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CROSS BRONX EXPRESSWAY

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Rules & Regulations

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1.0 Introduction

Cross Bronx Expressway draws its name from the infamous roadway that today splits the Bronx into its northern and southern sections. Construction began in 1948; when it was completed in 1972 the Cross Bronx featured the most expensive mile of roadway ever built. During his 1980 Presidential campaign, Ronald Reagan took a tour of an area south of the expressway. As he walked the same streets that President Jimmy Carter had walked three years prior, what Reagan witnessed caused him to remark that he had not “seen anything that looked like this since London after the blitz”.

Cross Bronx Expressway is a game about the social and economic processes that created that scene, and their impacts on the population of the South Bronx during the second half of the twentieth century. Gameplay in Cross Bronx Expressway is presented as a semi-cooperative economic city-builder, with asymmetric victory conditions. Players take the role of three interest groups – Public, Community, and Private – attempting to save the city from the brink of bankruptcy while protecting the population from the effects of this tumultuous period.

If this is your first time playing Cross Bronx Expressway, you may wish to start by using the Faction Orientation Guides to guide you through your first game. These Orientation Guides can be used either individually or with a group of up to three players, and will walk you through playing your first session. You can then refer to this rulebook as necessary to clarify specific points or for more details.

This rulebook also includes rules for Non-Player Factions, although it is recommended that you play at least once with three players (or controlling all Factions yourself) before using these. Finally, the Historical Record booklet contains additional background information that can be perused at your leisure, alongside setup details for each decade.

This rulebook is only one of the supporting documents that come with the game, serving primarily for reference during play. The three Faction Orientation Guides are focused on getting you started to immediately play the game, as well as presenting strategy and tactics for playing each of the decades represented in the game. The Historical Record is a deep dive on the research behind the game model, from the background of the Event cards to the data behind the population model.

This booklet contains a formal presentation of the rules of play, written in a clear and concise format intended for ease of reference. It is split into sections and subsections using the case format, making it easier to reference.

Rules are laid out on the left column of pages, with annotations and visual examples in the right column. At the end of this rulebook is a glossary that can be used to check the definitions of key terms and navigate to the relevant sections of this rulebook. Key terms that appear in the glossary are highlighted in bold when they first appear in this rulebook.

For some players, reading this booklet from start to finish will provide the clearest path to understanding how the game works. Most players will want to start with the “Getting Started” sections of the Faction Orientation Guides, while others might prefer to begin by reading the Historical Record for a better understanding of the historical context.



1.1 Gameplay Overview

In *Cross Bronx Expressway*, three players take control of competing interest groups in the South Bronx, called **Factions: Public, Community, and Private**. Over the course of several decades they must work together to mitigate the issues of the vulnerable population and avoid bankruptcy, while independently pursuing their own visions for the South Bronx.

Each in-game **Decade** consists of a series of eight **Event Rounds**, where all three players will have an opportunity to either **Act** in up to three spaces, take control of that round's **Event** effect, or **React** in one space. Alternatively, a player can forego acting in this round and **Plan** for the next Event Round.

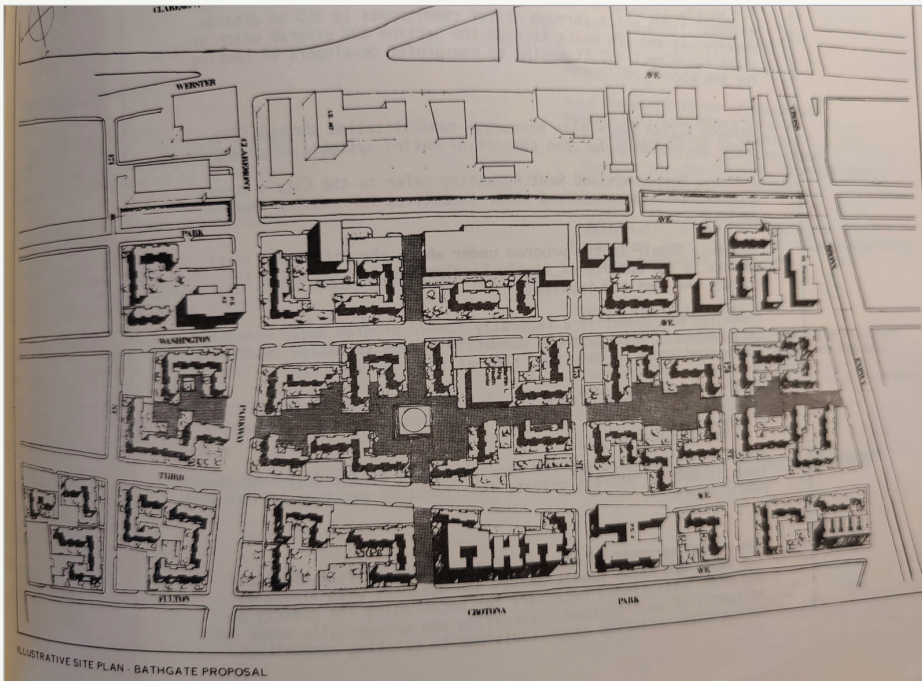
At the end of each Decade there is a **Census Round**, during which the state of the South Bronx is evaluated, players assess their Income and Expenses, and victory points are awarded according to Faction-specific criteria. A normal game (called a Session) lasts two Decades, after which victory is determined—unless **Disenfranchisement** or **Bankruptcy** occurs first, in which case all three players lose together!

General setup instructions can be found at the end of this rulebook, with specific setups for each Decade from 1940 to 1990 contained in the Historical Record booklet. The usual way to play is to set up any Decade from 1940 to 1980 and play a single Session through two full Decades (completing two Census Rounds), which will take you between two to three hours to complete. However, you can also connect Sessions into a continuous campaign game all the way through from 1940 to 2000, allowing you to see the full evolution of the South Bronx in the latter half of the twentieth century. Additional rules for how to do this can be found at the end of the Setup Instructions section, along with a shorter (one Decade) 1990s scenario.

This rulebook is primarily arranged for reference during play. It does not have to be read in a linear fashion.

Section 2.0 introduces and defines all the game components, section 3.0 describes the general sequence of play, section 4.0 details Faction-specific actions and victory conditions, and section 5.0 describes what happens at the end of the game, including how to determine who has won—or how all players can collectively lose. Section 6.0 explains how players can use the optional Faction Position cards, and section 7.0 explains how to use the Position cards to control Non-Player Factions. Finally, general setup instructions and a full glossary of key terms can be found at the end of this booklet.

If you'd prefer to start playing immediately, pick up one of the Faction Orientation Guides and turn to the Getting Started section, which will guide you through how to set up and start playing. Each Faction Orientation Guide can be used individually for a general introduction to the game, or if you have multiple players you can each use the Orientation Guide matching your chosen Faction.





Public Faction area

Grant markers

Population pool

Vulnerabilities pool



Available Loan

Coalition markers

Bond markers

Decade marker

Tax rate marker

Losses marker

Victory Point markers

Current Event

Event deck

Action cylinders

Sequence of Play track

Corrections and Overflow

Census Round marker

Census Round track

2.0 Components

The main play area for *Cross Bronx Expressway* is the game board, which features a map of the southern section of the Bronx divided into seven Districts and a **Corrections** box (on Rikers Island), three Faction holding areas, **Population** and **Vulnerabilities** pools, a Decade dashboard, the **Sequence of Play** track, and numbered edge tracks for **Resources** and **Victory Points/Losses**. The game state is read by the arrangement of pieces (**Infrastructure**, **Organizations**, **Population**, and **Vulnerabilities**) and markers (**Loans**, **Grants**, **Social/Economic Coalitions**, and **Petition/Blight**) on the map.

The game state is meant to be a data visualization. As players become more familiar with reading it, the story of what is happening in each District will emerge from the data presented, as will a clearer understanding of how each player can affect the game state towards their own advantage.

2.1 The Board

2.1.1 Map

The map is split into seven of the Community Board Districts of the Bronx, numbered 1-6 and 9. Two Districts are adjacent if they share a border or corner. Each District has a number of large square spaces reserved for Infrastructure tiles (2.2.2). The number of these spaces represents the upper limit of Infrastructure in each District. There is no lower limit to the number of Infrastructure in a District.

District numbering follows that of the Community Board Districts. The Bronx has more districts, but the game is focused on the areas to the south and immediate north of the Cross Bronx Expressway.

Roadways are marked on the map, with their historical completion dates. These have no game effect, but Events show the impact that the construction of these roadways had on the area.

2.1.2 Tracks

There are two numbered edge tracks marked on the game board.

Resources

The track that flows from the left edge to the top of the board is used to display Faction Resources. It ranges from -15 to 34. A Faction whose Resources are below 0 is in **debt**. There is an indication on the -5 space to show the Private debt limit, and on the 0 space to show the Public and Community debt limits. Factions may not normally choose to spend Resources beyond their debt limits, but may be forced to do so by various game effects. Faction Resources may not exceed 34 or fall below -15.

This is not a traditional city-builder game with players vying to earn the most resources. The economy is not the measure of victory, although staying out of debt is advisable for most Factions. Furthermore, Resources are not just monetary, but also represent other ways of getting things done, such as political capital and workers or volunteers.

Scoring

The track on the right edge is used to display Victory Points and Losses. This track goes from 0 to 14. There is an indication on the 8 space to indicate the Losses limit for a normal two Decade game.

If combined Public and Community debt ever reaches -14 during the Comptroller phase of a Census Round then all players immediately lose due to Bankruptcy (5.2).

2.1.3 Faction Areas

There are three Faction holding areas on the board, each resembling a clipboard. These areas include spaces for available Infrastructure, Organizations, and Petition, Grant, and Loan markers, as well as an area to hold Vulnerability cubes mitigated as **Cases**, **Activists**, or **Employees**.

The Factions have a different number of Infrastructure, Organizations, and markers available to them. This asymmetry represents the difference in means between the Factions.

2.1.4 Population and Vulnerability Pools

In the top right corner of the board there are two areas for Population and Vulnerability cubes. Unused Population and Vulnerability cubes (2.2.1) are placed here for easy access.

2.1.5 Dashboard

The dashboard area underneath the Population and Vulnerability pools contains Infrastructure and Organization summaries, a holding area for Coalition markers, a small box for the Tax Rate marker, a box for inactive Bond markers, and a Decade calendar marking the six decades from 1940 to 1990, with boxes underneath to indicate when Bonds bought by Private and Community will mature.

2.1.6 Sequence of Play

The area at the bottom right of the board is used to track the Sequence of Play (3.0) during each Event Round, and the steps taken during each Census Round. Directly above it are spaces to hold the Event deck and the Current Event card.

2.1.7 Corrections and Overflows

At the bottom of the map there is also an area marked Corrections (on Rikers Island), with a box that can hold up to 10 Vulnerability cubes. Any additional Vulnerabilities moved to Corrections (above 10) are instead placed in the **Overflow** box immediately below this. Any Vulnerabilities removed from Corrections should immediately be replaced with Vulnerabilities from Overflow, if possible (there should only ever be Vulnerabilities in Overflow if Corrections is full).

2.2 Pieces

2.2.1 Population & Vulnerabilities

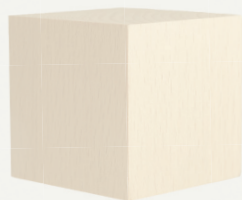
Natural wood cubes placed on the map represent local Population. They come in two sizes, with one large cube being equivalent to five small cubes. These may be exchanged at any time, but typically a large Population cube will only be used when an Infrastructure is at full capacity (see below).

Small pink Vulnerability cubes placed in Districts represent vulnerabilities within the population. Vulnerability cubes may be removed to player areas (Cases, Activists, and Employees), or to Corrections.

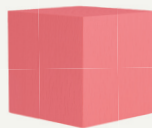
IMPORTANT: Vulnerability cubes are never counted as Population!



One Population



Five Population



One Vulnerability

Taxes are an essential part of the Public economy. Should the need arise, Public can increase the tax rate to help cover future costs. Bonds are heavily abstracted, but still play a similar role in the game to the one they played historically, offering Public immediate fiscal relief with long-term costs.

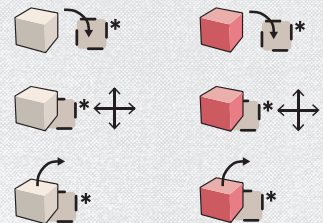
The Sequence of Play track is physically laid out to be read from left to right. The Current Event space is positioned above the Event action space as a reminder of which Event it relates to.

Vulnerability cubes in Corrections have entered the overburdened criminal justice system, while those that spill into the Overflow are at risk of being lost to it. Vulnerabilities in Overflow are converted to Losses during the Census, and if Losses ever become too high then all players will lose.



Event card icons for adding and removing Vulnerabilities to and from Corrections

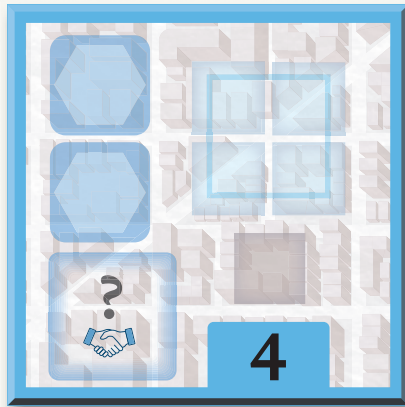
Population cubes are meant to represent the literal population living in each District. The historical record goes into greater detail about the numbers behind these cubes, but each small Population cube is equal to approximately 20,000 people. The pink Vulnerability cubes, however, are a bit more of an abstraction. In Districts they represent vulnerabilities affecting the population, with more Vulnerability cubes indicating more severe vulnerabilities. When the pink cubes are moved out of Districts they take on more literal definitions, based on where they end up.



Event card icons for placing, moving, and removing Population and Vulnerabilities

2.2.2 Infrastructure

Each Faction has several Infrastructure tiles in their color. Each Infrastructure tile has room to house up to five Population, one Vulnerability, and two Organizations (but only one from each Faction). There is also an additional space marked '?' where a Social or Economic Coalition marker is placed when a Coalition is formed (the absence of any marker indicates that there is currently no Coalition on this Infrastructure). Large square spaces on the map represent the Infrastructure limit in each District.



Public Infrastructure tile, with spaces for two Organizations, a Coalition marker, up to five Population, and one Vulnerability

Whenever Population, Vulnerabilities, or Organizations are placed into a District the active player should place as many as possible on to Infrastructure tiles of their choice in that District, up to a total of five Population, one Vulnerability, and two Organizations on each tile. Each Infrastructure tile may only hold at most one Organization from each Faction, and if two Organizations (from different Factions) are placed on the same Infrastructure tile they immediately form a Coalition (2.2.3), which is indicated by placing an appropriate Coalition marker in the '?' box. Pieces on an Infrastructure tile are 'housed', while pieces in a District that are not on any Infrastructure tile are 'unhoused'.

When a new Infrastructure tile is placed in a District the active player should immediately house as many unhoused pieces from that District as possible on it (the active player may choose which Organizations are housed, potentially forming a Coalition). Once a piece is housed on an Infrastructure tile, it should not be moved unless an action or event specifically says otherwise. The active player may always choose where new pieces are housed, or which Infrastructure tile pieces are removed from.

Through Events and Faction actions, an Infrastructure tile can be flipped to its 'Exhausted' side, meaning that it can no longer house any pieces. If an Infrastructure tile is exhausted, immediately house its Population, Vulnerability, and Organizations on other Infrastructure tiles in that District to the maximum extent possible (the active player may choose which Organizations are housed, possibly forming new Coalitions). Any remaining pieces become unhoused. Exhausted Infrastructure tiles and unhoused Organizations are removed during the Census Round, while unhoused Population and Vulnerabilities may remain in the District.

Infrastructure is meant to cover a lot of conceptual ground. While it mechanically "houses" Population and Organizations, it is not merely the buildings in which they live. Rather it is all of the requirements needed to make their housing livable: water, electricity, sewage, sanitation, etc. The "housing" of Vulnerabilities can be understood synonymously as the "accommodation" of the various issues facing the population.

Listed as such, it might seem that all of these things would fall under the umbrella of public works, yet in the game all of the Factions can provide Infrastructure. This is because the tiles in the game are less about the physical structures, and more about the economic commitment to maintain the cohesion in the area that keeps those structures livable.

Private and Community Infrastructure can support the tax base needed to fund the upkeep of the structures in the area. Public Infrastructure maintains their areas using public funds. When an Infrastructure tile is exhausted it means the economic resources to maintain the area have been removed and the structures within it are in a state of decline. Several events in the game will exhaust Infrastructure, and most are tied to roadway projects, such as the Cross Bronx Expressway, whose construction was prioritized over the needs of the populations in the areas impacted.



Event card icon for exhausting Infrastructure



Event card icon for replacing Infrastructure

2.2.3 Organizations

Each Faction has a number of Organizations, hexagonal cylinders in their Faction color, with a symbol on one end.



Organizations are either Inactive (symbol end down) or Active (symbol end up). New Organizations are always placed Inactive (symbol end down). Organizations can be Activated during Event Rounds for a variety of purposes, but primarily to move Vulnerabilities from a District to the acting Faction's play area. Organizations are Refreshed (set to Inactive) during the Census Round and with the Plan action.

Each Infrastructure tile has room to house two Organizations, but each Faction may only place a maximum of one Organization on each Infrastructure tile. An Organization may not be placed or moved into a District where there is no room on an Infrastructure tile to house it, although an Organization may become unhoused if Infrastructure is Exhausted during play. Unhoused Organizations function as normal, but may not form Coalitions, and will be removed if they are still unhoused at the end of the next Census Round.

Two Organizations placed on the same Infrastructure tile form a Coalition, modifying the Socio-Economic state of the District. A Public and a Community Organization form a Social Coalition, while either a Public or Community Organization paired with a Private Organization forms an Economic Coalition. Mark the status of each Coalition with a Socio-Economic Coalition marker in the "?" box on the Infrastructure tile.

If there is a Loan or Grant (2.3.4) without an Organization in a District, the next Organization placed or moved into the District must be placed with that Loan (unless Private) or Grant, unless an Event places an Organization with its own Loan or Grant. An action taken to place an Organization with an available Loan or Grant always costs zero Resources. If an Organization with a Loan or Grant is removed or replaced, the Loan or Grant is defaulted on and returned to the Private or Public play areas, respectively.

Organizations are collections of institutions operating in a District for a particular interest, not an individual organization. While there may have been primary organizations that led initiatives, more often than not they required a collective effort. Working across interests increased the efficacy of initiatives, modeled here through Coalitions.

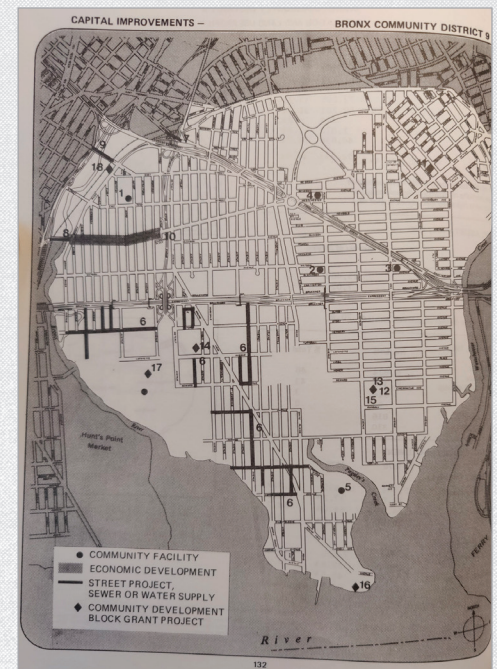
These initiatives also required time to fulfill. While taking an action with an Organization happens in a single turn, it is flipped to its Active side to show that this is a continued effort.



Event card icons for placing, removing, and replacing Organizations



Event card icons for activating and refreshing Organizations



2.2.4 Action and Resource Cylinders

Cylinders in each Faction color, marked with a symbol on one end, are used to track action selection during Event Rounds (on the Sequence of Play track), and to indicate the Resources available to each Faction (on the numbered edge track that runs around the left and top sides of the board).



Public, Community, and Private cylinders

2.2.5 Pawns

Black and white pawns are available to mark which Districts have been selected for actions during a player turn. Their usage is optional.

2.2.6 Fundraise Die

A custom six-sided die is used during Community Fundraise actions. Each face of the die shows the number of Resources gained and Vulnerability cubes placed by the Fundraise action.



Fundraise die

2.3 Markers

Markers are placed in Districts to represent conditions that encourage or hinder investment there, and elsewhere on the board to track other game effects.

2.3.1 Income & Expenses

Each player has an Income and an Expenses marker in their Faction color. These markers are only used during the Audit phase of the Census Round and for Audits triggered by the Plan action, when players can calculate their (predicted) revenue on the numbered edge track that runs along the left and top of the board. Income and Expenses can exceed the maximum track value of 34 during Audits, in which case players should flip them to their '+34' side and continue counting from zero.



Income and Expenses markers

There are explicit windows for calculating Income and Expenses. While some may be able to track this information in their head, by the rules, the markers are only usable during the Census and Audits during the Plan action.

2.3.2 Socio-Economic Coalitions

Coalition markers are double-sided, with Social on one side and Economic on the other. Two Organizations housed on the same Infrastructure form Social Coalitions (Public + Community) or Economic Coalitions (Private + Public, or Private + Community). These are identified by Socio-Economic markers flipped to the appropriate side, which are placed in an Infrastructure tile's '?' box to indicate the current Coalition formed by a pair of Organizations there.



Social and Economic Coalition markers

2.3.3 Petitions and Blight

Petition/Blight markers are double-sided, with Petition on one side and Blight on the other. Petitions are automatically placed during the Census Round in Districts where there are more unhoused Vulnerabilities than Infrastructure. There can only be a maximum of one Petition/Blight marker in each District.



Petition and Blight markers

During the Census Round, Factions can pay or use a Loan or Grant in the district to place an Organization and remove a Petition in the same District. If a Petition is not removed in this manner it is flipped to its Blight side, which decreases the revenue potential of the District. Blight can only be removed by the Public Service action or by payment in the following Census.

2.3.4 Grants and Loans

Grant and Loan markers represent financing opportunities for Organizations. When a Grant or Loan is first placed in a District it is awaiting an Organization, and the next Organization to be placed or moved into that District must be placed with the Grant or Loan underneath it (if possible).



Grant and Loan markers

When an Organization is placed by a Faction action (Service, Organize, or Hire) it may be placed on to a Grant at no cost, and it will also be free to maintain during the Census Round. Public and Community Organizations placed by Service or Organize may also be placed on to Loans at no cost. Private Organizations may never be placed on Loans. Loans and Grants are 'active' while they have an Organization on them, and Loans are also 'active' while they are in the Public or Community play areas (see below).

Coalitions encourage the cooperative side of the game. Organizations are more powerful as part of a Coalition, and the Factions simply do not have the means to do it all by themselves.

If the players neglect the Vulnerabilities in a District, it will be declared to suffer from Blight, representing popular unrest, long term decay, and other social issues. If it is not dealt with Blight will affect the revenue streams of all Factions present in a District.

Grants are free money. Loans on the other hand are only really advisable if you will be able to pay them off at the next Census, although sometimes you might not have much choice. As soon as the interest kicks in you're along for the ride.



Event card icons for giving a Grant to an Organization and placing an Organization with a Grant or Loan

When they are removed from the map Loans stop providing any benefit to the Organization that they were with, but must still be repaid by that Organization's Faction.

One Event card (#019) may place all unused Loans in the 1980 calendar space, making them unavailable until 1980 (typically for the remainder of the current Session).

During the Census Round, Public and Community must pay Private one Resource for each active Loan with their Organizations or in their Faction area. Public and Community may also pay to return Loans to Private during the Census Round. At the end of the Census Round all face-down Grants and Loans are removed from the map, with Loans going to the holding area of the Faction whose Organization it was with (or to Private if none) and Grants returning to the Public area. Then, all Grants and Loans still in play are flipped face-down. Face-down Grants and Loans continue to operate as normal, but will be removed during the next Census Round.

There are three Loan markers and six Grant markers. Loans in the Private play area and Grants in the Public play area are available. If no markers are available then ignore any effect that would place one. If an Organization with a Loan or Grant is removed or replaced, the Loan or Grant is defaulted and returned to the Private or Public areas, respectively.

2.3.5 Bonds

There are four Bond markers, each of which may be sold by Public to either Private or Community during Census Rounds. Bond markers in yellow (Private) and orange (Community) can be placed on the Decade calendar to indicate when a purchased Bond is due to be repaid and who it is held by. No more than four Bonds can be in play at any one time.



Private and Community Bond markers

2.3.6 Goal Stars

Goal Stars are used to mark progress made toward Goals, when using the optional Position cards (sections 6.0 and 7.0).



Goal Star marker

2.3.7 Victory Points

Each Faction has a Victory Points marker in its Faction color, which is used to track Victory Points on the numbered edge track on the right side of the board. Victory Points are increased by achieving Faction Objectives during the Census Round (3.2.4) and, if using the optional Position cards (6.0), by achieving Position goals. Additional Victory Points may be awarded or deducted at the end of the game (5.1).



Public, Community, and Private Victory Point markers

Bonds are sold by Public when they are necessary to maintain solvency. They can provide a quick infusion of Resources from Community or Private, but paying them back will require even more Resources.



Event card icon for placing Bonds

2.3.8 Losses

The Losses marker is used to track Losses on the numbered edge track on the right side of the board. Losses are increased by the number of Vulnerabilities in the Overflow during the Corrections phase (3.2.2) of each Census Round, and are sometimes adjusted by Events.



Losses marker

2.3.9 Census

The Census marker can be used to track progress through the Census Round phases.



Census marker

2.3.10 Decade Marker

A natural wood cylinder is used to mark the current Decade on the Dashboard.



Decade marker

2.4 Cards

Cross Bronx Expressway features three different types of cards: Event, Census, and Position.

2.4.1 Event Cards

There are 90 Event cards split equally between six decades (1940s to 1990s). Each Event card has a year, card number, headline, brief historical context, Event effects, and a Faction initiative order. When Event effects are performed, the card is placed near the executing Faction's area, forming the Record, which keeps track of their impact on the pivotal events of each decade.

2.4.2 Census Cards

There are six Census cards in the game, one for each Decade covered. Census cards are placed at the bottom of each stack of eight Event cards to signal the game's shift into the Census Round.

2.4.3 Position Cards

There are eight Position cards for each Faction. They can be used by players to add an additional layer of strategy to the game (section 6.0), and also to control Non-Player opponents for two-player or solitaire play (section 7.0).

If Losses ever reach 8 (in a normal two Decade game) then all players immediately lose due to Disenfranchisement (5.2).



Event card icon for decreasing Losses

Event cards are presented visually as newspaper clippings. As I was doing research for the game, looking through the archives of various collections, newspaper clippings were easily the most common thing I would find. From photographers to professional organizations to members of Congress to Robert Moses himself, they all kept newspaper clippings.

There would often be notes, in the margins, stapled with the clippings, or even full letters about clippings sent to colleagues. While undoubtedly some of this news was seeded by these actors, the vast majority were things they had to react to. This is how Events are set up for players in the game. They have little control over the news cycle and must instead focus on how they can respond to it.

The Factions represented by the game are not a monolith. Position cards represent shifts in intra-faction power. The long term objectives do not change, just the thoughts about how to achieve them in the short term.

3.0 Sequence of Play

Play in *Cross Bronx Expressway* takes place over Event Rounds, governed by the Event deck. This deck is broken up into Decades of eight Event Rounds each, with a Census card at the end of each Decade that shifts play to the Census Round. Each standard session of *Cross Bronx Expressway* covers two Decades of play.

During an Event Round each Faction first selects an action space on the Sequence of Play track, in the order listed on the current Event card, then those actions are resolved from left to right.

During a Census Round the map state is evaluated to determine changes to Population and Vulnerabilities, Income and Expenses for each Faction, and to score Faction Objectives as victory points.

3.1 Event Round

Two Event cards are visible during each regular Event Round: the current Event and the next Event (which will be face-up on top of the Event deck). The current Event determines the order in which Factions will select their actions as well as mandatory Event effects. The current Event effect will always be carried out, either by the Faction that selects the Event action, or else by the first listed Faction on the Event card. Once all Factions have taken actions and the current Event has been placed in the Record of the Faction that performed it, the next Event is moved to the current Event space, a new next Event is revealed, and the next Event Round begins.

3.1.1 Action Selection

At the start of the Event Round, in the order listed on the Event card, each Faction will place their Initiative cylinder in one of the four action boxes on the Sequence of Play track. Each Faction may only select an action box that is currently empty. Once a Faction has placed their Initiative cylinder in an action box, that action is no longer available to the other Factions.

3.1.2 Action Execution

After all Factions have selected an action, the selected actions are performed in the order that they appear on the Sequence of Play track: Act, Event, React, then Plan. Each Initiative cylinder is moved back to the start of the Sequence of Play track as each action is performed. If there is not an Initiative cylinder in the Event position, the Event effect is carried out by the Faction listed first on the current event. If there is not an Initiative cylinder in any other position, that action is skipped.

3.1.3 Act

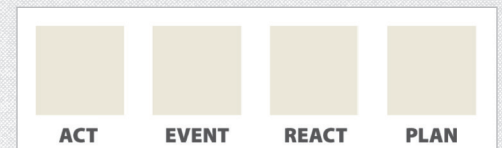
The acting Faction selects one action from their Faction menu to perform in up to three Districts, or in one District only if performing Build, House, or Develop actions.

General setup instructions can be found at the end of this rulebook, with full setups for each Decade found in the Historical Record booklet. A two Decade session can be started from any of the five decades from 1940 through to 1980.

The feel of each decade is shaped by the composition of the event cards. The fifteen cards for each decade are balanced to their historical character. Events can sometimes appear out of temporal sequence within one Decade, due to the Event deck being shuffled, but this helps to maintain the feeling of having to respond to unpredictable historical events.

Think of the Decade as the primary timescale of the game. During the Census it is the cumulative effect that the players are being measured on. The order of Event occurrence, and really the Events themselves, are of less importance to the tax collector.

Action selection forces players to plan their actions before they execute them. This action economy is inherently linked to the Resource economy in the game. The strength of each space may require multiple turns to set up, opening room for negotiating to protect one's plans.



Act is the only option that allows a Faction to perform the House, Build, or Develop actions, which can only be performed in one District but are essential for maintaining Infrastructure.

3.1.4 Event

The acting Faction performs the current Event effect. Should no Faction select this action box, the first Faction listed on the current Event card must perform the Event instead. After carrying out the Event effect, the Event card should be added to the Record of the Faction that carried it out.

3.1.5 React

The acting Faction selects one action from their Faction menu to perform in one District only. House, Build, and Develop may not be performed as a React action.

3.1.6 Plan

First, the acting Faction may call an Audit, if desired. If an Audit is called, all Factions must calculate their Expenses and Income as during a Census Round Audit phase (3.2.3), but they do not adjust Resources or remove unexhausted Infrastructure at this time. Outside of the Census players may only calculate their Income and Expenses during an Audit.

After choosing to call an Audit or not, the acting Faction may refresh one of their own Organizations (set it to Inactive), then must immediately choose their action for the upcoming Event Round before a new Event is drawn from the deck. Plan may still be selected on the last round before a Census, in which case the Faction must make their action selection before the next Event card of the following Decade is revealed.

3.1.7 End of Round

After all Factions have performed their action for the turn, place the next Event in the current Event space. If the new current Event is a Census, immediately perform a Census Round (3.2). Otherwise, reveal the top card of the Event deck as the new next Event, then perform another Event Round with the new current Event.

3.2 Census Round

The game is split into Decades, each lasting eight Event Rounds. At the end of each Decade there is a Census Round in which the Population is counted, Income and Expenses are calculated and paid for each Faction, and Factions have an opportunity to score Victory Points based on their unique Objectives.

When a Census card becomes the current Event a Census Round is immediately completed in the steps listed below, before revealing the next Event card. Where applicable, Districts are always evaluated in numerical order, from #1 to #9. When Factions are called upon to make a decision, if necessary Public should choose first, then Community, then Private.

The current Event will always be executed, either by the Faction that chose the Event box or by the Faction listed first on it if no Faction chose Event. The Event effects are often negative, presenting unavoidable problems that all Factions must deal with together.

React is usually a weaker option than Act, as it only allows you to perform an action in one District (and this action cannot be House, Build, or Develop). However, it does allow you to take an action after the other players, which can be valuable either to respond to their actions or to set up powerful cooperative turns.

Plan allows a player to choose any action for the next Event Round, even if they are not listed first on the next Event card.

A Census Round is performed immediately when a Census card becomes the new current Event, without revealing the next Event card.

The Census Round is a central part of the game. It is procedural and mostly deterministic because that is the nature of the real process. Nonetheless, while making decisions during the Decade, players should formulate their plans around how they will be evaluated in the upcoming Census.

3.2.1 Quota Phase

During the Quota phase, the Population of each District is assessed. Each unexhausted Infrastructure in a District can house up to five Population and one Vulnerability. Exhausted Infrastructure cannot house any Population or Vulnerabilities.

For each District in numerical order:

1. Add one Vulnerability if there is any unhoused Population there.
2. Move half (rounded up) of the unhoused Vulnerabilities to Corrections.
3. If the Quota Phase was not caused by an Event and there are now more unhoused Vulnerabilities than Infrastructure in the District, place one Petition there.

3.2.2 Corrections Phase

During the Corrections phase, the Vulnerabilities in Corrections are evaluated. Any Vulnerabilities over the Corrections limit of 10 should now be in the Overflow area.

Perform each step in order:

1. Each Faction, in Public, Community, Private order, may spend 1 Resource, if not at or below their debt limit, to move one Vulnerability from Corrections to a District with their Infrastructure. Make sure that Corrections is refilled from Overflow, to a maximum of 10 Vulnerabilities in Corrections.
2. Increase Losses by the total number of Vulnerabilities in Overflow (do not remove the Vulnerabilities from Overflow yet).
3. If Losses are now 8 or more, the game ends in Disenfranchisement and all Factions lose (see section 5.2).

Petitions & Blight

For each District with Blight, Public must pay 2 Resources, even past their debt limit, and move a Vulnerability from that District to Corrections to remove the Blight.

Then, in each District with a Petition, one Faction may pay 2 Resources to place an Organization on an Infrastructure tile in the District (not past their debt limit, but for free if there is an available Loan or Grant in the District). Public may choose to do this first, then Community, then Private. If an Organization is placed by any Faction, remove the Petition. If no Organization is placed, flip the Petition to Blight.

Arrest quotas are as New York as the Empire State Building. In general, they follow budget cycles, but for the population they affect a quota can be devastating. For the unprepared, whole networks of lives are disrupted to meet arrest targets that are used to validate police budgets.

An additional Quota Phase (only) may sometimes be performed as part of an Event effect.



Event card icon for performing a Quota Phase

Rikers Island, represented on the map as Corrections, is only a jail. Inmates are housed there until they receive prison sentences or are released. When Losses are counted in this phase it is the rate at which the Vulnerabilities are being lost to the prison system. The Disenfranchisement loss condition is a reminder that the prison system is not a replacement for social services, and that once people enter it, it is very hard for them to escape.

As conditions in a District deteriorate, the community complains. Their letters can be found across the archives of city officials. As such, Petitions serve to give the community a voice on the situation that has been created in their neighborhoods. Should players choose not to address their concerns, those Districts, considered Blighted, will lose economic value.

3.2.3 Audit Phase

During the Audit phase players calculate their Expenses and Income in order to determine their revenue. Public and Community then have the opportunity to pay off any debts before the Comptroller determines the economic state of the city.

Expenses

Starting from zero, each Faction adjusts their Expenses marker to calculate their current costs as follows:

1. Add 4 Expenses for each of their unexhausted Infrastructure.
2. Add 2 Expenses for each of their exhausted Infrastructure, then remove their exhausted Infrastructure from the map.
3. Add 1 Expenses for each of their Organizations without a Grant or Loan.
4. Public and Community add 1 Expenses for every active Loan (either with their Organization or in their Faction area).
5. Community and Private add Expenses equal to the total number of their Organizations and Infrastructure on the map, multiplied by the Tax Rate (rounded up).

Income

During the Income step, housed Population cubes in each District provide Factions with Income in different ways. Vulnerability cubes never provide Income, even if they are housed.

Starting from zero, Private and Community adjust their Income marker as follows:

1. Add 1 Income per Population housed on their Infrastructure. If in a District with Blight, add only 1 Income per two housed Population.
2. For each of their Organizations in a District, add 1 Income for every five housed Population in that District. If in a District with Blight, add a maximum of 1 Income per Organization.
3. Private adds 1 Income for every active Loan (either with an Organization or in a non-Private Faction area).

Starting from zero, Public adjusts their Income marker as follows:

1. Add Income equal to the Tax Rate times the total number of non-Public Infrastructure and Organizations on the map (rounded up).
2. Add 1 Income for every five housed Population in all Districts without Blight (count the total housed Population, not per District).

Resources

Each Faction increases or decreases their Resources by the difference between Income and Expenses (increase Resources if Income is greater than Expenses, decrease Resources if Income is less than Expenses).

Loans

Public and Community may pay 2 Resources (not into debt) to Private per Loan, to return any number of their own Loans from their Organizations or Faction area to the Private Faction area.

The fact that Resources are only adjusted by Income and Expenses once per Decade represents that while there were always people keeping records of the budgets, the actual numbers were only known when professional audits were performed.

Upkeep in the game is quite expensive, but very carefully balanced. The situation historically was very rarely ever profitable, and the high upkeep costs help reflect that in the game.

Community and Private pay taxes on their Organizations and Infrastructure in addition to maintenance costs.

Organizations can be a good source of income for Community and Private, in addition to helping to mitigate Vulnerabilities. This makes highly populated Districts very popular, but they also require more Infrastructure, which can quickly become costly.

Public and Community should pay off Loans as soon as possible, as keeping them is practically giving Private victory points (not to mention Resources).

Bonds

If there are Community or Private Bond markers in the current Decade, the Public Faction must either:

1. Pay 4 Resources to the owner and return the Bond to the supply.
2. Pay 1 Resource to the owner and move the Bond to the next Decade (even if that Decade will not be played).

Bond payments can be made below the Public debt limit, and Public can choose how to handle each Bond separately.

Comptroller

Final accounting is performed:

1. If Public + Community debt is now greater than 14, the city is Bankrupt and everyone loses (see section 5.2).
2. Public may offer one available Bond each to Community and Private. If a Faction agrees to buy a Bond they must transfer 4 Resources to Public, even past their debt Limit, then place a Bond marker in their Faction color in the next Decade box.
3. If Public is 5 or more Resources in debt, they may set the Tax Rate to 1, otherwise the Tax Rate is set to $\frac{1}{2}$. Adjust the Tax Rate marker to show the new Tax Rate.

3.2.4 Objectives Phase

Each Faction now scores one Victory Point for each of their Objectives that they have fulfilled (4.1.1, 4.2.1, 4.3.1). Increase a Faction's Victory Point marker by one for each Victory Point that they score.

If any Faction now has four more Victory Points than both other Factions (considered individually), they immediately win the game (5.1). If this is the final Census Round, award Final Census Victory Points and then determine the winner. Otherwise continue to the Reset phase.

Bonds literally saved the city on numerous occasions, but historically they also pushed the city to the brink of bankruptcy.

One of my favorite facts from the history of New York is that the mayor who would take the city to the brink of bankruptcy in the 1970s, Abraham Beame, was previously the Comptroller who had a first-hand view of much of the city's financial problems.



3.2.5 Reset Phase

Perform the following steps to reset the board before moving on to the next Decade:

1. Refresh all Organizations (set them Inactive).
2. All Grants and Loans on the map are flipped face-down, or returned if already face-down. Active Loans are returned to the Faction area of the Organization holding the Loan, inactive Loans to the Private area, Grants to the Public area.
3. Return all Vulnerabilities from Activists, Cases, Employees, and Overflow (but not Corrections) to the pool.
4. Any Infrastructure without housed Population is exhausted.
5. Any unhoused Organizations are removed to their Faction area. Any Loans or Grants with them are defaulted back to Private and Public respectively.
6. If Private is in debt they may activate one Private Organization to set their Resources to 0.
7. If Public is in debt they may perform their Budget action in one District.
8. If Community is in debt they may perform their Fundraise action in one District.
9. Add two Population to all Districts with no Infrastructure.
10. Advance the Decade marker to the next Decade. Reveal the top card of the Event deck and move it to Current Event, reveal the next card and leave it face-up on top of the deck, then continue play with a new Event Round.

4.0 Factions and Actions

Cross Bronx Expressway features three competing, asymmetric Factions. Each Faction represents a collective of interests whose operations intersect with the populations of the South Bronx. They each have a vision for the area, expressed through their four Objectives. Collectively they want to keep the area from bankruptcy and prevent the disenfranchisement of the population. Individually they want the board state to reflect their vision for the area.

The objectives and actions available to each Faction are detailed in this section. These are also summarized on the player aid foldouts, which will be more convenient to reference during play.

4.1 Public

The Public Faction represents government and public service entities. These include police, firefighters, social workers, and officials at city, state, and federal levels, whose decisions impact the lives of residents in the South Bronx.

The Public Faction will try to balance the socio-economic interests of the area and fight for survival during the city's biggest financial crisis. They will do what they can to mitigate vulnerabilities affecting the population, while upholding an image becoming of "the greatest city in the world".

4.1.1 Public Objectives

Checked during the Objectives phase of each Census Round:

- **Balanced Budget:** +1 Victory Point if Public is not in debt.
The Public Faction is doing all it can to keep the city from going bankrupt.
- **Social Work:** +1 Victory Point if the total number of Social Coalitions is equal to the total number of Economic Coalitions.
The Public Faction wants to ensure that there is an equilibrium in the socio-economic status.
- **Public Relations:** +1 Victory Point if the number of Cases is greater than the number of Activists.
The Public does not want to be upstaged by Community activists.
- **Quality of Life:** +1 Victory Point if one or more Districts have no Blight and no Vulnerabilities.
To keep up appearances it is important that the area not be viewed for its negatives.

Final Census

Checked only at the end of the final Census Round:

- +1 Victory Point if the total number of Vulnerabilities in Districts is less than Losses.
- +1 Victory Point if Public is not in debt (in addition to Balanced Budget).
The ultimate Public objective is for the area and their role in it to be seen in a positive light.

Over the 60 years covered in the game there were countless individuals and organizations doing work that impacted the situation in the South Bronx. Taken individually, while there are obvious examples of those that fit cleanly into the three Factions presented here, many would have overlapping interests. In this way the game model is a distortion of reality. It tries to make up for it by creating friction for the player within their own faction through some of the other mechanics. Nevertheless, it should be known that while the decisions the game presents seek to provide a level of fidelity that does justice to the history, the player role making those decisions is still an abstraction.

A whole game could be designed covering just the internal politics of what is called the Public sector in Cross Bronx Expressway. They have been heavily abstracted here to fit within the structure of the game, but the complexity of their role is captured in the way their dynamics are modeled.

Playing the Public is hard work, with very little reward and all of the responsibility. With practice, however, a skilled Public player can use the other Factions to help secure their own victory.

The two unique objectives for the Public, "Balanced Budget" and "Quality of Life", are representative of what the Public actors always wanted – more money and less problems. These objectives are also a lot harder to achieve than they might seem, which matches the historical challenge.

4.1.2 Public Actions

House [Act only]

Purpose: Place or replace Infrastructure.

In one District only, either:

- Pay 4 Resources to place one Public Infrastructure and add two Population. Then add one Vulnerability if there are now any unhoused Population in the District.
- Pay 2 Resources to replace another Faction's exhausted Infrastructure with a Public Infrastructure and add two Population. Then add one Vulnerability if there are now any unhoused Population in the District.

Service

Purpose: Place and use Organizations.

In each of up to three selected Districts, either:

- Pay 2 Resources to place one Public Organization (pay 0 Resources if placing on a Loan or Grant).
- Pay 2 Resources to activate one inactive Public Organization and move one Vulnerability to Cases. May then pay 1 Resource to a Coalition Partner and activate their inactive Organization to move an additional Vulnerability to Cases.
- Pay 2 Resources to activate an inactive Public Organization and remove one Blight.

If two or more Public Organizations were activated across all selected Districts, add one Vulnerability from the pool to Corrections.

Relocate

Purpose: Move Population.

In each of up to three selected Districts:

- Move in up to two Population from any adjacent Districts and add one Vulnerability.

Budget

Purpose: Gain Resources and add Population.

In each of up to three selected Districts:

- Add up to two Population.
- Gain 1 Resource for every five Population now housed in Public Infrastructure in the District.
- Activate or remove a Public Organization, or add 1 Vulnerability.

The key advantage to the House action is that it allows the placement of new Population from the pool. Growing the Population is essential to the Public economy, and they have the ability, both with House and their Budget actions, to increase their tax base with new Population.

Cases are meant to represent some form of recourse within the public system, including social work, the justice system, public housing, and more. They represent a portion of the public budget working to address the vulnerabilities in the area.

The added Vulnerability from using multiple Public Organizations reflects the inefficiencies and corruption endemic to the New York city government during this period.

The roadway projects through the Bronx resulted in the displacement of a sizable part of the population. It fell on public services to relocate these populations, but moving large numbers of people also has social costs.

It may seem odd to place new Population while reviewing the budget, but one can imagine that as the budget is being processed extra attention is spent counting heads, in order to provide justification for the additional funds needed to pay for their services.

4.2 Community

The Community Faction represents local entities. These include small local businesses, small property owners, social clubs, nonprofits, and other community organizations, including gangs, living and operating in the South Bronx.

The Community Faction is driven by the needs of its residents. The South Bronx is a destination for migrant and immigrant populations, who are among the least represented in the political power structures of the city. This leaves it up to the Community Faction to support local activism, ensure there are social services, keep the vulnerable out of the prison system, and build a sense of self-determination in the area.

4.2.1 Objectives

Checked during the Objectives phase of each Census Round:

- **Rehabilitation:** +1 Victory Point if the total number of Activists, Employees, and Cases is greater than the number of Vulnerabilities in Corrections and Overflow.
The greatest threat to the vulnerable population stems from the Corrections system. Protecting them is the Community Faction's priority, but they cannot do it alone.
- **Social Movement:** +1 Victory Point if there are at least two Districts with more Social Coalitions than Economic Coalitions.
For the Community, the social needs of the population are best met directly rather than through the hopes that Private interests might provide.
- **People Power:** +1 Victory Point if the number of Activists is greater than the number of Employees.
Getting the population vested in fighting for their own interests is the key to their self-determination goals.
- **Grassroots:** +1 Victory Point if there are one or more Districts with only Community Infrastructure, no Blight, no unhoused Population, and at least one Community Organization in a Coalition.
The Community desire to build a sustainable grassroots movement is best represented by their ability to maintain a zone for the people.

Final Census

Checked only at the end of the final Census Round:

- +1 Victory Point if total Losses are 4 or less.
- +1 Victory Point if Community is not in debt.
- +1 Victory Point if there is a Community Bond on the Decade calendar.
The ultimate Community objective is to protect the people.

Many will come to this game explicitly to play the Community Faction, with a preconceived notion of what that experience will be like. What I hope they find is that of the three Factions, the Community is the most challenging to play. They are easily out-resourced by the other factions, yet have the clearest view of the challenges faced. As a Faction they represent the broader community interests, but they are also the people on the ground. They must watch as the two other Factions play with their lives. Pulling off a victory as Community is not easy, but it sure is sweet.

"Social Movement" seems like an overlapping objective, except the Community is in a position where achieving it does not need to prevent the other Factions from achieving theirs. The Community's true coalition objective is "Rehabilitation". It requires getting the other Factions invested in mitigating Vulnerabilities.

The other Community objective with some overlap is "Grassroots", but only because it mirrors one Private has. Each of them holds the belief that an ideal situation would be one in which they were the primary mover, with only limited support needed to maintain viability. It is hard to achieve and even harder to keep hold of.

4.2.2 Actions

Build [Act only]

Purpose: Place or replace Infrastructure.

In one District only, either:

- Pay 4 Resources to place one Community Infrastructure and move in up to three Population from adjacent Districts. Then add one Vulnerability if there are now any unhoused Population in the District.
- Pay 2 Resources to replace another Faction's exhausted Infrastructure with a Community Infrastructure and move in up to two Population from adjacent Districts. Then add one Vulnerability if there are now any unhoused Population.

Organize

Purpose: Place and use Organizations.

In each of up to three selected Districts, either:

- Pay 2 Resources to place one Community Organization (pay 0 Resources if placing on a Loan or Grant).
- Pay 2 Resources to activate one inactive Community Organization and move one Vulnerability to Activists. May then pay one Resource to a Coalition Partner and activate their inactive Organization to move an additional Vulnerability to Activists.

If two or more Public Organizations were activated across all selected Districts, add one Vulnerability from the pool to Corrections.

Mobilize

Purpose: Move Population and Organizations.

In each of up to three selected Districts, either:

- Move up to two Population to an adjacent District, then add one Vulnerability to either the origin or destination District.
- Add one Vulnerability, then refresh (set Inactive) and move one Community Organization to an adjacent District, keeping any Grant or Loan with it. If moving to a District with an available Grant or Loan, the Organization must be placed with one (if it does not already have one).

Fundraise

Purpose: Gain Resources and add Vulnerabilities.

In each of up to three selected Districts, roll the Community die up to once per Community Infrastructure with any housed Population, and gain Resources and add Vulnerabilities as indicated by the results. Community may choose to stop or continue rolling for additional Community Infrastructure at any time, but must complete the Fundraise action in one District before moving on to the next.

The Community needs every Resource it can get. As such, any Infrastructure that they build needs to be filled with Population so that they see a profit. If Infrastructure becomes a debt trap for the Community it can become crippling.

The placement of Organizations is critical during the Decade, being essential for income during the Census. Coalitions are also essential, and forming the right ones can mean passive income during the Decade. For all Factions, however, working with Public Organizations is limiting. If there are too many involved, then inefficiency and corruption could create more problems than they fix.

Like the Public, Community has the ability to move Population, however the most powerful part of the Mobilize action is that, unlike any other Faction, they can move their Organizations. Moving an Organization to break a Coalition and form a new one requires a lot of setup but can be a powerful way to swing scoring.

The die roll for Fundraise represents the uncertainty of the Community's ability to gain funds compared to the other Factions. As with all Factions, raising funds has the risk of creating vulnerabilities, but the risk is far higher when the Community does it, because of the nature of the limited means and opportunities available to them.

4.3 Private

The Private faction represents business entities. These include large property owners, developers, private businesses, national corporations, and banks, all of whom have economic interests tied up in the South Bronx.

The Private faction is playing for the future. Changes coming to the city have the potential to create new economic opportunities. If they can keep their existing interests afloat, the Private faction will be well positioned to capitalize on their position. To do so they will need to build beneficial coalitions, develop economic zones, provide employment opportunities, and the financial support needed to keep the city going, all while hedging their bets with suburban investments.

4.3.1 Objectives

Checked during the Objectives phase of each Census Round:

- **Recurring Revenue :** +1 Victory Point if there are two or more Private Bonds and/or active Loans (with an Organization or in a Public or Community Faction area).
Loans show the Private Faction's long term investment in the area, while providing a consistent source of revenue.
- **Trickle Down:** +1 Victory Point if the total number of Economic Coalitions is greater than the total number of Social Coalitions.
Building Economic Coalitions is the core of the Private strategy for revitalizing the area.
- **Workforce:** +1 Victory Point if the number of Employees is greater than the number of Cases.
The Private presence in the area is far more acceptable when the benefits are tangible, like providing jobs to the population, rather than leaving that burden on the state.
- **Laissez-Faire:** +1 Victory Point if there are one or more Districts with only Private Infrastructure, no Blight, no unhoused Population, and at least one Economic Coalition.
The long term goal is the establishment of true Private economic zones.

Final Census

Checked only at the end of the final Census Round:

- +1 Victory Point if Private is not in debt.
- +1 Victory Point if there is a Private Bond on the Decade calendar (potentially in addition to Recurring Revenue).
- -1 Victory Point if there is no Private Infrastructure on the board.
The ultimate objective for the Private faction is to set up a strong economic presence in the area.

The Private Faction may seem like the more traditional power broker role many city-builders position players as. The catch in Cross Bronx Expressway is that the area of focus is not where the money is to be made. The money is around the traffic that will pass through the area after the completion of the roadway projects. There is the possibility for some returns on their investments in the area, but only long after those projects are finished. As such, Private is mostly trying to maintain enough interest in the area to keep it from collapse.

If there is one place my bias as a designer comes out in the game it is in the fact that Recurring Revenue is the most powerful objective, at least once you have managed to set it up. The game makes it hard to resist the temptations of Loans, and some Events make them almost unavoidable. Just like Bonds, once they are taken, paying them off ends up more challenging than it seems.

Workforce is one of the overlapping scoring objectives that all three Factions will compete for, but they are not entirely zero sum. Instead, as seen here, Private is trying to beat Public, while Public is trying to beat Community, and Community is trying to beat Private. Everyone is trying to gain a VP while denying one to a single opponent.

4.3.2 Actions

Develop [Act Only]

Purpose: Place or replace Infrastructure.

In one District only, either:

- Pay 4 Resources to place one Private Infrastructure.
- Pay 3 Resources to Public or Community to replace one of their unexhausted Infrastructure with a Private Infrastructure.
- Pay 2 Resources to replace another Faction's exhausted Infrastructure with a Private Infrastructure.

Then, move in up to one Population from each adjacent District and add one Vulnerability to one adjacent District.

Invest

Purpose: Place and use Organizations.

In each of up to three selected Districts, either:

- Pay 2 Resources to place one Private Organization (pay 0 Resources if placing on a Grant).
- Pay 2 Resources to activate one inactive Private Organization and move one Vulnerability to Employees. May then pay one Resource to a Coalition Partner and activate their inactive Organization to move an additional Vulnerability to Employees.
- Pay 1 Resource to place one Loan in a District without a Loan.

If two or more Public Organizations were activated across all selected Districts, add one Vulnerability from the pool to Corrections.

Pay Off

Purpose: Move Vulnerabilities and exhaust Infrastructure.

In each of up to three selected Districts:

- Activate or remove a Private Organization and pay 1 Resource to move up to two Vulnerabilities to any adjacent Districts.
- In each destination District that now has more unhoused Vulnerabilities than Infrastructure, exhaust one Infrastructure.

Suburbanize

Purpose: Gain Resources and remove Population.

In each of up to three selected Districts:

- Remove up to two Population to the pool, gaining 1 Resource per Population removed.
- Activate or remove a Private Organization, or add one Vulnerability.

Private Infrastructure in the South Bronx was often not worth maintaining when considered in isolation, but provided a foothold in the area and was also necessary to secure government subsidies that could be used to profit elsewhere in the city.

Only Private can pay directly to replace unexhausted Infrastructure. However, Private Infrastructure unfortunately does not have a great return on investment.

Placing Loans is an action that follows the old adage: location, location, location. Placing Loans where they are needed increases the odds of them being used.

No other faction has a way to move Vulnerabilities around. This is a place where the abstract becomes more literal. The action is meant to represent the fact that during the 70s, property owners were literally paying the vulnerable population to burn their buildings down, so they could collect the insurance money. There will be times when Private just no longer feels invested in their Infrastructure and wants to exhaust it so that it can be removed or replaced.

The suburbs are the Private hedge against their urban investments. One of the responsible ways that Private can use this action is to remove unhoused Population, but this can seem to imply that Private is putting the homeless into suburban houses, which couldn't be further from the truth. Rather, they are removing the affluent qualifying population, which then allows those just below them on the social ladder to occupy their now vacant housing, making room for those beneath them, which eventually makes space to house any currently unhoused Population. One way to visualize this is to imagine that Private is actually removing housed Population, but then immediately replacing them on the Infrastructure with unhoused Population.

5.0 Winning and Losing

5.1 Winning

Factions gain Victory Points from their Objectives during the Census Round, and Position Goals during Event Rounds. If, after the Objectives phase of the Census Round, one Faction has four more Victory Points than both other Factions (considered individually), they immediately win the game. Otherwise, at the end of the game Factions may gain additional Victory Points for their Final Census Objectives. The Faction with the most Victory Points then wins, with tied Factions sharing victory.

A Faction may immediately win the game after the Objectives phase of the final Census Round, in which case Final Census Objectives will not be assessed.

It is possible, although unlikely, for all three Factions to win the game! Players may even decide to work towards this goal together, although the temptation to defect will always be there.

5.2 Losing

There are two ways for all three Factions to collectively lose the game:

- **Disenfranchisement:** If Losses ever reach 8, the social fabric of the South Bronx has collapsed and all Factions immediately lose the game.
- **Bankruptcy:** If, during the Comptroller step of the Audit phase, Public plus Community debt exceeds 14, there is a financial collapse and all Factions immediately lose the game.

If a loss condition is triggered, the Faction with the most Victory Points has contributed the most to the collapse of the South Bronx, and is considered to be ‘the biggest loser’. However, all three Factions have still lost.

It is possible, and even quite likely, for all three Factions to lose the game! Players will need to work hard to cooperate in order to avoid this outcome.

The ‘biggest loser’ award should ensure that whichever Faction has the most victory points also has the most to lose, although they may still choose to gamble on a risky situation to maintain their lead.

5.3 The Record

The Record of Events performed by each Faction provides a narrative overview of your game. If using the optional Player Position cards (6.0), also add Achieved Positions to each Faction’s Record during the Census Round. Lay the Events in each Record out in chronological order at the end of the game, with Positions being placed at the end of the Decade when they were scored. Compare each Faction’s Record and consider what kind of legacy they left in the South Bronx.

Events appearing in a faction’s Record give a sense of the faction’s focus. As a collection, patterns may emerge. While the choice in-game may have felt tactical, taking the time after the game to understand their historical significance can contextualize the feeling the in-game situation created.



Example of a Community Record from a 1940-1960 game.

6.0 Player Positions

Each Faction has a deck of eight Position cards that can optionally be used to assign a particular role or personality to that Faction for the current Decade, allowing them to gain additional Victory Points for achieving specific goals. Faction Positions can be used to guide new players by giving them concrete short-term targets, to offer additional strategic depth for experienced players, or to provide variety for solitaire players who prefer to control all Factions (i.e., by playing “multi-handed solitaire”). Each Faction Position card contains the following features that can be used by players:

- A title at the top left (‘Organizer’).
- A Priority Objective underneath the title (‘Social Movement’).
- A Position Goal target number at the top right (‘1’).
- A set of two conditions (e.g., ‘No unhoused Vulnerabilities’) that must be met before completing the Position Goal.
- A Position Goal that dictates a specific action that can be completed to earn a Goal Star if the two previous conditions are met.

ORGANIZER	1
Social Movement	
IF No unhoused Vulnerabilities	
All Community Infrastructure is filled with Population	
GOAL BUILD	
Place Infrastructure in a District with fewer than two unexhausted Infrastructure	

The Position cards are double-sided, containing priorities and instructions for player Positions on one side, and automated Non-Player Positions on the other. The next section (7.0 Non-Player Positions) explains how to use the Position cards to control Non-Player Factions.

6.1 Choosing Player Positions

At the start of the game each player shuffles together the Position cards for their Faction, draws two cards, and chooses one to keep (shuffle the other card back in with the remaining Position cards for that Faction).

The default way for players to select Positions is to draw two at random and choose one to keep, but you are welcome to experiment with other selection methods, such as drawing one entirely at random (better for new players) or selecting from all available Positions (for more advanced players). You can also play without Positions, for a simpler and more open-ended experience.

6.2 Achieving Position Goals

To achieve their Position Goal a player must first ensure that the two conditions listed on the card are met, then perform the action listed at the bottom of the card to gain a Goal Star (place the Goal Star on or near to the Position card). Each additional time that Faction is able to perform this action an additional Goal Star is placed on the Position card. Once a Position has Goal Stars equal to its target number (listed at the top right of the Position card), it is considered achieved and the Faction earns one Victory Point. Once it has been achieved, the Position cannot receive any more Goal Stars.

6.3 Priority Objectives

If the Priority Objective on an achieved Position card (with Goal Stars equal to its target number) is scored during the Census, that Faction earns one additional Victory Point (scoring two total for that Objective).

6.4 Selecting a New Player Position

During the Reset phase, an achieved Position (with Goal Stars equal to its target number) is added to its player's Record. Position cards in the Record are out of the game and may not be drawn again. Any player still holding a Position card may then choose to discard it, shuffling it back in with their other Position cards. Finally, any player who now has no Position card must draw two and select one to keep (as during setup).

For example, on the Community Faction's Organizer Position card, the two conditions are "No unhoused Vulnerabilities" and "All Community Infrastructure is filled with Population". To meet these conditions the Community player must ensure that there are no unhoused Vulnerabilities and that all Community Infrastructure has five Population housed on it. Once these two conditions are met, they can gain a Goal Star using Build to place Infrastructure in a District with less than two unexhausted Infrastructure. As this Position only requires one Goal Star, they would immediately gain one Victory Point after doing this.

The Organizer Position's Priority Objective is Social Movement (noted at the top left of the card, just underneath the title 'Organizer'. If the Organizer has achieved their Position Goal and scores Social Movement during the Census Round, they will gain an additional Victory Point.

7.0 Non-Player Positions

The reverse side of the Position cards introduced in 6.0 can also be used to operate each Faction as an automated ‘Non-Player Faction’, allowing for either solitaire games against two Non-Player (NP) Factions, or two-player games with a Non-Player Faction filling in for the third player. NP Factions follow all of the normal game rules, using their current Position card and the additional priorities listed on the Non-Player Aid sheet to determine their behavior. Each Non-Player Faction has a deck of eight Position cards that contain the following features:

- A title at the top left (‘Organizer’).
- A Priority Objective underneath the title (‘Social Movement’).
- A Position Goal target number at the top right (‘1’).
- An action selection priority sequence, underneath the target number (‘React|Act|Plan’).
- A set of four conditions (e.g., ‘Less than 2 Resources’), each paired with a specific action (e.g., ‘Fundraise’) with the last pair highlighted as the Position Goal.
- Action instructions underneath each action (e.g., ‘Most Community Infrastructure’).

The Position cards are double-sided, containing priorities and instructions for Non-Player Factions on one side, and player Positions on the other. The previous section (6.0 Player Positions) details optional rules for how players can use Position cards to add additional strategic depth to the game.

The conditions, priorities, and instructions on the Position cards give each Non-Player Faction a range of ‘personalities’, which you can use to manipulate or even ‘negotiate’ with during play. For example, a Position that prioritizes React will play conservatively, tending to let you or the other NP Faction take bigger (and more expensive) actions, but you may be able to ‘convince’ them to Act by choosing React before they are able to. While this might initially feel like an easy way to ‘game’ the NP system, it is in fact an intended outcome that helps to simulate some of the negotiation involved in a multi-player game of Cross Bronx Expressway.

NP ORGANIZER		1
Social Movement	ACT REACT PLAN	
Less than 2 resources	FUNDRAISE	
	Community Infrastructure where fewest Vulnerabilities	
Unhoused Vulnerabilities	ORGANIZE	
	Activate to Remove Vulnerabilities	
Unfilled Community Infrastructure	MOBILIZE	
	Only to fill Community Infrastructure	
District with less than two Infrastructure	BUILD	
	Place Infrastructure	

Shuffle the Position cards for each NP Faction separately and draw one for each NP Faction before beginning play. The Position card drawn for each NP Faction at the start of the game will remain in play until none of the conditions on it apply or all actions on it would be ineffective (7.5), Goal Stars equal to its Position Goal value are achieved (7.7), or it is discarded during the Census Round Reset phase (7.8).

7.1 The Golden Rule

NP Factions follow all the normal rules, and should only perform actions that the rules allow them to take. If you are ever unsure how to resolve an NP Faction's action or if you have exhausted their priorities, make a decision that you think makes the most sense for the South Bronx – after all, this is a semi-cooperative game.

7.2 General Principles

The following general principles apply when making all choices for NP Factions, unless otherwise specified by a Position card instruction. A summary of the NP General Principles can be found on the Non-Player Aid sheet.

- Place, move, or remove the maximum number of pieces possible.
- If given a choice, NP Community will prioritize forming a Social Coalition, NP Private will prioritize an Economic Coalition, and NP Public will prioritize whichever Coalition there are fewest of.
- Always Activate Coalition partners to remove additional Vulnerabilities if possible.
- Remove Active Organizations before Inactive Organizations.
- Activate or remove Organizations before placing Vulnerabilities.
- Activate an Organization before removing an Organization, if possible.
- Move or remove unhoused Population and unhoused Vulnerabilities first.
- Once a District has been selected, place Population on the acting Faction's Infrastructure first, then in this order of priority: Public, Community, Private.
- Place Grants or Loans with the acting Faction's Organization first, then in this order of priority: Public, Community, Private.
- Once a District has been selected, remove Population from the acting Faction's Infrastructure last, in this order of priority: Private, Community, Public.

For example, if an NP Faction is placing Population due to an Event effect, they will prefer to house it on their Infrastructure first, if possible. If there are multiple (or no) Districts where they could house Population on their Infrastructure, you should use the Place Population column of the NP General Priorities chart to decide where to place it.

7.3 General Priorities

Use the NP General Priorities chart found on the Non-Player Aid sheet to select between Districts that match the specific instructions for an action on an NP Position card and fit with the NP General Principles listed above. Find the column that matches the type of action being performed, then follow these steps:

1. Start at the top of the column and read down. For each row with a dot in that column, check its condition against all Districts that could be selected. If only one District meets this condition, perform the action in that District.
2. If more than one District meets the condition, continue down the column to the next condition that is met. If only one District meets both the original condition and the new condition, execute the action in this District (as in step 1).
3. Continue this process until a single District is selected.
4. Repeat this process from step 1 for each District to be selected.

Use the Place columns to determine where to move Population, Vulnerabilities, or Organizations to, and the Remove columns to determine where to move them from.

7.4 Action Selection

When it is their turn to select an action during an Event Round, NP Factions generally follow the priority order found at the top right of their Position card, selecting the first listed action box that is still available. The only exception to this are Events that exhaust any Infrastructure (not a specific Faction's Infrastructure), or place or replace any Organization (not a specific Faction's Organization). Events with any of these effects are deemed 'critical', and NP Factions will always select the Event box for cards with these effects if possible.

7.5 Action Resolution

When performing Act or React, NP Factions will choose the first action listed on their Position card for which the adjacent condition applies. The instructions listed underneath the action, combined with the NP General Principles and NP General Priorities charts, dictate how to resolve the action. Instructions on the Position card take priority over the General Principles, which take priority over the General Priorities. These instructions should be carried out to the fullest extent possible.

If an action would be ineffective for any reason, skip it and move on to the next action. If none of the conditions apply or no listed action is effective, discard the current Position card and draw a new one. In the unlikely event that no conditions on any Position card for an NP Faction apply, that Faction performs no action and instead automatically gains one Victory Point.

When an NP Faction performs Plan, use the Place, Replace, or Refresh Organization column of the NP General Priorities chart to refresh an Organization (if possible), then select their action for the next round as above. An NP Faction will never call an Audit when it performs Plan.

7.6 Event Resolution

When an NP Faction is performing an Event, use the NP General Principles and NP General Priorities chart to make any decisions that are required. If given a choice, each Faction will always place their own Infrastructure and Organizations first. NP Public and Community will always place Grants before Loans, and NP Private will always place Loans before Grants.

7.7 Goals & Priority Objectives

If an NP Faction performs the final action listed at the bottom of its Position card, it has achieved its Position Goal and gains a Goal Star (place the Goal Star counter on or near the Position card). If the NP Faction now has Goal Stars equal to its Position Goal's value (marked at the top right of the Position card), it gains one Victory Point.

NP Factions always gain an additional Victory Point if they achieve the Priority Objective on their current Position card during the Census Round. If an NP Faction has gained a Victory Point for either its Position Goal or Priority Objective, its Position card is added to its Record at the end of the Census Round.

The Goals and Priority Objectives allow NP Factions to gain additional Victory Points that are not usually available to players. For an easier game, either use the Player Positions introduced in the previous section, or do not award these additional Victory Points to NP Factions.

If you ever exhaust all priorities for an NP Factions action, or if you are otherwise unsure how to proceed, you should just make a choice for them yourself. This is reflective of the semi-cooperative nature of the game, where you might be able to advise or persuade another player to take a particular course of action.

7.8 Census Rounds

Use the following instructions (also listed on the Non-Player Aid sheet) to make decisions for NP Factions during Census Rounds. Use the NP General Principles and NP General Priorities as necessary to make further decisions for NP Factions.

- **Corrections:** NP Public and NP Community will each pay to move one Vulnerability from Corrections, if possible. NP Private will never pay to move a Vulnerability.
- **Petitions & Blight:** NP Public will pay to place an Organization and remove a Petition from any Districts with at least five Population in Public Infrastructure, most Population first. NP Community and NP Private will do so in Districts with the most of their Organizations first, then the highest Population.
- **Loans:** NP Public and NP Community will always pay to return Loans if possible.
- **Bonds:** NP Public will always pay back Bonds if doing so does not put them into debt. They will pay back Private Bonds before Community Bonds.
- **Comptroller:** NP Public will always offer one Bond to each other Faction. NP Private will always buy Bonds if possible, NP Community will only buy a Bond if it doesn't have one. NP Public will always set Taxes to 1 if possible.

- **Objectives:** NP Factions that score their Priority Objective always gain an additional Victory Point, then add the Position to their Record (they will then draw a new Position during Reset).
- **Reset:** If in debt, NP Private will Activate an Organization to set their Resources to 0, using Remove/Activate Organization Event priorities. If in debt, NP Public will Budget in the District with the most Public Infrastructure, then the least Population. If in debt, NP Community will Fundraise in the District with the most Community Infrastructure, then least Vulnerabilities. Each NP Faction will shuffle their current Position (if any) into their Position deck, then draw a new Position.

7.9 Non-Player Example of Play

This brief Non-Player example of play proceeds from the normal 1940 game setup, with all three Factions controlled by Non-Player Position cards (usually at most two Faction would use Non-Player Positions, while a solitaire player would control the third Faction). The following Position cards are drawn for each Faction:

- **NP Public:** Workhorse
- **NP Community:** Independent
- **NP Private:** Loss Leader

First Event Round

The first Event is **#006, Roosevelt Signs Bill to Help Veterans**. NP Community is listed first on this Event, and according to their Position card priority they would usually select React, but as this Event places an Organization it is deemed ‘critical’ and so they will select the **Event** option. NP Private is listed next and will select **React**, as this option is listed first on their Position card. Finally, NP Public will select **Act**, listed first on their card.

NP Public will therefore Act first, and we check their Position card to see what they will do. They do not have fewer than 2 Resources, so we skip the first row. There is unfilled Public Infrastructure, so they will perform the action on the second row: **Relocate** (but only to try and fill Public Infrastructure). We use the *Place Population* column of the NP General Priorities chart to determine which District they will move Population to first, limited to only those with unfilled Public Infrastructure (per the Position card instruction). There is Public Infrastructure with room in Districts #4 and #5, fulfilling the first dotted row of the *Place Population* column, then the next row (“least Population”) gets us to District #5, so we select this District first (but we can use a pawn to note that District #4 will probably be selected next).

Next, we use the *Remove Population* column to select which adjacent District we will move Population from. The first dotted row is “most unhoused Population”, but none of the adjacent Districts have any unhoused Population, so we skip this. The next row is “most Vulnerabilities”, which narrows us down to Districts #3 and #4, both with the three Vulnerabilities.

NP Public used a full Act turn just to perform an action in one space, which may seem sub-optimal. However, by doing this they will have prevented another Faction (perhaps the player) from taking a full turn. Uncooperative perhaps, but not necessarily a bad move!

The third dotted row, “most Population”, narrows us down to District #3. As a general principle, each NP Faction will always remove Population from its own Infrastructure last, so we take two Population from the Community Infrastructure in District #3 and move it to the Public Infrastructure in District #5. Finally, we add one unhoused Vulnerability to District #5.

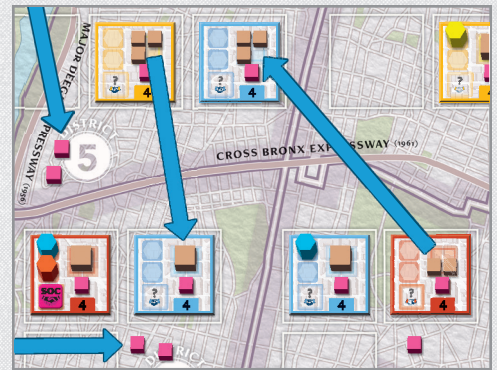
NP Public can still select more Districts for Relocate, so we move on to District #4, which is the only remaining District where there is unfilled Public Infrastructure. District #5 is now the adjacent District with the most unhoused Vulnerabilities (four), so we take two Population from the Private Infrastructure there and move it to the Public Infrastructure in District #4, then place an unhoused Vulnerability in District #4. There are no remaining Districts with unfilled Public Infrastructure, so the Public action is complete.

Next, NP Community will perform the **Event**, placing an Organization with a Grant. NP Factions always choose to place their own Organizations first, so we know that they will place a Community Organization. We check the *Place Organizations* column of the NP General Priorities chart to see where they will place it. Districts #4 and #5 both have the most unhoused Vulnerabilities and the most Vulnerabilities, and neither would allow a Coalition to be formed, so NP Community selects District #4 as it has the most Population. There is no specific priority for which Infrastructure NP Community will place their Organization on, but in this case there is only room on the Public Infrastructure in District #4, so we place a Community Organization with a Grant there. The Community turn is complete, so we add the Event to their Record as normal.

Finally, NP Private will React, and we check their Position card to see what they will do. They do not have fewer than -3 Resources, but Employees are equal or less than Cases (as there are none of either), so they will **Invest** to activate Private Organizations and mitigate Vulnerabilities. This action will remove a Vulnerability, so we use the *Remove Vulnerabilities* column of the NP General Priorities chart to select where to do it, looking only at Districts with inactive Private Organizations (#6 and #9). District #9 has the most unhoused Vulnerabilities, so we select it for Invest. We activate the Private Organization there, move the one unhoused Vulnerability to Employees, and reduce Private Resources by two, to 7. If this Private Organization had been in a Coalition, and its partner Organization was inactive, NP Private would also have paid an additional Resource to the Coalition Faction to activate their Organization and move another Vulnerability to Employees. This was a React (limited to one District only), so the Private action is now complete, and we move on to the next Event Round.

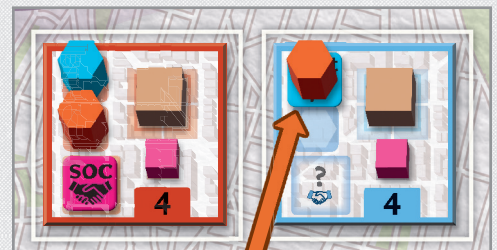
Second Event Round

The second Event is **#002, U.S. Enters The War**. This Event is not critical, so NP Public chooses **Act**, NP Private chooses **React**, and NP Community again chooses **Event** (per their Position card, they would have preferred to choose React, but as it is not available they take their second priority, Event).



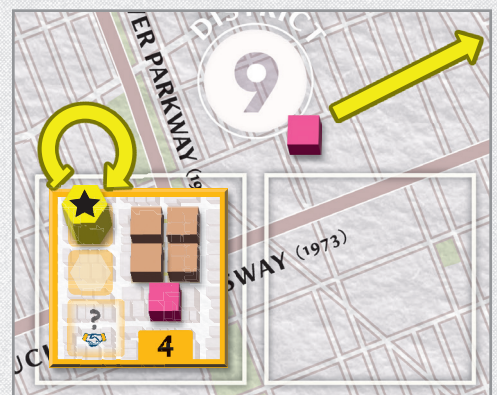
NP Public Relocates Population to Districts 4 and 5, and adds a Vulnerability to each District.

It can be useful to use pawns to mark potential Districts that could be selected by NP Factions, removing pawns as you narrow down to just one District. Often you will find that the various criteria quickly narrow you down to just one possible District.



NP Community places an Organization with a Grant on the Public Infrastructure in District 4.

NP Private has pursued their Position Goal in a somewhat selfish manner, but they are now close to scoring a bonus Victory Point and have also reduced their Expenses by exhausting their own Infrastructure in District #5.



NP Private Invests to mitigate a Vulnerability in District 9.

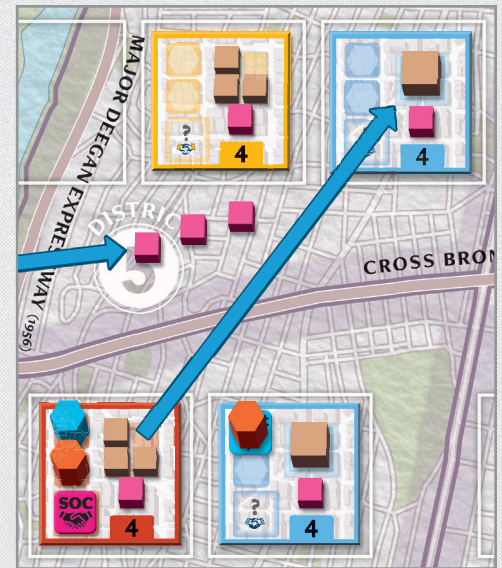
There is still unfilled Public Infrastructure, so NP Public will again **Relocate**, choosing just District #5 (the only District with unfilled Public Infrastructure). There is still no unhoused Population and the adjacent District with the most Vulnerabilities is District #4, so they will move two Population from the Community Infrastructure there to the Public Infrastructure in District #5, then place another unhoused Vulnerability in District #5. As there is no more unfilled Public Infrastructure the Public action is now complete.

NPCommunity will now perform the **Event**, first removing two Population from any Districts. We will use the *Remove Population* column of the NP General Priorities chart separately for each removed Population (although they may both come from the same District). There is still no unhoused Population, and District #5 has the most Vulnerabilities, so we will remove both Population from there. NP Factions always prefer to remove Population from their own Infrastructure last, and then prefer to remove from Private, Community, or Public Infrastructure in that order (skipping their own Infrastructure). So, NP Community will remove both Population from the Private Infrastructure. Finally, they remove one Vulnerability from Corrections, and then we add the Event to their Record. The Community turn is now complete.

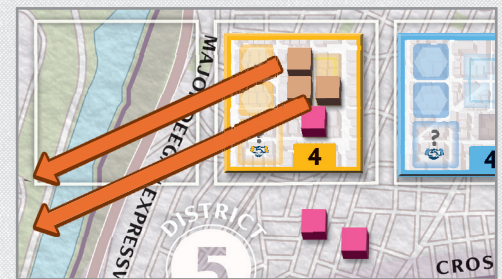
NP Private will now React. They do not have fewer than -3 Resources, Employees are greater than Cases, there is no Exhausted Infrastructure, and there is Private Infrastructure with less than three Population, so they will perform the final action listed on their Position card: **Pay Off**. The instruction notes that they will only do this to exhaust Private Infrastructure with fewer than three Population, which could be in either District #1 or District #5, so there will need to be a District adjacent to one of these two that Private can select for Pay Off. The Pay Off action moves Vulnerabilities from the selected District, which must have a Private Organization to activate or remove, so we would normally use the *Remove Vulnerabilities* column of the NP General Priorities chart to select one District with a Private Organization (and adjacent to either of the target Districts, #1 or #5). However, it turns out that the only District with a Private Organization that meets all of those criteria is District #6, so we can just select District #6 without consulting the chart.

NP Factions will always activate an Organization before removing it if given the choice, so we activate the Private Organization in District #6 to move both Vulnerabilities there to District #5 (as NP Factions will always move, place, or remove as many pieces as possible), then exhaust the Private Infrastructure in District #5. This action costs Private one Resource, so we reduce their Resources to 6. Finally, as NP Private performed their Position Goal we award them one Goal Star. If they can do this again in a future round they will gain a Victory Point, as their Position target number is two. The Private turn is now complete.

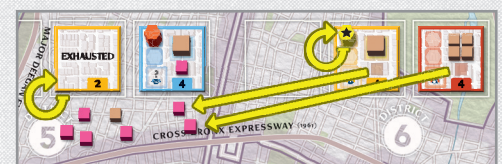
This example of play is now complete, so pick a Faction for yourself and continue playing solitaire. **Good luck!**



NP Public Relocates two Population from District 4 to District 5, and places one Vulnerability in District 5.



NP Community removes two Population from the Private Infrastructure in District 5 (and removes a Vulnerability from Corrections).



NP Private Pays Off to move two Vulnerabilities from District 6 to District 5, then exhausts their own Infrastructure in District 5.

Setup Instructions

The standard way to play *Cross Bronx Expressway* is in a single 'Session' consisting of two Decades, after which additional end of game Victory Points are awarded and a winner is determined (if the players have not collectively lost to Disenfranchisement or Bankruptcy). Sessions can also be linked together, allowing you to play a series of two or three connected two Decade games, with a pause in between each game. Finally, the 1990 setup can be used for a shorter one Decade game, with some minor adjustments as noted below.

Setting Up A Session

Select a Decade from the Historical Record booklet and complete the board setup as indicated there. Construct the Event deck for your Session as follows:

1. Separate out the fifteen Event cards for your starting Decade and the subsequent Decade, then shuffle each stack of fifteen Event cards separately.
2. Deal eight Event cards from each stack face-down on top of the Census card that will end that Decade, then place the resulting pile for the starting Decade on top of the pile for the subsequent Decade. Return the unused Event cards to the box.
3. Your completed Event deck should now consist of eight Event cards for the starting Decade, the Census card that ends your starting Decade, eight Event cards for the next Decade, and finally the Census card that ends the next Decade.
4. Place the completed deck in the Event Deck space on the board.

You are now ready to begin play by revealing the top card of the Event deck and moving it to the current Event space, then revealing the new top card of the Event deck as the next Event.

Linked Sessions

It is possible to play *Cross Bronx Expressway* as a series of linked Sessions, with a break in between Sessions. Each Session should be played individually, scoring the game as normal at the end of the second Decade if the game has not ended in Disenfranchisement or Bankruptcy. Once the Session is complete, take a note of the final scores and then, when you are ready to play again, set up a new Session as above for the next Decade. The player who won the previous Session begins the game with two Victory Points, the player who came second with one Victory Point, and the player who came third with zero Victory Points. If two players tied for first place, they each begin the game with one Victory Point. If two players tied for second place, or if all players' scores were tied, they each begin the game with zero Victory Points.

While the intent of the game is to cover the full historical time period, the game has been optimized for single session plays of two Decades. Players are encouraged to explore the various single Session scenarios to see the history. Playing linked Sessions is mostly advisable after players have experience with the system and familiarity with the historical nature of play.

For example, the Event deck for a Session beginning in 1940 would consist of the following cards, from top to bottom:

- *Eight random 1940 Event cards, shuffled together.*
- *The 1950 Census card.*
- *Eight random 1950 Event cards, shuffled together.*
- *The 1960 Census card.*

A three Session linked game will consist of one Session from 1940 to 1960, one Session from 1960 to 1980, and one Session from 1980 to 2000. Shorter two Session linked games can begin either from 1940 (playing up to 1980), 1950 (playing up to 1990), or 1960 (playing up to 2000).

Six Decades of the South Bronx

Cross Bronx Expressway can also be played continuously for six Decades, from 1940 through to the 2000 Census. Set up as normal for a Session beginning in 1940, but construct the Event deck with a pile of eight random Event cards and a Census card for each Decade, then stack these piles in chronological order (with the 1990s pile at the bottom and the 1940s pile at the top). Play then proceeds as normal, with one important adjustment:

- A collective loss due to Disenfranchisement will only occur if Losses reach 14, rather than the usual 8.
- Community gains a Final Census victory point if Losses are less than 8, instead of less than 5.

The 1990s: A One Decade Game

It is not possible to play a full two Decade Session starting from the 1990 board setup, but this setup can still be used for a shorter one Decade game. Set up as normal, but construct only one stack of eight 1990 Event cards on top of the 2000 Census card. Note that the 1990s setup begins with Losses at 4, which will pose an additional challenge even for this short game mode.

This continuous six Decade game is particularly challenging, even with the adjusted Disenfranchisement condition, and should only be attempted by experienced players. It is very likely that you will collectively lose the game before reaching the 2000 Census.

The shorter 1990s game might be a good way to introduce the game to new players, or just a quick way to play when you have less time available. Any single Decade can theoretically be played in this way if desired, but you should start with Losses at 4 if doing this.

Glossary

Act (3.1.3): Select one action to perform in up to three Districts (or in one District only if performing House, Build, or Develop).

Activate (2.2.3): Flip an Organization so its symbol end is visible.

Active (2.2.3): An Organization with its symbol end visible.

Active Loan (2.3.4): A Loan that is either with an Organization or in the Public or Community Faction areas.

Adjacent (2.1.1): Districts that share a border or corner.

Audit (3.2.3): The calculation of Income and Expenses to determine Faction revenue.

Bankruptcy (5.2): Collective loss condition if Public plus Community debt exceeds 14 during the Comptroller phase of the Census Round.

Blight (2.3.3): Marker that blocks income and some objectives in a District.

Bond (2.3.5): An investment made by Private or Community in the Public with high returns.

Budget (4.1.2): Public action to gain Resources and place Population.

Build (4.2.2): Community action to place Infrastructure and move Population.

Census Round (3.2): Accounting period at the end of every Decade for tallying population, assessing revenue, and scoring Victory Points.

Coalition (2.2.3): Formed by two Organizations of different Factions housed on the same Infrastructure.

Corrections (2.1.7): Holding space for Vulnerabilities currently in the corrections system.

Debt (2.1.2): A Faction whose Resources fall below 0 is in debt.

Debt Limit (2.1.2): Factions cannot intentionally spend below their debt limit, which is -5 Resources for Private and 0 Resources for Public and Community.

Develop (4.3.2): Private action that places Infrastructure and moves Population.

Disenfranchisement (5.2): Collective loss condition if Losses ever reach 8 (during a normal two-Decade Session).

District (2.1.1): Numbered regions on the map, from 1 to 6 and then 9.

Economic (2.3.2): A Coalition with one Private Organization and one Public or Community Organization.

Event Card (2.4.1): A card with Faction initiative order and mandatory Event effects.

Event (3.1.4): Perform the Event effect and then add it to your Faction's Record.

Exhaust (2.2.2): Flip an Infrastructure to its reverse side and move off all Population, Vulnerabilities, and Organizations housed on it.

Exhausted (2.2.2): Infrastructure flipped to its reverse side that can no longer house any Population, Vulnerabilities, or Organizations.

Expenses (2.3.1): Negative revenue evaluated during an Audit.

Fundraise (4.2.2): Community action to gain Resources.

Grant (2.3.4): Markers used to cover the placement and upkeep costs of an Organization.

House (4.1.2): Public action to place Infrastructure and Population.

Housed (2.2.2): Population, Vulnerabilities, and Organizations on an Infrastructure tile are housed.

Inactive Loan (2.3.4): A Loan that is in a District but not with an Organization.

Income (2.3.1): Positive revenue evaluated during an Audit.

Infrastructure (2.2.2): Faction tiles placed in Districts to house Population, Vulnerabilities, and Infrastructure.

Invest (4.3.2): Private action to place and use Organizations and to place Loans.

Loan (2.3.4): Markers used to cover the placement and upkeep costs of a Public or Community Organization, but with ongoing payments to Private during every Census Round.

Losses (2.3.8): The cumulative total of Vulnerabilities lost to the corrections system.

Mobilize (4.2.2): Community action for moving Population and Organizations.

Organization (2.2.3): Hexagonal cylinders in each Faction color, with a symbol on one end to indicate if they are active (symbol end up) or inactive (symbol end down).

Organize (4.2.2): Community action to place and use Organizations.

Overflow (2.1.7): Box below Corrections that Vulnerabilities are placed in once Corrections is at capacity, which will then be transferred to Losses during the Census Round.

Pay Off (4.3.2): Private action to move Vulnerabilities and exhaust Infrastructure.

Petition (2.3.3): Marker placed in a District with more Vulnerabilities than Infrastructure, may be removed by placing an Organization and will otherwise become Blight.

Plan (3.1.6): May calculate Income and Expenses for all Factions, then refresh one Organization and take first choice of actions for the next Event Round.

Population (2.2.1): Small and large natural wood cubes, representing one and five Population respectively.

Position (6.0, 7.0): Optional cards used to add additional player goals and control Non-Player Factions.

React (3.1.5): Select one action to perform in one District, but may not select House, Build, or Develop.

Record (5.3): A stack of played Events and achieved Positions kept near the Faction play area as a record of their impact.

Refresh (2.2.3): Flip an Organization so its symbol end is hidden.

Relocate (4.1.2): Public action for moving Population.

Resources (2.2.4): Economic units measured with Faction cylinders, spent to perform most actions and for upkeep.

Service (4.1.2): Public action to place and use Organizations.

Social (2.3.2): A Coalition with one Public Organization and one Community Organization.

Suburbanize (4.3.2): Private action to remove Population and gain Resources.

Unhoused (2.2.2): Population, Vulnerabilities, or Organizations without supporting Infrastructure.

Vulnerability (2.2.1): Small pink cubes indicating systemic issues facing the Population in a District.

Game Contents

- A 22"x34" mounted game board (2.1)
- A deck of 96 Event cards (2.4)
- A deck of 24 Position cards (6.0, 7.0)
- 91 natural (Population) and pink (Vulnerability) cubes (2.2.1)
- 26 blue, orange, and yellow hexagonal Organization cylinders, marked with a symbol on one end (2.2.3)
- Six wooden cylinders (two blue, two orange, two yellow), marked with a symbol on one end (2.2.4)
- Three black and three white pawns (2.2.5)
- Three countersheets
- Three Faction player aid pamphlets
- One Non-player aid sheet (7.0)
- One custom Fundraise die (2.2.6)
- Three Faction Orientation Guide booklets
- A Historical Records booklet
- This rule book

