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Introduction

Last month, this Office released <u>Protecting New York City</u>, a report that offered a broad assessment of the potential threats posed by the incoming Trump administration. Here, we offer a deeper dive into the many ways that federally-funded programs serve New Yorkers, and the risks this funding could face.

We begin with an overview of federal funding for New York City's municipal budget. Programs and initiatives paid for by federal aid reduce the need for City revenue from local taxes or miscellaneous revenue. As a consequence, any reductions in federal aid would immediately require the City to reduce services or find alternate funding. But the majority of federal funding falls outside of the City's budget, so we extend our review from the City's operating and capital budgets to funding for institutions including the NYC Housing Authority (NYCHA), the Metropolitan Transportation Authority (MTA), the City University of New York (CUNY), and NYC Health + Hospitals (HHC), to federal benefits for individual New Yorkers including Social Security and cash assistance, the Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (SNAP), and healthcare coverage.

Over \$100 billion flows to NYC through these different entities and programs. It is important to note that the amount of transfers should be evaluated in relationship to the amount of federal taxes paid by New Yorkers. With the exception of federal FYs 2020-2022 which were affected by pandemic-related fiscal interventions, this "balance of payments" is usually negative: taxes exceed transfers.¹

This month's Spotlight presents the important ways federal funding supports NYC residents through different service domains, and highlights risks under the incoming Trump administration. How do these different funding mechanisms come together to provide the critical services and supports on which residents rely every day, such as income and food security, housing assistance and homeless services, education from early childhood to college – and how might these services be impacted by a second Trump presidency?

Federal Funding Overview

Federal spending, which totaled \$6.1 trillion in Federal FY 2023, falls into three spending categories: mandatory, discretionary, and interest on the federal debt. Mandatory spending is set by law, is generally multiyear, and makes up 62.3% of all federal spending. Discretionary spending is appropriated annually by Congress and makes up 27.9% of federal spending. Interest on the federal debt makes up the remaining 11.5%.²

Mandatory spending includes entitlements and other programs legislated by law. Typically, this funding continues unless Congress amends an existing law, which requires passing new legislation. Social Security, healthcare programs such as Medicare, Medicaid, and the Affordable Care Act, Title IV-E Adoption and Foster Care Programs, and Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF) are all ongoing mandatory programs. Some mandatory spending is set by multi-year legislation which will expire, such as the Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (SNAP) and School Nutrition Programs which are covered by the Farm Bill, which expired in September 2024 and is now up for renewal. Entitlement and social insurance programs, like Social Security, Medicaid, and SNAP, expand with need – individuals who meet the eligibility criteria are legally entitled to receive benefits.

Federal discretionary spending in NYC includes special education funding, Title I for high-poverty schools, the Housing Choice Voucher program (also known as Section 8), the Child Care and Development Block Grant (CCDBG), the Special Supplemental Nutrition Program for Women, Infants and Children (WIC), and the Community Development Block Grant (CDBG).

Block grants, such as TANF and others identified above, are allocated to States or localities based on legislative formulas. While block grants typically provide more flexibility for use within a general programmatic area, they can be implemented in order to replace open-ended entitlement programs and limit ongoing growth. Categorical grants, such as Title 1, Head Start, or Title IV-E foster care funding, can be awarded through a formula and/or a competitive application process, and are usually designated for specific purposes. Block grants and categorical grants may be either mandatory or discretionary.

Federal Funding and the City Budget

The City's Operating Budget

The City's latest FY 2025 November budget includes \$9.6 billion in federal revenue, 8.3% of the City's entire budget of \$115 billion – an increase of \$1.6 billion over the June Adopted budget amount of \$7.9 billion. The November Plan added \$460 million in COVID-19 aid, \$321 million for child care vouchers and \$257 million in TANF to partially fund growth in cash assistance. Excluding funding tied to emergencies (primarily for the COVID-19 pandemic) the FY 2025 Modified Budget includes \$8 billion in federal revenue, broken out by agency in Table 1 below. Federal emergency funding for the City is covered in a separate sub-section below.

Table 1. Federal Funding by City Agency (\$ in millions)

| Agency | Department's Share of Total Non-Emergency Federal Revenue | FY 2025 Non- Emergency Federal Revenue | Total Agency Expenses Across Funding Sources | Fed Non- Emergency Revenue % of Agency's Total Expense |
|--|--|--|--|--|
| Department of Education | 25% | \$1,965 | \$33,020 | 6% |
| Department of Social Services | 23% | \$1,881 | \$12,933 | 15% |
| Admin. for Children's Services | 20% | \$1,578 | \$3,185 | 50% |
| Housing Preservation & Development | 8% | \$673 | \$2,234 | 30% |
| Dept. of Homeless Services | 8% | \$625 | \$3,695 | 17% |
| Dept. of Health & Mental Hygiene | 5% | \$378 | \$2,550 | 15% |
| Mayoralty | 3% | \$275 | \$180 | See Note |
| NY Police Department | 2% | \$172 | \$6,155 | 3% |

| Agency | Department's Share of Total Non-Emergency Federal Revenue | FY 2025 Non- Emergency Federal Revenue | Total Agency Expenses Across Funding Sources | Fed Non- Emergency Revenue % of Agency's Total Expense |
|----------------------------|--|--|--|--|
| All Other City Agencies | 6% | \$471 | \$53,044 | 1% |
| Total | 100% | \$8,019 | \$116,996 | 7% |

Source: NYC Office of Management and Budget; NYC Office of the Comptroller

Note: Federal revenue allocated to the Mayoralty is primarily Community Development Block Grant (CDBG), \$263 million, and funds expenditures at other city agencies including HPD and DYCD. Total includes intra-city revenues.

Over 80% of federal funding flows to just 5 agencies. The Department of Education (DOE) receives the largest amount of federal non-emergency funding of any City agency, with \$1.97 billion. Social service agencies: the Department of Social Services (DSS), the Administration for Children's Services (ACS) and the Department of Homeless Services (DHS), receive just over half of the City's non-emergency federal funding. The Department of Housing Preservation and Development (HPD)'s budget reflects \$673 million, which does not include its CDBG funding that is allocated to the Mayor's Office.

Non-emergency federal aid revenue as a proportion of overall agency spending varies. While DOE's federal revenue budget is the largest in magnitude, only 6% of its expenditures are federally funded. ACS's budget is 50% federally funded. Smaller agencies, not specified in Table 1 because their relative share of federal funding is small, can still have large proportions of their individual budgets be federally funded. For example, the Department of Emergency Management's (NYCEM) budget is 24% federally funded and the Department of Small Business Services (SBS) and the Department for the Aging (DFTA) are each 16% federally funded.

Programmatically, the largest federal revenue amounts come from TANF block grant programs, with over \$2 billion in funding spread across multiple agencies. Other large programs include the Title I Grant Program for Local Educational Agencies (\$679 million) and the Child Care and Development Fund (\$834 million).

As mentioned earlier, federal programs are either mandatory or discretionary and can be either categorical or block grants. Table 2 shows the share of the City's non-emergency federal funding in each of these categories.

Table 2. FY 2025 Non-Emergency Federal Revenue by Grantand Spend Type (\$ in millions)

| Grant Type | Mandatory Spending | Discretionary Spending | Mixed Spending* | FY 2025 Total Revenue |
|--------------------------|-----------------------|---------------------------|--------------------|--------------------------|
| Categorical Grants | \$1,620 | \$2,589 | \$0 | \$4,209 |
| Block Grants | \$2,013 | \$962 | \$834 | \$3,809 |
| FY 2025 Total Revenue | \$3,633 | \$3,551 | \$834 | \$8,019 |

Source: NYC Office of Management and Budget; NYC Office of the Comptroller

*The Child Care and Development Fund combines several different federal sources that are both discretionary and mandatory.

Emergency Funding

While emergency funding does not currently make up a large share of the FY 2025 budget, federal aid can play a critical role in the City's budget during times of crisis. For example, as a response to Hurricane Sandy, the federal government has provided \$5.6 billion of operating revenue from FY 2013 to FY 2025 for disaster recovery and continued remediation.

Most recently, federal aid to New York City in response to the COVID-19 pandemic has totaled \$26.5 billion through FY 2025.³

The federal government provided funding for the City's emergency response through the Federal Emergency Management Agency's (FEMA's) Public Assistance program, the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention's Epidemiology and Laboratory Capacity grants, and the American Rescue Plan to support testing and contact tracing efforts, isolation hotels, vaccination, and increases in hospital capacity and staffing.

Funding was also used to maintain public services, replacing other City revenues that saw declines during the pandemic. Additional COVID-19 stimulus relief was concentrated in education spending, providing support for Summer Rising and other academic supports, school nurses, special education, and expanded universal 3K programs. See the Comptroller Office's <u>Stimulus</u> <u>Tracker</u> for more information.

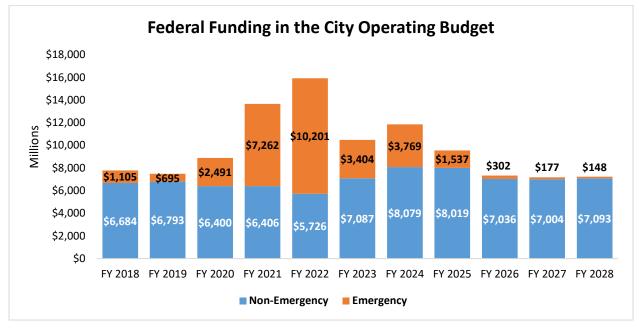


Chart 1. Federal Funding in the City Operating Budget (Emergency/Non-emergency)

Source: NYC Office of Management and Budget; NYC Office of the Comptroller

Federal aid is returning to non-emergency levels as pandemic-era funding is largely winding down. Over \$1 billion of COVID-19 funding remains in the FY 2025 budget: American Rescue Plan (ARP) emergency funding that the City utilizes primarily for emergency rental assistance, a portion of the HOME housing supply investment program, and waste disposal; as well as funding for enhanced laboratory capacity, immunizations, and data modernization. Of the \$471 million in non-COVID-19 emergency funding in FY 2025, the largest components are interest subsidies from Build America bonds issued during the Great Recession, disaster recovery funding after Hurricane Ida, asylum seeker support, and remaining funds in response to Hurricane Sandy. The outyears of the City's Financial Plan include the remnants of funding for these emergencies (COVID-19, Hurricane Ida, Hurricane Sandy, and the Great Recession), as well as \$58.5 million in asylum seeker support in City FY 2026 only.

Although not currently a large share of the City's financial plan in the coming years, were the City to experience another unforeseen disaster, any potential risk to federal emergency funding cannot be understated. The President declares an emergency or major disaster when he determines that federal assistance is necessary. FEMA Public Assistance is then generally provided with a 75% federal share and 25% non-federal share, but the federal share can be increased with Presidential authorization.⁴ For example, President Obama increased the federal share to 100% for FEMA-eligible expenses in response to the COVID-19 pandemic. The Administration also determines the allocation of disaster mitigation awards. Over the next four years, President Trump will have the sole discretion to both declare a federal emergency and determine the level of federal support. Recent reporting suggests that in his first term, Trump "was flagrantly partisan

at times in response to disasters and on at least three occasions hesitated to give disaster aid to areas he considered politically hostile or ordered special treatment for pro-Trump states."⁵

Capital Funding

Beyond its year-to-year operating budget, the City also receives federal funding to undertake longer-term capital infrastructure projects. In the September 2024 Capital Commitment Plan (FY 2025 to FY 2028), the City includes \$2.56 billion in federal funding, with \$941 million anticipated in FY 2025 alone. The highest level of capital support is for Department of Transportation (DOT) projects at \$728 million total through FY 2028 and \$290 million for the Department of Parks and Recreation (DPR), also through FY 2028.

The City's capital commitment plan also includes federal funding for related entities that otherwise generally operate outside of the City's municipal budget: funding for NYC Economic Development Corporation (NYCEDC) projects totals \$258 million from FY 2025 to FY 2028ⁱ and funding for NYC Health + Hospitals (HHC) totals \$492 million over the same period.

Federal aid plays a particularly important role in mitigation and resiliency projects to prevent future large-scale disasters – often the result of natural weather-related hazards. The majority of the \$2.56 billion of federal funding in the City's Capital Commitment Plan – \$1.43 billion – is for resiliency projects in the wake of Hurricane Sandy.

Also important are large infrastructure enhancements that benefit both New York City and its region. Mayor Adams' administration recently announced that it has secured over \$2.4 billion in federal funding since the start of its tenure from two initiatives passed under the Biden presidency: the Infrastructure Investment and Jobs Act (IIJA) passed in 2021, and the Inflation Reduction Act (IRA) passed in 2022.⁶

ⁱ NYCEDC is a public benefit corporation that leverages City government funds and a mix of other resources to promote economic development within New York City, often through large scale capital initiatives and business development. With operations partially funded through the City Department of Small Business Service's budget, NYCEDC also receives federal funding for capital initiatives through the City's budget.

Federal Funding Beyond the City's Budget

Funding for the City's operational and capital needs represents only a portion of the overall federal support for New York City. Significant federal funding also flows to other public entities, to non-profit organizations and healthcare providers, and to individual New Yorkers.

As shown in Table 3, the federal government provides an additional \$5.5 billion of critical funding to certain other public entities: the NYC Housing Authority (NYCHA), the City University of New York (CUNY), and NYC Health + Hospitals (HHC). Two other major public authorities, the Metropolitan Transportation Authority (MTA) and the Port Authority of New York and New Jersey (PANYNJ) receive federal capital infrastructure funding, not included in Table 3 (but discussed in the Infrastructure section).

Many New Yorkers also receive federal benefits which in aggregate total nearly \$33 billion, including Social Security and Supplemental Security Income, and the Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (SNAP). Federal support of healthcare coverage totals approximately \$54 billion through Medicare, Medicaid, and the Affordable Care Act.

| Recipients | Amount |
|---|----------|
| Public Authorities and Entities | \$5,515 |
| City University of NY (including CUNY Research Foundation) ^{7,8} | \$1,061 |
| NYC Health + Hospitals ⁹ | \$755 |
| NYC Housing Authority ¹⁰ | \$3,699 |
| Income and Benefits to Individuals | \$32,671 |
| Social Security ^{11,12} | \$25,200 |
| Supplemental Security Income ¹³ | \$2,742 |
| SNAP ^{14,15} | \$4,579 |
| <i>WIC</i> ^{16,17} | \$149 |
| Health Coverage | \$53,818 |
| Medicare ^{18,19} | \$22,018 |

Table 3. Annualized Federal Operating Funding to NYC (\$ in millions)

| Recipients | Amount |
|---|-----------|
| Medicaid and Essential Plan ²⁰ | \$31,800 |
| Total (exc. NYC Municipal Operating Budget) | \$92,003 |
| NYC Municipal Operating Budget | \$9,556 |
| Total NYC | \$101,559 |

Sources: See end notes listed in table; NYC Office of the Comptroller estimates

Note: Federal funding received by the MTA and PANYNJ is not included because it is generally for multi-year capital infrastructure initiatives and not annual operating support. Similarly, only NYCHA operating and Section 8 subsidies are included. HHC funding represents the federal share of its Supplemental Medicaid payments and does not include Medicaid or Medicaid third party revenue which is included as part of healthcare coverage funding. Supplemental Medicaid funding to private hospitals is not included above. VA hospital funding not included beyond Medicare and Medicaid reimbursement.

The federal government also awards grants and contracts directly to non-profits and other entities including universities and private firms. The National Endowment for the Arts provides grant support to arts and cultural organizations (approximately \$100 million for NYS). The U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) provides Continuum of Care grants to non-profits for supportive housing and other programs to end homelessness. Other types of federally funded activities include Head Start (some Head Start programs are contracted by the NYC DOE, others directly to providers), mental health services, medical and other research, operating support for the VA health system, and refugee resettlement among many others. This report includes information on only a small share of these direct awards.

Many federal agencies also maintain a presence in NYC. Over 46,000 federal employees worked in the city as of September 2024 – their total wages in 2023 amounted to \$4.7 billion.

Federal Funding and Risks to NYC by Service Domain

The following sections cover federal aid across specific service domains including income, social services, and food security; housing and homelessness; education; infrastructure; and healthcare – funded through the municipal budget, non-City entities, and direct services and aid to individual New Yorkers. The Trump administration will have different levers to potentially impact these areas, depending on the type of funding involved.

- Mandatory funding is the hardest to change because it requires Congress to develop and approve new legislation to replace current law. Legislation that will be up for renewal over the next four years will be most at risk, such as the Farm Bill.
- Congress appropriates discretionary funding each year. During the first Trump administration, the Republican Congress did not approve President Trump's draconian budget proposals. It remains to be seen whether the incoming House and Senate will be more compliant and reduce funding through their appropriations process.
- Trump has threatened to impound essentially not utilize appropriated funds. Congress
 passed the Impoundment Control Act of 1974 (ICA) to limit such unilateral executive
 decisions that encroach on its spending powers. Any efforts to impound in the coming
 term will likely be settled by the courts.
- The President can issue Executive Orders with operational guidance that cannot be challenged by Congress but *can* be legally challenged. Many of the first Trump administration's executive orders were legally challenged and overturned, but others went into effect, were reversed by the Biden administration, and will likely be quickly put back in place, such as rescinding civil service protections and barring federally-funded family planning providers from referring patients for abortion services.

In total, over \$100 billion flows annually to NYC – to the City operating budget (\$9.6 billion in FY 2025), capital budget (\$2.6 billion), affiliated municipal entities (\$5.5 billion), to provide income support and other benefits to individuals and families (\$32.7 billion), essential healthcare services (\$53.8 billion), and programs run by other organizations. The following section identifies some of this important work and highlights critical ways that it may be impacted by the incoming administration.

Income, Social Services, and Food Security

Federal programs play a critical role in supporting the city's safety net by providing income and cash assistance, social services, and food security benefits.

Income Support

The federal government provides income and cash assistance directly to individuals through Social Security and Supplemental Security Income spending programs, and the Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF) block grant through the City's Department of Social Services.

The most recent data released by the Social Security Administration indicate 1.3 million individuals (including 1 million over 65 years old and 140,260 disabled workers) in New York City are receiving Social Security benefit payments²¹ totaling \$2.1 billion for the month of December 2023, or approximately \$25.2 billion annually.²² This benefit is primarily paid for by a 12.4% federal tax rate up to a specified income limit, split between employee and employer.²³ At the federal level, Social Security accounts for 21% of overall spending.²⁴

The Trump campaign pledged to protect Social Security and is unlikely to change benefit levels or retirement ages (despite Project 2025's endorsement of an increase to the full retirement age). More likely, the president-elect will not address the Social Security Trust Fund's future insolvency, and if he eliminates taxes on Social Security, could accelerate the problem.

The Supplemental Security Income (SSI) program is a cash assistance program that provides monthly benefits to very low-income individuals aged over 65, and blind, or disabled persons. In December 2023 there were 334,996 Supplemental Security Income recipients in New York City, receiving an estimated \$229 million in benefits for that month, or an estimated \$2.7 billion annually.²⁵

The House Republican Committee calls for converting SSI from an entitlement program to a block grant program, which would set a fixed funding amount regardless of changes in need.²⁶

Administered by the Department of Social Services (DSS), the TANF income support program (\$626 million) provides up to five years of cash assistance to eligible families. The TANF Emergency Assistance to Families (TANF-EAF) program provides an additional \$66 million in federal income assistance on an emergency basis.

The previous Trump administration proposed large cuts to TANF, including a 10% reduction in the annual block grant fund to States, as well as spending requirements and more rigid work requirements.

Unemployment insurance is generally funded by states for basic unemployment compensation. However, the federal government covers all administrative costs for unemployment insurance, and during periods of high unemployment, federal funding can cover fifty percent of extended benefits. The federal government may choose to enhance benefits during crises, like the March 2020-September 2021 period partially overlapping with President Trump's first administration during the COVID-19 pandemic. Over 4 million NYC residents received some form of federal enhanced aid during that time period.²⁷

Social Services

Social Services are largely funded as part of the City's operating budget and cover a wide array of programming.

TANF, as a broad block grant, provides flexible funding for a variety of social service needs. The City uses TANF to help support basic cash assistance, described earlier; shelter for homeless families, which will be discussed in the *Housing and Homeless Services* section; and a variety of smaller programs:

- \$84 million in child welfare funding support at ACS,
- \$77 million in employment services and administration,
- \$65 million for shelter and service funding for victims of domestic violence,
- \$47 million for Access to Counsel, and
- \$29 million for summer youth employment services at the Department of Youth and Community Development

The Title IV-E Foster Care Program (\$270 million) and Title IV-E Adoption Assistance Program (\$104 million) are both managed by the City's Administration for Children's Services (ACS) and pay for foster care contracts and adoption subsidies.

The Title XX Social Services Block Grant (which the State supplements with TANF funding) is used for a wide range of social service-related programs in New York City including welfare and protection initiatives, parent services, employment services, preventative services, social group services for senior citizens, and family planning. The FY 2025 budget includes \$246 million in federal funds for this program. The City budget also includes \$43 million in federal funding for the Low-Income Home Energy Assistance Program (LIHEAP) that helps eligible New Yorkers pay energy costs either through direct payments to families or to energy providers.

All four of President Trump's first term budgets called for the elimination of Title XX and the LIHEAP.²⁸ However, these proposals were not enacted by Congress.

Food Security

The federal government provides funding for food security in a variety of ways – through benefits provided directly to individuals and through food and nutrition programs that flow through the City's budget.

The Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (SNAP), which is funded by the US Department of Agriculture (USDA) and authorized by the Agriculture Improvement Act (aka the "Farm Bill"), provides 1.8 million NYC residents (including 560,000 children) with a cash benefit for specific food purchases, up to a maximum benefit of \$975 a month for a family of four.^{29,30} Federal funding for SNAP totals \$195 million in FY 2025 in the City's budget. This includes \$73 million in funding for the SNAP Employment and Training program that helps participants find employment

opportunities. While SNAP benefits are fully paid for by the federal government, administrative costs are split with states.³¹ SNAP is a mandatory spending program and an entitlement for those who qualify (meaning they have a legal right to these benefits), but it does require Congressional appropriations every year.³²

- The Farm Bill initially expired in September 2023, received a one-year extension, and is now up for renewal. It is unlikely that Congress will take up and vote on a new bill before the end of this term, and more likely that another extension will be passed.³³ This year's Republican proposal did not include drastic cuts to the SNAP program but would limit the USDA's discretion to increase benefits in line with food prices.
- The first Trump administration proposed (but failed to pass) nearly 30% cuts every year³⁴ by tightening eligibility standards and limiting state flexibility on eligibility, as well as creating a 25% state contribution to program benefit costs, substituting benefits with food boxes, and setting strict state-level unemployment level standards to qualify for aid under the program. Project 2025 echoes many of these proposals and recommends moving food and nutrition programs out of the USDA to HHS.

The Special Supplemental Nutrition Program for Women, Infants, and Children (WIC) helps families in need gain access to essential foods and nutritional resources. Unlike SNAP, WIC is not an entitlement, and not every eligible individual can participate in the program if funding appropriations are inadequate. WIC is administered at the state level, providing food, nutrition education, and referrals to pregnant and postpartum individuals, infants, and children up to five years of age with benefits provided directly to families. WIC provides an allowance for specific foods as well as fruits and vegetables, based on nutritional need breakdowns.³⁵ On average, 222,000 people in NYC (173,000 children) received WIC benefits each month in City FY 2023.³⁶

Project 2025 proposes changing the way state agencies run competitive bidding for infant formula rebate contracts and weakening regulations.

In addition, the City's Department of Education receives \$588 million for school breakfast, lunch, and summer food programs for NYC children, discussed in the Education section below.

Housing and Homelessness

Federal funding for housing initiatives flows to the Department of Housing Preservation and Development (HPD, which is part of the City's budget) and the NYC Housing Authority (NYCHA, which sits outside of the City's budget). The City's Department of Homeless Services (DHS) administers funding provided for homeless services.

NYCHA's latest budget, adopted in December 2023 includes \$1.3 billion in federal operating subsidies (out of total revenues of \$4.96 billion) for 2024³⁷ and \$4.5 billion in federal capital funding through 2028 (more than half of the housing authority's total capital budget of \$8.2 billion). NYCHA's operating subsidy is provided through congressional appropriations and has not been awarded at 100% of eligibility due to appropriation shortfalls since at least 2001.³⁸

The head of HUD in Trump's first term, Ben Carson, proposed eliminating HUD's Public Housing Capital Fund for infrastructure upgrades and reducing its Operating Funds for apartment-level repairs and day-to-day maintenance by 37%.

The federal Section 8 Housing Choice Voucher (HCV) program provides housing vouchers for eligible households up to a maximum amount appropriated by Congress annually. Because of the limitations of Congressional funding, the program has a long waitlist of eligible households.

NYCHA administers the largest Section 8 program in the U.S. with over 104,040 Section 8 households.³⁹ As NYCHA is a public authority, the funding for this program is outside of the City's municipal operating budget. The current Section 8 federal subsidy in NYCHA's budget is \$1.9 billion.⁴⁰

The City's Department of Housing Preservation and Development (HPD) also administers an HCV portfolio that aids over 39,000 households. The City's November 2024 Financial Plan allocates \$588 million in FY 2025 federal funds for this purpose.

The first Trump administration proposed rule changes for vouchers limiting eligibility as well as a \$5 billion (or 26%) reduction to the Section 8 budget, which would have resulted in a reduction of over 9,000 housing vouchers for New York City. Project 2025 would impose term limits on receipt of housing vouchers and increase work requirements.

TANF aid in the DHS budget (\$544 million) primarily funds shelters for families with children as well as funding for the Prevention Assistance and Temporary Housing (PATH) program. The City's FY 2025 modified budget also includes \$60 million in FEMA funding to provide shelter for asylum seekers.

\$178 million of Community Development Block Grant (CDBG) funding is in HPD for a variety of uses, including lead (\$29 million) and asbestos compliance, testing, and investigation; NYCHA repairs (\$40 million), emergency housing and shelter services (\$24 million); elevator and emergency repair (\$17 million); and code enforcement (\$5 million).

The first Trump administration proposed eliminating the CDBG program in each of its annual budgets, but Congress restored the program every year.

The federal Continuum of Care (CoC) Program awarded \$172 million to New York area organizations, of which \$53 million in FY 2025 is administered by HPD to fund supportive housing and other efforts to end homelessness. The NYC CoC is entirely a Housing First approach, which quickly connects people experiencing a housing crisis with permanent housing and other supports, without preconditions. ^{41,42}

The Project 2025 section on homeless services authored by Ben Carson de-prioritizes Housing First responses to homelessness with a shift to mental health and substance abuse care before addressing housing needs.⁴³

Child Care, Education, and Higher Education

Child Care

The federal Child Care & Development Block Grant (CCDBG) funds early childhood education programs administered by the DOE (\$125 million), and child care vouchers for low income households (\$484 million) and families on public assistance (\$218 million), managed by the Administration for Children's Services (ACS,) and the Department of Social Services (DSS), respectively – with the remaining \$7 million in associated support funds. The City has increasingly been relying on child care block grant funds for these programs to support the nearly 80,000 infants, toddlers, preschool, and school age children that receive all or part of their child care from this program.⁴⁴

The federal Head Start wraparound preschool program supports early childhood education and services for low-income children and their families. Approximately 32% of Head Start providers receive \$71 million in federal funds through the DOE, and many more providers receiving their funding directly from the Federal government.⁴⁵ In total, 19,000 NYC children rely on this vital federally funded program.^{46,47}

Project 2025 calls for the elimination of this program.⁴⁸

K-12 Education

One of the largest areas of federal funding in the City's municipal budget, federal funding for education totals \$2 billion (this includes \$71 million for Head Start – covered above – and \$81 million in Medicaid funding for students with disabilities.

Donald Trump has pledged to shut down the federal Department of Education and move programs to other agencies as well as shifting funding obligations to states (an action that would require a Congressional vote).⁴⁹

More than 800,000, or 76% of NYC public school students live in poverty, according to DOE demographic data. Of the federal funding DOE receives, the portion likely most at risk is Every Student Succeeds Act (ESSA) Title I funding.⁵⁰ The City's largest share of Title I funding (Part A) is directed at schools serving large numbers of low-income students. New York City receives an estimated \$679 million in Title I Part A funding.⁵¹

Project 2025 calls for converting Title I Part A into a formula block grant, and for completely eliminating the Title I program by moving funding responsibility to states within the next 10 years.⁵²

Individuals with Disabilities Education Act (IDEA) funding which supports students with disabilities totals \$291 million in FY 2025.

Under a new Trump administration, this funding may be converted to an Educational Savings Account or voucher type of grant to parents that redirects it away from public schools.⁵³

The USDA funds the school food program, for which New York City receives \$588 million in federal funding. New York City's program has a universal entitlement to free school lunch/breakfast and summer meals for the nearly one million NYC public school students.

Project 2025 calls for limiting this program to lower-income students only and if implemented, might lead to an undercount in the number of low-income families, which in turn could lead to lower Title 1 funding for high-need schools.⁵⁴

Higher Education

CUNY receives an estimated \$1.1 billion in federal funding largely in the form of Higher Education Act (HEA) Title IV financial aid funding (Pell Grant funding of \$559 million and Direct Student Loan program funding of \$244 million) and federal grants that support academic research.⁵⁵

These funds could be diminished by budget cuts, by policies that would make student loans more difficult to access, or by making funding contingent on policies that bar the teaching of "critical race theory," DEI (diversity, equity, and inclusion) efforts, or gender studies programs.

Some student loan forgiveness programs adopted by the Biden Administration are not subject to congressional approval and would likely face elimination.

- Given that 50% of CUNY students are from households that earn less than \$30,000 per year, these losses would be felt acutely by New Yorkers who depend on financial aid.
- Many City employees and non-profit staff receive loan forgiveness through the Public Service Loan Forgiveness program. Although President Trump proposed eliminating this program in 2021, new legislation would be required to implement this threat.⁵⁶

Infrastructure

The Mayor's Federal Infrastructure Funding Task force has secured over \$2.4 billion in federal infrastructure funding since the start of the Biden Administration through the Infrastructure Investment and Jobs Act (IIJA) and Inflation Reduction Act (IRA). This includes funding for implementing green infrastructure, improving transportation and street safety, reducing building emissions, purchasing clean fleets, and providing safe and reliable charging for e-mobility.⁵⁷

Transportation

The maintenance and development of New York City's many transportation networks incorporates both City (NYCDOT) and non-City (including MTA, PANYNJ) entities.

The largest component of federal transportation funding in the City's general fund budget (which excludes capital infrastructure funding) is the Intermodal Surface Transport program at the NYC Department of Transportation (DOT), with \$51 million in FY 2025 revenue. These funds largely support the city's Traffic Management Center.

The City expects to undertake an overhaul of the Brooklyn Queens Expressway's triple cantilever section in Brooklyn Heights. The cost estimate included in the City's initial <u>application for federal funding</u> for the project, which was rejected, was \$5.5 billion. Current estimates indicate that the project will require a federal environmental review in 2025, with a larger injection of federal funds necessary by 2027.⁵⁸

Federal funding for the MTA's 2020-2024 Capital Plan is estimated at \$13.1 billion. The MTA's latest 2025-2029 Capital Plan includes over \$68 billion in funding needs, anticipating similar levels of federal aid as in the previous plan. Highlighted projects include the Interborough Express (IBX) connecting Brooklyn and Queens from the Brooklyn Army Terminal to Roosevelt Avenue (currently in need of a federal environmental approval and federal financing necessary to begin construction);⁵⁹ as well as various signal modernization, fleet upgrade, and structural repair programs across the five boroughs.⁶⁰ The MTA's capital infrastructure funding through the Infrastructure Investment and Jobs Act (IIJA) is secure through 2026 – but further investments will have to be reauthorized and reappropriated.⁶¹

The Port Authority of New York and New Jersey (PANYNJ) is a joint venture between New York State and New Jersey that oversees a large amount of regional transportation including bridges, tunnels, airports, rail lines, and seaports crucial to the local region's economy. As a result of the COVID-19 pandemic, the PANYNJ was awarded \$433 million in federal American Rescue Plan Act (ARPA) funds directly, as well at \$60 million for financial relief to airport concessionaires.⁶² Outside of COVID-19 aid, total federal grants recognized in 2023 totaled \$32 million in operating support and \$142 million in capital funding.⁶³

PANYNJ officials are attempting to secure a \$1 billion federal loan to partially fund reconstruction of its Midtown bus terminal. Officials are seeking to expedite this funding before the new presidential administration takes office and have recently received federal approval to begin the project after a mandated environmental impact review. Federal support for projects stalled during Donald Trump's first administration, most prominently the multi-entity Gateway program to construct a new Hudson River rail tunnel.⁶⁴

Lastly, the City is set to implement congestion pricing on January 5th, 2025 (barring any last minute judgments).

If the Trump administration cancelled this program, the MTA would stand to lose out on \$15 billion in capital funding that would otherwise be raised by the fees.

Climate

The federal government provides significant resources to fund the City's climate mitigation and resilience infrastructure, including renewable energy projects, flood protection systems, green infrastructure, and electric fleet conversions. Historically, this funding has been allocated following a federal disaster declaration as part of disaster recovery packages: the City received \$15 billion to rebuild communities and infrastructure following Hurricane Sandy,⁶⁵ as well as \$311 million following Hurricane Ida.⁶⁶

The Biden Administration's keystone infrastructure and climate bills have supercharged the City's funding landscape for climate and resiliency projects. As part of the larger total secured by the City's interagency Federal Infrastructure Task Force, competitive federal funding awards from the IIJA and IRA to NYC (excluding formula-funded programs) include \$208 million for clean energy projects (most prominently the Public Solar NYC program for rooftop solar energy generation) and \$316 million for resiliency initiatives.

In addition to making more funding available, the Biden administration has also focused on equitable spending. The administration's Justice40 Initiative (established through <u>Executive</u> <u>Order 14008</u>) sets a goal for 40% of the benefits of federal investments to flow to disadvantaged communities (DACs) that have been historically marginalized by underinvestment and overburdened by pollution. Under Justice40, many federal funding programs have emphasized environmental justice and equity objectives for how federal funds can be spent. NYC comprises 59% of the State's DAC census tracts and has been able to attract significant funding for environmental justice neighborhoods through the IIJA and IRA.

The Trump administration is almost certainly going to cancel the Justice40 initiative, leaving many of NYC's most vulnerable neighborhoods without federal resources to redress the legacies of environmental pollution and mitigate future climate risks.

The City's Capital Plan contains \$1.43 billion in remaining mitigation projects related to Hurricane Sandy.

If there were a climate-related disaster in the next four years, associated disaster mitigation awards would be at the discretion of the Trump administration which could withhold funds for political reasons.

Healthcare

The federal government plays a large role in providing health insurance and expanded coverage through Medicare, Medicaid, and the Affordable Care Act. This funding primarily flows to healthcare providers for patient care such as NYC Health + Hospitals, a public benefit corporation, the Veterans Administration healthcare system, and private doctors, dentists and home care providers. The City budget includes a small amount of Medicaid revenue in addition to a variety of health-related grants. Other federal funding flows directly to Community Health Networks, family planning clinics, and other providers or non-profits, and the National Institutes of Health funds research at medical centers and universities across the city.

Medicare is the federal health insurance program primarily for those 65 or older, funded through payroll contributions as well as general federal reserves. In New York City, over 1.4 million people are covered by Medicare (either through traditional Medicare or a Medicare Advantage plan) as of July 2024.⁶⁷ At a current estimate of \$15,727 per Medicare beneficiary annually,⁶⁸ the federal government is spending an estimated \$22 billion annually in NYC.

Medicaid and the Essential Plan (EP) cover nearly 5 million NYC residents. This funding largely sits outside of NYC's municipal budget, but at \$111 billion (of combined Federal, State, and Local contributions) it made up almost half of the State's budget last year.⁶⁹ The federal share of the care provided *in NYC* is approximately \$31 billion, excluding supplemental Medicaid payments to hospitals.⁷⁰ The State also runs the ACA options for Child Health Plus and the Qualified Health Plans.

Risks to these programs are extensive and include the expiration of the ACA subsidies next year, termination of waiver programs that will expire over the coming term, and a larger threat of converting Medicaid to a block grant or capped per capita amount.

Many HIV/Aids prevention and services are funded by the federal government. NYC's Department of Health and Mental Hygiene (DoHMH) receives funding from the Ryan White HIV Emergency Relief Program (\$93 million), which provides individuals with HIV medical care, case management, and food;⁷¹ the High-Impact HIV Prevention and Surveillance (\$31 million) and AIDS Prevention Surveillance programs (\$30 million) and others. In addition, around 30 other providers and research institutions receive federal grants to provide early detection and prevention, medical services and research.⁷²

The first Trump administration took some promising steps towards reducing new infections despite also proposing budget cuts. Since then, Republican budgets have proposed eliminating programs like Ryan White, and Project 2025 has proposed removing any support for gender affirming care within the program.^{73,74}

Family planning providers receive federal funds through the Title X program. NY State receives \$11.7 million which it then distributes to local family providers across the state, including many NYC providers. In addition, a second NYC-specific grantee received an additional \$2.7 million.⁷⁵

The first Trump administration implemented a domestic "gag-rule," which limited Title X family planning providers from referring patients for abortion. It also implemented onerous requirements of physical and financial separation between Title X funded family planning programs and those that provide abortion services, requiring separate entrances or buildings and distinct staff. Many grantees, including New York State, withdrew from the program.⁷⁶ The City supplanted the federal funding for HHC.⁷⁷

NYC Health + Hospitals and many other healthcare providers in NYC offer gender-affirming services, including hormone therapy, puberty blockers and gender-affirming surgeries. NY State Medicaid covers this care, and the State requires insurance companies to cover medically necessary treatment for gender dysphoria.

President-elect Trump has said he will sign an Executive Order to cut off Medicaid or Medicare from healthcare providers who offer gender-affirming care for patients of any age and ban Medicare and Medicaid coverage of this care. Given their questionable legality, efforts to implement these bans would likely be fought out in the courts.⁷⁸

The Veterans Administration (VA) runs 4 hospitals, a Community Living Center, and several clinics, which serve the approximately 130,000 NYC veterans living in NYC, and others from the surrounding areas.⁷⁹ Care covered by Medicare and Medicaid is captured above, as these hospitals, like others, are paid directly by a patient's insurer for non-service-connected conditions. However, in addition to third-party insurance, the VA health system also depends on direct funding from the VA's budget, which is not captured here. Veterans can also access private providers through the VA's Community Care program.

A second Trump administration will likely further expand efforts to shift care away from VA-run health care facilities to community-based outpatient clinics, at the expense of funding and staff at the VA facilities. VA health facilities specialize in serving veterans and recognizing their unique needs, particularly related to PTSD, burn pit exposure, and other trauma.⁸⁰

The federal government funds mental health services and treatment for substance use disorders through Medicaid, Medicare, and the VA, but also runs numerous programs through HHS's Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration (SAMHSA) and other programs. NYC HHC, DoHMH and over 80 private providers, non-profit organizations, medical centers, and universities receive SAMSHA funding to raise awareness and run the National Helpline, conduct research, and provide treatment options.⁸¹

The first Trump administration proposed to eliminate the Medication-Assisted Treatment Prescription Drug and Opioid Addiction program and more broadly reduce SAMSHA's funding significantly over ten years.⁸²

Finally, as discussed earlier in the Emergency Funding section, the City received significant public health funding to respond to the COVID-19 pandemic.

Conclusion

The programs supported by federal funding are vast and numerous, and they play a critical role in mitigating the inequality and affordability challenges faced by many who live in NYC. Federal funding also supports the upgrading of critical infrastructure that is the backbone of the city. Particularly at a moment when individual federal civil servants are being denigrated, reflecting on the value of their service and the many ways these programs support this city is in and of itself important.

But beyond that recognition, understanding the risks to this funding in the wake of Trump's reelection is necessary. The \$100 billion plus in funding will not disappear entirely, and not all changes can be implemented immediately. New legislation dismantling or severely cutting mandated programs may be hard to pass, even with a Republican Congress. But Executive Orders can be signed on day one. And if the President is successful in circumventing the Impoundment Act, far more is at stake.

Some of the risk is fiscal, as the City would need to counterbalance cuts. But depending on the magnitude of reductions, particularly to Medicaid, not all reductions can be made up and they will come at real human cost. Even a small award in the context of the overall funding can be the difference between a non-profit organization continuing to operate or shutting down. And for individuals, even small changes to benefit levels or eligibility thresholds can be the difference needed to make rent, buy food for their kids at the end of the month, or obtain needed healthcare for their families.

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