

EXHIBIT I

Expert Report on Historical and Present Factors
Influencing the Voting Rights of the Hispanic and Black Communities
of the Town of Newburgh, New York

A. K. Sandoval-Strausz

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I. Statement of Purpose

I have been asked to analyze the “totality of the circumstances” as defined by New York State’s John R. Lewis Voting Rights Act that influence the Hispanic/Latino community and the Black/African-American community¹ in the Town of Newburgh, New York.

This report adopts the order of the eleven factors in the “totality of the circumstances” provision of the Act, which include:

- (a) the history of discrimination in or affecting the political subdivision;
- (b) the extent to which members of the protected class have been elected to office in the political subdivision;
- (c) the use of any voting qualification, prerequisite to voting, law, ordinance, standard, practice, procedure, regulation, or policy that may enhance the dilutive effects of the election scheme;
- (d) denying eligible voters or candidates who are members of the protected class to processes determining which groups of candidates receive access to the ballot, financial support, or other support in a given election;
- (e) the extent to which members of the protected class contribute to political campaigns at lower rates;
- (f) the extent to which members of a protected class in the state or political subdivision vote at lower rates than other members of the electorate;

¹ I will use the terms “Black” and “African-American” interchangeably as they mean the same thing. The terms “Hispanic” and “Latino” signify slightly different things: the former, strictly speaking, indicates a person in the United States with Spanish American heritage while the latter usually includes people of Brazilian heritage as well. But on the formal self-identification question that has been used for three to four decades by the United States Census Bureau, they are effectively interchangeable, and that is how I will use them in this report.

- (g) the extent to which members of the protected class are disadvantaged in areas including but not limited to education, employment, health, criminal justice, housing, land use, or environmental protection;
- (h) the extent to which members of the protected class are disadvantaged in other areas which may hinder their ability to participate effectively in the political process;
- (i) the use of overt or subtle racial appeals in political campaigns;
- (j) a significant lack of responsiveness on the part of elected officials to the particularized needs of members of the protected class; and
- (k) whether the political subdivision has a compelling policy justification that is substantiated and supported by evidence for adopting or maintaining the method of election or the voting qualification, prerequisite to voting, law, ordinance, standard, practice, procedure, regulation, or policy.

II. Qualifications

This report is the product of many hours of demographic research, statistical analysis, and archival searches using many of the same methodologies I have followed in my thirty-year career as a historian. I am Professor of History and Director of the Latina/o Studies Program at Penn State University, where I teach both undergraduate and graduate-level classes on urban history, immigration history, Latina/o studies, and borderlands history. I am also President of the Urban History Association, an international organization dedicated to the study of urban and suburban places and the way they have changed over time. Previous to my current position I taught for sixteen years at the University of New Mexico, the flagship university of the state with the highest percentage of Hispanics in America. There I taught survey classes in United States history, undergraduate seminars in legal history, historiography, and urban history, and graduate seminars in cultural landscape studies and urban history. I received my BA in history from Columbia University and my PhD in history from the University of Chicago.

I have written two books, edited two collections of essays, and authored numerous scholarly articles; these have been the recipient of several scholarly awards. For example, my article "Latino Landscapes: Postwar Cities and the Transnational Origin of a New Urban America" was published in the *Journal of American History*, the top journal in the field, and won best-article awards from the Urban History Association, the Society for American City and Regional Planning History, and the Society of Architectural Historians. My most recent book, *Barrio America: How Latino Immigrants Saved the American City*, won the 2020 Caroline

Bancroft History Prize, the 2021 International Latino Book Award for Best Academic Book, and was a finalist for the Victor Villaseñor Book Award.

I have been a National Endowment for the Humanities Public Scholar, a Distinguished Lecturer of the Organization of American Historians, and have been elected to the Society of American Historians. I have fellowships from Princeton University, the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation, Harvard Business School, the New-York Historical Society, the Library Company of Philadelphia, the Massachusetts Historical Society, and the Huntington Library. I have been an invited speaker at universities in four countries, including La Sorbonne, the University of Heidelberg, and the Colegio de México.

My work has been featured in the *Washington Post* (five times), the *New York Times* (twice), *The Economist*, National Public Radio (three times), the BBC, *Slate* (twice), *Foreign Affairs*, *Commonweal*, *Chicago Magazine*, the *Texas Observer*, Scotland's *Glasgow Herald*, *The Age* in Australia, and Phoenix TV in China.

I have previously written an expert witness report in the case of *Serratto v. Town of Mount Pleasant*, another lawsuit brought under the New York Voting Rights Act, and my research has been cited in *amicus curiae* briefs to the Supreme Court on both sides of the Fourth Amendment case *City of Los Angeles v. Patel*. My compensation in this case is at a rate of \$300 per hour.

I have appended my *curriculum vitae* to the end of this document.

III. Evidence, Methodology, and Summary of Opinions

I wrote this report using methods and drawing on categories of evidence that are standard among historians and social scientists. I have based my conclusions on census data, academic books and articles, municipal, county-level, and metro-area reports, legal records from prior litigation, journalistic accounts, and videos of and statements by elected officials representing the Town of Newburgh and nearby parts of Orange County and the New York City metropolitan area.

My findings are that most of the factors specified in New York's John R. Lewis Voting Rights Act are evident in the Town of Newburgh. There is an extensive and deep history of discrimination against Black people; and decades-long practices of discrimination against Puerto Ricans and other Latinos in New York City's metro area—which in many cases have lasted into the present. There is no evidence of Black or Hispanic elected officials ever having governed in the Town of Newburgh. The town's at-large voting system is exactly the kind of arrangement that has for over one hundred years been used to politically marginalize Black people; and Puerto Ricans, Mexican Americans, and other Latinos in jurisdictions across the United States. Officials in Orange County have in the past decade failed to offer equal voting access to speakers of Spanish as required by federal law. Black people and especially Hispanics demonstrably participate at lower rates than other demographic groups across the United States and in New York, in part because of electoral arrangements like those in the Town of Newburgh. Blacks and Hispanics in the Town of Newburgh are disadvantaged in income, employment, housing, environmental protection, and other areas. New York State elected officials with jurisdiction over Newburgh have routinely used both overt and subtle racial

appeals in their political messaging. Elected officials have not simply shown a lack of responsiveness to Latinos in particular in Newburgh and its county and metro area, some politicians have deliberately and directly involved themselves in efforts to manufacture and propagate racial resentment against Latinos to the detriment of members of that community.

IV. Statutory Factors

(a) the history of discrimination in or affecting the political subdivision

There is an extensive history of racial discrimination against Black and Hispanic people at the federal, state, county, metropolitan, and local levels that bears upon the Town of Newburgh. In many cases this discrimination has been specified and mandated by law; in others it has been the result of discrimination by officials and other individuals such that new laws and lawsuits have been required to protect Black and Hispanic people from unequal treatment. Successive waves of systematic discrimination have been a constant for decades, and in the case of Black people, for centuries.

Federal

Black slavery was introduced in British North America beginning in the seventeenth century, and the United States Constitution of 1787 supported human bondage from the beginning by protecting the slave trade against federal intervention and requiring the return of escaped slaves to their owners in states where slavery remained legal, primarily in the South.² Even in the North, emancipation was often gradual, and Black people could be held as slaves well into the nineteenth century.³ Until the destruction of slavery nationwide by the Thirteenth Amendment in 1865, even free Black people could be kidnapped, forcibly transported to the

² Edmund S. Morgan, *American Slavery, American Freedom* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1975); David Waldstreicher, *Slavery's Constitution: From Revolution to Ratification* (New York: Hill & Wang, 2010).

³ Manisha Sinha, *The Slave's Cause: A History of Abolition* (Yale University Press, 2016).

South, and enslaved there.⁴ Moreover, federal law offered no protection against discrimination of any kind until the ratification of the Fourteenth Amendment in 1868; and no protection against disfranchisement at the state level until the ratification of the Fifteenth Amendment in 1870, leaving African Americans without civil and political rights anywhere near equal to those enjoyed by white people. And even after the passage of those three Reconstruction Amendments to the Constitution, the national collapse of Reconstruction in 1877 effectively withdrew federal support for equal rights and left states increasingly free to impose Jim Crow laws and everyday practices of extralegal violence that left Black people without the most basic protections of their rights and, in thousands of cases, their lives.⁵

During the era of Jim Crow, which lasted until the 1960s, Black people, as well as Hispanics and other racial and ethnic minorities, were routinely barred from living where they wished. As we shall see, the racial segregation of neighborhoods was routinely mandated at the local level. But the federal government played an essential role as well: from the beginnings of federally insured mortgages in the 1930s, Blacks, Hispanics, and other ethnoracial minorities throughout the United States were subject to officially sanctioned racism in home finance. For example, in one report dated October 1, 1937, a federal appraiser filled out a form for a Bronx neighborhood, writing: “There is a steady infiltration of negro, Spanish and Puerto Rican into the area.” The use of the term “infiltration” was clearly derogatory, and lest there was any doubt about what that meant, the appraiser specified that the neighborhood’s “Trend of

⁴ Carol Wilson, *Freedom at Risk: The Kidnapping of Free Blacks in America, 1780-1865* (Lexington, Kentucky, 1994); David W. Blight, *Passages to Freedom: The Underground Railroad in History and Memory* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Books, 2004).

⁵ Eric Foner, *Reconstruction: America’s Unfinished Revolution* (New York: Harper, 1988); Christopher Waldrep, *Lynching in America: A History in Documents* (New York: NYU Press, 2006).

desirability next 10-15 years” was “Down” and assigned the area a “Security Grade” of “D-.” Similar formulations were used across the United States: one report from Indiana noted that a “Good neighborhood twenty years ago” was now “over-run by Mexican and negroes [sic].” Another from Florida specified, “The population in the section is gradually shifting to Spanish and Jewish and within the next five years will probably contain only a few 100% Americans.” Yet another from Texas stated: “This area, as well as all other Mexican sections, is avoided by mortgage lenders.” In other words, federal government forms specified that the very presence of Black and Hispanic people was damaging to property values. As a result, lenders were overwhelmingly disincentivized to offer home loans to said Blacks and Latinos because their presence would decrease the value of every other property and thus increase the risk of every other loan made in the area.⁶

With specific regard to the political rights of Hispanics, the federal government did not act to remedy the disfranchisement of Spanish speakers until the enactment of the federal Voting Rights Act of 1965. The Act contained a provision, section 4(e), that specifically enjoined the disenfranchisement of Spanish speakers who had studied in Puerto Rico at U.S. schools. Spanish speakers gained ballot access by way of a lawsuit that led to a United States Supreme Court ruling in the case of *Katzenbach v. Morgan* in 1966. Puerto Rican litigants in New York led

⁶ All of the links below are to *Mapping Inequality: Redlining in New Deal America*

<<https://dsl.richmond.edu/panorama/redlining>>, the award-winning website of a team of leading scholars providing links to official documentation of discrimination in mortgage lending.

https://dsl.richmond.edu/panorama/redlining/map/NY/Bronx/area_descriptions/D4#loc=12/40.8556/-73.8572;

https://dsl.richmond.edu/panorama/redlining/map/IN/LakeCoGary/area_descriptions/D2#loc=12/41.5944/-87.3738;

https://dsl.richmond.edu/panorama/redlining/map/FL/Tampa/area_descriptions/B2#loc=12/27.9417/-82.4722;

https://dsl.richmond.edu/panorama/redlining/map/TX/ElPaso/area_descriptions/D3#loc=13/31.792/-106.4688

the way toward what became an increasingly national standard, as a series of early-1970s rulings by federal judges requiring equal ballot access for Spanish speakers extended the rule outward from New York: first to parts of Pennsylvania and New Jersey, and then to California, Texas, and Illinois. The historian Rosina Lozano quotes Emma Rodriguez, “a US citizen who had ‘always’ voted in Puerto Rico before finding herself unable to vote” on the mainland, explaining her motivation: “The problem is that if I didn’t vote, then here I was nobody.”⁷

In the years that followed, however, federal authorities were presented with a great deal of evidence of various kinds of ongoing anti-Hispanic discrimination in voting rights. This evidence became the basis for a “language minority” category to be included in the 1975 revision and reauthorization of the federal Voting Rights Act. A coalition of Hispanic advocates, including the Puerto Rican Legal Defense and Education Fund and the Mexican American Legal Defense and Education Fund, lobbied legislators to include language minorities as a protected class. Congress heard from dozens of witnesses, including many who spoke about the discrimination visited upon Spanish speakers. Ultimately the amended Voting Rights Act contained two key provisions to protect language minorities: one establishing preclearance requirements for changes in voting procedures, and another prohibiting English-only elections. Notably, while the initial impetus for these revisions came from Spanish speakers, the Act was also applicable to other language minorities, including speakers of Chinese and of Native American languages.⁸

⁷ *Katzenbach v. Morgan*, 384 U.S. 641; United States Commission on Civil Rights, *The Voting Rights Act: Ten Years After* (January 1975), pp. 16-25; Rosina Lozano, “Vote Aquí Hoy: The 1975 Extension of the Voting Rights Act and the Creation of Language Minorities,” *Journal of Policy History*, Vol. 35, No. 1 (2023), pp. 73-74.

⁸ Lozano, “Vote Aquí Hoy.”

While these laws helped reduce the incidence of discrimination, even into the twenty-first century, political discrimination against Hispanics were sufficiently pervasive that the Department of Justice launched a nationwide campaign of litigation against exclusions of Spanish speakers prohibited by the language minority provisions of the federal Voting Rights Act. There were almost three dozen such suits brought between 2002 and 2012. And as we shall see, this included federal action specifically in Orange County, New York.⁹

State

New York State has a long and sad history of eliminating or suppressing the political power of people of color. The oldest example involves Black New Yorkers. Slavery existed in New York from its earliest days as a seventeenth-century colony through to the early nineteenth century. The state chose a system of very gradual emancipation meant that there were Black people enslaved there until 1827. In the final years of slavery, the New York state legislature abolished property requirements for voting for white men while also establishing such requirements for black men: the 1821 revision of the state constitution thus imposed exclusively racial, and not class, disabilities upon Black men. As the authors of a book on the subject stated, “Delegates attempting to couple white enfranchisement with black disenfranchisement masked neither their intentions nor their motives.”¹⁰ This disability was technically removed by Fifteenth Amendment, but it is worth noting that the State’s all-white

⁹ Department of Justice, Cases Raising Claims Under The Language Minority Provisions Of The Voting Rights Act, <https://www.justice.gov/crt/cases-raising-claims-under-language-minority-provisions-voting-rights-act>

¹⁰ David Nathaniel Gellman and David Quigley, *Jim Crow New York: A Documentary History of Race and Citizenship, 1777-1877* (New York University Press, 2003).

and all-male voters considered lifting this racist exclusion on multiple occasions in the antebellum period and in every case decided by wide margins to leave Black disfranchisement in place. Even after Black men's enfranchisement was made part of the Constitution, white people attempted in various ways to try to suppress the African American vote.

In the case of Hispanics in New York, their history of disfranchisement was more recent but has continued in one form or another for more than a century. In 1921, the State of New York conditioned the right to vote on the ability to pass an English-language literacy test; this requirement was slightly modified, but maintained, thereafter.¹¹ It was an obvious source of disfranchisement of Latin American migrants, especially Puerto Ricans who had all been United States citizens since the Jones-Shafroth Act of 1917 granted national citizenship to all Puerto Ricans. Many Latino migrants who might have passed the test opted out because they felt embarrassed or demeaned by the requirement, extending the disfranchisement.¹² The low voter turnout among Puerto Ricans was especially surprising because on the island of Puerto Rico, voter participation was exceptionally high by mainland U.S. standards: Puerto Rican elections often drew around 80% of eligible voters to the polls in the decades after World War II.¹³

New York's Hispanic community were also subject to less formal types of voter suppression, from manipulation of candidate slates up to and including death threats. In the late 1950s and early 1960s in parts of northern Manhattan where older populations of white

¹¹ F. C. Crawford, "New York State Literacy Test, *The American Political Science Review*, Vol. 19, No. 4 (Nov. 1925), 788-790.

¹² *Katzenbach v. Morgan*, 384 U.S. 641; United States Commission on Civil Rights, *The Voting Rights Act: Ten Years After* (January 1975), pp. 16-25.

¹³ Lozano, "Vote Aquí Hoy," p. 72.

ethnics were being supplanted by Puerto Ricans in the postwar period, older incumbent officeholders tried to keep the newcomers from electing their own preferred political representatives. Herman Badillo, who later became the first Puerto Rican elected to the U.S. House of Representatives, recalled that in 1961 he sought to unseat a local district leader: “The guy who ran before me got shot to the leg and the guy before that was found floating in the East River. They weren’t kidding around.”¹⁴

In some instances there were efforts to simultaneously suppress the voting power of Hispanic and Black citizens. In 1972, state officials attempted to dilute the Hispanic and Black vote and had to be restrained by the State’s lawyers from violating the Voting Rights Act: that year, an initial draft of reapportioned New York State senate and assembly districts concentrated Hispanic and Black populations in particular districts—what specialists in gerrymandering often call “packing”—and distributed the rest among majority-white districts—what gerrymandering specialists routinely call “cracking.” Only when New York State’s attorney general intervened was a different plan drawn up.¹⁵

Political manipulation that disadvantaged Hispanic and Black New Yorkers still persisted. In the 1981 state redistricting, the Black legislative caucus and the Puerto Rican Legal Defense and Education Fund launched challenges to the new city council district lines in New York City, which in their view diminished Black and Puerto Rican representation. Notably, the Department of Justice declined to pre-clear the redrawn districts, which meant that they had to be revised. Also in 1981, the city council at-large voting system, created in 1963, was challenged by

¹⁴ José E. Cruz, *Puerto Rican Identity, Political Development, and Democracy in New York, 1960–1990* (Lexington Books, 2017), 57-58.

¹⁵ U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, *The Voting Rights Act*, pp. 220-230.

plaintiffs who claimed that it had a disproportionate impact on voters of color in New York City. The result was a court-ordered abolition of the system.¹⁶

The State of New York also discriminated against African Americans and Latinos through dishonest implementation of the National Voter Registration Act of 1993, colloquially known as the “motor voter” law. By cutting funding for staff positions assigned to register new voters who were young and racially more diverse, state authorities created a situation in which mostly white upstate New York registrants outnumbered those in New York City by a 4:1 ratio even though two-thirds of registration-eligible residents lived in the city.¹⁷

Voting discrimination in New York State continued in the form of officials’ failure to provide Spanish speakers with equal access to voting. In the 2001 statewide elections, New York officials had calculated that the Voting Rights Act’s provisions required 779 Spanish-language interpreters to ensure equitable participation. However, these officials only fielded 523 interpreters, one-third short of its self-identified requirement.¹⁸

County

Orange County was for most of its history overwhelmingly populated by non-Hispanic white people, but began to diversify significantly starting in the 1970s. The United States

¹⁶ José E. Cruz, “The Changing Socioeconomic and Political Fortunes of Puerto Ricans in New York City, 1960-1990,” in *Boricuas in Gotham: Puerto Ricans in the Making of Modern New York* (Markus Weiner Publishers, 2005), 37-84. For the Department of Justice correspondence, see <https://www.justice.gov/sites/default/files/crt/legacy/2014/05/30/NY-1040.pdf> and <https://www.justice.gov/sites/default/files/crt/legacy/2014/05/30/NY-1030.pdf>.

¹⁷ “Declaration of Robert Courtney Smith,” *United States of America v. Village of Port Chester*, Case 1:06-cv-15173-PGG, Document 14, Filed 12/18/06, p. 1.

¹⁸ Ronald Hayduk, *The 2001 Elections in New York City* (Century Foundation, 2002), p.31; Ronald Hayduk, *Gatekeepers of the Franchise: Shaping Electoral Administration in New York* (Northern Illinois University Press, 2005).

Census Bureau's counts put Orange County in 1980 at 88.6% non-Hispanic white, 6.1% non-Hispanic Black, 4.3% Hispanic, and less than 1% Asian American. In 1990 the corresponding figures were 84.8% non-Hispanic white, 6.7% non-Hispanic Black, 7.0% Hispanic, and 1.1% Asian American. In 2000 it was 83.7% white alone, 8.1% Black alone, 11.6% Hispanic, 1.5% Asian. In 2010 it was 77.2% White alone, 10.2% Black alone, 18.0% Hispanic, 2.33% Asian alone. And in the most recent count in 2022, Orange County was 67.2% White alone, 11.5% Black alone, 22.3% Hispanic, and 2.9% Asian alone.

The diversification of the County's population was accompanied by repeated episodes of discrimination against voters of color, episodes that gave rise to litigation. In 2012 in *United States v. Orange County*, the Department of Justice alleged that county election officials had violated the federal Voting Rights Act by "conditioning the right to vote of Orange County residents educated in an American-flag school where the predominant classroom language was other than English upon such persons' ability to read, write, understand, or interpret English" because the Orange County Board of Elections had not provided ballots or voting information in Spanish and failed to hire bilingual poll workers to assist Spanish-speaking voters. The infraction was so clear that only six days later the County entered into a consent decree stipulating that remedial measures would be taken and further stipulating federal oversight of elections in the County.¹⁹

The very next year, Orange County was again sued for discrimination in voting in a case that directly implicated both the Town of Newburgh and the City of Newburgh. In this case, *Molina v. County of Orange*, the plaintiff alleged that she and other voters in county-level

¹⁹ <https://clearinghouse.net/case/43832/>

legislative districts had had their votes “minimized and diluted” by comparison with voters in other districts. This, the plaintiffs argued, contravened the Constitution’s one-person, one-vote requirement. In response, and with the consent of the parties to the suit, a judge ordered a Special Master to help redraw the County’s legislative maps; the main changes involved two predominantly Black and Hispanic districts in the City of Newburgh. In a subsequent negotiation despite the earlier declared consent of the parties, two elected officials from the Town of Newburgh opposed the redrawn districts because they felt their incumbency would be placed at additional risk. Ultimately the Special Master drew districts that satisfied the parties to the lawsuit, creating two minority-majority county legislative districts in the City of Newburgh in order to resolve the racial discrimination complaint.²⁰

Orange County has not been alone in these kinds of lawsuits: in the new millennium other suburban counties in the New York City metropolitan area have been sites of regular litigation on the basis of linguistic and other forms of discrimination against Hispanics/Latinos. For example, in 2003 the Brentwood school district in Suffolk County, New York was sued for failing to provide Spanish-language materials and assistance to Spanish-speaking voters in their elections in violation of Section 203 of the Voting Rights Act; the board quickly entered into a consent decree with the Department of Justice.²¹ In 2005, the Department of Justice filed suit against Westchester County for not offering election information in Spanish that it had made available in English; Westchester County immediately agreed to a consent decree, promised to make sure that there were Spanish-speaking personnel on hand in places where voters needed

²⁰ *Molina v. County of Orange*, 2013 WL 3009716, at *2 (S.D.N.Y. June 14, 2013).

²¹ Department of Justice, Press Release, Justice Department Announces Resolution of Voting Law Violations in New York (June 4, 2003), https://justice.gov/archive/opa/pr/2003/June/03_crt_335.htm.

to ask questions about the process, and authorized federal monitoring of future elections.²² In 2010 in *United States v. Village of Port Chester*, the United States District Court for the Southern District of New York found that “the Village of Port Chester’s at-large system for electing its Board of Trustees violates Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act” because this “election system for electing members of the Board of Trustees prevents Hispanic voters from participating equally in the political process in the Village.”²³ And Suffolk County was again a part of the larger Department of Justice initiative to compel adherence to the federal Voting Rights Act: Islip, New York, a municipality in that county was subsequently sued for discrimination against Latinos, largely through at-large elections, and settled that suit, *Flores v. Town of Islip*, in 2020.²⁴

Local

The Town of Newburgh developed as an early suburb of the City of Newburgh, becoming a separate jurisdiction in 1865 when the latter was rechartered as a city. For most of its history it remained quite small, being not much more populous in 1920 than it had been in 1870, with around 4,000 inhabitants in both years. For most of these years and beyond it was a virtually all-white town, which was not surprising: from at least as early as the first third of the twentieth century, property deeds typically contained racially restrictive covenants that barred selling homes to Black people and sometimes other people of color: one leading historian has estimated that four-fifths of properties in the suburbs of New York City contained such

²² Department of Justice, Press Release, Justice Department Settles Voting Rights Lawsuit Against Westchester County, New York (Jan. 21, 2005), https://www.justice.gov/archive/opa/pr/2005/January/05_crt_028.htm; *U.S. v. Westchester County*, Case No. 05 Civ. 650 (S.D.N.Y. Dec. 31, 2007).

²³ *U.S. v. Vill. of Port Chester*, 704 F.Supp.2d 411 (S.D.N.Y. 2010).

²⁴ *Flores v. Town of Islip*, 382 F. Supp. 3d 197 (E.D.N.Y. 2019).

covenants.²⁵ These covenants were common across the country, with the precise wording of the exclusions varying by region and locality: they sometimes also included people of Mexican or Asian ancestry and in some cases barred Jewish people.²⁶ The racial homogeneity of the Town of Newburgh, like almost all suburban areas across the North, was reinforced by the federally supported mortgage discrimination that began in the 1930s, as noted above.

The homogeneity of the Newburgh area was challenged during the civil rights era: Black families sought to escape the overpriced and underserved ghettos to which they had been restricted for decades and sought better homes in areas with better schools and services.²⁷ In Newburgh, the resultant racial conflicts became national news as the migration of a relatively small number of Black families to the City of Newburgh set in motion a heated political contest. Many of the city's leaders effectively managed a peaceful integration of the municipality—by no means a foregone conclusion in an era where white people routinely responded to even one or a few middle-class Black families moving into previously all-white neighborhood by resorting to racial terror tactics like assembling mobs and on the street in front of the newcomers' homes, issuing death threats, throwing everything from fireworks to explosives onto the newcomers' properties, shooting out windows, and burning crosses on Black families' lawns.²⁸

²⁵ David R. Roediger, *Working Toward Whiteness: How America's Immigrants Became White—The Strange Journey from Ellis Island to the Suburbs* (Basic Books, 2005), 176.

²⁶ David M. P. Freund, *Colored Property: State Politics and White Racial Politics in Suburban America* (University of Chicago Press, 2007).

²⁷ St. Clair Drake and Horace Cayton Jr., *Black Metropolis* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1945); Arnold R. Hirsch, *Making the Second Ghetto: Race and Housing in Chicago, 1940–1960* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983); James R. Grossman, *Land of Hope: Chicago, Black Southerners, and the Great Migration* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989); Beryl Satter, *Family Properties: How the Struggle over Race and Real Estate Transformed Chicago and Urban America* (New York: Metropolitan Books, 2009), 247–248.

²⁸ Jim Schutze, *The Accommodation: The Politics of Race in an American City* (Secaucus, NJ: Citadel Press,

But in 1961 a new city manager named Joseph McDowell Mitchell was appointed who suddenly and quite aggressively racialized the question of welfare payments. In a move that was widely seen as a response to the arrival of African American newcomers, Mitchell attempted to promulgate far more restrictive welfare requirements designed to limit people's access to relief payments and other forms of state support. He used racially loaded language to classify welfare recipients as undeserving parasites—this even though the great majority of people receiving welfare payments were in fact white and more than 90% of the Black population were not on welfare. In the process, Mitchell briefly gained a national political profile. He was endorsed by right-wing political activists like Barry Goldwater, supported the avowedly racist political campaign of George Wallace in 1964, and worked with white Citizens' Councils in Louisiana after leaving Newburgh. Ultimately the state courts declared McDowell's welfare regulations unlawful and voided them; but not before the entire incident became the subject of "The Battle of Newburgh," an hourlong televised documentary detailing the political, fiscal, and unmistakably racial conflicts that marked the city in that era, and which set the tone for Black-white relations for decades thereafter.²⁹

The Town of Newburgh had for decades been overwhelmingly populated by non-Hispanic white people, but beginning in the 1960s it was more readily identifiable as a white-flight suburb of the City of Newburgh—a place where white people seeking to avoid the city's

1986), 13–26; Thomas J. Sugrue, "Crabgrass-Roots Politics: Race, Rights, and the Reaction Against Liberalism in the Urban North, 1940–1965," *Journal of American History* 82 (1995); Arnold R. Hirsch, "Massive Resistance in the Urban North: Trumbull Park, Chicago, 1953–1966," *Journal of American History* 82 (1995): 522–550; Kevin M. Kruse, *White Flight: Atlanta and the Making of Modern Conservatism* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2005), 42–51.

²⁹ <https://web.archive.org/web/20160403231325/http://timescommunitypapers.com/2013/04/battle-of-newburgh/>; Karen M. Tani, *States of Dependency: Welfare, Rights, and American Governance, 1935–1972* (Cambridge University Press, 2016), pp. 1–7, 205–225.

growing Black population moved to in an effort to avoid residential integration or other kinds of proximity to African Americans. Partially as a result, the Town of Newburgh only diversified quite recently. It was not until 1980 that census enumerators categorized the town's inhabitants by race and ethnicity, and even at that relatively recent date the census tracts corresponding to the town's boundaries were overwhelmingly white Anglo: its 22,432 inhabitants were 92.5% non-Hispanic white, 3.4% non-Hispanic Black, 3.2% "of Spanish origin," and 0.6% "Asian, Pacific Islander, American Indian, Eskimo, Aleut." Ten years later, the town's population had grown slightly (23,832 people) and was marginally more diverse: in the 1990 census count, 88.9% of residents were non-Hispanic white, 4.0% non-Hispanic Black, 5.5% Hispanic, 1.5% "Asian or Pacific Islander." The 1990s saw the first marked population growth in many decades, with the 2000 census returns counting 27,428 people and displaying more significant diversification: 80.0% non-Hispanic white, 6.7% non-Hispanic Black, 9.6% Hispanic, 2.0% Asian. In 2010 there were 29,732 Newburgh town residents, with 68.2% non-Hispanic white, 11.0% non-Hispanic Black, 15.7% "Hispanic or Latino," and 2.9% "Asian alone" (i.e., not Hispanic). The most recent census enumeration, from 2022, shows ongoing population growth to 31,808 people, with 61.6% "White alone," 15.4% Black or African American alone," 25.2% "Hispanic or Latino," and 3.1% "Asian alone."

Underlying these trends has been a significant demographic trend as the Town of Newburgh's population was stabilized and then fortified by newcomers of color as its non-Hispanic white population began to decline as a factor of both aging and outmigration. After growing briskly for several decades, with population increases of between twenty and eighty percent every ten years, sometime after 1970 the town's population grew quite slowly. In

particular its longstanding non-Hispanic white residents found themselves in something of a demographic crisis: from 1980 to 1990 and from 1990 to 2000 their numbers only increased by a matter of several hundred people per decade; and then starting at the turn of the millennium their population began to fall, with just under 22,000 white Anglos in 2000, 20,279 in 2010 and 17,193 currently. A community's schools, workforce, civic groups and other share institutions cannot sustain ongoing population loss at this level. But thankfully, the Town of Newburgh had begun to attract more Latino and Black families who replenished the community: from 1980 to 2022 there was a net gain of more than 7,000 Latinos and over 3,500 Black people in the town. It bears mentioning that this was the same kind of demographic revitalization that had, a few decades earlier, reversed the declining fortunes of many larger cities that had suffered during the era of the urban crisis.³⁰

It is extremely important to note that these post-1980 demographic transitions were accompanied by heightened organizing by white supremacist organizations who explicitly saw the Newburgh area as a desirable location for them to convene meetings and to recruit white people into a racist subculture. In the most widely-reported incident in the early decades of the town's and county's ethnracial diversification, in September 1992 assorted groups of neo-Nazis and Ku Klux Klan members and supporters gathered for a picnic in the Town of Newburgh. The *New York Times* reported that the event was billed as a "unity rally" for a Grand Dragon of the New York Ku Klux Klan, who was running for Senate. About 100 people attended the event, where they displayed swastikas, Confederate flags, and signs that read "Welcome Aryans." The event sparked the organization of a much larger counter-march in the neighboring City of

³⁰ A. K. Sandoval-Strausz, *Barrio America: How Latino Immigrants Saved the American City* (Basic Books, 2019).

Newburgh in which some 3,000 people—including representatives from the NAACP, white and Black Christian ministers, local Jewish congregations, a mayor, and New York’s attorney general—rallied for “racial and religious unity and against demagogy.”³¹ As we shall see, this was neither the first nor the last local conflict over race and identity in the Newburgh area—rather it was a sign that even in the presence of progress in racial equality, minority populations could still be singled out and subjected to abuse.

In sum, the historical context for race relations in the present-day Town of Newburgh is many years of discrimination against both Black people and against Hispanics that has segregated them geographically and eliminated or limited their political power at the Federal level, in the State of New York, Orange County, and the locality. Several decades of controversy, litigation, and settlement shows beyond any possible doubt that anti-Black and anti-Latino discrimination has persisted into the 2020s in jurisdictions like these.

(b) the extent to which members of the protected class have been elected to office in the political subdivision

None of the current town councilmembers and supervisor of Newburgh is Black or Hispanic, and I have been unable to identify any evidence that a Black or Hispanic person has ever been elected to the town council or the position of supervisor. Newburgh is of course very old, though as late as 1980 the Census Bureau enumerated the town as 95.1% “White” and 96.8% “Not of Spanish origin,” so it is unlikely that any minority individual would have been

³¹ Robert Hanley, “Hands Join in Newburgh to Protest Klan Picnic,” *New York Times*, October 5, 1992: <https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1992/10/05/129692.html?pageNumber=27>

elected before records were fully systematized. The Town of Newburgh, in its May 28, 2024 response to the plaintiffs in this case, simply denied the claim that the town leadership has been entirely white, or that no Black or Latino person has ever been elected to the town council or supervisor position—but if they have a specific example of such an elected official, they have declined to name that person.

(c) the use of any voting qualification, prerequisite to voting, law, ordinance, standard, practice, procedure, regulation, or policy that may enhance the dilutive effects of the election scheme

The Town of Newburgh’s at-large voting system may or may not have been instituted with the express purpose of discriminating against Latinos or Black people, but the at-large structure *as a type* was deliberately designed to discriminate against racial and ethnic minorities. Across the United States for approximately the past hundred years, at-large systems of voting have operated in a way that minimizes the political strength not just of Latinos and Black people, but of other racial and ethnic minority populations.

The people who created most at-large voting systems in American cities and towns did so in order to reduce the influence of voters whom they saw as inferior, whether socially, racially, or culturally. The political scientists Amy Bridges and Richard Kronick have shown that as a matter of their historical origins, this way of conducting elections was established by well-to-do Anglo-Americans who believed that district-based elections afforded excessive power to urban political machines—especially when those machines mobilized voters who were working-

class, racially different, ethnic, or both. There were various kinds of prejudice involved here, from anti-Catholic to anti-Semitic to anti-Asian to anti-Latino. As Rick Su has summed it up: “The ‘new’ immigrant groups (the Italians, Jews, and Eastern Europeans concentrated on the East Coast, along with the Mexican, Chinese, and Japanese immigrants out in the West)...found a political system that was not only uninterested in their vote, but was in many ways specifically structured to discourage their participation.”³² In the U.S. West, where Anglo political figures sought to repress the once-dominant ethnic Mexican population, Bridges found that “[e]very city policy—hiring of municipal employees, planning and annexation, housing, utilities, and education—reinforced racial division and hierarchy.”³³

The at-large voting system in the Town of Newburgh epitomizes the type of electoral system that uses facially race-neutral rules in order to deliberately dilute the representation of racially marginalized populations—they work in much the same way that technically non-racial “grandfather clauses” were used to disenfranchise Black people but not white ones, thus making that entire category of rules automatically suspect. This is why over the past fifty years there have been a number of cases in which Black and Latino voters joined forces to oppose at-large voting systems—and why they were able to get municipalities to adopt district-based systems or other electoral arrangements that allowed particular demographics in particular neighborhoods to elect representatives of their choice. In my book *Barrio America*, I demonstrate how Latino and Black activists in Dallas in the 1980s and 1990s dismantled their

³² Rick Su, “Urban Politics and the Assimilation of Immigrant Voters,” *William & Mary Bill of Rights Journal*, Volume 21, Issue 2, p. 670.

³³ Amy Bridges and Richard Kronick, “Writing the Rules to Win the Game: The Middle-Class Regimes of Municipal Reformers,” *Urban Affairs Review* Volume 34, Issue 5 (May 1999), 619-746; Amy Bridges, *Morning Glories: Municipal Reform in the Southwest* (Princeton University Press, 1997), 20, 164.

city's at-large voting system.³⁴ The historian David Montejano showed an earlier example of this process that took place in San Antonio, Texas, in the 1960s and 1970s.³⁵ And more recent research by Alejandro Jara details a similar process in San Jose, California, in the 1970s.³⁶ As this research shows, campaigns like these paved the way for more city councilmembers of color who were more responsive to Latino and Black constituencies from municipal governments that had previously routinely neglected or outright bulldozed (during urban renewal or highway construction) nonwhite and/or working-class neighborhoods.

It should not be surprising, then, that in the more recent past, there is general agreement in the political science literature that a change from at-large to single-district voting systems is more likely to result in the election of candidates who reflect the preferences of minoritized communities like African Americans and Latinos. The political scientists Jessica Trounstine and Melody E. Valdini state outright: "One of the most persistent findings by scholars of urban politics is that single-member district elections increase descriptive representation of underrepresented racial and ethnic groups on city councils."³⁷ They also note: "Particularly in places where citywide elections were implemented to dilute the vote strength of racial groups, districts have been seen as a key factor in increasing racial and ethnic

³⁴ Sandoval-Strausz, *Barrio America*, 201-224.

³⁵ David Montejano, *Quixote's Soldiers: A Local History of the Chicano Movement, 1966-1981* (University of Texas Press, 2010), 15, 92, 62, 209, 225.

³⁶ Alejandro J. Jara, "'Do You Know the Way to San Jose?': Ethnic Mexicans, Urbanism, Culture, and Politics in the Emerging Silicon Valley, 1940-1980," Ph.D. Thesis, University of New Mexico, 2022, Chapter 5.

³⁷ Jessica Trounstine and Melody E. Valdini, "The Context Matters: The Effects of Single-Member versus At-Large Districts on City Council Diversity," *American Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 52, No. 3 (Jul., 2008), p. 555

diversity.”³⁸ Latinos are the largest single nonwhite demographic in Newburgh, and it is worth noting that in regard to Latinos specifically, district elections have been shown to benefit Latino voters in exercising political power.³⁹

There are also suppressive effects that go beyond at-large voting. According to one especially influential article, the dilutive effects of at-large voting, once remedied, specifically help Black and Latino candidates most, though not necessarily for all the same reasons. Specifically at the municipal level, the study found that both Black and Latino voters tend to favor the same candidates that the other group also favors, elections based on districts “will be most helpful for African Americans.” On a related note, they also found that single-district voting systems are most likely to result in Latinos being able to elect candidates of their choice when Latinos vote together and in a way that differs significantly from the majority population.⁴⁰ The historical evidence bears out this analysis: in Dallas, Texas, for example, after the 1991 adoption of district-based municipal elections, voters in the city consistently elected Black and Latino city councilmembers in proportions much closer to their preponderance in the

³⁸ Trounstine and Valdini, “The Context Matters,” p. 554; Chandler Davidson and George Korbel, “At-Large Elections and Minority-Group Representation: A Re-Examination of Historical and Contemporary Evidence,” *The Journal of Politics*, Vol. 43, No. 4 (Nov., 1981), pp. 982-1005; Susan Welch, “The Impact of At-Large Elections on the Representation of Blacks and Hispanics,” *The Journal of Politics*, Vol. 52, No. 4 (Nov., 1990), pp. 1050-1076; Carolyn Abott and Asya Magazinnik, “At-Large Elections and Minority Representation in Local Government,” *American Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 64, No. 3 (July 2020), pp. 717-733

³⁹ Taebel, “Minority Representation on City Councils: Impact of Structure on Blacks and Hispanics,” *Social Science Quarterly* 59:1 (1978), pp. 142-52; Peggy Heilig and Robert Mundt, “Changes in Representational Equity: The Effect of Adopting Districts,” *Social Science Quarterly* 64:2 (1983), pp. 393-397; David Leal, Valerie Martinez-Ebers, and Kenneth J. Meier, “The Politics of Latino Education: The Biases of At-Large Elections,” *Journal of Politics* 66:4 (2004), 1224-44.

⁴⁰ Trounstine and Valdini, “The Context Matters,” 556, 562-566.

city population; similarly, other diverse cities that moved to district elections saw more Latino and Black councilmembers.⁴¹

(d) denying eligible voters or candidates who are members of the protected class to processes determining which groups of candidates receive access to the ballot, financial support, or other support in a given election;

My scholarly work and research skills have not involved this aspect of the mechanics of candidacy and campaign finance, and for that reason I have not reported any findings on this factor.

(e) the extent to which members of the protected class contribute to political campaigns at lower rates

Research on race-based disparities in contributions to political campaigns has shown marked inequalities between Black people, non-Hispanic whites, and Hispanics. A 2022 study from the National Bureau of Economic Research pulled data from the largest campaign contribution websites affiliated with both Republican and Democratic candidates and broke the numbers down by both race and the size of the contributions. The study found that both Black and Hispanic donors were dramatically underrepresented, while non-Hispanic white donors were massively overrepresented; and that the disparities increased when the focus moved

⁴¹ Sandoval-Strausz, *Barrio America*, Chapter 8; Montejano, *Quixote's Soldiers*, especially 251-254; Jara, "Do You Know the Way to San José?"

from small donors to large ones. Specifically, the study found that only 3.7% of large donations were made by Black people and only 3.6% by Hispanics, as opposed to 89.6% by non-Hispanic whites. For small donations, the proportions were 6.5% Black, 7.3% Hispanic, and 82.4% non-Hispanic white.⁴² These figures demonstrate that Black and Hispanic donors are represented at about one-quarter to one-half of their percentage of the eligible electorate, since recent estimates of the nation's voting-eligible population find that 12.4% are Black and 13.5% are Hispanic. By comparison, in recent elections non-Hispanic whites made up 66.5% of those eligible to vote, a significantly smaller proportion than their representation among political donors.⁴³

Experts in campaign finance inequality broadly agree that political donations are used by voters, citizens, and others to pressure or reward elected officials—and the most widely cited team of researchers have stated that “racial inequality in campaign contributions is likely to produce racially biased representation of and responsiveness to public attitudes.” These inequalities in effect suppress the political power of the Black and Latino communities in the Town of Newburgh, especially by comparison with its majority population of white Anglos. The most influential academic paper in this area cites legal scholars who, for more than three decades, have “argued that wealth disparities have biased the campaign finance system against

⁴² Laurent Bouton, Julia Cagé, Edgard Dewitte, and Vincent Pons, “Small Campaign Donors,” NBER Working Paper No. 30050, May 2022

https://www.nber.org/system/files/working_papers/w30050/w30050.pdf; Jacob M. Grumbach and Alexander Sahn, “Race and Representation in Campaign Finance,” *American Political Science Review*, Volume 114, Issue 1 (February 2020), 206-221.

⁴³ United States Census Bureau, “Citizen Voting Age Population by Race and Ethnicity,” data downloadable at <https://www.census.gov/programs-surveys/decennial-census/about/voting-rights/cvap.html>.

racial minorities,” and states in large print on its first page that “new data on the racial identities of over 27 million donors” demonstrates “an unrepresentative contributor class. Black and Latino shares of contributions are smaller than their shares of the population, electorate, and elected offices.”⁴⁴

(f) the extent to which members of a protected class in the state or political subdivision vote at lower rates than other members of the electorate

Existing studies find that in New York and across the United States, Hispanic and Black people have voted at lower rates than white Anglos in elections over the past decade. In the case of Latinos, the Pew Hispanic Center reported that in 2014, “51% of Hispanics in New York are eligible to vote, ranking New York 14th nationwide in the share of the Hispanic population that is eligible to vote. By contrast, 79% of the state’s white population is eligible to vote.”⁴⁵ A separate report from 2023 concluded that “Latinos did not exercise their latent political power and influence over political power structures in the U.S. In 2022 Latinos comprised about 17.3% of the total U.S. population; 13.4% of the electorate; but 9.7% of actual voters.”⁴⁶ It also found that in New York State the Latino voting rate was 40.9% in 2018 and 38.0% in 2022; and that nationwide while 57.5% of non-Hispanic whites voted in 2018, only 40.4% of Latinos did. In

⁴⁴ Grumbach and Sahn, “Race and Representation in Campaign Finance,” 207.

⁴⁵ Latinos in the 2016 Election: New York, Pew Research (Jan. 19, 2016), <https://www.pewresearch.org/hispanic/fact-sheet/latinos-in-the-2016-election-new-york/>; Key takeaways about Latino voters in the 2018 midterm elections, Pew Research (Nov. 9, 2018), <https://www.pewresearch.org/short-reads/2018/11/09/how-latinos-voted-in-2018-midterms/>

⁴⁶ Laird W. Bergad, “Latino Voter Participation in the 2018 and 2022 Midterm Elections,” City University of New York Graduate Center, Center for Latin American, Caribbean, and Latino Studies, Latino Data Project, Report 113, September 2023, at https://academicworks.cuny.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1121&context=clacls_pubs.

2022, those figures were 57.6% and 37.9% respectively. Furthermore, it found that Latino voters accounted for 10.8% of all votes cast in 2018 and 9.6% in 2022, percentages that are far below both the Latino percentage of the overall population and of eligible voters.⁴⁷ In the case of Black people, in the midterm elections of 2014, 2018, and 2022, researchers at the Brookings Institution found that they turned out at a lower rate than non-Hispanic white voters. Similarly, the Brennan Center for Justice found: “The racial turnout gap—or the difference in the turnout rate between white and nonwhite voters...has consistently grown since 2012” and that this disparity was growing most quickly in parts of the country with the largest Black populations: the ones originally covered by Section 5 of the Voting Rights Act of 1965.⁴⁸

Scholarly work on lower rates of voting among minoritized populations find several potentially relevant factors: among Latinos, key factors include immigration status, the relative youth of the Latino population, and insufficient outreach; among African Americans, key factors include voter suppression through disproportionate incarceration and felon disenfranchisement, as well as race-based voter suppression. Notably, one factor that may particularly apply to both Black and Hispanic voters specifically in the Town of Newburgh is the fact that in general, minoritized voters can have lower turnout when they do not believe they can be decisive in elections. Considering the past outcomes shaped by the Town’s at-large

⁴⁷ Bergad, “Latino Voter Participation in the 2018 and 2022 Midterm Elections,” p. 10.

⁴⁸ William Frey for the Brookings Institution, “New voter turnout data from 2022 shows some surprises, including lower turnout for youth, women, and Black Americans in some states,” Figure 2, at <https://www.brookings.edu/articles/new-voter-turnout-data-from-2022-shows-some-surprises-including-lower-turnout-for-youth-women-and-black-americans-in-some-states/>; Kevin Morris and Coryn Grange for the Brennan Center for Justice, “Growing Racial Disparities in Voter Turnout, 2008-2022,” at <https://www.brennancenter.org/our-work/research-reports/growing-racial-disparities-voter-turnout-2008-2022>.

electoral system, Black and Hispanic voters have been offered little incentive to exercise their right to vote.⁴⁹

(g) the extent to which members of the protected class are disadvantaged in areas including but not limited to education, employment, health, criminal justice, housing, land use, or environmental protection

The Town of Newburgh consists of seven tracts defined by the United States Census Bureau. The data in this section (from the most recently tabulated surveys in 2022) were accessed through Social Explorer, the widely-used geodata site that maps census data; I double-checked the Social Explorer data maps by comparing them with the Census Bureau's institutional site, and they corresponded precisely.

Newburgh town is populated by people who identify as non-Hispanic white (61.6%), "Hispanic or Latino" (25.3%), non-Hispanic "Black or African-American" (15.4%), and non-Hispanic "Asian" (3.1%), with the remainder divided among "Other" and "Two or More Races." These figures do not total 100% because Latinos may be of any race. Among those who said they are "Hispanic or Latino," the most common nationalities reported by the census are Puerto Rican (10.2% of the *total* population of the Town of Newburgh), Mexican (3.6%), Dominican (3.0%), and Peruvian (2.0%), with other nationalities totaling less than one percent of the town.

⁴⁹ Carol Anderson, *One Person, No Vote: How Voter Suppression is Destroying our Democracy* (Bloomsbury Press, 2018); Luis R. Fraga et al., *Latinos in the New Millennium: An Almanac of Opinion, Behavior, and Policy Preferences* (Cambridge University Press, 2012), chapter 9; Luis R. Fraga, *The Turnout Gap: Race, Ethnicity, and Political Equality in a Diversifying America* (Cambridge University Press, 2018); Morris and Grange.

Newburgh's Latinos are distributed throughout the territory of the town, comprising between 20 and 30 percent of all residents in the majority of census tracts, though comprising about 18% in two and 39% in one. The town's Black population comprise between 15% and 25% of the population of most tracts but are only 1.2% and 9.2% of two tracts in the northwest and southeast of the municipality.

Across the Town of Newburgh there are large ethnoracial gaps in income and housing, and smaller ones in education and employment. These conditions are relevant to political participation because nearly every aspect of socioeconomic status, including occupation, income, unemployment, housing, and other measures, are correlated with voting: social scientific research has shown that more-educated, higher-income, better-housed people are more likely to exercise their right to vote.⁵⁰

The clearest inequalities in socioeconomic status in the Town of Newburgh are reflected in the most basic categories of earnings and employment. At the basic level of annual per capita income, the average among Newburgh's non-Hispanic whites is \$50,839, with Black people earning on average more than one-third less at \$33,870 per capita and Hispanics earning just under one-third less at \$35,022 individually. The unemployment rate among the town's Latinos (5.9%) was almost twice as high as for non-Hispanic whites (3.1%), and for the town's Black people their rate was almost seventy-five percent higher, at 5.4%. When census enumerators

⁵⁰ Raymond E. Wolfinger and Steven J. Rosenstone, *Who Votes?* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1980), 20-21, 25 and Steven J. Rosenstone and John Mark Hansen, *Mobilization, Participation, and Democracy in America* (New York: Macmillan, 1993); 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; Marc Hooghe, "Trust and Elections," in *The Oxford Handbook of Social and Political Trust*, ed. Eric Uslaner (New York: Oxford University Press, 2018).

inquired as to whether families had received food stamps or the Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program in the prior year, Black people did at a rate more than fifty percent higher: 6.1% versus 3.9% for whites and 3.6% for Latinos.

In the category of housing, conditions in Newburgh also differ meaningfully by race, probably due both to past patterns of discrimination in homeownership and disparities in employment. This is relevant to political participation because there is a well-established correlation between housing status and voting behavior. For example, homeownership correlates positively with voting: people who own their own homes are more likely to vote, and renters are less likely to do so.⁵¹ Across the Town of Newburgh there are unequal rates of homeownership versus renting: by race, non-Hispanic whites are less likely to rent their homes: across the entire town, only 14.7% of them are renters, as compared with 25.7% of Latinos and 24.9% of Blacks. There are also discrepancies in occupancy: overcrowding is commonly defined as living in a dwelling with more than one person per room. By that standard, in the Town of Newburgh not a single non-Hispanic white family was enumerated as living in an overcrowded household, while 4.4% of Black families and 2.9% of Hispanic families were.

Notably, these discrepancies are somewhat wider than one might expect from the town's educational and work-sector profiles. In terms of educational attainment among Newburgh residents, outcomes differ meaningfully by sex and race. The discrepancies are most notable among men: non-Hispanic whites have the lowest high-school non-completion rate

⁵¹ Raymond E. Wolfinger and Steven J. Rosenstone, *Who Votes?* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1980), 20-21, 25 and Steven J. Rosenstone and John Mark Hansen, *Mobilization, Participation, and Democracy in America* (New York: Macmillan, 1993).

(2.1%) as compared with Black youngsters (3.4%) and especially Hispanic ones, whose rate is more than five times higher (10.6%). Similarly, the rate of college completion among white Anglos (15.8%) is higher than for Hispanic men (13.5%) or Black men (10.7%). The discrepancies look rather different among women: here Latinas have the lowest rate of high-school noncompletion at 3%, barely different from white girls at 3.2% and lower than for Black girls at 5.6%. In terms of completing college, Latinas show the highest rate of any ethnoracial group or sex: 19.2% have bachelor's degrees, again little different from non-Hispanic white women at 18.7% and only slightly higher than Black women at 16.7%.

In terms of employment, the inequalities among Black, Hispanic and non-Hispanic white workers are small yet still significant, and modified dramatically by sex. In the job categories typified by the highest income and prestige, the highest level of representation is by white women (23.7%), followed by Black women (20.3%), white men (19.8%), Latinas (18.0%), Latinos (17.1%), and Black men (12.9%). In the "Service Occupations," which are often characterized by lower pay and prestige, white women are least likely to work in this sector (7.3%), then Black men (8.0%), white men (10.3%), Latinas (10.9%), Latinos (13.8%), and Black women (14.8%).

There are areas in which Newburgh's ethnoracial inequalities are considerably smaller, including health insurance status. Newburgh town's seniors and its young people are generally well-insured: no Black, Hispanic, or non-Hispanic whites 65 years of age or older lacked health coverage, and only 1.3%, 0.3%, and 0.1%, respectively, of these groups' under-19 populations were not covered. There were greater discrepancies in the 19-64 age group, however: only 2.3% of non-Hispanic whites and 3% of Black people in this category lacked health insurance,

but fully 7.2% of Latinos did. (These figures are all almost certainly reflective of the levels of coverage offered by Medicare, Medicaid, and the Affordable Care Act.)

In some categories there are few significant discrepancies among different racial groups in the Town of Newburgh: the Census Bureau measures whether households had a computer available to them and their level of internet access. By this measure, Blacks, Latinos, and non-Hispanic whites were at or nearly at parity: 99.1% of Latino families had a computer, 97.1% of whites did, and 98.1% of Black families did; 94.7% of Latino families had broadband service, as did 95.7% of whites and 87.9% of Blacks.

In the area of environmental protection, the disproportionate impact of pollution on communities of color in the Town of Newburgh was a recurrent theme as the owners of the Danskammer generating facility in the northeastern part of the town sought to put the power plant back into regular service in 2021. The facility had been running only very occasionally, and the new plan would have meant a much more regular generating schedule. Town of Newburgh Supervisor Gil Piaquadio supported the plan, as did a number of Orange County officials.⁵² But a coalition of civic associations quickly assembled in opposition to the plan, including groups focused on environmental protection, landscape preservation, and, notably, racial justice. Describing the controversy over the plant alongside a similar facility in the Astoria section of the Borough of Queens, the *New York Times* noted: “Both Newburgh and Astoria are considered environmental justice communities: areas with low-income or Black and Latino populations

⁵² <https://www.recordonline.com/story/news/2019/10/04/orange-lawmakers-support-danskammer-project/2616427007/>

disproportionately affected by historical environmental damage, which the climate law requires the state to address.”⁵³

Local groups near the Danskammer facility explicitly made racial justice a part of their opposition to the repurposing of the plant: Gregory Simpson, an organic chemist who co-founded the Hudson Valley Environmental Justice Coalition, observed: “We already know that fracked gas generation produces harmful toxicants both to the atmosphere and to the environment.... My community, a BIPOC [Black, Indigenous, people of color] community specifically, we stand much more to lose because of our localization where we find ourselves living, the types of access we have or don’t have to safe and healthy environments.” Similarly, local activist María Ramírez surmised that the Danskammer plant was chosen because it was located in a place where local people would find it harder to resist politically: “in a working-class, poor neighborhood—especially a neighborhood that’s also predominantly people of color and has a huge undocumented community.” Also notably, the opposition to the plant included U.S. Representative Alexandria Occasio-Cortez, whose political persona is definitively linked to questions of racial justice.⁵⁴

The large-scale public mobilization against the repurposing of the Danskammer facility apparently took both the owners of the plant and state regulators by surprise, and in October 2021 the New York Department of Environmental Conservation (DEC) denied the air permit needed for the conversion. The DEC’s letter indicated that the plant’s operation would have set

⁵³ <https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/27/nyregion/ny-gas-power-plants-permits-denied.html>;
<https://www.axios.com/2022/12/15/redlining-racism-power-plant-siting>

⁵⁴ <https://www.scenichudson.org/viewfinder/danskammer-threatens-valleys-health-and-environmental-justice>.

back the goals set in the state’s 2019 Climate Act.⁵⁵ Newspaper reports from a variety of sources regarded the decision as a precedent-setting (a “landmark move,” opined *Politico*) decision by the New York State governor’s office in response to the widespread environmental protests against the impact of the pollution that would have been produced by the Danskammer facility.⁵⁶

(h) the extent to which members of the protected class are disadvantaged in other areas which may hinder their ability to participate effectively in the political process

See section (g).

(i) the use of overt or subtle racial appeals in political campaigns

Racial appeals—some subtle and others overt—that label Latinos in particular as a threat have figured prominently in political messaging by candidates and elected officials whose districts or jurisdictions include the Town of Newburgh, New York.

These racial appeals have dealt in various anti-Hispanic tropes that eminent anthropologist Leo Chávez has written are part of the “Latino Threat Narrative.” As Chávez explains: “The Latino Threat Narrative posits that Latinos are not like previous immigrant groups.... Latinos are unwilling or incapable of integrating, of becoming part of the national

⁵⁵ https://extapps.dec.ny.gov/docs/administration_pdf/danskammer10272021.pdf.

⁵⁶ <https://www.recordonline.com/story/news/local/2021/10/27/dec-rejects-crucial-permit-new-danskammer-power-plant-newburgh/8566737002/>; <https://nypost.com/2021/10/27/gov-kathy-hochul-sides-with-aoc-to-kill-natural-gas-power-projects/>; <https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/27/nyregion/ny-gas-power-plants-permits-denied.html>; <https://www.politico.com/states/new-york/albany/story/2021/10/27/hochul-administration-denies-permits-for-two-gas-plants-under-new-climate-law-1392062>.

community. Rather, they are part of an invading force from south of the border that is bent on reconquering land that was formally theirs...and destroying the American way of life.” The Latino Threat Narrative prompts people to think of Hispanics as dangerous to them and their way of life, and to take action to prevent an imagined “invasion” of their communities.⁵⁷

Prominent political figures from, representing, or governing Orange County or the Town of Newburgh have issued statements and/or involved themselves in controversies that closely match this Latino Threat Narrative. They have aggressively opposed migrants clearly coded as Latino as part of their political positioning, opportunistically whipping up public anxiety through official statements and appearances in or on conservative media outlets—including when these efforts involved statements that turned out to be false.

Three examples include the following officials: Brian Maher, the New York State Assemblyman for the 101st District (which includes six towns in Orange County), who was elected to that district in 2022 and had grown up in Walden, also in the County, and had been mayor of that town and supervisor of Montgomery, also in Orange County; Steven Neuhaus, who since his initial election in 2014 has served as the County Executive of Orange County; New York State Senator Rob Rolison, who has represented the Town of Newburgh as part of the 39th State Senate District in which he was elected in 2022.

All three men were key players in the May 2023 hoax in which migrants were accused of displacing veterans in the Town of Newburgh—and which played out in national news coverage. On May 12 the *New York Post* published a story in which it alleged that almost two dozen homeless veterans who had been staying at the Crossroads Hotel in Newburgh were

⁵⁷ Leo R. Chavez, *The Latino Threat: Constructing Immigrants, Citizens, and the Nation* (Stanford University Press, 2008), 3.

being displaced by migrants being bused in from New York City. These migrants were part of national news coverage and were clearly identified as being mostly from Latin America. The newspaper article explained that Sharon Toney-Finch, a disabled veteran who had set up a nonprofit to help veterans, was the key source for the story. The article also quoted Assemblyman Maher as a source: he opined that “we need to make sure these hotels know how important it is to respect the service of our veterans before they kick [them] out of hotels to make room.” Maher also added: “Whether you agree with asylum-seekers being here or not, we can’t just ignore these veterans that are in our charge that we are supposed to protect: the New Yorkers and Americans.... We need to put them first.”⁵⁸

This was classic Latino Threat Narrative material: it portrayed Latin American migrants as unwelcome and unworthy invaders who were cruelly displacing deserving Americans—and it was particularly politically charged because veterans are highly respected in U.S. culture and because there are indeed many veterans on the nation’s streets who are homeless and in need of help.

The story was instantly seized upon by local elected officials and conservative media, all of whom apparently hoped to burnish their political credentials by demonizing Latin American migrants. County Executive Neuhaus immediately sued the owners of the Crossroads Hotel and another hotel in Newburgh and also filed suit against New York City Mayor Eric Adams. Neuhaus also scheduled an appearance on the Fox Business News show *Varney & Co.* in order to publicly express his outrage over the alleged incident. Other officials whose constituents

⁵⁸ Bernadette Hogan and Kate Sheehy, “Homeless vets are being booted from NY hotels to make room for migrants: advocates,” <https://nypost.com/2023/05/12/homeless-vets-are-being-booted-from-ny-hotels-to-make-room-for-migrants-advocates/>

included people in the Town of Newburgh likewise made conspicuous public declarations of their outrage about the alleged displacement of homeless veterans. On *Fox & Friends First*, Assemblyman Maher appeared and sought to stoke public anger over the story, saying: “It’s a slap in the face to veterans, to citizens of New York in this country, who are really being cast aside to allow for asylum-seekers to come here.” It is important to note here that Fox News ran with the story on more than a dozen of its shows. For his part, State Senator Rolison nominated Ms. Toney-Finch for the State Senate’s Women of Distinction award.⁵⁹

This wave of performative outrage expanded outward from the Town of Newburgh to include all of Orange County, then to other counties in the Hudson Valley, and soon to much of the state. The Town of Newburgh filed suit against the Crossroads Hotel on the very same day the *New York Post* published its claims about migrants displacing homeless veterans at the hotel; in a summons signed by Town of Newburgh Supervisor Gilbert J. Piaquadio, the town sought to exclude the migrants by contending that in accommodating them, the hotel had violated the terms of its license and contravened the town zoning code and other town laws.⁶⁰ Orange County Executive Neuhaus was among the first county-level leaders to declare a state of emergency in order to exercise extraordinary powers against New York City as a municipal government and against hotelkeepers, immigrant and refugee services organizations in his

⁵⁹ <https://www.foxbusiness.com/politics/ny-exec-files-lawsuit-homeless-veterans-getting-kicked-hotels-migrants>; https://midhudsonnews.com/2023/05/13/not-for-profit-leader-reports-homeless-vets-were-displaced-to-make-room-for-migrants/#google_vignette; “Fox News runs with fake news story about migrants displacing homeless veterans, on All In with Chris Hayes on MSNBC, at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ceesmXCsrDo>; <https://newrepublic.com/post/172870/viral-story-homeless-veterans-new-york-migrants-made-up>; <https://www.timesunion.com/state/article/disgraced-veteran-stripped-women-distinction-18114797.php>.

⁶⁰ *Town of Newburgh, NY v. Newburgh EOM LLC d/b/a Crossroads Hotel*, Supreme Court of the State of New York, County of Orange, Index #EF003105-2023, filed with the Orange County Clerk on May 12, 2023 at 4:27pm.

County in order to exclude migrants and refugees—a decision that soon inspired similar declarations from officials in more than half the counties in New York State to block the arrival of migrants and refugees.⁶¹ As a matter of law, declarations of a state of emergency were not intended under New York State law for fairly minor situations like the accommodation of migrants. The New York statute for declaring a state of emergency contains examples of the kinds of events that would justify such a declaration, including “disaster, rioting, catastrophe, or similar public emergency;” it then specifies that a “radiological accident” requires a different kind of emergency declaration.⁶² The very fact that so many county and local officials invoked emergency powers—often in counties far away from New York City, to which migrants were not yet being sent, and in the absence of any real threat of public disorder—strongly suggests an effort to stoke popular fear about migrants so as to draw attention and benefit politically from anxiety about Hispanic newcomers. It was not accidental that the political journalism organization *Politico* observed that “[t]he issue has caused Republicans in particular” to attack New York City’s efforts to house migrants and refugees.⁶³

Beyond Orange County and New York State, political figures nationwide took up the allegations of migrants displacing veterans as an opportunity to express hostility to the migrants and immigration generally, often in newspaper stories and television segments that featured visuals of mostly Latin American newcomers. They clearly sought to gain political

⁶¹ <https://www.politico.com/news/2023/05/10/nyc-suburbs-standoff-adams-migrants-00096213>; <https://www.cityandstateny.com/policy/2023/09/which-counties-are-closing-their-doors-asylum-seekers/386314/>

⁶² New York Consolidated Laws, EXC § 24, <https://codes.findlaw.com/ny/executive-law/exc-sect-24/>

⁶³ <https://www.politico.com/news/2023/05/10/nyc-suburbs-standoff-adams-migrants-00096213>

advantage by repeating, over and over, a narrative of undeserving Latinos displacing worthy American veterans.⁶⁴

The story began to fall apart within approximately one week, however. Local journalists sought out further details of the alleged displacement and one after another of the initial claims were found to be inaccurate or outright fabrications. Reporters interviewed the hotel manager and learned that there had never been any homeless veterans displaced from the premises to make room for migrants. Indeed, a few days later, reporters discovered that men who had been put forward as displaced veterans were no such thing and had in fact been paid to claim that they were for television cameras and print reporters. Eventually Ms. Toney-Finch was arrested by the FBI and indicted by federal prosecutors for fraud, State Senator Rolison was forced to apologize for promoting the false story, and he withdrew his previous nomination for New York State's Women of Distinction award. Assemblyman Maher also apologized for propagating the false story, saying, "I will apologize to anyone who felt they were in danger."⁶⁵

It is unclear to whom Assemblyman Maher was referring when he mentioned danger, but for the Latina and Latino residents of the Town of Newburgh and Orange County, there had been a full week of reporting, not just in English but also in Spanish-language media, of a story that cast people who looked like them as villainous invaders displacing vulnerable people to whom Americans owed a debt of gratitude. Indeed, even the hotelkeeper had faced threats of

⁶⁴ <https://www.foxbusiness.com/politics/ny-exec-files-lawsuit-homeless-veterans-getting-kicked-hotels-migrants>; https://midhudsonnews.com/2023/05/13/not-for-profit-leader-reports-homeless-vets-were-displaced-to-make-room-for-migrants/#google_vignette; "Fox News runs with fake news story about migrants displacing homeless veterans."

⁶⁵ <https://www.timesunion.com/hudsonvalley/news/article/unhoused-veterans-displaced-migrants-fake-18107182.php>; https://midhudsonnews.com/2023/05/19/homeless-men-recruited-for-veteran-hotel-scam/#google_vignette; <https://highlandscurrent.org/2023/05/26/fallout-from-displaced-veterans-hoax/>; "Fox News runs with fake news story;" <https://westchester.news12.com/assembly-member-maher-apologizes-for-promoting-false-claim-newburgh-hotel-favored-migrants-over-veterans/>;

violence during the incident.⁶⁶ The migrants themselves readily recognized the way they were being portrayed, with one man from Ecuador saying, “I understand that they are upset, and think we are invading them.”⁶⁷ While it is easy to become numb to these kinds of claims, which have become a staple in American political life over the past ten years, it is essential to understand that people who allow themselves to be infuriated by stories like these can become violent—as was tragically exemplified by men who became radicalized online and committed horrific mass murders in a Pennsylvania synagogue that hosted an immigrant aid society, and an El Paso Walmart patronized by Mexican and Mexican American shoppers, because they believed precisely these kinds of lurid tales of immigrant invaders. When political figures propagate these anti-Latino immigrant narratives, they put the lives of people in their own communities in potentially grave danger.

(j) a significant lack of responsiveness on the part of elected officials to the particularized needs of members of the protected class

For the past two decades—and especially after 2015—antipathy to immigrants, Latinos, and especially those who are both has become a significant mark of political identity for tens of millions of voters. As a result, many elected officials and candidates have taken to conspicuously opposing the interests and preferences of immigrant and Latino communities as

⁶⁶ <https://www.diariolibre.com/usa/actualidad/2023/05/14/denuncian-que-hoteles-sacan-veteranos-para-migrantes/2314952>; <https://www.milenio.com/internacional/migrantes-reubicados-york-hallan-hostilidad-maltratos>.

⁶⁷ <https://www.politico.com/news/2023/05/12/newburgh-hotel-becomes-latest-symbol-of-immigration-divide-00096717>

an affirmative political strategy during electoral campaigns (as demonstrated in the previous section) and as a distinctive policy goal and signaling gesture while in office. The material in Section (i) should be seen in this light as efforts by local officials to achieve prominence beyond their local office by demonstrating their antipathy toward Latino newcomers in a clear example of anti-Hispanic scapegoating.

(k) whether the political subdivision has a compelling policy justification that is substantiated and supported by evidence for adopting or maintaining the method of election...

Referring back to Sections (b) and (c), it is important to recognize that two things can be true at the same time: first, at-large electoral systems were intended to suppress the political power of marginalized and/or minoritized populations in the United States; second, the exceptionally high level of ethnoracial homogeneity in the Town of Newburgh until just three to four decades ago essentially precluded any racially discriminatory effects of at-large voting—in other words, in a virtually all-white-and-Anglo town with a small town council, it would have been impossible to discern racially disproportionate political representation. In any case, I have not been able to find any statements by town officials or their attorneys (i.e., in the meeting records of the Town Board or the May 28, 2024 response to the initial complaint) explaining the reason for their at-large system of town elections.

V. Conclusion

This report finds that the totality of the circumstances in the Town of Newburgh, its county, and its metro area unmistakably limits Hispanic and Black residents' ability to exercise meaningful political power in said Town. The great majority of the factors specified by New York State's new Voting Rights Act are in clear evidence. There is a long history of racial discrimination in New York, and arrangements that dilute the political power of Hispanic and Black citizens continue to operate in the recent past and present. The Newburgh town council has apparently not ever had an elected Black or Hispanic member or supervisor. The Town of Newburgh elects its political leadership through an at-large voting system that was originally intended to reduce or eliminate minoritized people's political authority. Officials in New York State, Orange County, and the Town of Newburgh have not offered Latinos or Black people an equal opportunity to participate in governance. Hispanics and Blacks in New York have lower voting rates than their white Anglo fellow citizens. Census data show that in Newburgh, Black and Hispanic households and individuals are disadvantaged according to a number of socioeconomic metrics, a situation which correlates with lower political participation. The area's officeholders have regularly used anti-Hispanic racial appeals while in office, and elected officials have shown not just indifference but hostility to their Hispanic and Black constituents. They have also not offered any compelling justification for maintaining an at-large system of local elections.

Signed,



A. K. Sandoval-Strausz

Date: June 28, 2024

A. K. SANDOVAL-STRAUSZ

303 WEAVER BUILDING PENN STATE UNIVERSITY
UNIVERSITY PARK, PENNSYLVANIA 16802

EMPLOYMENT

Jul 2022-present THE PENNSYLVANIA STATE UNIVERSITY
Director of Latina/o Studies and Professor of History

Jan 2018-Jun 2022 THE PENNSYLVANIA STATE UNIVERSITY
Director of Latina/o Studies and Associate Professor of History

Aug 2008-Dec 2017 UNIVERSITY OF NEW MEXICO
Associate Professor of History

Aug 2001-Jul 2008 UNIVERSITY OF NEW MEXICO
Assistant Professor of History

EDUCATION

Mar 1997-Dec 2002 UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
Ph.D. in History

Oct 1994-Feb 1997 UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
M.A. in History

Sep 1988-May 1992 COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY
B.A. in History

BOOKS

2025 *Metropolitan Latinidad: Rethinking American Urban History* (UChicago Press)

2019 *Barrio America: How Latino Immigrants Saved the American City* (Basic Books)
Featured in the *New York Times*, *Washington Post*, *Slate*, BBC, *Commonweal*; on the radio at NPR's *Marketplace*, *Fronteras*, and KERA's *Think*

2018 *Making Cities Global: The Transnational Turn in Urban History* (Penn Press)

2007 Coedited with Nancy H. Kwak with a foreword by Thomas J. Sugrue
Hotel: An American History (Yale University Press)
Reviewed in the *New York Times*, *The Economist*, *Philadelphia Inquirer*, *Chicago Tribune*, *Glasgow Herald*, *The Age* (Australia), Phoenix TV (China)

AWARDS & HONORS

2023

2021 SOCIETY OF AMERICAN HISTORIANS
Elected to Membership

2020 INTERNATIONAL LATINO BOOK AWARDS
Best Academic Book for *Barrio America*

2015 CAROLINE BANCROFT PRIZE
Best History Book for *Barrio America*

2015 URBAN HISTORY ASSOCIATION
Arnold Hirsch Award for Best Article for "Latino Landscapes: Postwar Cities"

- and the Transnational Origins of a New Urban America”
- 2015 SOCIETY FOR AMERICAN CITY AND REGIONAL PLANNING HISTORY
Catherine Bauer Wurster Prize for Best Article for “Latino Landscapes”
- 2013 SOCIETY OF ARCHITECTURAL HISTORIANS, SOUTHEAST CHAPTER
Best Article Prize for “Latino Landscapes”
- 2008 NATIONAL TRUST FOR HISTORIC PRESERVATION
Historian of the Year, Historic Hotels of America Program
- 2007 AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, PACIFIC COAST BRANCH
Best Book Award for *Hotel: An American History*
- 2001 LIBRARY JOURNAL
Best Books of the Year for *Hotel: An American History*
POZEN CENTER FOR HUMAN RIGHTS
Ignacio Martín-Baró Essay Prize for “Travelers, Strangers, & Jim Crow: Law, Public Accommodations, and Civil Rights in America”
- SELECTED FELLOWSHIPS
- 2015-2016 Princeton University-Andrew W. Mellon Foundation Initiative in Architecture, Urbanism, & the Humanities Distinguished Fellow
- 2015-2016 National Endowment for the Humanities Public Scholar (for *Barrio America*)
- 2015-2016 Stanford University, Bill Lane Center for the West Fellowship (declined)
- 2010-2011 National Endowment for the Humanities Faculty Research Award (for *Barrio America*)
- 2009-2010 Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars Fellowship (declined)
- 2007-2008 Snead-Wertheim Endowed Lectureship in History and Anthropology, UNM
- 2004-2005 Mellon Postdoctoral Fellowship, American Antiquarian Society (declined)
- 2000 Von Holst Prize Lectureship, University of Chicago
- 1999-2000 University of Chicago William Rainey Harper Dissertation Fellowship
- 1999-2000 Huntington Library Research Fellowship
- 1999-2000 Massachusetts Historical Society Research Fellowship
- 1999-2000 New-York Historical Society Rosenwald Research Fellowship
- 1998-1999 Library Company of Philadelphia Research Fellowship
Harvard University Alfred D. Chandler, Jr. Traveling Fellowship
- SELECTED ARTICLES
- 2021 “*Latinidad* and the Creation of a New Public in Pennsylvania,” *Harvard Design Magazine* 49
- 2018 “Latino Urbanism,” in *The Oxford Reference Encyclopedia of American History*, ed. Jon Butler (New York: Oxford University Press)
- 2017 “*Migrantes, Negocios, and Infraestructura*: Transnational Urban Revitalization in Chicago,” in Thomas J. Sugrue and Domenic Vitiello, eds., *Immigration and Metropolitan Revitalization* (Penn Press)
- 2014

- 2013 “Latino Landscapes: Postwar Cities and the Transnational Origins of a New Urban America,” *Journal of American History* 101
- 2010 “Latino Vernaculars and the Emerging National Landscape,” *Buildings & Landscapes: The Journal of the Vernacular Architecture Forum* 20
- 2007 “A Historiographic Guide to Architectures of Capitalism,” *Winterthur Portfolio* 44
- 2005 “Homes for a World of Strangers: Hospitality and the Origins of Multiple Dwellings in America,” *Journal of Urban History* 33
- 2005 “Travelers, Strangers, and Jim Crow: Law, Public Accommodations, and Civil Rights in America,” *Law and History Review* 23
- 2005 “Princes and Maids of the City Hotel: The Cultural Politics of Commercial Hospitality in America” (coauthored with Daniel Levinson Wilk), *Journal of Decorative and Propaganda Arts* 25
- 2003 “A Public House for a New Republic: The Architecture of Accommodation and the American State, 1789-1809,” *Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture* IX
- 1999 “Why the Hotel? Liberal Visions, Merchant Capital, Public Space, and the Creation of an American Institution,” *Business & Economic History* 28
- 1998 “The Next Social History? Practicing Space, Time, and Place,” in *American Historical Association Perspectives* 36
- 1987 “A Quantitative Structure Activity Relationship Study of Acute Toxicity in Goldfish” (with R.L. Lipnick and K.R. Watson), *Xenobiotica* 17

OTHER
SCHOLARLY
PUBLICATIONS

- 2010 “Architecture” (2,000 words), in *The Encyclopedia of American Environmental History*, ed. Kathleen A. Brosnan (New York: Facts on File)
- 2008 “Civil Rights Acts” (1,500 words), in *The Encyclopedia of the Supreme Court of the United States*, ed. David S. Tanenhaus (New York: Macmillan)
- 2008 “Civil Rights Act of 1866” (1,000 words), in *The Encyclopedia of the Supreme Court of the United States*, ed. David S. Tanenhaus (New York: Macmillan)
- 2008 “Heart of Atlanta Motel v. United States” (500 words), in *The Encyclopedia of the Supreme Court of the United States*, ed. David Tanenhaus (New York: Macmillan)
- 2007 “New York Hotels: Icons at the Crossroads,” *New York History* 10
- 2006 “Clin d’Oeil: Hotels and Hospitality” (750 words), in *Entreprises et Histoire* 47
- 2004 “Hotels” (1,100 words), in *The Encyclopedia of American Urban History*, ed. David Goldfield (New York: Sage Publications)
- 2002 “Colombian-Americans” (500 words), in *The Encyclopedia of Chicago History*, ed. James R. Grossman et al. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press)
- “Hotels and the Hotel Industry” (2,250 words), in *The Dictionary of American History*, Third Edition, ed. Stanley I. Kutler (Washington, D.C.: Scribners)

INVITED TALKS
Oct 2022

HARVARD UNIVERSITY

Sep 2022 Harvard-Mellon Urban Initiative
 “Latino Cities and the Origins of Political Xenophobia in Postindustrial America”
 PRINCETON UNIVERSITY

Jun 2022 Princeton-Mellon Initiative in Architecture, Urbanism, and the Humanities
 “Cities of Gold: Immigration, Prosperity and Place in the American Economy”
 (with Leah Boustan)

Jun 2022 UNIVERSITÄT HEIDELBERG
 Baden-Württemberg Seminar, Center for American Studies
 “Barrio America: How Latino Immigrants Saved the American City”

Jan 2022 NEW YORK UNIVERSITY
 Mellon Foundation Summer Institute on Urbanism
 “Latino Urbanism in Theory and Practice”

Nov 2021 CENTRE COLLEGE
 Humana Lecture Series
 “The Latino-Led Revitalization of Urban America”

Nov 2021 SORBONNE UNIVERSITÉ
 Séminaire de HDEA
 “Latino Chicago: Racial Conspiracy, City Planning, and the Immigrant-Driven Rejuvenation of an American City”

Nov 2021 UNIVERSITÉ PARIS NANTERRE
 Actualités de la Recherche
 “Barrio America: Latin Americans Revitalize the Urban North”

Sep 2021 WHEATON COLLEGE
 Center for Urban Engagement
 “The Stranger that Dwelleth With You”

Jun 2021 DALLAS MEXICAN AMERICAN HISTORICAL LEAGUE
 Nuestro Oak Cliff
 “Revitalizing Big D: Mexican Dallas and the Development of the Metroplex”

Apr 2021 EL COLÉGIO DE MÉXICO / CONSULADO MEXICANO EN SACRAMENTO
 Seminario Virtual: Mexicanos, Ciudad e Historia en Ambos Lados de la Frontera
 “Migrantes Mexicanos y el Fin de la Crisis Urbana en Estados Unidos”

Apr 2021 PRINCETON UNIVERSITY
 Center for Migration and Development
 “If All the World Were Hazleton: Latina/o Migrants and the Origins of Political Xenophobia in Deindustrializing Pennsylvania”

Mar 2021 UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS-ARLINGTON
 Open City Symposium, College of Architecture, Planning, and Public Affairs
 “Latino Urbanism in Dallas and the Transnationalization of Urban Design”

Mar 2021 TRINIDAD GONZÁLEZ EARLY COLLEGE HIGH SCHOOL
 Mr. Daniel Estevao’s two Mexican American Studies courses

Mar 2021 "Latino Landscapes in Dallas and the Revitalization of American Cities"
TALLER PUERTORRIQUEÑO PHILADELPHIA
Meet the Author

Jan 2021 "Barrio America: How Latino Immigrants Saved the American City"
DARTMOUTH COLLEGE
Department of Government and Department of History

Nov 2020 "The Future of Latinx Politics" Roundtable
PRINCETON UNIVERSITY
Wintersession

Oct 2020 "Understanding the Barrio: A Virtual Urban Walking Tour of Oak Cliff"
DUMBARTON OAKS
Landscape Studies Lecture Series

Oct 2020 "Barrio America: How Latino Immigrants Saved the American City"
THE SKYSCRAPER MUSEUM
Fall Webinar Series

Sept 2020 "The Tall (Not) Office Building: Hotels"
COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY SCHOOL OF BUSINESS
Reading Across Disciplines, Paul Milstein Center for Real Estate

Feb 2020 "Latino Immigration as a Form of Large-Scale Reinvestment in Urban America"
CHICAGO PUBLIC LIBRARY & ORGANIZATION OF AMERICAN HISTORIANS
Beyond Borders Series/OAH Distinguished Lecture

Feb 2020 "Barrio Chicago: Immigration and Urban Revitalization in the Windy City"
MANHATTAN COLLEGE
Urban Studies Annual Lecture

Jan 2020 "How Latino Immigrants Saved the American City"
THE SKYSCRAPER MUSEUM
Public Lecture Series

Dec 2019 "Barrio America: How Latino Immigrants Saved the American City"
UNITED METHODIST CHURCH OF HOWARD, PENNSYLVANIA
Sunday After-Church Lecture

Dec 2019 "Understanding Immigration: Confronting Misconceptions"
UNITED FORT WORTH COMMUNITY JUSTICE CENTER
Evening Lecture

Nov 2019 "Latino Landscapes: Immigration and the Creation of a New Urban Texas"
OAK CLIFF CULTURAL CENTER/CITY OF DALLAS OFFICE OF ARTS & CULTURE
Public Lecture

Nov 2019 "Barrio America: How Latino Immigrants Saved the American City"
PRINCETON UNIVERSITY
Princeton-Mellon Initiative in Architecture, Urbanism, and the Humanities

Nov 2019 "Barrio America: How Latino Immigrants Saved the American City"
COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY
An Urban World: The Changing Landscape of Suburbs and Cities

- Nov 2019 "The Scholarly Legacy of Kenneth T. Jackson and the Transnational Approach to the Study of Cities"
NEW YORK UNIVERSITY
The Latinx Project
- Oct 2019 "Barrio America: How Latino Immigrants Saved the American City"
NEWBERRY LIBRARY
Book Launch/Meet the Author Public Lecture
"Barrio America: How Latino Immigrants Saved the American City"
- Sept 2016 UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA
Lecture for the Departments of City and Regional Planning and History
"*Migrantes, Negocios, and Infraestructura*: Transnational Processes of Urban Revitalization in the Americas"
- Nov 2015 EL COLEGIO DE MÉXICO
Centro de Investigaciones Históricas y Centro de Investigaciones Internacionales
"Crónica de una muerte anunciada varias veces?: La disputa por el voto hispano a partir de la década de 1960"
- Oct 2015 UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
Center for the Study of Race, Politics, and Culture
"Race and Capitalism"
- Apr 2015 DELAWARE HUMANITIES FORUM & ORGANIZATION OF AMERICAN HISTORIANS
The Joseph P. del Tufo Annual Lecture
"Latino Immigrants and the Transformation of American Cities, 1950-2010"
- Apr 2015 PRINCETON UNIVERSITY
The City Lost and Found Symposium, Princeton University Art Museum
"Transnational Architecture & Visual Culture in the Americas, 1960-1980"
- Feb 2015 UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
Social History Workshop
"*Migrantes, Negocios, and Infraestructura*: Transnational Urban Revitalization in Chicago since 1945"
- Sep 2014 COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY
Lehman Center Seminar on the City
"Latino Landscapes: Postwar Cities and the Transnational Origins of a New Urban America"
- May 2014 UNIVERSITY OF MASSACHUSETTS-AMHERST
Feinberg Family Biennial Lecture Series: Immigration and Migration in the Western Hemisphere
"Latin American Migrants and the Creation of a Hemispheric Urban System"
- May 2013 UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA
Social Science & Policy Forum: Immigration and Metropolitan Revitalization
"*Migrantes, Negocios, and Infraestructura*: Transnational Processes of Urban Revitalization in the Americas"
- Jan 2013

RUTGERS UNIVERSITY
Sawyer Seminar: Cities, Towns, and Suburbs
"Transnational Neighborhoods in Chicago and Dallas and the Next Urban History"
Apr 2009

NEWBERRY LIBRARY
Seminar in Borderlands & Latino Studies
"Latino Landscapes in Chicago: Transnational History, Architecture, and the Origins of a New Urban America"
Mar 2008

PALM BEACH PRESERVATION FOUNDATION, PALM BEACH, FLORIDA
"Palm Beach Hotels and the Architecture of Hospitality"
Nov 2004

UNIVERSITY OF HOUSTON
Tenneco Lecture Series, Department of History
"A History of American Hospitality: The Importance of Accommodating Strangers"
Sep 2000

CONFERENCE PRESENTATIONS
CONRAD N. HILTON COLLEGE OF HOTEL MGMT, UNIVERSITY OF HOUSTON
"For the Accommodation of Strangers: Inventing the American Hotel"
Oct 2022

GOLDEN BALL TAVERN MUSEUM, WESTON, MASSACHUSETTS
"Home to a World of Strangers: The Transformation of American Public Houses, 1790-1845"
Oct 2022

Oct 2021

SOCIETY FOR AMERICAN CITY AND REGIONAL PLANNING HISTORY
"Latino Remigration, White Flight, and Political Reaction on the Metropolitan Fringe? The Hispanic Repopulation of Deindustrializing Eastern Pennsylvania"
Oct 2021

WESTERN HISTORY ASSOCIATION
"State of the Field: Old and New Protocols of Latinx History" Roundtable
Sep 2021

HARVARD DESIGN MAGAZINE RELEASE SYMPOSIUM
"Latinidad and the Construction of a New Public in Pennsylvania"
Apr 2021

ASSOCIATION OF COLLEGIATE SCHOOLS OF PLANNING
Moderator, "Social Justice Planning for U.S. Latinx-Majority Cities"
Jan 2020

AMERICAN PLANNING ASSOCIATION
"Latinos and Planning" Roundtable
Nov 2019

ORGANIZATION OF AMERICAN HISTORIANS
Moderator, "New Directions in Midwest Latinx Histories" Roundtable
Oct 2019

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION
Moderator, "Global Cities of the North and South: Transnational Connections and Urban Development in the Americas"
Oct 2018

SOCIETY FOR AMERICAN CITY AND REGIONAL PLANNING HISTORY
"Historical Perspectives on Contemporary Gentrification Debates"
Apr 2016

WESTERN HISTORY ASSOCIATION
Fighting for the Survival of Latinx Barrios in the Midwest and West
Apr 2016

URBAN HISTORY ASSOCIATION, NINTH BIENNIAL CONFERENCE

Nov 2014 "Arreglando Casas: Mexican Migrants Rehabilitating Housing in Chicago and Dallas since 1965"

Oct 2014 ORGANIZATION OF AMERICAN HISTORIANS
Panelist on roundtable entitled "Urban History: State of the Field"

Oct 2014 ORGANIZATION OF AMERICAN HISTORIANS
Panelist on roundtable entitled "Transnationalizing Urban History"

Oct 2013 SOCIAL SCIENCE HISTORY ASSOCIATION
Panelist on roundtable entitled "Transnational Inequalities"

Oct 2012 URBAN HISTORY ASSOCIATION, SEVENTH BIENNIAL CONFERENCE
Panelist on roundtable entitled "The Transnational Turn in Urban History"

Oct 2012 URBAN HISTORY ASSOCIATION, SEVENTH BIENNIAL CONFERENCE
Panelist on roundtable entitled "Postwar Latino Urban History"

Jun 2012 WESTERN HISTORY ASSOCIATION
"The Political Geography of the Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986: Time for Another Look?"

Apr 2012 URBAN HISTORY ASSOCIATION, SIXTH BIENNIAL CONFERENCE
Comment on panel entitled "Reimagining the Twentieth-Century City: International Expertise and the Built Environment"

Oct 2010 VERNACULAR ARCHITECTURE FORUM
Chair and comment on panel entitled "Vernaculars of Business and Commerce"

Oct 2010 ORGANIZATION OF AMERICAN HISTORIANS
"Using Local Microgeography to Understand Transnational Macrogeography"

Apr 2010 AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION
"Latino Landscapes: Transnational Urbanism in Dallas and the Next Urban History"

Jun 2009 URBAN HISTORY ASSOCIATION, FIFTH BIENNIAL CONFERENCE
"Latino Landscapes and Urban Historiography, 1950-2000"

May 2008 URBAN HISTORY ASSOCIATION, FIFTH BIENNIAL CONFERENCE
Panelist on roundtable entitled "Has Urban History Transcended Regionalism? Or Does South/West/North Really Matter?"

Apr 2008 ORGANIZATION OF AMERICAN HISTORIANS
"Uniting the Many Histories of People on the Move: A Grand Unified Theory of Human Mobility?"

Apr 2008 VERNACULAR ARCHITECTURE FORUM
"Latino Landscapes: Immigration and Urbanism, 1945-2000"

May 2007 VERNACULAR ARCHITECTURE FORUM
Chair and comment on panel entitled "Architecture and Identity Politics in the Early American Republic"

Mar 2007 BUSINESS HISTORY CONFERENCE
Chair and comment on panel entitled "Pioneers of 'Fashion' Businesses: Comparing the Origins of Haute Couture and Management Consulting"

WESTERN SOCIAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION

- Jan 2007 "Cosmopolitanism and Hospitality: Historical Grounding for a Multidisciplinary Debate"
BUSINESS HISTORY CONFERENCE
- Apr 2005 "Financing the 'Palaces of the Public:' Hotel Entrepreneurs, Commercial Capital, and Internal Improvements in Jacksonian America"
ORGANIZATION OF AMERICAN HISTORIANS
- Oct 2004 Chair and comment on panel entitled "Strangers and Visitors: The Architecture and Culture of Hospitality in Nineteenth-Century America"
AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION
- May 2004 "Beyond Reading the Paper: Exploring New Presentation Formats for the AHA Annual Meeting"
VERNACULAR ARCHITECTURE FORUM
- Nov 2002 Chair and comment on panel entitled "Native and Colonial Urbanisms"
URBAN HISTORY ASSOCIATION, SECOND BIENNIAL CONFERENCE
- Sep 2002 "Shelter and Serve: Commerce, Politics, and a New Spatiality"
VERNACULAR ARCHITECTURE FORUM
- Feb 2001 "Revisiting 'The Stranger's Path': Transience and Hospitality Shape the American Landscape"
AMERICAN STUDIES ASSOCIATION
- Oct 2000 "Nationalism, Aesthetics, Commerce, and the Origins of the American Hotel"
URBAN HISTORY ASSOCIATION, FIRST BIENNIAL CONFERENCE
- Apr 2000 "Princes and Maids of the City Hotel: The Cultural Politics of Commercial Hospitality in Nineteenth-Century America"
CHICAGO URBAN HISTORY SEMINAR
- Sep 1999 "Building a House of Strangers: The Hotel and the Dawn of American Metropolitanism, 1789-1845"
AMERICAN SOCIETY FOR LEGAL HISTORY
- May 1999 "Bed, Board, & Hearth: The Common Law of Innkeepers and the Legal Construction of Space in Nineteenth-Century America"
ORGANIZATION OF AMERICAN HISTORIANS
- Mar 1999 "The Control of His House and of Those Who Enter It: Keepers, Patrons, Prostitutes, Peddlers and Thieves in the Nineteenth-Century Hotel"
MCNEIL CENTER FOR EARLY AMERICAN STUDIES
- Apr 1998 "Fling Open the Gates So Wide: Commerce, Politics, and the Built Environment, 1780-1800," as part of the "Speaking in Signs" conference
VERNACULAR ARCHITECTURE FORUM
- CONFERENCE ORGANIZING 4-6 Apr 2024 "A Public House for a New Republic: Nationalism, Architecture, and the Origins of the American Hotel"
BUSINESS HISTORY CONFERENCE
- "Commercial Virtue, National Identity, and Mercantile Vision in the Making of the American Hotel"
FRANKE INSTITUTE FOR THE HUMANITIES, UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

“The Entrepreneurial Redefinition of Space: Hotels and Railroads in Antebellum America,” with John P. Hankey, as part of a conference entitled “The Next Social History?”

10-12 Dec 2021

LATINA/OS AND U.S. POLITICAL HISTORIES

A conference with precirculated papers from Emiliano Aguilar, Andy Rafael Aguilera, Emma Amador, Brian Behnken, Daniela Bohórquez Sheinin, Bobby Cervantes, Michael Gobat, Tiffany González, Ramón Gutiérrez, Cecilia Márquez, Sarah McNamara, Juan Mora, Aaron Sánchez, Jaime Sánchez, Jr., Thomas J. Sugrue, and Lorrin Thomas.

27-30 Mar 2014

METROPOLATINX: RETHINKING THE HISTORY OF AMERICAN CITIES

A conference with precirculated papers from Llana Barber, Geraldo Cadava, Mauricio Castro, Eduardo Contreras, Sandra Enríquez, Felipe Hinojosa, Michael Innis-Jiménez, Max Krochmal, Becky Nicolaides, Pedro Regalado, and Yami Rodríguez, with proceedings published by the University of Chicago Press.

17-18 Apr 1998

TRANSNATIONAL CITIES: PAST INTO PRESENT / SCHOOL OF ARCHITECTURE AND PLANNING & DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY, UNIVERSITY OF NEW MEXICO

A conference with precirculated papers from Erica Allen-Kim, Daniel Arreola, Leandro Benmergui, Matthew García, Richard Harris, Carola Hein, Nancy Haekyung Kwak, Carl Nightingale, Amy Offner, Margaret O’Mara, Muchan Park, A. K. Sandoval-Strausz, Arijit Sen, and Lucien Wilson, and with commentary from Roger Rouse and Thomas J. Sugrue.

PRINT
MEDIA
Jun 2021

THE NEXT SOCIAL HISTORY? / FRANKE INSTITUTE FOR THE HUMANITIES, UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

A conference with papers and presentations from Edward Ayers, Andrew Cohen, Prasenjit Duara, Jenny Franchot, John Hankey, Theresa Hernández, Martha Hodes, Geoffrey Klingsporn, Gregory Maddox, S. Elizabeth Penry, A. K. Sandoval-Strausz, Julie Saville, Jessica Sewell, David Scobey and Mark R. Wilson and with commentary from George Chauncey, Lizabeth Cohen, James R. Grossman, Moishe Postone, and Harvard I. Sitkoff.

Feb 2021

Aug 2021

THE WASHINGTON POST

“As Immigration Politics Changed, So Did ‘In the Heights,’” a 1,600-word review essay of the film by Lin-Manuel Miranda and Quiara Hudes on the front page of the opinion section of the June 11 print edition.

June 2020

THE WASHINGTON POST

“A Path to Citizenship for 11 Million Immigrants is a No-Brainer,” a 1,500-word opinion piece for Made By History that was read by 60,000 people

Nov 2019

THE WASHINGTON POST BOOK WORLD

“In Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez, Many Have Found a Voice,” an 875-word book

review of *AOC: The Fearless Rise and Powerful Resonance of Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez* by Lynda López
 Jan 2008
 THE WASHINGTON POST
 “Donald Trump’s Message is Falling Flat Because it is Outdated,” a 1,200-word
 Nov 2007
 opinion piece for *Made By History*
 THE WASHINGTON POST
 Oct 1993
 “How Latinos Saved American Cities,” the front-page opinion piece in the
 November 8 edition of the print newspaper
 HEMISPHERES, THE MAGAZINE OF UNITED AIRLINES
 “Accommodating History,” a five-page illustrated article on the history, current
 BROADCAST
 condition, and future prospects of the hotel industry
 MEDIA
 SLATE.COM
 Jan 2021
 “How America Invented the Hotel,” a 1,700-word essay and online slide show
 BUSINESS WEEK MAGAZINE
 Oct 2020
 “Reinventing America,” a special section on the BusinessWeek CEO Symposium
 Feb 2020
 Jan 2020
 TEXAS PUBLIC RADIO/FRONTERAS
 Dec 2019
 Two-part, 45-minute interview with Norma Martínez on *Barrio America*
 LAWYERS, GUNS, AND MONEY PODCAST
 Dec 2019
 A 40-minute interview with Erik Loomis on *Barrio America*
 NEW BOOKS IN LATINO STUDIES PODCAST
 Nov 2014
 One-hour interview with Tiffany González on *Barrio America*
 TEXAS PUBLIC RADIO/THINK! ON KERA-DALLAS
 One-hour interview with Kris Boyd on *Barrio America*
 Jun 2014
 MARKETPLACE/PUBLIC RADIO INTERNATIONAL
 A nationally broadcast radio segment with Amy Scott on *Barrio America*
 May 2012
 NEW ENGLAND PUBLIC RADIO
 A 50-minute interview with Shannon Dooling on *Barrio America*
 CNBC TELEVISION
 Jun 2008
 Interview on “Street Signs” regarding the likely economic effects of President
 Obama’s executive order on immigration
 SIDEWALK RADIO, ATLANTA, GEORGIA
 Jan 2008
 Interview with Gene Kansas on the history of hotels
 PHOENIX TELEVISION NETWORK, HONG KONG AND SHANGHAI, CHINA
 Dec 2007
 Fifteen-minute discussion in Mandarin Chinese on *Hotel: An American History* (a
 presentation of the book by the show’s host, not an author appearance)
 NEW MEXICO PUBLIC RADIO/KUNM ALBUQUERQUE
 Apr 2006
 “University Showcase” with Megan Kamerick: one-hour interview on *Hotel: An
 American History*

ILLINOIS PUBLIC RADIO/WILL URBANA-CHAMPAIGN
 BOOK REVIEWS “This Afternoon” with Celeste Quinn: 45-minute interview and call-in show on
 2023 the history of hotels and the civil rights movement

NATIONAL PUBLIC RADIO/WBUR BOSTON
 2021 “On Point” with Jayne Clayson: one-hour interview entitled “Hotel America”

KAGM-FM ALBUQUERQUE
 2021 “The Drive” with Lee Logan: half-hour show on the provisions and politics of the
 McCain-Kennedy Comprehensive Immigration Reform Bill of 2005

2015
 2015 *A Place at the Nayarit: How a Mexican Restaurant Nourished a Community* by
 Natalia Molina, *Western Historical Quarterly* 54

2014 *Boyle Heights: How a Los Angeles Neighborhood Became the Future of American
 Democracy* by George J. Sánchez, *Journal of Social History* 56

2013 *Charros: How Mexican Cowboys Are Remapping Race and American Identity* by
 Laura R. Barraclough, *Journal of American Ethnic History* 40

2012 *Mexicans in the Making of America* by Neil Foley, *New Mexico Historical Review*
 88

2011 *Rethinking the American City: An International Dialogue* by Miles Orvell and Klaus
 Benesch, eds., *Journal of American History* 103

2009 *Postcards from the Río Bravo Border: Picturing the Place, Placing the Picture,
 1900s–1950s* by Daniel Arreola, *Pacific Historical Review* 83

2006 *Naked City: The Death and Life of Authentic Urban Places*, by Sharon Zukin, and
Culture Works: Space, Value, and Mobility Across the Neoliberal Americas, by
 Arlene Dávila, *Planning Perspectives* 2

PROFESSIONAL *Hotel Dreams: Luxury, Technology, and Urban Ambition in America, 1829–1929*,
 SERVICE by Molly Berger, *Journal of American History* 99

Jan 2024-present *Ethnoburb: The New Ethnic Community in Urban America*, by Wei Li,
Geographical Review 101

Jan 2023-Jan 2024 *Are We There Yet? The Golden Age of American Family Vacations*, by Susan
 Sessions Rugh, *Journal of American History* 96

May 2021-May 2023 *Recasting American Liberty: Gender, Race, Law and the Railroad Revolution,
 1865–1920*, by Barbara Young Welke, *Law & History Review* 24

Apr 2019-April 2022

May 2019-present URBAN HISTORY ASSOCIATION
 President

May 2018-May 2019 AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION
 Co-Chair, Program Committee

May 2015-Apr 2019 VERNACULAR ARCHITECTURE FORUM
 First Vice-President

May 2014-May 2015 ORGANIZATION OF AMERICAN HISTORIANS
 Chair, Nominations Committee

Jan 2009-Jan 2015	URBAN HISTORY Editorial Board
May 2013-May 2016	URBAN HISTORY ASSOCIATION Chair, Selection Committee for the Arnold R. Hirsch Best Article Prize
Jan 2013-Oct 2014	ORGANIZATION OF AMERICAN HISTORIANS International Committee
May 2013-May 2014	VERNACULAR ARCHITECTURE FORUM Papers Committee Chair, 2015 Annual Conference
Apr 2011-Apr 2014	<i>BUILDINGS & LANDSCAPES</i> Book Review Editor of the official journal of the Vernacular Architecture Forum
Mar 2008-Mar 2013	VERNACULAR ARCHITECTURE FORUM Board of Directors
Oct 2009-Oct 2012	URBAN HISTORY ASSOCIATION Program Committee Co-Chair, Sixth Biennial Conference, 2014
Apr 2008-Apr 2011	VERNACULAR ARCHITECTURE FORUM Papers Committee, 2014 Annual Conference
Aug 2003-Apr 2009	ORGANIZATION OF AMERICAN HISTORIANS Award Committee, John Higham Travel Grants
Apr 2006-May 2009	<i>JOURNAL OF URBAN HISTORY</i> Editorial Board Member
2005	URBAN HISTORY ASSOCIATION Board of Directors
2003	BUSINESS HISTORY CONFERENCE Chair, Liaison Committee to the American Historical Association
UNIVERSITY SERVICE	ORGANIZATION OF AMERICAN HISTORIANS Membership Committee Chair, New Mexico
January 2021- present	VERNACULAR ARCHITECTURE FORUM Board of Directors
January 2019- present	URBAN HISTORY ASSOCIATION Prize committee, Best Book Award URBAN HISTORY ASSOCIATION Prize committee, Best Dissertation Award
January 2018- present	PENN STATE UNIVERSITY ONLINE LATINA/O STUDIES MINOR COMMITTEE Primary organizer for a new undergraduate minor to be available to students at all Commonwealth Campuses.
January 2018- present	PENN STATE UNIVERSITY PRESIDENT'S COMMISSION ON RACIAL AND ETHNIC DIVERSITY Co-chair a committee that provides President Barron with plans for improving diversity, equity, and inclusion at all of Penn State's campuses.
Oct 2013-Sept 2015	PENN STATE UNIVERSITY HISPANIC HERITAGE MONTH ORGANIZING COMMITTEE Every year we organize a series of speakers, student service, banquet, and other

events for the federally-recognized holiday
 PENN STATE UNIVERSITY LATINO CAUCUS
 Co-advise Penn State's leading undergraduate organization for Latinx students.
 UNIVERSITY OF NEW MEXICO / AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, "CAREER DIVERSITY AND THE
 Aug 2002-May 2008 HISTORY PH.D." INITIATIVE
 Co-wrote UNM's section of the AHA's proposal to the Mellon Foundation for \$1.6
 Aug 2003-May 2007 million to expand career opportunities for doctorates in history. The other
 three universities in the initiative are the University of Chicago, UCLA, and
 Columbia.
 UNIVERSITY OF NEW MEXICO HISPANIC HONOR SOCIETY
 Aug 2003-May 2007 Faculty advisor providing advice and oversight to undergraduate student
 organization.
 UNIVERSITY OF NEW MEXICO / CARNEGIE INITIATIVE ON THE DOCTORATE
 Served on the Department of History committee that worked in conjunction with
 the Carnegie Foundation to redefine the goals, methods, and requirements of
 Oct 2003-Jan 2007 our graduate history program.
 UNIVERSITY OF NEW MEXICO FRESHMAN LEARNING COMMUNITIES, COURSE SELECTION
 SUBCOMMITTEE
 Served as chair of the committee that selected which of the submitted course
 Oct 2003-May 2004 proposals would be taught in the FLC program; the program was later
 reviewed and was found to significantly increase student retention.
 UNIVERSITY OF NEW MEXICO FRESHMAN LEARNING COMMUNITIES DIVERSITY COORDINATOR
 ACADEMIC Charged with recruiting faculty to teach in the FLC program and increasing
 ADVISING demographic representativity among those teachers.
 Doctoral UNIVERSITY OF NEW MEXICO DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY GRADUATE DIVERSITY RECRUITMENT
 COMMITTEE
 Chaired committee responsible for increasing the diversity of graduate students.

Paulina Alejandra Serrano, PhD defended October 2023 for dissertation entitled
 "¡Deportistas!: Mexican Women, Sporting Citizenship, and Belonging in
 Twentieth-Century America" (Committee Member).

Alexandro Jara, PhD awarded May 2022 for dissertation entitled "Do You Know
 the Way to San José: Ethnic Mexicans, Urbanism, Culture, and Politics in
 Emerging Silicon Valley, 1940-1980" (Chair). Dr. Jara is Visiting Assistant
 Professor of History at Loyola Marymount University, Los Angeles, California.

Darren Raspa, PhD awarded May 2015 for dissertation entitled "The Bloody Bay:
 Grassroots Policeways, Community Control, and Power in San Francisco and
 its Hinterlands, 1846-1915" (Chair). Dr. Raspa is Chief Historian and Director
 of the History Center and Archives at Kirtland Air Force Base in Albuquerque,
 New Mexico.

Adam Gregory Blahut, PhD awarded December 2013 for dissertation entitled

“Raising the Bar: Gender, Consumption, and the Birth of a New Public Drinking Establishment” (Chair). Dr. Blahut began a three-year term as Visiting Assistant Professor at the University of New Mexico-Gallup in August 2014.

B. Erin Cole, PhD awarded May 2014 for dissertation entitled “Race, Sexuality, and Single-Family Zoning in Denver’s Park Hill and Capitol Hill Neighborhoods, 1956-1989” (Committee Member). Dr. Cole is Assistant to the State Historian at History Colorado and the recent winner of an American Alliance of Museums Award for Excellence in Label Writing.

Laurie Hinck, PhD awarded May 2009 for dissertation entitled “The Rockefeller Family and Conservation Philanthropy in the National Parks” (Committee Member). Dr. Hinck is an owner of the Silvertip Mountain Center.

Erik Loomis, PhD awarded May 2008 for dissertation entitled “The Battle for the Body: Work and Environment in the Pacific Northwest Lumber Industry, 1800-1940” (Committee Member). Dr. Loomis is Associate Professor of History at the University of Rhode Island.

Masters

James Martin, PhD awarded May 2008 for dissertation entitled “The United Fruit Company and the Politics of Tourism in the Americas” (Committee Member). Dr. Martin is Assistant Professor of Spanish at Montana State University.

Matthew D. Bernstein, MA awarded December 2007 for thesis entitled “Progress is Painful: Race Relations and Education in Chicago Before the Great Migration” (Chair)

Heather Hawkins, MA awarded May 2007 for thesis entitled “Medical Malpractice Law in Nineteenth-Century America” (Chair)

Jacobo D. Baca, MA awarded December 2006 for thesis entitled “The Dixon Case, 1947-1951: The End of the Catholic Era in New Mexico Public Education” (Chair)

Undergraduate
Honors

Hannah R. Wolberg, MA awarded May 2011 for thesis entitled “An Evolving Main Street: The Impact of Urban Renewal on Downtown Las Cruces, New Mexico, 1966-1974” (Committee Member)

Kristen Reynolds, MA awarded December 2010 for thesis entitled “Well Built in Albuquerque: The Architecture of the Health Seeker Era, 1900-1940 (Committee Member)

Jade Rowland, BA with Honors, Schreyer Honors College, awarded May 2020 for thesis entitled “The Employment-Based Oral History Project,” which won a Best Thesis award from the Department of History (Chair)

Gregory Montoya-Mora, BA with History Honors awarded May 2014 for thesis entitled “A Crisis of Identity: Albuquerque’s Postwar Urban Development and the Rise of Hispano Political Power” (Chair)

Estefanita Rosalia Crespín, BA with History Honors awarded August 2013 for

thesis entitled "The Changing Law of Charitable Organizations in New Mexico"
(Chair)

Danielle Repella, BA with History Honors awarded May 2012 for thesis entitled
"San Francisco's Barbary Coast: A Study in Geography and Alterity" (Chair)

COURSES
TAUGHT
Penn State
University

Mary Carmody, BA with History Honors awarded May 2012 for thesis entitled "A
Re-examination of the 1965 Hart-Celler Immigration and Nationality Act and
the 1986 Simpson-Mazzoli Immigration Reform and Control Act" (Chair)

Heather Hawkins, BA with History Honors awarded December 2004 for thesis
entitled "Doctors and Patients in the U.S. Legal System" (Chair)

Kendall Sykes, BA with History Honors awarded May 2003 for thesis entitled
"Vehicular Search and Seizure in New Mexico, 1888-2001" (Chair)

University of
New Mexico

Latina/o Studies 100, "Introduction to Latina/o Studies"
Latina/o Studies 571, "Foundations of the Field"
History 158, "American Immigration History"
History 542, "American Borderlands"
History 596, "Graduate Seminar: Latinx and the City"

History 161, "American History to 1877"
History 162, "United States History Since 1877"
History 432, "Social Life & Leisure in United States History"
History 436, "The City in America before 1893"
History 437, "The City in America since 1893"
History 438, "American Legal History to 1900"
History 439, "American Legal History since 1900"
History 491, "Historiography"

OTHER WORK
EXPERIENCE

Sep 1996-May 1997 History 666, "Graduate Seminar: American Landscape History"
History 678, "Graduate Seminar: Urban History since 1940"
History 678, "Graduate Seminar: Markets, Capitalism, & Consumer Culture"

Sep 1993-Apr 1994 History 680, "Graduate Seminar: Why Space Matters to History"
History 680, "Graduate Seminar: American Legal History"

Sep 1992-Jul 1993 History 680, "Graduate Seminar: Transnationalizing Urban History"

Sep 1992-Mar 1993

LA UNIVERSIDAD POPULAR DE CHICAGO
Teacher of English as a Second Language

Jun 1987-Dec 1988 YASUMURA/CYB DESIGN, MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK CITY
Assistant to Group Director

Mar 1986-Apr 1986 INTERFAX NEWS AND INFORMATION AGENCY, MOSCOW, RUSSIAN FEDERATION
Translator, Political and Economic Divisions
UNITED STATES EMBASSY CHAPLAINCY REFUGEE TASK FORCE, MOSCOW, RUSSIAN FEDERATION

Organizer and Press Coordinator

VIKING PENGUIN PUBLISHERS

Manuscript Reviewer and Editorial Intern

UNITED STATES ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION AGENCY

Computer Lab Intern, Office of Toxic Substances