

# Enforcement of the Law Prohibiting Public Burning of Marijuana in New York City

Report of the NYPD Working Group

June 15, 2018

## **Enforcement of the Law Prohibiting Public Burning of Marijuana in New York City**

### **Introduction**

On May 15, 2018, Police Commissioner James P. O'Neill established a Working Group drawn from the senior staff of the New York City Police Department to review the Department's policies and practices regarding the enforcement of Penal Law Section 221.10, subdivision 1, which makes it a class B misdemeanor to possess marijuana that is "burning or open to public view." Commissioner O'Neill directed the Working Group to consult with a range of people inside and outside the Department to solicit a wide variety of perspectives, draw upon relevant research, and produce a report with recommendations within thirty days.

This policy review comes at a critical time for the NYPD. Crime rates in New York City continue to drop to historic lows, bringing significant benefits to the city in terms of economic well-being, neighborhood vitality and increasing trust and confidence in the police. The city is also witnessing an historic decline in enforcement rates, as arrests, summonses and pedestrian stops drop to new lows, including a steep 64% decline in arrests for possession of marijuana from 53,529 in 2010 to 19,139 in 2017.

The NYPD is rapidly moving toward full, city-wide implementation of Neighborhood Policing, which emphasizes local discretion and focuses on building trust between the Department and the communities we serve through precision policing and collaborative problem-solving. We have made enormous progress in many aspects of our work, but we know we can always get better.

Particularly important is building trust between the NYPD and communities of color. It is also critical that we not forfeit any of the public safety gains we have achieved.

The Commissioner gave the Working Group a specific charge:

Review the NYPD enforcement policies with respect to public burning of marijuana in order to minimize the criminal justice impact on individuals and, if possible, reduce racial disparities while continuing to promote public safety and public order.

Our work took place in the context of relevant local and national policy discussions. First, some of New York City's elected District Attorneys have recently decided to decline prosecution of most misdemeanor marijuana arrests, including public burning. Each of these offices is considering slightly different exceptions or "carve-outs" to the general policy of declining prosecution of marijuana arrests. The new prosecution policies pose a significant challenge to the development of a new Department policy. While the city's five independently elected District Attorneys, if they choose, can follow five different prosecution policies regarding the same crime, the NYPD strives to enforce the law consistently throughout the entire city.

Our work was also conducted against the backdrop of two separate national discussions and debates. First, for the past two decades, practitioners, scholars, and the public at large have raised questions about public trust and confidence in the police, procedural justice and the legitimacy of the criminal justice process, and racial disparities in the operations of the entire criminal justice system. Central to most discussions about police/community relations is whether the police might be able to reduce overall enforcement, including arrests and summonses, while still achieving public safety goals. The Working Group was mindful of those discussions and drew upon our own experience in New York City, as well as other jurisdictions, for guidance.

Second, we recognize that, across the country and in our own state and city, there is another, separate public policy debate about legalization of marijuana. Nine states<sup>1</sup> and the District of Columbia have decided to legalize possession of small amounts of marijuana and recreational use; others, including New York, allow for medical uses. This legalization debate only provided background context for the Working Group. Our charge was to examine the options regarding enforcement of the existing laws in New York State and not how those laws might be changed.

### **Enforcement of Marijuana Laws in New York City**

Consistent with other downward trends in enforcement activity in New York City, the number of arrests for all marijuana possession charges (felonies, misdemeanors, violations) has dropped dramatically in recent years. In 2010, there were 53,529 arrests in New York City for possession of marijuana. By 2017, total marijuana possession arrests had dropped to 19,139, a 64% decline. A subset of total arrests, the arrests for possession of marijuana that is burning or open to public view,<sup>2</sup> also dropped dramatically from 50,160 in 2010 to 16,923 in 2017, a 66% decline. In other words, the biggest decline in marijuana arrests has been for public burning or public view, outstripping the decline in arrests for possession not in public view.

This decline reflects an explicit change in NYPD arrest policy. Recognizing the minimal impact of possession of marijuana in public view on the quality of life in New York, the NYPD changed its enforcement policy regarding public view in 2014. Under Operations Order 43(14), which

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<sup>1</sup> The nine states include Alaska, California, Colorado, Maine, Massachusetts, Nevada, Oregon, Vermont, and Washington state.

<sup>2</sup> Penal Law 221.10(01) makes it a crime to “possess marijuana in a public place, as defined in PL 240.00 and such marijuana is burning or open to public view.” In PL 240.00 public place is defined as “a place to which the public or a substantial group of persons has access, and includes, but is not limited to, highways, transportation facilities, schools, places of amusement, parks, playgrounds, and hallways, lobbies and other portions of apartment houses and hotels not constituting rooms or apartments designed for actual residence.” This crime is the lowest grade of crime in New York, a Class B misdemeanor.

later became Patrol Guide Section 209-38, officers, when encountering a person who has a small amount of marijuana in public view, now issue a criminal court summons for unlawful possession of marijuana (PL 221.05), unless otherwise prohibited. Officers also have an obligation to seize any contraband. Unless there is a legitimate law enforcement exception, individuals are not arrested.

It is important to note that the NYPD historical data do not distinguish between the two types of activities prohibited by PL 221.10(01) — “burning” and “open to public view”. In order to determine which behaviors lead to which arrests, the Department adopted a policy in 2017, requiring that arresting officers use a “drop-down” menu in the arrest-processing database. Each arrest under this Penal Law subsection must now be labeled “burning” if that is the reason for the arrest. In the six months since the adoption of this order, 89% of the PL 221.10(01) arrests are for “burning.” This distinction is important because it is typically burning marijuana in public or sale, and not mere possession in public view, that generates calls from the public for the police to take action.

### **Community Expectations**

An arrest for violation of PL 221.10(01) can come about primarily through one of two ways – either the behavior is first observed by a police officer, or the behavior is observed by a member of the public who complains, typically through a call to 911 or 311, and an officer responds to abate the condition. In either case, the officer first observes the behavior, and where appropriate, makes an arrest. Each year, the Department receives thousands of 911 and 311 calls from people complaining that individuals are smoking marijuana in parks, by schools, in lobbies of buildings,

in cars, or in other problematic places. In 2017, the NYPD received 51,869 calls regarding marijuana, up 26% from 41,172 in 2014. The Department also regularly receives similar complaints at Build the Block and Precinct Community Council meetings and when Neighborhood Coordination Officers (NCOs) meet with individuals in the communities they serve. The widespread use of cell phones has also made it easier to report. Frequently, people call the NCOs' Department-issued cell phones, as they are encouraged to do.

Public smoking of marijuana is a nationally recognized public nuisance. It is noteworthy that all states, even those states that have legalized marijuana, prohibit smoking marijuana in public. The question then is not whether to enforce a state law that reflects both a national and local consensus that smoking marijuana in public should not be tolerated, but rather how to enforce it. Ignoring the behavior altogether is not an option. Community members want the problem addressed, although they are not necessarily in agreement about how to do that.

### **Racial Disparities**

It is clear from the Department's data that those arrested for violations of PL 221.10(01) (possession and burning in public view) are drawn overwhelmingly from the city's African-American and Hispanic communities. In 2017, African-Americans and Hispanics comprised 86.9% of these arrests. This reality is a deep concern for the Department as we strive to enforce all laws equally. The Department recognizes that historical discrimination on the basis of race has had a profound impact on almost every American social institution to this day. This is the stark reality we must consider when determining the extent of our ability to eliminate disparities

in policing overall, and specifically concerning enforcement of the laws regarding public burning of marijuana.

Those who criticize NYPD marijuana enforcement practices as racially disproportionate often refer to the findings of the National Survey on Drug Use and Health (NSDUH) to the effect that African-Americans and whites use marijuana at roughly comparable rates. According to the National Survey on Drug Use and Health 2016 survey, 17.1 percent of blacks aged 18 and older, reported using marijuana in the past year, compared to 14.4 percent of whites.<sup>3</sup> There are variations by age group, but this finding has been relatively stable for years. The finding, however, is not relevant to the particular assignment given to the Working Group, which was asked to examine policies regarding smoking marijuana in public, not marijuana use in general. In consultation with academic experts, the Working Group could find no research documenting the racial composition of those who smoke marijuana in public. In other words, it is not currently possible to establish a valid “base rate” of offending with respect to public use of marijuana, and, therefore, it is difficult to determine the extent to which arrest practices result in racially disparate outcomes. Comparing arrest numbers to the general population misses this important distinction.

Nevertheless, the Department is committed to ensuring that its policies are implemented consistently, and where possible, that racial disparities are mitigated. Racial disparities have been noted throughout the criminal justice system, from arrest to prosecution and sentencing to incarceration rates, and have provoked much discussion among both academics and public

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<sup>3</sup> Center for Behavioral Health Statistics and Quality. (2017). 2016 National Survey on Drug Use and Health: Detailed Tables. Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration, Rockville, MD.

policymakers. The issue of racial disparities in rates of enforcement of criminal laws is particularly complex. Scholars and experts have noted the connection between poverty, residential segregation and unequal access to education and healthcare--and crime. Most of these societal forces are beyond the reach of the police to influence, but they still contribute to the realities of policing.

While there are many hypotheses for the differential arrest rates for people of color charged with public smoking of marijuana, the Department can only influence some of them. The NYPD can control its overall approach to enforcement, its training and its supervision. For example, the Department has adopted policies to create a more diverse and inclusive workforce and to be more responsive to the needs of communities. We regularly emphasize the importance of working collaboratively with the public to address community concerns. We continue to enhance our training for all levels of the Department, including most recently, launching training for all officers in “Fair and Impartial Policing.”

Other jurisdictions that have reduced their enforcement of marijuana offenses have seen racial disparities persist. For example, a report from the Colorado Department of Public Safety found that marijuana arrests decreased by 46% from 2012 to 2014. Yet, racial disparities in Colorado increased as arrests declined. In 2012, African-Americans were arrested at almost twice the rate of whites. In 2014, African-Americans were arrested at almost three times the rate of whites.<sup>4</sup> In Massachusetts, despite a dramatic drop in marijuana possession arrests of 96.5% from 2008 to 2016, the arrest rates for African-Americans were four times that of whites by the end of that

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<sup>4</sup> Colorado Department of Public Safety. (2016, March). Marijuana Legalization in Colorado: Early Findings. Retrieved from <http://cdpsdocs.state.co.us/ors/docs/reports/2016-SB13-283-Rpt.pdf>.



period.<sup>5</sup> These examples, and others,<sup>6</sup> show that changes in enforcement policy do not necessarily address the underlying systemic issues, both related and unrelated to the criminal justice system, that cause such disparities in the first place.

The debate over racial disparities in the criminal justice system is far broader than a debate over drug enforcement policies or even policing practices. The interplay of poverty, embedded racial segregation, differential access to public and private spaces, and changing neighborhood dynamics could well influence the behaviors leading to arrests for public smoking of marijuana. These factors must be scrutinized by external researchers with relevant expertise to determine their roles in disparate enforcement outcomes. Although the NYPD must ensure that its enforcement policies are fair, and perceived as fair, the responsibility for the racial disparities throughout society, which contribute to the racial disparities in enforcement of the criminal law, does not rest entirely with the NYPD.

### **Insights from the Consultative Process**

On May 23, 2018, the Working Group hosted an all-day session with participants representing different perspectives on public smoking of marijuana. The participants included the five District Attorneys, the Special Narcotics Prosecutor, public defenders, heads of several fraternal organizations in the NYPD, leading academics, representatives of community organizations, tenant associations, faith leaders, business improvement districts, national organizations and drug policy advocates. To gain additional insight, separate focus groups were convened with precinct

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<sup>5</sup> Adams, D. (2017, September 30). Marijuana arrests plunge in 2016, but racial disparity remains. The Boston Globe.

<sup>6</sup> Smart Approaches to Marijuana. (2018, March). Lessons Learned from Marijuana Legalization in Four U.S. States and D.C. Retrieved from <https://learnaboutsam.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/04/SAM-Lessons-Learned-From-Marijuana-Legalization-Digital.pdf>.

and Police Service Area (PSA) commanders, special operations lieutenants, neighborhood coordination officers, precinct community council presidents, and young adults, many of whom had been involved in the criminal justice system. The Working Group also met with all the Department's unions representing uniform personnel to solicit their ideas and recommendations.

This consultative process was augmented by interviews with national police organizations and the Speaker of the New York City Council, as well as research on policing practices in other jurisdictions and analysis of data describing enforcement patterns for public burning of marijuana. Although some of these discussions were far-ranging, all groups and individuals who met with members of the Working Group were asked for their advice on three questions:

- Given the Police Department's mission to promote both public safety and public order, what should be the Police Department's enforcement policy regarding public burning of marijuana?
- What is the relationship between public safety and public order and public burning of marijuana?
- Under the current law, what circumstances would justify a summons or an arrest for public burning of marijuana?

These three questions provided a structure and discipline for the discussions with internal and external participants. They also allowed the Working Group to remind everyone that the issues of legalization and decriminalization were beyond the scope of the Working Group's charge. Certain themes emerged from this process. Recognizing that not everyone interviewed would agree with all of the following statements, these areas of broad agreement came into focus:

**There was general agreement among participants that public smoking of marijuana is a public nuisance.** Within this broad agreement, there were interesting nuances. Some thought, for example, that a person walking down the street smoking marijuana should be treated more

leniently than a group of people congregating on a street corner, with many or all of them, smoking marijuana. Similarly, people smoking marijuana in shared environments such as building lobbies, stairwells, boardwalks, public transportation, and playgrounds or around schools, was thought to represent an unwarranted intrusion on public space. Some participants wanted more serious enforcement measures in areas where children congregate, or near houses of worship, or hospitals.

**There was strong agreement among participants that the ban on public smoking should be enforced for people engaged in dangerous activities** such as operating heavy machinery or working in jobs for which they are authorized to carry firearms. Similarly, public smoking by someone driving a vehicle was seen as a serious risk to others. The Working Group heard compelling statements that condoning public burning in all circumstances might convey the message that smoking marijuana is a healthy and socially acceptable behavior. There was a particular concern expressed by almost everyone that smoking marijuana around children might have serious social and health consequences.

**Many participants noted the jarring contrast between current public policy on cigarette smoking, which is now banned from public indoor and outdoor places, and advocacy for a permissive attitude toward marijuana smoking.** Where is the public health message, some asked, and the social disapproval underscoring the health dangers of marijuana? In addition, several participants observed that smoking marijuana today could pose more significant health risks than in the past, as it is often highly concentrated and frequently laced with substances that are more dangerous than marijuana itself.

**Almost everyone who spoke with the Working Group said that police officers should have a wider range of discretion in addressing public smoking and that police should not just ignore it.** There was a near consensus that, when residents call the police to report this crime, expecting that something will be done, officers observing the behavior should take action. Participants generally agreed that more serious enforcement is more appropriate in situations where the risk is higher (e.g., someone driving a vehicle) or the public nuisance is more pronounced (e.g., around children, or in hallways, lobbies, or closed subway cars and buses). Many participants advocated for the exercise of officer discretion in responding to these situations, allowing the officer to make judgments about when to arrest, when to summons, and when to warn and admonish.

**There were also those advocating arrests for certain categories of individuals.** Some participants recommended a policy requiring arrests for people on probation or parole, those with a recent criminal history, or those with repeated summonses for public smoking of marijuana.

**Many participants advocated for enforcement options short of arrest.** Several participants cited both the financial and psychological costs of criminal justice involvement. Noting that the Department now gives summonses for possession of marijuana in public view, some argued that smoking marijuana in public should also result in summonses. Some participants wanted civil summonses to be an option as well.

**Several participants noted a generational divide within their organizations or their communities.** According to these participants, older people are more likely to want higher levels of enforcement, while younger people tend to see smoking marijuana as more benign.

**There was general agreement that the research on public smoking is inadequate.** One of the questions posed to all individuals consulted by the Working Group was about the relationship between public safety and public order and public burning of marijuana. According to the academic experts consulted by the Working Group, there is little to no research documenting a connection between public burning and public safety or public order, nor is there data describing the incidence and prevalence of public burning. Yet the Working Group heard comments from many people, both inside and outside the Department, about the impact of public smoking on levels of fear, one's comfort in public spaces, and a general sense of order. Several people expressed health concerns about secondhand smoke. Given the importance of these concerns to the general vitality of the city's neighborhoods, it is critical to conduct new research to guide the development of public policy.

One academic presented data showing overall trends in the enforcement of all marijuana misdemeanors in New York City, without specific focus on public burning. That presentation highlighted significant differences in the demographic characteristics of those being arrested. For example, in 2017, males were arrested at a rate 8.1 times higher than females, and 18-20 year olds were arrested at a rate 9.9 times higher than 35-65 year olds. Blacks were arrested at a rate 7.8 times higher than whites, and Hispanics were arrested at a rate 4.9 times higher than whites. This analysis also highlighted an impressive downward trend: a 61% drop in arrests between

2010 and 2016. Equally impressive is the sharp reduction in the number of people of color arrested for this crime during the same period. In 2010, there were 43,315 African-American and Hispanic individuals arrested. In 2017, there were 14,552, a 66% decline.<sup>7</sup> Although racial disparities persist, according to these data, it is noteworthy that people of color have experienced the greatest reductions in enforcement activity.

**There was no consensus among the prosecutors.** The District Attorneys who had determined they would decline to prosecute some arrests for misdemeanor public burning discussed their decision-making processes. They also enumerated different factors they would consider in determining when to prosecute arrests for public burning, including the criminal histories of the offenders, the extent of the public nuisance created by the individual, and the location where the smoking took place. In contrast, those District Attorneys who will continue to prosecute these crimes without exceptions emphasized that the marijuana laws of our state were established through a democratic process, and that bills seeking to change the marijuana laws have been introduced in the legislature and rejected in each of the past three years.

**Several speakers noted the importance of developing a multi-faceted approach to public burning.** The participants proposed a number of creative strategies, including strong public health messages, community activism to dissuade the behavior, and peer pressure to encourage young people to respect their communities by not smoking marijuana in public.

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<sup>7</sup> Patten, M., Hood, Q., Low-Weiner, C., & Chauhan, P. (2018, May). *Trends in Marijuana Enforcement in New York City, 1980-2017*. Presentation to New York City Police Department. New York, New York. (This data comes from the New York State Division of Criminal Justice Services (DCJS) and reflects only arrests for misdemeanor marijuana offenses for PL 221.10(01).)

## **The Department Perspective**

In considering these perspectives and recommendations, the Working Group was guided by the core principles of the Neighborhood Policing philosophy: reducing crime, promoting safety and mutual respect, and engaging in collaborative problem-solving. A Neighborhood Policing approach means addressing the problem of public smoking of marijuana in the context of community norms and standards, the significance of the public places where marijuana smoking is occurring, and the individuals involved, whether those calling the police or those committing the crime. It also means engaging various assets of the neighborhood in addressing the public nuisance. And most fundamentally, it means promoting public safety and public order.

Another core principle of Neighborhood Policing is central to our final recommendations: the importance of officer discretion. Officers are expected to get to know the people who live and work in the communities they serve and protect. They are expected to engage in collaborative problem-solving to address public safety and public order issues in those communities. They are expected to carry out their responsibilities in ways that enhance public trust. They are expected to use their enforcement powers, including the power to arrest for violations of the law, in ways that promote respect for the law while employing the lightest enforcement option necessary to address a problem. An effective police officer knows when behavior crosses a line, knows when a summons is appropriate, and in what circumstances an arrest is appropriate.

Regarding the police response to public smoking of marijuana, officers should have a range of enforcement options so their response to this public nuisance can be carried out in ways consistent with Neighborhood Policing. Therefore, the Working Group recommends a policy that

respects officer discretion, with training and supervision that provides guidance on how best to exercise that discretion.

In making these recommendations, the NYPD believes there should be one citywide policy. The Department once again urges the five District Attorney Offices to reach a consensus about prosecution policies across the city. Whether someone is criminally prosecuted should not depend on the borough in which the crime occurs.

### **Proposed Policy Guidance**

The Working Group recommends that the Department adopt a policy regarding public smoking of marijuana that allows officers to issue a criminal summons as an alternative to arrest except in a limited number of circumstances. Those circumstances include when the suspect has no identification, has open warrants, is on probation or parole, or has a recent history of violence. These exceptions track Department policy in other contexts. Arrests might also be appropriate when someone is smoking marijuana on a bus or in the subway. Exceptions should also be made in cases of public safety risks associated with marijuana use, and would be appropriate when someone is driving, operating a dangerous machine, or engaged in an activity for which the person is licensed to carry a gun. Finally, the Department policy should also specifically recognize the discretion of the responding officer to make an arrest to promote public safety.

A new Operations Order reflecting these recommendations should be implemented with appropriate training of NYPD personnel. The new policy should also be reinforced by a public awareness campaign reminding city residents that public smoking of marijuana remains a crime



and that engaging in this activity will subject them to summons or arrest. To make the recommendations contained in this report successful, many other government agencies must be involved in raising public awareness about the consequences of smoking marijuana in public.

The Working Group is also aware of significant differences in enforcement patterns for this offense across precincts. Particularly noteworthy are the high levels of arrest activity in public housing developments. In the future, if unusually high arrest rates occur, the Department should conduct additional analysis to ensure that the enforcement levels are appropriate. Monitoring arrest trends is an important aspect of these recommendations.

We anticipate that if these recommendations are implemented, they will lead to another substantial reduction in arrests for marijuana offenses in New York City. Yet, it is significant that, as arrests for marijuana have gone down over the past few years, complaints from the public have gone up. This is a troubling trend. No other city agency has the obligation to respond to complaints of criminal behavior. Therefore, the Department should monitor the overall impact of the new policy on enforcement trends, while remaining vigilant about community concerns about public smoking of marijuana. Leadership at all levels should be encouraged to report and respond to any instances where the new policy has either a positive or a negative impact on public order or public safety.

## **Appendix A**

### **Members of the Marijuana Working Group**

#### **Co-chairs:**

Rodney Harrison, Chief of Patrol

Susan Herman, Deputy Commissioner, Collaborative Policing

Edward Delatorre, Chief of Transportation

John Donohue, Chief of Strategic Initiatives

Tracie Keesee, Deputy Commissioner, Equity and Inclusion

Tanya Meisenholder, Assistant Commissioner, Strategic Initiatives

Lori Pollock, Chief of Crime Control Strategies

Jeffrey Schlanger, Counsel to the Police Commissioner

James Secreto, Chief of Housing

Dermot Shea, Chief of Detectives

Raymond Spinella, Chief of Staff to the Police Commissioner

Kerry Sweet, Deputy Chief, Commanding Officer, Legal Bureau

Thomas Taffe, Inspector, Police Commissioner's Office

Frank Vega, Deputy Chief, Executive Officer, Office of the Chief of Department

## **Appendix B**

### **Individuals & Organizations Consulted During the Marijuana Working Group:**

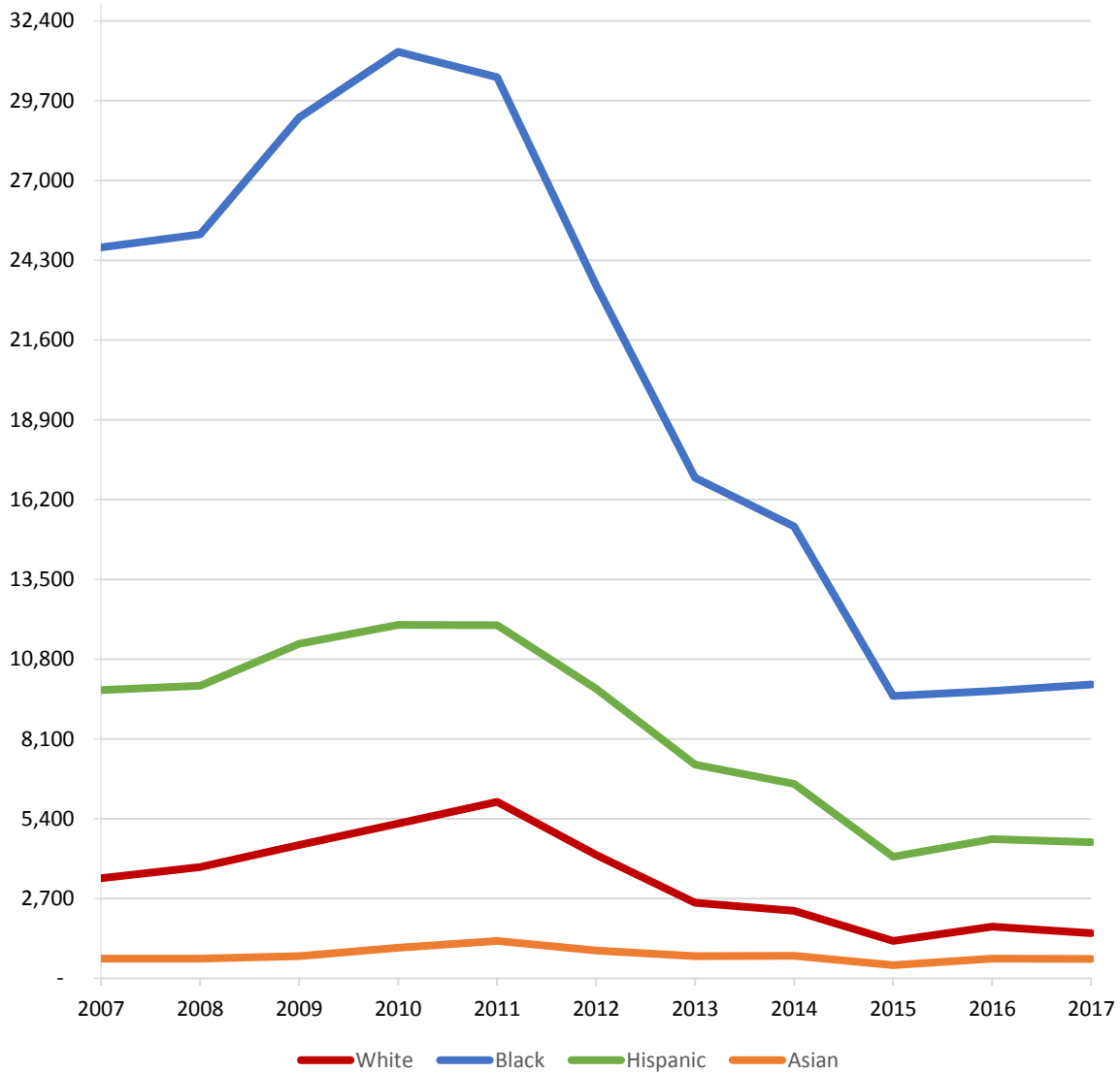
- Cyrus Vance, Jr., Manhattan DA
- Eric Gonzalez, Brooklyn DA
- Darcel Clark, Bronx DA
- Michael McMahon, Staten Island DA
- Jack Ryan, Queens DA's Office
- Justine Luongo, Legal Aid
- Justine Olderman, Bronx Defenders
- Jeffrey Fagan, Columbia University
- Preeti Chauhan, John Jay College of Criminal Justice
- Bridget Brennan, Office of the Special Narcotics Prosecutor
- Raysa Galvez, NY Dominican Officers Association
- Angel Ramos, Latino Officers Association
- Felicia Richards, Guardians Association
- Jenimarie Garcia Cruz, Hispanic Society
- Gregory Thomas, National NOBLE
- Derek Powers, NOBLE New York
- Marvin Holland, NAACP
- Rev. Divine Pryor, Center for NuLeadership on Urban Solutions
- Rev. Patricia Riley, Greater Springfield Community Church
- Halvard Brown, PSA 1 Community Council
- Frances Brown, Red Hook East Tenants Association
- Kassandra Frederique, Drug Policy Alliance
- David Holland, NORML
- Kevin Sabet, Smart Approaches to Marijuana
- Daniel Murphy, Pitkin Avenue BID
- Jennifer Falk, Union Square Partnership
- Tim Tompkins, Times Square Alliance
- NYPD Unions (PBA, SBA, LBA, CEA, DEA)
- Corey Johnson, Speaker, New York City Council

### **Focus groups were held with:**

- Young adults from Good Shepherd Services and BronxConnect
- Special Operations Lieutenants
- Neighborhood Coordination Officers
- Precinct Community Council Presidents
- Precinct & PSA Commanding Officers

## Appendix C

PL 221.10.01 Only: Total Arrests by Race/Ethnicity, 2007-2017



Data Source: NYPD

PL 221.10.01 Only: Total Arrests by Arrestee Race											
	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017
White	3,391	3,767	4,512	5,236	5,978	4,181	2,562	2,288	1,270	1,756	1,528
Black	24,743	25,179	29,133	31,354	30,491	23,446	16,941	15,294	9,553	9,721	9,947
Hispanic	9,753	9,900	11,320	11,961	11,952	9,799	7,232	6,580	4,112	4,715	4,605
Asian	667	669	749	1,041	1,264	947	757	764	450	667	661