

# Test of Quarto VS Code

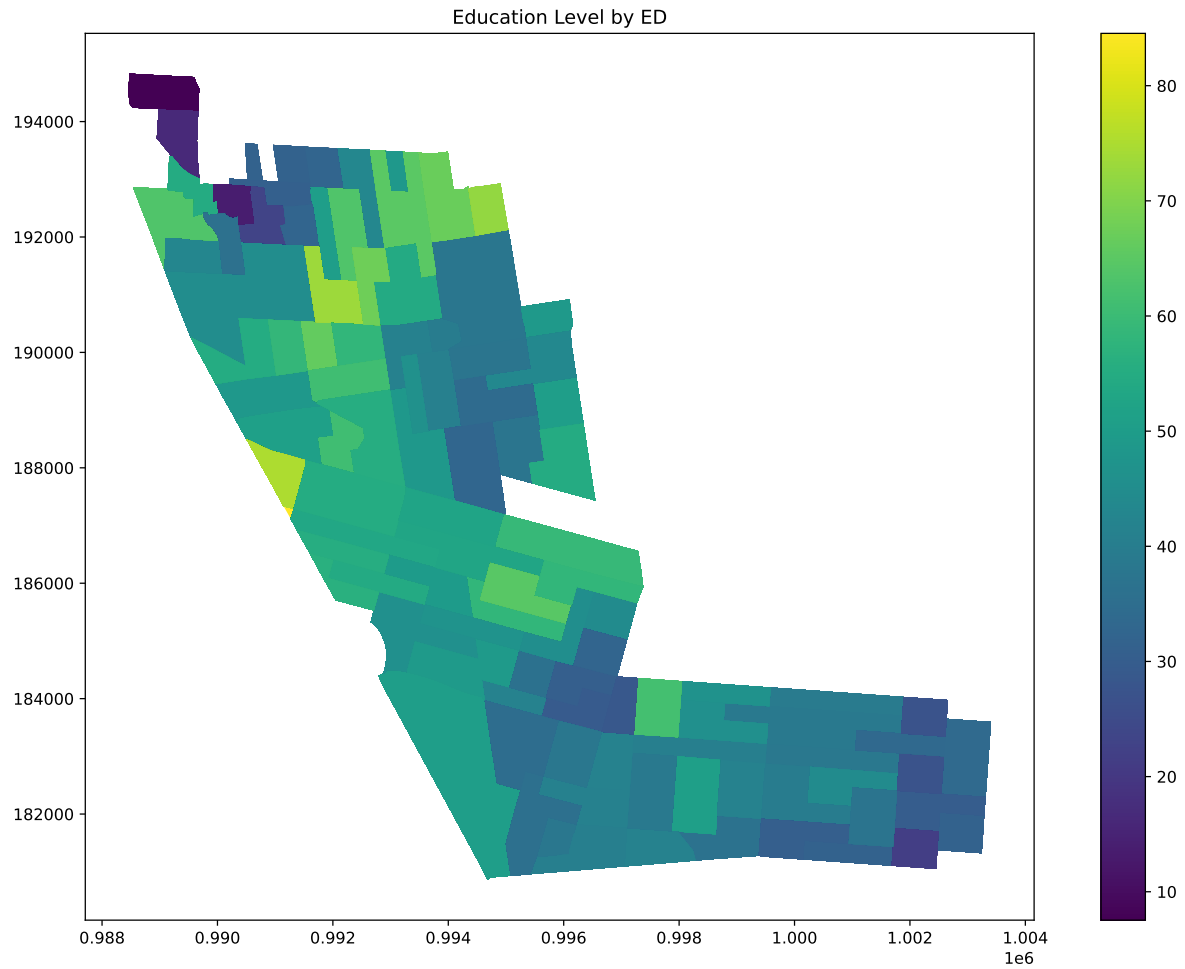
The 2021 Democratic primary in Brooklyn's 35th City Council district offered an excellent view of a rivalry central to NYC progressive politics. Crystal Hudson, aid to the former city council woman, squared off against Michael Hollingsworth, DSA-endorsed socialist, in a contest that tested the appeal of two of the cities left factions in one of its more diverse districts. Because of the perceived ideological division between the candidates and the diversity of the district, it promised an especially salient view of how different brands of progressive politics appeal to different demographics. Additionally, the district's large Hasidic population offered a chance to analyze how progressive candidates deal with powerful, conservative voting blocs within their districts. This chapter will examine the demographics of the district, look at the election results, compare this election with similar assembly election in many of the same EDs, and conclude with some lessons that these races offer for progressive politics in the city.

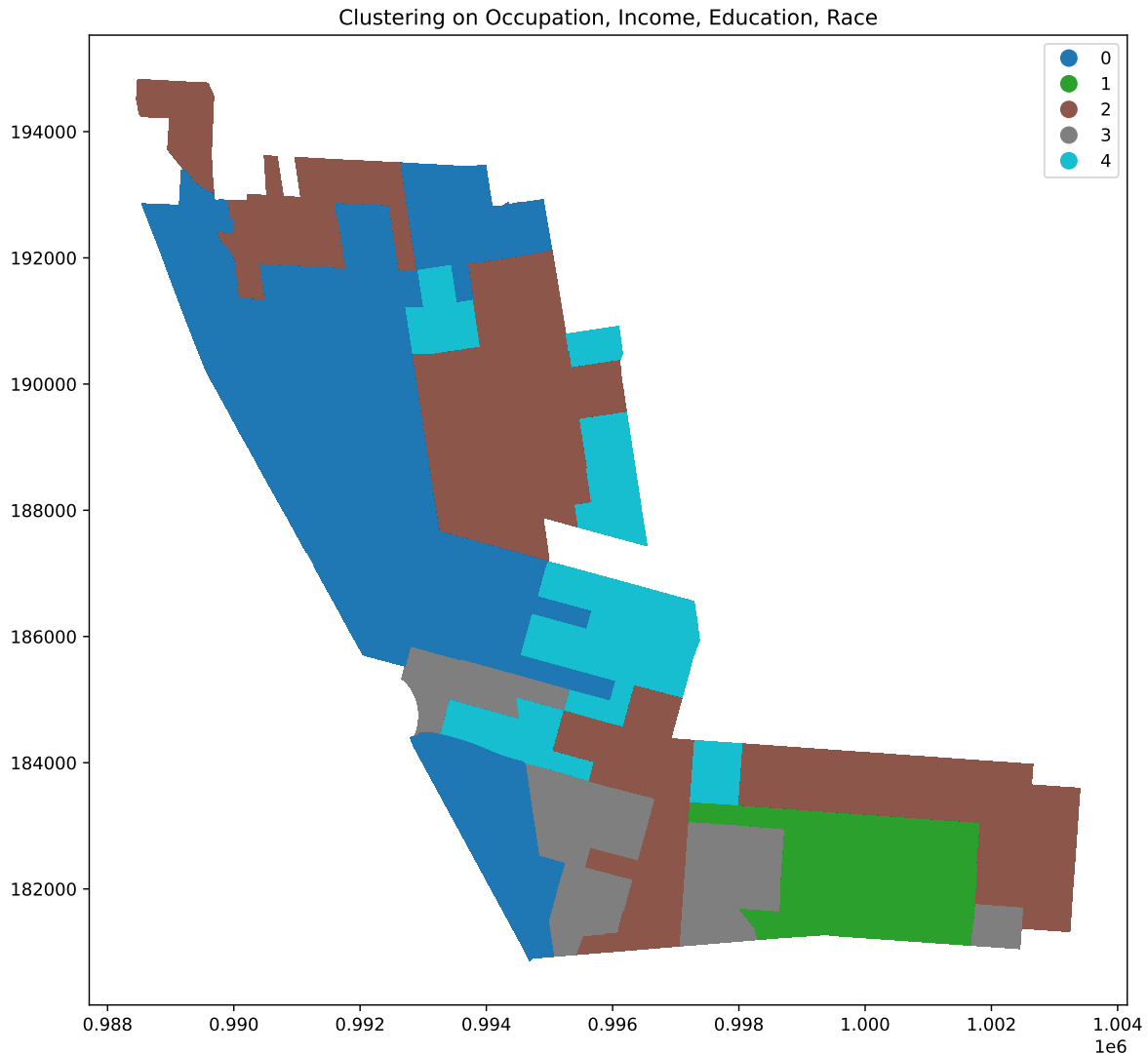
## The District

District 35 lies in Central Brooklyn, running down Flatbush Avenue through Prospect Heights and then East through Crown Heights with Empire Boulevard as its southern border. The district falls in the top quintile of NYC Council districts in rate of higher education and in the second highest in both White and Black share of the population. Much of the Black population is of West Indian origin, it is in the top quintile West Indian born residents. It is also in the top quintile of white population born outside of New York State, and many of its neighborhoods, fairly or not, have the reputation of being rapidly gentrifying. It has a sizeable Hasidic population, the Chabad-Lubavitch, though this population is partially split with the 40th Council District. It has low Asian and Hispanic populations, and is in the middle of the road in terms of income, though this masks much diversity. The high rates of education and middle-income district wide numbers can be deceiving, with certain election districts (EDs) in the 35th among the poorest and least educated in the city. In the demographic clustering used in chapter two it was in cluster three, with districts such as Lincoln Restler's and Shahana Hanif's, that mix high-income, mainly white sections, with more racially diverse and mid- and lower-income sections. The district is heavily Democratic. The congressional district in which it sits, the New York 9th, is D+32 on the Cook Political Index. Joe Biden won the 35th by

an 85% margin (though there was significant Trump support in the Hassidic section of the neighborhood).

Figure 1 below is a map of education level by election district in the council district. Of note are the generally higher levels of education north of Grand Army Plaza in the Prospect Heights area, with the exception of the top hook of the district which includes a NYCHA campus. Income is similarly much higher in the section of the neighborhood.





## The Candidates

The two front runners in the 2021 Council race were Crystal Hudson and Michael Hollingsworth. Hudson had previously worked for the outgoing member Laurie Cuombo, and therefore had connections the county party and city Democratic establishment, whereas Hollingsworth, a graphic designer and organizer, proudly ran on his lack of such connections. Despite these differences, both candidate vied for a DSA endorsement, signaling an extensive ideological overlap. Indeed, in analyzing their interviews, tweets, and campaign material, it is difficult to find significant daylight between the two on firm policy issues. Indeed, much media commentary noted two seemingly contradictory aspects of the race, that 1: it set up a contest

between two rival sections of the city’s progressive left, but that 2: the two candidates seemed to agree on most substantive policy issues (Salazar 2021; Hamm 2021; Barkan 2021; Holliday Smith 2021). Both agreed that portions of the NYPD’s budget should be reallocated to other uses, both thought the city’s rezoning process needed to be retooled to build more affordable housing, especially in wealthy neighborhoods, both were pro union and pro public school. One commentator suggested that there was some daylight between the candidates on real estate, with Hollingsworth suggesting a complete moratorium on upzonings, while Hudson argued that upzonings should continue, but in wealthier neighborhoods and with more affordable housing. Case in point, she supports the SoHo/NoHo rezoning while Hollingsworth does not (Oder 2021). Similarly, Hollingsworth has suggested he would continue to support the practice of local member deference, while Hudson would not (Oder 2021). Though this gap on real estate and development is not enormous, it may explain, in part, some of the union PAC support for Hudson as well as the Stephen Ross mailers mentioned below.

Because of the symmetry in ideology and the asymmetry in endorsements, the 35th helps illuminate some particularly interesting dynamic in NYC progressive politics. How are DSA endorsements earned and how much power do they wield, especially against Brooklyn big hitters like Hakeem Jeffries? During her term in office Laurie Cuombo, while taking heat for her relationship with real estate developers, referred to the DSA as being the political wing of white gentrification. Does that analysis hold out in the 35th? What groups do these endorsements appeal to? Who might they discourage? At the root of these questions are larger ones about political branding as well as about how national politics map onto local politics.

Table 1 shows the flow of votes in the first two rounds of voting, ranked by number of ballots. The top two options were overwhelmingly one of the top two followed by the other. Nonetheless there are many ballots who chose Hudson and then someone else second, and fewer though still a substantial amount that chose Hollingsworth and not Hudson.

	district_35_choice_1	district_35_choice_2	count
34	Michael Hollingsworth	Crystal Hudson	5900
0	Crystal Hudson	Michael Hollingsworth	5068
1	Crystal Hudson	Hector Robertson	1842
2	Crystal Hudson	Renee T. Collymore	1772
35	Michael Hollingsworth	Renee T. Collymore	1184
52	Renee T. Collymore	Crystal Hudson	1038
53	Renee T. Collymore	Michael Hollingsworth	832
3	Crystal Hudson	Curtis M. Harris	574
4	Crystal Hudson	Deirdre M. Levy	516
36	Michael Hollingsworth	Curtis M. Harris	493

Figure 1 shows how these voting flows break geographically. The largest section of Hudson voters who did not list Hollingsworth next live in the primarily Hasidic part of the neighborhood. Hollingsworth had tremendous trouble with the community, which is discussed below.

Communities that voted Hudson and then Holingswroth are clustered in the wealthier area along Flatbush avenue.

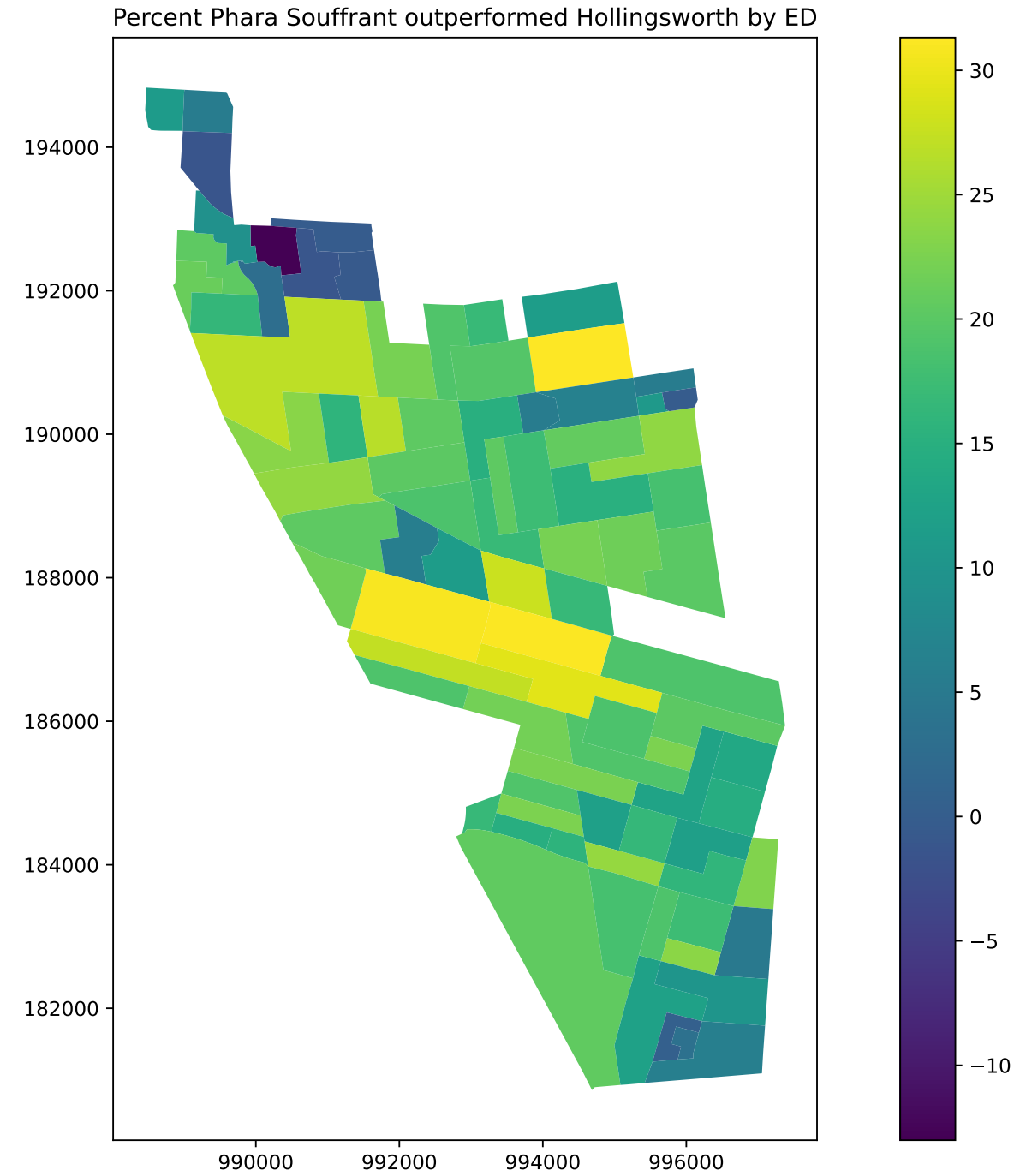


When compared with the overall first round results it becomes clear Hudson's strongest area of the district were the Hasidic neighborhoods, which is striking. In addition to Hudson's already mentioned progressive policy position, she is also a lesbian, and campaigned on the necessity of having more Black queer representation in the City Council. That one of the city's most conservative religious blocs would concentrate in such heavy numbers for her is, at least at first glance, surprising. A dive into the Hassidic press helps to clarify this seeming contradiction. In multiple articles across multiple publications, Michael Hollingsworth is described as fiercely antisemitic, primarily because of his stance on the state of Israel. One ColLive article begins "Socialist representation of Crown Heights? A BDS supporter as your City Council member?"

Jewish concerns shelved? Yep. And all you have to do is ignore the coming June 22 election” (**Behrman?** and Klein, 2021). Many articles feature pro-Palestinian tweets either he or the DSA made as evidence of his antisemitism. One features a cartoon video of Hollingsworth standing in front of a burning Israeli flag (Anash June10, 2021). Much more is made of his stance towards Israel than of his position on local issues, such as monitoring of educational standards at Yeshivas (though one flyer does implore the voter to “protect our Yeshivas” by voting Hudson). Hudson is not generally described in positive terms in these articles, except to say that she is not affiliated with BDS or DSA and that she has a dialogue with the community. The principle selling point for her was that she was the only candidate capable of beating Hollingsworth. “Internal polls show that no other candidates have a chance at victory” one article reads, after smearing Hollingsworth, “this race is between Crystal and Michael only” (Behrman and Klein, 2021). According to self-reported numbers, the Hassidic community turned out at 7 times its normal rate in the June primary, producing 4,000 votes, or almost twice Crystal Hudson’s margin of victory (**Anash?**).

## **The DSA Factor**

A year before the Council primary in the 35th Phara Soufrant Forest, a DSA endorsed candidate won the primary and general election in the 57th Assembly District. This district covers the majority of the 35th Council District but ends along Franklin Boulevard, meaning that it excludes the Hasidic parts of the neighborhood. This overlap allows allows us to zoom in specifically on the question of how left-wing candidates form coalitions in the district, excluding the tricky question of the Hasidic community. It also allows us to crudely control for the DSA effect on the vote, seeing what broke differently for Hudson and Hollingsworth than Forrest and opponent Walter T. Mosely.



Regression:

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