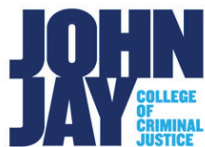


NEW YORK CITY POLICE REFORM AND REINVENTION COLLABORATIVE

# Racial and Neighborhood Disparities in New York City Criminal Summons Practices

**ANNA STENKAMP AND MICHAEL REMPEL**

**DATA COLLABORATIVE FOR JUSTICE**



**DATA** —————  
**COLLABORATIVE FOR**  
**JUSTICE** AT JOHN JAY COLLEGE  
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**STRENGTH IN NUMBERS**

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## REPORT HISTORY AND FUNDING

In 2021, the [New York City Mayor's Office of Criminal Justice](#) (MOCJ) contracted with several research centers at John Jay College of Criminal Justice to support research and/or technical assistance related to 6 of the 132 reform initiatives contained within the [New York City Police Reform and Reinvestment Collaborative Plan](#) ("the Plan"). The Plan was the result of more than 85 listening sessions, roundtable discussions, town halls and stakeholder engagement meetings conducted by NYPD and community partners. In March 2021, the NYC Council adopted the Plan via [Resolution 1584](#) pursuant to [State Executive Order Number 203](#). The City's [Reform Implementation Working Group](#) was tasked with implementing and monitoring the progress of the 132 reform initiatives within the Plan. This report is aligned with reform initiative 78 of the Plan as directed by MOCJ.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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## RECOMMENDED CITATION

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### III KEY FINDINGS

## Executive Summary

The purpose of this study is to assess trends in criminal summons practices by the New York City Police Department (NYPD), including if and how they disproportionately impact low income and/or Black and Brown communities. The New York City Council commissioned the study as part of the [Police Reform and Reinvention Collaborative Plan](#). Approved March 2021, the goals of this plan were both to document and ameliorate policies and practices that have led to historic injustices and over-policing of low-income New Yorkers and communities of color.

In general, police officers can issue summonses for minor misconduct. **Criminal summonses** nearly always involve a trip to a criminal court and exposure to warrants for missed court appearances, a criminal record, and the possibility of jail time. **Civil summonses** entail no criminal penalties and usually result in a fine of less than \$25.00 that people can pay online.

Besides this report, we also created [interactive maps](#) visualizing summons issuance and attendant racial and ethnic disparities impacting people who live in each of the City's 178 zip codes. A companion report examines [civil summons enforcement](#).

## SUMMONS TRENDS SINCE 2013

From 2013 to 2022, the City's criminal courts processed over 1.5 million criminal summonses.

- **Steep Decline Until 2022:** Criminal summonses plummeted by 90% from 2013 to 2022 (from 375,707 to 36,621). However, for the first time in a decade, criminal summonses increased by 62% in the most recent year from 2021 to 2022 (from 22,603 to 36,621). Civil summonses increased nearly fourfold over the same year (from 7,252 to 27,673).
- **Most Summonses Issued in the Bronx and Brooklyn:** From 2020 to 2022, police issued over 60% of criminal summonses in the Bronx and Brooklyn. The Bronx alone accounted for 30% across these years, despite Bronx residents comprising only 17% of the City's population.
- **Fluctuating Charge Composition:** Charges varied considerably, with marijuana enforcement accounting for 29% of summonses in 2020, before dropping to zero in 2022 after legalization. On the other hand, having an open container of alcohol in public accounted for 7% of criminal summonses in 2020 and 9% in 2021 but jumped to 24% in 2022—despite this charge having been decriminalized and largely moved to the civil courts in the years immediately following passage of the [Criminal Justice Reform Act](#) of 2016.
- **Few Convictions:** From 2013 to 2019, the courts dismissed 45% of criminal summonses, increasing to over 60% each year from 2020 to 2022. In 2022, 63% of summonses ended in a dismissal, 28% ended in an adjournment in contemplation of dismissal, while just 9% ended in a conviction. *With less than one out of ten cases disposed as guilty, summonses largely do not involve formal accountability but, rather, a “process is punishment” effect, including lost time, income, or other challenges from people having to appear in court.*
- **Many Defective Summonses:** Compared to 4% in 2013, 16% of the summonses NYPD issued in 2022 were “defective” and thrown out before docketing with the court for reasons including that they were submitted to the court too late (the most common reason), the return to court date mistakenly fell on a weekend or holiday, or the summons listed an incorrect jurisdiction or venue. (We omitted defective summonses from most analyses.)

## IV KEY FINDINGS

### RACIAL AND SOCIOECONOMIC DISPARITIES

From 2020 to 2022, the NYPD issued over 85% of criminal summonses to Black or Hispanic people, who combine for only 52% of the City's population. In 2022, Black people received 44% and Hispanic people 41% of summonses, compared to just 8% handed out to white people.

- **Widening Racial Disparities Since 2020:** Relative to their numbers in the City's general population, police issued summonses at a rate 8.9 times higher for Black than white people in 2020, increasing to 11.4 times higher in 2022. Police issued summonses at a rate 4.5 times higher for Hispanic than white people in 2020, increasing to 6.8 times higher in 2022. (Most of this rise in disparities took place from 2020 to 2021.)
- **Income Disparities:** From 2020 to 2022, police issued over 60% of summonses to people living in zip codes that fell below the median household income of \$70,663.
- **Racial Disparities in Both Low- and High-Income Communities:** In communities of every income bracket, NYPD disproportionately issued summonses to Black and Hispanic people. In zip codes with a median household income below \$35,000, police issued 97% of summonses to Black and Hispanic residents, who made up just 44% of the population. Similarly, zip codes with a median household income over \$100,000 saw Black and Hispanic people receiving 73% of summonses, though they comprise 24% of the population.

### NEIGHBORHOOD DISPARITIES

We examined the location of summons issuance in two ways: by issuing police precinct and by home zip code of people charged (independent of where the alleged offense occurred).

- **Disparities Based on Police Precinct:** From 2013 to 2022, certain precincts in the Bronx and Brooklyn consistently issued the most criminal summonses—and these precinct-based disparities widened over time. The largest share remained Mott Haven's 40th precinct, which led any other with 4.0% of the City's summonses from 2013 to 2019, increasing to 7.4% by 2022. Just four (5%) of the City's 77 precincts issued nearly 22% of all summonses in 2022.
- **Disparities Based on Zip Code:** Residents of 40 (22%) of the City's 178 zip codes accounted for over half of all criminal summonses in 2022. Thirty-four of these 40 zip codes (85%) were majority or plurality Black or Hispanic.
- **Racial Disparities Within Zip Codes:** Spanning all 178 zip codes citywide, 89% had a larger proportion of summonses issued to Black residents and 67% had a larger proportion issued to Hispanic residents than their respective shares of the given zip code's general population. **Thus, New York City police officers are both disproportionately issuing summonses in predominantly Black and Hispanic neighborhoods; and within virtually all neighborhoods citywide, police are disproportionately issuing summonses to Black and Hispanic residents.**

**For more information on neighborhood disparities:** See the accompanying [interactive maps](#).

## Chapter I. Introduction: Police Reform and Criminal Summons Practice

The purpose of this report is to assess recent trends in criminal summons practices by the New York City Police Department (NYPD), including if and how they disproportionately impact low income and/or Black and Brown communities.

### CONTEXT: THE POLICE REFORM AND REINVENTION COLLABORATIVE

After the killing of Breonna Taylor in March 2020 and the murder of George Floyd in May 2020, followed by Black Lives Matter protests that spanned the country, New York's governor [ordered all local police departments](#) to submit police reform plans by April 1, 2021 to be eligible for state funding.<sup>1</sup>

Pursuant to this order, former New York City Mayor Bill de Blasio's administration submitted a draft [Police Reform and Reinvetion Collaboration Plan](#) in early March 2021.<sup>2</sup> On March 25, 2021, the New York City Council passed [Resolution 1584-2021](#) approving an amended plan, which mandated a series of both [programmatic initiatives and research inquiries](#).<sup>3</sup>

The City Council's goal was to address and ultimately end policies and practices that have led to historic injustices and over-policing of low-income New Yorkers and communities of color.<sup>4</sup> Among the research inquiries ordered by the Council was one concerning the NYPD's summons practices.

**Police typically issue summonses for low-level (minor) misdemeanors or lesser violations of city laws as summons enforcement tends to be heavily discretionary.** Policing policies and practices influence how often summonses are issued, to whom, and where in the City there is greater or lesser enforcement, summons practices are especially vulnerable to racial disparities and inequitable application across the City's many communities.<sup>5</sup>

The current report focuses on **criminal summonses**, while a forthcoming companion report will focus on **civil summonses**, the latter of which do not require appearing in a criminal court and do not involve the potential risk of a warrant or jail time.<sup>6</sup>

### What is a Summons?

In New York City, a criminal summons, or "pink ticket," is issued by a law enforcement officer for certain low-level offenses that do not require fingerprinting or arrest unless the person receiving the summons does not provide identification. If a person fails to provide identification, they may be arrested to confirm their identity or may be arrested based on the officer's discretion. When a person receives a summons, it states a date and time they must arrive at the indicated criminal court or community court. The person receiving the summons must appear in court in person on or up to a week before the date listed. At the court appearance, the person may plead guilty, not guilty, or the summons may be dismissed. If they plead not guilty, a trial date is set. If they plead guilty, they may be issued a fine, fee, or surcharge, ordered to community service, or incarcerated in jail. If the person fails to appear at their assigned court date, an arrest warrant is issued to secure their return.

A criminal summons is not the same as a civil summons. When a law enforcement officer issues a civil summons, it does not become a criminal court matter and is instead handled by the New York City Office of Administrative Trials and Hearings (OATH). People may either pay a fine online or attend a hearing, where they may contest the summons or, if admitting to it, receive the choice of paying a fine or performing community service. Warranting or jail time cannot be imposed.

## QUESTIONS FOR THIS REPORT

The current analyses sought to better understand New York City criminal summons practices by addressing five main research questions:

- 1. Criminal Summons Trends:** What are the trends in summons issuance from 2020 to 2022 and how do these compare to the previous decade dating back to 2013?
- 2. Case Dispositions and Warrants:** How often are summonses disposed with a guilty plea, adjournment in contemplation of dismissal, straight dismissal, or other outcome, and has this changed over time? How often does the court issue a warrant for failure to appear?
- 3. Racial Disparities:** Are Black and Hispanic people disproportionately impacted by summons practices?
- 4. Criminalization of Poverty:** To what extent are there income disparities in communities most impacted by summons practices?
- 5. Neighborhood Disparities:** Are particular neighborhoods disproportionately impacted by summons practices from 2020 to 2022, reflected in disproportionate summons issuance by officers working in certain police precincts and/or disproportionate receipt of summonses by people who live in certain zip codes?

## PRIOR CRIMINAL SUMMONS RESEARCH

The current examination of summons practices extends and elaborates upon an earlier Data Collaborative for Justice (DCJ) [study of criminal summonses](#) issued in New York City from 2003 to 2019.<sup>7</sup> The earlier report found that summonses during this 16-year time period declined by 87% (from 541,862 to 72,314).

**The sharp decline in criminal summons issuance from 2003 to 2019 was in part due to the passage of the Criminal Justice Reform Act (CJRA) in 2016.** It allowed a civil in lieu of a criminal summons to be issued for five quality of life offenses: public consumption of alcohol, public urination, littering, unreasonable noise, and NYC Parks Rules and Regulations offenses. By reducing criminal summonses for these offenses, policymakers intended to prevent collateral consequences and negative outcomes such as warrants, jail time, mandatory trips to criminal court, or possible additional consequences extending to employment, housing, and immigration status.<sup>8</sup>

**DCJ's [prior evaluation of the CJRA](#) found that in the first year after it went into effect there was a 94% reduction in criminal summonses issued for the five targeted offenses.**<sup>9</sup> However, recent reporting points to a significant spike in summons issuance for CJRA offenses in 2022 and 2023, reflecting a greater focus on low level enforcement by the administration of Mayor Eric Adams.<sup>10</sup>

Earlier research also found that Black people received the largest proportion of criminal summonses from 2003 to 2019, including over 40% of the most frequent summons charges, such as marijuana possession, transit violations, and disorderly conduct.<sup>11</sup> Moreover, a 2021 analysis by The Legal Aid Society, highlighted that Black and Hispanic people were arrested more often for “broken windows” offenses compared to white people, including for open container, loitering, and fare evasion.<sup>12</sup>

Arrests for drug offenses and violations also highlight stark racial disparities in enforcement amid similar rates of drug use across racial and ethnic groups.<sup>13</sup> Despite making up less than 25% of NYC's total population, 45% of those arrested or cited for drug offenses in 2019 were Black.<sup>14</sup> The NYPD's use of Stop, Question, and Frisk practices also illustrate racial disparities in enforcement, with Black and Hispanic people stopped at much higher rates compared to white people.<sup>15</sup>

### 3 INTRODUCTION

The current study follows a series of recent DCJ reports that have documented racial disparities at other points in the criminal legal system, including [convictions](#) and [bail setting](#) in New York State, [NYC jail admissions](#), and whether or not [alternatives to arrest](#) have been effective in mitigating racial disparities in places implementing them across the country.

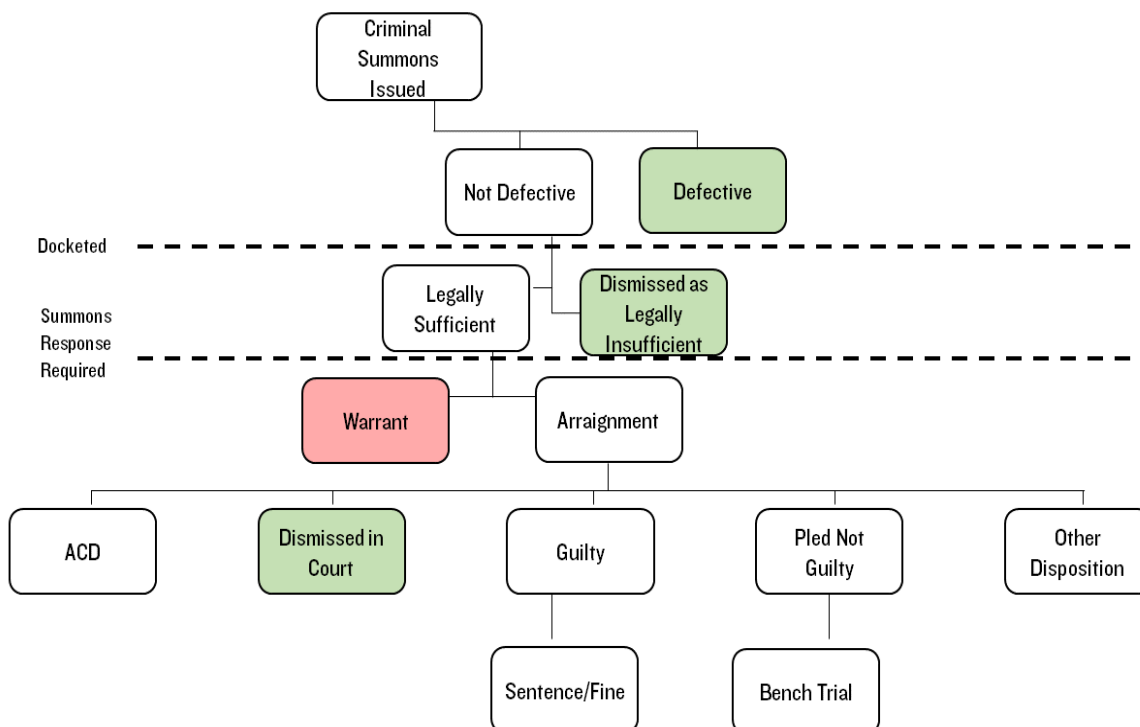
## METHODOLOGY AND DATA SOURCES

This report addresses three main time periods: 2020, 2021, and 2022. Summonses issued, top summons charges, and disposition trends also include data from 2013 to 2019 to observe long-term trends over the past decade.

Although the data includes summonses issued by 37 agencies throughout NYC, the focus in this report is only those issued by the NYPD (87% of summons) and only those issued to individuals (66% of summonses from 2020 to 2022).<sup>16</sup> We excluded summonses issued by other agencies and those issued to corporations due to the explicit focus of the City Council on racial and socioeconomic disparities in NYPD summons practices.

The data is provided by the New York State Office of Court Administration and includes docketed and defective summonses. Defective summonses are those that are not docketed due to an error, such as a missing court date appearance or if the summons is submitted late and dismissed prior to the scheduled court date. Defective summonses are not included in analyses of the volume of summonses issued but are discussed separately in Chapter 3. An overview of the criminal summons process is illustrated in Exhibit 1.1.

**EXHIBIT 1.1  
CRIMINAL SUMMONS PROCESS**



**Note:** Graphic from previous Criminal Summons DCJ report. See endnote.<sup>17</sup>



Available demographic data includes the race/ethnicity, gender, and zip code of the person who received the summons. Although previous reports highlighted the inconsistency of the racial and ethnicity data of people issued summonses, demographics data is more complete after 2020, with only 17% of summonses missing race or ethnicity data in 2020, 13% in 2021, and 11% in 2022.<sup>18</sup> Dispositions and warrant data are also provided for each borough.

Data on median household income comes from the 2021 American Community Survey (ACS) 5-year estimates and is used to examine income disparities in summons issuance.<sup>19</sup> The income cutoffs are from the New York Income Budget Office based on the nominal income ranges.<sup>20</sup> The ranges listed were combined to create the quintiles used in the income analyses in Chapter 3.

To calculate the rate ratios listed in Chapter 4, we used the 2021 Annual County Resident Population estimates. As the 2022 population estimates for adults 18 and older were not released at the time of the report, the 2021 estimates were subsequently used for the 2022 estimates.<sup>21</sup> The estimates for borough demographics used the 2022 County Population Estimates.<sup>22</sup> Although this study is comparing officer perceptions of demographics with census demographic data, the conclusions still highlight the racial disparities in summons issuance by the NYPD. For a more detailed explanation of the race and ethnicity definitions used, see Appendix A.

**It is worth clarifying that summons totals in this report are lower than what would be obtained from public NYPD summons data.**<sup>23</sup> For any given year, the public data yields comparable patterns (e.g., regarding racial disparities and other trends in the composition of summonses) but higher overall totals. Noted above, some NYPD summonses are issued to corporations, and others that are issued to individuals prove to be defective before docketing; our court data identifies defective summonses, permitting us to omit them from most analyses (except when it comes to examining the actual prevalence of defective summonses in Chapter 3).

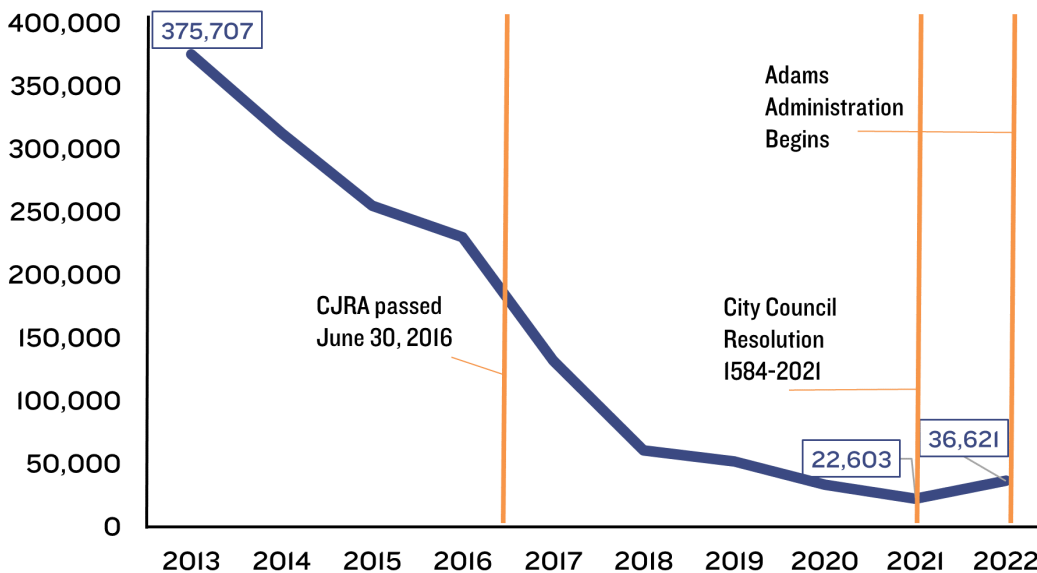
## Chapter 2. Criminal Summons Trends in the Past Decade

This chapter examines trends from 2013 to 2022, and especially in the recent years of 2020 to 2022, in citywide and boroughwide summons issuance and in specific offenses charged.

### OVERALL SUMMONS TRENDS

From 2013 to 2022, the number of criminal summonses declined by 90% (from 375,707 to 36,621). However, summons issuance increased by 62% in the most recent year from 2021 to 2022 (Exhibit 2.1). The overall ten-year decline is in part due to the passage of CJRA on June 30, 2016, which led to the decriminalization of five, low-level, quality-of-life offenses (as discussed in Chapter 1).<sup>24</sup> The recent increase in 2022 reflects the explicit focus of Mayor Eric Adams' administration on enforcing low-level offenses, reverting to "broken-windows" policing policies of previous decades.<sup>25</sup> Data from the first half of 2023 points to further significant increases in select summons charges as well.<sup>26</sup>

**EXHIBIT 2.1**  
**ANNUAL SUMMONSES ISSUED BY NYPD, 2013-2022**



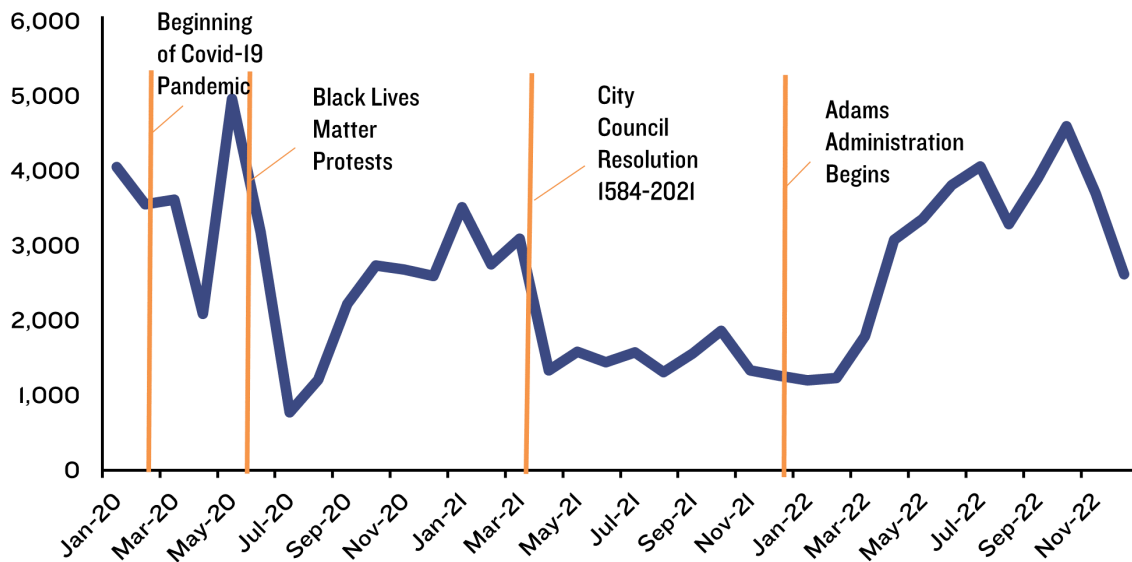
Sharpening the lens on the 2020 to 2021 period, the Covid-19 pandemic, Black Lives Matter protests, and City Council Resolution 1584-2021 were all followed by a decline in summonses (Exhibit 2.2). Then, the increase several months into the Adams administration in 2022 reflects its low-level enforcement focus (Exhibit 2.2).

The fluctuations from March to May 2020 may be related to the Covid-19 pandemic and related stay-at-home orders. The decrease in summonses issued in March and April 2020 may be related to the stay-at-home orders resulting in fewer people going outside. The ensuing increase in May 2020 may be due both to more people going outside and to police issuing summonses specifically to enforce Covid-19 laws (such as mask-wearing). In May and June 2020, pandemic-related summonses accounted for 10% and 20% of the total volume of summonses issued.<sup>27</sup>

## CRIMINAL SUMMONS TRENDS IN THE PAST DECADE

The final days of May also overlapped with a rise in arrests and summonses tied specifically to the NYPD's response to Black Lives Matter protests.<sup>28</sup> Then, after a one-month spike in May 2020 (4,960 summonses), there was a net 84% decrease in criminal summonses from May to July (769 summonses).

**EXHIBIT 2.2**  
**MONTHLY SUMMONSES ISSUED BY NYPD, 2020-2022**

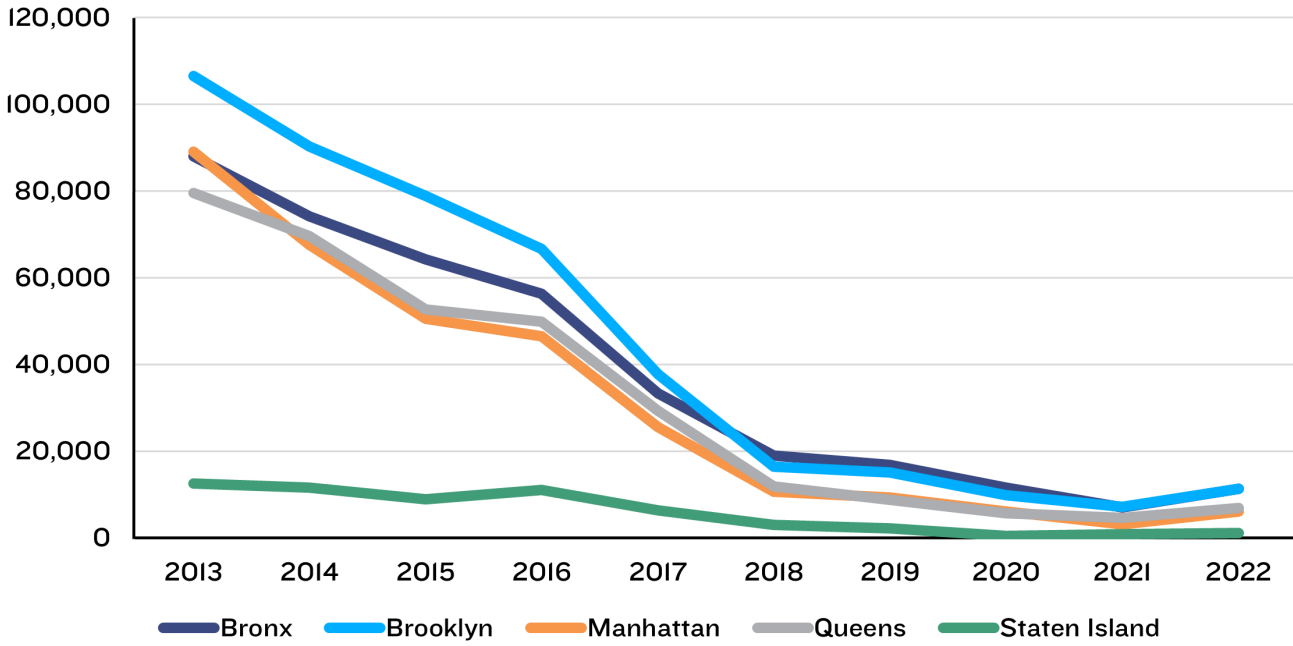


## SUMMONS TRENDS BY BOROUGH

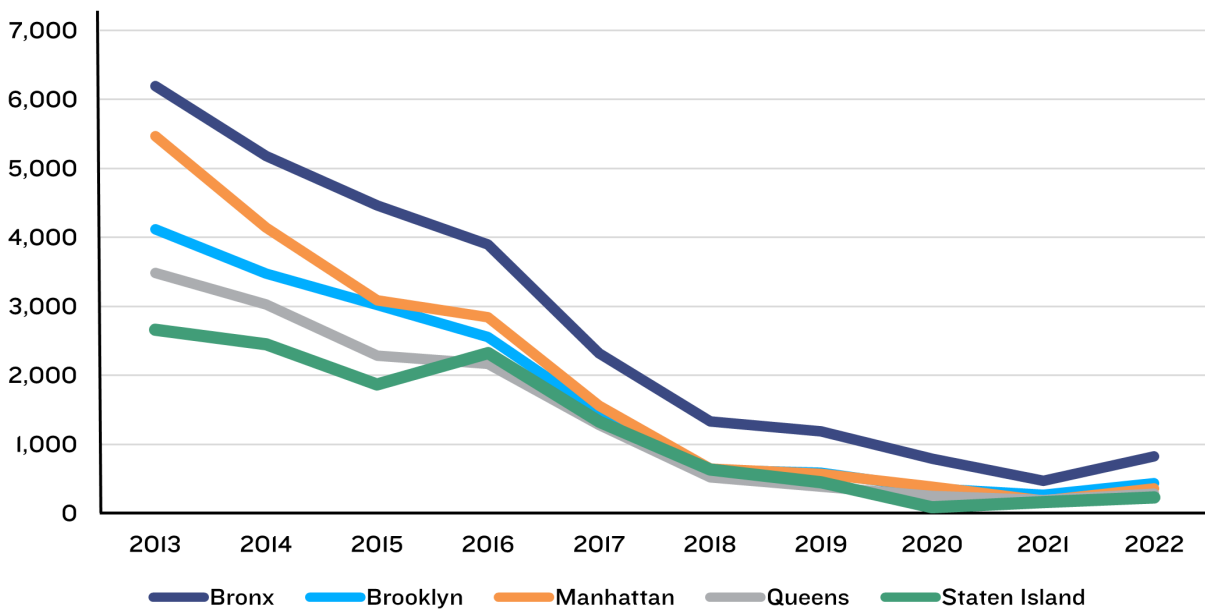
Borough trends mirror those for the entire city (a steep decline in summonses from 2013-2021, followed by an increase in 2022, Exhibit 2.3). A closer inspection of the pattern from 2020 to 2022 indicated that Staten Island saw little summons activity through this recent span and saw none of the many fluctuations seen in the other four boroughs (Exhibit 2.5). Staten Island consistently issues the fewest summonses, while Brooklyn and the Bronx issued the most from 2013 to 2022. The Bronx consistently had the highest rate of summons per 100,000 people from 2013 to 2022 as well (Exhibit 2.4). Manhattan and Queens converged with the Bronx and Brooklyn in 2021, after which all boroughs experienced an increase in the volume of summonses issued in 2022.

**CRIMINAL SUMMONS TRENDS IN THE PAST DECADE**

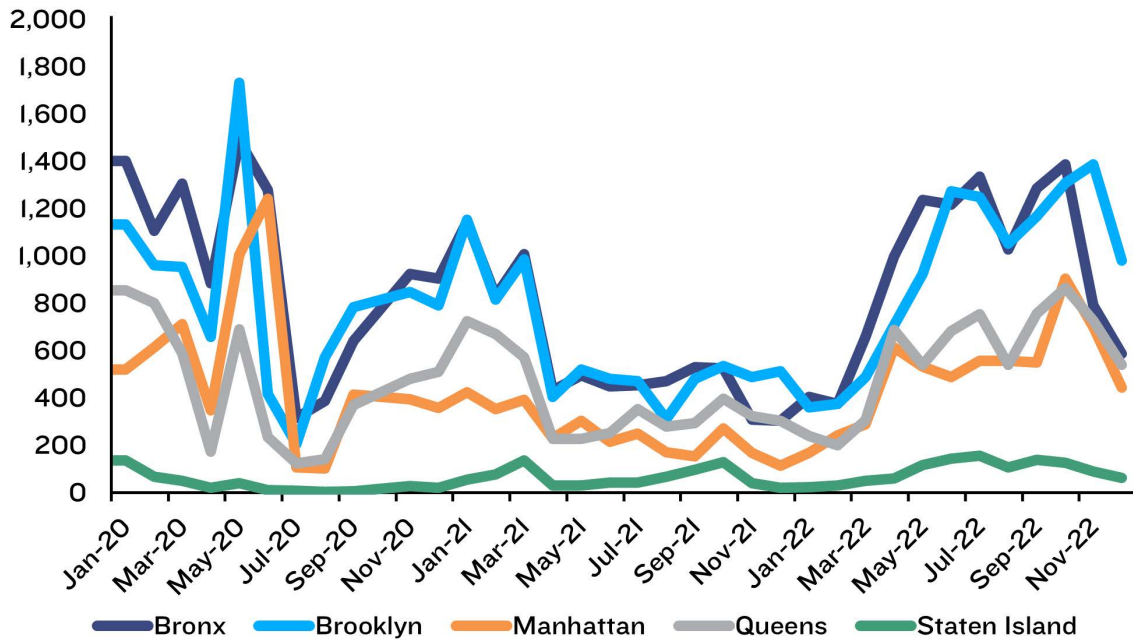
**EXHIBIT 2.3**  
**ANNUAL SUMMONS BY BOROUGH, 2013-2022**



**EXHIBIT 2.4**  
**ANNUAL SUMMONS BY BOROUGH PER 100,000 PEOPLE, 2013-2022**



**EXHIBIT 2.5**  
**SUMMONS ISSUANCE BY BOROUGH, 2020-2022**



## DISPARITIES IN ENFORCEMENT ACROSS THE FIVE BOROUGHS

**Over 60% of summonses issued each year from 2020 to 2022 were issued in the Bronx and Brooklyn; the Bronx alone accounted for 30% of summonses, although its residents comprise only 17% of the City's population** (Exhibit 2.6). Pointing to disproportionate enforcement, the Bronx has a predominately Black and Hispanic population (44% and 57% respectively, compared to 23% and 29% for the City as a whole).

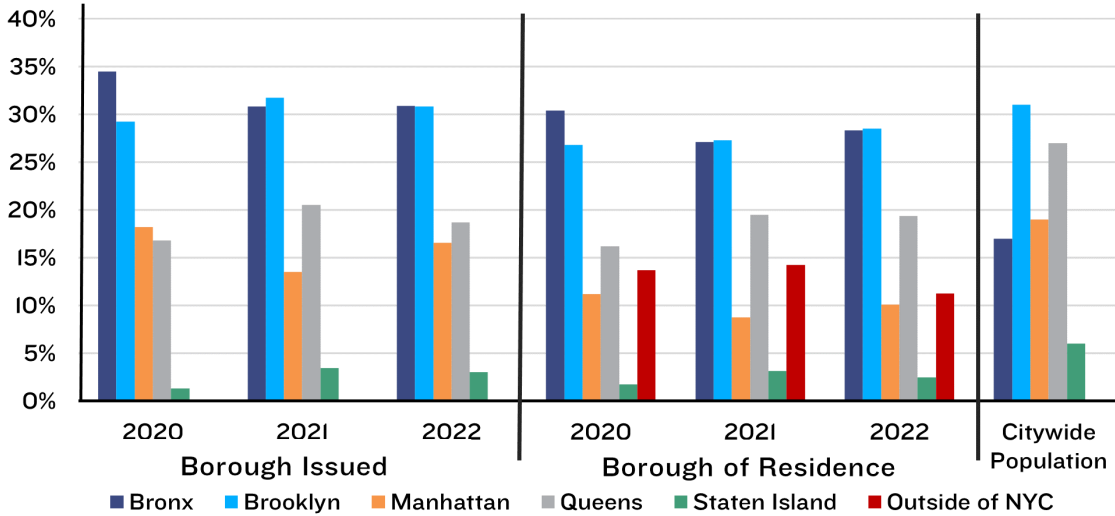
In terms of where people live rather than where summonses were issued, at least 50% of summonses each year from 2020 to 2022 were issued to residents of the Bronx and Brooklyn—a figure that exceeds 60% if omitting people who live outside NYC (Exhibit 2.6). The Bronx again saw the greatest disparity between the percentage of summonses its residents received (e.g. 28% in 2022) and its share of the City's population (17%).

Residents of Manhattan were especially likely to see relatively more summonses issued inside the borough than to see its residents issued a summons (17% vs. 10% in 2022), likely due to people commuting into Manhattan for work or tourists visiting Manhattan. Falling on the opposite end of the spectrum as the Bronx, Manhattan's residents were disproportionately unlikely to receive a summons (accounting for 10% of summonses received in 2022 compared to 19% of the City's general population).

**CRIMINAL SUMMONS TRENDS IN THE PAST DECADE**

**EXHIBIT 2.6**

**PERCENTAGE OF SUMMONS ISSUED BY BOROUGH VS PERCENTAGE OF SUMMONS OF BOROUGH OF RESIDENCE, 2020-2022**



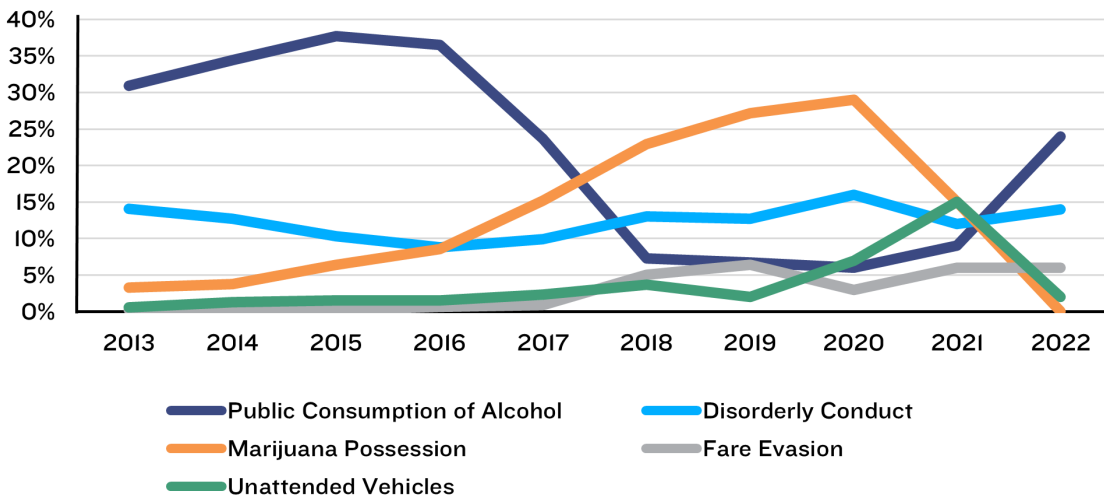
**TOP SUMMONS CHARGES**

The enforcement of certain charges over the last 10 years reflects changes in NYPD enforcement policies (e.g., a jump in marijuana enforcement from 2017 to 2020 and a 436% one-year jump in public consumption of alcohol enforcement from 2021 to 2022), alongside the effects of CJRA adoption in 2016 and 2017 (Exhibit 2.7).<sup>29</sup>

Marijuana possession accounted for 29% of all summonses issued in 2020, which has since fallen to virtually 0% due to legalization in 2021.

**EXHIBIT 2.7**

**PERCENTAGE OF SUMMONSES ISSUED OF KEY CHARGES, 2013-2022**



**CRIMINAL SUMMONS TRENDS IN THE PAST DECADE**

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Exhibit 2.8 lists the top five charges during each time period (2013-2019, 2020, 2021, or 2022) and lists their number and percentage of the total by period.

- **2013-2019:** Three charges making up a combined 45% of this period's total, public consumption of alcohol, public urination, and parks violations, were shifted to the option of a civil summons issuance after the passage of CJRA in 2016. These three charges accounted for 37% of all summonses from 2013 to 2016, before dropping to 17% from 2017 to 2019.
- **2020:** Summonses in 2020 included several specific types of charges that arose during the pandemic and Black Lives Matter (BLM) protests. **For example, 8% of summonses in 2020 involved pandemic infractions such as not wearing a mask; and 23% involved pandemic infractions from the three-month span from April to June 2020.** In addition, the enforcement of disorderly conduct, as well as pandemic related charges, spiked during the BLM protests, as recent settlements reflect the over-enforcement and brutality that occurred during the protests.<sup>30</sup> **NYPD issued 16% of its disorderly conduct summonses in 2020 over just five days from May 29 to June 2, 2020, the peak of BLM protest activity, according to the State's Attorney General.**<sup>31</sup>
- **2021: Marijuana possession, unattended vehicles, and disorderly conduct were the top charges in 2021, with the overall number of summonses declining.** The overall decrease in summonses in 2021 may be due in part to a combination of pandemic and protest related summons subsiding and/or a policy response of less low-level enforcement in response to the Black Lives Matter movement, alongside the implementation of City Council Resolution 1584-2021 effective March 25, 2021.
- **2022: The 2022 summons charges highlight a shift in focus under the Adams administration, particularly in the enforcement of public consumption of alcohol and fare evasion** (both of which grew significantly in their share of all 2022 summonses per Exhibit 2.8 below). Marijuana possession declined to nearly 0% of all summonses issued due to legalization in 2021.

**CRIMINAL SUMMONS TRENDS IN THE PAST DECADE**

**EXHIBIT 2.8 TOP SUMMONS CHARGES, 2013-2022**

|                  | <b>Charge</b>  | <b>Summons Issued</b> | <b>Percent of Total</b> |
|------------------|--|-----------------------|-------------------------|
| <b>2013-2019</b> | Public consumption of alcohol: AC 10-125                   | 443,213               | 31%                     |
|                  | Disorderly conduct (all): PL 240.20                        | 167,127               | 12%                     |
|                  | Marijuana possession: PL 221.05                            | 108,472               | 8%                      |
|                  | 2013-2019  | 105,168               | 7%                      |
|                  | Park violations: PRR I-03                                  | 94,710                | 7%                      |
|                  | All other charges  | 500,700               | 35%                     |
| <b>2020</b>      | Marijuana possession: PL 221.05                            | 9,006                 | 29%                     |
|                  | Disorderly conduct (all): PL 240.20                        | 4,836                 | 16%                     |
|                  | AC: Other administrative code charges, pandemic            | 2,501                 | 8%                      |
|                  | Safety requirements for transportation vehicles: TL 140 02 | 2,217                 | 7%                      |
|                  | Unattended vehicle: AC 10-III                              | 2,000                 | 7%                      |
|                  | All other charges  | 12,647                | 33%                     |
| <b>2021</b>      | Marijuana possession: PL 221.05                            | 3,408                 | 15%                     |
|                  | Unattended vehicle: AC 10-III                              | 3,351                 | 15%                     |
|                  | Disorderly conduct (all): PL 240.20                        | 2,776                 | 12%                     |
|                  | Public consumption of alcohol: AC 10-125                   | 2,010                 | 9%                      |
|                  | Safety requirements for transportation vehicles: TL 140.02 | 1,540                 | 7%                      |
|                  | All other charges  | 9,518                 | 42%                     |
| <b>2022</b>      | Public consumption of alcohol: AC 10-125                   | 8,757                 | 24%                     |
|                  | Disorderly conduct (all): PL 240.20                        | 5,232                 | 14%                     |
|                  | VTL: Other vehicle and traffic law charges                 | 2,703                 | 7%                      |
|                  | TAR: Transit authority charges                             | 2,233                 | 6%                      |
|                  | Reckless driving: VTL 1212                                 | 2,152                 | 6%                      |
|                  | All other charges  | 15,544                | 42%                     |

**Note:** The third and fourth most common charge in 2020 and 2021, 25 AC: Other administrative code charges were grouped with all other charges. Transit authority charges include fare evasion, walking between subway cars, and littering.



## Chapter 3. Summons Outcomes: Warrant and Dispositions

This chapter examines how summons cases are resolved and, before then, how often the court issues a warrant if people do not appear for their scheduled court date.

### DISPOSITION TRENDS

Summons dispositions often occur months or years after the summons is issued so all disposition trends from 2020-2022 are preliminary (see the footnote under Exhibit 3.1).

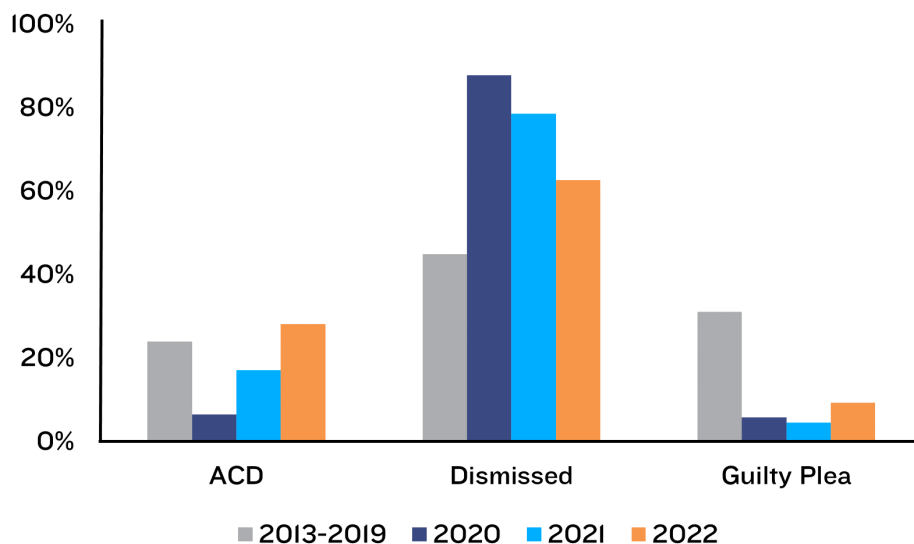
The disposition options are for the summons to be dismissed, Adjournment in Contemplation of Dismissal (ACD), which leads the summons to be dismissed if the person does not receive another summons in a certain time frame, for the individual to plead guilty, found guilty at trial, or be acquitted at trial.

The most common dispositions have shifted over time towards more dismissals and ACDs (Exhibit 3.1). **Compared to 45% ending in dismissal from 2013 to 2019, over 60% were dismissed from 2020 to 2022, with 2020 seeing the largest dismissal rate (88%), likely due to the Covid-19 pandemic and the closure of courts during this time. Dismissals decreased in recent years, from 88% in 2020 to 63% in 2022 with a coinciding rise in ACDs (6% in 2020 to 28% in 2022).**

**Guilty pleas were the outcome in 31% of cases from 2013 to 2019 but remained under 10% in the most recent three-year span from 2020 to 2022.**

It is especially worth emphasizing that *less than one out of every ten* summonses are now disposed as guilty—meaning that the experience of receiving a criminal summons predominantly results in a “process is punishment” effect, including people’s lost time, income, or other challenges from having to appear in court.<sup>32</sup>

**EXHIBIT 3.1**  
**TOP DISPOSITION OUTCOMES, 2013-2022**



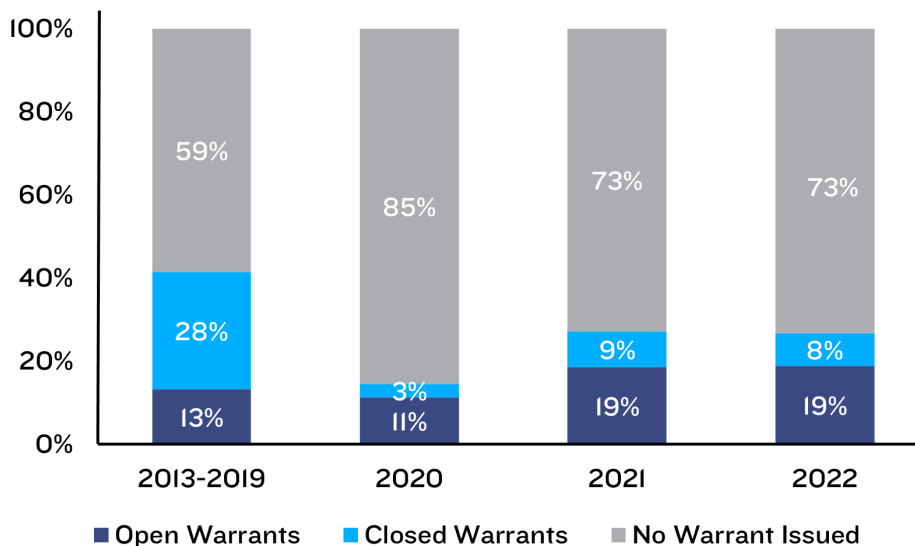
**Note:** This graph only includes cases that have a disposition. Approximately 13% of cases from 2013-2019, 12% from 2020, 19% from 2021, and 20% from 2022 do not have a disposition. Across all years, less than 1% of dispositions were acquittals, guilty trials, judgment entered, or other.

## SUMMONS OUTCOMES: WARRANTS AND DISPOSITIONS

### WARRANT ISSUANCE

The fraction of people issued summons warrants declined from 41% from 2013 to 2019 to 27% in 2022, indicating that fewer people are missing their scheduled court date (Exhibit 3.2). The decline in warrants issued for a failure to appear may be due to a multitude of reasons. First, the decrease in 2020 and subsequent years could reflect a hesitancy among judges to issue warrants during Covid. Additionally, the summons format was redesigned in 2016.<sup>33</sup> The new format has a larger font with clearer information and was implemented alongside text message reminders of the court date, and information on what to expect upon arrival at court. Based on a pilot study, these changes may have increased awareness of the summons process, leading to more appearances at court dates and fewer warrants issued due to a failure to appear.

**EXHIBIT 3.2**  
**PERCENTAGE OF CASES WITH WARRANTS ISSUED, 2013-2022**



### DEFECTIVE SUMMONSES

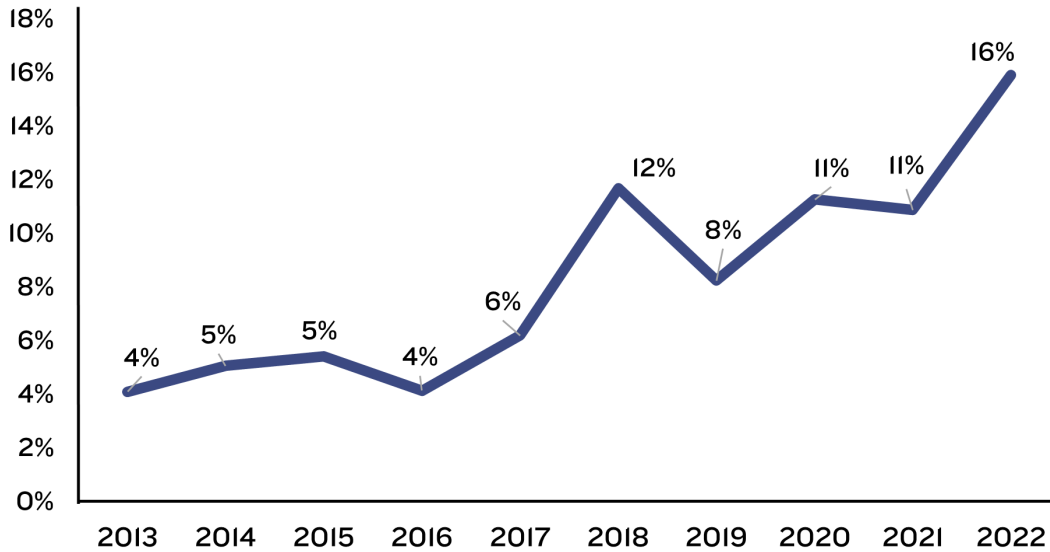
Defective summonses are those that are not docketed due to an error and dismissed prior to the scheduled court date. People who receive a defective summons receive a letter notifying them that they do not have to appear in court and the summons was thrown out. There are several reasons why a summons is considered defective, including if the date or time of the scheduled court appearance is missing, if the summons is submitted late, or if the summons is for an unconstitutional charge.

The number of defective summonses decreased by 83% from 2013 to 2021 and then increased by 151% from 2021 to 2022. However, these changes in absolute numbers of defective summonses may be due simply to parallel trends in the overall number of summonses issued (see Chapter 2).

**When analyzing the percentage of summonses in each given year that are defective, a marked spike since 2016 suggests a decrease in the accuracy of summonses issued. In 2016, just 4% of summonses were defective compared to 16% in 2022 (Exhibit 3.3).**

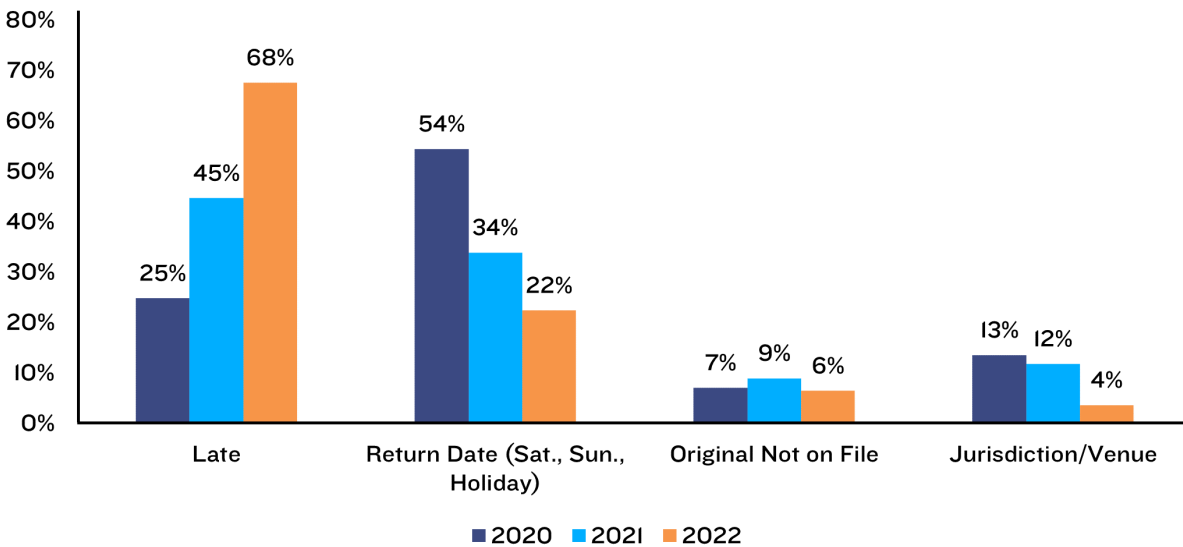
**SUMMONS OUTCOMES: WARRANTS AND DISPOSITIONS**

**EXHIBIT 3.3**  
**DEFECTIVE SUMMONS RATE, 2013-2022**



The most common reasons for summonses to be defective are a late submission to the court, the return to court date fell on a weekend or holiday, the original was not on file, or the summons listed an incorrect jurisdiction and venue. **In 2022, 68% of defective summons were rejected due to being filed late with the court, up from 25% in 2020 and 45% in 2021** (Exhibit 3.4). A recent legislative change now requires the summons to be sent to the court within a 20-day window, shortening it from previous years and comprising the likely explanation for why there was an increase in summonses considered defective due to a late submission.<sup>34</sup>

**EXHIBIT 3.4**  
**REASONS FOR DEFECTIVE SUMMONS, 2020-2022**



Note: Signature Missing, Affidavit Missing, and Unconstitutional Charge make up less than 1% of reasons for rejection from 2020-2022.

**SUMMONS OUTCOMES: WARRANTS AND DISPOSITIONS****DEFECTIVE SUMMONS TRENDS BY POLICE PRECINCT**

From 2020 to 2022, defective summonses were issued most often by the 75th precinct, which covers the East New York neighborhood in Brooklyn. This precinct had 24% of its total summonses issued found defective, emphasizing quantity over accuracy (Exhibit 3.5).

**EXHIBIT 3.5****PRECINCTS WITH LARGEST VOLUME OF SUMMONSES ISSUED AND PERCENTAGE OF DEFECTIVE SUMMONSES, 2020-2022**

| Precinct | Borough  | Total Summonses Issued | % of Total Summonses found Defective |
|----------|----------|------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| 75       | Brooklyn | 3,152                  | 24%                                  |
| 73       | Brooklyn | 2,602                  | 15%                                  |
| 41       | Bronx    | 3,109                  | 13%                                  |
| 44       | Bronx    | 5,199                  | 11%                                  |
| 47       | Bronx    | 2,876                  | 11%                                  |
| 40       | Bronx    | 6,316                  | 10%                                  |
| 52       | Bronx    | 4,925                  | 10%                                  |
| 43       | Bronx    | 2,411                  | 9%                                   |
| 110      | Queens   | 2,481                  | 7%                                   |
| 71       | Brooklyn | 3,273                  | 3%                                   |

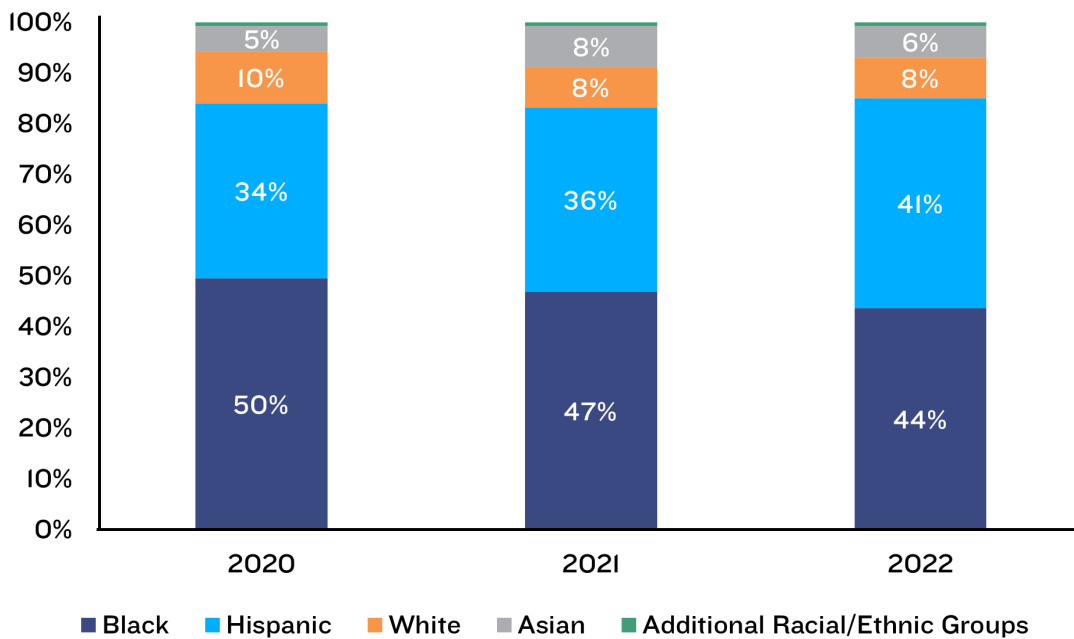
## Chapter 4. Racial Disparities

Despite comprising only 52% of New York City’s population, Black and Hispanic people received nearly 85% of summonses issued each year from 2020 to 2022. Conversely, white people received no more than 10% of summonses issued those three years, though they comprise 31% of the City’s population.<sup>35</sup>

Contrary to the intent behind City Council Resolution 1584-2021 of reducing the racially disproportionate criminalization of low-level misconduct, the percentages of summonses issued to Black and Hispanic people remained consistently high after the resolution’s passage in March 2021. Across the three years examined, there was a 6-percentage-point decrease in summonses issued to Black people (50% to 44%), balanced by a 7-percentage-point increase in summonses issued to Hispanic people (34% to 41%). White people received a modestly shrinking share of summonses from 10% to 8% (Exhibit 4.1).

We calculated rate ratios to show how summons-issuance to Black and Hispanic New Yorkers compared to white New Yorkers relative to each group’s share of the City’s general population (31% of the NYC population is white, 23% is Black, and 29% is Hispanic).<sup>36</sup> Rate ratios use the general population of each borough, along with the number of summonses issued to calculate the rate at which Black and Hispanic New Yorkers are issued summonses compared to white New Yorkers.

**EXHIBIT 4.1**  
**SUMMONS ISSUED BY RACE/ETHNICITY, 2020-2022**

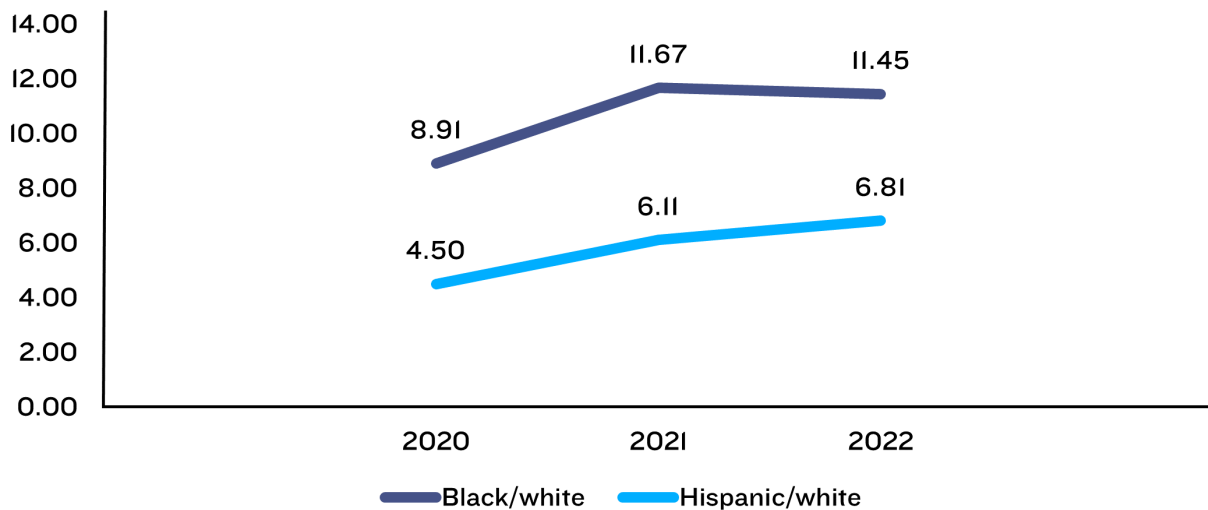


**Note:** Additional Racial/Ethnic Groups (red bars) each = 1%. This graph also excludes summonses missing race/ethnicity data. 17% of summonses were missing racial/ethnicity data for 2020, 13% for 2021, and 11% for 2022.

## RACIAL DISPARITIES

Overall, the magnitude of racial and ethnic disparities widened from 2020 to 2022. Relative to their numbers in the City's general population, the NYPD issued summonses in 2022 at a rate 11.4 times higher for Black than white people and 6.8 times higher for Hispanic than white people (Exhibit 4.2).

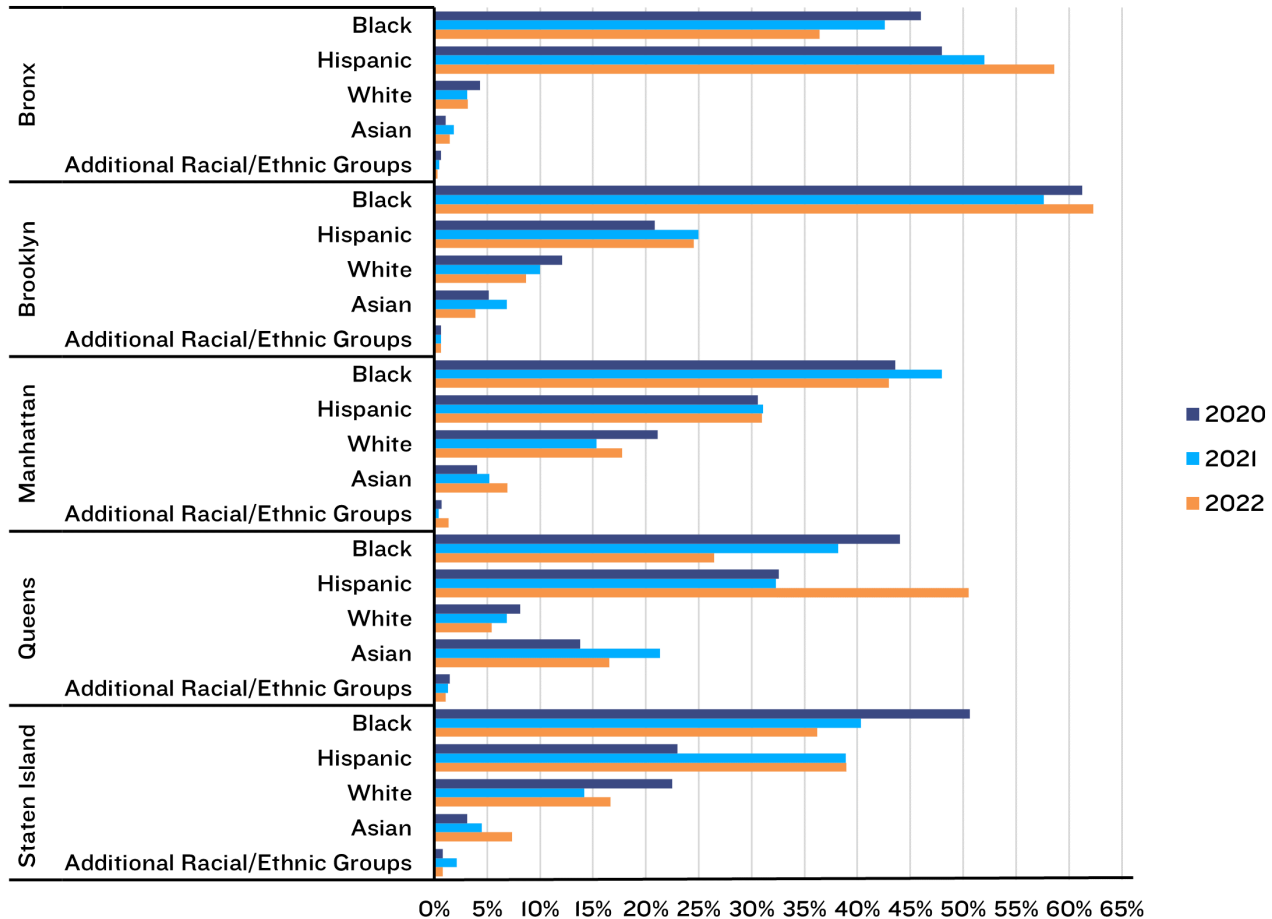
**EXHIBIT 4.2**  
**NYC RATE RATIOS**



## RACIAL DISPARITIES BY BOROUGH

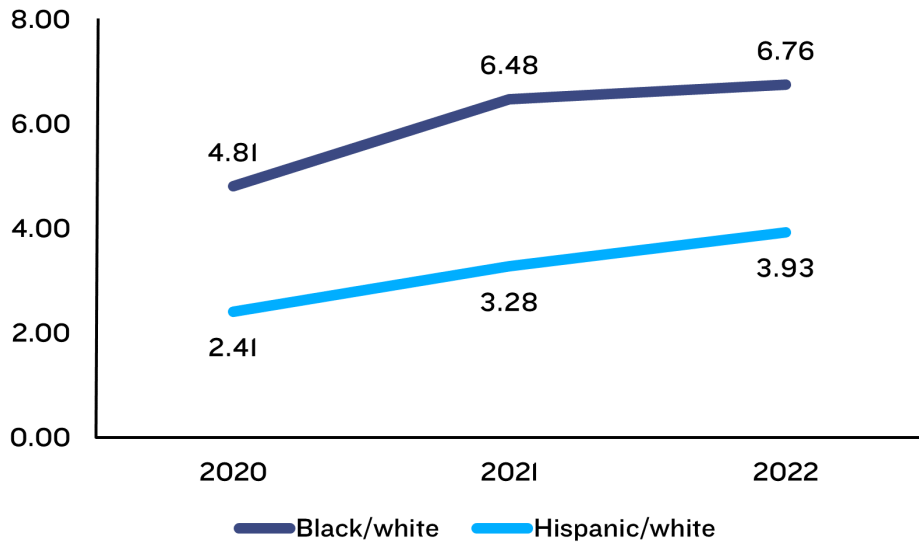
In all five boroughs and across all three years examined, the NYPD issued over 70% of summonses to Black and Hispanic people (Exhibit 4.3). This pattern extended to Staten Island, where over fifty percent of the resident population is white. The percentage of summonses issued to Hispanic people in Queens increased by 18 percentage points from 2020 to 2022. Other boroughs did not see nearly as large of a change for any one group.

**EXHIBIT 4.3**  
**SUMMONSES ISSUED BY BOROUGH AND RACE/ETHNICITY, 2020-2022**



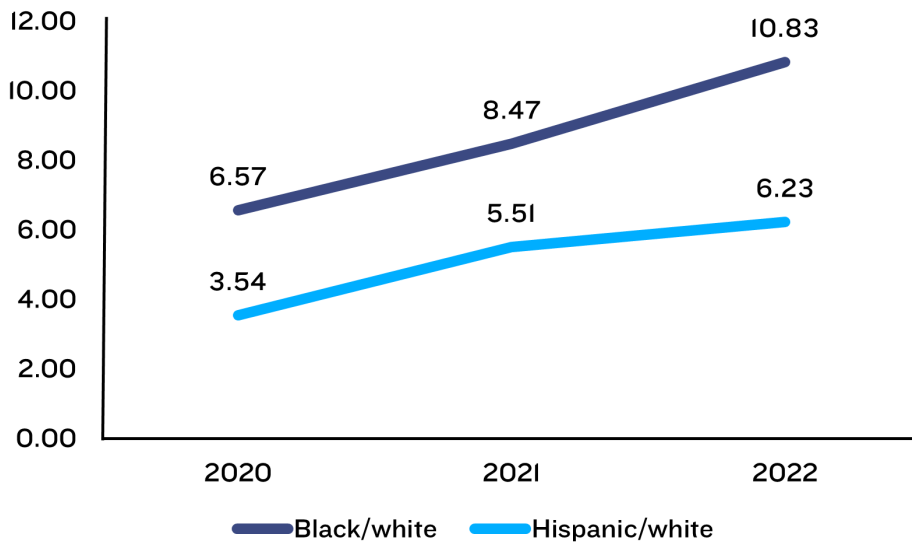
In the **Bronx**, Black New Yorkers were issued summonses at a rate 6.7 times higher than white New Yorkers in 2022, Hispanic New Yorkers were issued summonses at a rate 3.9 times that of white people (up from 2.4 times higher in 2020 and 3.2 times higher in 2021). The racial and ethnic population breakdown for the Bronx is 8% white, 44% Black, and 57% Hispanic.<sup>37</sup>

EXHIBIT 4.4  
BRONX RATE RATIOS



In **Brooklyn**, the rate at which Black New Yorkers were issued summonses increased from 6.5 to 10.8 higher than white New Yorkers from 2020 to 2022. The rate at which Hispanic New Yorkers were issued summonses increased from 3.5 to 6.2 times that of white people during the same time period. The racial and ethnic population breakdown for Brooklyn is 37% white, 33% Black, and 19% Hispanic.

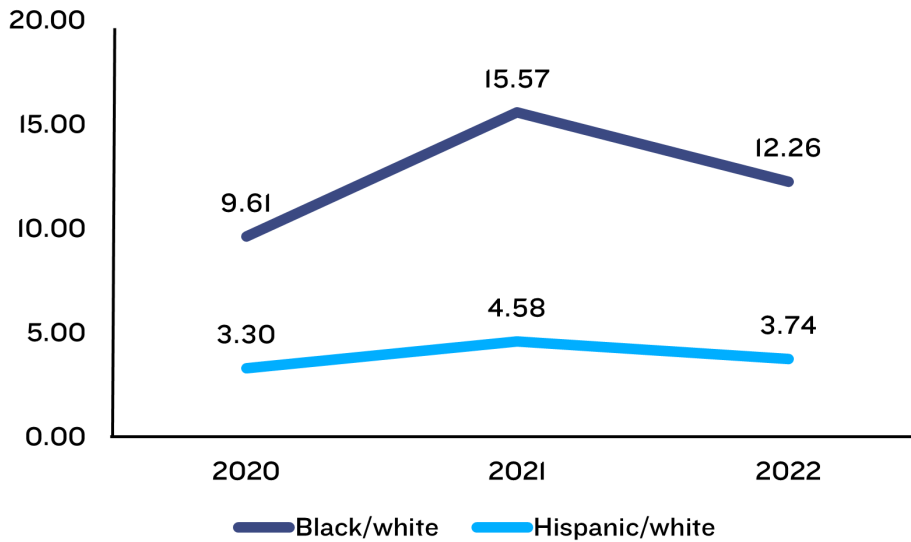
EXHIBIT 4.5  
BROOKLYN RATE RATIOS





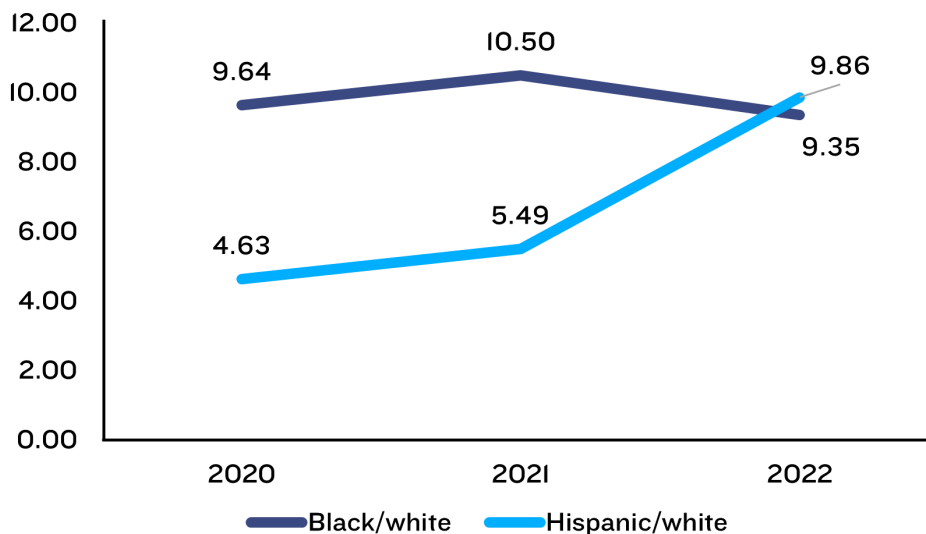
In **Manhattan**, the rate at which Black New Yorkers were issued summonses increased from 9.6 to 12.2 times higher than white New Yorkers from 2020 to 2022. The rate at which Hispanic New Yorkers were issued summonses increased from 3.3 to 3.7 times that of white New Yorkers from 2020 to 2022. The racial and ethnic population breakdown for Manhattan is 45% white, 19% Black, and 26% Hispanic.

**EXHIBIT 4.6**  
**MANHATTAN RATE RATIOS**



In **Queens**, the rate at which Black New Yorkers were issued summonses declined from 9.6 to 9.3 times higher than white New Yorkers from 2020 to 2022. Hispanic New Yorkers were issued summonses from 4.6 to 9.8 times that of white New Yorkers during the same time period. The racial and ethnic population breakdown for Queens is 24% white, 21% Black, and 28% Hispanic.

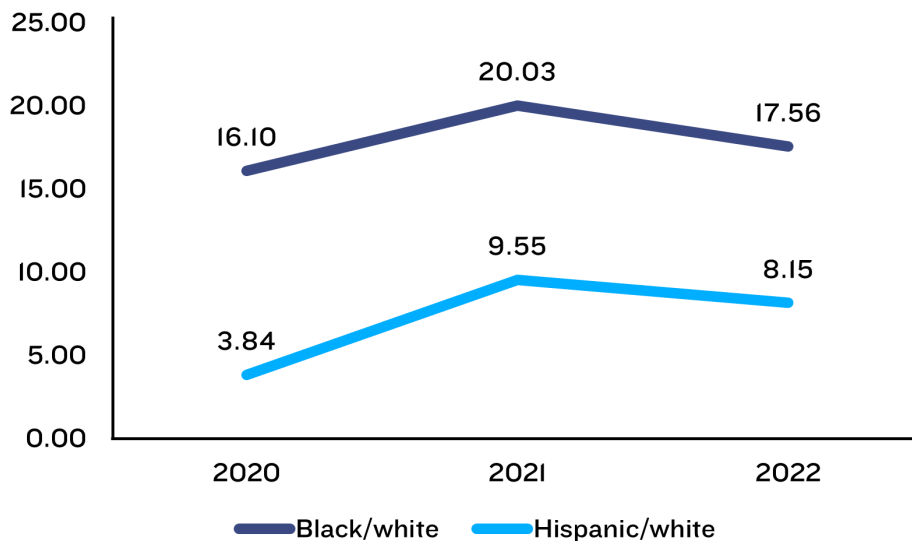
**EXHIBIT 4.7**  
**QUEENS RATE RATIOS**



## RACIAL DISPARITIES

In Staten Island, the rate at which Black New Yorkers were issued summonses increased from 16.1 to 17.5 times higher than white New Yorkers from 2020 to 2022. Hispanic New Yorkers were issued summonses 3.8 to 8.1 times higher compared to white New Yorkers from 2020 to 2022. The racial and ethnic population breakdown for Staten Island is 57% white, 21% Black, and 19% Hispanic.

**EXHIBIT 4.8**  
**STATEN ISLAND RATE RATIOS**



**Upshot:** The concerning rise in the rate ratios from 2020 indicates that across all five boroughs, racial disparities have worsened from 2020 to 2022. The net increase in racial and ethnic disparities in summons issuance took place in 2021, the year before the Adams administration began (notwithstanding the result in Chapter 2 indicating that the NYPD issued more summonses across the board in 2022).

Underscoring yawning low-level enforcement disparities in 2022, **the NYPD issued criminal summonses at rates 10 to 15 times higher for Black than white people in all boroughs except the Bronx** (relative to general population numbers). The largest disparities impacting Hispanic people were **in Queens, where the NYPD issued criminal summonses at rates 9.9 times higher for Hispanic than white people.**

## RACIAL DISPARITIES BY CHARGE

The racial breakdown of 2022 summonses by top charge shows a disparity across all charges in the percentages of Black and Hispanic people who receive a summons compared to white people (Exhibit 4.9).

**EXHIBIT 4.9 TOP SUMMONS CHARGES BY RACE AND ETHNICITY, 2022**

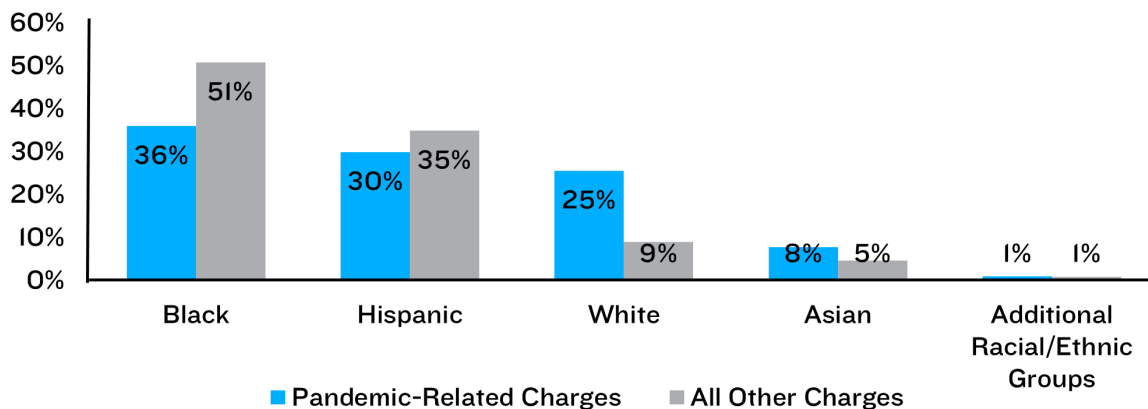
| Charge                                     | #     | Black | Hispanic | White | Asian | Additional Racial and Ethnic Groups |
|--|-------|-------|----------|-------|-------|-------------------------------------|
| Public consumption of alcohol: AC 10-125   | 7,931 | 40%   | 53%      | 5%    | 2%    | 0%                                  |
| Disorderly conduct (all): PL 240.20        | 4,762 | 44%   | 40%      | 10%   | 5%    | 0%                                  |
| VTL: Other vehicle and traffic law charges | 2,418 | 57%   | 33%      | 5%    | 3%    | 1%                                  |
| TAR: Transit authority charges             | 2,110 | 57%   | 33%      | 7%    | 2%    | 0%                                  |
| Reckless driving: VTL 1212                 | 2,009 | 40%   | 39%      | 11%   | 9%    | 1%                                  |
| Trespassing PL 140.05                      | 1,493 | 49%   | 32%      | 15%   | 3%    | 0%                                  |
| Public Urination AC 16-118                 | 1,457 | 44%   | 46%      | 6%    | 4%    | 1%                                  |
| NYC Parks and Recreation Charges           | 755   | 16%   | 73%      | 6%    | 5%    | 0%                                  |

**Note:** The number of summonses for each charge does not include those where no race/ethnicity was identified.

**PANDEMIC-RELATED CHARGES**

The addition of pandemic-related charges, such as mask-wearing and the size of gatherings, offered further opportunities to highlight how enforcement during the height of the Covid-19 pandemic impacted Black and Hispanic people. While summonses for pandemic-related charges were issued at higher rates to Black and Hispanic than white or Asian people in 2020, racial disparities were lower compared to non-pandemic related charges.

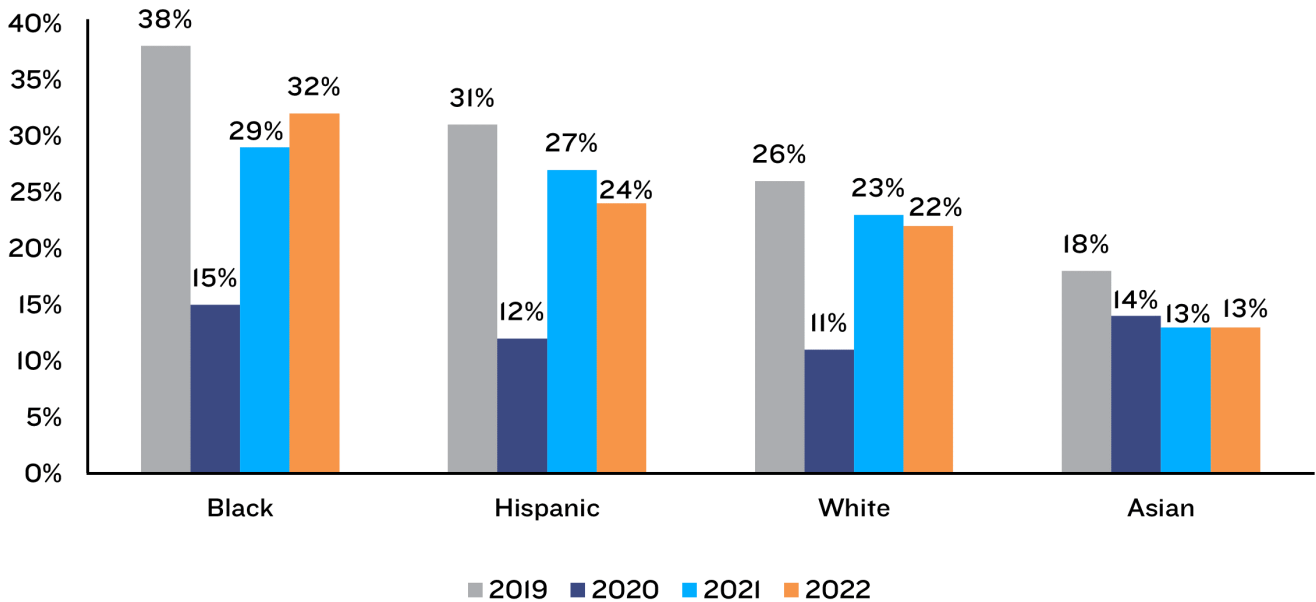
**EXHIBIT 4.10  
PERCENTAGE OF PANDEMIC-RELATED SUMMONSES ISSUED BY RACE/ETHNICITY, 2020**



**RACIAL DISPARITIES IN WARRANT ISSUANCE**

The number of warrants issued steadily increased from 2020 to 2022 across all racial and ethnic groups, though Black people saw the largest increase in warrants—from 15% of summonses in 2020 to 32% in 2022 (Exhibit 4.11).<sup>38</sup>

**EXHIBIT 4.11**  
**PERCENTAGE OF SUMMONSES WITH WARRANTS ISSUED BY RACE/ETHNICITY, 2019-2022**



**DEMOGRAPHICS**

Citywide, between 2020 and 2022, women received 11% of summonses issued, and 41% of summonses issued were to people 35 years and older.

**EXHIBIT 4.12 SUMMONS ISSUANCE BY AGE AND GENDER**

| Borough       | Percent Women |      |      | Age Distribution |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |
|---------------|---------------|------|------|------------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
|               | 2020          | 2021 | 2022 | 2020             |       |       | 2021  |       |       | 2022  |       |       |
|               |               |      |      | 16-24            | 25-34 | 35-64 | 16-24 | 25-34 | 35-64 | 16-24 | 25-34 | 35-64 |
| Citywide      | 13%           | 11%  | 10%  | 32%              | 33%   | 33%   | 25%   | 32%   | 41%   | 22%   | 30%   | 46%   |
| Bronx         | 11%           | 9%   | 10%  | 34%              | 33%   | 31%   | 28%   | 32%   | 38%   | 23%   | 29%   | 47%   |
| Brooklyn      | 12%           | 10%  | 10%  | 32%              | 33%   | 33%   | 26%   | 31%   | 41%   | 22%   | 31%   | 45%   |
| Manhattan     | 18%           | 13%  | 13%  | 33%              | 35%   | 31%   | 23%   | 33%   | 42%   | 19%   | 30%   | 48%   |
| Queens        | 13%           | 12%  | 10%  | 25%              | 31%   | 41%   | 21%   | 33%   | 44%   | 23%   | 31%   | 43%   |
| Staten Island | 17%           | 15%  | 10%  | 44%              | 25%   | 31%   | 23%   | 33%   | 43%   | 18%   | 24%   | 55%   |

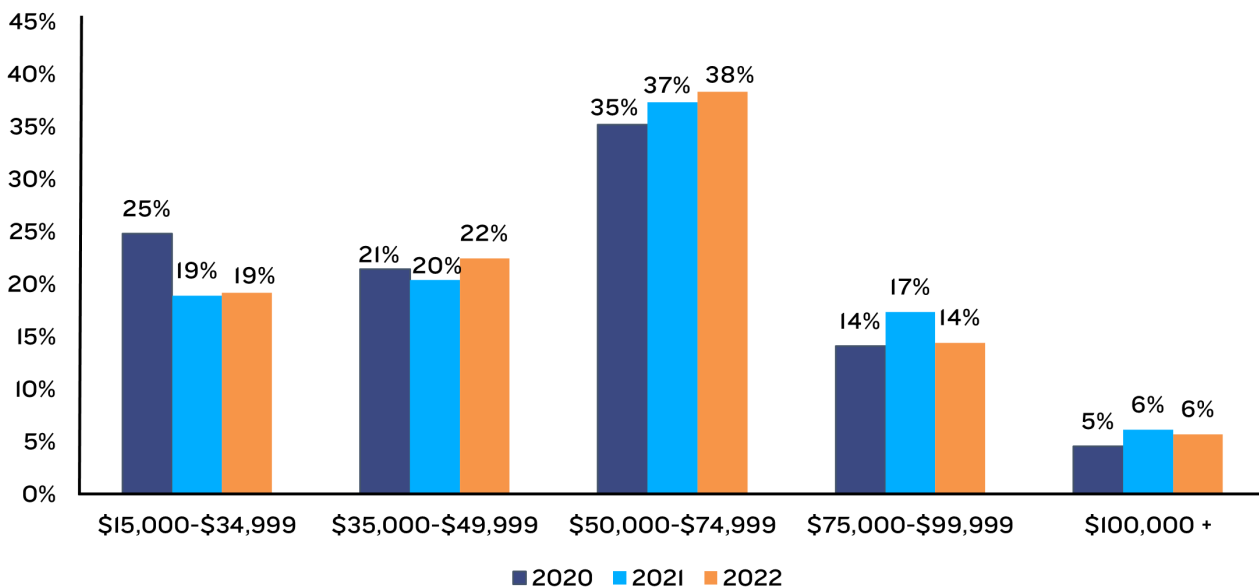
## Chapter 5: Racial Disparities and Income

The City Council Resolution authorizing this study cited a need to examine socioeconomic disparities in summons issuance. Lacking direct data on people’s income, we instead examined whether summonses tend to be disproportionately issued to people who live in low-income communities. For this purpose, we used the distribution of summonses by people’s home zip code and the median household income associated with each zip code.

### SUMMONS ISSUANCE IN LOW- AND HIGH-INCOME COMMUNITIES

From 2020 to 2022, the NYPD issued over 60% of summonses to people living in communities where median household income fell below the NYC median of \$70,663. At the other end of the spectrum, summons issuance is rare in high-income areas. Only 6% of 2022 summonses were issued to New Yorkers living in communities with a median household income above \$100,000 per year. However, 27% of all NYC zip codes have a median household income above \$100,000 per year. (Exhibit 5.1).

**EXHIBIT 5.1**  
**PERCENTAGE OF SUMMONSES ISSUED BY HOUSEHOLD INCOME, 2020-2022**



### RACIAL DISPARITIES AT ALL INCOME LEVELS

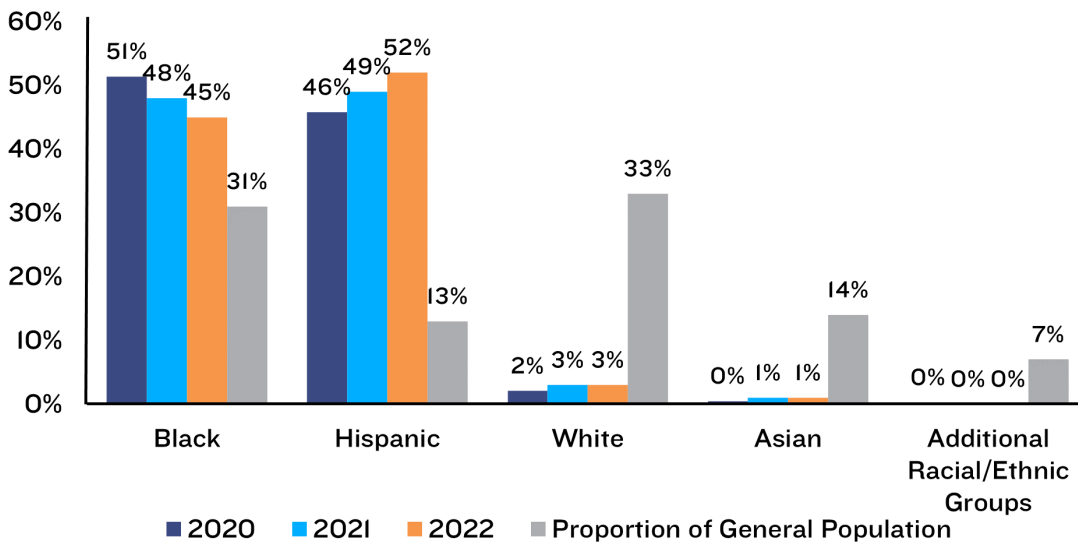
The five graphs below provide the racial composition of people issued summonses in zip codes falling into each of five median household income brackets. The bars in gray show each racial/ethnic group’s share of the general population in the five respective income brackets, facilitating conclusions of the extent to which there are racial disparities in summons issuance within each type of community.

**RACIAL DISPARITIES AND INCOME**

Emerging from the results is an alarming pattern: Spanning low-, middle-, and high-income communities, alike, Black and Hispanic New Yorkers made up a significantly larger percentage of people issued summonses than their share of each type of community’s general population. For instance, in communities falling into the lowest of the five income brackets, Black and Hispanic people received a combined 97% of summonses in 2022, while comprising only 44% of those communities’ populations (Exhibit 5.2a). On the other end of the spectrum, in communities with a median household income over \$100,000, Black and Hispanic people received a combined 73% of summonses, while comprising just 24% of the population—indicating an even greater disparity in relative terms than in the low-income communities (Exhibit 5.2e).

Additionally, racial disparities have widened from 2020 to 2022 in high-income communities with median earnings of \$100,000, with Black and Hispanic people combining for 64% of summonses in 2020, before increasing to 73%.

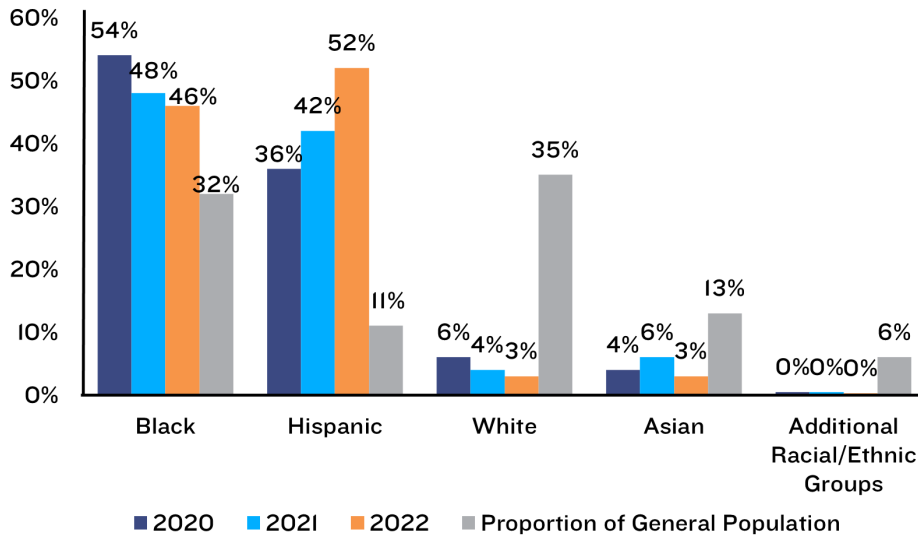
**EXHIBIT 5.2A**  
**PERCENTAGE OF SUMMONSES ISSUED BY RACIAL/ETHNIC GROUP OF NYC ZIP CODES WITH MEDIAN HOUSEHOLD INCOME BETWEEN \$15,000-34,999**



**RACIAL DISPARITIES AND INCOME**

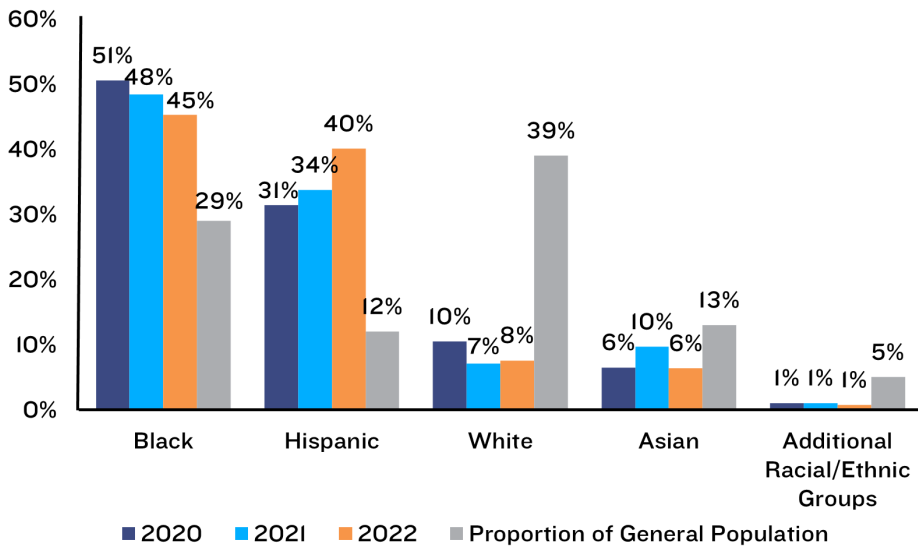
**EXHIBIT 5.2B**

**PERCENTAGE OF SUMMONSES ISSUED BY RACIAL/ETHNIC GROUP OF NYC ZIP CODES WITH MEDIAN HOUSEHOLD INCOME BETWEEN \$35,000-\$49,999**



**EXHIBIT 5.2C**

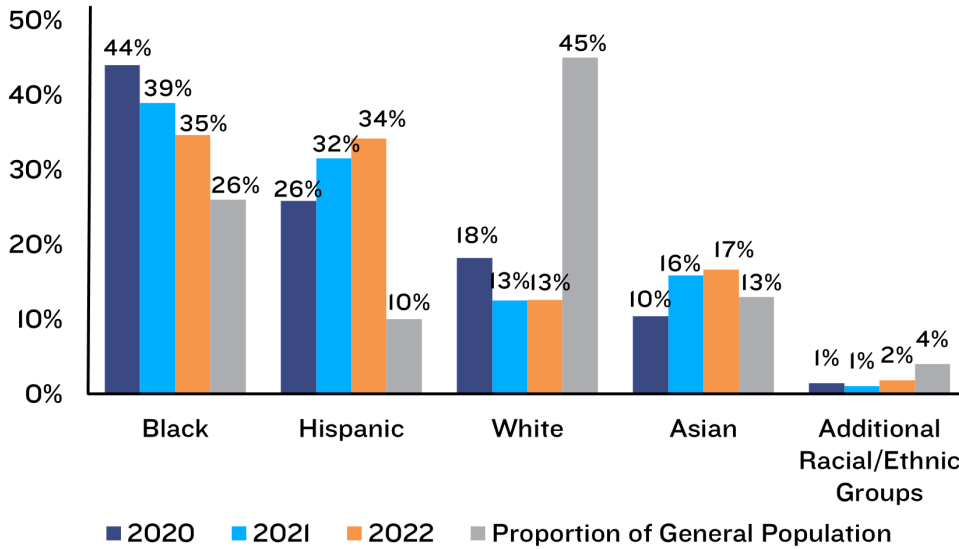
**PERCENTAGE OF SUMMONSES ISSUED BY RACIAL/ETHNIC GROUP OF NYC ZIP CODES WITH MEDIAN HOUSEHOLD INCOME BETWEEN \$50,000- \$74,999**



**RACIAL DISPARITIES AND INCOME**

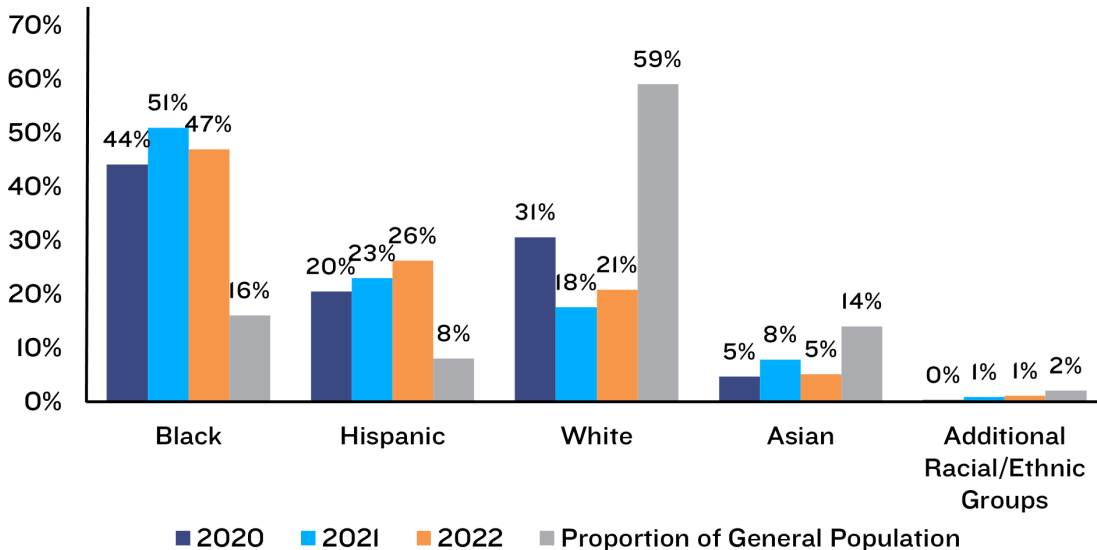
**EXHIBIT 5.2D**

**PERCENTAGE OF SUMMONSES ISSUED BY RACIAL/ETHNIC GROUP OF NYC ZIP CODES WITH MEDIAN HOUSEHOLD INCOME BETWEEN \$75,000 - \$99,999**



**EXHIBIT 5.2E**

**PERCENTAGE OF SUMMONSES ISSUED BY RACIAL/ETHNIC GROUP OF NYC ZIP CODES WITH MEDIAN HOUSEHOLD INCOME \$100,000+**





## Chapter 6: Neighborhood Disparities

This chapter examines two distinct types of neighborhood-based disparities: (1) *summons issuance by police precinct*, and (2) *summons issuance by people's home zip code* (independent of where the alleged offense took place). The second analysis also examines the extent of racially disproportionate summons issuance to people living in each zip code relative to its population demographics.

### Mapping Racial Disparities by Zip Code

To offer a clear visualization of racial and neighborhood disparities in summons-issuance across the City, we created [interactive maps](#) based on NYC zip code. The maps include the general racial and ethnic makeup of each zip codes, the population, criminal summons volume in 2022, and the representation of Black, Hispanic, white, and Asian people among those issued summonses as well as how summons issuance rates for people of color and white people living in each zip code compare.

### DISPARITIES BASED ON POLICE PRECINCT

Although there are 77 precincts throughout NYC, certain precincts concentrated in the Bronx and Brooklyn consistently issue the largest volume of criminal summonses.

From 2013 to 2019, the NYPD issued the highest number of summonses in Mott Haven's 40th precinct (4.0% of the total), East New York's 75th precinct (3.3% of the total), and Highbridge's 44th precinct (3.2% of the total). Most precincts that issued summonses during this period were in the Bronx and Brooklyn.

By 2022, neighborhood disparities widened: the precinct with the largest share of summonses remained **Mott Haven's 40th**, but pointing to a greater level of concentration, the 40th precinct increased from 4.0% to 7.4% of the citywide total. The next highest precincts in 2022 were **Norwood's 52nd** (5.7%), **Corona's 110th** (4.6%), and **Crown Heights' 71st** (3.9%). NYPD officers from these four precincts alone issued nearly 22% of 2022 summonses, despite accounting for only 5% of New York City's 77 precincts and just under 6% of the City's population.

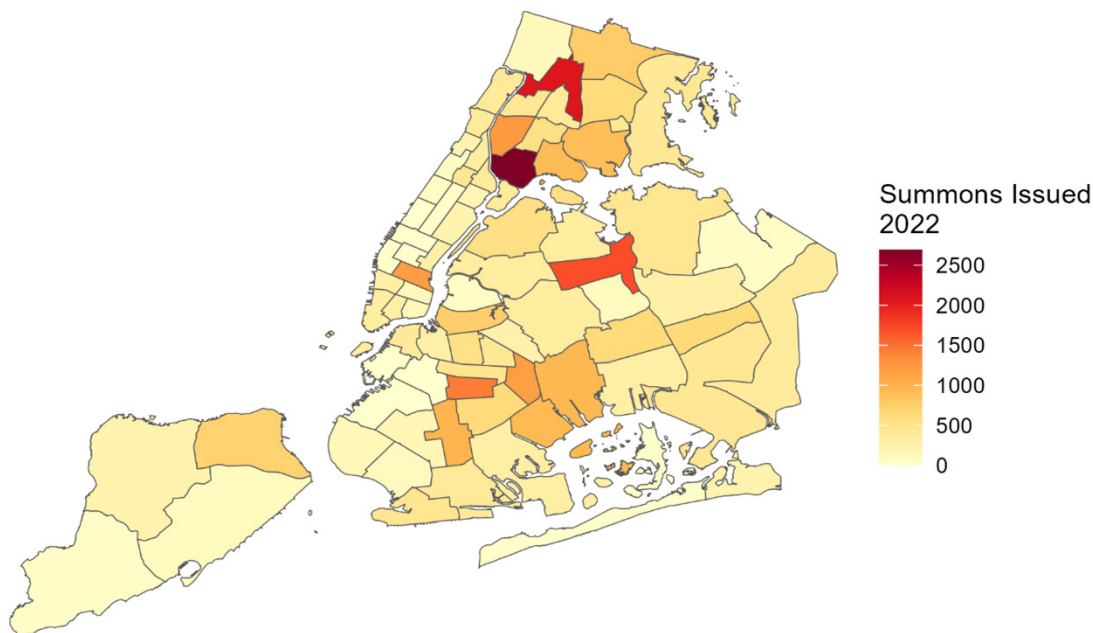
Once again, the precincts that issued the most summonses were predominantly in the Bronx or Brooklyn, which accounted for 8 of the top 10, and 18 of the top 25 precincts. Moreover, the two precincts issuing the most summonses were in the Bronx.

Exhibit 6.1 highlights the top 25 precincts that issued the most summonses in 2022, alongside a comparison from 2020, 2021, and the 2013 to 2019 period.

**NEIGHBORHOOD DISPARITIES****EXHIBIT 6.1 PRECINCTS WITH HIGHEST PERCENTAGE OF SUMMONSES ISSUED, (TOP 25 IN 2022)**

| Precinct | Borough       | Neighborhood                | 2022 Total | 2022 % of Total | 2021 Total | 2021 % of Total | 2020 Total | 2020 % of Total | 2013-2019 Average Summons Issued | 2013-2019 % of Total |
|----------|---------------|-----------------------------|------------|-----------------|------------|-----------------|------------|-----------------|----------------------------------|----------------------|
| 40       | Bronx         | Mott Haven                  | 2,692      | 7.4%            | 1,232      | 5.5%            | 1778       | 5.3%            | 7,969                            | 4.0%                 |
| 52       | Bronx         | Norwood                     | 2,074      | 5.7%            | 863        | 3.8%            | 1475       | 4.4%            | 4,843                            | 2.4%                 |
| 110      | Queens        | Corona                      | 1,694      | 4.6%            | 293        | 1.3%            | 326        | 1.0%            | 4,709                            | 2.3%                 |
| 71       | Brooklyn      | Crown Heights South         | 1,442      | 3.9%            | 1,190      | 5.3%            | 546        | 1.6%            | 2,825                            | 1.4%                 |
| 44       | Bronx         | Highbridge                  | 1,233      | 3.4%            | 1,193      | 5.3%            | 2,190      | 6.5%            | 6,382                            | 3.2%                 |
| 13       | Manhattan     | Stuyvesant Town, Turtle Bay | 1,193      | 3.3%            | 360        | 1.6%            | 458        | 1.4%            | 2,096                            | 1.0%                 |
| 73       | Brooklyn      | Brownsville                 | 1,186      | 3.2%            | 322        | 1.4%            | 693        | 2.1%            | 4,757                            | 2.4%                 |
| 70       | Brooklyn      | Flatbush                    | 984        | 2.7%            | 298        | 1.3%            | 514        | 1.5%            | 4,440                            | 2.2%                 |
| 75       | Brooklyn      | East New York               | 951        | 2.6%            | 430        | 1.9%            | 1000       | 3.0%            | 6,635                            | 3.3%                 |
| 69       | Brooklyn      | Canarsie                    | 944        | 2.6%            | 468        | 2.1%            | 344        | 1.0%            | 1,643                            | 0.8%                 |
| 41       | Bronx         | Hunts Point                 | 927        | 2.5%            | 572        | 2.5%            | 1192       | 3.5%            | 3,717                            | 1.8%                 |
| 43       | Bronx         | Soundview                   | 906        | 2.5%            | 447        | 2.0%            | 834        | 2.5%            | 3,822                            | 1.9%                 |
| 47       | Bronx         | Wakefield                   | 789        | 2.2%            | 734        | 3.2%            | 1039       | 3.1%            | 4,132                            | 2.1%                 |
| 90       | Brooklyn      | Williamsburg                | 758        | 2.1%            | 448        | 2.0%            | 465        | 1.4%            | 4,783                            | 2.4%                 |
| 120      | Staten Island | Port Richmond               | 724        | 2.0%            | 459        | 2.0%            | 216        | 0.6%            | 3,712                            | 1.8%                 |
| 103      | Queens        | Jamaica                     | 648        | 1.8%            | 398        | 1.8%            | 673        | 2.0%            | 5,002                            | 2.5%                 |
| 102      | Queens        | Woodhaven                   | 643        | 1.8%            | 444        | 2.0%            | 296        | 0.9%            | 2,132                            | 1.1%                 |
| 49       | Bronx         | Pelham Parkway              | 629        | 1.7%            | 461        | 2.0%            | 565        | 1.7%            | 1,737                            | 0.9%                 |
| 67       | Brooklyn      | East Flatbush               | 627        | 1.7%            | 325        | 1.4%            | 695        | 2.1%            | 4,065                            | 2.0%                 |
| 42       | Bronx         | Morrisania                  | 558        | 1.5%            | 498        | 2.2%            | 707        | 2.1%            | 4,266                            | 2.1%                 |
| 114      | Queens        | Astoria                     | 554        | 1.5%            | 374        | 1.7%            | 443        | 1.3%            | 3,808                            | 1.9%                 |
| 79       | Brooklyn      | Bed-Stuy                    | 534        | 1.5%            | 664        | 2.9%            | 976        | 2.9%            | 4,530                            | 2.3%                 |
| 77       | Brooklyn      | Crown Heights North         | 469        | 1.3%            | 423        | 1.9%            | 548        | 1.6%            | 3,247                            | 1.6%                 |
| 60       | Brooklyn      | Coney Island                | 457        | 1.2%            | 144        | 0.6%            | 607        | 1.8%            | 3,181                            | 1.6%                 |
| 109      | Queens        | Flushing                    | 457        | 1.2%            | 312        | 1.4%            | 288        | 0.9%            | 1,589                            | 0.8%                 |

**EXHIBIT 6.2**  
**MAP OF 2022 SUMMONSES ISSUED BY PRECINCT**



### **DISPARITIES BASED ON HOME ZIP CODE OF PEOPLE ISSUED SUMMONSES**

New York City has 178 zip codes across all five boroughs, 61 in Queens, 43 in Manhattan, 37 in Brooklyn, 25 in the Bronx, and 12 in Staten Island.

Of these, 40 zip codes (23%) accounted for more than half of criminal summonses issued in 2022 and 77% were in the Bronx (17), or Brooklyn (14). (See Exhibit 6.3 below which includes the zip code, borough, neighborhood name, the population makeup of the neighborhood, the racial/ethnic composition of people issued summonses in the zip code, and the racial/ethnic composition of the 2021 general population of the zip code (in parentheses)). For example, in the very first zip code listed below [10454], Black people received 27% of summonses, and Black people make up 24% of the zip code's population.

**NEIGHBORHOOD DISPARITIES****EXHIBIT 6.3 TOP 40 ZIP CODES OF SUMMONSES ISSUED IN 2022**

| Zip code | Borough   | Neighborhood       | Rank | Median Household Income | Majority/Plurality | Total Summons | % Black (Summons/Gen) | % Hispanic (Summons/Gen) | % White (Summons/Gen) | % Asian (Summons/Gen) | % Additional Groups (Summons/Gen) |
|----------|-----------|--------------------|------|-------------------------|--------------------|---------------|-----------------------|--------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 10454    | Bronx     | Port Morris        | 1    | \$21,846.00             | Majority Hispanic  | 777 (2.1%)    | 27% (24%)             | 61% (65%)                | 2% (3%)               | 0% (0%)               | 0% (1%)                           |
| 11212    | Brooklyn  | Brownsville        | 2    | \$30,733.00             | Majority Black     | 905 (2.5%)    | 76% (71%)             | 12% (17%)                | 1% (3%)               | 0% (1%)               | 0% (1%)                           |
| 10455    | Bronx     | Mott Haven         | 3    | \$30,741.00             | Majority Hispanic  | 545 (1.5%)    | 28% (20%)             | 57% (65%)                | 3% (2%)               | 0% (1%)               | 0% (0%)                           |
| 10456    | Bronx     | Morrisania         | 4    | \$31,166.00             | Majority Hispanic  | 841 (2.3%)    | 41% (35%)             | 45% (54%)                | 2% (2%)               | 0% (1%)               | 0% (1%)                           |
| 10460    | Bronx     | West Farms         | 5    | \$31,504.00             | Majority Hispanic  | 411 (1.1%)    | 36% (23%)             | 52% (59%)                | 2% (3%)               | 2% (1%)               | 1% (1%)                           |
| 10035    | Manhattan | East Harlem        | 6    | \$32,555.00             | Plurality Hispanic | 332 (0.9%)    | 50% (34%)             | 30% (41%)                | 7% (12%)              | 1% (3%)               | 0% (1%)                           |
| 10452    | Bronx     | Mount Eden         | 7    | \$33,877.00             | Majority Hispanic  | 559 (1.5%)    | 25% (25%)             | 65% (63%)                | 1% (2%)               | 0% (1%)               | 0% (1%)                           |
| 10029    | Manhattan | East Harlem        | 8    | \$33,901.00             | Plurality Hispanic | 324 (0.9%)    | 45% (24%)             | 36% (44%)                | 5% (14%)              | 2% (10%)              | 1% (2%)                           |
| 10451    | Bronx     | Melrose            | 9    | \$33,945.00             | Majority Hispanic  | 723 (2.0%)    | 31% (35%)             | 57% (53%)                | 2% (4%)               | 0% (1%)               | 0% (0%)                           |
| 10453    | Bronx     | University Heights | 10   | \$34,860.00             | Majority Hispanic  | 500 (1.4%)    | 33% (22%)             | 53% (63%)                | 1% (2%)               | 0% (2%)               | 0% (1%)                           |
| 10459    | Bronx     | Longwood           | 11   | \$36,631.00             | Majority Hispanic  | 466 (1.3%)    | 32% (27%)             | 57% (61%)                | 2% (1%)               | 1% (0%)               | 0% (0%)                           |
| 10472    | Bronx     | Soundview          | 12   | \$36,730.00             | Majority Hispanic  | 512 (1.4%)    | 30% (23%)             | 58% (58%)                | 1% (2%)               | 2% (8%)               | 0% (2%)                           |
| 10457    | Bronx     | Tremont            | 13   | \$38,066.00             | Majority Hispanic  | 555 (1.5%)    | 34% (27%)             | 51% (58%)                | 2% (2%)               | 1% (1%)               | 0% (1%)                           |
| 10458    | Bronx     | Belmont            | 14   | \$38,768.00             | Majority Hispanic  | 771 (2.1%)    | 22% (15%)             | 57% (69%)                | 2% (7%)               | 1% (3%)               | 0% (1%)                           |
| 10468    | Bronx     | Jerome Park        | 15   | \$40,138.00             | Majority Hispanic  | 670 (1.8%)    | 17% (13%)             | 63% (73%)                | 1% (2%)               | 1% (2%)               | 0% (1%)                           |
| 10467    | Bronx     | Olinville          | 16   | \$42,639.00             | Plurality Hispanic | 752 (2.1%)    | 38% (27%)             | 46% (49%)                | 3% (9%)               | 2% (6%)               | 0% (6%)                           |
| 11207    | Brooklyn  | East New York      | 17   | \$45,616.00             | Majority Black     | 581 (1.6%)    | 68% (53%)             | 20% (33%)                | 4% (5%)               | 1% (1%)               | 0% (1%)                           |
| 11355    | Queens    | East Flushing      | 18   | \$46,963.00             | Majority Asian     | 261 (0.7%)    | 20% (2%)              | 45% (15%)                | 3% (7%)               | 25% (72%)             | 0% (1%)                           |
| 10473    | Bronx     | Clason Point       | 19   | \$48,212.00             | Majority Hispanic  | 441 (1.2%)    | 49% (28%)             | 42% (58%)                | 2% (2%)               | 1% (1%)               | 1% (1%)                           |
| 11213    | Brooklyn  | Crown Heights      | 20   | \$48,896.00             | Majority Black     | 405 (1.1%)    | 81% (61%)             | 7% (12%)                 | 4% (21%)              | 1% (2%)               | 0% (1%)                           |

## NEIGHBORHOOD DISPARITIES

### EXHIBIT 6.3 TOP 40 ZIP CODES OF SUMMONSES ISSUED IN 2022 (CONTINUED)

| Zip code | Borough       | Neighborhood                        | Rank | Median Household Income | Majority/Plurality       | Total Summons | % Black (Summons/Gen) | % Hispanic (Summons/Gen) | % White (Summons/Gen) | % Asian (Summons/Gen) | % Additional Groups (Summons/Gen) |
|----------|---------------|-------------------------------------|------|-------------------------|--------------------------|---------------|-----------------------|--------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 11206    | Brooklyn      | Bushwick                            | 21   | \$49,013.00             | Plurality Hispanic/White | 452 (1.2%)    | 56% (18%)             | 32% (35%)                | 3% (35%)              | 1% (6%)               | 0% (0%)                           |
| 11208    | Brooklyn      | East New York                       | 22   | \$49,679.00             | Plurality Black          | 501 (1.4%)    | 54% (45%)             | 29% (40%)                | 2% (3%)               | 5% (7%)               | 1% (1%)                           |
| 11233    | Brooklyn      | Ocean Hill                          | 23   | \$52,380.00             | Majority Black           | 492 (1.3%)    | 75% (67%)             | 13% (16%)                | 3% (11%)              | 1% (1%)               | 0% (1%)                           |
| 11220    | Brooklyn      | Sunset Park                         | 24   | \$57,046.00             | Plurality Asian          | 363 (1.0%)    | 4% (2%)               | 72% (38%)                | 4% (40%)              | 10% (40%)             | 1% (0%)                           |
| 10027    | Manhattan     | Morningside Heights/<br>West Harlem | 25   | \$58,435.00             | Plurality Black          | 267 (0.7%)    | 64% (34%)             | 21% (25%)                | 4% (25%)              | 2% (8%)               | 0% (1%)                           |
| 11235    | Brooklyn      | Sheepshead Bay                      | 26   | \$58,669.00             | Majority White           | 310 (0.8%)    | 8% (2%)               | 27% (9%)                 | 37% (70%)             | 13% (13%)             | 1% (0%)                           |
| 10462    | Bronx         | Parkchester                         | 27   | \$59,032.00             | Plurality Hispanic       | 288 (0.8%)    | 32% (21%)             | 44% (45%)                | 6% (10%)              | 9% (14%)              | 2% (1%)                           |
| 11203    | Brooklyn      | East Flatbush                       | 28   | \$61,414.00             | Majority Black           | 441 (1.2%)    | 81% (82%)             | 7% (7%)                  | 2% (4%)               | 2% (2%)               | 0% (1%)                           |
| 11373    | Queens        | Elmhurst                            | 29   | \$62,072.00             | Plurality Asian          | 424 (1.2%)    | 2% (1%)               | 81% (41%)                | 2% (5%)               | 7% (47%)              | 1% (1%)                           |
| 11368    | Queens        | Corona                              | 30   | \$62,254.00             | Majority Hispanic        | 1,030 (2.8%)  | 4% (6%)               | 85% (70%)                | 1% (4%)               | 4% (11%)              | 1% (0%)                           |
| 10466    | Bronx         | North Baychester                    | 31   | \$62,918.00             | Majority Black           | 367 (1.0%)    | 66% (62%)             | 25% (26%)                | 2% (2%)               | 1% (2%)               | 1% (3%)                           |
| 10304    | Staten Island | Clifton                             | 32   | \$64,539.00             | Plurality White          | 271 (0.7%)    | 44% (24%)             | 24% (22%)                | 12% (38%)             | 4% (11%)              | 2% (0%)                           |
| 11226    | Brooklyn      | Flatbush                            | 33   | \$66,173.00             | Majority Black           | 702 (1.9%)    | 71% (63%)             | 18% (15%)                | 2% (13%)              | 2% (3%)               | 0% (1%)                           |
| 11434    | Queens        | Springfield Gardens                 | 34   | \$66,546.00             | Majority Black           | 296 (0.8%)    | 79% (77%)             | 8% (10%)                 | 1% (2%)               | 5% (3%)               | 0% (2%)                           |
| 11221    | Brooklyn      | Bushwick                            | 35   | \$66,923.00             | Plurality Black          | 413 (1.1%)    | 55% (37%)             | 27% (31%)                | 8% (19%)              | 3% (4%)               | 0% (1%)                           |
| 11225    | Brooklyn      | Crown Heights                       | 36   | \$68,542.00             | Majority Black           | 433 (1.2%)    | 79% (54%)             | 9% (10%)                 | 6% (28%)              | 1% (3%)               | 0% (1%)                           |
| 10469    | Bronx         | Baychester                          | 37   | \$70,415.00             | Majority Black           | 330 (0.9%)    | 56% (52%)             | 27% (27%)                | 2% (9%)               | 4% (5%)               | 0% (1%)                           |
| 11236    | Brooklyn      | Canarsie                            | 38   | \$73,562.00             | Majority Black           | 720 (2.0%)    | 89% (80%)             | 3% (8%)                  | 1% (4%)               | 1% (2%)               | 0% (1%)                           |
| 10301    | Queens        | Sunnyside                           | 39   | \$78,053.00             | Plurality White          | 305 (0.8%)    | 31% (17%)             | 43% (25%)                | 12% (43%)             | 4% (7%)               | 0% (0%)                           |
| 11216    | Brooklyn      | Bedford-Stuyvesant                  | 40   | \$84,661.00             | Plurality Black          | 272 (0.7%)    | 66% (45%)             | 11% (12%)                | 10% (29%)             | 1% (4%)               | 0% (1%)                           |

**Of the 40 zip codes whose residents were disproportionately issued summonses, 34 (85%) are majority or plurality Black (15) or Hispanic (19), only 3 are plurality or majority white, and 3 are plurality or majority Asian in their general population.** (For this analysis, majority refers to having a racial/ethnic group accounting for more than 50% of the total, while plurality is defined as the racial/ethnic group with the largest percentage, even if it is below 50%.)

**Among the 10 zip codes whose residents were issued the most summonses, 6 were majority Hispanic, with 1 plurality Hispanic, and 3 majority Black.**

In 39 (98%) of these 40 zip codes, either Black or Hispanic people made up the highest percentage of summonses issued compared to any other racial/ethnic group.

### **RACIAL DISPARITIES WITHIN INDIVIDUAL NEIGHBORHOODS (ZIP CODES)**

**Relative to the general population numbers in each given zip code, Black people were overrepresented in the summonses NYPD issued in 38 (95%) of the top 40 zip codes. In Sheepshead Bay, Brooklyn, the only majority white zip code (70% of its general population) in the top 40, only 37% of summonses issued were to white residents; by contrast, while 9% of the population is Hispanic, they received 27% of summonses, and while 2% of the population is Black, they received 8% of summonses.** Even in the neighborhoods where Black and Hispanic people do not make up the majority of summonses issued; the proportion of summonses they receive continued to exceed their share of the neighborhood population.

**Out of all 178 NYC zip codes, 159 (89%) had a larger proportion of summonses issued to Black residents than the general population of the zip code. Furthermore, 119 (67%) of the zip codes had a larger proportion of summonses issued to Hispanic residents than the general population of the zip code.**

Overwhelmingly, Black and Hispanic people were disproportionately issued summonses relative to their population in NYC at both citywide and neighborhood levels. This is clearer when comparing the precincts that issue the largest number of summonses to the zip codes that are issued the largest volume of summonses; it is both true that summonses are disproportionately issued in the Bronx and Brooklyn (boroughs that are predominantly Black or Hispanic); and within these boroughs, summonses are predominantly issued by individual precincts and to people from individual zip codes that are even more disproportionately Black or Hispanic. **The over-policing and enforcement of low-level offenses in zip codes with majority or plurality Black and Hispanic populations underscores the over-policing of communities of color in general.**

These findings alongside the analyses on income disparities illustrate the disproportionate impact of summons enforcement on low-income New Yorkers who may be unable to miss work and appear in court (leading to a warrant), and thus placing them in a cycle within the legal system that perpetuates the criminalization of poverty.<sup>39</sup>

## Chapter 7. Conclusion

Over the full ten years from 2013 to 2022, criminal summons issuance *dropped by 90%*, though in 2022, summons volume *increased by 62%*. This latest shift reflects a purposeful reorientation of the NYPD towards greater low-level enforcement under the administration of Mayor Eric Adams on the premise that this will reduce major crime.<sup>40</sup> Little evidence supports that “broken windows” policing (including greater low-level enforcement) is related to a decrease in crime though it does involve more people in the criminal legal system and decreases trust in policing and the legal system.<sup>41</sup>

The analyses in this report show that in recent years (2020 to 2022), the NYPD issued summonses disproportionately to Black and Hispanic New Yorkers. In addition, racial disparities in summons issuance widened since 2020, though this widening largely took place from 2020 to 2021, not from 2021 to 2022. The upshot is that in 2022, the NYPD was 11.4 times more likely to issue a criminal summons to Black than white people and 6.8 times more likely to issue a summons to Hispanic than white people, after accounting for each group’s general population numbers.

The neighborhood analyses indicate a concentration of summons issuance in the Bronx, most especially in select police precincts, and to people who live in select zip codes (including the neighborhoods of Mott Haven, Norwood, and Highbridge, among others).

In addition, *within each of the City’s many zip codes* Black and Hispanic residents (Black residents most especially) were overwhelmingly issued summonses at higher proportions than their share of the zip code’s population. **Out of New York City’s 178 zip codes, 89% had a larger proportion of summonses issued to Black residents than their share of the zip code’s general population.** The renewed focus on broken-windows policing strategies may be one contributor to continuing racial and socioeconomic disparities, as well as to the data’s indication of greater geographic concentration in certain NYC neighborhoods.<sup>42</sup>

The continued criminalization of poverty in New York City harms Black and Hispanic New Yorkers and perpetuates the cycle of involving more people in the criminal legal system. Prior research indicates that racial disparities in people’s initial contact with police then continue at every subsequent stage of the system, from [pretrial detention in jails](#), to [conviction](#), to [parole](#).<sup>43</sup> While the 2021 City Council Resolution sought to reduce the criminalization of poverty via police reform, current NYPD policies and practices may be in conflict with these goals. To meaningfully reduce racial and socioeconomic disparities in policing, the City’s institutions must work in partnership towards proactive and purposeful steps capable of making the City more equitable for all.

## Appendix A: Data and Definitions

This report uses non-public data from the Office of Court Administration (OCA) provided to the Data Collaborative for Justice. This data includes information on the summons date, arraignment date, disposition date, as well as information about the agency, the precinct, and demographic data on the person who received the summons.

**Race and Ethnicity:** The race and ethnicity information within this data is collected from the summons issued by each individual officer, based on the officer's assessment and not on the self-report of the individual receiving the summons. The options are Black, white, Asian, Indigenous, and Other. The ethnicity option listed is Hispanic. We combined Indigenous and Other into the category "Additional racial/ethnic groups."

Some individuals may not identify with the racial and ethnic groupings that police officers assign to them and that are available options within the criminal summons data, therefore the data does not represent all the races and ethnicities with which people identify and some of the racial or ethnic group assignments may be incorrect.

Additionally, we used the term "Hispanic" which is the term used within the data. While we did consider using the term "Latinx," this is a newer term, and many individuals of Latin American origin or descent do not appear to self-identify as Latinx.<sup>44</sup>

**Gender:** The data only lists gender as a binary (male or female), disallowing for a representative count of gender-expansive or nonbinary individuals who do not identify as either of these two genders.



**APPENDIX B. ADDITIONAL TABLES AND GRAPHS****EXHIBIT B1****CITYWIDE RATE AND RATE RATIOS FOR BLACK, HISPANIC, AND WHITE RACIAL AND ETHNIC GROUP, 2020-2022**

|                                   | Black     | Hispanic  | White     |
|-----------------------------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| <b>2020</b>                       |           |           |           |
| 2020 Summons (over 18)            | 13,761    | 8,109     | 2,190     |
| 2020 General Population (over 18) | 1,565,848 | 1,825,072 | 2,219,837 |
| Summons Rate                      | 879       | 444       | 99        |
| <b>2021</b>                       |           |           |           |
| 2021 Summons (over 18)            | 9,073     | 6,131     | 1,165     |
| 2021 General Population (over 18) | 1,441,580 | 1,862,605 | 2,160,870 |
| Summons Rate                      | 629       | 329       | 54        |
| <b>2022</b>                       |           |           |           |
| 2022 Summons (over 18)            | 15,425    | 11,856    | 2,019     |
| 2021 General Population (over 18) | 1,441,580 | 1,862,605 | 2,160,870 |
| Summons Rate                      | 1,070     | 637       | 93        |

**APPENDIX B. ADDITIONAL TABLES AND GRAPHS**
**EXHIBIT B2**
**BOROUGH RATE AND RATE RATIOS FOR BLACK, HISPANIC, AND WHITE RACIAL AND ETHNIC GROUPS, 2020-2022**

|  | Bronx   |          |         | Brooklyn |          |         | Manhattan |          |         | Queens  |          |         | Staten Island |          |         |
|--|---------|----------|---------|----------|----------|---------|-----------|----------|---------|---------|----------|---------|---------------|----------|---------|
|  | Black   | Hispanic | White   | Black    | Hispanic | White   | Black     | Hispanic | White   | Black   | Hispanic | White   | Black         | Hispanic | White   |
| <b>2020</b>                              |         |          |         |          |          |         |           |          |         |         |          |         |               |          |         |
| <b>2020 Summons (over 18)</b>            | 5,301   | 4,152    | 317     | 4,374    | 1,344    | 759     | 2,065     | 1,250    | 764     | 1,832   | 1,138    | 274     | 189           | 77       | 76      |
| <b>2020 General Population (over 18)</b> | 373,794 | 584,037  | 107,551 | 636,327  | 362,201  | 724,919 | 191,618   | 337,668  | 681,116 | 328,050 | 479,497  | 472,768 | 36,059        | 61,669   | 233,483 |
| <b>Summons Rate</b>                      | 1,418   | 711      | 295     | 687      | 371      | 105     | 1,078     | 370      | 112     | 558     | 268      | 58      | 524           | 125      | 33      |
| <b>2021</b>                              |         |          |         |          |          |         |           |          |         |         |          |         |               |          |         |
| <b>2021 Summons (over 18)</b>            | 3,137   | 2,791    | 147     | 3,131    | 1,301    | 465     | 1,170     | 655      | 269     | 1,365   | 1,138    | 193     | 270           | 246      | 91      |
| <b>2021 General Population (over 18)</b> | 335,799 | 590,877  | 102,005 | 582,336  | 372,193  | 732,791 | 175,966   | 334,997  | 629,792 | 313,205 | 499,020  | 464,943 | 34,274        | 65,518   | 231,339 |
| <b>Summons Rate</b>                      | 934     | 472      | 144     | 538      | 350      | 63      | 665       | 196      | 43      | 436     | 228      | 42      | 788           | 375      | 39      |
| <b>2022</b>                              |         |          |         |          |          |         |           |          |         |         |          |         |               |          |         |
| <b>2022 Summons (over 18)</b>            | 4,982   | 5,104    | 224     | 6,043    | 2,220    | 702     | 2,333     | 1,356    | 681     | 1,695   | 2,846    | 269     | 372           | 330      | 143     |
| <b>2021 General Population (over 18)</b> | 335,799 | 590,877  | 102,005 | 582,336  | 372,193  | 732,791 | 175,966   | 334,997  | 629,792 | 313,205 | 499,020  | 464,943 | 34,274        | 65,518   | 231,339 |
| <b>Summons Rate</b>                      | 1,484   | 864      | 220     | 1,038    | 596      | 96      | 1,326     | 405      | 108     | 541     | 570      | 58      | 1,085         | 504      | 62      |

- 1 Police Reform and Reinvention Collaborative (n.d.). [Police Reform Home Page](#). New York State.
- 2 NYC Police Reform and Reinvention Collaborative. (2021). [Reform Plan](#). New York City.
- 3 The New York City Council. (2021). [Resolution Adopting a Plan Pursuant to State Executive Order Number 203. Resolution 1584-2021](#); see, also the NYC Police Reform and Reinvention Collaborative. (n.d). [Initiative Tracker](#).
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- 5 New York State Unified Court System. (n.d.). [Collateral Consequences](#). Collateral Consequences | NY CourtHelp.
- 6 Koppel, Stephen and Stenkamp, Anna. (2024). [Racial Disparities in New York City Civil Summonses, 2019-2022](#). New York, NY: Data Collaborative for Justice.
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- 12 Griffard, Molly, Starkey, Leighann, Vitoroulis, Mike, and Munson, Thomas. (2022). [Broken Windows, Broken Trust: The NYPD's Racially Discriminatory Quality-of-Life Policing](#). Legal Aid Society.
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- 18 The decrease in missing race/ethnicity information for summonses may be due to the officers becoming more consistent in filling in the information, the court may have become more consistent with entering the information, or the information was easier to collect during this time period.

**ENDNOTES**

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- 31** New York State Office of the Attorney General (2020), [Op Cit](#).
- 32** Feeley, Malcomb M. (1979). [The Process is the Punishment: Handling Cases in a Lower Criminal Court](#). Russell Sage Foundation.
- 33** Cooke, Brice, Diop, Binta Zahra, Fishbane, Alissa, Hayes, Jonathan, Ouss, Aurelie, and Shah, Anuj. (2018). [Using Behavioral Science to Improve Criminal Justice Outcomes - Preventing Failures to Appear in Court](#). ideas42.

- 34** The increase in the volume of defective summonses increases the work within the legal system as well as increasing police contact at the time of issuance.
- 35** U.S. Census Bureau Quick Facts: [Kings County, New York](#). New York City.
- 36** The general population was calculated using data from the 2021 American Community Survey available at [www.census.gov](http://www.census.gov). The population for the rates of NYC and each borough includes all individuals 18 and older for each racial group. The Census race categories include: "Black or African American alone," "Hispanic or Latino," "White alone, not Hispanic or Latino," "Asian alone," "American Indian and Alaska Native alone," "Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander alone," and "Some other race alone. There is no "Black alone, not Hispanic or Latino" category by age available in the census data. Therefore, all individuals who identify as Black or Black Hispanic are included in the "Black alone" category when calculating the rates and rate ratios. This is a significant caveat when using the census data and drawing comparisons. (I.e., the "Black alone" category is likely inflated with the inclusion of both Black and Black Hispanic individuals).
- 37** As the Census for the 2021 American Community Survey does not have a separate category for Black alone, not Hispanic or Latino category, the racial and ethnic breakdown for each borough may exceed 100% as those who identify as Black Hispanic are included in the Black alone category and may overestimate the rates and rate ratios.
- 38** It might be expected that 2022 would have the lowest warrant rate, as dispositions often occur months or years after the summons is issued. However, despite dispositions and warrant issuance often occurring well after the summons is issued, it appears that more people are missing their court date and receive a warrant due to failure to appear in 2022.
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- 40** In March 2022, New York City Police Commissioner, Keechant L. Sewell, announced that the NYPD would begin cracking down on low level offenses, including drinking in public, stating they can be precursors to violence, see [NYPD Announces Citywide Crime and Quality-of-Life Enforcement Initiative](#). City of New York. (2022, March 23).
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