



# **RACIAL INEQUALITY IN NEW YORK CITY**

**1965-2015 AND BEYOND**

**EDITED BY  
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# **Racial Inequality in New York City Since 1965**

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Benjamin P. Bowser and Chelli Devadutt (eds.)

## **Publication Summary**

## Introduction

**Benjamin P. Bowser  
Chelli Devadutt**

Studies have been done on aspects of racial inequality in New York City since 1965. Two generations of scholars and researchers have produced an impressive array of studies across multiple disciplines providing in-depth knowledge on virtually every imaginable topic. Despite the volume and scope of this work, it is fragmented and episodic – the product of working from multiple silos. Despite close to six hundred books, journal, magazine and newspaper articles, three interrelated questions have gone unanswered: what progress, if any, has been made in reducing racial inequality in the past fifty years, what accounts for our current circumstances, and what can be done now to reduce racial inequalities in the future?

Approximately, fifty years, half a century, is a milestone because the last comprehensive assessment that looked at racial inequality in New York City as an outcome of changes in the economy, and practices in housing, education, and government was Kenneth Clark et al., Youth in the Ghetto (1964) and Dark Ghetto (1965). The former was one of the blueprints for the Johnson Administration's War on Poverty. This work is our touchstone and point of comparison half a century later for New York City. When the late Walter Stafford (Wagner School, New York University) and Benjamin Bowser realized that no follow-up was underway, they began planning to do this work. The premature passing of Professor Stafford prompted his widow, Chelli Devadutt, and Benjamin Bowser to initiate this long overdue project. We believe the best way to accomplish such a large and complex project is to invite experts from a range of fields to contribute to an interdisciplinary anthology. This seems the best way to connect the dots between the many self-contained academic silos to understand a complicated history and contemporary circumstances.

We spent the winter of 2016 discussing our plans with advisors and prospective contributors. From these meetings, twenty individuals and teams accepted the challenge of doing the research, writing and presenting their initial work at a symposium, held at the NYU Wagner School, on October 13 and 14, 2016. Fifteen presentations were made over two days. What distinguished this symposium from others was the decision to have reviewers from three distinct communities participate in each session along with academic-based contributors. These reviewers were from public policy organizations, community-based agencies and city departments whose work is research-driven. This particular review process connected academic and public policy specialists, with the end consumers of their research. Final drafts became chapters in an anthology edited during 2017. Authors were encouraged to draw upon one another's works, thereby integrating their knowledge with that from other disciplines. The editors made suggestions to each author, as well. The chapters in this anthology have been written to be academically sound and thoroughly useful to community and government agencies tasked with addressing race and inequality in New York City.

### **This Pamphlet<sup>1</sup>**

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<sup>1</sup> We are especially appreciative to Terry Oldano of TLO Communications for writing short summaries of each chapter.

We are pleased to announce that the State University of New York (SUNY) Press is our publisher and that Racial Inequality in New York City Since 1965 will be available in the fall of 2019. This is a pamphlet summarizing the authors' findings and recommendations. It is intended to be used instead of the full publication for community discussions, as a study guide, marketing tool, reading notes for the full work, and for the dissemination of findings and recommendations. This pamphlet mirrors the book.

There are three sections. In the first section, there are four chapters reviewing changes in the structural underpinnings of racial inequality in New York City. In section two, four chapters review the status of the four major racial groups in New York, referred to as the "race mountains." A fifth chapter reviews the extent to which there have been racial conflicts between White, Black, Latino, Asian and West Indian New Yorkers. Section three reviews outcome chapters in policing, public health, public housing, political participation, and social capital. A sixth chapter shows how the international human development index methodology could be applied to New York City, making ongoing assessments of racial inequality possible. Finally, this pamphlet reprints the entire summary of the findings and recommendations in the book.

## Table of Content

<b>Introduction</b> Benjamin P. Bowser and Chelli Devadutt	2
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### Section One: Structure and Dynamics

<b>Chapter 1 – Economy:</b> Inequality in NYC: the Intersection of Race and Class James Parrot	6
<b>Chapter 2 – Housing:</b> The Paradox of Inclusion and Segregation in the Nation’s Melting Pot Ingrid Gould Ellen, Jessica Yager, and Maxwell Austensen	9
<b>Chapter 3 – Education:</b> NYC School Segregation Then and Now: plus ca change ... Norman Fruchter and Christina Mokhtar	11
<b>Education Addendum:</b> Understanding and Dismantling Barriers to College and Career Success for Black and Latino Young Men Adriana Villavicencio, Shifra Goldenberg, and Sarah Klevan	15
<b>Chapter 4 – Government:</b> Do Mayors Matter? Race, Justice and the Men in City Hall, 1965-2017 Jarrett Murphy	16

### Section Two: The Race Mountains

<b>Chapter 5 – Asian Americans:</b> Immigration, Diversity, and Disparity Howard Shih	20
<b>Chapter 6 – Latino Americans:</b> The Evolving Latino Population in New York City Hector Cordero-Guzman	22
<b>Chapter 7 – African Americans:</b> African Americans and Racialized Inequality in New York Benjamin P. Bowser	25
<b>Chapter 8 – West Indians Americans:</b> Select Socio-Economic Characteristics of West Indian Immigration in New York City Calvin Holder and Aubrey Bonnett	29
<b>Chapter 9 –Ethnic Conflict:</b> How Much Exists in New York City? Benjamin P. Bowser, John Flateau, Hector Cordero-Guzman, Howard Shih, Calvin Holder and Aubrey Bonnett	32

### Section Three: Policy and Practice

<b>Chapter 10 – Policing:</b> Stop and Frisk: Continuity of Racial Control and Reconstructed Blackness Natalie Byfield	35
<b>Chapter 11 – Public Health:</b> Public Policy, HIV/AIDS and Destruction of Community in New York City Robert Fullilove	37
<b>Chapter 12 – Human Development Index:</b> The Five New Yorks: Understanding Inequality by Place and Race in New York City Kristen Lewis and Sarah Burd-Sharps	39
<b>Chapter 13 – Public Housing:</b> Public Housing: New York’s Third City Victor Bach	41
<b>Chapter 14 – Political Participation:</b> Black New Yorkers: 50 Years of Closing the Political Inequality Gap, 1965-2016 John Flateau	44
<b>Chapter 15 – Social Capital:</b> Social Capital, Gentrification, and Inequality in New York City James Rodriguez, Robert Hawkins, and Andrew Wilkes	47
<b>Chapter 16 – Recommendations</b> Benjamin Bowser and Chelli Devadutt	50

# Section One: Structure and Dynamics

## Chapter One

### Inequality in New York City: The Intersection of Race and Class

James A. Parrott

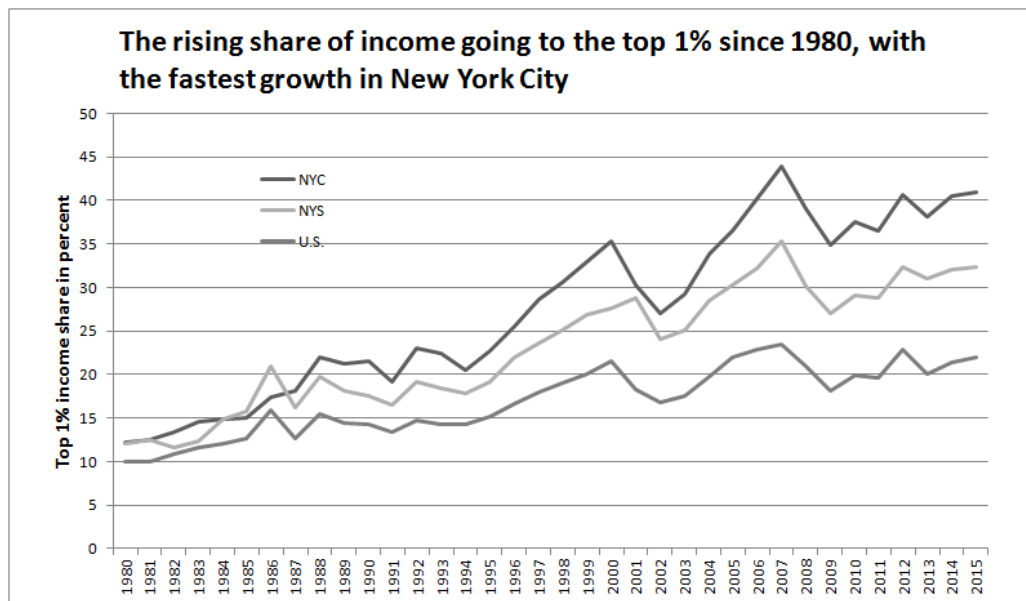
Center for New York City Affairs (CNYCA) at The New School

Income inequality has been trending upward since the late 1970s, particularly, affecting persons of color and women. Former President Barack Obama called it "the defining challenge of our time." New York City is a living example of what happens in a society where income concentrates at the top.

#### Prosperity Reversed

In the 35 years following World War II, the country experienced favorable economic times that families in every category were able to share in. By 1980, however, the situation began to change, with income growth shifting toward the top of the income pyramid, and median family incomes beginning a long period of stagnation.

- In the 1990s, corporate downsizings began to accelerate.
- By the year 2000, low-paying jobs were on the rise. Middle management and administrative support positions were disappearing, disproportionately affecting native-born White women.
- At the same time, Black and White men were suffering job setbacks with the number of blue-collar jobs declining rapidly.
- High-wage jobs in sectors such as finance, senior management, and the law were increasing, laying the groundwork for further economic polarization.
- By the year 2000, the top one percent of earners in New York City held 35 percent of incomes, compared to 22 percent for their peers in the rest of the U.S.



## Migrating Incomes, Shifting Populations

In the 35 years between 1980 and 2015, New York experienced two simultaneous demographic shifts. At the same time the income gap was widening, the city's demographics were dramatically transforming, as well.

- During the 1980s and 1990s, Whites were leaving the city in growing numbers.
- The immigrant portion of New York City's population, 80 percent of whom were people of color, was increasing, rising from 24 percent in 1980 to 38 percent in 2015.
- As the largest share of the resident workforce, immigrants now hold nearly 60 percent of the city's low-wage service jobs.

Between World War II and the 1970s, the richest one percent of the population received 10 percent of all income. In the subsequent 35 years, however, this segment of the population saw their incomes grow by 66 percent.

- The number of White families in the high-income group more than doubled between 1980 and 2015. Their share of total income more than tripled.
- Income levels for families of color, however, are the same today as they were in 1990.
- Statistics confirm that earning disparities between high- and low-wage, full-time workers in New York City are expanding. Latinos account for over half of the low-wage service job gains, Blacks for about one-quarter.

## New York City median family incomes, by race-ethnicity, 1980-2015

<i>2015 dollars</i>	1980	1990	2000	2010	2015	change in median income				
						1980-1990	1990-2000	2000-2010	2010-2015	1980-2015
All NYC families	\$55,551	\$66,938	\$61,616	\$59,794	\$63,232	20.5%	-8.0%	-3.0%	5.7%	13.8%
White non-Hispanic	\$70,574	\$89,309	\$89,934	\$94,584	\$100,151	26.5%	0.7%	5.2%	5.9%	41.9%
Black non-Hispanic	\$41,916	\$56,100	\$52,936	\$51,097	\$56,948	33.8%	-5.6%	-3.5%	11.5%	35.9%
Latino of any race	\$34,552	\$43,988	\$44,113	\$43,541	\$43,006	27.3%	0.3%	-1.3%	-1.2%	24.5%
Asians and all other non-Hispanics	\$57,184	\$65,699	\$59,197	\$59,794	\$60,876	14.9%	-9.9%	1.0%	1.8%	6.5%

Source: FPI analysis of 1980-2010 Census microdata provided by IPUMS, 2015 ACS microdata from IPUMS.

## Where Things Stand Now

New York City is in the midst of a recovery and an expansion equivalent to the one that took place in the 1980s. Wages and incomes are growing for Blacks and Latinos, as well as for Whites. Nevertheless, not all the news is bright. As the city's population continues to swell, real estate and rental prices continue to grow, making it harder and harder for low-income families to remain in the city.



- From 2000 to 2013, real median hourly wages for New York City resident workers declined by 1.7 percent.
- Income levels for families of color, relative to White family median incomes, have fallen.
- Forty-two percent of New York City households lack sufficient income to meet minimum basic family needs.
- Forty percent of job growth since 2010 has been in industries with average annual wages of under \$40,000.

### **What a City Can Do**

How, then, does a city address advancing income inequality? The Harvard-Stanford Equality of Opportunity Project suggests cities focus on some fundamental issues:

- Nourishing better schools;
- Reducing crime;
- Increasing the minimum wage;
- Reducing poverty and near-poverty levels around the country.

New York City, in particular, could do more by:

- Influencing changes in national policies affecting unions;
- Building additional affordable housing;
- Investing in mass transit;
- Developing forward-looking environmental policies.

The city must take actions such as these if it is truly serious about promoting a more egalitarian distribution of economic growth.

## Chapter Two

### The Paradox of Inclusion and Segregation in the Nation's Melting Pot

Ingrid Gould Ellen, Jessica Yager, Maxwell Austensen  
Furman Center, New York University

New York City prides itself on its diversity, yet it is still one of the most racially segregated cities in the U.S. In fact, segregation levels have barely changed since 1980. It has been 50 years since the Fair Housing Act was passed. Yet Whites and other racial/ethnic groups continue to live in separate and distinct neighborhoods. These consistent patterns of segregation have serious implications for the people who live in New York. Racial segregation is an outcome of economic racial inequality as well as a factor that reinforces inequality.

#### Trends in Segregation

There are increasing rates of isolation among minority populations in New York City. More and more, groups live among members of their own culture. For instance, Hispanic and Asian populations have grown steadily, but since 1980, there has been little improvement in their level of segregation. For example, in 2010, 48 percent of the residents in Hispanic neighborhoods were from the same culture, and for Asians, it was 33 percent. In White New York neighborhoods, 63 percent of the residents are also White. It is different for Black New Yorkers. When integrated, they are more likely to live in places populated by Hispanics and Asians.

According to census tract data, the levels of segregation between White and non-White residents in NYC have remained largely unchanged since 1980. However, White-dominant neighborhoods have become more integrated over the years, but Black residents have been excluded from this integration. In fact, more than 81 percent of White or Black New Yorkers would have to move to a different neighborhood for racial segregation to disappear.

When Whites and Blacks share neighborhoods, they are less stable and more prone to transitioning to all-minority. Stability is key when considering integration. Of the 432 tracts that were integrated racially in New York City in 1980, only 118 remained racially integrated in 2010. Eighty percent of those neighborhoods that were no longer integrated had transitioned to mixed-minority: either majority Hispanic or majority Black.

It appears that higher poverty rates also affect segregation levels. When a metropolitan area has a sizable poor Black population, the extent of segregation between Blacks and Whites is greater. Yet research shows that segregation drops when minority populations achieve higher socioeconomic levels.

#### Segregation Has Serious Consequences

Census data show that metro areas with higher levels of segregation and poverty tend to have lower high school graduation rates, lower employment rates, lower earnings, and an increase in the number of women who become single mothers. However, these trends can be reversed. Through its *Moving to Opportunity* program, the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development has found the following: when children under 13 move to more prosperous areas, they are more likely to attend college, earn

more as an adult, and live in lower-poverty neighborhoods as adults. Women are also less likely to be single mothers.

Another consequence is that racial segregation reduces residential options; it is accompanied by inequities in the resources and services available to residents. These differences, measured by poverty rate, share of adults with college degrees, school performance, crime levels, and access to parks and subways, have revealed that White and Asian neighborhoods have fared well. Blacks and Hispanics have seen some improvement in achieving college degrees, but Black and Hispanic children continue to live near and attend lower-performing schools.

### **Implications for Public Policy**

In the 30 years between 1980 and 2010, several large U.S. cities saw substantial declines in Black/White segregation. This was not the case in New York City. To date, the explanations are inadequate. Some believe it is because so many minority residents live in public housing. Others theorize that higher segregation rates persist because the large population of foreign-born Black New Yorkers tends to live in Black, Hispanic and Asian communities.

Whatever the reason, New York City must find ways to correct its protracted history of racial segregation. To do this, it needs to address existing disparities in neighborhoods, starting by improving schools and further reducing violent crime. The city must preserve those parts of the city that are economically and racially diverse by developing new housing opportunities in reclaimed areas, or by expanding access to its own housing programs. In addition, city government needs to review its own policies and decisions in relation to resource allocation, if it hopes to remain an innovator in the area of affordable housing and fair treatment of all its residents.

## Chapter Three

### NYC School Segregation Then and Now: Plus Ca Change . . .

Norm Fruchter, Christina Mokhtar  
Metro Center for Research, NYU

In 2013, New York State's schools were identified as the most racially and ethnically segregated schools in the country, with New York City leading the way in hyper-segregation.

#### Potential for Integration

During the forty-year period spanning school years 1973-74 through 2013-14, New York City's thirty-two community school districts demonstrated dramatically different potential for integration.

- Fifteen districts were potentially integrable – These districts had Black and Latino student populations below the citywide average of 68.5 percent, with at least a 32 percent White and Asian population. They comprised 53.5 percent of the overall citywide student population in 2013-14.
- Seventeen districts were hyper-segregated – These districts were more than 80 percent Black and Latino. In eleven of those districts, Black and Latino enrollment was over 90 percent. They had very small enrollments of Whites and Asians, making it difficult to increase diversity and reduce segregation.

Although some changes did take place over time, the districts that were hyper-segregated in 1973-74, remained so even forty years later.

- In 1973-74, fourteen districts were potentially integrable. By 2013-14, there were fifteen.
- There were eighteen hyper-segregated districts in 1973-74, and only one less, seventeen, in 2013-14.

Throughout this period, there was a sizeable increase in Black and Latino student populations, likely the result of great numbers of people moving from traditional inner-city neighborhoods to the edges of the city's outer boroughs.

**Increases in Black and Latino Populations by Borough and Neighborhood, 1973-74 to 2013-14**

Borough	District	Neighborhood	%-Point Increase
Queens	24	Ridgewood, Corona, Elmhurst, Maspeth, Little Village	29.8
	25	Flushing, Whitestone, College Point	15.8
	27	Far Rockaway, Howard Beach, Woodhaven	20.7
	30	Astoria, Long Island City, Jackson Heights, Sunnyside	19.2
Brooklyn	18	Flatbush, Canarsie	42.8
	21	Coney Island, Brighton Beach, Bensonhurst	10.4
	22	Ditmas Park, Midwood, Mill Basin, Sheepshead Bay	29.3
Bronx	10	Fordham, Belmont, Kingsbridge, Riverdale	24.6
	11	Coop City, Eastchester, Woodlawn, City Island	26.6
Manhattan	6	Washington Heights, Inwood, North Harlem	10.6
Staten Island	31	Staten Island	25.6

Sources: NYC Municipal Archives, of the NYC school system's Series 1480: Office of Student Information: School Profiles 1973-74. NYC DOE: *Demographic Snapshots. Annual Enrollment Snapshots*, 2014.

From 1973 to 2014, those community school districts that shifted from hyper-segregated to potentially integrable, did so because of a considerable drop in Black and Latino populations, with a concurrent immigration of Whites and Asians.

**Decreases in Black and Latino Populations by Borough and Neighborhood, 1973-74 to 2013-14**

Borough	District	Neighborhood	%-Point Decrease
Manhattan	1	Lower East Side	-28.7
	3	Upper West Side	-25.7
	4	East Harlem	-10.1
Brooklyn	13	Bedford Stuyvesant	-28.7
	15	Park Slope, Carroll Gardens, Sunset Park, Red Hook	-15.7
Queens	28	Forest Hills, Rego Park, Kew Gardens, Jamaica	-11.2

Sources: NYC Municipal Archives, of the NYC school system's Series 1480: Office of Student Information: School Profiles 1973-74. NYC DOE: *Demographic Snapshots: Annual Enrollment Snapshots*, 2014.

## **District Challenges**

The city's most segregated schools face numerous challenges:

- They generally receive the fewest resources from the district.
- They are allocated larger percentages of students with instructional challenges and special educational needs.
- They are generally staffed by the newest and least experienced teachers, resulting in greater teacher turnover. These staff fluctuations deprive students of the institutional support and continuity they need for academic success.

## **Citywide Forces**

There appears to be a correlation between the racial/ethnic composition of community school districts and the extent of student/family poverty within those districts. In recent years, New York City's neighborhoods have been reshaped by three social and political developments:

- Globalization of industry, finance and trade
- Technological revolutions in computing, communication, and media
- Increased concentrations of wealth

These three forces have influenced and changed the financial and cultural character of the city's communities and districts in several ways:

- They have created newly rich Manhattan neighborhoods, with corresponding housing booms and rising rents.
- They have changed district-level student populations, uprooting traditional Black and Latino neighborhoods, and pushing existing residents further out as they search for more affordable housing.
- They have prompted an influx of White and Asian families into areas that traditionally were inhabited by Blacks and Latinos.

## **Systemic Reforms – Post 1970**

The Supreme Court decision in *Brown vs. Board of Education* (1954), made racially segregated schools unconstitutional. Yet in the decade that followed that judgment, communities of color experienced few changes in New York City's schools. Little was done to address the needs of Black and Latino students. This oversight set a series of reforms into motion.

- In response to increased community activism, the city established three community control demonstration districts to provide parents with more influence over their children's schooling. However, conflicts arose between school boards and teachers, and the approach failed.
- The New York State legislature then passed a bill decentralizing the NYC school system. Thirty-two community school districts were formed, each headed by a nine-member school board. Serious design and implementation flaws led to their eventual demise, as well.
- After his election in 2001, Mayor Michael Bloomberg disbanded the thirty-two school districts, and introduced a market-based approach, replacing districts with instructional networks that schools had the option to join. Principals were given freedom of authority over their own

operations. Schools were required to measure their educational success based on test score gains, and parents and students were encouraged to participate in school choice decisions.

None of these reform programs achieved their original goals. In fact, student test scores in the years between 2002 and 2015 showed that large performance gaps remained between Whites, and Black and Latino students. The reforms did not reduce racial gaps in high school achievement, nor did they reduce hyper-segregation for Black and Latino students. Instead, they bolstered existing family advantages, and underlined the racial, ethnic and income differences.

### **Possible Improvements**

Although families have expanded opportunities for choosing which school a student attends, the available choices do not promote racial diversity, or equalize opportunity. Nonetheless, there may be ways to reduce the persistent segregation that exists in New York City schools:

- The mayor and the chancellor could make explicit statements outlining the many benefits of integrated schooling.
- The central administration could encourage the fifteen potentially integrable districts to find ways to reduce segregation in their schools.
- High schools could reserve a percentage of their available seats for students of color, and for those who have special education needs.

Regardless of which strategies they choose to adopt, it is clear that hyper-segregated schools will have to achieve greater success with the current student populations. The following demonstration project shows how that might be done.

## **Chapter Three Addendum**

### **Improving School Culture to Reduce Educational Disparities for Black and Latino Young Men**

Adriana Villavicencio, Shifra Goldenberg, Sarah Klevan  
The Research Alliance for New York City Schools, NYU Steinhardt

Black and Latino young men face educational disparities that begin early in life, and result from life experiences both in and out of school. New York City has a new strategy for addressing these disparities, by focusing on the total high school experience.

- Student data show that even students with high scores on their eighth grade English Language Arts examination can fall behind when they attend high school.
- Data also suggest that, if high schools do more for their male students of color, they can prevail over some inherent problems.

In 2012, the city launched the Expanded Success Initiative (ESI), a program that provides forty high schools with the professional resources and professional development needed to improve programs for Black and Latino students.

- Research indicates that a supportive school culture can enhance a student's day-to-day experience.
- ESI, therefore, is focusing on four specific areas to create a more welcoming environment for Black and Latino young men:
  1. It has developed a culturally relevant curriculum and instruction program;
  2. It has adopted new approaches to discipline, including peer mediation and conflict resolution training;
  3. It has introduced mentoring and advisory programs to strengthen relationships between students and staff, and;
  4. It has increased attention being paid to enhancing a student's college readiness.

Although these strategies need further testing. However, educators participating in the program believe the four approaches are improving the high school experience for young men of color. Additional research may indicate whether an improved school culture can also boost graduation rates, and improve college enrollment numbers. Ultimately, the goal is to reduce the educational disparities that young men of color face in New York City.



## Chapter Four

### Do Mayors Matter? Race, Justice and the Men in City Hall, 1965-2017

Jarrett Murphy  
City Limits

Race has been a defining political factor throughout New York City's history, where a tug of war has existed between multi-racial aspirations and a white-ethnic backlash. This clash has been at the core of the city's mayoral politics for the last fifty years.

#### **John Lindsay: Standing for Justice, Triggering a Backlash**

John Lindsay, a liberal Republican Congressman, philosophically aligned with President Johnson's Great Society, was elected mayor in 1965, and again in 1969. As the first Republican to win the mayoral office since Fiorello LaGuardia, he took office at a time of intense racial conflict and social upheaval that ultimately changed the city's politics of race forever.

- Lindsay demonstrated deep concern for people of color, and promised systemic reforms for aspects of city government that were tainted by racial disparities.
- He made aggressive use of federal money to expand social programs, to boost job training and Head Start, and to expand welfare rolls.
- Lindsay successfully lobbied for cities throughout New York to receive greater consideration in state and federal budgets.
- He encouraged a softer approach to street confrontations, leading to reduced unrest during his two terms.
- However, in showing his concern for people of color, Lindsay alienated White New Yorkers, and awakened in them a deeper sense of their own ethnic identity.

#### **Abe Beame: A Higher Profile for Blacks in Crisis**

As Comptroller during John Lindsay's second term, Abe Beame was closely associated with the fiscal crisis the city was engulfed in during his term. This above all branded his time in office.

- Beame was torn between two priorities: he wanted to establish an agenda of racial justice, but he did not want to alienate the White power base that supported him. Unfortunately, he did not have the political acumen of his predecessor to balance these conflicting challenges.
- As mayor, he hired more people of color than Lindsay, and resisted federal moves to cut welfare programs. He also put regulations in place requiring city contractors to hire more minority employees.
- Beame followed through on his initial vow to appoint the city's first deputy mayor. His first two picks were sidelined by minor scandals, but he ultimately succeeded with Paul Gibson, Jr., and subsequently, with Lucille Mason Rose, a woman of color. However, He abandoned his 1973 pledge to make way for Percy Sutton in 1977 to be elected as the City's first Black mayor.
- Beame was doomed to a single term. At the time of his 1977 campaign, a citywide poll revealed that Blacks and Latinos were more pessimistic about their futures than they had been when Beame first took office.

### **Ed Koch: Rebuilding and Tearing Down**

With his keen political instincts, Ed Koch sensed there was an ideological shift taking place in New York City. He recognized that the broad commitment to the civil rights movement and President Johnson's Great Society was fading.

- When Koch became mayor in 1977, he felt justified in switching from his earlier pro-civil rights stand to a position of overt racism.
- He cut services to the poor so he could get the city's budget balanced ahead of schedule.
- As part of his perceived duty to put people of color back in their place, Koch refused to meet with established power brokers in the Black community.
- Koch was not always predictable, though. He did appoint Blacks to city jobs at a reasonably high rate.
- In 1985, he launched his Ten Year Plan, a \$5 billion initiative to build or preserve 250,000 units of affordable housing, occupied largely by Blacks and Latinos. The plan was a long-term success.
- In time, however, he approved policies that accelerated the gentrification of the same neighborhoods his plan had previously restored.

### **David Dinkins: A Milestone, Undermined**

As New York's first Black mayor, race was interjected into every move David Dinkins made during his time in office. He was also at the mercy of a series of external events that clearly worked against him.

- Dinkins came to office just as several societal crises came to a head, including the crack cocaine epidemic, and serious upsurges in AIDS and the homelessness calamity.
- Despite these challenges, he launched a supportive housing program for homeless people, instituted community clinics to improve the public-health system, and launched the city's first program for minority- and women-owned businesses.
- A budget crisis resulting from the U.S. recession made it difficult, however, for Dinkins to implement several other hoped for social programs.
- Dinkins faced two racially polarizing events during his time in office: the 1990 boycott of, and protests at, a Korean grocery store where a woman claimed she had been beaten, and the Crown Heights riots of August 1991. He was criticized for his ineptness in handling both of these serious situations.
- However, Dinkins did introduce the "Safe Streets, Safe City" program that expanded the police force, and set in motion the means to bring the city's crime rate down.

### **Rudy Giuliani: The Great White Hope**

Rudolph Giuliani, a man who had been a committed civil rights advocate in the 1960s, over time became a staunch protector of White-only interests. The thought that he had lost his first mayoral bid to a Black man motivated his actions and later policies.

- Giuliani was greatly influenced by the all-White world in which he lived, a world that reinforced a deep discomfort with people of color, and issues of race.

- During his term, he did whatever he could to marginalize people of color. Within two weeks of taking office in 1993, he closed all eight liaison offices that maintained channels of communication between City Hall and the city's major ethnic groups.
- As time wore on, he reined in welfare, cut funding to public hospitals, and limited civil employment opportunities for Blacks. He also slashed support for CUNY, an educational system known to serve students of color.
- Giuliani promoted a strict law-and-order policy that expanded the practice of stop-and-frisk within communities of color. Arrests soared seventeen percent under Giuliani, mostly affecting Blacks and Latinos.
- By adverse example, Giuliani illustrated how important the mayor is to efforts to achieve racial justice in New York.

### **Michael Bloomberg: The Un-Ethnic Mayor**

With his great wealth and financial power, Michael Bloomberg came to office holding a different deck of cards. He, unlike most mayors, was not required to pander to the city's White elite donor class.

- From the start, Bloomberg set out to form alliances across both race and party lines. Within two months of taking office, he had met with all the city's Black and Latino leaders.
- He worked hard to improve the school system for students of color, and sought to increase high school graduation rates among minorities. By the time he left office, graduation rates for Blacks and Latinos had increased approximately twenty percent.
- Bloomberg worked hard to avoid racial polarization when high-profile incidents arose. When mistakes were made, he accepted responsibility for other's actions.
- However, there were distinct racial disparities in the way day-to-day law enforcement practices were used during his administration. Bloomberg encouraged the use of the "stop, question and frisk" policy, which affected Blacks and Latinos much more than others.
- In the end, Bloomberg had a negative impact on racial equity, because he strongly supported real estate development in the city. As a result, Black and Brown neighborhoods were changed dramatically by the ever-increasing gentrification in New York City.

### **Bill de Blasio and the Vanishing City**

Bill de Blasio came to office at a time when demands for racial justice were rising again: an aim that this new mayor was well in step with.

- Bill de Blasio was motivated by two overriding priorities: to roll back stop-and-frisk, and to end what he called the "tale of two cities."
- Once elected, de Blasio moved quickly to reverse Bloomberg-era policies that were unfair to people of color. He worked to settle lawsuits stemming from trespassing arrests or stop-and-frisk practices.
- He appointed several Blacks and Latinas to high-level positions in his administration, and even created a municipal ID card that is especially valuable to undocumented immigrants.
- Nonetheless, De Blasio was not immune to incidents of police violence against Black men. When they occurred, he always responded with sincere concern, but in so doing, offended the police unions, whose members literally turned their backs on him.
- The mayor initiated a crackdown on gun crimes, and launched a special courtroom aimed at getting more convictions. In cases where police were killed, he called for restrictions on bail.

- However, the actions he took in his first term still disappointed many Blacks, because he did not reform enough. At the same time, he has upset the police, because he reformed too much.

## **Section Two: The Race Mountain**

### **Chapter Five**

#### **Immigration and Mobility – Chinese and Other Asians**

Howard Shih  
Asian American Federation

The 1965 Immigration Act changed the face of immigration to the U.S. For New York City, it meant a growing population of individuals from all over the world, with Asians becoming the fastest-growing racial and ethnic group in the city. It is important to note that today's Asian population is much more diverse than previously perceived. What was once a largely Chinese community is now a population of seventeen different Asian ethnicities.

#### **A Historical Context**

Asians are often labeled the "model minority." However, this is a rather recent and erroneous concept. Asians, in fact, have faced restrictive immigration and naturalization policies since the 1800s and face racially inequality today.

- In the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries, acts such as the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882, banned all Asian immigration. Asians then, like Hispanics now, were considered direct competitors for low-skill positions, and were blamed for downward pressure on wages.
- There were laws that restricted the rights of Asians to naturalize, and blocked them from equal housing opportunities. This changed when the 1952 McCarran-Walter Immigration and Naturalization Act, and the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965 were passed. These acts lifted restrictions, and encouraged a wave of highly skilled, highly educated Asians to immigrate to the U.S.
- In 1960, there were just over 40,000 Asians living in New York City, three-quarters of whom identified as Chinese. By 2015, the Asian population was 1.3 million, with over 30 percent identifying as Bangladeshi, Bhutanese, Indian, Nepalese, Pakistani or Sri Lankan.

#### **Asian Income Inequality**

The education gap between Whites and Asians, in particular Chinese, closed by the end of the 1960s. However, an income gap has only now begun to narrow. Many believe it was because anti-Asian discrimination has declined in the labor market. By 2014, the median wages for both groups were nearly equal. On the other hand, income inequality within the Asian community itself has only increased.

- The number of Asians living in poverty has grown by 757 percent since 1980. From 2005 to 2014, Asian residents had higher poverty rates than Blacks and Hispanics.
- According to the U.S. Department of Labor, Asian workers have the second highest share of long-term unemployment, and earn less than White workers with similar qualifications and jobs.

- In the Asian community, poverty exists despite individuals having a college education. The labor market is particularly challenging to immigrant professionals who have not achieved English proficiency.
- However, Asians represent thirteen percent of individuals who have reached the top five percentile of earners. It must be noted, though, that Asians have a harder time reaching top-earner status in those occupations normally associated with higher earnings.
- Housing poses an additional challenge for Asian New Yorkers. The majority of Asian households spends more than 30 percent of their household income on housing costs, and has more people living in their households, as well.
- Between 60 and 78 percent of newer Asian communities, such as Bangladeshis and Pakistanis, have an even harder time finding affordable housing. In contrast, Japanese and Filipino households are more like non-Hispanic White households, with fewer than 40 percent of households facing a housing burden.

Recent research shows that there is wider wealth inequality among Asian households than among non-Hispanic Whites. Additional research could address this issue, and benefit from a broader focus on the diversity within Asian communities.

## **Chapter Six**

### **The Evolving Latino Population in New York City**

Hector R. Cordero-Guzman  
CUNY Baruch College

New York City has been described in many ways. It is a global city, a transnational city, a city of immigrants, and a city that is home to one of the nation's largest Hispanic/Latino populations. Yet despite their sizeable share in the city's population, many Latino groups continue to face major impediments that keep them from reaching their full potential.

#### **Some History of the Latino Presence**

Latinos are one of the few foreign-born populations whose numbers have never diminished in New York City. Their migrations, in fact, have increased and broadened to include people from an ever-widening range of home countries.

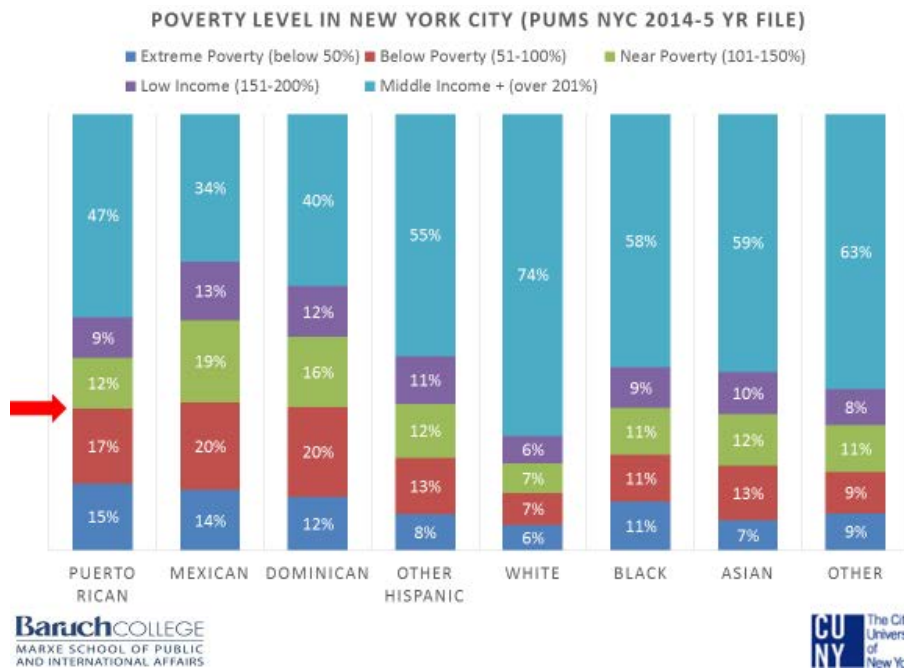
- According to the Pew Hispanic Center, the New York metropolitan area, which includes Newark and Jersey City, is second only to the Los Angeles metropolitan area in the number of Latino residents. In New York City proper, there are 2.4 million Latinos.
- In the 1950s and 1960s, large groups immigrated from the Caribbean and Latin America. In the 1970s, the majority of Hispanics came from Puerto Rico. By 2014, however, the population had diversified to include individuals from Mexico, Central America and the Andean region of South America, in particular, from Ecuador, Colombia and Peru.
- An immigration bill signed in 1986, by President Reagan, made it possible for millions of immigrants to normalize their migrant status. This bill allowed them to stay legally in this city of their choice.
- The 1989 election of Mayor David Dinkins was the catalyst for developing a new set of policies aimed at supporting low-income populations. This did not set well with native White populations, so it did not take long for a backlash to develop, beginning with the mayoral election of Rudolph Giuliani. The poor, minority and immigrant populations were blamed for everything that was changing in the city. As a result, new immigration and welfare reform laws were passed.

#### **Impact of Changing Demographics**

The Latino population in New York State is large and growing. Hispanics and Blacks constitute one third of the total population in the state, and 51.3 percent in New York City alone. The national origins of Latinos are increasingly diverse, which introduces a complexity into the cultural mix that everyone needs to consider.

- Puerto Ricans are the largest group of Hispanics in the city, followed closely by Dominicans. Mexicans are now the third largest Latino group, and growing faster than segments from South or Central America.

- With diversity come differences. Data suggest poverty levels among Latinos are higher. In addition, the inequality stemming from discrimination in local labor market trends and external forces has segmenting the city's economy.
- There are clear differences in citizenship status among the various Latino subgroups. Puerto Ricans are U.S. citizens: 70 percent were born on the mainland. Nearly 46 percent of Mexican New Yorkers were born here, as were 39 percent of Dominicans. Of the other Hispanic subgroups, 39 percent were born in the U.S.
- The Latino population in New York City is young. More than one-third of the city's 29-year-olds is Latino. That means the quality of, and access to, education is very important.
- Although school enrollment figures for Latinos are roughly equal to those of other groups in the city, their educational outcomes and college attendance rates are significantly lower. In fact, there are fewer with high school diplomas, and some college completed, than there are among other minority groups.
- Employment figures vary among the various Hispanic subgroups. Mexicans have the highest employment numbers at 64 percent, and Puerto Ricans have the lowest employment number at 42 percent.
- Hispanics comprise only 29 percent of the city's population, yet 40.9 percent of them are poor. More than one in four people live in poverty, and fewer than nine percent have incomes over \$80,000.



If one looks at income distribution in New York City, it soon becomes clear that being part of a large racial group does not guarantee that individuals will earn a greater proportion of overall income. Latinos make up 27 percent of the total population in the city, but earn only 15 percent of total income.

### The Future of Latinos in New York City



Hispanics enhance the economic and cultural life in New York City, through their restaurants, shops and theaters. Yet immigrants work long, hard hours, generally for very little pay, and often coping with exploitative employers or landlords. As citizenship processes have become more restrictive and demanding, the number of undocumented immigrants has grown. Therefore, the city needs to consider ways to increase the socio-economic opportunities and occupational options available to Hispanics.

- Although immigration policy is a federal issue, New York City needs to take the lead in developing ways to protect the rights of all of its residents, including immigrants.
- The city needs to consider ways to improve its education policies and outcomes. Latinos deserve equal access to a quality public education. That is the only way they can improve graduation rates, and enhance their chance of going to college.
- Latino low-wage workers need fair pay, as well as protection from unscrupulous employment practices. They also need to be connected to workforce development and job training opportunities so they can advance in the labor market.
- The criminal justice systems must review and correct those policies that unfairly target young African Americans and Latinos.

In light of the diverse nature of its Latino population, New York City must be sensitive to the many cultural differences that exist among Hispanic subgroups. It must analyze how policies may affect these groups differently, and implement changes in ways that address the specific needs of these varied populations.

## Chapter Seven

### African Americans and Racialized Inequality in New York City

Benjamin P. Bowser  
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The social and economic inequality in the U.S., and particularly in New York City, can be traced directly to our history of slavery. In countries, where slavery was practiced in the Western hemisphere, it is easy to see that people of visible African ancestry have been forced consistently to the bottom of the social hierarchy after emancipation.

#### A Historical Review of Racialization

African slaves were brought to New York City as early as 1626, when Dutch settlers imported individuals from Curacao and Barbados to fill a serious labor shortage. These slaves worked as farm laborers, municipal workers and household servants, living in their masters' basements, attics, and in "Negro kitchens" behind homes. This was the beginning of a long history of the formation and dissolution of Black communities.

- In 1644, eleven Blacks and their wives were freed from Dutch servitude. Each was given 130 acres in isolated swamp land, which eventually became Greenwich Village. This first refuge of freed slaves remained a Black enclave for nearly two centuries.
- Between the years 1690 and 1794, more than 15,000 freed and enslaved Africans were buried in a cemetery on the outside of what is now Wall Street, the nation's financial center.
- By 1800, the infamous Catherine Street settlement was a thriving slave market with dance cellars, saloons and brothels that attracted local White men anxious for a good time.
- In the year 1911, there were five identifiable Black residential areas in New York City, with additional communities existing in the outer boroughs. Other settlements most likely existed, but no information currently exists about them.

#### The Demise of Early Black Communities

The initial Black communities that existed on Manhattan Island disappeared without a trace, even though they had been in place for one hundred years. Originally, Blacks held title to properties around Washington Square, in Seneca Village (part of Central Park), Weeksville (Bedford-Stuyvesant) and Sandy Ground (on Staten Island). However, several historical events changed these landscapes forever.

- After a slave insurrection in 1714, the British passed a law denying future freed slaves, Indians or Mulattos from owning land. The law remained in place for one hundred years.
- In 1855, the mayor of New York, Fernando Wood, used the power of eminent domain to wrench the village from its residents so he could develop Central Park. It took two years, and forced removal to accomplish his goal.
- In the nineteenth century, racial attitudes in New York City were determined in large part by the city's close association with the South. New York banks loaned money to plantation owners and invested in southern interests. As southern influence grew, anti-Black attitudes spread, to

where emerging industries would no longer hire Blacks. Although they had long been New York's primary source of labor, German and Irish immigrants replaced Blacks.

- The racial caste hierarchy that had originated in the South now became the accepted class stratification in New York City as well. Blacks were considered racially inferior, so where they lived and worked was of little consequence.

### The Racialized Composition of New York City

By 1910, the New York City census showed Manhattan Assembly districts running from the historic tip of Manhattan north to the then-rural, undeveloped top of the island.

- Manhattan, below 59th Street, looked much as it does today. As one moved up the island, working-class tenements gave way to apartment buildings, which in turn became increasingly rural open-space above 110th Street.
- European, foreign-born residents dominated communities below 14th Street. Native Whites, who at that time were in the minority on the island, lived in three distinct clusters, which then, as now, were the wealthiest residential areas on Manhattan Island. Blacks lived in very small concentrations in only a few districts. Central Harlem did not exist at the time.
- By 1940, Native-born Whites were 60 to 70 percent of the population, in 50 of 68 health districts, and were the majority population below 110th Street. European immigrants were more widely dispersed. Manhattan's Black population had grown five-fold since 1910, and the pressure to house this expanding group fell on areas that comprise the current boundaries of central Harlem.
- Between World War II and 1960, New York City's composition changed dramatically. Western European immigration virtually stopped, only to be replaced by an influx of immigrants from Puerto Rico, Asia, the Americas, Eastern Europe and Africa increased their presence. Manufacturing left the city, as did the thousands of jobs it generated.
- White flight was clearly evident by 1980. At least 32 percent of the White working class had moved to the suburbs, and nearly a half-million of the more prosperous Blacks had fled Harlem. Tax revenues dropped, and the city's infrastructure suffered. Here is a snapshot of Manhattan as reflected by the 2010 Census.

	Mean %			Mean %		Mean %		Mean Income		Inc. Ratio
	All Tracts			90% Tracts		Laborforce		Household		
	Wt.	ForB.	Blk.	Wt.	Blk.	/ Pop 16+	Unempl.	White	Black	Black / White
1970	71	19	24	42.6 (121)	12.8 (11)	57	5			
1980	59	22	25	25.0 (072)	11.0 (32)	60	8			
1990	56	23	26	19.4 (055)	08.2 (24)	64	10	71283	24533	0.34
2000	54	27	21	08.9 (025)	01.0 (03)	64	11	112625	37398	0.33
2010	57	27	17	04.3 (014)	00.0 (00)	66	9	155919	48354	0.31

Source: U.S. Census of Population, IPUM-NHGIS (2014); Social Explorer 2005-2017.

Other boroughs experienced their own transformations, as well. For instance:

- In 1909, the subway was built from Manhattan to the Bronx. Thousands of immigrant families flooded the borough. By 1950, Puerto Ricans, Dominicans and African Americans were concentrated in the South Bronx.
- In Queens, the Queensboro Bridge opened in 1909, and a new subway line opened in 1915. Large numbers of single-family suburban houses were constructed. Queens communities had covenants that forbade residents from selling their properties to Blacks.
- Brooklyn began as a series of rural agricultural settlements. Ex-slaves made up one-third of the population well into the 1880s.
- The Brooklyn Bridge opened in 1883, and the Williamsburg Bridge opened in 1903. The subway came through the borough in 1908. All these changes led to accelerated housing development, and Brooklyn soon saw an influx of immigrant workers who had previously worked in the Lower East side of Manhattan.
- Although Brooklyn experienced its own share of White flight, it managed to retain the flavor of its neighborhoods' characteristics, and maintain a high rate of home ownership. As a result, White, immigrant and Black middle classes chose to remain in the borough.

	Mean %			Mean %		Mean %		Mean Income		Inc. Ratio
	All Tracts			90% Tracts		Laborforce		Household		Black /
	Wt.	ForB.	Blk.	Wt.	Blk.	/ Pop 16+	Unempl.	White	Black	White
1970	79	17	20	63.5 (482)	05.3 (041)	54	5			
1980	61	23	28	35.9 (255)	08.9 (068)	53	9			
1990	52	27	32	24.4 (184)	13.3 (102)	58	10	38828	29041	0.75
2000	44	36	34	09.6 (071)	10.5 (079)	56	11	53454	40463	0.76
2010	44	37	34	07.5 (054)	07.4 (054)	62	10	73291	52711	0.72

Source: U.S. Census of Population, IPUM-NHGIS (2014); Social Explorer 2005-2017.

### Conclusions and Policy Implications

The social and economic patterns that New York City established early in its history seem to continue to this day. Freed slaves, and millions of European immigrants, all worked in entry-level jobs, and were forced to live at the bottom of the social hierarchy. However, immigrants from Europe were assimilated in time and allowed to experience upward mobility. People of African ancestry were not.

- Blacks continue to represent the bottom of the city's housing hierarchy, with new immigrants of color suffering the same fate.
- Today, Manhattan is being "whitened" with Harlem, and other immigrant communities undergoing gentrification. The historic pattern of dispersing racial and ethnic groups further afield to make room for higher-status residents continues.

Government and non-government entities alike need to find ways to reduce racial inequality if they ever want to improve cultural and economic opportunity in New York City.

- Since the Civil War, no one has challenged the presumption of White racial superiority and conversely Black racial inferiority. Before structural racism can be eliminated, great cities such as New York must acknowledge its existence, and address its toxic effects on employment, housing, education, policing and social services.

- Gentrification is an expression of racialized population change. Through smart regional planning, New York could curb the dispersal of Blacks, immigrants and the poor to the outer boroughs.
- By increasing the availability of below-market-rate housing, the city could retain its middle- and working-class residents, and reduce the race and class ghettoization that currently exists.
- As traditional industries decline, it is imperative that cities develop strategic worker retraining programs. This is the only way to redress the unconscionable and costly practice of abandoning entire populations of workers, in masse.

## **Chapter Eight**

### **Select Socio-Economic Characteristics of West Indian Immigration in New York City**

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City University of New York, Staten Island

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State University of New York, Old Westbury

Nineteen sixty-five was a landmark year for immigration policy in the United States. That was when Congress passed the Hart-Celler Immigration Act. This law that made it possible for immigrants from Africa, Asia, the Caribbean and Latin America to come to this country. Before that, rigid immigration policies restricted the flow of people from the third world. After 1965, however, millions of English-speaking Caribbeans, self-identified as West Indians, came to the U.S.

#### **Demographics of West Indian Immigrants**

Between 2011 and 2013, the census listed 1,402,699 West Indians in the United States. Jamaicans accounted for fifty percent of them.

- The West Indian population is multiracial in character, with Black West Indians in the majority. The Indo-West Indians form another important segment of this group. These individuals are the descendants of indentured servants brought to the West Indies in the nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries from India.
- A large portion of the immigrants from the West Indies has settled along the Eastern Seaboard, especially in its northeast corridor. New York City and its surrounding boroughs are a prevalent choice.
- The West Indian population has racially distinct residents. For example, Afro-West Indians are concentrated in the North Bronx, and in Flatbush, East Flatbush, Canarsie, Flatlands and Crown Heights in Brooklyn. Indo-West Indians have their stronghold in Richmond Hill, Queens.
- The median age of West Indians nationally is 47.9 years, compared to 42.6 years for Whites. This aging demographic is the direct result of tougher immigration legislation passed in 1986, which makes it much more difficult for immigrants to enter the country.
- Education is a top priority for many West Indians, with many arriving in the U.S. already having acquired college degrees. Thousands of West Indians have attended colleges and universities in the United States, earning a second or even a third degree.
- Other West Indians exhibited only marginal academic performance. Generally, those with poorer academic records originally came from rural communities where educational facilities in the West Indies were substandard.

<b>Educational Attainment of West Indian Immigrants and Whites</b>							
<b>(Not Hispanics or Latinos) 25 Years and Over: 2011 - 2013</b>							
Country of Immigrants	Population	Less than high school diploma	High school graduate	Some college or associate	Bachelor's degree	Graduate or Prof	Total Percent
Antigua & Barbuda	19,093	17.2%	32.5%	25.1%	14.2%	11.1%	100%
Bahamas	26,666	11.6%	24.1%	34.7%	17.5%	12.1%	100%
Barbados	49,343	14.3%	33.8%	28.9%	14.4%	8.7%	100%
Dominica	23,711	21.0%	31.4%	23.7%	15.5%	8.4%	100%
Grenada	29,394	15.4%	34.3%	27.0%	14.7%	8.5%	100%
Guyana	231,462	21.2%	33.1%	23.3%	13.8%	8.7%	100%
Jamaica	632,004	16.2%	32.4%	28.4%	14.7%	8.3%	100%
St. Lucia	18,674	17.7%	35.2%	26.5%	13.1%	7.5%	100%
Trinidad & Tobago	213,977	13.4%	31.8%	30.1%	14.8%	9.8%	100%
St. Vincent	20,836	22.7%	32.3%	24.8%	11.4%	8.8%	100%
<b>West Indian</b>	<b>1,265,160</b>	<b>17.1%</b>	<b>32.1%</b>	<b>27.3%</b>	<b>14.4%</b>	<b>9.2%</b>	<b>100%</b>
<b>U.S. Whites</b>	<b>140,911,329</b>	<b>8.6%</b>	<b>28.7%</b>	<b>30.1%</b>	<b>20.2%</b>	<b>12.3%</b>	<b>100%</b>

- Other West Indian immigrants have resorted to lives of crime, running illicit lottery operations or numbers organizations. Some have been involved in the import, distribution and retailing of drugs. As a result, several thousand individuals, mostly male, are immersed in the criminal justice system, facing a grim future of unemployment or deportation.

### **West Indians and Marriage**

Marriage is a characteristic feature of West Indian life in the U.S. Many arrived in this country already married. Others entered the country on a visitor's visa, and form relationships with American citizens. For a time, arranged marriages were used as a means to gain citizenship, but eventually, the government developed effective methods to counteract this trend.

- Overall, in the years between 2011 and 2013, there were more marriages among Whites than among West Indians, and slightly higher numbers of West Indians separating, or remaining single during these years.
- In the main, West Indians marry individuals from their homeland. However, in the U.S. it is equally common for individuals to marry someone from another West Indian country.
- Religious and racial barriers do exist when West Indians decide whom to marry. Differing religious traditions generally preclude marriage between two groups. Marriages between Afro-West Indians and Indo-West Indians, for instance, are uncommon, as are marriages between West Indians and African Americans.

## Income and Employment

Census data show that 69.9 percent of West Indian immigrants 16 years and older have been in the labor force. Still, 7.6 percent are unemployed. Therefore, despite the fact that West Indians participate in the labor force in higher numbers than Whites, they also experience a higher level of unemployment. Poverty is a serious issue among West Indian immigrants, too.

- Between 2011 and 2013, the median income for immigrant West Indian households was \$49,238. This is \$15,663 less than the \$72,260 income of White households.
- During this time, 14.7 percent of West Indian families lived in poverty. This compares to 7.3 percent of White families.
- Poverty exists in both married-couple households and female-headed households.
- Of the 1.4 million West Indian immigrants, 56.6 percent were women. There are several reasons for this. First, women held professional positions in their home countries, and seek even greater opportunities by emigrating to the U.S. Second, women exhibit a very strong entrepreneurial spirit that motivates them to expand beyond their homelands. Third, the U.S. Government established immigration policies that favored employment categories women typically fills, such as in nursing or domestic service.
- West Indian employment is heavily concentrated in service occupations. In addition to women working in the healthcare industry, men have made some inroads into the skilled trades. As immigrants in New York or Boston, they were able to secure membership in a union, and gain employment in large construction projects.

Not all West Indians have the same immigrant experience. Many have done exceptionally well, and have attained material success and family stability. As a population, they are mostly hard-working, law-abiding, and productive citizens, yet despite all this effort, they have been unable to attain equity with White Americans.



## Chapter Nine

### Ethnic Conflict in New York City Since 1965

Benjamin P. Bowser, John Flateau, Hector Cordero-Guzman,  
Howard Shih, Calvin Holder and Aubrey Bonnett

In exploring racial inequality between 1965 and 2015, it is important to examine whether inequities increased, decreased or remained the same during that time. Another question needs to be asked, however. In these fifty years, did conflicts arise because of racial inequality? If they did, how were they expressed between and among the White, Black, Latino, Caribbean and Asian New Yorkers who live in this densely populated, ethnically diverse city?

#### Incidents of Ethnic Conflict

- In 1945, New York experienced serious gang warfare and crime. The violence was ethnic-specific, generally occurring on the boundaries of ethnic neighborhoods. Irish and Italian youth battled Black gangs, and Black-on-Black violence was common, as well.
- In 1958, then Mayor Robert Wagner, Jr., feared the inevitability of more racially motivated youth violence. When he was in office, Blacks from the South, and Puerto Ricans were pouring into the city to escape the poverty and oppression they experienced back home.
- On July 18, 1964, a 15-year-old Black teen was killed by a White, off-duty police officer. This kicked off what is known as the 1964 Harlem Riot, characterized by several costly and violent riots by Blacks in different boroughs of New York.
- Starting in the 1960s, and continuing to the present, there have been several direct ethnic conflicts in New York City, involving face-to-face, public action between opponents with different racial-ethnic identities. In truth, conflicts between Blacks and the police are more often about ethnic/racial conflicts (Blacks versus Irish and Italian police) than they are about law enforcement.
- Three incidents stand out. In the summer of 1977, there was a citywide blackout. Sixteen hundred stores were looted in Black and Latino neighborhoods, amidst arson-set fires and active violence. In 1991, a Black youth was killed in the Crown Heights section of Brooklyn, hit by a car driven by a Hasidic Jewish driver. Young Blacks were enraged when the police did not arrest the hit-and-run driver, and four days of riots broke out. Ten days of rioting occurred in the summer of 1992, when police in the Washington Heights section of Manhattan killed an unarmed Dominican youth.

#### Potential Sources of Conflict

Throughout its history, New York City has faced racial-ethnic conflicts of different types. For two hundred years, waves of immigrants have been involved in employment and job succession conflicts. Early German and Irish immigrants took higher-paying jobs in emerging industries, while later forays of Italian, Jewish, Polish and Eastern European immigrants, were relegated to lower-paying, more dangerous jobs. An order of ethnic stratification was established. It is hard to tell what is happen with competing racial-ethnic groups in today's industries.

- There is the prospect of political conflict between contemporary racial-ethnic groups. For instance, Blacks have only recently gained political representation in New York City, with Puerto Ricans as allies. However, Latinos are the fastest-growing racial-ethnic group in the U.S. and are emerging as a political force of their own.
- Potential conflict exists in the city's elite high schools where Asian American students outnumber Blacks and Latinos. If Black and Latino enrollments increase, it follows that openings for Asian Americans will decrease, leading to possible friction between the groups. The same potential exists in public housing.
- Gentrification poses the greatest threat. White trailblazers are seeking housing in traditionally Black and Latino neighborhoods. To date, White newcomers and long-term Black and Latino residents have co-existed comfortably, but one can question how long this peace can last.

### **Why More Violence Has Not Occurred**

At different times, cities such as Newark, Detroit and Los Angeles were brought to a halt by riots that cost each city billions of dollars. Yet New York City did not experience these out-of-control, city-crippling race riots. There are several explanations why this was so.

- By 1994, Blacks no longer had the capacity to mount serious rebellions. Decades of drug abuse and trafficking, the police war on drugs, and casualties from the war in Vietnam had all taken their toll on Black and Latino communities. With so many young Black and Latino men killed or incarcerated, their ability to wage citywide riots had been neutralized.
- There was a serious drop in New York City's youth population. The city was, and is, an expensive place to live, so fewer low-income families with riot-age kids could afford to live there.
- By 1994, the New York Police department had increased its size and the breadth of its weapons and training. It is well prepared to meet any threat.
- Whites turned their attention in another direction. Since 1965, they have relied on conservative national politics, and Republican-controlled state governments to protect their privileges, and to disadvantage people of color. Street-level violence was no longer necessary.
- Today's work environments are less unionized and perhaps less competitive. In addition, U.S. citizens do not want jobs immigrants hold, because they consider them to be too poorly paid.
- In a physically crowded city, ethnic community leaders and residents recognize they must communicate with one another, without conflict. Everyone benefits from using the political process for resources, services and recognition.
- A social services infrastructure exists today that was not available in the past. Numerous citywide or community-based service organizations now dedicate themselves to the needs of every racial-ethnic group in the city.

### **The Role of Ethnic Identity**

Although earlier immigrant groups have assimilated into American life, they still retain aspects of their original ethnic identities. Some members choose to be more "Anglo-conformed," while others choose to remain more ethnic. The result is a number of sub-cultures that add to the social complexity of New York City. With the decline of single ethnic identities, it is more difficult to mobilize oppositional conflict based only on ethnicity.

- The cultural intricacies among Central and South Americans make Pan-Latino unity, and political mobilization, more difficult, and the prospect of conflict less practical.
- Among Blacks, there are different African cultural-ethnic backgrounds that slaves brought to each region. In addition, there are social divisions based on skin color, hair texture and other physical characteristics. The results are subtle internal barriers to intragroup mobilization.
- The term Asian is a mega-label that encompasses people from at least 13 different cultures, none of which shares a common language, history or color. The number of sub-cultural divisions that exist among Asian Americans makes it unlikely that they would join forces to engage in strong conflict with other ethnic groups.

### **Conclusions**

New York City is a perfect setting for ethnic competition and enduring racial conflict. Yet there has been comparatively little violence there in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. This may be because we have not been looking in the right places to discover conflicts, such as in workplaces, or on the borders of ethnic enclaves.

- New York City has become a "multilayered pigmentocracy," to use a term coined by Gordon Lewis. Whites are at the top, Blacks are at the bottom, and everyone else is in the middle.
- Going forward, conflicts will be generated by the continuing dynamics within, and among, ethnic groups.
- With gentrification, people of color are being displaced, uprooted, and confined to new locations. This may create fresh incentives for racial and ethnic conflict far into the future.
- To serve today's immigrants and African Americans, New York City will have to intervene more aggressively in racial job and housing discrimination. The city will also need to reform its K-12 schools to reinvigorate systems that helped European immigrants to assimilate so successfully in the last century.

## **Section Three: Policy and Practice**

### **Chapter Ten**

#### **Stop and Frisk: Continuity of Racial Control and Reconstructed Blackness**

Natalie Byfield  
St. John's University

On March 9, 2013, an event occurred in East Flatbush, Brooklyn, that served as a tragic example of what can happen when the Stop and Frisk policy is applied within communities of color. On that night, two plainclothes police officers patrolling the streets judged that 15-year-old Kimani Gray had to be carrying a gun. They stopped the young man to question him, and ended up shooting Gray eleven times. He had no weapon. No criminal charges were brought against the officers.

- Stop, Question, and Frisk (SQF), was the latest in a string of police practices whose objectives are to control Black people, whether they commit a crime or not.
- Underlying this policy is the implicit belief that White people are superior, and Black and Latino youth are dangerous, unpredictable, violent, and incapable of self-control.
- Police officers stopped and questioned Black and Latino youth whose activities appear suspicious, or who are congregating in "high-crime" areas. The problem is that all Black and Latino youth were suspicious. The police did not and, perhaps, could not distinguish between the vast majority of Blacks and Latinos who committed no crimes and those who did.
- Since 1999 alone, this policy has led to the deaths of 76 men and women in New York City.

#### **A Relationship between Race and Crime**

Killing Black males in situations such as these has been part of the American landscape for more than one hundred years. In fact, in the U.S., there is a historical relationship between race and crime. In the South, after the Civil War, Whites set up the Black Codes, where Blacks could be arrested, jailed, and subsequently leased out as unpaid labor. In the North, Blacks were denied the right to vote and incarcerated at alarming rates. With this backstory, Blacks have come to expect prejudicial law enforcement practices with police scrutinizing them more closely than they do Whites.

- Today, when a community is labeled a "high-crime zone," it receives more police attention. This leads to more crimes being found and recorded in that area. This serves to reinforce the perception that some locations are inherently more dangerous.
- Kimani Gray's killing was portrayed as part of crime control. The state is the only agency that can declare which acts are crimes, and which are not. At the same time, it has the power to determine who is a criminal, and who is not.
- When the system starts to interpret "blackness" as inherently criminal, then racial identity and criminality are merged in the scheme of things.
- In New York City, data suggest that police are far less likely to deploy the Stop, Question, and Frisk policy in a White community than they are in a Black community.

- Fighting crime has been politicized in America, with conservative administrations allocating more funds to law enforcement activities than to agencies that focus on education, prevention and drug treatment.

### **Contemporary Policing in New York City**

There is a long history of Black communities distrusting the police in New York City. This mistrust is based on the documented violence Blacks have experienced at police hands. Any attempts to alter the system have met with limited success.

- In 1953, a Civilian Complaint Review Board (CCRB) was created to address the numerous abuse of power complaints made by African Americans and Puerto Ricans. At that time, the board consisted of three deputy police commissioners.
- Political leaders from communities of color requested more civilian representation on the board. Although they achieved this for a short time during the mayoral administration of John Lindsay, the police union strongly opposed the move. As a result, the initial board configuration stayed in place until 1987.
- Things changed in 1988, when a rally turned into a riot, and police assaulted Blacks and hurled racial epithets at Black politicians. All the officers were exonerated, which motivated the public to demand civilian representation on the board. However, their presence has never curtailed racial profiling and racism in policing.
- In 1990, David Dinkins became the first and only African American mayor of New York City. He appointed Lee Brown, an African American, to be police commissioner. Brown introduced "community policing," where officers were instructed to get to know residents, and to listen to their concerns. For the first time, residents began to trust the police.
- Mayor Dinkins was succeeded by Rudolph Giuliani, who appointed William Bratton as police commissioner. Bratton preferred the "Broken Windows" model of crime control, which focused on arresting people for minor crimes, thereby reducing the possibility that more serious crimes would occur. Mayor Giuliani credited this approach for a dramatic decline in crime.
- Aggressive policing continued during Michael Bloomberg's time in office (2002-2013), with an increase in Stop and Frisk incidents in Black communities.

### **Conclusion**

Stop and Frisk is a modern expression of a historic bias against African Americans. Over time, Blacks have been carefully watched, held under suspicion, and perceived as individuals who must be controlled. The question remains, will Stop and Frisk be replaced by more oppressive systems made possible by advances in data gathering, electronic surveillance and storage, and broad reporting?

- For the near future, the majority of New Yorkers will be people of color. Therefore, it will be
- Where a person lives in New York City may also determine a person's social status and degree of trustworthiness. Spatial segregation in urban areas is already intense, and residential demarcation by color is profound. If police use these factors in their crime control tactics, then something much greater is unfolding in New York City with grave long-term consequences.

## **Chapter Eleven**

### **Public Policy, HIV/AIDS and Destruction of Community in New York City**

Robert E. Fillilove  
Columbia University

As America's largest urban center, New York City carries a heavy burden of disease and disability from the HIV/AIDS epidemic. In fact, 10 percent of the people in the U.S. who are living with the disease make their home in the city. This statistic, however, is not a function of the city's size, nor of its significant population of Black and Hispanic residents infected by HIV. Rather, it is the result of three disastrous public policy decisions made over time by New York City's government.

#### **Withdrawing Essential Services**

- From the 1960s through the 1970s, the city promoted a policy of "planned shrinkage," where essential municipal services were withdrawn from selected low-income neighborhoods. This "benign neglect" was meant to reduce municipal spending on impoverished neighborhoods that were deemed "undeserving."
- As part of this strategy, the city reduced the fire services available to poor communities. Fifty firefighting units serving densely populated neighborhoods were either reduced, disbanded, or removed altogether. Subsequent to these closures came a rash of fires that destroyed blocks of buildings throughout the city.
- Large numbers of people were displaced, and intact neighborhoods grew overcrowded. Networks of injection drug users were among those displaced by the fires, forcing them to move to other parts of the city. This became an efficient means for broadening the HIV epidemic. This was at a time when people were first becoming aware of the disease. Needle sharing in underground shooting galleries became a new way of life for drug users.

#### **Criminalizing Drug Injection Paraphernalia**

Injecting drug users were at the heart of the HIV epidemic. The practice of sharing injecting drug equipment was a catalyst to the high rate of infection, even more than the basic fact of using illicit drugs. The existence of shooting galleries, where drug paraphernalia was rented or shared, further exacerbated the problem.

- To a great extent, shooting galleries owe their existence to antidrug policies that were put into law at this time. It was illegal for anyone to obtain or possess a hypodermic needle unless they were authorized by a prescription.
- To avoid arrest or incarceration, injecting drug users resorted to using underground shooting galleries, where they could access the equipment they needed.
- These laws were at cross-purposes with the experts who at the time were recommending access to over-the-counter syringes to protect people from the spread of HIV.

## **Fighting the War on Drugs**

In 1970, President Richard Nixon appeared on national television to declare, "Drugs are public enemy number one." This one statement triggered a series of laws and policies targeted directly at illicit drug users, the population that was already most vulnerable to HIV.

- Instead of focusing on expanded access to treatment, or public education on the dangers of drug use, cities and states invested heavily in arresting, trying, and incarcerating people with drug-related offenses.
- The vast majority of these drug users were Blacks and Latinos, living in large cities such as New York. By 2015, nearly one-half million people were serving time for drug offenses, and more than five million were on probation or parole.
- Incarceration became a primary means for spreading HIV with prisons holding one of the largest pools of HIV/AIDS cases in the country.
- Because of the constant cycling of inmates both in and out of New York State prisons, and in and out of their original neighborhoods, HIV/AIDS spread widely in New York City.

## **Conclusions and Recommendations**

The HIV/AIDS epidemic in New York City was caused by much more than drug users and sexually active individuals participating in high-risk behaviors. Rather, it was the consequence of public policy decisions prompting changes on many fronts.

- The fire-driven displacement that took place in the 1970s and 1980s ripped apart the social fabric of neighborhoods. Before the fires, people had social networks to rely on, even in impoverished conditions. After the fires, however, these resident-based support systems were gone. Reliable support mechanisms need to be rebuilt.
- HIV is a system-wide problem that requires policies, programs, and interventions that work at a full-system level. HIV is more than a health-related issue. It is tied to more diverse problems such as homelessness, mass incarceration, lack of access to medical services, unemployment, and the like, which need to be addressed together.
- Drug trafficking is a crime, but drug addiction is not. Therefore, the city needs to find ways to reduce drug abuse in Black and Latino communities through drug abuse prevention and treatment, and increased job opportunities.
- The most effective way to reduce HIV rates is through risk-reduction practices. This could be done by substituting current restrictive laws with needle exchanges, prescription opioid substitutes, and HIV/AIDS treatment and prevention interventions.
- To rebuild destroyed communities, New York City needs to devise policies that preserve low-income and below-market-rate housing, and that strengthen racially diverse neighborhoods.

## Chapter Twelve

### **The Five New Yorks: Understanding Inequality by Place and Race in New York City Using the American Human Development Index**

Kristen Lewis, Sarah Burd-Sharps  
Measure of America, Social Science Research Council

New York City is a place of economic extremes, populated by residents ranging from the super-rich to the truly destitute. However, more than income separates New Yorkers. To get a more precise picture, one needs to look at all aspects of life that contribute to an individual's well-being.

#### **The Human Development Approach**

It takes more than money to make people's lives better. Many believe progress is made when individuals have equal access to the resources and opportunities they need to secure their rights, and to reach their full potential. This is the human development concept, which can be quantified and measured by a customized tool known as the Human Development Index (HDI).

- The HDI was developed during the 1970s and 1980s, by the late economist, Mahbub ul Haq. He was dissatisfied with how existing measures, such as the Gross Domestic Product, reflected the reality of people's lives.
- The composite HDI reports on three basic dimensions of well-being: health, access to knowledge, and material living standards. It is the cornerstone of Human Development Reports published annually by the United Nations.
- Walter Stafford, professor at New York University, believed the HDI approach was a relevant way to explain inequality in the U.S. In a 2008 study, Professor Stafford looked at the 59 community districts in New York City, using the standard indices of longevity, knowledge, and income. He calculated an index for each district, and ultimately arrived at three groups for the city: high-, medium- and low-development communities.
- Measure of America, a non-profit initiative of the Social Science Research Council has created a related tool called the American Human Development Index. We use a continuum to measure the well-being of all Americans. It goes beyond just income to gauge what expands or constrains a person's opportunities. It combines the basic building blocks of a good life, such as health, education, and living standards, into a single number that more accurately reflects what most people would define as well-being.

#### **Human Development in New York City**

To identify the highs and lows in New York City, Measure of America divided the city into 59 community districts. By using cluster analysis, we detected Five New Yorks. By grouping community districts according to levels of well-being, they revealed a striking picture of a context based on race and ethnicity.

- Working from the highest level of well-being, to the lowest, Measure of America classified the five groups as follows: Gilded NYC; Opportunity-rich NYC; Main Street NYC; Struggling NYC, and; Precarious NYC. Each group scored as follows on the index:



The Five New Yorks						
New York	American Human Development Index Score	Life Expectancy at birth (years)	No High School Diploma (% adults 25+)	At least Bachelor's Degree (% adults 25+)	Graduate Degree (% adults 25+)	Median Household Income (\$)
<b>Gilded NYC</b>	8.78	84.6	4.4	79.5	39.1	109,950
<b>Opportunity-Rich NYC</b>	7.49	82.5	8.5	58.1	26.4	81,924
<b>Main Street NYC</b>	5.68	81.2	18.6	32.1	12.1	52,634
<b>Struggling NYC</b>	4.55	79.6	26.0	23.4	8.6	40,707
<b>Precarious NYC</b>	3.07	77.0	37.7	12.6	3.5	26,019

- The index revealed that the higher the level of well-being, the greater the share of Whites in a group. The opposite was true for Blacks, Latinos and Asian Americans. Moving up the well-being scale from Precarious New York to Gilded New York, commute times got shorter, fruit and vegetable consumption increases, teenage pregnancy and diabetes rates decline, and foreclosures drop.

### Conclusions

The Five New Yorks theory exposes a great deal about the extent of residential segregation based on race and ethnicity.

- In Precarious New York's Brownsville and Ocean Hill, Brooklyn, 75.8 percent of the residents are Black, and 19.7 percent are Latino. In the other eight of the nine districts that comprise Precarious NYC, between 62.1 percent and 70.4 percent are Latino, and the balance of the population is Black.
- In Gilded New York, Whites are comparatively segregated. They make up between 68.9 and 79.3 percent of the population in the four community districts at the top of the well-being scale.
- The largely White parts of town have scores that are among the highest in the country, and districts that are almost entirely Black and Brown, have some of the lowest.

Looking at the issues of race and ethnicity, residential segregation, and well-being through a human development lens underscores that inequality in America is about more than money. Inequality in reality hinges on whether people can live freely chosen lives of value, or not. To achieve equal freedom, New York City needs to invest in its residents, and to dismantle barriers that cut communities of color off from life's rewarding pathways.

## Chapter Thirteen

### Public Housing: New York's Third City

Victor Bach  
Community Service Society (CSS)

People commonly refer to New York City as two cities: one for the "haves," and one for the "have-nots." Yet in truth, there are three cities in one, the third being public housing. There are 334 developments within the five boroughs of New York, all owned and managed by the New York City Housing Authority (NYCHA). As the city's largest landlord, the NYCHA oversees 178,000 apartments, which house a half-million residents. The challenges are daunting.

- Although residents have the benefit of affordable rents, they currently live in substandard conditions, and in deteriorating buildings that are declining at a rapid rate.
- The NYCHA has an enormous backlog of much-needed capital improvements. Experts estimate that it would take \$17 billion over the next 15 years to fix the aging infrastructure.
- Despite the city's multi-billion dollar plans for more affordable housing, not one official has included public housing in any initiative discussed.

#### Government Disinvestment in Public Housing

From the year 1980 to the present, the NYCHA has undergone steady government disinvestment. It began under President Ronald Reagan, and continued through both terms of George W. Bush. Barack Obama offered some temporary relief through the economic stimulus bill, but Congress soon tightened the government's belt in the name of deficit reduction.

- The NYCHA estimates that the federal operating shortfall from the year 2000, until now, is \$1.4 billion.
- In 1998, Governor George Pataki ended operating subsidies to state-financed public housing, leading to an annual operating shortfall of \$60 million.
- During the post-9/11 fiscal crisis, Mayor Bloomberg terminated operating subsidies to the six city-financed developments. This resulted in a \$240 million cumulative shortfall by the year 2010.
- Up until 2014, NYCHA had to pay more than \$100 million a year for police services and PILOT payments in lieu of property taxes. Mayor Bill de Blasio removed this requirement in 2014.

#### A Profile of Residents

There are many misconceptions about who lives in public housing: perceptions that make it more difficult for residents to receive the empathy and support they need.

- In 2014, the median length of stay for public housing residents was 15 years. Among current residents, the turnover rate is a low 2.6 percent, with a vacancy rate of only 0.5 percent.
- The developments primarily serve people of color. In 2014, Blacks and Latinos accounted for 90 percent of households, in roughly equal proportions (46 percent Latinos and 44 percent Blacks).

- Residents are mainly low-income, with 45 percent falling within the federal poverty level. Another third are "near-poor."
- A majority of households have at least one working member, and a substantial portion of these households live on those earnings exclusively. Over one-third receive retirement income from previous employment, and less than a third relies on public assistance programs of any kind.
- What many refer to as "welfare" is not the main form of public assistance for residents. Rather, it is SSI for the elderly and the disabled who are eligible to receive Social Security.
- Unemployment rates for residents between the ages of 18 and 65 do tend to be higher than the citywide rates. NYCHA residents have less education, training and work experience needed to qualify them for more secure, higher-paying jobs.
- One out of six residents finds it harder to seek work because of health and disability issues. There is a large population of elderly and disabled residents in New York's public housing. In fact, 55 percent of the available units are designated specifically for these two groups.
- Labor force participation for NYCHA residents does not differ greatly from other low-income, working-age residents in the city.

**Labor Force Participation, NYCHA vs.  
Low-Income Working Age Residents, 2014**

	NYCHA (%)	Low-Income (%)
Working	46	51
Seeking Work	13	10
Not Seeking		
Health/Disability	15	10
In School/Training	11	12
Family Responsibility	5	8
Retired or Other	10	9
Total:	100%	100%

**What Is Being Done**

Public housing infrastructure, and the capital needed to build it are central to any long-term public housing improvement campaign. It takes leadership and committed resources to move ahead. However, for public housing, it often seems to be one step forward and two steps back.

- In early 2014, Mayor Bill de Blasio fulfilled a campaign promise to suspend the required annual payment for police services. This restored over \$70 million a year to NYCHA's operating resources.
- In early 2015, the mayor permanently relieved NYCHA of over \$30 million a year in PILOT payments, in lieu of property taxes. The mayor's capital budget also allocated \$300 million over three years for 27 roof replacements.
- At this same time, residents and housing advocates demanded a state commitment of \$100 million a year, for ten years, to make NYCHA improvements. The Governor's 2016 budget included this allocation.

- In the midst of these steps forward, the mayor announced his Housing New York Plan with a stated goal of adding 200,000 affordable housing units over ten years. Notably, the plan hardly mentioned NYCHA. Instead, a parallel effort, called the NextGeneration NYCHA Plan, was scheduled for release in 2015.
- The NextGeneration Plan proposed two housing changeovers in order to generate additional revenue: one was to lease available NYCHA land to private residential developers, and the other was to convert selected developments to privately owned affordable housing. NYCHA predicted that the mixed-income developments would yield \$300 million to \$600 million over ten years, which would then be allocated to major improvements.
- Despite NYCHA's creative plan to raise the needed capital, the city did not offer any significant support. The authority was basically on its own. The state reinforced its commitment to affordable housing, but did not make any specific allocations to NYCHA.
- NYCHA has moved forward on its housing development agenda. By late 2014, the authority had begun to enroll residents at three developments aimed at providing 100 percent affordable housing. However, these construction projects will not generate revenues for capital investment in existing buildings. Rather, residents will have to watch new housing and amenities being constructed on-site, while not getting the maintenance they need to improve their own living conditions.

### **The Way Forward**

The prospects for public housing are dismal without a dramatic change in government priorities. Public housing has to be restored, not marginalized. NYCHA will need major capital support from government if it is to survive as an institution. This support must materialize if the authority expects to do more than manage a range of properties in decline.

## **Chapter Fourteen**

### **Black New Yorkers: 50 Years of Closing the Political Inequality Gap, 1965 - 2016**

John Louis Flateau  
Medgar Evers College, CUNY

Since the city's founding, Black New Yorkers have experienced a degree of political inequality that never disappears. In the beginning, Dutch, British and American city legislatures were concerned about slave plots and insurrections, so they passed Black Codes to control their slave populations. In the last fifty years, more progressive has been made in Black political representation than ever before. However, that progress is seriously threatened and may now be a high point.

#### **A Historical Perspective**

- In 1821, Martin Van Buren and his allies engineered a new provision in the State Constitution requiring Black males to own \$250 of property before they could vote. This was their way of suppressing Black voter participation.
- Despite the abolition of slavery and Black Reconstruction in the South, White Southerners retaliated against Black progress. Blacks bore the brunt of political assassinations, voter disenfranchisement, and economic re-enslavement through sharecropping, tenant farming, vagrancy laws, convict leasing, and prison labor schemes. These were the foundation of Jim Crow.
- The presidential election of 1876 was controversial and very close. To break the deadlock over disputed Electoral College votes, the Democrats conceded the presidency to the Republicans in return for President Hayes' agreement to withdraw all federal troops from the South. This ended Black Reconstruction, and eliminated federal laws that protected Southern Black voters.
- As a result, millions of Blacks fled to the Northeast, Midwest, and West Coast in order to flee the oppressive conditions that existed in the South. This was the largest mass migration in U.S. history.

#### **Political Representation – From 1965 to 2016**

Starting in the 1930s, at Howard University Law School, Charles Hamilton Houston, and his understudies, such as Thurgood Marshall, used the U.S. Constitution to challenge institutional racism in education and voting rights. In fact, the 1965 Voting Rights Act was one of their victories. As a result, Black political representation increased in New York.

- In the past 50 years, the number of Black elected officials in New York City has increased fourfold, from 10 individuals in 1965, to 45 by 2016. Blacks are part of the political process at the city, state and federal levels.
- In 1965, the New York City Council had only two Black members, citywide, out of 35 available seats. Fifty years later, there are 13 Black members or 26 percent of that body.
- In 2016, Brooklyn had 23 Black elected officials. That is half of the total number for New York City. By then, half of New York's 45 Black elected officials were Black women: the majority are state assembly members.

## New York City Black Elected Officials – Fifty Years of Growth: 1965 – 2016

	Man.		Brooklyn		Bronx		Queens		Staten Isl.		Total	
	1965	2016	1965	2016	1965	2016	1965	2016	1965	2016	1965	2016
Borough President & County Dist. Attorneys	1	0	0	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	3
US Congressional Representatives	1	0	0	2	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	3
State Senators & Assembly Members	2	3	3	12	0	4	0	6	0	0	5	25
City Council Members	1	1	1	6	0	2	0	3	0	1	2	13
Citywide Elected / Home Borough	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
<b>Total:</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>45</b>

Source: NYS Black, Puerto Rican, Hispanic and Asian Legislative Caucus. 2014. *A Look at the History of the Legislators of Color*. NYS Black, Hispanic, Asian Legislative Caucus website 2016; League Of Women Voters, *They Represent You 2016*; John Flateau, *Black Brooklyn: The Politics of Ethnicity, Class and Gender, 2016*.

### Convolutd Political Progress

New York State has the largest Black population of any state in the nation: 3.6 million according to the U.S. Census Bureau. This population is comprised of four ethnic groups: African Americans (1.2 million), Caribbean Americans (600,000), Continental Africans (200,000), and Afro-Latinos (200,000). Each has their own needs and preferences. These diverse groups are also dispersed geographically across the five boroughs, making it even more difficult to organize politically.

- The ethnic diversity of the Caribbean American and African American segments has played a dynamic role in the struggle to close the Black political inequality gap. While these two groups have joined politically at times, their key issues, strategies, leadership styles, and agendas diverge when put into action.
- In the nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries, generations of African Americans aligned themselves politically with the party of Abraham Lincoln: the Republican Party. On the other hand, the West Indians who came to New York were more inclined to affiliate with the Democratic Party. This led to early fissures between these two main political ethnic groups.

### What Black Political Representation Can Do

African Americans agree that the government should provide for the common good of all its citizens. In this spirit, New York City's Black body politic has represented the best interests of its constituents, and has advanced the social, economic, political and civil rights at every level of government. When Blacks unit politically, they can achieve important political victories.

- Through the combined efforts of Black politicians, community advocates, civil rights attorneys, constructive redistricting has led to more than a 100 percent increase in Black districts and Black elected officials.
- In 2015, the New York State Assembly's Black, Hispanic and Asian Caucus played a pivotal role in getting the first Black assembly speaker elected, Carl Heastie.
- Civilian complaint review boards and human rights agencies have fought to reform N.Y. police policies such as "Stop and Frisk," and to increase cultural awareness and sensitivity training for police officers.
- Black Politicians have led efforts to forbid legislatively banks from conducting racially discriminatory lending practices. In addition, Black, Latino and other politicians have helped to create several housing programs for low- and moderate-income constituents.
- Officials have recently negotiated with New York's governor, and the city's mayor, to institute a program to award 30 percent of government contracts to minority and women-owned businesses.

### **Looking Ahead**

Black political power in New York City is in a very precarious position. Blacks are facing stiff political competition from rising Latino and Asian interests, as well as from resurgent, young White reformers who are gaining ascendancy from the gentrification of Black neighborhoods. If Blacks want to turn this around, and change the institutional racism that still exists, they must develop a strategic plan that works toward:

- A 10 percent increase in math and reading scores for grades K-12, and an 80 percent high school graduation rate.
- A 10 percent reduction in the state prison population, along with a \$20 million increase in support services for the formerly incarcerated.
- Free CUNY and SUNY tuition for working- and middle-class students.
- A 20 percent increase in affordable housing production, with Black, minority and women contractors as co-developers.
- A 10 percent increase in voter registration and turnout for Black New Yorkers in future elections.
- A zero percent undercount of Blacks in the 2020 Census.

In the past fifty years, Black New Yorkers have closed the political inequality gap on the electoral front, achieving nearly proportional representation. However, many challenges still exist, and New York needs many more bright minds and leaders to move ahead, and to build new, healthy, diverse communities for everyone.

## Chapter Fifteen

### Social Capital, Gentrification, and Inequality in New York City

James Rodriguez, Guttman Community College  
Robert Hawkins, New York University  
Andrew Wilkes, CUNY Graduate Center

Social capital is a concept many well-known experts, including W.E.B. Du Bois, have explored as a possible means to improve African Americans' standing in the United States. According to the theory, if one Black person could improve his or her intellect through education, including insights into political and social change, that person could in turn become the catalyst for other African Americans to improve their economic standing.

- There are three expressions of social capital: bonding, bridging, and linking:
  - Bonding represents ties and relationships among members of a group or network who share similar characteristics and backgrounds.
  - Bridging occurs among people and groups who are dissimilar in some way, such as their race, ethnicity, age, or education.
  - Linking exists when individuals and communities build relationships with systems, institutions, and people who have power over them.
- Increasing social capital improves individuals, families, communities, and related institutions.
- Social capital analysis is used to understand the relationships that exist, or could exist, among groups within stratified societies.

#### The Limitations of Social Capital for African Americans

In a hierarchical society, individuals' social positions are strongly affected by embedded structural inequalities. This in turn affects how effective social capital can be in helping them.

- People of color have been marginalized socially for so long that opportunities to improve social capital have been limited for them. African Americans, and other people of color, have historically been excluded from cross-racial or economic ties that provide useful information or financial opportunities.
- The concept of social capital assumes that well-resourced individuals would be willing and able to share their connections and social currency with the less privileged, and choose to facilitate and support change.
- All three forms of social capital, that is bonding, bridging, and linking, must be in place before social capital can be actualized for people looking to escape poverty.
- To succeed, those seeking change must be organized and cohesive: in other words, bonded as a group.

#### A Historical Perspective of Social Capital

African Americans have been struggling to gain social capital since emancipation. However, as early as 1781, Blacks developed mutual aid societies to help those fleeing slavery.



- Mutual aid societies were funded by a combination of contributions by individual Blacks, and by liberal Whites.
- The mutual aid societies offered a range of social services that included helping the sick, providing burial insurance to families, and offering aid to widows and children.
- These societies provided services during Black Reconstruction (1865-1877), and again during the Great Depression and Migration (1910- ). From the late 1800s, Black banks, insurance companies, and colleges were founded with White philanthropically help to help advance African Americans.
- By the 1920s, supportive social capital from Blacks and Whites alike helped to transformed Harlem from a predominantly White and Jewish neighborhood, into a Black community with vital cultural institutions. These societies made the Harlem Renaissance possible.
- By 1960, Harlem and other Black communities in New York had sufficient resources to support national civil rights organizations.
- During the 1970s, Blacks from every income and education strata used bonding capital to reduce race-based income and educational inequality.
- Although White liberals were willing to aid and support Black civil rights, they were less interested in leveling the economic playing field.

### **A Contemporary Expression of Social Capital**

Many influential New Yorkers believe that developing so-called "integrated" or "inclusive" communities could help to eliminate segregation, and build social capital. This belief is the basis of support for a kind of gentrification that can help historically low-income and working class neighborhoods to improve economical. This happens when wealthier, generally White, new residents move in and bring capital with them. The New York City Housing Authority's "Next Generation Plan" serves as a living example of this.

- The New York City Housing Authority (NYCHA) has often been criticized for creating a "concentration of poverty" in public housing. Its income cap policy is said to favor low-income and working class residents, thereby limiting economic variety among residents.
- The tower design of public housing buildings is said to sideline physically and socially Housing Authority residents in the neighborhoods in which they live.
- NYCHA has chosen to address these shortcomings through "infill development" of market-rate and mixed-income residential towers on existing public housing space. Rents from these new buildings will increase NYCHA's revenues, thus providing the funds (capital) they need to do critical repairs to all of its buildings.
- Residents have protested the changes out of fear that both tenants and local businesses will be priced out when new amenities begin to appear in the newly gentrified neighborhoods.
- This conflict between residents and the Authority illustrates the kind of disconnect that occurs when theory such as social capital encounter real-life situations.

### **Further Examples of Structural Racism**

Long-term disinvestment from Public housing in New York City is one example of the maintenance of structural racism and inequality. There are two other examples that also compromise the transfer of social capital.

- Mandatory Inclusionary Housing (MIH) is a program that requires a percentage of affordable housing must be included in any market-rate development.
- Zoning for Quality and Affordability (ZQA) is a massive plan introduced citywide to rezone housing developments.
- Instead of transferring social capital to people of color, or to members of the working class, these approaches have broadened a form of gentrification in the city that is undercutting vulnerable communities. This has made it easier for wealthier, mostly White, residents to move into working class communities of color.
- Developers have found new and creative ways to discriminate between high- and low-income tenants by constructing smaller, more "affordable" towers next to their market-rate high-rises.
- Rather than solving problems, exclusionary gentrification has led to further marginalization and displacement of people of color. Organizers, activists and tenants pursuing increased social capital, want to curtail gentrification to prevent further displacement of the poor.

W.E.B. DuBois said that inequality can be reduced only when there is "a common set of goals" between those who have the capital, and the people of color who do not. Exclusionary gentrification, instead of providing people with more tangible benefits or resources, has only widened the gap between the well off and the poor.

### **Conclusions and Takeaways**

In theory, social capital should be able to help African Americans, and other people of color, to reduce racial inequality, and to exercise their political power. To succeed, however, social capital needs to be transferred on a case-by-case basis. Those with the resources must work with those who need them, and together find ways to neutralize existing racism.

- Social capital will expand when affluent newcomers embrace the ideal of class and race diversity.
- Higher-income Blacks and liberal Whites need to be encouraged to invest their social and financial capital in Black mutual aid societies.
- Investment in communities of color needs to be more precise and targeted. Residents and local institutions dedicated to community empowerment need more support.
- In the face of increased land value, communities could achieve more self-determination through Community Land Trusts (CLTs). With CLTs, a designated piece of land can be removed from the conventional housing market and be put into the hands of the community itself. Residents could then envision the future of their own neighborhoods.

## Chapter Sixteen

### Recommendations

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### What Can Be Done?

In the fifteen chapters of this book, the authors have explored ways to reduce racial inequalities in New York City. Scores of community-based agencies and non-profit organizations have done what they can locally, and have lobbied all levels of government. Hundreds of individuals have taken independent actions and achieved small victories. No chapter mentions religious communities, which was intentional. It appears that the overall religious sector in New York City has been missing in action in making structural differences in racial inequality. Perhaps they have motivated individual members to take action instead. The truth is that government is the only institution that can work on a scale that can make any differences. Government alone has the power to influence business and shape the economy. The federal government is best positioned, followed by state and city governments.

The only way Black, Latino, Asian, and West Indian New Yorkers can achieve racial and social class equality is to work through government. That means having political representatives work on their behalf to reduce racial inequality. In chapter 14, John Flateau outlines this struggle for African Americans. His portrayal of government stands in sharp contrast to Jarrett Murphy's narrative on how city administrations have addressed inequality. Flateau's chapter depicts a "victory lap" for just managing to get representation. The number of New York's Black elected officials is noteworthy. However, chapter 14 highlights a particular problem. Even after getting political representation in Washington, Albany and on the City Council, inequality has hardly budged. This is even though some representatives have been in office for decades. Emerging Latino and Asian political representation faces the same dilemma.

Perhaps, one can argue that without new Black representatives the possibility of successfully addressing inequality would be even more remote. The bottom line is that, even with political representation, unemployment has remained high, Black and Latino communities have been destroyed, gentrification continues, schools continue to fail, and the war on drugs (Black people) persists. What Black political representatives now have on their to-do list for 2020, has been there for some time. Because of gentrification, we may be at the high point of Black political representation in New York City. However, as Black people are dispersed further from Manhattan and central Brooklyn, we may begin seeing a decline in the number of Black political representatives. It will be interesting to see if the politicians who come after them do better or worse in addressing racial inequality.

Chapter 15 brings us full circle. It explains the theory of social capital, and how inequalities can be reduced through social change. Some people find themselves at the bottom of the social order, but they have managed to counteract their plight. These individuals need allies who are willing to share their expertise, contacts, and resources. Together, they can create mutually beneficial change. For instance, during the civil rights era, victories were achieved because coalition partners worked on behalf of, and transferred social capital to activists and their organizations. The last fifty years have seen

nothing like this. Chapter 15 suggests that Blacks and Latinos have not had enough partners, or sufficient capital transferred to them to move the inequality mountain.

Until coalitions rebuild, and activists are empowered further, little change can take place. Kenneth Clark (1965) believed the main problem of people in ghettos was their lack of power to make changes to improve their living circumstances. Poverty, low-income and poor housing are not why Black communities are physical and psychological ghettos. Ghettos exist because of the lack of material, human and political resources – social power – to change them. If that power exists, it would not matter whether the mayor was Koch, Dinkins, Giuliani or Bloomberg, and anti-black White ethnic sentiment would have little impact. What people need are changes that reduce racial and social class inequality. Hopefully, by the time another fifty years pass, New York City will have evolved and found ways to address its most intractable problem – racial inequality.

### **Recommendations**

The following list of recommendations is derived from the research presented in the fifteen chapters and three addendums in this book. They have two objectives. The first is to suggest structural changes that will permanently alter the architecture of racial inequality in New York City. The second objective is to suggest ways to improve conditions for ethnic-racial groups in New York City. There are author recommendations and then there are editors' recommendations most of which cut across sectors. For a more specific policy centered exploration with recommendations, see Mollenkopf (2013).

#### **Economy and Jobs (Chapter 1)**

**Infrastructure Investments:** Blacks and Latinos in NYC have started to realize sustained wage and income gains for the first time since the 1980s. In part, these gains result from the continued growth in NYC's employment levels and sustained reductions in the unemployment rate. Federal government and Federal Reserve policies to continue the expansion and avert an economic slowdown are perhaps the most important policy factors affecting well-being in NYC. Local policies, particularly infrastructure investments, are essential to maintain job levels in the event of a national economic slowdown.

**Ensure Minimum Wages:** The increase in NYS minimum wages since 2013 (from \$7.25 in 2013, the NYS minimum wage for employers with 11 or more employees reached \$11 at the beginning of 2017, and will rise to \$15 by the beginning of 2019). This will tremendously benefit hundreds of thousands of low-wage workers in NYC (more than one-third of all city workers will benefit from the \$15 minimum wage floor when fully implemented). It is important that the city and the state ensure that the implementation of this phased-in \$15 minimum wage continues, and that wages are increased for the tens of thousands of underpaid nonprofit human services workers providing public services under government contract. This workforce is predominantly women of color.

**Support for Higher Education:** It is essential that city and state efforts continue to bolster the City University of New York (CUNY) system, and improve quality for pre-K through 12 public education. Investments in vastly improved early childhood education, including through better funding for 0-3 child-care programs, are particularly important for low-income families.

**Response to Federal Budget Cuts:** Now that employment opportunities are improving for low- and moderate-income Blacks and Latinos in NYC, it is particularly important that the City succeed in its

efforts to preserve and expand the supply of affordable housing. In addition, the city and the state need to respond appropriately if federal budget cuts reduce the availability of federally funded section 8 housing subsidies, or if the financial condition of the City's Housing Authority is made even more precarious.

**Change Tax Structure:** The City and the State need to make the state and local tax structure (personal income, sales, and residential property taxes) less regressive through a combination of reforming NYC's local property tax system where renters currently pay the highest effective property tax rates, and enhance child and dependent care and earned income tax credits.

### **Other Economic Recommendations**

**Outflow of State Taxes:** Serious consideration should be given to advocating a reduction in the outflow of New York State and New York City federal taxes to fund the needs of other States. More local taxes revenues are needed for local needs. As a gateway city, NYC supports a disproportionately higher immigrant, low income and working poor population. Providing adequate infrastructure and municipal services to a growing population requires additional revenues.

**Monitor Living Wage:** A minimum wage level in the City of New York should be a living wage. There should be continuous research and monitoring of what constitutes a minimum living wage in New York City. Particular attention should be given to those who do not receive the minimum wage or benefits (temporary, part-time and contract workers). This research should include estimates of the health, social services and criminal justice costs to the City for not maintaining minimum living wages. The living wage should be reviewed and updated regularly by the New York City Council in cooperation with the Mayor's office.

**Non-Exploitation of Immigrants:** All workers in NYC, non-citizen immigrants and US citizens, should be paid the same minimum living wages and benefits. Living wages and benefits for all workers should be a local law.

**Lay-off Transition:** Businesses and corporations that plan to lay-off employees should provide at least six months advance notice. These employees should be provided with on-site counseling, retraining and assistance in finding new jobs.

**Training Tax Incentives:** Employers who provide on-the-job training, in-service education, and skills and craft development should receive tax incentives.

**Public Economic Education:** City government should mount a public awareness campaign that educates city residents about the critical role city regulations, living wages and public education play in creating and sustaining a middle class in the city.

### **Housing (chapters 2, 13)**

**Dispersal of Public Housing:** Low-income housing should be distributed fairly throughout the City and not be concentrated in largely Black and Latino communities and areas of high poverty. This will require locating and building new affordable housing in higher income areas, while prioritizing the preservation of existing low-income housing.

**Location of Affordable and Inclusionary of Housing:** The city can build and preserve more affordable housing in neighborhoods undergoing gentrification. It should also adopt mandatory inclusionary housing.

**Housing and School Zoning:** The city could assess the role of school zones in deepening racial and class divisions. Many school districts are oddly shaped and homogenous. More diverse districts could be created without resorting to busing.

**Housing Vouchers:** The city should do more with its housing choice voucher program. It could encourage and assist eligible residents in considering moving to a broader set of neighborhoods and encourage landlords in a broader set of neighborhoods to participate. This could be done by offering larger rent subsidies to households renting in higher-rent areas.

**Neighborhood Equity:** The city should ensure that their policies and regulations do not have disparate impact on low-income neighborhoods.

**Eligibility Rules:** The city could reform eligibility rules for its own housing to ensure that the homes it subsidizes are open to a range of applicants and that certain criteria (like credit scores and criminal records) do not disproportionately exclude minorities, especially in higher income areas.

**Admission Rules:** The city should revisit its community preference rule for admission to affordable housing.

<http://furmancenter.org/research/iri/discussions/community-preferences-and-fair-housing>

**Anti-Discrimination:** The city could invest in the enforcement of anti-discrimination laws, including the city law prohibiting discrimination against someone with a voucher.

**Regional Planning:** Finally, the city could work with neighboring municipal governments to promote the creation and preservation of affordable housing and invest in improving transit throughout the NYC metro area.

**Federal Operation Funding:** The city should demand full federal funding of public housing operating subsidies.

**Housing in National Infrastructure:** The city should advocate for the inclusion of public housing infrastructure in the national infrastructure initiative, along the lines recommended by the Senate Democratic Blueprint.

<https://www.dpcc.senate.gov/files/documents/ABlueprinttoRebuildAmericasInfrastructure1.24.17.pdf>

## **Other Housing Recommendations**

**Integrate Social Services and Education into Housing:** Public housing was intended originally to help residents become upwardly mobile by providing safe and humane housing with on-site social and educational services. Once residents were able, they were encouraged to transition into regular housing. On-site social and educational services were an intrinsic part of the public housing mission. Collaboration between housing, social services and education needs to be re-envisioned and re-instated.

**Strategic and Critical Needs:** Federal Section 8 programs should be extended to cover city residents who provide critical services in the areas of education, first responders and transportation personnel. These essential workers are currently priced out of market rate housing in the city where they work and are needed.

**Provide Equitable Services:** It is essential that the City of New York consistently monitor and enforce health and safety codes and maintain city services and infrastructure in low-income communities as it does in other communities. City service should be provided equitably.

**Community Liaisons:** There is a critical need for liaisons between low-income community residents and city service agencies, including the police. Liaisons will be a corps of residents trained and deployed to serve as health, education and security outreach workers. Their mission is to link hard-to-reach residents with services twenty-four hours a day, seven days per week, to enhance community health, education and security.

### **Education (Chapter 3)**

**Equity Audits:** The Mayor and the Schools Chancellor should issue an annual Equity Audit detailing the extent and intensity of school segregation within each community school district. They should require each hyper-segregated district to develop and implement integration plans to increase district diversity.

**Equity in High Schools:** The Mayor and the Chancellor should require all the city's high schools to reserve specific percentages of their seats for students with disabilities, English Language Learners (ELLs), and Over the Counter (OTC) students. The percentage of reserved seats in each high school would be equivalent to the percentages of each category of students within the citywide high school system, and those reserved seats would be assigned through a computerized selection process. Since students with disabilities, ELLs and OTCs together comprise about 40 percent of the citywide high school population, reserving 40 percent of the seats in every high school would significantly increase integration across the city system.

**Magnet Schools:** The Schools Chancellor should develop new magnet schools on the boundaries between hyper-segregated and less segregated community school districts, to draw students from both hyper-segregated and less segregated schools into more diverse new schools.

**Dual Language Schools:** The Chancellor should establish more dual language schools or programs, especially in the hyper-segregated school districts, because dual language efforts have demonstrated some success in creating more school diversity.

**De-Segregation:** The Chancellor should revise the boundaries of the city's community school districts to increase school-level integration, and petition the New York State legislature to authorize those district boundary changes to increase diversity within the city school system.

**Resources and Personnel to Fulfill Mission:** For the majority of students of color in the school system's hyper-segregated school districts, diversity is unlikely to be increased by shifting students or school/district boundaries. The following will produce what integration ultimately aims for – the elimination of race- and class-based achievement gaps in the outcomes of the city's schools.

1. Massive infusions of resources;
2. Preparation and training of effective teachers of students of color;
3. Intensive recruitment of teachers of color;
4. Thoroughly revised curricula and pedagogy focused on culturally responsive and supportive education for students of color.

## **Education Cross-Sector**

**Expanded Success Initiative:** New York City Schools need to implement to scale the Expanded Success Initiative in high schools with low performing students of color as part of their standard curriculum (see Chapter 3, addendum).

**Enhanced Teaching Mission:** Teachers and principals should be provided with the resources and authority they need to devise ways to address the educational needs of their students and to meet grade goals and standards. Their strategies should be independently evaluated and effective best practices should be shared with other teachers and principals.

**Excellence Pay Incentives:** Teachers and principals who demonstrate that they are effective in educating low-income traditionally difficult to teach students should receive an excellence supplemental to their salaries.

**Role of Social Services:** Primary and secondary schools should work closely with social service agencies to address the individual and family needs of low-performing students. Case management should be available for students and families in need. Teachers and case managers should meet and work as a team to address the educational needs of these students.

**Parents as Partners:** School should have the option of starting parent academies that provide orientation and training for parents in after-work and weekend sessions on how to support and provide optimal learning environments for their students.

**After-School:** Comprehensive after-school programs are essential to student educational goals and to youth development. There should be after-school tutorial, sports, arts, music and science programs available to all public school students.

**Community Colleges:** Community colleges' vocation education mission needs to be revitalized with staffing and funding to do vocational education, retraining and re-employment preparation that works closely with public education and with employers.

## **City Government (Chapter 4)**

**Hiring:** Create or expand paths to city jobs for young people of color so that agencies better reflect the city they serve and diverse communities get access to the unionized, civil service posts that can anchor a middle-class life.

**Health:** Retool the city's crumbling public hospital system to attack health disparities.



**Justice:** Give communities a role in determining how they are policed and establish more restorative justice mechanisms so neighborhoods get the quality of life they deserve without unnecessary arrest or incarceration. Close Rikers Island and build much smaller jails in each borough.

**Transit:** Dramatically improve bus service in isolated outer borough minority neighborhoods to make it easier for people to get to work and school, and make transit far cheaper for the poor.

**Planning:** Create a citywide comprehensive land-use planning process to ensure all neighborhoods are part of the conversation about how New York City should grow, with burdens and benefits spread logically and fairly.

**Economic access:** Establish broad public Wi-Fi and community banking programs to make sure people are connected to the Internet and financial system.

**Education:** Expand school zones and implement a citywide controlled choice admissions system so each elementary and middle school looks broadly like the neighborhood it is in. Ensure that specialized and selective high schools use multiple bases for admissions decisions.

**Political Participation:** Make voting easier with weekend voting and same-day registration. Reduce campaign contribution limits, lower the caps for campaign spending and increase the bonus for candidates who participate in the matching-funds system running against candidates who do not.

## **Police (Chapter 10)**

**Police Commission:** Elimination of the police commissioner's veto power over the disciplinary rulings of the Civilian Complaint Review Board (CCRB). In disciplinary cases, discrepancies between the CCRB and the Police Commissioner should be settled in the courts.

**Personal ID Data:** Create an oversight community-based body similar to the CCRB to monitor the police department's storage and use of all personal identification data.

**Crime Assessment Algorithms:** All algorithms used by police in the assessment of crime data should be considered public property.

**Precinct-Level Crime Assessment:** The city should fund research collaborations between university researchers and community organizers in each precinct whose work will define current policing practices in the precinct (An example is the Morris Justice Project).

## **Police Cross Sector**

**Expert Court Testimony:** There is a need for research to explore cultural shadowing in forensic mental health and other expert witness testimony in New York City court system. That is the extent that experts either exaggerate or omit social and cultural factors as evidence in cases with Black and Latino defendants. Depending on the extent to which cultural shadowing exists, how much effect does it have on case outcomes? How might any effects be mitigated? The research needs to answer these questions (see chapter 10 addendum).

**Community Policing:** Community policing is essential to build trust and communications between residents and the police. Officers should patrol communities on foot to get to know people and businesses in their patrol area. Police officers should work with community liaisons teams to work pro-actively to address community needs in crime prevention.

**Face Recognition Training:** Police officers need training in face recognition of members of ethnic/racial groups other than their own. They need clearer rules as to when and under what circumstances deadly force is appropriate.

**Mobile Video Systems:** The police should experiment with using mobile video camera systems that can be deployed to crime “hot-spots” to provide 24-hour surveillance as a crime prevention measure.

**Case Manage Hot-Spots:** When police deploy additional officers to neighbors in response to increasing crime, that neighborhood should also be the topic of review by a social service taskforce. They should determine if particular services are missing and needed in these communities. The social service taskforce should answer the following question: Can city agencies do anything in the long or short-run to prevent future crime surges from happening?

**Post-Crime Forensics:** There should be post-crime forensic investigations of selective crimes to understand why a crime occurred and what can be done to prevent its re-occurrence. These investigations could be used to enhance community policing and the work of community liaisons.

## **Public Health (Chapter 11)**

**Drug Abuse:** The most effective way to reduce drug abuse in Black and Latino communities is to promote drug abuse prevention and treatment, and to foster job opportunities. The Drug War approach has failed because of over-reliance on incarceration. Drug trafficking is a crime, but drug addiction is not. Addiction is a medical problem with medical solutions. Local drug trafficking is also an economic problem that arises when young people have no viable options for earning a legitimate living wage. Instead, they seek ways to survive through the underground economy by drug trafficking and dealing.

**HIV/AIDS:** The most effective way to reduce HIV rates is through risk-reduction practices. Injection drug users must not be driven underground and forced into needle sharing that virtually guarantees HIV infection. This could be accomplished by withdrawing needle and injection paraphernalia possession laws, and replacing them with needle exchanges, prescription opioid substitutes, and HIV/AIDS treatment and prevention plans.

**Support for Low-Income Communities:** Withdrawing municipal services, especially fire services, from the most vulnerable New York City communities was the 1960s and 1970s equivalent to the more recent pumping of contaminated water into Flint, Michigan's water supply. It was a racially motivated act of genocide, and clearly a criminal offense. The outcome has been devastating to low-income Black and Latino New Yorkers, and has set the stage for gentrification of these areas. As an act of restitution, and of practical necessity, the City of New York needs to devise public policies to preserve rather than destroy low-income and below-market-rate housing, and racially diverse communities. Low-income workers are vital to the city, and stable, equitably resourced communities are essential for effective education, public health, and drug abuse and HIV prevention.

**Improve Health Care Access:** Research is needed on how New York City health services might reduce infant mortality, heart disease treatment, treatment for breast cancer and access to community-based ambulatory care for low-income residents. Research is needed to determine if racial health disparities exist in each boroughs, and if so, what can be done about them (see Chapter 11 addendum).

### **Anti-Racism and Economic Inequality**

**Anti-Racism Efforts:** The New York City Human Rights Commission needs to start a taskforce that will explore developing educational, public service and outreach efforts to address the presumption of racial superiority and inferiority that has been so central to racial and ethnic discrimination in the City's history and present life (Chapter 7).

**Use of Human Development Index:** There is need for an annual report using the American Human Development Index as a tool to measure progress and regressions in economic and racial inequality. There is also a need for continued research on and refinement of the Human Development Index for use in New York City (Chapter 12).

**Social Capital Transfers:** There is need for private foundations to set-up social and economic capital transfer programs between community-based organizations working for local change and external entities with the resources to facilitate mutually desired change (Chapter 15).

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