

Introduction

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The Statue of Liberty sits at the foot of New York City's harbor, a quintessential icon for both the city and the nation. The statue is the figure of a welcoming woman, not of a conquering male hero, nor of a benevolent nobleman. Rather than brandishing a sword or a rifle, she holds a torch to light the way for weary refugees. As a gift from France, Lady Liberty underscores a common bond between the United States and France: two nations forged in the revolutionary ideals of freedom and equality. The plaque at the base of the statute reads:

Give me your tired, your poor, your huddled masses yearning
to breathe free, the wretched refuse of your teeming shore. Send
these, the homeless, tempest-tossed to me; I lift my lamp beside
the golden door! (National Park Service, 2016)

Emma Lazarus, a young woman of Portuguese Sephardic Jewish descent, wrote these words in 1883. In them, she expresses an ideal of equality that makes the U.S. unique among nations. Over time, the pursuit of this ideal has provided New York City with a special character and mission. Early on, New York became the gateway for millions of foreign-born immigrants entering the United States—a place where individuals would become New Yorkers first, and then transform themselves into Americans prepared to disperse throughout the nation.

No one could have anticipated what Emma Lazarus set in motion with the aspirations she expressed in her dedication. However, ambition is one thing, reality is another, and the two are in perpetual conflict. In 1883, such aspirations faced formidable challenges. Women could neither vote, nor own

property. The millions of European immigrants sailing into New York harbor were not free to do whatever they wanted. Instead, they entered America as laborers for an emerging manufacturing and industrial economy (Hirschman and Mogford, 2009). They worked twelve-hour shifts, six days a week, often in dangerous and unhealthful conditions. They had no benefits, no vacations, no health insurance, or retirement. Wages started low and were kept that way by employers who replaced one group of ethnic workers with newer arrivals. Each group was willing to work for less than their predecessors. Universal education was still a dream. In effect, Europeans arriving in the United States were a laboring underclass. Their immigrant status was the basis for their social and economic inequality, relative to those born in America, and who came before them (Thernstrom 1994).

Despite the challenge immigrants faced in 1883, things improved over the next century, and many of the aspirations expressed by Emma Lazarus came to pass. By 1960, unions had formed, wages had improved, women had the right to vote and own property, and a five-day workweek and eight-hour workday were law. Health insurance, unemployment benefits, and retirement plans were common worker benefits. Education through the 12th grade was universal. Workers now even had leisure time. After only a few years of work, they could buy a car, move out of worker apartments, and purchase single-family homes in the suburbs.

The ideals embodied in the Statue of Liberty became a reality. The sons, daughters, and grandchildren of immigrants have been assimilated into American society (Alba and Nee, 2003) and became part of the new majority middle class. As their circumstances improved, their identity as immigrants waned. They, their children, and their grandchildren became increasingly indistinguishable from long-term, White native-born Americans.¹ The inequality that had separated these former immigrants from other Americans decreased, as well.

Americans whose parents were immigrants experienced a degree of social mobility they would not have imagined in their native countries. As a result, they developed two strong convictions. First, they believed that anyone, who was disciplined, worked hard and made sacrifices, could advance into the middle class. Second, they concluded that their children would do better than the past generation, and subsequent generations would achieve even more. It was in other countries that family status at birth determined an individual's social mobility. In America, these same people could firmly reject the idea that someone's entire life is prescribed at birth, based solely on social identity, religion, or ethnicity.

However, now, many of the great-great-grandchildren of these immigrants see themselves left behind and facing a cliff of downward mobility ahead. Perhaps, it is time to look more carefully at the existing architecture

of social inequality in the nation and New York City. However, the starting point for such an inquiry must be with racial stratification, the foundations on which inequality in the United States started and continues.

Racial Inequality

What about “the tired, the poor and the wretched” who were already here? Emma Lazarus’s ideals were not explicit about their status. For many already here, the ideals embodied in the Statue of Liberty, and in Emma Lazarus’s words, did not apply. For instance, Native Americans had been eliminated from New York City and State more than a century before her words were inscribed. In 1883, the forced removal of native peoples, from the East coast and then to reservations in the West, was nearly complete, as was the appropriation of their lands.

Before the Civil War, the South had been the most prosperous region of the United States. Slaves did virtually all the manual labor in both agriculture and manufacturing. They were the miners, the steelworkers, and the builders who made it possible for the South to thrive. The 1866 emancipation of slaves freed more than a million workers and artisans who had the craft and language skills to do the industrial work New York and northern states desired. There were no oceans for these workers to cross. Yet these ex-slaves were overlooked in favor of millions of Germans, Irish, Italians, Greeks, Russians, and Eastern Europeans who spoke no English, and were mostly unskilled. Before massive immigration from Europe, Black labor eclipsed European immigrants in both skills and sometimes in numbers in New York City and elsewhere in the nation (Bowser 2007). In New York City, slaves and free Blacks were fourteen percent of the workforce in 1820. They made up one-third of the population and the majority of laborers in Kings County, now Brooklyn, until New York State abolished slavery in 1827 (Rael, 2005).

African Americans living in New York City during European immigration served as an example of how Black labor is overlooked (Sacks, 2005). Blacks faced levels of racial discrimination slaves had experienced in the South. This was despite the fact that African Americans had done these jobs and crafts since the 1600s (Ottley & Weatherby, 1967). It was immigrant workers and their children who got the jobs in all the emerging industries in New York, and other large U.S. cities.

The abolition of slavery was not a ticket into the economy. As Emma Lazarus wrote her poem, the Black Codes, laws that specified what slaves could and could not do, were re-introduced as an elaborate and comprehensive system for guaranteeing White racial supremacy in the South. “Jim Crow” laws

would freeze former slaves and poor Whites alike into a form of servitude that would last another century.

As of 1929, and the Great Depression, Blacks from the South and Caribbean were the last hired, rather than the first. They were used only as a reserve labor force. If immigrant workers made wage or benefit demands, employers would threaten to hire Blacks for less, using them as replacement workers during strikes. This century-long history of racial discrimination and subordination in New York City's industrial workforce was in place from 1900 until the eve of World War II (Dodson, Moore, & Yancey, 2000). It was not until the mid-20th century, and the civil rights movement from 1955 through the 1960s, that the goal of racial equality was acknowledged as the same dream stated in Emma Lazarus' words. The 19th-century history of Black exclusion set the stage for racial inequality today.

There is a new challenge, however, in today's brand of racial inequality, and it goes beyond the basic differences between White and Black New Yorkers. Since World War II, Western Europe has become a center of relative affluence, thereby eliminating the historical incentives for massive emigration to the United States. Things have changed in another way since the 1965 Immigrant Act. Immigrants to the United States are primarily from Asia, Latin America, the Caribbean, Africa and Eastern Europe. Except Eastern Europeans, immigrants today are racially distinct from those arriving in the past. The all-important question now is whether these later immigrants will experience the same upward mobility across generations as did the European immigrants who came before them. More specifically, will these people of color from Asia, Africa, and the Caribbean, who cannot pass for White, have the same upward mobility after three generations, as did the earlier waves of Europeans? Based on new changes in the national and New York's regional economy and globalization, partial answers to this question may already be apparent.

Mid-20th Century Assessments

Gunnar Myrdal's *An American Dilemma* (1944) was a landmark assessment, and introduction to racial inequality for the second half of the twentieth century. It was the first comprehensive description of race relations in the United States, summarizing the work of virtually every scholar and researcher who had addressed the issue to date. It documented the systemic subordination of African Americans in all aspects of American life, whether in the South or the North, by describing segregation and discrimination in housing, employment, and education. The book recounted the history, justifications, and costs of caste-like inequality for Blacks and the economic and social costs for

Whites, as well. More importantly, Myrdal's assessment explained how systemic racial inequality runs contrary to American ideals, and, in fact, presented a moral dilemma for Whites, who discriminated against Blacks, willingly or unwillingly. For Myrdal, the most effective way to reduce inequality and to eradicate Blacks' caste-like status in American life was to point out how racism disavows American values and produces an implacable moral problem.

The American dilemma was New York City's dilemma, as well. Until 1964, in broad sections of the city, Blacks could not buy or rent housing, go to school, or gain employment. Well-paying union jobs were closed to them. These inequities provoked Blacks to riot in Harlem in the years 1919, 1935, 1943, and again in 1964 (Grimshaw, 1969). By closing virtually all avenues of social and economic mobility to Blacks, New York City created a situation no different in outcome from what Blacks had experienced in the Jim Crow South.

The effects of racial discrimination were always visible in Harlem, an initially hopeful and vibrant Black community. Many found themselves isolated and hopeless even after fleeing the South (Clarke, 1969; McKay, 1968; Scheiner, 1965). Stores on 125th Street had to be boycotted and picketed in the 1930s before they agreed to employ "Negro" sales clerks. This was thirty years before Martin Luther King Jr.'s marches. Ironically, it was World War II, which brought some relief. Because of the Great Depression and War, European immigrants stopped flowing into the United States just when the war effort required millions of additional workers. Women and Blacks were hired for jobs that previously only White men held. New York City neighborhoods that had been closed to Blacks before the War reluctantly opened to them. Although the race dilemma was still very much alive in New York City after the War, there would be no returning to the more blatant, entrenched pre-war practices of racial discrimination.

After 1960, a new frustration emerged. The changes brought on by the Civil Rights movement had created an occasion for optimism. However, these changes seemed to bypass northern Black communities like New York. Rather than seeing improvements, Black urban communities were in rapid decline, and were characterized increasingly as "ghettos." There was rising unemployment, deteriorating housing, and failing schools (Auletta, 1979; Osofsky, 1963). Amid these frustrations *Youth in the Ghetto* by Kenneth Clark, et al. (1964), was published. It became a blueprint for attacking racial inequality, using education and youth service programs.

The approaches outlined in *Youth in the Ghetto* were piloted in New York City and scaled up for use nationally in President Johnson's War on Poverty. The conceptual background for *Youth in the Ghetto* was presented in Kenneth Clark's *Dark Ghetto* (1965), which was the New York equivalent of Myrdal's *An American Dilemma*. Clark's *Dark Ghetto* described the

racial-caste-like circumstances of Black New Yorkers. However, rather than defining the systemic subordination of Blacks as a moral dilemma between ideals and reality, Clark believed New York's racial quagmire was based on a lack of social power. Blacks did not have the economic or political resources to ameliorate their condition and were dependent upon others who did not have the will or interest to make the necessary changes. That was what made urban racial segregation and poverty unique. In addition, the existence of Black ghettos was as much the result of mental chains on residents' imaginations and aspirations as it was a physical and economic reality.

The Last 50 Years

It is time to reassess what has happened in New York City since the publication of *The Dark Ghetto*. We have to ask ourselves if inequality based on race has decreased, increased or remained the same. We have moved beyond Kenneth Clark's appraisals, as well as Glazer and Moynihan's *Beyond the Melting Pot* (1963). There are other more recent descriptions of race-based social and economic inequality in New York City over the last half century (Bobo, O'Connor, & Tilly, 2001; Curtis & Farnsworth-Jackson, 1977; Federal Reserve Bank of New York, 1999; Mollenkopf & Castells, 1991; Varady, 2005). Collectively, they paint a stark picture. The Kenneth Clark inspired efforts ended years ago. Black and Latino's unemployment have persisted as has the racial, educational achievement gap. Current incarceration rates of Black and Latino young men were unimaginable in the 1960s. Drug abuse and HIV have devastated already troubled communities; most have yet to recover. Current Black family indicators make Moynihan's controversial 1965 assessment seems optimistic. Racial inequality, by any definition, has increased and become more multifaceted, despite the advent and high visibility of a Black middle class.

There is plenty of room for debate on how racial inequality has increased, and why. Since 1965, two generations of scholars and researchers have produced an impressive array of work addressing aspects of race and inequality in New York City. We acknowledge much of this work in subsequent chapters. In fact, over the last half-century, more than 300 books, journal articles, and magazine feature articles have been written on the topics of immigration, race, ethnicity, housing, policing, neighborhoods, schools and the economy in New York City. It does not stop there. For each of these topics, there are additional works on the history, changes, and transformations in the city, thereby doubling the number of publications.

Consequently, there is a virtual mosaic of fragmented knowledge from academic disciplines and sub-disciplines; most are microscopic in view. Those

concerned with, and interested in, New York City have worked in disciplinary silos, having few interactions with others outside their specialty. In fact, the literature on New York reflects the physical detachment and dispersion of research and policy institutes, and of university departments throughout the city. What we now know about the city comes in narrow, deep slices. Despite hundreds of studies, we are unable to make a comprehensive statement of how racial inequality has changed in the last 50 years, or of what we can expect in coming decades. There is a pressing need for an overview of race and inequality, one that connects and integrates existing knowledge.

Our goal is not to advocate for a classless society. Perhaps it should be. Instead, what we look toward is much less ambitious. In whatever way social stratification is defined in the United States and New York City, one or the other group should not benefit from it or be disadvantaged by it because of their race or ethnicity. We know enough about ourselves to know that the social constructs of race, ethnicity, and gender have not endowed any group as superior or inferior that then justifies disproportionate power or privilege. The successful integration of millions of European immigrants into American life is the strongest evidence that a level playing field can be produced. This goal is not unreasonable or unachievable.

Symposium and Method

The late Walter Stafford (New York University, Wagner Graduate School of Public Service), Chelli Devadutt, his widow, and Benjamin Bowser originally planned this work as a 25-year retrospective of *The Dark Ghetto*. The timeframe expanded due to teaching, writing, and community service, plus the responsibilities of running agencies and programs. Crises arose, funders were uninterested, and eventually, Walter suffered from poor health. Also, we assumed someone else would do a macro assessment of New York City focusing on racial inequality. Professor Stafford's passing is what finally prompted us to follow through on this 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.

Since 1965, there has been a key shift in the world of research. Academic departments are no longer the primary source for research. Now public policy organizations, city and state government agencies, and social service providers do the bulk of the work on issues related to race and inequality.

As with Clark's *Youth in the Ghetto*, this collection aims to serve as a catalyst for discussion and change moving forward. With this anthology, we

hope to assist community agencies, foundations, and city government to find ways to ameliorate racial inequality and make improvements wherever possible.

Our Method

We asked individuals who have written on aspects of race and inequality in New York City to inform us on what research was currently underway, who was doing it, and who among researchers, their students, and colleagues, might be interested in contributing to this anthology. Our advisory board included:

Richard Alba, Graduate Center, CUNY
 Elijah Anderson, Yale University
 Donald Davis, Columbia University
 Nancy Foner, Hunter College
 Mindy Fullilove, New School
 Philip Harper, New York University
 Philip Kasinitz, Graduate Center, CUNY
 John Mollenkopf, Grad. Center, CUNY
 Arthur Paris, Syracuse University
 Emily Rosenbaum, Fordham University
 Saskia Sassen, Columbia University

In winter 2015, we set up a website for the project, through the New York University, Wagner Graduate School of Public Service. In January 2016, we emailed a call-for-papers to relevant academic departments, public policy institutes, and organizations whose work focuses on New York City, and asked our advisers to distribute the call-for-papers, as well. We received twelve inquiries, with adviser referrals being our most productive source of names.

We invited inquirers to submit a short abstract of their prospective paper. Next, we listed essential chapters and subsequently matched these chapters with researchers who submitted abstracts, and with the names and specialties of individuals referred to us. We spent winter 2016 discussing our plans with prospective contributors. From these meetings, twenty individuals and teams accepted the challenge of 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 presentation. These reviewers were from public policy organizations, and from community-based and city agencies whose work is research-driven. This particular review process connected academic and public policy specialists, with the end consumers of their research.

One month before the symposium, reviewers received a draft of their assigned symposium paper to read and review. We modeled our approach on the one Walter Stafford used late in his career. He always saw the wisdom of bridging the academic, public policy, and practitioner communities as a way of activating ideas between them. This approach reflects the editors' professional engagements as well in children's services and in public health research.

Each presentation and review session that took place during the October 2016 symposium was videotaped. By December 2016, each presenter was given access to a transcript and video of their session, which made it possible for them to take reviewer comments, concerns, suggestions and needs into consideration when revising their papers. Their final drafts became chapters in this collection during the winter, spring, and summer of 2017. Authors were encouraged to draw upon one another's works when doing their final edits, 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. We hope that others will apply the project's methodology to racial inequality in other cities, with the same objectives in mind.

A Chapter Review

Part 1: Structural Underpinnings

This anthology consists of three interrelated sections. The first addresses the structural underpinnings of racial inequality. Inequality is based not on inherent racial differences in mental capacity, nor is it rooted in different biological or physical characteristics. Instead, major economic differences among races, genders, religions are produced by institutional conventions, practices, and government policies in four interrelated sectors: employment (economy), government, education, and housing.

CHAPTER 1: ECONOMY

The first structural chapter addresses the economy. Employers who discriminate do so through existing hiring, promotion, and termination policies. Consequently, job placement, mobility, and income outcomes are skewed by race. However, racial discrimination is not the only factor that drives racial economic inequality. Wage stratification does so as well. Different classes of

workers are compensated with a wide range in salaries. Traditionally, employers justify this kind of job and wage stratification by weighting the importance of a position, the skills it requires, the training needed, the job's difficulty, and the size of the pool of people qualified to do the work. When a type of work is deemed more important, it is understood that more training is required. When fewer people can perform a task, paying a qualified person more is considered appropriate—supply and demand. In this case, the gap between compensation levels by work sectors will increase or decrease. If one class of workers is compensated more, and another is compensated less, overall inequality increases, regardless of race.

When racial participation in the economy varies by sectors, economic inequality increases further. For example, Whites are over represented in sectors such as banking and finance where compensation levels are higher than other sectors. People of color, on the other hand, are over-represented in the food and services sectors, where salary levels are lower. James Parrott addresses these compensation issues in chapter 1, "Inequality in New York City: The Intersection of Race and Class." Wage disparity, where people of color are concentrated in lower-paying sectors, has contributed greatly to the rising racial inequality in New York in the past 50 years.

CHAPTER 2: RACE AND COMMUNITY

The status of neighborhoods and housing are outcomes of changes in the economy. New York City is one of the most diverse cities in the world. Our global economy drives this diversity. The city's streets, buses, subways, and public spaces reflect virtually every social class, race, gender variation, religion, ethnicity, age group, culture, and lifestyle that exists. However, when everyone returns home, New York City is also one of the most racially segregated cities in the nation. Communities and housing show us that we live in a socially stratified economy. Economic inequality drives racial inequality, with different races segregated and insulated from one another. Ingrid Gould Ellen, Jessica Yager, and Maxwell Austensen, from the New York University Furman Center, address this issue in chapter 2, "The Paradox of Inclusion and Segregation in the Nation's Melting Pot."

CHAPTER 3: EDUCATION

Income and racial segregation in housing and communities lead to racial segregation in schools and differential levels of academic achievement by race. In 1965, Kenneth Clark mourned that an entire generation of young people had been lost to substandard education and racial segregation in New York

City schools. In the years between 1940 and 1965, public education failed to provide a level playing field for most Black and Latino children. Norm Fruchter and Christina Mokhtar, of New York University, offer a fifty-year update of educational progress in chapter 3, “New York City School Segregation Then and Now: *Plus Ça Change . . .*”

Despite five city administrations, two generations of teachers, and two sets of major reforms, little has changed about New York City schools. Students from Black and Latino low-income communities are still segregated in poor-performing schools. Racial segregation still results in poverty and reduced academic achievement.

Chapter 3 is followed by an abstract by Adriana Villavicencio, Shifra Goldenberg, and Sarah Klevan, from the NYU Research Alliance for New York City Schools. In this short essay, titled “Understanding and Dismantling Barriers to College and Career Success for Black and Latino Young Men,” the authors describe programmatic efforts that could improve academic performance in low-performing schools with low-income students. Implementing these improvements, however, would require two things: bringing the program to scale citywide and generating the political will to implement the steps they outline.

CHAPTER 4: GOVERNMENT

Besides Federal and State governments, City government has constitutional responsibility for the social wellbeing of its citizens. City governments are responsible for public schools and improving them. Government is the only entity that can influence businesses and employers to act fairly and equitably. In chapter 4, Jarrett Murphy takes a critical look at the five city administrations in place since 1965, and asks the most relevant question, “Do Mayors Matter? Race, Justice and the Men in City Hall, 1965–2017.” Murphy describes the mixed results the respective administrations achieved in reducing economic and racial inequality while in office. He underscores the limited power and minimal control city governments have to influence national and regional trends in a local economy. During the New York City fiscal crisis, we saw that state and federal governments are vital for cities to be able to maintain and provide social and human services and to address economic and racial inequalities.

The discussion in part 1 on structural underpinnings set the stage for subsequent chapters. The major forces are summarized that shape the lives of millions of New Yorkers—who makes a living doing what; where people can afford to live; whether their children will do better than their parents, and; the impact a city government can have on people’s lives. Part 2 looks at New York City’s racial groups that are unequal to Whites and examines two

points: the degree of racial inequality each experience and the prospects each faces to reduce these inequities.

Part 2: The Race Mountain

Within only a few generations, European immigrants were able to achieve equity with native White citizens. Now they are indisputably American. Part 2 explores whether the more-recent immigrants from the Caribbean, Latin America, and Asia, as well as African Americans, who were here before 19th-century European immigrants, will be as fortunate.

CHAPTER 5: AFRICAN AMERICANS

African Americans have been in New York City for over four hundred years. They have lived through the major social changes of New York as a Dutch and British colony, through U.S. independence. As slaves, laborers, and artisans, Blacks were a major part of New York's mercantile economy, through the rise of industrialism. Throughout the city's history, African Americans have been used as the metric for the base of the race mountain, the bottom of the social hierarchy. They have been the New Yorkers others dare not fall below, as implied in the popularity of the 19th-century minstrel show (Lhamon, 1998). This long history of subordination, of using Blacks as the bottom of New York's social hierarchy, has largely been ignored. This history implies that Blacks have a much more complex and longer route to achieve equity. There is no way African Americans can become racially White as a precondition for parity as in the case of European immigrants. All immigrants who cannot pass for White face this same challenge. Benjamin Bowser of California State University, East Bay, addresses these issues in chapter 5, "African Americans and Racialized Inequality in New York." Gentrification is indicative of only one phase in a complex succession of places Black people have concentrated in New York as a function of their social status.

CHAPTER 6: LATINO AMERICANS

Puerto Ricans and Cubans have been in New York City since the early 1900s, with the largest influx occurring after World War II. Over time, Latino immigrant communities established themselves in Lower Manhattan, East (Spanish) Harlem, and in the South Bronx. No one could have anticipated the number and diversity of Latinos who would immigrate to New York City after 1965. There is a dozen distinct, nation-of-origin Latino communities in New York, arriving from all over the Caribbean, Mexico, and Central and South America.

Latinos also pose a particular challenge when trying to categorize them by race. Some individuals easily pass for White; others have distinct Native American or African ancestry, and others are racially mixed. Some Latinos are upwardly mobile across one or two generations, in the same way, earlier European immigrants were. Others who are of Indian and African ancestry are finding upward mobility more difficult. Hector Cordero-Guzman of City University of New York addresses the Latino situation in chapter 6, “The Evolving Latino Population in New York City.”

CHAPTER 7: WEST INDIAN AMERICANS

Caribbean immigrants have come to New York in two waves. The first influx came in the early 1900s, primarily from Jamaica and Barbados. The second wave arrived after the 1965 Immigration and Nationality Act was passed. They come from every island nation in the Caribbean, plus Guyana, speaking English, Spanish or French.

The vast majorities of immigrants from the Caribbean are of African ancestry and are indistinguishable in appearance from African Americans. However, there is an essential question. To what extent have West Indian immigrants reached parity with the White population? If so, it would suggest that their immigrant experience trumps race. Calvin Holder of CUNY Staten Island and Aubrey Bonnett of SUNY Old Westbury address these issues in chapter 7, “Select Socioeconomic Characteristics of West Indian Immigration in New York City.”

CHAPTER 8: ASIAN AMERICANS

Asians are the fastest-growing group of immigrants in New York City, and are a more complex population to assess. That is because of the large number of countries Asian immigrants come from, each has its own distinct culture. They do not share a common language or history. The majority of these new immigrants are from China, but many come from India, Cambodia, Laos, Pakistan, Korea, the Philippines, Japan, and Vietnam. Their diversity says more about the limited utility of the concept of race than it does about them as immigrants. How can so many different people be thrown into a single fictive classification: Asian American? Anthropologically, the racial categories of White, Black, Native American, and Hispanic are equally fictive and erroneous.

Furthermore, each Asian ethnicity negotiates its own process of becoming American, and each has its own social and economic trajectory. Only time will tell which group will reach social and economic parity with the general population, and when. Howard Shih of the Asian American Federation reviews

these complex circumstances in chapter 8, “Asian Americans: Immigration, Diversity, and Disparity.”

CHAPTER 9: ETHNIC CONFLICT

Chapters 5 through 8 focus specifically on the questions of the social and economic disparities African Americans, and Asian, Latino, and Caribbean immigrant New Yorkers have in comparison with White New Yorkers. Chapter 9 addresses a second question. What have been the ethnic conflicts between Black, White, and new immigrants over the last half century? Violence was a major part of interethnic relations in the 19th century. Because of the larger sizes and greater number of ethnic-racial groups today, one could hypothesize that more conflict and violence might have happened in the last half century than in prior periods.

Surprisingly, the authors of the previous chapters, independently, see less violence between groups, rather than more, in the past half-century. There has certainly been conflict and the potential for more remains, but the general lack of riot and open violence has been remarkable. There are intriguing reasons for why this potential for violence has not been actualized.

Part 3: Practice and Policy

Barriers to racial equity have never been removed. As old barriers are challenged and become less effective, new ones replace them. The process of understanding how the new barriers to equity work and then can be challenged starts over again. We have witnessed such a transition in racial oppression in New York since 1970. As racial discrimination in employment and housing were challenged with relative success, criminal justice, drug trafficking, drug addiction and HIV/AIDS, and government divestment became new barriers. At the same time, the barriers to racial equality among Asian, Latino, Caribbean and, African American New Yorkers have never been received passively. People of color have acted invariably to resist them in both organized and unorganized ways. They do not choose to be hapless victims of the discriminatory forces affecting their lives. They act and find ways to improve their plight eventually. In part 3, we examine the new barriers—criminal justice, drug trafficking and abuse, HIV/AIDS, government divestment, and the efforts of those who experience racial barriers to struggle against them.

CHAPTER 10: POLICING—STOP AND FRISK

The most recent embodiment of racial discrimination in New York City has been the stop-and-frisk police practice. Officers will stop and frisk young Black

and Latino men as a means of discouraging them from carrying weapons and drugs. The stop and frisk policy were conceived to be a preventive measure aimed at reducing violent crimes, drug trafficking, and drug abuse. However, this policy was applied selectively to mostly Black and Latino men. The NYPD made no distinction between the majority of young, law abiding Blacks and Latinos, and the minority of them who break the law.

For law-abiding Blacks and Latinos, stop and frisk has been dangerous, publicly embarrassing, personally humiliating, and an invasion of privacy. The practice has effectively criminalized everyone touched by it, not because these individuals have committed crimes, but because of their race. In this chapter, Natalie Byfield, of St. John's University, assesses the reach of stop and frisk, and the impact of this practice and its replacement.

After Byfield, there is an addendum by Woods and Greenspan entitled, "Race-Based Discrimination in Expert Witness Testimony." They present an unexamined form of racial discrimination that occurs when forensic mental health professionals testify about people of color in criminal and civil cases. Expert witnesses either minimize or ignore person-based qualities, such as brain damage, mental illness, or physical illness. Alternatively, they rely excessively on alleged personal qualities but do not give sufficient attention to the explanatory role of pertinent cultural and environmental factors. Either way, their assessments are wrong. Defendants are either convicted or released based upon faulty testimony.

CHAPTER 11: PUBLIC HEALTH

In the past 50 years, Black and Latino communities in New York have faced two very serious public health crises: the trafficking and use of heroin and crack cocaine, and the HIV/AIDS epidemic. Valuable human, financial and social resources were diverted and exhausted in the struggle against drugs and HIV/AIDS. These resources could have been devoted to civil rights efforts and community advancement. Decades of progress in addressing racial inequality were lost. In that time, drug abuse was erroneously treated as a criminal justice problem, rather than as a public health issue. This only served to heighten the epidemic as the police response became a war on the very communities that were in crisis. The public health response to the rapid spread of HIV/AIDS has been tentative and ineffective as well.

Because of these crises, two generations of young people were lost. Many died from violence, drug overdoses, and disease, or they were sent to jail. A miracle is that hard-hit communities survived; none have recovered from these epidemics and the government "war on drugs." Robert Fullilove of Columbia University, details these crises, what was and was not done about them, and the human cost, in chapter 11, "Public Policy, HIV/AIDS and Destruction of

Community in New York City.” Following Fullilove comes an addendum by Gusmano and Rodwin, “Inequalities in Health and Access to Health Services in New York City: Change and Continuity.” They bring us up to date on the continuing racial disparity in health care access by race in Manhattan, with implications for the other boroughs. This issue is imminently fixable if given sufficient attention.

CHAPTER 12: HUMAN DEVELOPMENT INDEX

The title of chapter 12 is “The Five New Yorks: Understanding Inequality by Place and Race in New York City Using the American Human Development Index.” Kristen Lewis and Sarah Burd-Sharps of Measures of America, a program of the Social Science Research Council, take a close look at the social and economic variations in communities across the city. They have developed an analytic and descriptive tool to monitor the economic resources and quality of life of communities across time. Having applied their human development index to the issue of racial inequality in New York, they report their results in chapter 12. Their work puts in relief the distinct worlds that New Yorkers live in by race and social class, highlighting the toll that racial barriers have had and the depth of the struggle against them.

CHAPTER 13: PUBLIC HOUSING

In chapter 13, Victor Bach of The New York Community Services Society writes “Public Housing: New York’s Third City.” Public housing represents one of the most extensive efforts government has made to address poverty and, indirectly, racial inequality. Subsidized housing was intended to provide decent housing, at rents low-income people could afford. In concept, residents would live in an environment where they could benefit from opportunities for upward mobility. Their children could advance via education. However, this has not happened. Instead, public housing has become a way to warehouse Blacks and Latinos, and the government has lost the will to make public housing work as it was intended originally. The result has been long-term disinvestment.

CHAPTER 14: POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

African Americans and other people of color can influence government to address racial inequality in two important ways: by exercising their right to vote and by participating directly in government. Before the 1964 Civil Rights Act, Blacks were denied these rights in much of the country. New York City

was an exception, however. Any citizen of color could vote. Harlem's Black population not only voted; it eventually got large enough to elect its own representatives. After the 1964 Civil Rights Act and the expansion of the African American and Caribbean populations in New York, the number of Black representatives increased. After 100 years, and the Black Reconstruction in the South (1865–1877), efforts to reduce racial inequality through political participation finally began to pay off. In chapter 14, “Black New Yorkers: 50 Years of Closing the Political Inequality Gap, 1965–2016,” John Flateau of CUNY, Medgar Evers College, describes the extent to which Black political representation has been attained in New York City. He describes the struggle it took to achieve this, and the difference it has made in people's lives.

CHAPTER 15: SOCIAL CAPITAL AND INEQUALITY

Chapter 15, “Social Capital, Gentrification, and Inequality in New York City,” focuses on a question that arises whenever race and inequality are discussed. That is, can Blacks, Latinos, Caribbean and the Asian poor reduce social and economic inequality through their own enterprise and actions? This question and chapter return us full circle to Kenneth Clark's thesis that racial inequality in New York and the nation is an issue of social power and the lack of it. Blacks and other people of color do not have sufficient social and economic capital to end racial discrimination. They are reliant on the resources of others. Authors Rodriguez, Hawkins and Wilkes assess whether leaders of community-based agencies and businesses have sufficient social capital to uplift their communities.

Conclusion and Recommendations

In our conclusion, this book provides plenty of evidence that New York City is very much a dual city. The presumption of Black racial inferiority that is the basis of past racial discrimination and segregation has consigned many African Americans to the lesser of the dual cities. New immigrants, who are now mostly people of color, join them. Indeed, if an underlying global economy drives the dual city divide, then reliance on local government and efforts to influence city government as a way to address inequality are in question. Our history is that local government could compel local businesses to follow laws, and act affirmatively. Government can create good schools and even invest in local labor as part of the common good. However, in globalization, the fortune of any one city or state and local population is incidental to the overall bottom line of multinational corporations. Wherever offices, plants and other facilities are placed is conditional on local governments going along

with corporate agendas. If local governments and populations demand too much, a business can always move to less demanding locations.

Businesses in the past century benefitted directly from the labor of millions of workers. Businesses could be held partly accountable for their workers' welfare via regulations and taxation. New York City is potentially such a place. However, today, new business entities employ as few people as possible and can move easily their work to wherever they can pay and be taxed the least. Local governments and workforces cannot apply a great deal of pressure on such entities to collaborate with them to redress the sins of the past. Perhaps, we have just not yet found a way to pressure multinational corporate employers meaningfully. The need to address racial inequality is growing, but our ability to make necessary change appears to be waning. Are we too late? Not hardly.

The good news from chapter 1 is that the inequality of the last half-century has been driven more by federal, state, and municipal public policies than by businesses that are too big to fail. In effect, local government still counts and can be a point of leverage to reduce social class and racial inequality, even if federal and state level governments are in question.

In this conclusion, we review major chapter findings, and summarize authors' recommendations on what can and cannot be done to reduce racial inequality in New York City. Our circumstances limit what one city can do. Perhaps in another 50 years, there will be unforeseen progress toward racial equality, and a new macro-assessment will point us toward improvements and show how they were achieved.

Finally, this single-city, in-depth focus could easily be applied to other cities, as well. We hope that this work will be a catalyst for renewed discussions on ways to lower the height of what we call "the race mountain."

Notes

1. Throughout this book, White and Black are capitalized as nouns and adjectives, designating European American and African American racial-ethnic groups, as is already the case in the common capitalization of Latino, Hispanic, and Asian.

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