London Review of Books* (January 3, 2008), 29-31, review of Barry Goldwater, *Conscience of a Conservative*.

"Shanker Blows Up the World," *The Nation* (November 12, 2007), 36-41, review of Richard Kahlenberg, *Tough Liberal: Albert Shanker and the Battles over Schools, Unions, Race, and Democracy* and Joshua Zeitz, *White Ethnic New York: Jews, Catholics, and the Shaping of Postwar Politics*. Letters to the Editor and Sugrue response, *The Nation* (December 10, 2007), 3, 60.

"A Flawed Look at Tensions in Chicago Neighborhoods," *Chicago Tribune* (Oct. 22, 2006), review of William Julius Wilson and Richard Taub, *There Goes the Neighborhood: Racial Ethnic and Class Tensions in Four Chicago Neighborhoods and their Meaning for America*.

"AmeriKKKa," *London Review of Books* (October 5, 2006), 17-20, review of Raymond Arsenault, *Freedom Rides: 1961 and the Struggle for Racial Justice*.

"The Geography of Fear," *The Nation* (February 27, 2006), 40-44, review of Robert Bruegmann, *Sprawl: A Compact History*; Robert M. Fogelson, *Bourgeois Nightmares*; and James Loewen, *Sundown Towns*. Breugmann Letter to Editor and Sugrue response, *The Nation* (October 2, 2006), 2.

♦ Reprinted in *Designer/Builder: A Journal of the Human Environment* 8:4 (Nov.-Dec. 2006), 7-12.

"Separate and Unequal--Still," *Chicago Tribune* (Sept. 11, 2005), 1, review of Jonathan Kozol, *The Shame of the Nation: The Restoration of Apartheid Schooling in America*.

Review: Joshua Freeman, *Working-Class New York*, in *International Labor and Working-Class History* 62 (Fall 2002), 240-42.

"Terror in the Streets," *Washington Post Book World* (March 10, 2002), 6, review of James S. Hirsch, *Riot and Remembrance: The Tulsa Race War and Its Legacy*, Alfred Brophy, *Reconstructing the Dreamland: The Tulsa Race Riot of 1921*, and Tim Madigan, *The Burning: Massacre, Destruction and the Tulsa Race Riot of 1921*.

"Teamster Spirit," *Washington Post Book World* (Sept. 2, 2001), review of Thaddeus Russell, *Out of the Jungle: Jimmy Hoffa and the Remaking of the American Working Class*.

"The Real Revolution," *Washington Post Book World* (Sept. 17, 2000), 1, 3, review of Evan Thomas, *Robert Kennedy: A Life* and Matthew Dallek, *The Right Moment: Ronald Reagan's First Victory and the Decisive Turning Point in American Politics*.

♦ Reprinted as "How Camelot Blinded Liberals to Reagan's Appeal," in *Guardian Weekly*, London (December 28, 2000-January 3, 2001), 23.

Review: Judith Stein, *Running Steel, Running America: Race, Economic Policy, and the Decline of Liberalism in Industrial and Labor Relations Review* 54 (2000), 190-92.

Review: Roger Horowitz, "Negro and White, Unite and Fight": A Social History of Industrial Unionism in Meatpacking, 1930-1990, *Industrial and Labor Relations Review* 52 (1999), 323-25.

Review: Nelson Lichtenstein, *The Most Dangerous Man in Detroit: Walter P. Reuther and the Fate of American Labor*; Kevin Boyle, *The UAW and the Heyday of American Liberalism*; and Stephen Amberg, *The Union Inspiration in American Politics: The Autoworkers and the Making of a Liberal Industrial Order in International Labor and Working-Class History* 52 (Fall 1997), 243-48.

"Breakthrough Books: The Welfare State," contributor, *Lingua Franca* (August 1997), 14.

"1995 North American Labor History Conference" (with Rick Halpern, Ardis Cameron, and Walter Licht), *International Labor and Working-Class History* 51 (1997), 151-55.

Thomas J. Sugrue

Page 12

"Poor Vision" *Tikkun* (September/October 1995): 87-90, review of Herbert Gans, *The War Against the Poor*.

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

Review: William Cronon, *Changes in the Land: Indians, Colonists and the Ecology of New England* and Neal Salisbury, *Manitou and Providence: Indians, Europeans, and the Making of New England, 1500-1643* in *History Workshop Journal* 27 (1987), 311-14.

### SHORT ARTICLES AND OPINION PIECES

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

♦ French translation: "Martin Luther King – Plus radical qu'on ne le croit?" *Revue Ballast*, February 17, 2015.

♦ Reprinted in *Tribune Magazine* (UK), January 21, 2019.



Thomas J. Sugrue

Page 13

- ◆ Spanish translation: "El verdadera Martin Luther King," *Jacobin América Latina*, January 18, 2024.
- "The Rise and Fall of Detroit's Middle Class," *The New Yorker* online, July 22, 2013.
- "A More Perfect Union: Barack Obama and the Politics of Unity," *History Now* 36 (Summer 2013).
- "Urban History from the Eye of the Storm," *Urban History Association Newsletter* 45 (Spring 2013).
- "A House Divided: Why Do Middle-Class Blacks Have Far Less Wealth than Whites at the Same Income Level? The Answer is in Real Estate and History," *Washington Monthly* (Jan/Feb. 2013), 41-44.
- ◆ Reprinted in *The Wealth Divide*, ed. Noel Marino (Farmington Hills, MI: Greenhaven Press, 2015), 34-43.
- "Workers' Paradise Lost," *New York Times*, December 14, 2012.
- "Obama, éternel étranger en terrain miné," *Libération* (Paris), October 30, 2012.
- "Saul Alinsky: The Activist Who Terrifies the Right," *Salon*, February 7, 2012.
- "A Dream Still Deferred," *New York Times*, March 26, 2011.
- "President Obama and the Burden of Race," *SAS Frontiers*, August 2010.
- "Friday Reading: Diversity, Dogma, and the Dole," *The Atlantic*, online, August 20, 2010.
- "Obama's Justice," *The Atlantic*, online, August 19, 2010.
- "Kilpatrickism," *The Atlantic*, online, August 18, 2010.
- ◆ Reprinted in *Philadelphia Inquirer*, August 22, 2010.
- "Tough Luck," *The Atlantic*, online, August 17, 2010.
- "Hallowed Ground," *The Atlantic*, online, August 16, 2010.
- "School Daze," *The Atlantic* online, August 15, 2010.
- "The Myth of Post-Racial America," *Washington Post*, June 10, 2010.
- "Stories and Legends," *The Nation*, June 6, 2010.
- "The New American Dream: Renting," *Wall Street Journal*, August 15, 2009.
- "A Nation on Fire," *Talking Points Memo*, March 30-April 3, 2009. Roundtable.
- "Obama Must Rise to Urban Challenge," *Detroit Free Press*, February 22, 2009.
- "Obama's America," *Talking Points Memo*, January 19-24, 2009. Roundtable.
- "The End of the Sixties: The Meaning of the Obama Victory," *Boston Globe*, Nov. 10, 2008.
- ◆ Reprinted in Brian Ward, ed., *The Sixties: A Documentary History* (Cambridge, 2009).
- "Motor City: The Story of Detroit," *History Now* 11 (March 2007), [www.historynow.org](http://www.historynow.org)
- "Still a Poor City," *Detroit Free Press*, February 6, 2006.
- "Burn, Bébé, Burn," *Dissent* (Winter 2006), 5-7.
- "Sacramento Gets It Wrong at Detroit's Expense," *Detroit Free Press*, November 12, 2005.
- "Protests Then and Now," *Pennsylvania Current*, May 18, 2000.
- "Throwaway Land," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, March 28, 1999.
- "Detroit Has Yet to Recover from 1950s Turning Point," *Detroit Free Press*, June 1, 1997.
- "Urban History at the University of Pennsylvania," *Urban History Newsletter*, Spring 1997, 2.

Thomas J. Sugrue

Page 14

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

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

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

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

### EXCERPTS

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

### NAMED LECTURES AND KEYNOTE ADDRESSES

Haverford School (Parker History Lecture), February 2025.

**Thomas J. Sugrue****Page 15**

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

Salve Regina College (McGinty Lecture), April 2023.

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

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

University of Cincinnati (Taft Lectures) September 2018.

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

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

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

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

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

Keynote Address: Nanzan University American Studies 40<sup>th</sup> Anniversary Symposium, July 2016.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Pomona College (Hart Lecture), November 2010.

Cranbrook Academy (Sirchio Distinguished Lecturer), October 2009.

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

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

**Thomas J. Sugrue****Page 16**

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

Movement

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Boston University (Bacon Lecture), May 2003.

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

Emporia State University (Boertman Lecture), April 2003.

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

Boston College (Lowell Lecture), September 2002.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Sufficiency:

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

Keynote Address: Delaware Valley Grantmakers Annual Meeting, October 1998.

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

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

Thomas J. Sugrue

Page 17

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

**INVITED LECTURES, SEMINARS, AND WORKSHOPS**

University of Notre Dame, History Department, November 2025.

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

Institute for Public Knowledge, February 2025.

British Academy, Imagining the Urban Future, January 2025.

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

Institute for Public Knowledge, October 2024.

NEH Summer Seminar, Eastern Michigan University, July 2024.

University of Oxford, Rothermere American Institute, June 2024.

Vanderbilt University, New Deal Workshop, May 2024.

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

National Association of Realtors, April 2024.

Boston College, History, February 2024.

Sorbonne Université, Paris, November 2023.

State Museum of Pennsylvania, June 2023.

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

Brown University, Urban Studies, April 2023.

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

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

University of Pennsylvania, Economic History Workshop, September 2022.

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

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

New York Institute for the Humanities, December 2021.

University of Detroit Mercy, November 2021 (online).

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Detroit Chapter DSA, September 2020 (online).

**Thomas J. Sugrue****Page 18**

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

New York Historical Society, January 2020.

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

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

University of Chicago, May 2019.

University of Wisconsin, Madison, April 2019.

Tulane University, April 2019.

University of New Orleans, Honors College, April 2019.

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

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

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

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

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

Temple University, Center for the Humanities, October 2017.

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

City of Detroit Planning Commission, July 2017.

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

Sorbonne Université, Paris, May 2017.

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

Cambridge University, American History Seminar, January 2017.

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

Institute for New Economic Knowledge, Detroit, November 2016.

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

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

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

Nanzan University, Nagoya, Japan, July 2016.

University of Pennsylvania, Presidential Campaign Roundtable, July 2016.

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

Germantown Historical Society, April 2016.

Columbia University, Seminar on the City, April 2016.

Princeton University, School of Architecture, March 2016.

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

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

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

Labyrinth Books, Princeton, NJ, November 2015.



**Thomas J. Sugrue****Page 19**

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

University of Virginia, Miller Center, October 2015.

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

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

University of California, Santa Barbara, September 2015.

Harvard University, Safra Center for Ethics, September 2015.

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

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

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

National Museum of American Jewish History, May 2015.

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

University of South Carolina, February 2015.

Stanford University Law School, February 2015.

Mercer Museum, Doylestown, PA., February 2015.

Free Library of Philadelphia, February 2015.

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

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

Andrew W. Mellon Foundation, November 2014.

National Museum of American Jewish History, November 2014.

University of Southern California Law School, October 2014.

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

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

Citizens Research Council of Michigan, September 2014.

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

University of Heidelberg, Germany, June 2014.

University of Paris--Sorbonne, May 2014.

Social Science Research Council, May 2014.

Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, May 2014.

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

University of New Mexico, March 2014.

Clements Center, Southern Methodist University, March 2014.

Museum of the City of New York, February 2014.

Detroit Regional Chamber of Commerce, February 2014.

New York University, Metropolitan Studies, February 2014.

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

**Thomas J. Sugrue****Page 20**

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

Social Science Research Council, October 2013.

Arcadia University (Rendell Center), October 2013.

Public Interest Law Center of Philadelphia, September 2013.

Gilder-Lehrman Institute, Boston, July 2013.

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

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

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

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

Social Science Research Council, April 2013.

University of Pittsburgh, February 2013.

Brown University, February 2013.

University of Miami, February 2013.

Princeton University, December 2012.

Franklin and Marshall College, October 2012.

Marshall University, September 2012.

Association of Alternative Newsmedia, June 2012.

Johns Hopkins University, April 2012.

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

Holy Cross College, March 2012.

Macalester College, March 2012.

Henry Ford Museum, January 2012.

Metropolitan Minds/Mount Airy USA, January 2012.

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

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

Centro de Estudios Americanos, Buenos Aires, August 2011.

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

University of Delaware/Teaching American History, July 2011.

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

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

Montgomery Community College, Teaching American History, June 2011.

Scotch Plains Public Library, May 2011.

Macomb County Community College, April 2011.

Eastern Michigan University, April 2011.

University of Chicago (History), April 2011.

**Thomas J. Sugrue****Page 21**

Louisiana State University, March 2011.  
Washington State University, Foley Institute, March 2011.  
University of Michigan, Dearborn, February 2011.  
Temple University, February 2011.  
University of Virginia, Miller Center for Public Affairs, January 2011.  
Russell Sage Foundation, January 2011.  
Richard M. Nixon Library, December 2010.  
Northwestern University, November 2010.  
Temple University, November 2010.  
University System of Georgia, October 2010.  
University of Chicago, Harris School, October 2010.  
Historical Society of Pennsylvania/NEH Summer Seminar, July 2010.  
Temple University, July 2010.  
Princeton Public Library, June 2010.  
Organization of American Historians/Philadelphia Community College, June 2010.  
American Bar Foundation, April 2010.  
University of Chicago, April 2010.  
Lorenzo Humanities Center, Macomb County Community College, April 2010.  
Rutgers University-Camden, April 2010.  
Princeton University, March 2010.  
University of Maryland, Provost's Conversation Series, March 2010.  
Richard Stockton College of New Jersey, March 2010.  
New Detroit, March 2010.  
National Constitution Center, March 2010.  
New School for Social Research, March 2010.  
Columbia University, Lehman Center, December 2009.  
New Jersey Council for History Education, December 2009.  
St. Joseph University, November 2009.  
Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, November 2009.  
Canisius College, October 2009.  
Germantown Historical Society, August 2009.  
Université de Paris-7, Denis-Diderot, June 2009. Half-day seminar on *Sweet Land of Liberty*  
Université de Lille-3, Charles-de-Gaulle, June 2009.  
Slought Foundation, Philadelphia, May 2009.  
Lovett Memorial Library, Philadelphia, March 2009.

**Thomas J. Sugrue****Page 22**

Wayne State University, February 2009.

University of California, Berkeley, February 2009.

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

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

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

Harvard University (Charles Warren Center), October 2008.

Denison University (McGregor Urbanscapes Series), September 2008.

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

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

City Connect Detroit, April 2008.

University of California, Santa Barbara, February 2008.

Michigan Region, Anti-Defamation League, January 2008.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

University of Baltimore (History), November 2006.

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

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

Oxford University (Rothermere American Institute), April 2006.

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

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

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

Princeton University (History), December 2005.

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

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

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

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

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

Oxford University (Rothermere American Institute), May 2005.

**Thomas J. Sugrue****Page 23**

Cambridge University (History), May 2005.

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

Philadelphia Jewish Federation, January 2005.

University of Delaware (History), October 2004.

Lake Forest College (History), April 2004.

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

University of Oklahoma (Honors College), March 2004.

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

Harvard University (Charles Warren Center), December 2003.

La Salle University (Catholic Studies), October 2003.

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

Fund for an Open Society, June 2003.

Wayne State University (Humanities Center), March 2003.

Detroit University of Pennsylvania Alumni Association, March 2003.

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

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

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

New School University (Political Science), April 2002.

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

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

Drexel University (Technology and Society), October 2001.

Madonna University (NEH Summer Seminar), July 2001.

Marygrove College (Defining Detroit Lecture), February 2001.

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

Thomas Campbell Cleveland Seminar on the City, October 2000.

Cleveland State University (History), October 2000.

Case Western Reserve University (History), October 2000.

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

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

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

University of Chicago (History), March 2000.

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

Lutheran Theological Seminary of Philadelphia, March 2000.

Fairfield University (History), November 1999.

**Thomas J. Sugrue****Page 24**

Harvard University (NEH Summer Seminar), July 1999.

Stanford University (History), May 1999.

Frankford Community Development Consortium, May 1999

Hamilton College (Political Science), April 1999.

Union College (History), April 1999.

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

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

University of Michigan (History), January 1999.

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

Southeast Michigan Community Foundation, November 1998.

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

Harvard Club, New York, July 1998.

*Detroit Free Press*, July 1998.

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

New York University (History), March 1998.

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

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

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

Congregation T'Chiyah, Detroit, February 1998.

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

College of New Jersey (History), October 1997.

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

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

University of Virginia (History), January 1997.

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

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

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

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

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

Hospital Graduates Society of New York, April 1996.

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

Philadelphia Festival Theatre for New Plays, March 1996.

Annenberg Theatre, Philadelphia, November 1995.

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

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



**Thomas J. Sugrue****Page 25**

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

Penn Club of New York, February 1995.

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

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

**CONFERENCE PRESENTATIONS**

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Urban History Association, Biennial Conference, October 2023.

Organization of American Historians Annual Meeting, April 2023.

Business History Conference, March 2023, Opening Plenary Session.

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

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

Social Science History Association Annual Meeting, November 2019.

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

Organization of American Historians Annual Meeting, April 2019.

Urban History Association, Biennial Conference, October 2018.

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

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

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

Organization of American Historians Annual Meeting, April 2017.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Organization of American Historians Annual Meeting, April 2016.

Thomas J. Sugrue

Page 26

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Organization of American Historians Annual Meeting, April 2014

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

Social Science History Association Annual Meeting, November 2013.

Urban History Association, October 2012.

American Association of Alternative Newsmedia, June 2012.

Organization of American Historians, April 2012.

American Historical Association, January 2012.

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

Eastern Sociological Association, Annual Meeting, February 2011.

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

American Society of Church History Annual Meeting, January 2010.

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

Southern Historical Association Annual Meeting, November 2009.

Organization of American Historians, Annual Meeting, March 2009.

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

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

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

The Historical Society, Annual Meeting, June 2008.

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

Renaissance Weekend, Santa Barbara, California, February 2008.

Social Science History Association Annual Meeting, November 2007.

American Studies Association Annual Meeting, October 2007.

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

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

American Planning Association Annual Meeting, April 2007.

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

Thomas J. Sugrue

Page 27

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

Michigan Civil Rights Summit, March 2006 (plenary).

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Urban History Association Meeting, September 2002 (comment).

Pax Christi USA Annual Assembly, July 2002.

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

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

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

American Historical Association Annual Meeting, January 2001.

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

American Studies Association Annual Meeting, October 2000.

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

American Sociological Association Annual Meeting, August 2000.

American Historical Association Annual Meeting, January 2000.

Organization of American Historians Annual Meeting, April 1999.

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

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

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

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

Social Science History Association Annual Meeting, November 1998.

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

American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, August 1998.

Organization of American Historians Annual Meeting, April 1998.

American Historical Association Annual Meeting, Seattle, January 1998.

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

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

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

New

**Thomas J. Sugrue****Page 28**

Social Science History Association Annual Meeting, October 1996.

North American Labor History Conference, October 1996.

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

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

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

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

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

American Historical Association Annual Meeting, January 1994.

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

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

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

North American Labor History Conference, October 1992.

American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, September 1992.

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

Organization of American Historians Annual Meeting, April 1992.

American Historical Association Annual Meeting, December 1991.

## **TEACHING EXPERIENCE**

### **Graduate Courses**

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

American Politics from the New Deal to Neoliberalism

Race, Politics, and Inequality in Twentieth-Century America

Civil Rights in Modern America

Twentieth-Century U.S. History

Post-1945 U.S. History

American Politics since 1865 (with Steven Hahn)

Civil Rights and Religion in America

Race, Inequality, and the City in the United States

Urban Uprisings (with Sophie Gonick)

NYU Urban Fellows Seminar (with Gianpaolo Baiocchi)

Research Seminar on American History

Varieties of Political History

### **Undergraduate Courses**

**Thomas J. Sugrue****Page 29**

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

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

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

Approaches to Metropolitan Studies

Comparative Global Urbanism (with Sophie Gonick)

Contested Cities: Difference, Inequality, and the Metropolis

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

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

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

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

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

The Rise and Fall of the New Deal Order

Civil Rights in Modern America

The Affirmative Action Debate

Penn Institute for Urban Research, Undergraduate Urban Research Course

Conflict in Postwar American Politics, 1945-1960

American History Honors Seminar

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

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

**DISSERTATIONS ADVISED**

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Thomas J. Sugrue

Page 30

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



Thomas J. Sugrue

Page 31

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Nicole Maurantonio, Ph.D. History and Communications, Penn, 2007. Professor of Rhetoric and Communications, University of Richmond. "Crisis, Race, and Journalistic Authority in Postwar Philadelphia." Primary advisor.

Christina Collins, Ph.D./Ed.D. History and Education, Penn, 2006. Director of Education Policy, United Federation of Teachers. "Ethnically Qualified: A History of New York City Public School Teachers, 1920-1980." Committee member.

Mirella Landriscina, Ph.D. Sociology, Penn, 2005. Professor of Sociology, St. Joseph University. "Claim-Makers and Actors: Advocacy for Homeless People in Philadelphia, 1981-2003." Committee member.

Ann N. Greene, Ph.D. History, Penn, 2004. Director of Undergraduate Programs, History and Sociology of Science, University of Pennsylvania. "Harnessing Power: Industrializing the Horse in Nineteenth-Century America." Primary advisor.

Christopher Klemek, Ph.D. History, Penn, 2004. Associate Professor of History, George Washington University. "Urbanism as Reform: Modernist Planning and the Crisis of Urban Liberalism in Europe and North America, 1945-1975." Committee member.

Robert Natalini, Ph.D. History, Penn, 2004. Attorney and Lecturer in History, University of Pennsylvania. "Chi lascia la via vecchia: Law, Ethnicity, and the Immigration Experience, Italians in Industrial America, 1890-1925." Committee member.

Deirdre Sullivan, Ph.D. History, Penn, 2003. Chair of Social Studies Department, Bellarmine College Prep School, San Jose, California. "Letting Down the Bars: Race, Space, and Democracy in San Francisco, 1936-1964." Primary advisor.

Francis Ryan, Ph.D. History, Penn, 2003. Director of the Masters of Labor and Employment Relations Program and Associate Teaching Professor, Rutgers University. "Everyone Royalty: AFSCME, Municipal Workers, and Urban Power in Philadelphia, 1921-83." Committee member.

## Thomas J. Sugrue

Page 32

Jordan Stanger-Ross, Ph.D. History, Penn, 2003. Professor of History, University of Victoria. "The Choreography of Community: Italian Ethnicity in Postwar Toronto and Philadelphia." Committee member.

Lorin Thomas, Ph.D. History, Penn, 2003. Associate Professor of History, Rutgers University, Camden. "Citizens on the Margins: Puerto Rican Migrants in New York City, 1917-60." Committee member.

Mark Wilkens, Ph.D. History, Penn, 2003. Faculty, Parkway West High School, Philadelphia. Making the City Work: Municipal Employees and their Managers in New York and Philadelphia, 1880-1940." Committee member.

Peter Siskind, Ph.D. History, Penn, 2002. Vice Provost and Professor of History, Arcadia University. "Growth and its Discontents: Localism, Protest, and the Politics of Development on the Postwar Northeast Corridor." Primary advisor.

Margaret Pugh O'Mara, Ph.D. History, Penn, 2002. Howard and Frances Keller Professor of History, University of Washington, Seattle. "Cities of Knowledge: Cold War Politics, Universities, and the Roots of the Information Age Metropolis, 1945-70." Committee member.

Luther Adams-Free Man of Color, Ph.D. History, Penn, 2002. Associate Professor of Ethnic, Gender, and Labor Studies, University of Washington, Tacoma. "Way Up North in Louisville: African American Migration in Louisville, Kentucky, 1930-70." Committee member.

Jinbin Park, Ph.D. History, Penn, 2002. Professor of History, Kyung Hee University, Seoul, South Korea. "The Legacy of Conservative Reform: Making the First Public Housing in Philadelphia, 1890-1940." Committee member.

Minna Ziskind, Ph.D. History, Penn, 2002. History Faculty, Barrack Hebrew Academy, Bryn Mawr, PA. "Citizenship, Consumerism, and Gender: A Study of District 65, 1945-60." Committee member.

Janine Denomme, Ph.D. American Civilization, Penn, 2001. "To End This Day of Strife": Churchwomen and the Campaign for Integration, 1920-1970." Deceased. Primary advisor.

Mark Santow, Ph.D. History, Penn, 2001. Associate Professor of History, University of Massachusetts, Dartmouth. "Saul Alinsky and the Dilemmas of Race in the Postwar City." Committee member.

Amy Hillier, Ph.D. Social Welfare, Penn, 2001. Associate Professor of City and Regional Planning and Social Policy and Practice, University of Pennsylvania. "Redlining and the Home Owners' Loan Corporation." Committee member.

Maribeth DeLorenzo, Ph.D. Social Welfare, Penn, 2001. Deputy Director, Urban Sustainability Administration, U.S. Department of Energy & Environment (DOEE), Washington, DC. "American Dreams: Latino Immigrants' Homeownership Experiences in the Nation's Capital." Committee member.

Stephanie Dyer, Ph.D. History, Penn, 2001. Professor of History and Political Economy, Sonoma State University. "Consumer City: Shopping Centers and Community in the Philadelphia Region, 1920s-90s." Committee member.

Allison Baker, Ph.D. History, Penn, 2000. Professor of History, Santa Rosa College. "The Lakewood Story: Defending the Recreational Good Life in Postwar Southern California Suburbia, 1950-99." Committee member.

Bruce Lenthall, Ph.D. American Civilization, Penn, 1999. Executive Director, Center for Teaching and Learning, University of Pennsylvania. "Radio's America: The Great Depression and the Rise of Modern Mass Culture." Committee member.

Erik Rau, Ph.D. History and Sociology of Science, Penn, 1999. Director of Library Services, Hagley Museum and Library. "Combat Scientists: The Emergence of Operations Research in the United States." Committee member.

Rhonda Y. Williams, Ph.D. History, Penn, 1998. Coleman A. Young Endowed Chair and Professor of African American Studies, Wayne State University. "'Living Just Enough for the City': Change and Activism in Baltimore's Public Housing, 1940-80." Committee member.

Robert M. Zecker, Ph.D. American Civilization, Penn, 1998. Professor of History, St. Francis Xavier University, Nova Scotia. "'All Our Own Kind Here': The Creation of a Slovak-American Community in Philadelphia, 1890-1945." Committee member.

**Thomas J. Sugrue****Page 33**

Wendell Pritchett, Ph.D. History, Penn, 1997. Presidential Professor of Law and Education, University of Pennsylvania. "From One Ghetto to Another: Blacks, Jews, and Public Housing in Brownsville, Brooklyn, 1945-70." Committee member.

Alison Isenberg, Ph.D. History, Penn, 1995. Professor of History, Princeton University. "Downtown Democracy: Rebuilding Main Street Ideals in the 20th-Century American City." Committee member.

**EXTERNAL EXAMINER/READER**

Miguel Giron, ABD History, Northwestern University.

Sarah Coffman, ABD History, Rutgers University.

Marion Marchet, Ph.D. American Civilization, Sorbonne Université, Paris. 2023.

Mo Torres, Ph.D. Sociology, Harvard University, 2023. University of Michigan Society of Fellows.

François-René Julliard, Ph.D. History, Université de Clermont Auvergne, 2022.

Bobby Cervantes, Ph.D. American Studies, University of Kansas, Junior Fellow, Harvard Society of Fellows (Cervantes's Mentor, Jefferson National Fellowship Program 2021-23).

Joseph Rulon Stuart, Ph.D. History, University of Utah, 2021. Assistant Professor of History, Brigham Young University.

Stephen Koeth, Ph.D. History, Columbia University, 2020. Assistant Professor of History, University of Notre Dame.

Alexis Mann, Ph.D. Social Policy and Sociology, Brandeis University, 2018. Northbound Research and Consulting and Visiting Research Scholar, Brandeis University.

Michael Savage, Ph.D. History, University of Toronto, 2018. Postdoctoral Fellow, Cal Tech.

Caroline Rolland-Diamond, Habilitation, History, Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales, 2015. President and Professor of the History of the United States, Université Paris Nanterre.

Elsa Devienne, Ph.D. History, Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales, 2014. Senior Lecturer in U.S. History, Northumbria University.

Dov Wynrib Grohsgal, Ph.D. History, Princeton University, 2013. Associate Research Scholar, Obama Presidency Oral History Project, Columbia University.

Andrew Diamond, Habilitation, Politics, Sciences Po, Paris, 2012. Professor of American Civilization, Sorbonne Université, Paris.

Tula Connell, Ph.D. History, Georgetown University, 2011. Senior Communications Officer, Solidarity Center, Washington, DC.

Suleiman Osman, Ph.D. American Civilization, Harvard University, 2006. Associate Professor of American Studies, George Washington University. (Osman's Mentor for Miller Center National Fellowship Program, University of Virginia, 2002-03).

Khalil G. Muhammad, Ph.D. History, Rutgers University, 2004. Professor of African American Studies and Public Affairs, Princeton University.

Anthony Chen, Ph.D. Sociology, University of California, Berkeley, 2002. Associate Professor of Sociology, Northwestern University. (Chen's Mentor for Miller Center National Fellowship Program, University of Virginia, 2001-02).

Daniel Gitterman, Ph.D. Political Science, Brown University, 1999. McRae Professor of Public Policy, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.

**Thomas J. Sugrue****Page 34****UNIVERSITY SERVICE: NYU (2015-)****Current and Ongoing**

Faculty of Arts and Science Promotion and Tenure Committee (2022-23, 2024-)

Provost's Urban Initiative (2017-): Co-Chair (2018-21); Undergraduate Curriculum Committee (2017-)

**Past Service**

NYU Middle Atlantic States Accreditation, Self-Study, Impact Working Group (2022-23)

Director, NYU Cities Collaborative-Mellon Summer Institutes on Urbanism (2022, 2023)

Chair, Urban Public Humanities Graduate Summer Fellowship Selection Committee (2021-23)

Chair, Mellon-Undergraduate Urban Humanities Research Fellowship Selection Committee (2020-23)

Chair, Urban Studies Undergraduate Degree Planning Committee (2019-24)

Provost's Academic Advisory Committee (2019-22)

Co-Director, Urban Fellows Program (2019-20)

FAS Dean's Committee on Tenure Policy (2017-18)

Faculty Advisory Committee, Urban Democracy Lab (2017-21)

Faculty Advisory Committee, NYU Urban Initiative (2017-21)

Co-Chair, Marron Institute for Urban Management, Advisory Board (2016-21), Member (2015-16).

Faculty Advisory Board, Institute for Public Knowledge (2015-19)

Dean's Committee to Evaluate the Draper Program (2015-16)

Faculty Search Committee, Mellon Urban Humanities Initiative (2015-16)

**Department Service—New York University**

By-Laws Committee, Social and Cultural Analysis (2025-26)

Planning and Advisory Committee, History Department (2025)

Strategic Plan Committee, Social and Cultural Analysis (2024-25)

Promotion, Tenure, and Reappointment Committees (chair for six cases): Social and Cultural Analysis (2016-17, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2022); History (2015, 2017, 2024); Environmental Studies (2025).

Undergraduate Curriculum Committee, Social and Cultural Analysis (2016-18, 2019-20, 2022-23, 2024)

Field Coordinator for U.S. History (2020-21).

Salary and Merit Review Committee, Social and Cultural Analysis: Chair (2020, 2022, 2023), Member (2016, 2017, 2018)

Co-Chair, U.S. History Graduate Admissions Committee, Department of History (2022-23)

Search Committees: Social and Cultural Analysis Target of Opportunity Hires (2015-16); Organizer, Race and Cities in the Americas Cluster Hire (2021-22).

Fellowships and Prize Committee, Department of History (2020-21)

Thomas J. Sugrue

Page 35

Social and Cultural Analysis Book Series Advisory Committee (2018-)

**University of Pennsylvania (1991-2015)**

Graduate Group in History: Chair (2000-02, 2003-05); Associate Chair (1999-2000); Executive Committee (1994-95, 1996-98, 1999-2000, 2009-10, 2011-12).

Graduate Advisory Group, Program in Africana Studies (2006-14).

Graduate Group in City Planning (2005-15).

Graduate Group in History and Sociology of Science (2001-15).

Graduate Group on Social Welfare, School of Social Policy and Practice (1998-2008).

Graduate Group in Sociology (1997-2015)

Graduate Group in History (1992-2015)

Urban Studies Graduate Certificate Program Steering Committee (1993-2015).

**University Committee Service**

Dean's Strategic Plan Committee, School of Arts and Sciences (2013-14).

Committee on Access and Equity, Penn's 2014 Middle Atlantic States Accreditation (2012-13).

Executive Committee, Penn Digital Humanities Forum (2012-13).

Executive Council, Penn Institute for Urban Research (2011-15).

Senate Ad Hoc Committee on Faculty and the Academic Mission (2010-11).

Integrated Studies Planning Committee (2009-11).

Advisory Board, Penn Program on Democracy, Citizenship, and Constitutionalism (2006-07).

Provost's Committee for the Selection of the Nussdorf Chair in Urbanism (2006).

Penn Institute for Urban Research, Faculty Affiliate (2004-15).

Chair, University Committee on Manufacturer Responsibility (2001-02).

Faculty Liaison to the Trustees' Committee on Academic Policy (2001-02).

Provost's Strategic Planning Committee on the Urban Community (2001-02).

Washington Semester Program, Associate Director Evaluation Committee (2001).

SAS Faculty Research Fellowships Selection Committee (2001).

Planning Committee, Legal History Consortium Conferences (2002, 2005, 2008).

Greenfield Intercultural Center, Board of Advisors (2000-10).

Dean's Committee on Service Based Learning (2000-02).

Faculty Advisory Committee, Urban Studies Program (2000-15).

Harry S Truman Scholarship Nomination Committee (2000-01, 1997-98).

Faculty Advisory Committee, Fels Center of Government (1999-2002).

Faculty Advisory Committee, Netter Center for Community Partnerships (1998-2008).

Thomas J. Sugrue

Page 36

Urban Education Minor Committee, School of Arts and Sciences (1998).

Curriculum Committee, School of Arts and Sciences (1997-98).

Elector and Historian, Phi Beta Kappa (1997-99).

Advisory Committee, Saul Steinberg Lecture Series (1997-98).

Faculty Senate Nominating Committee (1997-98).

Advisory Committee, Sawyer Seminar on Race, Inequality, and Globalization (1997-98).

Co-Convener, Seminar on American Political Development (1995-96).

Committee on Undergraduate Academic Standing (1993-94).

Co-Convener, Mellon Program for Assessing and Revitalizing the Social Sciences, Seminar on Work and Welfare (1992-94).

College of Arts and Sciences, Freshman Advisor (1996-98, 1992-95).

University Senate, Executive Committee: Junior Faculty Representative (1992-94).

#### **Department Service**

Executive Committee, History Department (2009-11, 2003-05, 1999-2002, 1997-98, 1992-94).

Chair, Diversity Committee, History Department (2011-13).

Search Committees: Chair, African American History Target of Opportunity (2010); Chair, 20<sup>th</sup> Century U.S. History (2009); U.S. History Megasearch—four hires (2000-02); U.S. Women's and Gender History (2000); Chair, Asian American History (1999-2000); American Colonial History (1997-98); American and Comparative Jewish History (1996).

Department Promotion, Tenure, and Reappointment Committees, chair of four committees (2001-02, 2003-04, 2006, 2010, 2011-12, 2012-13).

Ten-Year External Review Committee, History (2003-04).

Co-Convenor, Legal History Consortium (2001-12).

Undergraduate Committee (1992-94).

Thomas Cochran Prize Committee (2000, 1997, 1995, 1994, 1993, 1992).

#### **FOUNDATION AND PROFESSIONAL BOARDS AND COMMISSIONS**

Russell Sage Foundation, Board of Trustees (2021-)

Nominations Committee (2022-)

Visiting Scholars Selection Committee (2021-)

Conflict of Interest Committee (2021-23)

Editorial Board, *RSF Journal of the Social Sciences* (2021-)

CIFAR: Canadian Institute for Advanced Research, Research Council (2019-)

Research Council (2019-)

Chair, Advisory Committee, Humanity's Urban Future Program (2023-)

Selection Committee, Azrieli Global Scholars Program (2024)

American Academy of Political and Social Science

Editorial Advisory Committee, *Annals* (2014-)



**Thomas J. Sugrue****Page 37**

Podcast Advisory Committee (2020-22)

Gilder-Lehrman Institute  
Scholarly Advisory Committee (2020-)

Global Urban History Project  
International Advisory Council (2018-)

Social Science History Association, President (2013-14)  
Vice President (2012-13)  
Executive Committee (2014-16, 2008-11)  
Development Committee (2016-18)  
Co-Chair, Program Committee (1997-98)  
President's Book Award Committee (1997)

Urban History Association, President (2013-14)  
Executive Committee (2011-2016)  
Chair, Nominating Committee (2016)  
Chair, Development Committee (2014-15)  
Board of Directors (2013-16, 2000-03)  
Program Committee (2011-12, 2002-04)  
Book Award Committee (1998)

American Historical Association  
Council, Research Division, elected member (2010-13)  
Marketing Committee (2011-13)  
*American Historical Review* Publisher Selection Committee (2011)

Organization of American Historians  
Chair, Nominating Board (2012-13), elected member (2010-13)  
Japanese Association of American Studies/OAH Collaborative Committee (2008-13)  
OAH Distinguished Lecturer (2002-)  
Program Committee, 2003 Annual Meeting (2001-03)  
Merle Curti Prize Committee (2000-02)

Preservation Alliance for Greater Philadelphia, Board of Directors (2009-14)  
Executive Director Search Committee (2012)

Bread and Roses Community Fund, Philadelphia, Board Co-Chair (2006-12)  
Board of Directors (2004-12)  
Development Committee (2007-12)  
Co-Chair, Executive Director Search Committee (2006)

City of Philadelphia Historical Commission, Vice Chair (2002-08)  
Commissioner, mayoral appointee (2001-08)  
Chair, Historical Designation Committee (2001-08)

Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Board of Councilors (2000-12)  
Vice Chair and Chair of Library Committee (2004-08)  
Ad-Hoc Budget Committee (2004)  
Institutional Advancement Committee (2002-04)  
Publications Committee (2002-12)  
Education and Interpretation Committee (2002-04)

West Mount Airy Neighbors, Philadelphia, President (1996-98)  
Board of Directors (1994-2001)

Thomas J. Sugrue

Page 38

**EDITORIAL BOARDS**

*RSF: The Russell Sage Foundation Journal of the Social Sciences* (2021-)

*Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* (2014-)

*Revue française d'études américaines*, Conseil Scientifique (2010-)

Oxford Studies in Postwar American Political Development, Oxford University Press (2007-)

African American Life series, Wayne State University Press (2004-)

Politics and Culture in Modern America Series, University of Pennsylvania Press (2002-)

**Past Editorial Board Service**

*Journal of Urban History* (2013-2022)

*Public Books* (2014-2016)

*Pennsylvania History* (2013-2015)

*Journal of Policy History* (2006-2012)

*Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* (2003-2009)

**PROFESSIONAL COMMITTEES, ADVISORY GROUPS, CONSULTING**

Advisor, Black Land Loss Narrative Archive Project, Stanford University (2025-)

Advisor for U.S. History, John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation Fellowships (2021-2023)

Faculty Mentor, University of Virginia, Jefferson National Fellows Program (2021-2023)

Consultant, Elias Law Group (2022, 2023, 2025)

Fellowship Selection Committee, New-York Historical Society (2019)

Steering Committee, University of Michigan, Center for Social Solutions (2018-)

External Review Committee, CUNY Graduate Center Program in History (2018)

National Affiliate, University of Chicago, Race and Capitalism Project (2016-)

Advisory Board, University of California, Davis, Center for Engaged Scholarship (2015-)

External Review Committee, San Diego State University, Department of History (2015)

Advisory Board, American University, Metropolitan Policy Center (2014-)

Co-Director, Institut de France, City/Cité: Transnational Urban Initiative (2014-18)

Advisory Board, Andrew W. Mellon Foundation, Diversity: Our Compelling Interest (2014-18)

External Advisory Board, New York University, Marron Institute (2014-15)

External Review Committee, City University of New York, Queens College, Urban Studies (2012)

Advisory Board, Center on Policy Initiatives, Cry Wolf Project (2010-12)

John Reps Prize Committee, Society of American City and Regional Planning History (2009)

World Economic Forum, Global Agenda Council on Human Equality and Respect (2008-09)

Urban and Metropolitan Policy Advisory Committee, Barack Obama for President (2008)

**Thomas J. Sugrue****Page 39**

Ellis Hawley Prize Committee, Policy History Association (2005-06)  
Faculty Mentor, University of Virginia, Miller Center for Public Affairs (2005-06, 2003-04, 2000-01)  
Member, American Political History Initiative (2002-06)  
Advisor, New School/MacArthur Foundation Project on the 2000 Census (2002)  
Consultant, Cendant International Training Program (2002)  
Local Arrangements Committee, Society for American City and Regional Planning History (2000-01)  
Visiting Committee, New School, Graduate Faculty, Committee on Historical Studies (1999)  
National Steering Committee: Scholars, Artists, and Writers for Social Justice (1997-98)  
Advisory Board: Philadelphia University-Community Collaborative, Temple University/William Penn Foundation (1996-2000)  
Steering Committee: National Teach-In with the Labor Movement, Columbia Univ. (1996)  
Member: Twentieth Century Fund Working Group on the Future of Liberalism (1995-96)  
Consultant: Institute for Economic Culture, Boston University (1993)  
Member: Wolfson Center on American Affairs, Domestic Policy Working Group (1991)  
Organizer: District Council 35, International Brotherhood of Painters and Allied Trades, Boston (1988)

**OTHER PROFESSIONAL ACTIVITIES****Documentary Film Appearances**

*Great Migrations: A People on the Move*, Episodes 2 and 3 (2025), Blackside/PBS  
*Gradually, Then Suddenly: The Detroit Bankruptcy* (2023), History Making Productions  
*Driving While Black* (2020), Steeplechase Films/PBS  
*Jackie Kennedy: Fighting for Civil Rights* (2018), AB Production, France  
*Detroit 48202: Conversations along a Postal Route* (2018), Grito Films  
*Urban Trinity: Catholic Philadelphia* (2015), History Making Productions  
*Philadelphia: The Great Experiment: 3: Promise for a Better City* (2013), History Making Productions  
*Jim Crow Pennsylvania* (2007), WQED-TV  
*Viva Glas Vegas* (2006), BBC Scotland Frontline  
*The Guilty Men: A Historical Appraisal*, History Channel (2004)  
*A City on Fire: The Story of the 1968 Detroit Tigers* (2002), HBO  
*Rizzo* (2000), WHYY-TV/PBS Philadelphia  
*Urban Affairs Forum* (1996), Connecticut Public Television

**Films and Media Production: Editorial, Advising**

Advisor, *Eyes on the Prize III: We Who Believe in Freedom* (2025), HBO, Trilogy Films and Anonymous Content

Thomas J. Sugrue

Page 40

Associate Producer and Chief Historical Advisor, *Gradually, Then Suddenly: The Detroit Bankruptcy* (2022), History Making Productions

Dramaturge, *I'm Your Woman* (2020), Amazon Films

Historical Advisor, *Driving While Black* (2020), Steeplechase Films

Advisory Board, American Girl/Mattel, "Melody," 2016 American Girl Doll Project (2014-16)

### **Museums, Public History, and Arts Projects**

Scholarly Advisory Committee, Black Land Loss Archive Project (2025-)

Consultant, Unvarnished Consortium, History of Segregation in the North Project, <https://www.unvarnishedhistory.org/about/credits/> (2021-22)

Scholars Advisory Group, Civil Rights Foundation, New York, Museum of Civil Rights, Civil Rights Foundation (2021)

Advisor, American Association for State and Local History, US at 250 Project (2020-21)

Advisory Board, University of Michigan, Institute for Research on Labor, Employment, and the Economy, Detroit Chene Street History Project (2014-18)

Advisory Board, Montclair Historical Society, Black YWCA Project (2012)

Consultant, City of Philadelphia Mural Arts Project (2017, 2010)

Consultant, First Person Arts Project/First Person Museum, Philadelphia (2010-11)

Advisory Board, History Making Productions, LLC. (2009-)

Advisory Board, Chicago Architectural Foundation, The Architecture of Segregation (2008)

Advisory Board, Central Philadelphia Development Corp, 50<sup>th</sup> Anniversary Documentary (2005-06)

Consultant, Pew Charitable Trusts, Philadelphia Heritage Initiative (2004)

Advisor, Ford Foundation/Rutgers University, Invincible Cities Project, Camden, NJ and Richmond, CA, (2003-08)

Advisor, Michigan State University/Detroit Public TV, *American Black Journal* project (2003-05)

Advisor, Charles Wright Museum of African-American History, Detroit, core exhibit: "And Still We Rise: Our Journey through African American History and Culture" (2003)

Advisory Board, New Jersey Historical Society Project on 1960s Urban Uprisings (2001-07)

Advisory Board, Henry Ford Museum/University of Michigan Automotive Heritage Project (2001-05)

Advisory Committee: Pennsylvania Humanities Council, Program on the 1950s (1997)

### **REVIEWER/REFeree/EXTERNAL EXAMINER**

#### **External Ph.D. Examiner**

Sorbonne Université, American Civilization (2023); Harvard University, Sociology Department (2023); Université Clermont Ferrand, History (2022); University of Utah, History Department (2021); Columbia University, History Department (2020); Harvard University, Sociology Department (2019); Brandeis University, Sociology (2018); University of Toronto, History Department (2018); University of Pennsylvania, History Department (2018, 2017); Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales (2014, 2015); Princeton University, History Department (2013);

Thomas J. Sugrue

Page 41

Institut d'Études Politiques de Paris/Sciences Po (2012); Georgetown University, History Department (2011); Rutgers University, History Department (2004); Brown University, Political Science Department (1999).

**External Tenure and Promotion Reviews: 159 since 1998**

History (124), Law (8), Political Science (5), Sociology (4), American Studies (4), African American Studies (4), Labor and Industrial Relations (2), Art and Architectural History (2), City Planning (3), Anthropology (1), English (1), Library Science (1).

**Reviewer/Referee**

Routledge Press (2025); Irish Research Council (2023); Russell Sage Foundation (2021-; 1998-99); Radcliffe Institute for Advanced Study (2017-22 2005-15); *American Historical Review* (2021, 2012, 2008); *The Sixties Journal* (2021); University of Illinois Press (2021, 2020); Cornell University Press (2018, 2008, 2000, 1996); MacArthur Foundation (2016, 2005, 2000); Center for Engaged Scholarship, UC Davis (2016); University of California Press (2016, 2013, 1995); Princeton University Press (2015, 2014, 2002, 1998, 1996); Palgrave/St. Martin (2015); *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* (2010, 2009, 2008, 2007, 2005, 2004, 1993, 1992); University of Chicago Press (2009, 1999); *Journal of American History* (2007, 2005, 2004, 2003, 2000, 1999); Univ. of Pennsylvania Press (2004-); Balch Fellowship, Historical Society of Pennsylvania (2005-12); *Journal of Southern History* (2007); Wayne State University Press (2007); *Social Science History* (2004); W.W. Norton (2003, 1999); Bedford Books (2003); *Journal of Urban History* (2001, 1999); *Urban Studies* (1999); Harvard Univ. Press (1998); Blackwell Publishers (1998, 1997); National Endowment for the Humanities (1997); *Theory and Society* (1997); Penn State Univ. Press (1997); *Journal of American Ethnic History* (1996); *Political Power and Social Theory* (1996); *Urban Affairs Review* (1995); *Urban Affairs Quarterly* (1994); University of North Carolina Press (1994); Duke University Press (1994); Oxford Univ. Press (1993); DC Heath and Company (1993, 1994); University of Pittsburgh Press (1991).

**MEDIA APPEARANCES****Magazines (Print and Online)**

*New York Times Magazine*; *Economist*; *Foreign Policy*; *The Atlantic*; *Salon*; *Slate*; *Time*; *The Nation*; *Newsweek*; *U.S. News and World Report*; *The New Republic*; *American Prospect*; *L'Express* (Paris); *Metropolis*; *Weekendavisen* (Denmark); *Philadelphia Magazine*; *L'Espresso* (Rome); *The Root*; *Lingua Franca*; *Vox*; *The Deal.com*; *Ebony*; *Forbes*; *Vice*; *American Banker*; *Time Weekly* (China)

**Newspapers (Print and Online):** *New York Times*; *Washington Post*; *Toronto Globe and Mail*; *Wall Street Journal*; *Financial Times*; *The Guardian*; *Smithsonian Magazine*; *The Independent* (London); *Times Higher Education Supplement*; *USA Today*; *Bloomberg News*; *Christian Science Monitor*; *National Catholic Reporter*; *Chronicle of Higher Education*; *Automotive News*; *Daily Beast*; *Talking Points Memo*; *Argus* (Cape Town, South Africa); *Daily Mail* (London); *Le Nouvel Observateur* (L'Obs); *Le Monde*; *Libération*; *AOC: Analyse, Opinion, Critique*; *France Ouest*; *Die Welt*; *L'Echo* (Brussels); *Die Zeit*; *Daily Yomiuri* (Tokyo); *Daily News* (Nigeria); *Publica* (Lisbon); *Linkiesta* (Rome); *Telam* (Buenos Aires); *Arizona Republic*; *Austin Herald-Statesman*; *Boston Globe*; *Boston Herald*; *Baltimore Sun*; *Chestnut Hill Local*; *Chicago Sun-Times*; *Chicago Tribune*; *City Paper* (Philadelphia); *Contra Costa Times*; *Courier-News* (Cherry Hill, NJ); *Dallas Morning News*; *Deadline Detroit*; *Detroit Free Press*; *Detroit News*; *Detroit Sunday Journal*; *Emporia Bulletin*; *Grand Rapids Press*; *Houston Chronicle*; *Jewish Exponent* (Phila.); *Kansas City Star*; *Los Angeles Times*; *M Live* (Michigan); *Metro Times* (Detroit); *Michigan Chronicle*; *Michigan Lawyer*; *Michigan Citizen*; *Mobile Register*; *Mount Airy Times-Express*; *Newark Star-Ledger*; *Newhouse News Service*; *Newsday*; *Newsworks WHYY*; *Observer-Eccentric Newspapers*; *Philadelphia Daily News*; *Philadelphia Inquirer*; *Philadelphia Metro*; *Philadelphia Tribune*; *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*; *Princeton Packet*; *San Francisco Chronicle*; *Sioux Falls Argus-Leader*; *Tulsa News*.

**Television:** MSNBC; National Geographic Channel; CBS News; PBS; WHBH-TV (Boston); WHYY-TV (Philadelphia); KYW-TV (Philadelphia); WTXF-TV (Philadelphia); WPHL-TV (Philadelphia); WCAU-TV (Philadelphia); Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC Evening News); Shanghai TV (China); France 24; TV Asahi (Japan); Al Jazeera English; KPIX-TV (San Francisco); WHDH-TV (Boston); Shaw Cablesystems (Vancouver, British Columbia, Studio 4);

Thomas J. Sugrue

Page 42

The History Channel (Movies in Time); C-SPAN (Public Affairs Forum; Bancroft Prize Address; Book TV); Virginia Public TV (Miller Center Forum).

**Radio and Podcasts:** National Public Radio (News and Notes); Public Radio International; AP Radio, CBC Radio; Wisconsin Public Radio (Ideas; To the Best of Our Knowledge); Michigan Public Radio (Jack Lessenberry Show); Detroit Public Radio; Pacifica Radio; American Public Media (Weekend America); Bloomberg Radio (Simply Put and The World in Time with Lewis Lapham); Sirius Satellite Radio (POTUS; Channel 110, Blog Bunker; Channel 146, Keep It Real with Mark Thompson); WBAI Radio (New York); WNYC Radio, New York (News and Leonard Lopate Show); WUMB (Boston); WBNW (Needham, MA); KFNX (Phoenix); KDVS Radio (Davis, CA); KUSF Radio (San Francisco); WILS (Lansing); WBEZ Radio (Chicago); WDET Radio (Detroit); WJR Radio (Detroit); WCHB Radio (Detroit); WILL Radio (Urbana); WQBH Radio (Detroit); WLVQ Radio (Detroit); WCBN Radio (Ann Arbor); WRPI Radio (Albany); WHWH Radio (Princeton); WVNJ Radio (New Jersey); WHYY Radio (News and Radio Times; Philadelphia); KYW Radio (Philadelphia); WBCB Radio (Philadelphia); WRTI Radio (Philadelphia); Clear Channel Radio (Philadelphia); WURD Radio (Philadelphia); KVOE Radio (Emporia, Kansas); WBOO Radio (Portland); KTLK-FM (Minneapolis); WKSU Radio (Kent, Ohio); Unpresidented Podcast; INET Podcast.

### **CURRENT PROFESSIONAL MEMBERSHIPS**

American Academy of Arts and Sciences (Fellow, elected 2011)

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

American Historical Association

American Sociological Association

Association Française des Études Américaines

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

Organization of American Historians

Phi Beta Kappa

Royal Historical Society, U.K. (Fellow, elected 2017)

Social Science History Association (past president)

Society of American City and Regional Planning History

Society of American Historians (Fellow, elected 2009)

Urban Affairs Association

Urban History Association (Charter Member, past president)

### **LANGUAGES**

French (advanced reading), German (basic reading), Spanish (basic reading).