where we live nyc

FAIR HOUSING TOGETHER

Confronting segregation and taking action to advance opportunity for all.

The City of New York
Mayor Bill de Blasio

Vicki Been
Deputy Mayor for Housing and
Economic Development

Letter from the Deputy Mayor

Dear New Yorkers,

Since March, our city has come together to fight the gravest threat it has faced in a century. As of October 19, 2020, at least 19,292 of our neighbors have died from the terrible COVID-19 pandemic, and tens of thousands continue to battle harmful side-effects of the disease. The health and economic impacts of the pandemic are devastating and unprecedented, with over 16% of New Yorkers currently unemployed and over 30% expressing no or little confidence that they will be able to pay October's rent.

Throughout this tragedy, we have also seen the soul of New York shine through. Doctors, nurses, and front-line healthcare workers risked their lives to care for the sick and ensure New Yorkers stayed as safe as possible. Manufacturers turned on a dime from producing Broadway costumes and designer clothes to making face masks and other personal protective equipment. Hundreds of thousands of New Yorkers stayed home to keep others safe. New Yorkers across the boroughs celebrated our front-line heroes every night, cheering on healthcare and other essential workers who spent their days and nights in the trenches of the pandemic. Volunteers spent countless hours assisting laid-off workers and small businesses in accessing unemployment insurance and other financial assistance. Those in the food industry made sure New Yorkers had safe, fresh food to eat, and neighborhoods and community organizations stood up mutual aid groups to deliver groceries and medicine to the elderly and immunocompromised, share resources and information, check in on the vulnerable, and to offer community during a period of intense isolation.

In January 2020, before these seismic changes, the City released a draft version of the Where We Live NYC Plan, which was the culmination of a two-year planning process led by the New York City Department of Housing Preservation and Development (HPD) and the New York City Housing Authority (NYCHA). The City engaged hundreds of residents, over 150 community-based and advocacy organizations, and dozens of governmental agencies through the Where We Live NYC process to discuss difficult fair housing issues, including persistent discrimination in the housing market, segregation in our neighborhoods and schools, and unequal access to amenities and resources on the basis of race, disability, and other characteristics protected by fair housing laws.

The COVID-19 pandemic has laid bare the continued significance of these deeply embedded inequities in our city. The COVID-19 pandemic has not affected New Yorkers equally. Black, Latinx, immigrant, and low-income New Yorkers and the neighborhoods they call home have faced the most severe and traumatic impacts from the crisis. To give just a few examples: Black and Latinx New Yorkers have been diagnosed with COVID-19 at significantly higher rates than White New Yorkers, and have died at twice the rate of White New Yorkers. Some areas of the Bronx are estimated to be experiencing unemployment rates of 30%, while rates in parts of Manhattan and Brooklyn are estimated at 10%.
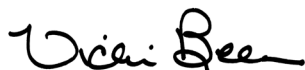
As the rest of this plan details, the disproportionate impact the pandemic has had on low-income communities of color is inextricably linked to a long and ongoing history of

discrimination that excludes people of color from housing, job opportunities, and access to capital. Black and Latinx New Yorkers are the most likely of our residents to have pre-existing health conditions, have the least access to paid sick leave and health insurance through employers, and have fewer healthcare resources to draw from in the neighborhoods in which they live. A disproportionate share of New Yorkers of color are also part of the city's essential service workers – bus drivers and delivery workers, home-health aides providing care for the elderly, maintenance people keeping our buildings safe and their systems operational, grocery store clerks keeping the shelves stocked, and food industry workers preparing meals for hungry New Yorkers. These heroes – who we depended on to keep our city running – return home to neighborhoods especially hard-hit by the COVID-19 pandemic and are facing extreme economic and housing insecurity.

As the inequities of the pandemic unfolded, the killings of Ahmaud Arbery, Breonna Taylor, and George Floyd also were horrible reminders of the continued danger systemic racism imposes on Black Americans. Protests over those brutal murders, and over the pervasive racial injustices that the Black Lives Matter movement has painfully laid open, have once again challenged New Yorkers to consider how our city and our country must change to address the systems that have created and maintained these inequities for centuries.

The City of New York is committed to ensuring that all New Yorkers have access to the resources they need to weather the pandemic and recover as quickly as possible. This means safeguarding tenants' rights and protecting them from harassment and illegal evictions, monitoring discrimination in the housing market against New Yorkers who pay their rent with government assistance, fixing dangerous quality-of-life issues at home such as mold and pests, and protecting homeowners against frauds and scams that prey on the vulnerable. It also means moving forward with long-planned initiatives to create more high-quality affordable housing in neighborhoods that lack such options, and ensuring that all New Yorkers – regardless of their race, nationality, immigration status, sexual identity, or disability – can access vital government assistance during these unprecedented times.

When President Lyndon Johnson signed the Fair Housing Act into law in 1968, he proclaimed that, "Fair housing for all – all human beings who live in this country – is now part of the American way of life." The disparate impact COVID-19 has had on communities of color is yet more evidence that we have a long way to go to make the promise of fair housing a reality for all. The Where We Live NYC Plan is a blueprint for exactly what New York City must do over the coming years to make the New York way of life fairer and more just.

Vicki Been
Deputy Mayor for Housing and
Economic Development

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Do you only have a few minutes?
Jump to the Goals and Strategies (Chapter 6), which include the goals, strategies, and actions that the City will implement over the next five years.

Do you have 30 minutes?
Read the Historical Background (Chapter 2) on fair housing, which describes the roots of the housing and neighborhood challenges that the city faces today; Creating the Plan (Chapter 4), which describes the collaborative planning process behind the plan; and the Goals and Strategies (Chapter 6).

Do you have 60 minutes or more?
Read the full plan, including the in-depth analysis in New York City Today (Chapter 5), which combines input from hundreds of residents and over 150 community-based and advocacy organizations with data from dozens of governmental agencies to describe New York City's fair housing challenges today.

Chapter 1
The Promise of New York

Imagine the year is 2030. The city has bounced back from the unprecedented health, economic, and emotional toll of the COVID-19 pandemic. With a population of over 9 million people, New York City has again shown its remarkable resiliency. While the pandemic demonstrated both our interconnectedness and the deep fissures that divide us, an equitable recovery has drawn on the strengths of everyone to build a stronger, fairer economy. New York City remains the preferred destination for dreamers from across the United States and the world for economic opportunities, culture, food, and entertainment, and its residents remain the most diverse, talented, and creative of any major city in the nation.

The disproportionate toll the COVID-19 pandemic had on communities of color also spurred a reckoning about how systemic racism shaped New Yorkers' lived experiences. Thanks to aggressive enforcement of expanded anti-discrimination laws, discrimination in the housing market is at an all-time low. Housing development meets the needs of the city's growing population, and affordable, accessible, and supportive housing now exists in every neighborhood. Billions of dollars in renovations have rejuvenated the New York City Housing Authority (NYCHA), whose residents enjoy safe, high-quality, energy-efficient, and affordable housing in thriving neighborhoods.

The expansion of the city's housing stock, strengthened rent protections, and increased access to homeownership opportunities have provided stable housing, decreased the number of homeless households, and relieved residents' fear of displacement. More low-income New Yorkers report feeling empowered in their housing choices, whether they wish to stay in their current home and community or find a new home with an extra bedroom or a new neighborhood with a shorter commute to work.

Most importantly, New York City's success is shared equitably. Disparities on the basis of race or ethnicity in crucial measures of well-being, such as New Yorkers' job opportunities, income and wealth, the time they take to commute each day, the rate at which they are exposed to violent crime in their neighborhood, and the likelihood that they experience maintenance problems in their homes, have all diminished.

The City of New York is committed to making this vision come true. The vision reflects both the City's values and its obligation to remedy the scars of discrimination, segregation, and concentrated poverty, which shaped New York City and virtually all cities across the United States in the 20th century. Racist and exclusionary ideologies influenced where housing was developed or demolished; where parks and waste transfer stations were sited; where transit options were provided; and where schools were constructed and who was allowed to enroll in them. These decisions continue to be felt today in the unequal experiences and outcomes described in this report and the devastating toll COVID-19 has had on communities of color.

When Congress passed the federal Fair Housing Act in 1968, following decades of organizing and activism, it sought to address the long legacy of these injustices in the housing market and in urban planning by eliminating discrimination on the basis of race, religion, and nativity in housing-related activities. To achieve this difficult goal, Congress included a unique provision that required the new U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) to administer

its programs "in a manner affirmatively to further the purposes" of the Fair Housing Act. But Congress was silent on the meaning of this provision, leaving the interpretation and enforcement of the mandate to HUD.

Since 1968, HUD and the federal courts have provided changing interpretations of what it means for the agency and its grantees to "affirmatively further" the goals of the Fair Housing Act. However, in the late 2000s, President Obama's administration sought to provide more guidance and support about how cities and counties around the country should take proactive steps to address segregation and barriers that prevent protected populations from accessing opportunities. To assist jurisdictions in conducting more inclusive, comprehensive, and affirmative fair housing planning, HUD proposed in 2013 and finalized in 2015 a new rule requiring jurisdictions to create an "Assessment of Fair Housing" every five years that would include extensive data analysis, public engagement, and measurable strategies to advance fair housing goals. Although recent regulatory changes at HUD mean that the City of New York is no longer required to complete the planning process envisioned by the 2015 rule, the City chose to do so, both to show our commitment to fair housing and to help us build a more equitable city.

Planning for fair housing begins with the assertion that where we live matters, and this report provides crucial data and analyses that improve our understanding of where New Yorkers call home. It considers New Yorkers' experiences in their homes—from the amount they pay in rent each month to the likelihood that they will experience maintenance problems. It considers where New Yorkers with different personal characteristics – including race, income, national origin, and disability – live in relation to each other. It considers the housing options available to New Yorkers, based on the location of new development, the distribution of affordable housing, and the persistence of discrimination in the housing market. It considers how access to resources and opportunities differs dramatically by neighborhood across the five boroughs.

The Where We Live NYC process has included extensive analysis and public participation to better understand why and how it matters where New Yorkers call home. This plan details how people in different neighborhoods experience the most fundamental aspects of life, and how those experiences are often connected to race and a history of unjust decisions and policies. Examples include:

- In East Harlem and many parts of the Bronx, children are 15 times more likely to visit the emergency room because of asthma-related conditions as children who live on the Upper East Side or in Greenwich Village.
- Only 60% of high schoolers who live in some neighborhoods in the Bronx graduate high school on time, as compared to 96% of high schoolers who live in parts of Lower
- Manhattan, northeast Queens, and Staten Island.
- Black and Hispanic children in New York City's public schools are four times more likely than White children to live in unstable housing, which includes being doubled-up with family and friends or living in shelter.
- Most recently, more than 30% of Hispanic and Black New Yorkers expressed no or slight confidence that they will be able to pay October's rent, as compared to 20% of White New Yorkers.

Figure 1.1 Where We Live NYC Process

community conversations

SUMMER - FALL 2018
Conversations in partnership with community-based organizations to engage residents across the five boroughs

fair housing stakeholder group

SPRING 2018 - FALL 2019
An opportunity for advocates, researchers, service providers, and community leaders to provide input

public events

SUMMER 2019 - WINTER 2020
Events for residents to stay updated on the process, learn about fair housing, and build a collective vision to guide policy

where we live nyc plan

DRAFT: JANUARY 2020
Receive public feedback

FINAL: OCTOBER 2020

data analysis

SPRING 2018 - FALL 2019
Extensive analysis to help deepen the City's understanding of fair housing issues

government partnerships

SPRING 2018 - FALL 2019
Coordination with government partners to make sure policy solutions are comprehensive, feasible, and impactful

action

Implement policy solutions that fight discrimination, break down barriers to opportunity, and build more just and inclusive neighborhoods

Confronting the systems that created and maintain racial inequality will not be simple or without controversy. To give one example, the City heard from hundreds of New Yorkers – most of whom were people of color – that the tools commonly associated with fair housing, such as promoting racially integrated neighborhoods, are not necessarily the answer to the hardships they currently face in the housing market or in their neighborhoods. For many New Yorkers who participated in our Community Conversations and Fair Housing Stakeholder Group, ensuring equitable access to opportunities and amenities in neighborhoods – regardless of their racial

demographics – is more important to fulfilling the Fair Housing Act's spirit than is integrating neighborhoods. Participating New Yorkers also expressed a sense of fear that the ways in which some neighborhoods are changing – namely through the increased presence of wealthier, White residents in areas with predominant populations of people of color – will displace long-standing residents and businesses.

The City must balance this feedback, its own data analysis, an immediate budgetary crisis, and legal requirements in creating its fair housing plan for the next five years. The City's fair housing plan seeks to address a wide range of challenges, including an affordability crisis and housing shortage that threaten the stability of individuals and families across the city; ongoing discrimination in the housing market; unequal access between neighborhoods to resources and opportunities; and a legacy of segregation that has contributed to disparities by race, ethnicity, disability, and other protected characteristics.

The City will focus its affirmative fair housing work on six goals and complementary strategies and actions. These goals are:

1. Combat persistent, complex discrimination with expanded resources and protections
2. Facilitate equitable housing development in New York City and the region
3. Preserve affordable housing and prevent displacement of long-standing residents
4. Enable more effective use of rental assistance benefits, especially in amenity-rich areas
5. Create more independent and integrated living options for people with disabilities
6. Make equitable investments to address the neighborhood-based legacy of discrimination, segregation, and concentrated poverty

The challenges the fair housing plan aims to address are significant and will not be fixed quickly, but with focus and cooperation across governmental and non-governmental partners, significant progress can and will be made over the next five years.

Chapter 2
Historical Background

Introduction

The fair housing challenges that New York City faces today are rooted in the nation's history of slavery and racist laws, policies, and customs that have shaped the city's built and social environments for centuries. "Jim Crow" laws, for example, were not limited to the South; they also existed in New York City, regulating the homes in which residents could live, the jobs that they could hold, and the pools in which they could swim.[1] The many immigrant groups who came to New York City from around the world throughout the 20th century also experienced discrimination and segregation rooted in xenophobia and racism. The treatment of people of color—and particularly Black New Yorkers—as second-class citizens has had pernicious and lasting impacts.[2]

Signed into law in 1968, days after the assassination of Martin Luther King Jr., the federal Fair Housing Act prohibited discrimination in housing on the basis of race, national origin, and religion. It also created a path for other marginalized communities not included in the original law to gain legal protection from discrimination at the federal, state, and local level. Congress has amended and expanded the Fair Housing Act since 1968, particularly in 1988 when protections were extended to people with disabilities, households with children, and pregnant women. Beyond those individuals protected by federal law, the State and City of New York have also extended protections on the basis of sexual orientation, gender identity, citizenship status, source of income, and other characteristics.

While this report cannot provide a full airing of this complex history, a brief description is crucial for understanding the roots of New Yorkers' current residential patterns; the persistent disparities between groups and neighborhoods in housing quality, income, education, and health; and the continuing need to advance fair housing in New York City.

Enslaved Africans were brought to the area now known as New York City as early as 1626. By 1660, the area was 40% African, and the forced and unpaid labor of enslaved people was crucial to the development of the areas now known as Lower Manhattan and central Brooklyn.[3] After slavery was outlawed across New York State in 1827, New York City was home to one of the largest "free" Black communities in the northern United States, though Blacks also faced widespread discrimination in accessing safe housing, well-paying jobs, and even the right to vote. This discrimination also led to repeated violence, most prominently in the Draft Riots of 1863, when Black residents were terrorized for days by tormentors who suffered little or no consequences.

1 Craig Wilder, A Covenant with Color: Race and Social Power in Brooklyn, Columbia University Press (2001); Martha Biondi, To Stand and To Fight: The Struggle for Civil Rights in Postwar New York City, Harvard University Press (2003); Marta Gutman, "Equipping the Public Realm: Rethinking Robert Moses and Recreation," Robert Moses and the Modern City: The Transformation of New York, ed. Hilary Ballon and Kenneth T. Jackson, W.W. Norton & Company (2008); Richard Rothstein, The Color of Law: A Forgotten History of How Our Government Segregated America, Liverlight (2017); Brian Purnell and Jeanne Theoharis, "How New York City became the capital of the Jim Crow North," The Washington Post (Aug. 23, 2017).
2 Robert J. Sampson, Great American City: Chicago and the Enduring Neighborhood Effect, University of Chicago Press (2011); Patrick Sharkey, Stuck in Place: Urban Neighborhoods and the End of Progress Toward Racial Equality, University of Chicago Press (2013).
3 Wilder, pp. 5-42.

In the early 1900s, New York City experienced a rapid population boom. The city on average added approximately 1 million residents in each decade between 1900 and 1940, growing from approximately 3.5 million residents at the turn of the century to 7.5 million residents at the beginning of World War II, and these new residents needed places to live. Entrepreneurs and City officials created new housing opportunities through the construction of subway and rail systems, which made land in the Bronx, Brooklyn, and Queens accessible to commuters to Manhattan for the first time, and through the construction of large-scale, publicly-assisted housing developments.[4]

But many New Yorkers were explicitly excluded from these opportunities. The city's population was not merely growing in the early 1900s—it was also changing, as Black people began to emigrate to cities across the North to escape racial violence in the South and to find economic opportunity.[5] This movement of approximately 6 million people is now known as the Great Migration, and New York City's Black population grew significantly in each decade between 1920 and 1970, increasing from approximately 150,000 in 1920 to 1.6 million in 1970. In the face of this migration, along with the arrival of millions of immigrants over the course of the 20th century, many White New Yorkers sought to enforce a system of residential segregation between Whites and people of color.

Immigration in NYC

New York City experienced several waves of immigration in the 20th century, originally from Europe and eventually the rest of the world. The arrival of large numbers of Italians and Eastern European Jews in the early 20th century led Congress to pass discriminatory laws to limit the growth of those populations and others. Immigration patterns changed dramatically after World War II, however, with the arrival of over 600,000 Puerto Ricans in the 1940s and 1950s. By 1970, Puerto Ricans accounted for over 10 percent of the city's total population. The passing of the Hart-Celler Act in 1965, which abolished the use of immigration quotas based on national origin, created more opportunities for immigrants from all over the world, including the Caribbean and Latin America, East and South Asia, the Middle East, and Africa. These cycles of immigration have contributed to the formation of the city's many ethnic enclaves, which formed as networks of support and community and as a form of protection against the discrimination and violence many immigrants experienced upon their arrival to New York City.

One of the most pernicious tools in promoting segregation was the construction of explicitly segregated housing developments, many of which were owned or financed by the city, state, or federal government. This practice began in 1928, when the Thomas Garden Apartments opened near the Grand Concourse in the Bronx for White families and the Paul Lawrence Dunbar Apartments opened in Harlem for Black families.[6] It continued through the 1930s, when the

4 Richard Plunz, A History of Housing in New York City: Revised Edition, Columbia University Press (2016), pp. 116-122.
5 Isabel Wilkerson, The Warmth of Other Suns: The Epic Story of America's Great Migration, Vintage (2010).
6 Plunz, pp. 155-56.

New York City Housing Authority (NYCHA) opened the Harlem River Houses for Black households and the Williamsburg Houses for White households in 1937 and 1938, respectively.[7]

The most significant examples were two enormous government-supported housing developments built by the Metropolitan Life Company exclusively for White families: Parkchester in the central Bronx, which included 12,273 apartments for 42,000 people, and Stuyvesant Town in Manhattan, which included 8,775 apartments for 27,000 people.[8]

Even though protesters denounced the City for providing land and tax breaks to these projects and sued MetLife over its exclusionary policy, Frederick Ecker, the company's president, stuck to his position that "Negroes and whites don't mix."[9] In an attempt to appease its critics, MetLife also developed the Riverton Houses, a 1,200-unit development in Harlem that, while nominally open to all races, attracted mostly Black residents.[10] *The People's Voice*, a weekly newspaper based in Harlem, predicted that these projects were "crystallizing patterns of segregation and condemning thousands of Negroes to a secondary citizenship status for generations to come."[11]

At the same time, federal housing policy also explicitly subordinated people of color, most importantly through a mortgage-lending process that came to be known as "redlining."[12] Beginning in 1933, the federal agency responsible for refinancing mortgages—the Home Owners' Loan Corporation (HOLC)—created "Residential Security Maps," which labeled neighborhoods as "A (Best)," "B (Still Desirable)," "C (Definitely Declining)," or "D (Hazardous)," ostensibly to judge the riskiness of issuing mortgages in each type of neighborhood. Each neighborhood was also color-coded: "A" was green; "B" was blue; "C" was yellow; and "D" was red. Figure 2.1 shows an example of a HOLC map for Upper Manhattan.

The systematic use of these maps by the federal government and local banks had substantial, disastrous, and long-lasting impacts on racial inequality. Neighborhoods where HOLC found a sizeable presence of "undesirable" residents—which in New York City included immigrants from Southern Europe, "Communistic" Jews, and others— were deemed ineligible sites for federally-insured mortgages. HOLC was particularly concerned about the presence of Black New Yorkers; any neighborhood in which Black New Yorkers were more than 5% of the population was labeled "C (Definitely Declining)" or "D (Hazardous)," and it was all-but-guaranteed that a prospective homebuyer could not receive a mortgage in such a neighbohood.[13]

7 Rothstein, p. 23.
8 Plunz, pp. 253-256; Biondi, pp. 122-135.
9 Biondi, p. 123.
10 "Riverton Houses Opening: First Ten Families Move Into Harlem Apartments Today," New York Times (July 18, 1947); "20,000 Seek Homes, First 10 Chosen: Riverton Project in the Heart of Harlem Opens—To House 1,232 Families Eventually," New York Times (July 29, 1947).
11 Biondi, p. 127.
12 Douglas S. Massey and Nancy A. Denton, American Apartheid: Segregation and the Making of an Underclass, Harvard University Press (1993), pp. 52-53; Rothstein, pp. 64-66.
13 Wilder, pp. 185-193.

Figure 2.1 Home Owners' Loan Corporation 'Residential Security Map' - Upper Manhattan
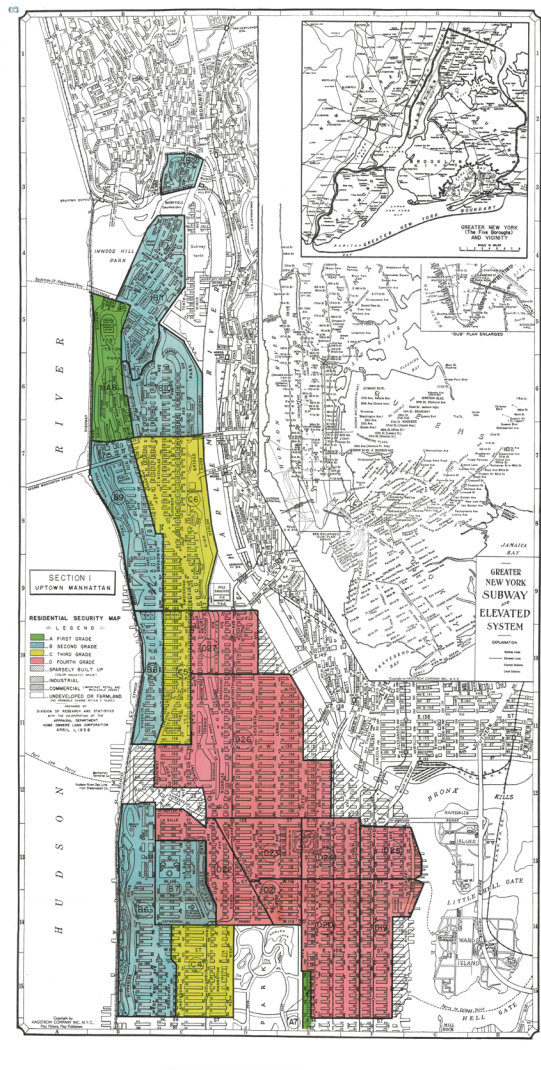
Source: Robert K. Nelson et al., "Mapping Inequality," American Panorama, ed. Robert K. Nelson and Edward L. Ayers, accessed May 21, 2019 at: https://dsl.richmond.edu/panorama/redlining/#loc=12/40.7941/-73.9569&opacity=0.8&sort=99,104,95,101,203,98&city=manhattan-ny.

14 Biondi, p. 116; Wilder, pp. 202-204.
15 Biondi, p. 114.
16 Rothstein, pp. 69-71.
17 Rothstein, p. 19.

The Mortgage Conference of Greater New York even commissioned a block-by-block survey of New York City to show where "Negroes and Spanish-speaking persons resided," though blocks that housed Black and Hispanic building superintendents were exempted. The Mortgage Conference directed its 38 members to refrain from issuing mortgages to any properties on such blocks, depriving neighborhoods with Black and Hispanic residents of access to capital and encouraging White residents to move to segregated neighborhoods or suburbs where loans were available.[14]

"A Realtor should never be instrumental in introducing into a neighborhood . . . members of any race or nationality, or any individual whose presence will clearly be detrimental to property values in that neighborhood."

- National Association of Real Estate Boards Code of Ethics, 1924.

Mortgages were available in suburban developments on Long Island and in Westchester because the vast majority of these developments were open only to White residents.[15] The most famous development— Levittown, New York—opened to 17,500 veterans and their families immediately following World War II under the federal government's condition that only White residents would live there.[16] Levittown residents also became homeowners thanks to the G.I. Bill, which offered low-interest loans and required no down payments.[17] Almost all people of color were excluded from this crucial, life-changing opportunity to build equity in their homes and pass down wealth to future generations. During the immediate post-war period, per capita mortgage lending in Nassau County, New York, where Levittown

and many other Whites-only developments were located, was eleven times greater than lending in Brooklyn and 60 times greater than lending in the Bronx.[18]

Segregated suburban developments, which expanded with significant support from government, also helped determine who remained in or moved to New York City. Hundreds of thousands of New Yorkers, predominantly people of color, were forcibly displaced from their homes by the construction of taxpayer-funded highways, which served the segregated suburbs.[19] Subsidized mortgages and segregated living patterns also drew a sizeable portion of the city's middle-class tax base to the suburbs; in the 1950s alone, the suburban region's population increased by almost 2.2 million people, while the city's population decreased by 109,973 people—the first decennial decline in the city's history.[20]

The expansion of segregated suburban developments also pushed government officials to take drastic steps to alter some of the city's central neighborhoods through massive redevelopment projects, which often consisted of displacing people of color from their homes and building more expensive housing in their place.[21] In turn, people of color were directed to even more segregated neighborhoods in Upper Manhattan and Central Brooklyn.[22]

"My grandmother grew up on the West Side [of Manhattan] on 52nd Street, and she was given three months free rent to move into Harlem. The idea was to put all of us [people of color] together to control us and keep track of us."

– Community Conversation Participant, SAGE Advocacy & Services for LGBT Elders

The combined influence of redlining, segregated housing developments, and rampant discrimination in the employment and education fields concentrated low-income people of color in small geographic areas and created a "new form of urban poverty."[23] Poor living conditions in these neighborhoods—often referred to as ghettos—also stigmatized people of color in the eyes of many White residents, who feared that their neighborhoods and schools would become unstable if integration occurred.[24] Many New Yorkers responded to these forms of racism, economic oppression, and subjugation with grassroots organizing and legislative advocacy, and New York City became a leader in innovative, civil rights lawmaking in the 1950s.[25]

Beginning in 1951, the New York City Council passed increasingly broad anti-discrimination laws that regulated the housing market. MetLife's explicitly racist admissions policy at Stuyvesant Town had inspired activists to organize the New York State Committee against Discrimination in Housing, which won passage of a local law in 1951 prohibiting racial discrimination by housing

18 Rothstein, p. 54.
19 Caro, p. 19.
20 Plunz, p. 274.
21 Caro, p. 20; Plunz, p. 282, Biondi, p. 226.
22 Ballon, p. 10; Wilder, p. 216.
23 Patrick Sharkey, Uneasy Peace: The Great Crime Decline, the Renewal of City Life, and the Next War on Violence, W.W. Norton & Company (2018), p. 15.
24 Wilder, p. 216.
25 Biondi; Juliet Saltman, Open Housing as a Social Movement: Challenge, Conflict and Change, Heath Lexington Books (1971).

providers that received financial assistance from the City.[26] In 1957, the City enacted the first municipal law in the country that prohibited all housing providers—both public and private—from discriminating on the basis of race. The *New York Times* reported on the "highly contro-versial" law throughout December 1957, and supporters hoped the "historic" law "would be felt around the world."[27] However, the law lacked any meaningful enforcement mechanisms to hold discriminatory landlords, brokers, or banks to account.[28]

New York City Housing Authority

Following World War II, the New York City Housing Authority ("NYCHA") expanded rapidly, adding 1,082 apartment buildings across the city between 1945 and 1958. NYCHA offered high-quality affordable housing for many lower income families, particularly people of color who faced discrimination in the private market or displacement from urban renewal.

While public housing developments across the country, including NYCHA's, were actively seg-regated in the prewar period, NYCHA made an effort to racially integrate projects in the 1950s, even creating a division of Intergroup Relations to encourage integrated housing. But for a variety of reasons, including eviction of (often White) tenants who exceeded the maximum income limits and White flight from areas where new public housing was built, any gains in integration were short-lived. By the 1970s, White residents had concentrated in developments outside Manhattan, while the overall White population in public housing rapidly declined.

At the same time, efforts to make public housing more available to the City's poorest residents placed significant pressure on a system that lacked the resources to meet their needs and necessitated ever-larger federal contributions to subsidize lower rents. NYCHA's growing inability to support its operations through rental income created a precarious situation that intensified in the 1980s with drastic cuts to federal spending on housing. For more information, see Nicholas Dagen Bloom, *Public Housing That Worked: New York in the Twentieth Century,* University of Pennsylvania Press (2009).

At the same time, the United States Congress rejected attempts to pass a federal anti-discrimination law in housing multiple times, even after passing historic civil rights legislation that regulated public accommodations, employment, and the right to vote.[29] A significant majority of White Americans believed in 1962 that they should have the right to reject people of color as their neighbors,[30] and a New York Times poll from 1964 showed that a majority of New Yorkers believed that the civil rights movement had already "gone too far."[31]

26 New York Times, "Council Passes Bill Barring Bias in All-City Aided Private Housing," (Feb. 17, 1951).
27 New York Times, "Bill Barring Bias In Housing Passed by City Council," (Dec. 6, 1957); New York Times, "Long-Impact of Bias Law Seen," (Dec. 8, 1957); New York Times, "State Will War on Housing Bias," (Dec. 16, 1957).
28 New York Times, "Housing Bias Bill Signed by Mayor," (Dec. 31, 1957).
29 New York Times, "Rights Leaders React Bitterly," (Sept. 20, 1966).
30 Massey and Denton, p. 49; see also Emily Badger, "28 percent of whites say they favor a law allowing homeowners to discriminate," Washington Post (July 9, 2015).
31 New York Times, "Poll Shows Whites in City Resent Civil Rights Drive," (Sept. 21, 1964).

Nevertheless, the assassination of Martin Luther King, Jr. in April 1968 finally pushed Congress to pass Title VIII of the Civil Rights Act, which is known as the federal Fair Housing Act. The law prohibited discrimination in the housing market on the basis of race, color, religion, or national origin, and represented a historic milestone in addressing the national legacy and lasting impacts of discrimination and segregation. Again, however, the law lacked strong enforcement mechanisms to punish discriminatory actors.[32]

Disability Rights

This era also saw a significant expansion of civil rights for people with disabilities through federal legislation, as a result of activism from the disability rights movement. In housing in particular, this movement fought against government-supported confinement of people with disabilities to institutionalized settings and solidified their right to be integrated with the rest of society.

The Rehabilitation Act of 1973 (Section 504) prohibited federal agencies and contractors from discriminating on the basis of disability and mandated equal access to public services, including subsidized housing. In 1988, the Fair Housing Act was amended to include people with disabilities as a protected class, barring discrimination in all types of housing, and requiring reasonable accommodations, such as structural modifications to housing units. The Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA) of 1990 broadly prohibited discrimination in all areas of public life, including jobs, schools, transportation and all spaces open to the public. A landmark Supreme Court case, Olmstead v. L.C. (1999), further solidified the right for people with disabilities to be integrated into the rest of society; the Court held that public entities must provide community-based services to people with disabilities in the most integrated setting appropriate to meet their needs.

Most importantly, many White New Yorkers simply rejected the goals of ending discrimination in the housing market and fostering integrated neighborhoods. Confronted with attempts by politicians and activists to integrate the city's neighborhoods and schools, many White parents and homeowners used methods similar to those used by Southern segregationists: they intimidated potential neighbors of color, sometimes with violence; they marched through the streets, protesting against integration; they sought state legislation to redraw school district lines and alter admissions policies; and they left New York City for suburban areas that were considered less likely to integrate.[33]

"Forest Hills High School didn't want to let me in, so the councilmember fought to get me in. I was an A student and learning above my level. The day I got in, three Caucasian females jumped me and I went to jail for three and a half days for beating them up. They set my hair on fire, and the teacher stood there and said not one word and nothing happened to her."

-Community Conversation Participant, Section 8 Housing Choice Voucher Program

32 Sharkey, Stuck in Place, p. 8.
33 Biondi, p. 238; Jonathan Rieder, Canarsie: The Jews and Italians of Brooklyn Against Liberalism, Harvard University Press (1985); Eliza Shapiro, "Segregation Has Been the Story of New York City's Schools for 50 Years," New York Times (Mar. 26, 2019).

"I lived my whole life in Cypress Hills. When my family moved here, it was largely White but [the White residents] were moving out to Howard Beach. My grandparents would tell me stories of the White neighbors hating the people of color moving in, they would throw garbage on their street."

-Community Conversation Participant, Chhaya CDC

Between 1970 and 1980, the city's White population decreased by 1.4 million—a drop of nearly 28%—and, as Craig Wilder has written, "Whites displaced onto blacks responsibility for the stampede touched off by white fear."[34]

Figure 2.2: New Housing Production by Decade
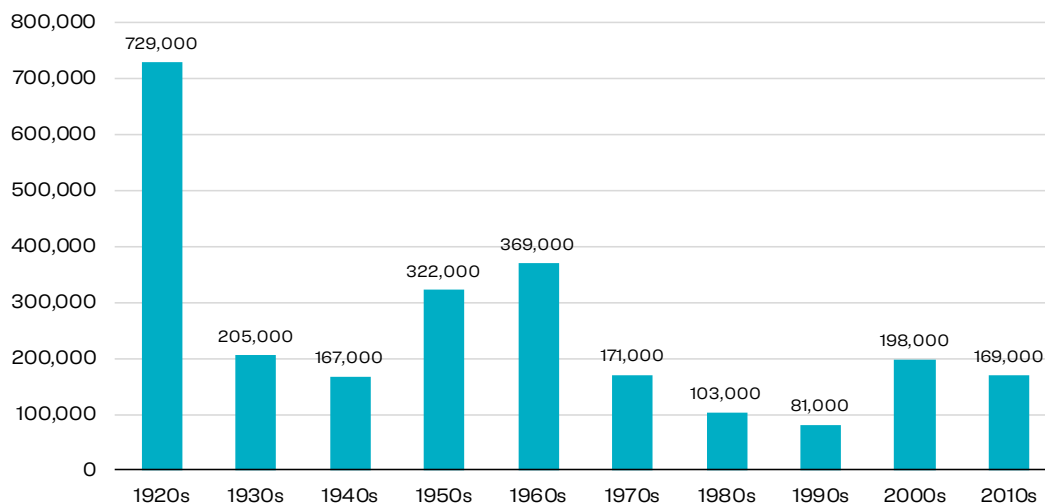
Source: NYC Department of City Planning, 2019.

Housing production across the city plummeted at this time, as shown in Figure 2.2. Fewer new housing units were completed in the 1980s and 1990s than in any previous decades on record. Landlords also abandoned over 100,000 units of housing across the five boroughs, forcing the City to take ownership of a vast stock of housing and land.[35] Many of these properties were concentrated in parts of Manhattan, Brooklyn, and the Bronx that were primarily communities of color. Mayor Ed Koch formed the Department of Housing Preservation and Development (HPD) in 1978 to manage, rehabilitate, and eventually return much of this housing stock to private ownership as regulated, affordable housing.

Over the past twenty years, New York City's housing and neighborhood conditions improved significantly, but the city faces a new set of challenges. In addition to its horrible health impacts, the COVID-19 pandemic has already wiped away significant improvements in wages and

34 Wilder, p. 85.
35 Alex Schwartz, "New York City and Subsidized Housing: Impacts and Lessons of the City's $5 Billion Capital Budget Housing Plan," Housing Policy Debate (1999), 4(10): 843.

employment that many marginalized New Yorkers had recently experienced. Even during the recent economic expansion, however, millions of New Yorkers struggled to afford their homes; during the fifteen-year period between 2002 and 2017, median gross rents across the city increased by over 37 percent, while median renter income only increased by 20 percent. In 2017, half of renter households were rent burdened, paying 30 percent or more of their income on rent. Tens of thousands of individuals and families have been driven to homelessness, and decades of federal disinvestment in public housing has left the New York City Housing Authority with over $40 billion in unmet capital needs.

The city is also still recovering from the foreclosure crisis that began in the late 2000s, which was spurred by a wave of subprime lending that targeted neighborhoods with large populations of Black and Hispanic New Yorkers.[36] At the same time, many neighborhoods that were in decline in the 1970s and 1980s are now areas where many New Yorkers are concerned that rising housing costs, a shortage of new housing for low- and moderate-income households, and changes in their neighborhoods will make it impossible for them to remain in their homes and communities.[37]

Together, the historical legacy described in this chapter and the city's current housing and economic crises present complex fair housing challenges. The rest of the plan describes how these challenges affect New Yorkers' access to housing and thriving neighborhoods, and how the City of New York will address these challenges over the next five years.

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36 John Baker, et al., "Aftermath: Affordable Homeownership in New York City: 10 Years After the Crisis," Center for NYC Neighborhoods (Oct. 2018), available at: https://s28299.pcdn.co/wp-content/uploads/2018/10/CNY002-AH-Summit-Report_v7_FINAL_online.pdf.
37 Lance Freeman, There Goes the 'Hood: Views of Gentrification from the Ground Up, Temple University Press (2005).

Chapter 3
Progress to Date

This Administration's Commitment

New York City has spent the past six years fighting against the legacy of segregation and inequality described in Chapter 2 in order to create a more equitable city. Through unparalleled investments and innovative policies, the City has fought to affirmatively further fair housing by preserving and creating affordable housing, preventing displacement, and fostering opportunities for households of all races, ethnicities, national origins, religions, gender, family status, and abilities. The City also has worked to ensure that all our neighborhoods enjoy healthier and more sustainable environments, high quality educational and job opportunities, efficient transit, and safe and enriching communities – and that the City's growth and prosperity include all residents.

The City articulated its equity goals most comprehensively in its OneNYC plan in 2015, and updated the plan in 2019. Among the 24 critical goals the City set, 17 are central to fair housing. These goals aspire to create conditions by 2050 where:

New Yorkers are secure in their homes and neighborhoods

Safe, affordable housing is available in all five boroughs, and our neighborhoods are more diverse and dynamic than ever. Communities are safe, the air and water are clean, and there are abundant open spaces for all to enjoy. In every neighborhood, there are cultural centers and libraries, small businesses and corner groceries open for late night shopping. No longer threatened by harassment or eviction, families can choose to raise their children in the neighborhoods that best meet their needs.

New York City's economic strength provides security and opportunity for all

All New Yorkers can find a good job with fair wages, benefits, and the chance to advance. Young people, trained to think critically and ready to learn new skills, excel in their work and easily find jobs in a diversified and evolving economy. From big businesses to local start-ups, in manufacturing, technology, creative industries, New Yorkers are entrepreneurial and open to new opportunities, driving a growing economy in which everyone can take part and be rewarded.

Health care is a right for every New Yorker

New Yorkers are healthy because quality health care is guaranteed, and our holistic approach means healthy lifestyles—good nutrition, clean air, nearby parks—are available to everyone regardless of race, gender, ethnicity, or disability. New mothers, seniors, children with asthma, people struggling with substance misuse or mental illness—all have access to care and treatment across the five boroughs. New Yorkers interact regularly with their natural environment through an extensive network of trails and waterfront greenways.

Every child in New York City has equal access to an excellent education

Our large public school system provides every child a chance to learn and discover the world, regardless of where they live or their race or their family's income. We give students every opportunity to succeed, with the best teachers and facilities, and recognize and respect that each child has their own needs and talents.

High school graduates are prepared for higher education and the challenges and opportunities awaiting them.

New York City's infrastructure is modern and reliable

Roads and rail lines, tunnels and bridges, our water supply and our electric grid are ready for the demands of a growing, thriving city. Strategic investment and capital planning policies mean infrastructure projects are delivered on budget and on time, and new digital infrastructure gives New Yorkers equal access to the digital world. Millions of New Yorkers bike, run, and relax along miles of waterfront parks, which also function as a barrier to coastal flooding.

The City's Progress

Without doubt, the unequal impacts of the COVID-19 pandemic and the calls for greater racial equity heard in the city and around the nation this past spring were both stark reminders that much more work remains before this 2050 vision can be realized. That work will be all the more difficult because the City has experienced a huge loss in revenue following the pandemic, and the federal government has not exercised the leadership necessary to help manage the fiscal crises the nation faces. Nonetheless, before the pandemic, the City made unprecedented investments in policies and programs that aim to secure a more sustainable and fair future. Some of the highlights of the progress the City made before the pandemic are detailed below. The City's efforts during the pandemic, as well as its plans for recovery, center the neighborhoods and groups who have been hit hardest by the pandemic and the ensuing economic crisis, in order to maintain the gains that had been made before the pandemic and to address the inequities the pandemic has laid bare.

More New Yorkers have access to safe, secure, and affordable housing in a wider range of neighborhoods

Between 2014 and the pandemic, the City has:

- **Created 50,656 new affordable homes—enough for more than 115,000 New Yorkers** – through the most ambitious affordable housing plan in the city's history, with tens of thousands more units on the way.
- **Preserved the affordability of another 114,934 homes** – making sure homes that are required to be affordable now stay affordable in the future. Preserving the affordability of those homes means that more than 250,000 current residents can rest

assured that their rents will be regulated for decades to come, and that as households leave those units, families that move in will continue to enjoy the below market rents.

- **Ensured that both new construction and preservation of affordable homes extended to all of the city's Community Districts.** Those investments serve two goals. They make neighborhoods that rank high on measures of opportunity more accessible to low-income households and to households of races and ethnicities under-represented in the neighborhood. They also help to draw government, philanthropic, and private investment to neighborhoods that have been under-resourced in the past, which usually have high shares of low-income households and people of color.
- **Secured one of the nation's most demanding Mandatory Inclusionary Housing (MIH) programs,** ensuring that *in every neighborhood*, whenever housing is built through zon-ing changes, between 20 and 30% of that housing will be permanently affordable. Thus far, MIH has produced over 2,700 new permanently affordable homes in 16 Community Districts. MIH is designated in 39 Community Districts across the city, ensuring that new development in a wide range of neighborhoods will include permanently affordable housing through the program.
- **Made it cheaper and easier to build affordable housing in a wider range of the City's neighborhoods,** especially those that enjoy ready access to transit, by securing the most comprehensive update to the city's zoning ordinance in 50 years.
- **Created or preserved unprecedented numbers of affordable homes for the lowest income and most vulnerable New Yorkers.** Almost 12,000 homes reserved for formerly homeless households, more than 8,500 reserved for seniors, and more than 58,000 targeted to households with extremely low or very low incomes.
- **Launched comprehensive renovations for nearly 7,800 NYCHA homes,** and arranged the financing for another 8,200 to be renovated starting in 2021.
- **Dedicated an unprecedented $6.5 billion in City funds to finance repairs and improve operations at NYCHA,** and secured approval from the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development for detailed action plans to replace key building systems (including elevators, boilers and roofs) as part of a commitment to safe, decent, and affordable homes for residents.
- **Moved more than 100,000 households into permanent housing** from the City's homeless shelters, as part of the overall affordable housing program.
- **Helped over 260,000 individuals avoid homelessness** by paying rent arrears for individuals and families unable to pay their rent because of unexpected medical or other emergencies.
- **Helped more than 2,200 individuals off the streets** and into transitional and permanent settings since the launch of HOME-STAT in April 2016.
- **Created new rental assistance** programs that filled the gap of discontinued State rental assistance and helped over 125,000 children and adults secure or maintain permanent housing.
- **Enacted the nation's first universal access to counsel legislation, and provided free legal assistance to more than 100,000 households.** Eviction filings and completed evictions have fallen by over 40% percent since legal assistance was expanded in 2014.

- **Launched the most comprehensive suite of anti-displacement tenant protections** in the nation. The City now requires a Certification of No Harassment for certain buildings seeking renovation permits, maintains a Speculation Watch List to identify overleveraged buildings in which tenants might be at risk of tenant harassment, and funds community-based organizations to conduct tenant organizing through programs like HPD's Partners in Preservation.
- **Created new agencies and initiatives specifically dedicated to further protect tenants and hold bad actors accountable.** In January 2019, the Mayor created the Mayor's Office to Protect Tenants, dedicated to coordinating the City's range of tenant protection efforts, making existing anti-harassment and anti-displacement programs better, and creating new strategies to root out abuse. This unit works with newly expanded units at other housing enforcement agencies to find and pursue legal action against suspected harassment.
- **Supported more than 50,000 senior homeowners and homeowners with disabilities to stay in their homes** in 2019 by reducing their property taxes.
- **Helped more than 75,000 senior renters and renters with disabilities afford their homes** in 2019 by freezing their rent payments and paying the difference to their landlords.

New Yorkers live in neighborhoods that are more racially and economically diverse by some, but not all, measures

- **The share of New Yorkers living in the most segregated neighborhoods has steadily decreased.** By one measure, the share of New Yorkers living in the least diverse neighborhoods in New York City - where a single racial or ethnic group is predominant - has decreased from 27% of New Yorkers in 1990 to 19% in 2000 and to 9% in 2012-2016.
- **The concentration of poverty across the city's neighborhoods has also decreased.** The share of census tracts with more than 40% of New Yorkers living in poverty has dropped from 13% of census tracts in 1990 to 8% in 2012-2016.

New Yorkers' access to neighborhood open spaces and cultural resources is more equitable

Between 2014 and the pandemic, the City has:

- **Targeted $318 million in a community parks initiative to rebuild 67 parks** that had seen little or no investment in the prior two decades in growing, lower-income neighborhoods, implementing *NYC Parks: A Framework for and Equitable Future*.
- **Funded major improvements at five anchor parks—one in each borough,** including Brownsville in Brooklyn and Mott Haven in the Bronx, two of the City's poorest neighborhoods.
- **Added 398 acres of new parkland** to help ensure that more New Yorkers have access to high quality parks and to increase the number of New Yorkers who live within easy walking distance of a park.

- **Made over 650 parks more accessible** to residents with disabilities.
- **Began the East Side Coastal Resiliency Project,** which aims to reduce flood risk due to coastal storms and sea level rise for the 110,000 residents of Manhattan's East Side (from East 25th Street to Montgomery Street), including the residents of 11 NYCHA developments.
- **Required arts, culture, and science organizations receiving City funds to increase the diversity** of their staffs, boards of directors, and programming, and created new programs with the City University of New York (CUNY) to develop and train the next generation of cultural leaders in the city.
- **Made historic expansions in annual funding for libraries** to allow for citywide six-day branch service and dramatically increased the capital plan for libraries to facilitate unprecedented long term capital improvements, especially in under-served neighborhoods.
- **Allocated $66.2 million to the Coalition of Theatres of Color, the Cultural Immigrant Initiative, Anti-Gun Violence: Arts as a Catalyst for Change, CASA, and Su-Casa,** to provide support for hundreds of organizations and artists.
- **Launched a $5.5 million Women's Film, TV and Theatre Fund** to help film and theater projects by, for, or about women reach completion.
- **Allocated more than $25 million in capital funding to improve physical accessibility** in the city's cultural venues.
- **Launched the Disability Forward Fund,** which supported 22 cultural programs committed to serving artists, cultural workers, and audiences with disabilities.
- **Commissioned 78 permanent artworks** by or honoring underrepresented communities.
- **Encouraged the provision of cultural space in under-served communities** in City-financed affordable housing developments.

New York City has pioneered innovative public safety investments in neighborhoods that have been disproportionately impacted by crimes

Between 2014 and the pandemic, the City has:

- **Expanded neighborhood policing** to every neighborhood in New York City, contributing to the lowest number of major crimes in the modern era.
- **Seen major crimes drop by almost 14%** across the city since the beginning of 2014, even as arrests fell by more than 36% during the same period.
- **Enjoyed a decrease in violent crime in most neighborhoods.**
- **Invested in initiatives** dedicated to making sure New Yorkers in historically-disenfranchised neighborhoods have an active, direct role in addressing public safety in their communities.
- **Grown programming with grassroots partners** to increase opportunities and resources for residents and youth in communities that experience increased rates of crime.
- **Reduced incarceration rates** to the lowest level in decades, and lowered admissions to jail by nearly 50%.

More New Yorkers are being prepared for, and are securing good jobs with fair wages, benefits, and the opportunity to advance

Between 2014 and the pandemic, the City has:

- **Required a $15-per-hour minimum wage,** which has benefited more than 1.5 million New Yorkers since it took effect in January 2019.
- **Achieved reductions in poverty levels** with a 2.8% drop in the near-poverty-rate and 1.7% drop in the poverty rate.
- **Strengthened worker protections and benefits** from paid family and sick leave requirements to more predictable scheduling for fast food and retail workers.
- **Launched NYC Care** connecting thousands of New Yorkers ineligible for health insurance to reliable care.
- **Achieved a record 4.5 million jobs** and the lowest unemployment rate in more than 40 years, although many of those gains have been erased by the economic crisis caused by the pandemic.
- **Increased the City's attractiveness for firms offering a diverse range of 21st Century jobs** in innovation, technology, life sciences, cyber-security, climate adaption and efficient energy, media and entertainment, creative production, and advanced manufacturing.
- **Committed to workforce development programs** such as Career Pathways, bridge programs, and paid internships and apprenticeships—in partnership with a wide range of employers, industry and trade organizations, unions, and nonprofits—to build a robust pipeline of local talent to fill jobs in targeted sectors.
- **Targeted workforce development programs** in our NYCHA developments, shelters, and neighborhoods with low employment rates.
- **Prohibited employers from inquiring about job seekers' salary history during the hiring process** in order to allow applicants who have been systemically underpaid, particularly women and people of color, to negotiate a salary based upon qualifications and earning potential.
- **Launched women.nyc,** with programs like Mothers Who Code, Construction Skills apprenticeships, and salary negotiation workshops, all to help women gain access to career pathways and to provide credit and training for women running their own businesses.
- **Awarded more than $10 billion in contracts to M/WBEs,** doubling the use of M/WBEs by City agencies.
- **Created affordable space for commercial and industrial businesses,** particularly in high-poverty communities and communities of color, from the Brooklyn Navy Yard, the Hunts Point Food Distribution Center, Downtown Far Rockaway, and the East New York industrial business zone.

More children have access to excellent schools, and are graduating better prepared for college and careers

Between 2014 and the pandemic, the City has:

- **Achieved the city's highest-ever high school graduation rate,** the lowest-ever dropout rate, and double-digit increases in college readiness and English proficiency.
- **Narrowed the gap in graduation rates** between Black and Hispanic students and their White peers significantly.
- **Saw a record high of 62% of students enrolling in college,** an 11 percentage point increase since 2014.
- **Enrolled 70,000 children in the 2018-2019 school year in Universal Pre-K** (compared to just 19,000 in the 2013-2014 school year), and enrolled another 20,000 in 3K for All.
- **Saw the gap in test scores between Whites and Blacks, and between Whites and Hispanics narrow,** with the gap closing more for students who attended Pre-K for All than for students who did not attend Pre-K for All.
- **Launched *Equity and Excellence for All*,** established a school diversity advisory group to make policy recommendations about how to achieve more diverse and inclusive schools, expanded the number of school districts with equity plans, and increased implicit bias training for teachers.
- **Allocated over $800 million to make schools more accessible to students with disabilities** and committed to make at least 50% of the buildings housing elementary school students fully or partially accessible by 2024.
- **Launched Algebra for All, AP for All, Computer Science for All, and College Access for All** to ensure that all students are prepared for the jobs of the future, key instructional and curriculum investments within the broader *Equity and Excellence for All* initiative.
- **Adopted policies to ensure that the families of students in temporary housing** are placed in shelters that keep the students as close as possible to their current school and that those students receive the support they need to succeed.

More New Yorkers live in healthier homes and neighborhoods and have access to preventative and high quality health care

Between 2014 and the pandemic, the City has:

- **Conducted community healthy profiles** to identify and address inequities in health outcomes driven by differences in neighborhood context and other social determinants of health.
- **Opened three innovative neighborhood health action centers** in East Harlem, Brownsville, and Tremont, serving New Yorkers and their communities with the greatest health needs close to home.
- **Launched NYC Care** to ensure that all New Yorkers who are ineligible for health insurance can secure high quality primary care.

- **Introduced ThriveNYC** to provide mental health support to historically-underserved communities, including in youth shelters and drop-in centers, homeless shelters, senior centers, and public schools throughout the city, and through mobile teams.
- **Launched HealingNYC** to reduce opioid overdose deaths citywide by bolstering naloxone kit distribution and overdose prevention trainings; expanding peer services in hospital emergency departments; and establishing alternative response teams for people with mental health and substance misuse needs who encounter police and other first responders.
- **Reduced the number of New Yorkers living in homes with maintenance deficiencies,** such as leaks or pests, that can trigger or exacerbate health problems.
- **Introduced LeadFreeNYC** to reduce children's exposure to lead in homes, schools, parks and construction sites, ensure that every child younger than three is tested for lead exposure, and provide any child who has an elevated blood lead level with the services they need.
- **Introduced Active Design Guidelines** to encourage a built environment that encourages physical activity, community building and better mental health.
- **Improved the city's air quality** to the cleanest it has been in more than 50 years, by curtailing and phasing out pollutants such as residential heating oil, by helping building owners and operators make energy-efficiency improvements, and incentivizing greener building practices in projects the City finances.

More New Yorkers enjoy access to good transit

Between 2014 and the pandemic, the City has:

- **Launched a citywide ferry network** to address transit gaps in communities that have been underserved.
- **Invested in an unprecedented expansion of discounted metro cards** for 200,000 low-income New Yorkers through the creation of the Fair Fares program.
- **Launched the Better Buses Action Plan** to increase bus speeds across the city by 25% by the end of 2020.
- **Created the Vision Zero Plan** to improve traffic safety for pedestrians, cyclists, and drivers, including historic yearly expansions of bike lanes miles (over 60 miles per year) and protected bike lanes (over 20 miles per year).

Some of these gains are threatened by the pandemic and the economic crisis it has caused. The City's efforts to ensure that its response to the pandemic is equitable and focuses first on the communities hit hardest by COVID-19 are detailed in the 2020 Mayor's Management Report.

Despite the substantial progress the City made before the pandemic upended New Yorkers' lives, much remained to be done to address the legacy of discrimination and segregation in the city, as Chapter 5 ahead makes clear. The City's fair housing goals and strategies for the next five years – presented in Chapter 6 – build on the progress already achieved and the commitments that the City made in OneNYC 2050 and take into account the inequities the pandemic has imposed or further highlighted. Together, they aim to secure thriving and diverse neighborhoods and a strong, resilient, and fair future for New Yorkers of all races and ethnicities, national origins, genders, religions, family status, abilities, sexual orientations and gender identities, and incomes.

Chapter 4
Creating the Plan

4.1 Project Approach

Where We Live NYC is an inclusive, comprehensive, and collaborative process for planning how to fight discrimination, confront segregation, and take action to advance opportunity for all. It was inspired by the Affirmatively Furthering Fair Housing (AFFH) Rule that the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) issued in 2015. As part of its process, the City undertook extensive analysis and invited wide public participation to better understand how fair housing challenges like segregation, discrimination, and lack of access to thriving neighborhoods affect New Yorkers and how the City can eliminate barriers that currently impede fair housing.

What is Affirmatively Furthering Fair Housing?

When Congress passed the federal Fair Housing Act in 1968, it sought to eliminate discrimination from the housing market on the basis of race, religion, and national origin. To achieve this difficult goal, Congress included a unique provision—Section 3608—that required the new U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) to administer its programs "in a manner affirmatively to further the purposes" of the Fair Housing Act. But Congress was silent on the meaning of this provision, leaving the interpretation and enforcement of Section 3608 to HUD.

Since 1968, HUD and the federal courts have provided changing interpretations of what it means for the agency and its grantees to "affirmatively further" the goals of the Fair Housing Act. However, in the late 2000s, President Obama's administration sought to provide more guidance and support for cities and counties around the country to take proactive steps to address segregation and barriers that prevent protected populations from accessing opportunities. Therefore, HUD proposed in 2013 and finalized in 2015 a new rule to help jurisdictions conduct more inclusive, comprehensive, and concrete planning to affirmatively further fair housing.

The 2015 rule defined affirmatively furthering fair housing as "taking meaningful actions, in addition to combating discrimination, that overcome patterns of segregation and foster communities free from barriers that restrict access to opportunity based on protected characteristics." Due to recent regulatory changes at HUD, the City of New York and the New York City Housing Authority (NYCHA) do not have to complete the planning process as required under the 2015 rule. However, the City and NYCHA believe that the framework laid out in the 2015 rule promotes inclusive and meaningful fair housing planning that will best serve New Yorkers for years to come. Accordingly, the City has drawn upon this framework throughout the Where We Live NYC process.

The project included several key components:

- **A Fair Housing Stakeholder Group** of more than 150 advocates, service providers, housing developers, researchers, and community leaders who were invited to participate in each part of the Where We Live NYC process, from understanding existing conditions to drafting goals and strategies.
- **Community Conversations** to learn directly from more than 700 residents across the five boroughs through 62 focus-group-style conversations in 15 different languages, hosted in partnership with community-based organizations.
- **Public participation** through a set of interactive online tools and public events that encourage all New Yorkers to get involved in the fair housing planning process by sharing input online, participating in Where We Live NYC events, hosting conversations in their own communities, and learning more about fair housing rights, data, and history.
- **Data analysis** to deepen the City's understanding of fair housing issues, using publicly available sources as well as administrative data from city agencies and other government partners.
- **Government partnerships** to evaluate existing policies and initiatives and to design new policy solutions that are both effective and feasible.

This collaborative approach was designed to ensure that the voices of residents and community leaders directly inform the City's analysis, planning, and creation of goals and strategies to address barriers to fair housing. The project team established five planning phases for Where We Live NYC based on a well-established problem-solving methodology.

- **Organize** (Summer 2017 – Spring 2018): Conduct preliminary research and organize initial meetings with government partners and the Stakeholder Group.
- **Learn** (Spring – Summer 2018): Discuss existing conditions with the Stakeholder Group and government partners and expand data analysis, in order to focus on the impediments that contribute most significantly and directly to fair housing challenges in New York City.
- **Create** (Fall 2018 – Spring 2019): Surface ideas for policy solutions based on the information and impediments prioritized in the Learn Phase.
- **Finalize** (Spring 2019 – Fall 2020): Collect feedback on an initial policy framework and a Draft Plan released in January 2020.
- **Implement** (2020 – 2024): Implement strategies and track progress.

Through each phase, the City captured and summarized the input collected from residents and stakeholders, sharing it back with the broader public, as well as with elected officials, Community Boards, and more than 30 government partners.

Input from the Stakeholder Group and direct quotes from residents are incorporated throughout this plan to present a holistic picture of fair housing issues in New York City.

4.2 Fair Housing Stakeholder Group

In March 2018, the City of New York created the Fair Housing Stakeholder Group to inform Where We Live NYC on everything from how to best understand existing conditions to what goals and strategies could help remedy those conditions. The Stakeholder Group was designed to be inclusive—the City invited more than 300 advocates, service providers, housing developers, researchers, and community leaders to participate. During the process, more than 150 organizations actively engaged through a series of 14 briefings and interactive workshops that the City hosted over the course of 20 months. In addition, all group members were invited to schedule one-on-one meetings with HPD and NYCHA, the lead agencies behind the Where We Live NYC planning process, in order to discuss current and proposed initiatives in more detail. Members of the Fair Housing Stakeholder Group participated in more than 50 individual meetings.

Stakeholder input on existing conditions and root causes

The Stakeholder Group provided input on existing conditions in New York City, the City's initial data analysis, and the root causes of present-day challenges and inequities. Below is a selection of key insights that the Stakeholder Group provided on each topic. Appendix B contains summaries of the stakeholder workshops on existing conditions and root causes and a list of the top contributing factors as prioritized by the Stakeholder Group and the key issues related to each.

- **Understanding Segregation & Integration**: Participants identified gentrification, displacement, and loss of affordable housing through rising rents and deregulation as issues critical to understanding the existing conditions of segregation and integration in New York City. Participants also stressed that an analysis of these issues should include an examination of the challenges of achieving social integration in seemingly diverse neighborhoods, as well as barriers to accessing housing in neighborhoods with concentrations of wealth and White households.
- **Disproportionate Housing Needs**: Participants identified unique challenges faced by certain populations in accessing both private and publicly-supported housing. These challenges include physical accessibility issues, administrative language barriers, and qualification requirements that are difficult to meet for people who have informal incomes, poor or limited credit histories, or who are not citizens. While there are unique challenges for each population group, participants identified affordability as the primary issue.
- **Education**: Participants said that the combination of school zoning and choice policies may be major drivers of segregation and disparities in educational opportunities. Participants noted that low-income families, immigrants, and homeless families do not always have the knowledge or ability to exercise choice due to language barriers, limited time and resources, and physical distance. Participants also noted that wealthy families are able to move into high-performing school zones and price out low-income families, or exercise choice to send their kids out of low-performing school zones.
- **Environment, Health & Safety**: Participants stressed the connection between unstable housing, economic insecurity, and poor individual and neighborhood health. Participants explained that there are severe mental, physical, and emotional health impacts of living in poverty that can be exacerbated by neighborhood change and gentrification, which can increase housing instability and stress and fray social networks that protect against negative health outcomes.
- **Employment & Economic Opportunity**: Participants emphasized the role of community networks in determining economic opportunity. Participants noted that segregation and the concentration of wealth and poverty affect an individual's ability to access specific career paths, high-paying jobs, and supportive institutions.
- **Transportation**: Participants discussed the interconnectivity between housing cost and transit access that reinforces differences in access to transit opportunities. Participants noted that certain groups have particular challenges in accessing public transportation because the transit system does not accommodate various types of disabilities, and does not always provide multilingual access.

Proposed solutions

In November 2018, the Stakeholder Group was updated on the City's analysis and invited to suggest specific policy solutions that address the root causes of fair housing challenges. The group was also asked to help inform the City's thinking on what makes a neighborhood "high opportunity"—a term used often in HUD's AFFH rule to describe thriving neighborhoods—and reflect on their vision for success for Where We Live NYC. Overall, the Stakeholder Group defined high-opportunity neighborhoods as places where residents are healthy, prosperous, and thriving, with access to amenities and resources that empower economic mobility. This exercise also surfaced different and sometimes conflicting perspectives. For a full summary of proposed solutions from the Fair Housing Stakeholder Group, see Appendix B, which contains summaries of the Create Phase stakeholder workshops.

In thinking about the future of fair housing policy in New York City, the Stakeholder Group emphasized the following themes:

- Historically-excluded groups should have choice, power, and self-determination
- Neighborhoods should be diverse, inclusive, and free of discrimination
- Investments in neighborhood amenities should address historical disinvestment and provide access to opportunity
- Stable housing is key to people's ability to thrive
- People with disabilities need more accessible, affordable, and independent living options in integrated settings
- Where people live should not contribute to racial disparities in education, wealth, health, justice-involvement, and overall life outcomes

The group suggested ways in which the City could evaluate the quality of local opportunity— including metrics for educational opportunities, job training and wealth-building opportunities, safe and healthy environments, and transportation access.

Some participants expressed concern about labeling certain neighborhoods as "high opportunity" because of the potential stigmatization of areas that may be viewed as "low opportunity." They were also concerned that these definitions could further influence unequal investment patterns. In addition, many participants highlighted the need to identify, acknowledge, and correct historical inequities in investment between neighborhoods.

Below is a summary of potential strategies recommended by the Stakeholder Group to address the root causes of fair housing challenges in New York City:

Siting and type of affordable and accessible housing in NYC and the region
Stakeholder recommendations included:

- Strategies to increase opportunities for new housing, particularly deeply affordable housing, in amenity-rich areas, which are often too cost-prohibitive or might have restrictive zoning or historic districts

- Strategies to expedite approval processes for affordable housing, particularly housing that serves people with special needs
- Policy and zoning proposals to increase the number of accessible apartments created in both the private market and publicly-supported housing

Disparities in public and private investments, services, and amenities across neighborhoods in NYC and the region
Stakeholder recommendations included:

- Policy shifts to conduct comprehensive community-based planning, capital budgeting, and decision-making through a lens of racial equity
- Strategies that better connect low-skilled workers to effective training and financial empowerment programs that lead to career pathways, entrepreneurship, wealth-building, and mobility out of poverty
- Ideas to implement a restorative justice approach to engaging with residents around issues of crime and safety

Community opposition to housing and infrastructure investments that accommodate growth in NYC and the region
Stakeholder recommendations included:

- Campaigns to educate residents of White, wealthy neighborhoods about fair housing in order to address opposition in those communities
- Changes to the public review process for projects that promote equity and meet citywide needs to shield them from community opposition rooted in discrimination

Challenges to using housing rental assistance in NYC and in the region
Stakeholder recommendations included:

- Strategies that increase housing options for residents using rental assistance, particularly in amenity-rich areas
- Trainings for City staff and partner providers, and service design changes to improve the overall experience of receiving and using rental assistance
- Incentives for landlords to accept rental assistance and provide quality housing to households using the assistance, along with education about, and enforcement of, fair housing obligations
- Ideas to clarify eligibility and application processes for immigrants, mixed-status families, and those with limited English proficiency

Loss of and displacement from housing that is affordable to low- and moderate-income New Yorkers
Stakeholder recommendations included:

- Strategies to strengthen tenant protections and educate tenants about their rights and resources, along with strengthened oversight and enforcement
- Suggestions for increasing the preservation of existing rent-stabilized and affordable housing

- Policies and programs that support homeowners in financial distress and prevent them from losing their homes

Discrimination and the enforcement of fair housing laws
Stakeholder recommendations included:

- Strategies to increase education, testing, and enforcement of fair housing laws, including better coordination and reporting among housing specialists and case managers
- Reforms to existing human rights laws to include protections for justice-involved people and those with no or poor credit history
- Policies and programs to support people with disabilities in need of reasonable accommodations

Admissions and occupancy restrictions in publicly-supported housing
Stakeholder recommendations included:

- Policy and service design reforms to increase the number of fully accessible units and improve the accessible housing search and application experience for people with disabilities, particularly those transitioning out of institutions
- Suggestions to revisit set-asides and eligibility of housing for transgender individuals, survivors of domestic violence, and other special populations who face intersectional challenges
- Strategies to reduce barriers for justice-involved populations to access publicly-supported housing

The availability, type, accessibility, and reliability of public transportation
Stakeholder recommendations included:

- Policies that apply an equity framework and prioritize improving transit services and connections for low-income individuals in areas not easily served by subways
- Ideas to improve the accessibility of transit and sidewalks for people with auditory, visual, and ambulatory disabilities, and expand reliable transit options for people with disabilities

Location of proficient schools and school assignment policies
Stakeholder recommendations included:

- Suggestions to develop policy on how new affordable housing connects with school district and zone assignments
- Strategies that help shift the narrative of what makes a "good school" to be beyond test scores, and ensure that all schools, in all areas, are high quality
- Suggestions to mandate that elementary and middle schools revisit zoning districts and screening policies and develop proactive strategies to promote school diversity and integration

4.3 Community Conversations

To better understand how segregation and discrimination affect the lives of New Yorkers, the lead agencies behind the Where We Live NYC planning process, along with Hester Street—an urban planning, design, and development nonprofit with expertise in community engagement, organized 62 Community Conversations across the five boroughs in 15 different languages, engaging more than 700 New Yorkers. Through these focus-group-style conversations, the City sought to understand the lived experiences of populations disproportionately impacted by housing discrimination, while also sharing tools, information, and resources to support residents in creating and advocating for change.

To reach a meaningful cross-section of New Yorkers from a variety of backgrounds and geographies, the agency teams and Hester Street partnered with community-based organizations who have earned the trust of residents. The conversation format and materials were designed to maximize accessibility; the agencies and Hester Street worked with community partners to translate materials and make accommodations in the format for people with disabilities.

Community Conversation Goals

1. **Engage & Acknowledge**
   Clearly communicate the goals of the Where We Live NYC process and acknowledge the historical and ongoing injustices related to housing discrimination and segregation.
2. **Listen & Learn**
   Hear directly from New Yorkers about how segregation and discrimination affect their lives, housing choice, and access to opportunity—and discuss what the City can do moving forward.
3. **Connect & Build Capacity**
   Build community ownership of the process by investing in community-based partners to help the City listen to residents and collect data, while also sharing information about fair housing history and current fair housing resources.

"Our base is made up of people in public housing. We've been thinking about how we move our members from anger to strategy, so I appreciate that the [Where We Live NYC] tools laid out where we fit in. Our members were able to see how people were impacted by redlining. That is how we got here in the first place, and this is how we move forward."

-Fifth Avenue Committee

Who We Reached

The Community Conversations focused on engaging communities that often have less of a voice in government decision-making. Specifically, the City held conversations to understand the unique fair housing challenges for the following communities:

- People of color, including Black, Latinx, and Asian New Yorkers
- Immigrants, including undocumented individuals and those with limited English proficiency
- People with disabilities, including mobility, sensory, and developmental disabilities
- LGBTQ individuals, including transgender and gender-nonconforming individuals
- Religious communities
- New Yorkers who receive rental assistance, including Section 8 Housing Choice Vouchers and City-administered programs, such as CityFHEPS
- NYCHA residents
- Survivors of domestic violence
- Justice-involved individuals
- Homeless or formerly homeless individuals

Demographics

- Almost **1/3** were Black
- More than **1/4** were Latinx
- Approximately **1/3** had or were living with someone with a disability
- About **40%** were born outside the United States, and about 20% had low English proficiency
- Close to **1/3** were seniors (age 62 or older)
- More than **1/4** were New Yorkers living with children

Income and Housing

- About **40%** had a household income of $20,000 or less and about an additional 25% had a household income of $20,000 - $49,999
- Close to **20%** were NYCHA residents
- Approximately **15%** were residents using rental assistance
- **20%** had experienced homelessness

What the City learned

The Community Conversations invited New Yorkers to reflect on how they make tough decisions about where to live, their varied experiences in searching for housing, how their home and neighborhood impact their lives, and what goals they have for their family and community. Below is a summary of key insights from across the different conversations. For a full summary of the findings from the Community Conversations, see Appendix A.

Confronting segregation

Through the Community Conversations the City sought to understand how New Yorkers experience segregation, diversity, and inclusion across different populations and neighborhoods.

- **When it comes to integration, New Yorkers have different definitions** – For some, integration is when a diverse set of people call the same neighborhood home. Others define integration as an active process of building trust and relationships between neighbors from diverse backgrounds, rather than a measurement of who lives where. When discussing integration, New Yorkers often focused on race and ethnicity, though they also discussed socioeconomics, ability, gender identity, and sexual orientation.
- **For many, equity matters more than integration** – In discussing their vision for fair housing, many residents focused less on integration and more on equitable access to opportunities and amenities, especially in diverse neighborhoods with few White residents.
- **Enclaves can offer both opportunities and limitations** – Participating New Yorkers shared a variety of perspectives about living in enclaves with residents of a similar background. Some depend on enclaves to practice cultural traditions, attend places of worship, shop for specialized goods, or connect with neighbors, employers, and doctors who speak their language. Others prefer living in diverse neighborhoods, often believing that integrated neighborhoods provide access to opportunity and economic advancement.
- **Diversity is not necessarily integration** – For many participating New Yorkers, their experience of racial diversity in their neighborhood is caused by the arrival of new White residents, who may have higher incomes or higher educational attainment than the average, long-standing resident. Many worried about the impact of rapid demographic and economic shifts in their neighborhood, as longtime residents and businesses may no longer be able to afford to stay and norms regarding culture, policing, gathering, and street life can change.
- **Integration has the potential to build stronger communities, but it takes work** – Many residents view racial and economic integration as an opportunity to build tolerance, unity, and solidarity across diverse communities. However, most participating residents shared that this vision of integration is aspirational and rarely something they experience in their neighborhoods. Many recognized that time, energy, and resources are required to build trust and relationships at the local level.

Fighting discrimination

More than 50 years after the Fair Housing Act was passed, many New Yorkers still face discrimination when it comes to finding and maintaining their homes. Through the Community Conversations, the City sought to better understand the many forms that unequal treatment in the housing market takes, as well as how these challenges play out, what forms discrimination takes, and where there are gaps in fair housing enforcement.

- **Discrimination remains a major challenge for many New Yorkers as they search for housing** – Participants shared detailed accounts of discrimination by landlords, brokers, and other real estate professionals when trying to find housing.
- **Discrimination also occurs to existing tenants within a building** – New Yorkers made clear that discriminatory treatment occurs in their interactions with landlords and management while living in their current homes. From poor repairs to threats of violence, residents reported experiencing mistreatment because of their race and other identities.
- **Stigma and bias are especially challenging for residents using government housing programs** – Many participants discussed facing stigma because they live in NYCHA housing or use rental assistance. Many described feeling treated with suspicion or disdain by landlords, brokers, neighbors, and even staff and providers working for the City.
- **Residents often feel powerless or discouraged in enforcing the law** – Many participants reported that the power dynamic between tenants and landlords leaves them feeling trapped and helpless in the face of discrimination and harassment. Many chose not to report bad behavior because they feared retaliation or had concerns about finding a new home with the limited affordable housing options in New York City's competitive market. Residents that reported taking action often found government enforcement to be slow, time-consuming, and confusing.

Promoting housing choice

The City is seeking to increase opportunity for all New Yorkers by promoting housing choice— the choice to move into a different neighborhood or the choice to stay in a neighborhood, even as it changes. Understanding the lived experience of New Yorkers will help the City develop policies to better support New Yorkers in making the housing choice that is best for them, their families, and their communities.

- **Few participating New Yorkers felt like they have meaningful options when choosing a home or neighborhood because of the high cost of housing** – Most participating residents reported that the high cost of housing in New York City limits their ability to have a real choice in their home and neighborhood. Instead, residents reported compromising with poor conditions and overcrowding or limiting their housing search to neighborhoods that feel unsafe or have underperforming schools. Residents also shared that they rely heavily on government housing programs, including the shelter system, in order to survive in a market that feels too expensive for them.
- **A lack of housing choice affects the most fundamental details of New Yorkers' lives** – Residents discussed the high stress and sacrifice that results from having little

or no access to safe, quality, and affordable housing. In addition to housing challenges, many residents reported regularly travelling far distances because their neighborhood lacks quality employment, schooling, doctors, or groceries.

- **Family, community, and sense of belonging play a major role in where people live** – Participants stressed the importance of living near family and community. These local relationships can serve as key support systems, especially for recent immigrants. Residents of color also reported that they feel they have fewer options because of historical and present-day norms about who is welcome where and how neighborhoods are monitored and policed.
- **Government housing programs can have the effect of limiting neighborhood choice** – Government housing programs—including NYCHA, rental assistance programs, supportive housing, and HPD-assisted housing—provide positive, even transformative opportunities for many participating residents seeking housing stability. However, in accessing these homes, residents reported that they often lose the opportunity to choose their neighborhood and have to prioritize affordability, regardless of location. This could mean moving away from friends and family, moving into neighborhoods with fewer resources, or feeling stuck in publicly-supported housing because the private market is too expensive.

Increasing access to opportunity
Through Community Conversations, New Yorkers discussed how the interplay of forces like gentrification, integration, and housing choice affect their access to resources and opportunity. They also shared what makes a great neighborhood.

- **New York City offers unparalleled opportunities** – Many participating residents discussed how New York City offers opportunities that they could not find living anywhere else. Residents celebrated the strong public benefits, access to good education, and neighborhoods filled with diverse cultures and identities.
- **Deep inequalities exist in access to opportunity** – Participants discussed their perceptions of how investments from government and the private sector vary dramatically across different neighborhoods. Many New Yorkers believe that historical and present-day racism limit who has access to opportunity and mean that neighborhoods with more White residents often have more wealth, investment, and higher-quality amenities. Residents also discussed the complex dynamic between gentrification, opportunity, and exclusion—reflecting on who gets access to amenities as neighborhoods change.

Defining success
During the Community Conversations, participating New Yorkers collaborated on a vision of what success looks like for their own housing journey, their family and community, and the Where We Live NYC process. In talking about their dreams for that future, residents focused on the importance of belonging, community connection, dignity, and self-determination.

4.4 Public Participation

Public Events

To reach the widest set of New Yorkers as possible through the planning process, the City hosted a series of public events and a public hearing in the summer and fall of 2019 to inform people about the project and gather feedback on a set of preliminary draft goals and strategies. The events kicked off with a Where We Live NYC Summit on June 22, 2019 at the Museum of the City of New York. The summit featured a panel discussion moderated by Deputy Mayor Vicki Been and included Maya Wiley of MSNBC and the New School, Colvin Grannum from Bed-Stuy Restoration Corporation, and Nicholas Bloom of NYIT and Hunter College. Following the panel discussion, there were a series of performances and an interactive exhibit about the Where We Live NYC project, which included a first draft of the goals and strategies included in this plan. Summit attendees were given guided tours of the exhibit and were asked to comment on the goals and strategies.

Following the Where We Live NYC Summit, the City took the interactive exhibit on a tour of the five boroughs for one-day, pop-up events. The pop-up events were designed to share back what was learned through the Fair Housing Stakeholder Group, Community Conversations, and extensive data analysis and to gather feedback on the draft goals and strategies. Pop-up events were held at the following locations:

- September 15, 2019: Boogie on the Boulevard – Grand Concourse, the Bronx
- September 28, 2019: Corónate – Corona Plaza, Queens
- October 12, 2019: Brooklyn Public Library Central Branch – Grand Army Plaza, Brooklyn
- November 6, 2019: St. George Ferry Terminal – Richmond Terrace, Staten Island

Additionally, HPD, NYCHA, and DCP held a public hearing on June 12, 2019 at 120 Broadway. This public hearing was held in advance of the publication of the Where We Live NYC Draft Plan to solicit feedback on priorities of what should be included in the draft. A summary of these comments and responses are included in Appendix D. An additional public hearing was held on February 6, 2020.

Interactive online tools

As part of Where We Live NYC, the City launched a set of interactive online tools and preliminary data to encourage residents to share their stories, struggles, and ideas for addressing fair housing challenges. The resources are designed to spark dialogue about fair housing issues like segregation and discrimination, connect residents to supportive services, and ensure the diverse experiences and goals of New Yorkers shape the next chapter of fair housing policy. Using the online tools, New Yorkers were invited to engage in a number of different ways:

- **Share input:** Interactive questions on the Where We Live NYC website invited New Yorkers to reflect on how they make tough decisions about where to live, how home and neighborhood impact their lives, and what goals they have for their family and neighborhood. Residents could also make their voices heard by sharing questions on social media using #WhereWeLiveNYC.
- **Host a meeting:** A downloadable toolkit provided New Yorkers with tools to lead a thoughtful conversation about fair housing with friends, family, neighbors, co-workers, classmates, or community groups. The toolkit includes instructions, talking points, discussion questions, and a feedback form to share highlights from the discussion with the Where We Live NYC team.
- **Learn the history:** A short video provided an overview of some of the historical laws, policies, and practices that impacted fair housing in New York City and cities across the country. Using this video as a conversation starter, residents can reflect on the historical and present-day issues impacting New York City, and how to work toward a fairer future.
- **Explore the data:** The City committed to updating the public on its data analysis during the Where We Live NYC process. Through the website, the City published preliminary data findings on where New Yorkers live, the housing challenges they face, and differences in how various populations access opportunities like education, transportation, economic opportunity, and health. New Yorkers were invited to use this preliminary data to learn more about diversity in their neighborhoods, and the opportunities and challenges facing different groups.

Many of these resources still live on the website and will continue to be made available.

Since its launch, the [Where We Live NYC website](#) has had more than 11,000 unique visits. On social media, #WhereWeLiveNYC has generated over 100,000 impressions and 1,500 direct engagements, and the [Where We Live NYC promo video](#) inviting residents to participate has been viewed more than 7,700 times.

4.5 Government Partnerships

Where We Live NYC also brought together representatives from over 30 government agencies whose work impacts New Yorkers' housing choices and neighborhood conditions. In addition to HPD and NYCHA, partners included:

Government Partners

Department of City Planning (DCP)
Commission on Human Rights (CCHR)
Department of Education (DOE)
School Construction Authority (SCA)
Department of Social Services (DSS)
Police Department (NYPD)
Mayor's Office of Criminal Justice (MOCJ)
Administration for Children's Services (ACS)
Department of Probation (DOP)
Department of Small Business Services (SBS)
Department of Consumer and Worker Protection (DCWP)
Economic Development Corporation (EDC)
Office of Management and Budget (OMB)
Department of Cultural Affairs (DCLA)
Mayor's Office for Economic Opportunity
Department of Transportation (DOT)
Metropolitan Transportation Authority (MTA)
Department of Parks and Recreation

Taxi and Limousine Commission (TLC)
Department of Health and Mental Hygiene (DOHMH)
Mayor's Office for People with Disabilities (MOPD)
Mayor's Office of Immigrant Affairs (MOIA)
Department for the Aging (DFTA)
Department of Veterans' Services
Department of Youth and Community Development (DYCD)
Department of Sanitation
Mayor's Office to End Domestic and Gender-Based Violence
Mayor's Office of Sustainability
Mayor's Office of Climate Policy and Programs
Mayor's Office of Resiliency
Mayor's Office of Workforce Development
Mayor's Office of the Chief Technology Officer

Through a series of structured meetings, HPD and NYCHA shared feedback from the Fair Housing Stakeholder Group and Community Conversations with government partners. Government partners collectively discussed how existing initiatives intersect with New Yorkers' experiences of discrimination, segregation, and disparate access to thriving neighborhoods and generated policy ideas to strengthen the City's approach to affirmatively further fair housing.

In addition to engaging agency staff, HPD conducted extensive outreach to elected officials and Community Boards. In the summer of 2018, HPD briefed all five Borough Boards, which are convened by the local Borough President and include all City Councilmembers who represent the Borough, as well as representatives of all Community Boards. The briefings informed members of the Borough Board about the Where We Live NYC process and how to be involved. Additionally, HPD briefed the City Council through the Borough Delegations in January and February of 2019. All City Council members and Community Boards were additionally informed of the interactive online tools and were invited to host their own Community Conversations.

4.6 Data Analysis

In addition to community engagement, data analysis was a crucial component in understanding the housing and neighborhood conditions that exist in New York City today. Analysts at HPD, NYCHA, and many other agencies shared data to answer questions posed by HUD's AFFH framework and by participants in the Fair Housing Stakeholder Group, including: How diverse are New York City's neighborhoods? Does access to diverse schools, safe streets, and financial resources differ by neighborhood or by protected characteristic? Which New Yorkers experience disproportionate housing challenges, such as unaffordable rents and multiple maintenance deficiencies? These and many other questions are addressed in the following chapter, which focuses on New York City's current fair housing strengths and challenges.

Throughout the Where We Live NYC process, the City also identified gaps in available data, which presented difficulties in providing a full picture of New Yorkers' varied housing experiences. Included in the Fair Housing Goals and Strategies (Chapter 6) are multiple actions that the City is committed to undertake to improve its data collection, so the next Where We Live NYC report in 2025 will be even stronger.

This plan focuses on racial inequality and the fair housing issues that are most deeply connected to the history of racial exclusion, discrimination, and segregation. This focus is not to suggest that other protected characteristics do not raise serious fair housing issues; wherever possible and when data is available, this report also calls out specific barriers faced by other protected classes, especially those confronted by people with disabilities. But the narrative and data leads with race because of its historical and continued importance in structuring inequality and its central role in the fight for fair housing. Confronting the systems that created and maintain racial inequality is at the core of affirmatively furthering fair housing in New York City and across the country.

4.7 Draft Plan

The City released the Where We Live NYC Draft Plan on January 7, 2020. The release of the report was accompanied by a 60-day public comment period, during which time the City also held a public hearing. Between the public hearing and formal written feedback submitted, 37 individuals and organizations provided formal comment on the Draft Plan. A summary of these comments and the City's responses to them are included in Appendix C.

Also during the comment period, the Where We Live NYC exhibit was installed at various cultural institutions across the city. The exhibition was open to the public during the institutions' regular hours, and tours and opening receptions occurred at each location.

- January 8-11, 2020: Abrons Art Center, Manhattan
- January 14-18, 2020: Andrew Freedman Home, Bronx
- February 12-15, 2020: Queens Museum, Queens

Chapter 5
New York City Today

5.1 Disparity Snapshot

With approximately 8.5 million residents, New York City is by far the most populous city in the United States. Its population is also famously diverse, with residents born in over 150 countries and with more than 200 languages spoken. Since the mid-1980s, people of color have constituted a majority of New Yorkers. As discussed in the previous chapters, however, the significant demographic changes that created present-day New York City are rooted in a painful history of discrimination and opposition to residential integration.

In New York City today, there are stark disparities in life outcomes by race, by whether someone has a disability, and by various other characteristics for which fair housing laws provide special protections. These disparities are the result of centuries of discrimination, which have produced a legacy of advantages and disadvantages in the most fundamental aspects of life: surviving child-birth, accessing stable housing, succeeding in school, accumulating wealth, and contracting and surviving COVID-19.

These disparities are also connected to where New Yorkers live. Neighborhoods—the geographic area in which someone lives—impact residents' access to key resources, including accessible and affordable transportation, quality education, safe streets, and many other goods and services that promote well-being. But both because of the disadvantages accumulated across generations discussed in Chapter 2, and because of ongoing discrimination in the housing market, New Yorkers do not enjoy equal access to quality affordable housing and thriving neighborhoods.

The City of New York makes public extensive analyses of the disparities that continue to exist across racial and ethnic groups.[1] This section highlights a few of the most important disparities that are affected by housing and land use policies, and Section 5.4 will focus on disparities that are clustered in specific neighborhoods across the five boroughs.

For the purposes of the analysis in this chapter, which mostly relies on data from the U.S. Census Bureau, the population of New York City is categorized into the four major racial and ethnic groups defined in federal demographic data: Hispanic of any race, and non-Hispanic people in Asian/Pacific Islander (PI), Black, or White racial groups.[2] According to the 2012-2016 American Community Survey, New York City's population is 32% White, 29% Hispanic, 22% Black, and 14% Asian/PI (Figure 5.1).

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1 New York City Center for Innovation and Data Intelligence, "Disparity Report," (March 2016), available at: https://www1.nyc.gov/assets/cidi/downloads/pdfs/disparity_report.pdf;
New York City Mayor's Office of Operations, "Social Indicators Report," (September 2019), available at: https://www1.nyc.gov/assets/opportunity/pdf/SIER-2019.pdf.
2 Unless otherwise specified, Asian/PI, Black, and White populations are considered non-Hispanic. Because the U.S. Census Bureau uses the term "Hispanic" in its population figures, HPD will also use the term throughout this chapter. However, in other portions of the plan where members of the Stakeholder Group or Community Conversations partici-pants identified by other titles, such as "African-American" or "Latinx," those terms are used.

Figure 5.1 Composition of New York City by Race and Ethnicity, 2012-2016

14%	22%	29%	32%	3%
Asian/PI	Black	Hispanic	White	Other
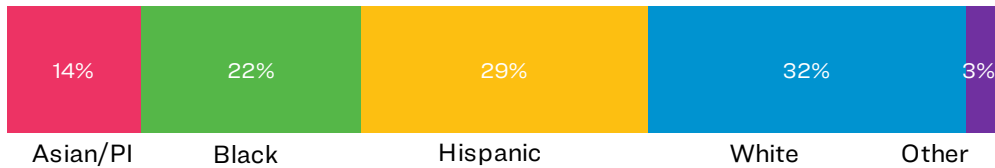
Source: HPD calculations based on ACS 2012-2016, 5-year estimates, Table B03002.

There is also substantial diversity within these groups. The city is approximately one-third non-Hispanic White, which consists largely of persons of European origin. While at one time Hispanic New Yorkers were predominantly Puerto Rican, this is no longer the case, given the growth of New York City's Dominican, Mexican, and South and Central American populations. The approximately 22% of New Yorkers who are Black also have varied origins—some trace their personal or family history to the great migration from the southern United States, others from the Caribbean, and others, in increasing numbers recently, are sub-Saharan African. The approximately one in seven New Yorkers who are Asian/PI trace their origins to a wide range of nations. Those in the largest subgroup trace their roots to China, followed by those from South Asia and East Asian countries other than China.

Figure 5.2 Infant Mortality by Race and Ethnicity, 2016

Asian/PI	Black	Hispanic	White	NYC
2.9	8	3.7	2.6	4.1
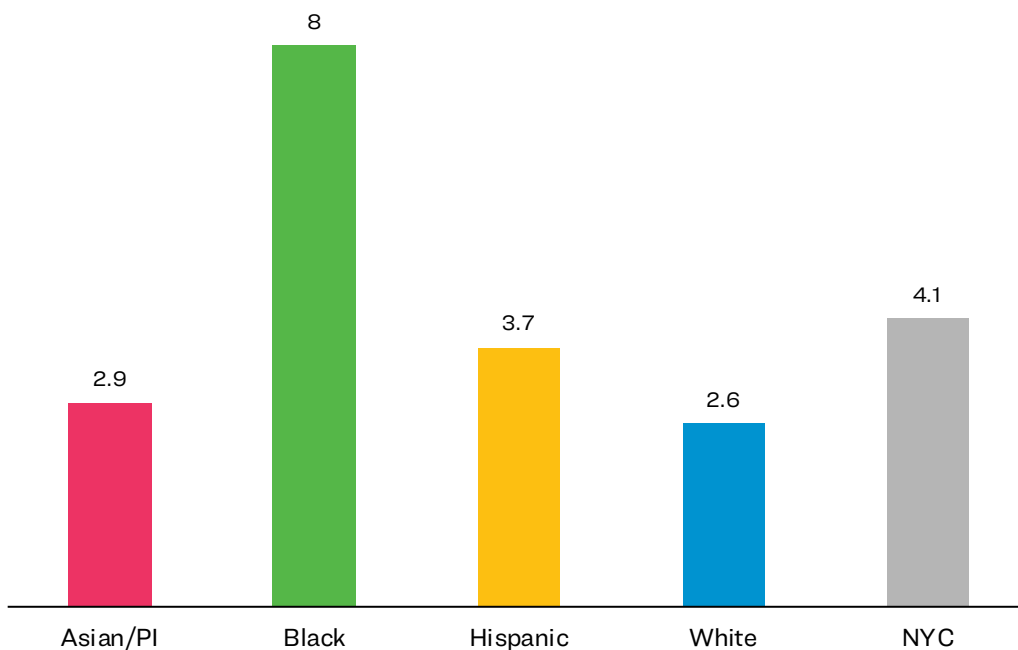
Sources: Bureau of Vital Statistics New York City Department of Health and Mental Hygiene, 2016.
Notes: Age-Adjusted Death Rate per 1,000 live births.

Despite the diversity within racial groups, race remains central in structuring opportunity in New York City. Different racial and ethnic groups experience unequal outcomes across crucial life events, beginning in the first year of life. In New York City, Black infants are three times more likely to die before the age of one than White infants (Figure 5.2).

In childhood, students of color are more likely to experience unstable housing than White children. As shown in Figure 5.3, 13% of Hispanic students, 13% of Black students, and 5% of Asian/PI children in New York City public schools experience unstable housing, as compared to 3% of White students. "Unstable housing" includes being doubled-up with family and friends or living in shelter or some other form of temporary housing.

Figure 5.3 Housing Stability of Public School Students, by Race or Ethnicity of Student, 2017-2018

■ Doubled Up   ■ DHS Shelter   ■ Non-DHS Shelter   ■ Other Temporary Housing
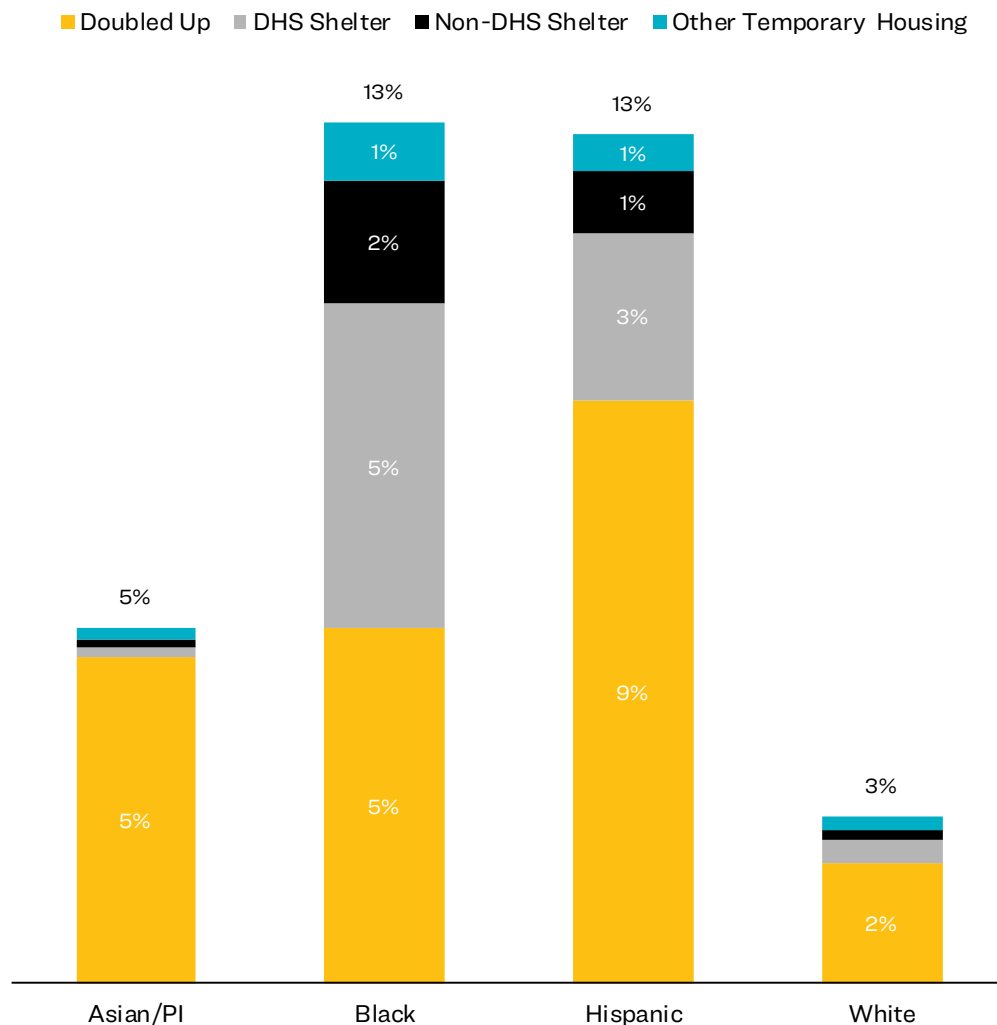
Source: Department of Education 2017-2018 Students in Temporary Housing, by Housing Status.

The stress, insecurity, and often cramped conditions that come with homelessness and unstable housing have a profound impact on students' ability to learn and perform in school.[3] Only 57% of students who have experienced temporary housing graduate on time, as compared to 76% of students overall.[4]

Differences also appear in graduation rates across racial and ethnic groups, which are shown in Figure 5.4. Asian/PI students have the highest on-time graduation rate (88%), followed by White (84%), Black (72%), and Hispanic (70%) students.

Figure 5.4 Graduation Rate by Race and Ethnicity, 2018

88%	72%	70%	84%	76%
Asian/PI	Black	Hispanic	White	NYC
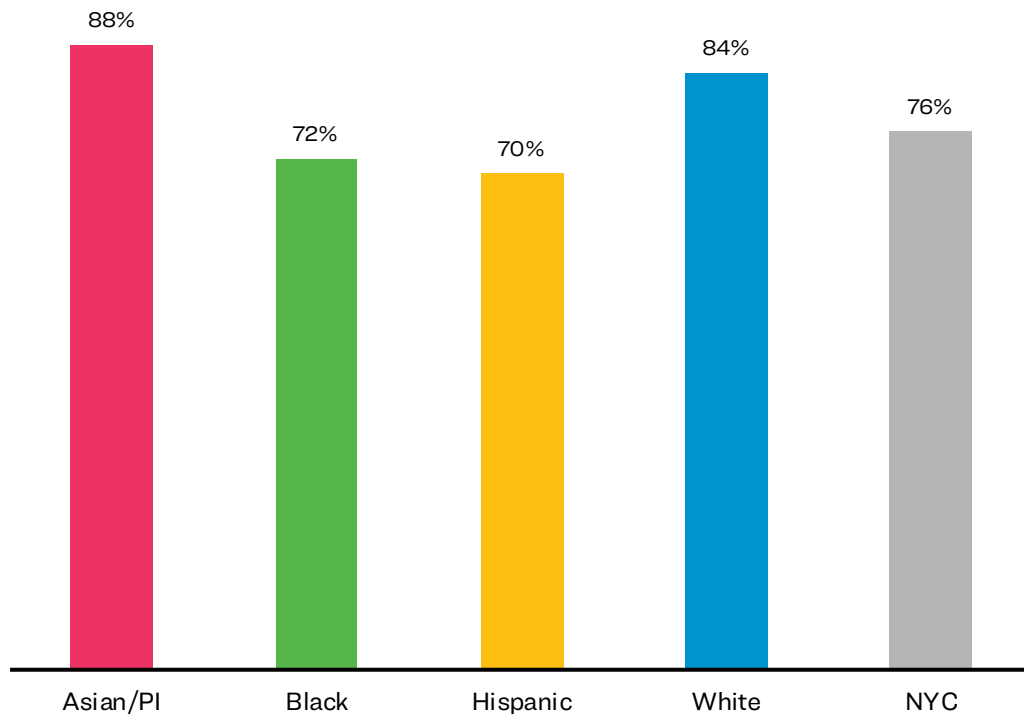
Source: New York City Department of Education, Graduation Results Class 2005-2018. Graduation results are limited to the student body of 2014 total cohort, 4-year August. Graduation rate is defined as the percentage of students who entered 9th grade in 2014 and earned either a local or Regent's diploma by August 2018. Charter schools are not included.

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3 Martha Galvetz, et al., "Housing as a Safety Net: Ensuring Housing Security for the Most Vulnerable," Metropolitan Housing and Communities Policy Center (Sept. 2017), available at:
https://www.urban.org/sites/default/files/publication/93611/housing-as-a-safety-net_1.pdf.
4 Source: Custom tabulations from the Department of Education for the 2017-2018 school year.

New Yorkers' experiences in the labor market are also markedly different depending on race. As Figure 5.5 shows, White households have the highest median income ($79,743) in New York City, compared to Asian/PI households ($58,541), Black households ($43,326) and Hispanic households ($37,281).

Figure 5.5 Median Household Income by Race and Ethnicity, 2012-2016
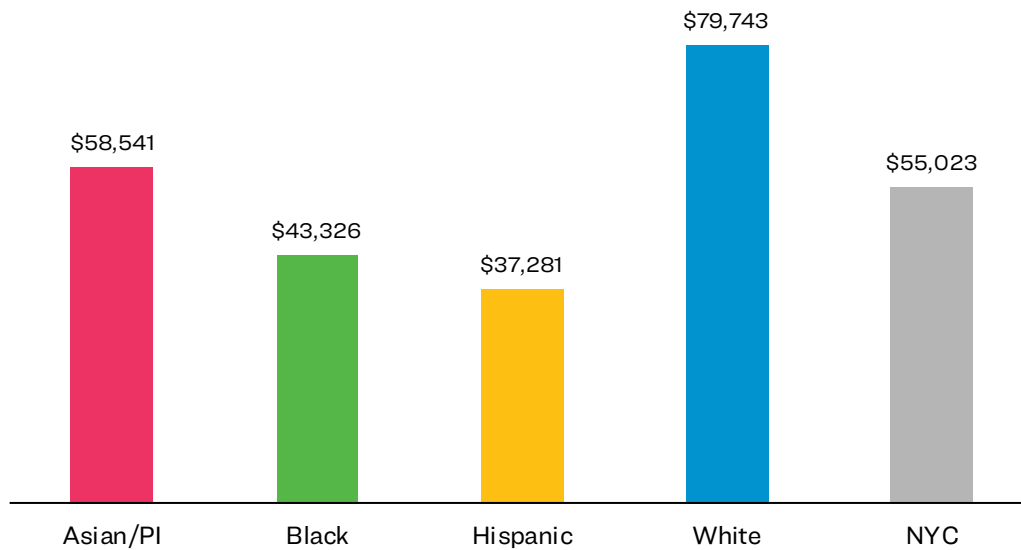
Source: ACS 2012-2016, 5-Year Public Use Microdata Sample (PUMS). Households with missing income are excluded. A household includes any combination of related family members, unrelated individuals, or an individual living alone.

Black and Hispanic families also comprise a disproportionate share of households that are, according to federal housing guidelines, lower income, or earning less than $91,000 for a family of four.

Figure 5.6 Composition of Lower-Income Households by Race and Ethnicity, 2012-2016
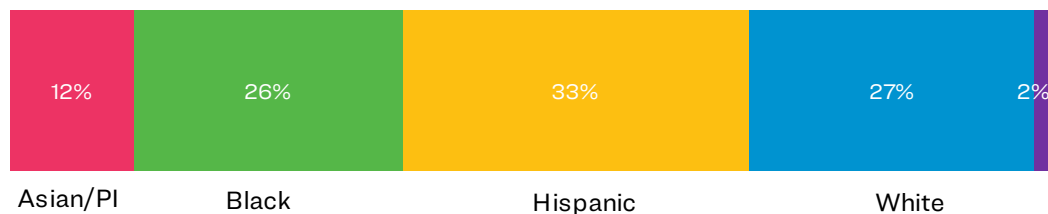
Source: HPD calculations based on ACS 2012-2016, 5-year estimates. Note: "Lower Income" defined as families at or below 80% of HUD income limits. Excludes households with more than 8 individuals and households with missing income.

However, income from employment is a limited measure of financial security and economic opportunity. The most important and direct measure of a resident's ability to access opportunity and financial security is wealth: the sum of a family's assets (from equity in a home to retirement savings) minus the debts a family owes (such as student loans or a mortgage). Data on wealth is not available for New York City residents, but, nationwide, the median wealth of White families is 10 times the wealth of Black and Hispanic families; in 2016, the median wealth of White families was $171,000, while the median wealth was $17,400 among Black families and $20,920 among Hispanic families.[5] These disparities represent the compounded effects of advantages and disadvantages passed across generations.

Racial disparities in homeownership rates suggest some of the reasons for stark disparities in overall household wealth by race. Figure 5.7 shows that in New York City 28% of Black families and 17% of Hispanic families own their homes, compared to 41% of White families. The differences in homeownership stem in part from differences in the wealth that parents pass on to their children, but also reflect historic and, to some extent, current differences in access to home mortgage loans. Figure 5.8 shows the loans commonly used for buying homes by race and ethnicity of the borrower. In 2017, White borrowers accounted for 48% of new loans for owner-occupied, 1-4 unit properties in New York City, while Black and Hispanic borrowers each accounted for less than 10%, far less than a proportionate share of the total population among New Yorkers.
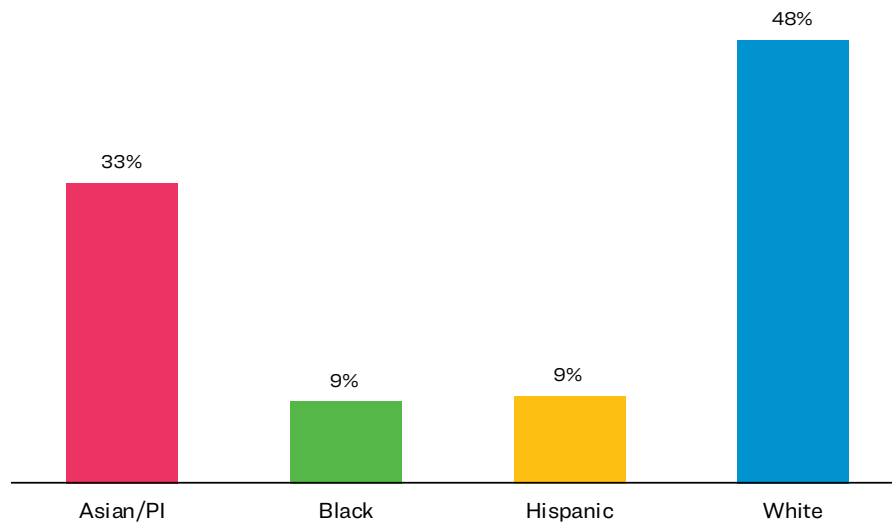
Figure 5.7 Homeownership Rate by Race and Ethnicity, 2017
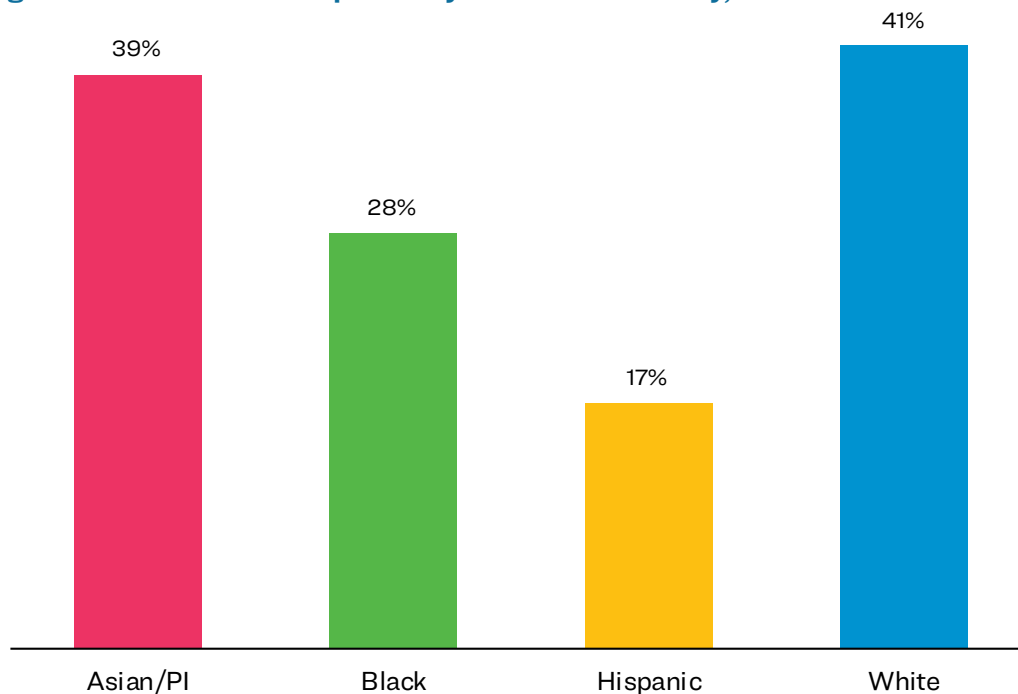
Source: 2017 Housing and Vacancy Survey (HVS), US Census Bureau/HPD.

5 Urban Institute, "Nine Charts about Wealth Inequality in America," (Oct. 5, 2017), available at: http://apps.urban.org/features/wealth-inequality-charts/.

Figure 5.8 Home Purchase Loans by Race and Ethnicity, 2017

Asian/PI: 33%
Black: 9%
Hispanic: 9%
White: 48%

Source: Home Mortgage Disclosure Act (HMDA) data, available at: https://ffiec.cfpb.gov/ .
Note: More specifically, the data shows disparities in first lien home purchase loan originations for owner-occupied 1-4 unit properties (including condos and co-ops).

Black and Hispanic New Yorkers are also significantly more likely to experience lower-quality housing in the form of maintenance problems, such as lack of heat, peeling paint, or the presence of rodents. Figure 5.9 shows that, in 2017, an estimated 20% of Black and Hispanic New Yorkers reported experiencing three or more maintenance problems in their homes, as compared to 6% of White households. (The causes of these disparities are explored in more depth in Section 5.5.)

Figure 5.9 Reporting Three or More Maintenance Deficiencies in Home by Race and Ethnicity, 2017

Asian/PI: 6%
Black: 20%
Hispanic: 20%
White: 6%
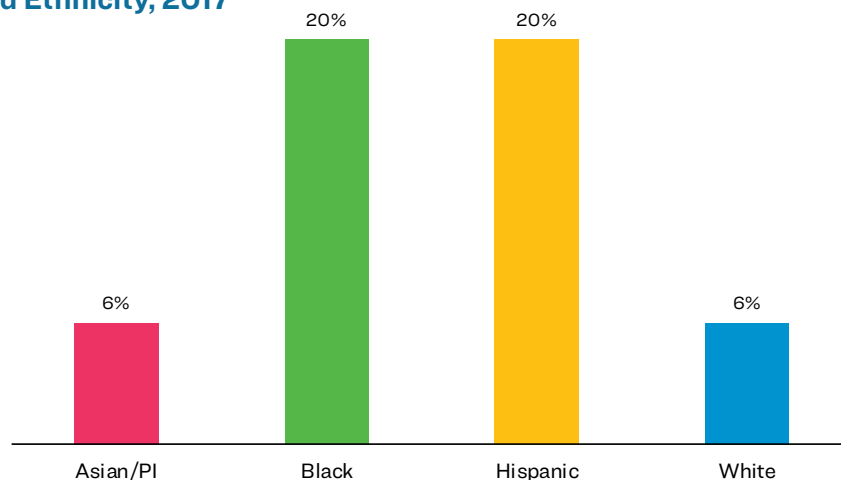
Source: 2017 NYC Housing and Vacancy Survey. Data shows prevalence of three or more maintenance deficiencies in a home, which can include including lack of heat, need for an additional heating source, presence of rodents, toilet breakdowns, leaks, peeling paint or plaster, and holes in the floor .

Disparities are also evident in overcrowded housing, which may be a driver in the community spread of COVID-19 in certain neighborhoods.[6] Figure 5.10 shows that over 25% of Hispanic and Asian/PI New Yorkers live in overcrowded housing conditions, defined here as households with more than two people per bedroom.

### Figure 5.10 Living in an Overcrowded Home by Race and Ethnicity, 2017
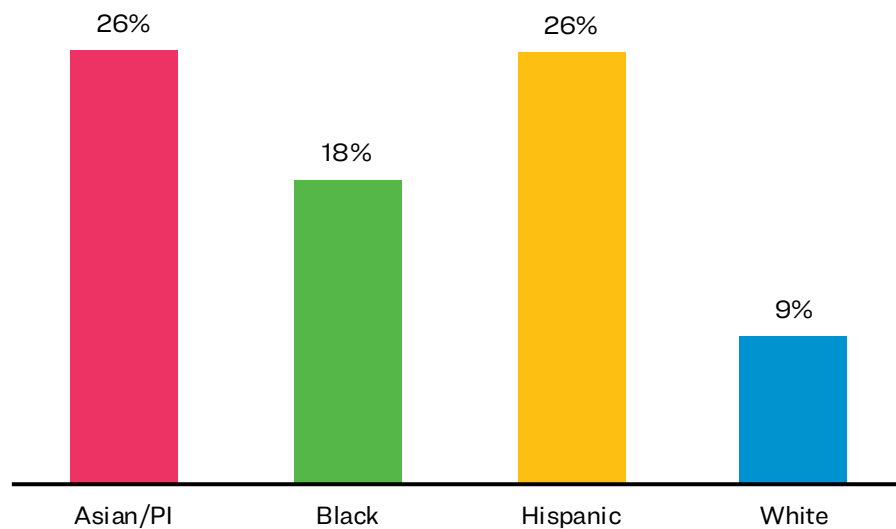
Source: 2017 NYC Housing and Vacancy Survey. A crowded unit is defined as having more than two people per bedroom. Studios are counted as having one bedroom for this measure.

New Yorkers' exposure to some types of violent crime in their neighborhoods also differs substantially by race and ethnicity. Figure 5.11 shows that New Yorkers, on average, are exposed to a select subset of felonies—including homicide, robbery, and felony assaults—at an annual rate of 4.2 incidents per 1,000 residents. Black New Yorkers experience the highest exposure to violent crime in the neighborhoods where they live (6.0 per 1,000 people), a rate twice that of White New Yorkers (2.6) and Asian/PI New Yorkers (3.0). The rate for Hispanic New Yorkers, also higher than the city rate, was 5.1 incidents per 1,000 people.

6 Joseph Goldstein, "1.5 Million Antibody Tests Show What Parts of N.Y.C. Were Hit Hardest," New York Times, August 19, 2020, available at: https://www.nytimes.com/2020/08/19/nyregion/new-york-city-antibody-test.html. NYU Furman Center, "COVID-19 Cases in New York City, a Neighborhood-Level Analysis," April 10, 2020, available at: https://furmancenter.org/thestoop/entry/covid-19-cases-in-new-york-city-a-neighborhood-level-analysis

Figure 5.11 Select Violent Felony Crime Rate Exposure by Race and Ethnicity, 2017

3.0	6.0	5.1	2.6	4.2
Asian/PI	Black	Hispanic	White	NYC
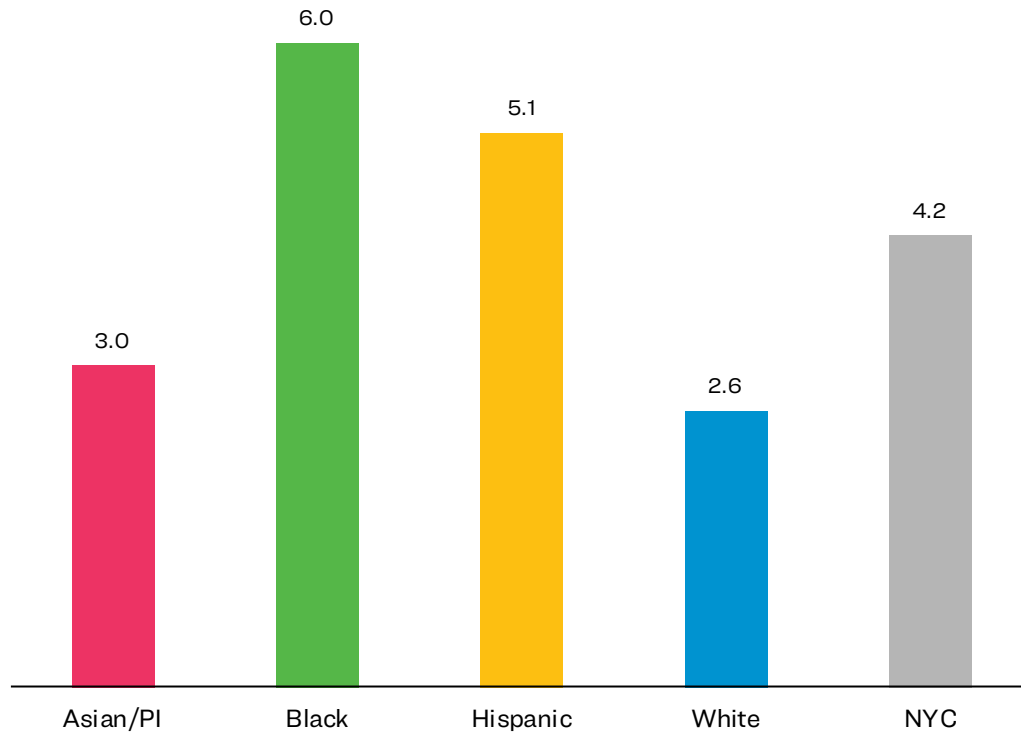
Sources: HPD tabulations of NYPD complaints (Source: NYC Open Data) and U.S. Census Bureau (Source: HUD AFFH-T, Census 2010). Notes: Interpret rates as annual averages. Exposure is constructed as the average neighborhood tabulation area select felony crime rate weighted by population. Select violent felony crimes include valid homicide, robbery, and felony assault complaints reported to the NYPD during calendar year 2017. Due to the approximate location of most complaints, data are aggregated to the neighborhood tabulation area level. Rape is excluded due to data limitations. Notes: Incidents per 1,000 people.

Finally, the cumulative toll of systemic racism and inequality across life outcomes has been made clear in the disproportionate impact the COVID-19 pandemic has had on people of color. Figure 5.12 shows that the death rate for Black and Hispanic New Yorkers, as of October 15, 2020, is about twice that of White New Yorkers.

Figure 5.12 COVID-19 Death Rates by Race and Ethnicity, 2020
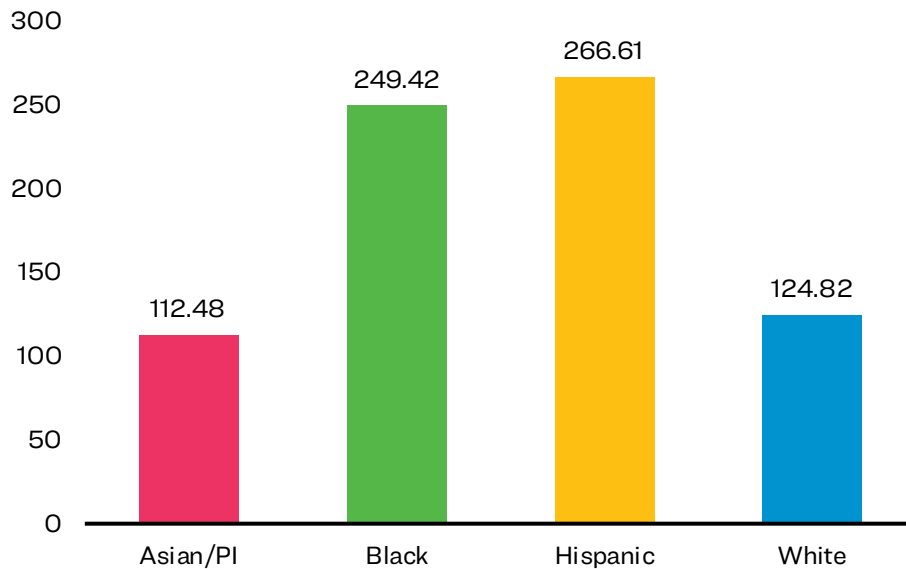
Source: NYC Department of Health and Mental Hygiene, https://www1.nyc.gov/site/doh/covid/covid-19-data. page, accessed October 15, 2020. Notes: Deaths per 100,000 people.

The remainder of this chapter explores factors in New Yorkers' homes and neighborhoods that are related to these persistent disparities, which this plan seeks to address.

5.2 Where New Yorkers Live

Introduction

The following section provides an in-depth examination of residential patterns in New York City from 1990 to 2016. The analysis is primarily focused on the continued separation of New Yorkers by race and ethnicity, which will be visualized and described in multiple ways. While this analysis does not capture changes that have occurred most recently, including any effects the COVID-19 pandemic and current economic challenges may have had, the maps and charts that follow provide a crucial basis for understanding recent residential patterns in the city and neighborhood conditions that affect racial and ethnic groups differently.
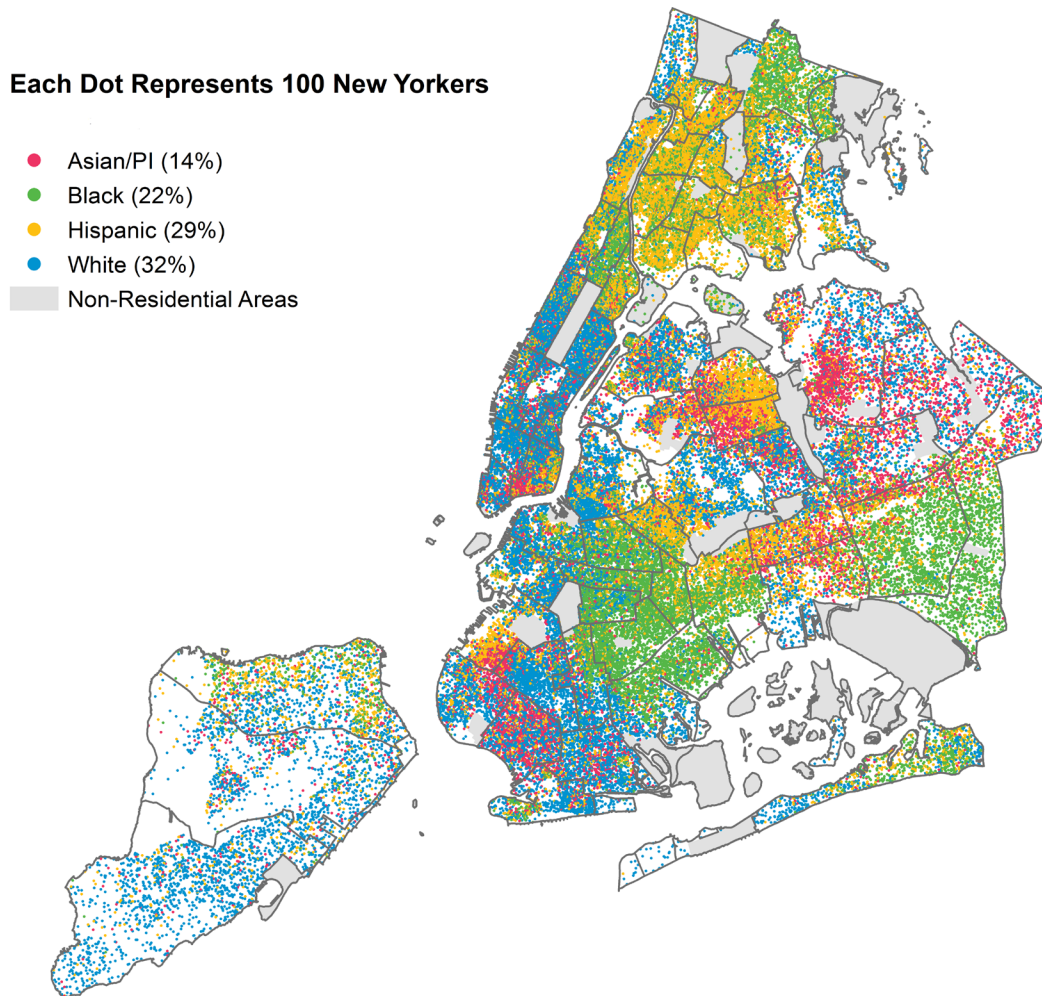
Figure 5.13 Historical Composition of New York City Residents by Race and Ethnicity
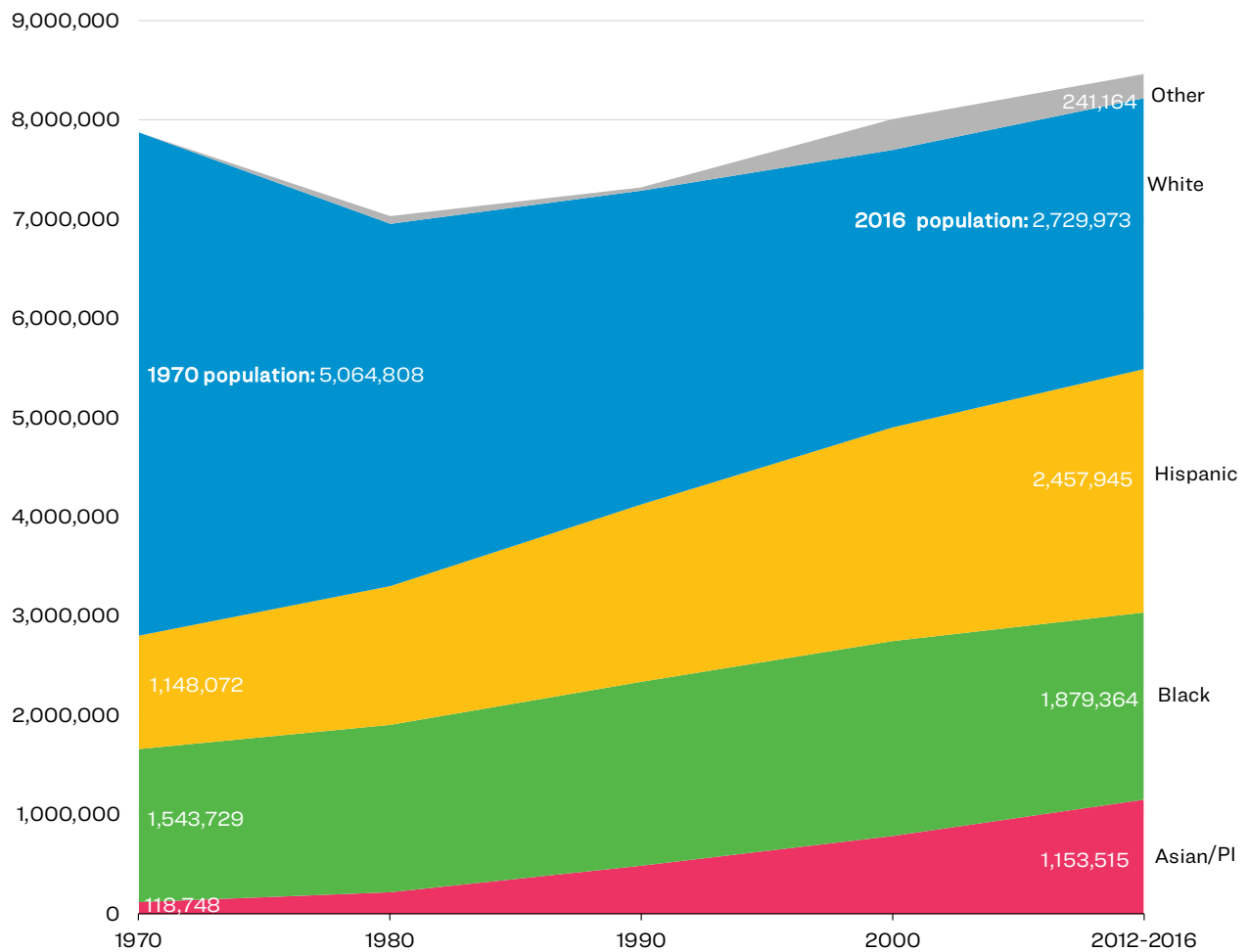
Sources: 1) 1970, 1980: Flores & Lobo, 2012; 2) 1990, 2000: HPD calculations based on 1990 and 2000 data from IPUMS NHGIS, University of Minnesota, www.nhgis.org.; 3) 2012-2016: HPD calculations based on ACS 2012-2016, five-year estimates, Table B03002.

According to the 2012-2016 American Community Survey (ACS), New York City's population is 32% White, 29% Hispanic, 22% Black, and 14% Asian/PI. This diversity is a dramatic change from 50 years ago, as shown in Figure 5.13.[7] Since 1970, the relative size of each of the city's four major racial and ethnic groups has become more similar, as the number of White New Yorkers and their proportion of the population have decreased significantly, while the number of Hispanic and Asian/PI New Yorkers and their proportion of the population have increased significantly.

Figure 5.14 NYC Population by Race and Ethnicity, 2012-2016

Each Dot Represents 100 New Yorkers

- Asian/PI (14%)
- Black (22%)
- Hispanic (29%)
- White (32%)
- Non-Residential Areas

Source: ACS 2012-2016, five-year estimates, Table B0300 tract level data.

7 Between the draft version of the plan and the final, the City reviewed the more recent years of ACS data from the 2014-2018 ACS. Although there were no significant differences between the 2012-2016 ACS used throughout the plan and the 2014-2018 ACS, so it was not necessary to redo all the figures, several key figures in this section use 2014-2018 ACS data to present the most recent data available.

Figure 5.14 provides a birds-eye view of the current distribution of White, Black, Hispanic, and Asian/PI New Yorkers. This density map, in which each dot represents 100 residents of a given racial or ethnic group, shows that New York City is both diverse and segregated.

This section—and the plan more generally—focuses on the racial and ethnic composition of New York City's neighborhoods for multiple reasons. First, fair housing laws were passed in the 1950s and 1960s with the hope that addressing discrimination in the housing market would foster more integrated neighborhoods and would provide more and better housing options to members of historically marginalized groups. But continued segregation in New York City neighborhoods suggests that discrimination in the housing market and constraints on the housing options of New Yorkers of color still exist. Second, continued segregation is concerning because of its connection to patterns of unequal access to neighborhood investments, exposure to environmental harms, and receipt of public services. As described in Chapter 2, neighborhood disadvantages have historically tracked where people of color were pushed to live, affecting the ability of residents in these communities to thrive.

However, New Yorkers also told us throughout the Where We Live NYC process that integrating neighborhoods is not necessarily the answer to the hardships they currently face in the housing market or in their neighborhoods. For many New Yorkers who participated in our Community Conversations and Fair Housing Stakeholder Group, ensuring equitable access to opportunities and amenities in all neighborhoods—regardless of the racial demographics of those neighborhoods—was more important to fulfilling the Fair Housing Act's spirit than the composition of the people who live in a particular neighborhood. Many New Yorkers also expressed concern that the way in which some neighborhoods are changing—namely through the increased presence of wealthier, White residents in areas with populations that are predominantly people of color—has created a sense of fear that long-standing residents and businesses will be economically displaced by resulting neighborhood change.

The City must balance this varied feedback, its own data analysis, budgetary constraints, and legal requirements in creating its fair housing plan for the next five years. In doing so, it is important to understand in detail how New York City's diverse population is currently distributed across its 300 square miles. The following section on where New Yorkers live provides this critical data, but it begins with more detailed feedback received from New Yorkers who participated in the Where We Live NYC process.

Engagement Feedback

Throughout the Where We Live NYC planning process, New Yorkers were asked to discuss their vision for a city that represented the ideals of the Fair Housing Act. Among the hundreds of residents who participated in our Community Conversations, New Yorkers shared a wide range of nuanced reflections about how segregation and integration affect their lives and the types of neighborhoods they want to live in. There was no universal experience or preference shared by participants, and participants often expressed differing viewpoints.

A recurring theme was concern that demographic diversity within a neighborhood does not necessarily translate into meaningful interactions among diverse residents. Participants stated:

- "I have a very diverse community, but we're not integrated. My community has people from all over the world in it, but we don't go to the same church on Sunday, we don't shop in the same stores. Even though we live together, we're still not integrated. We don't deal with community issues together." – Community Conversation Participant, HPD-led meeting in southern Brooklyn
- "I love the idea of integration. In the true sense, integration should be more of a social concept. I'm from Bangladesh and I live next to an apartment and they're Chinese. I don't say hi and they don't say hi. It's like I think he's from outer space or they think I'm from outer space." – Community Conversation Participant, Chhaya CDC

Participating residents also feared that increased demographic diversity in their neighborhoods—particularly because of an increasing share of wealthier, White residents — would reduce their ability to stay in place. They stated:

- "I love diversity. But the way development works now, diversity and integration means gentrification and displacement. If housing stays truly affordable, we would all get to benefit. But right now integration is not for us. Integration forces us out." – Community Conversation Participant, Neighbors Together
- "When neighborhoods are more diverse . . . more police come in and things start to get cleaned up. You see the streets getting paved, empty stores filling with business, better garbage pickup. At the same time, they also make it more expensive. It makes life harder for the people who lived there first because they start to get priced out. I love all the changes that happen to the neighborhood, but I want to be able to enjoy them. I don't want to have to leave once things start getting nicer." – Community Conversation Participant, Neighbors Together

Some residents focused on their desire for equitable access to opportunities and amenities. These New Yorkers who lived in neighborhoods they considered segregated did not view the lack of racial or ethnic diversity as an issue; instead, they cited the lack of socioeconomic diversity and investment in their neighborhood as a negative feature.

- "This is a color-conscious country. So, yes, I want integration because it brings better services. This country is Black and White. I don't care about integration per se, only if I get benefits that I should have had all along." – Community Conversation Participant, Section 8 in the Rockaways
- "Being from the Bronx, nearly all the neighborhoods that I have lived in were exclusively Black and Latino. I don't think this was a problem. [But] the fact that class or economic diversity didn't exist in these neighborhoods did limit our community's offerings and livability." – Submitted online via the Where We Live NYC website

Residents of different ethnic, religious, and immigrant communities shared a variety of perspectives on living in enclaves with residents of a similar background. Some depended on enclaves to

practice cultural traditions, attend places of worship, shop for specialized goods, or connect with neighbors, employers, and doctors who spoke their language. Enclaves were also described as places of security, where residents could feel safe and accepted in their neighborhood.

- "Living in a neighborhood of opportunity means that we can raise our families according to our cultural values. I want the Bangladeshi community to exist in the future for my children." – Community Conversation Participant, Sapna
- "Bay Ridge is safe because I can walk freely with my hijab and the community understands my religion." – Community Conversation Participant, Arab American Association

Other residents from these same ethnic, religious, and immigrant communities preferred living in diverse neighborhoods, often believing that integrated neighborhoods would open up more opportunity and economic advancement.

- "When I came to the U.S., I came to experience this culture. When I'm with my community, people like us, I'm not moving forward. New immigrants have to learn from the history and the people [who have been here], and get access to what this country has to offer." – Community Conversation Participant, Chhaya CDC

The City is grateful to the hundreds of New Yorkers who took the time to share these and other stories, which are included in many places throughout this report. They provide crucial context to the data analysis that follows and their perspectives have also informed the fair housing goals and strategies presented in Chapter 6.

Diversity and Living Patterns in the Region

New York City is the center of the largest metropolitan region in the United States, encompassing 22.6 million people living in 9.1 million homes across three states, 31 counties, and nearly 900 hamlets, villages, towns, and cities. The combined economic activity of the metropolitan region, which covers the Hudson Valley and Long Island in New York, southwest Connecticut, and northern New Jersey, accounted for approximately 10% of United States Gross Domestic Product and generated $1.9 trillion in 2017, which would make this region the 10th largest economy in the world.

This interconnected ecosystem of people, housing, and jobs has enabled the city and surrounding region to collectively thrive. However, a history of housing discrimination and exclusionary land use regulation patterns in the region—which are discussed briefly in Chapter 2—continue to affect the region's shared housing market and impact fair housing challenges in New York City.
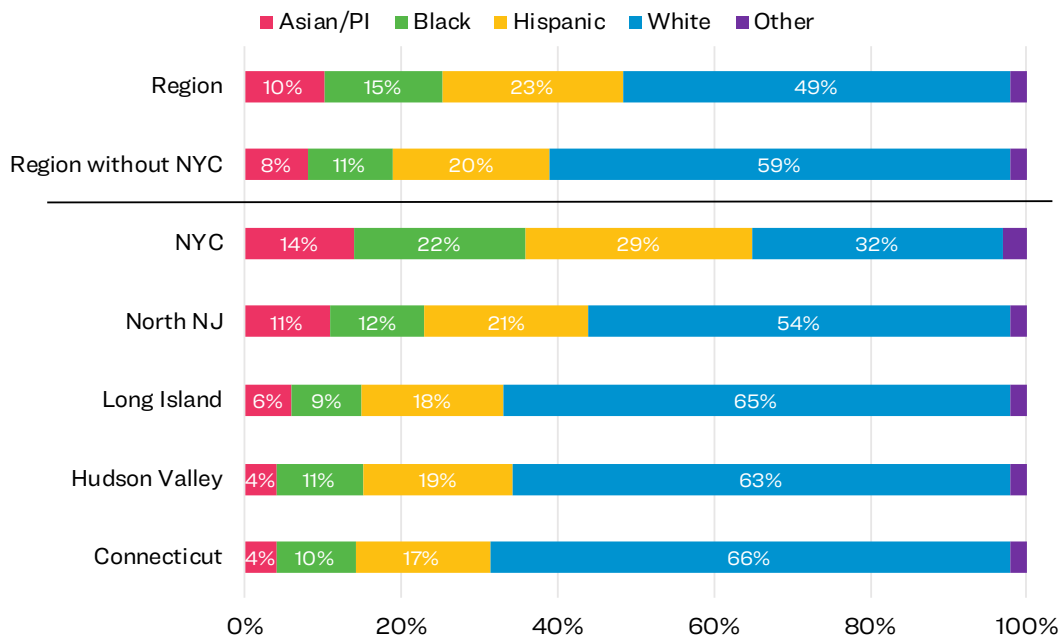
In terms of racial and ethnic demographics, the rest of the region has a significantly higher share of White residents (59%) compared to New York City. The remainder of the regional population is 8% Asian, 11% Black, and 20% Hispanic, which are all smaller shares than the population of New York City. While the region has diversified over the past 30 years, Figure 5.15 also indicates that patterns of segregation are found throughout the area, and people of color continue to reside largely in the region's cities. The housing and land use factors that impact these patterns are further discussed in Section 5.5.

Figure 5.15 Composition of NYC Metropolitan Region by Race and Ethnicity, 2013-2017

- ● White
- ● Black
- ● Asian
- ● Hispanic/Latino
- ● Other
- NYC Metropolitan Region
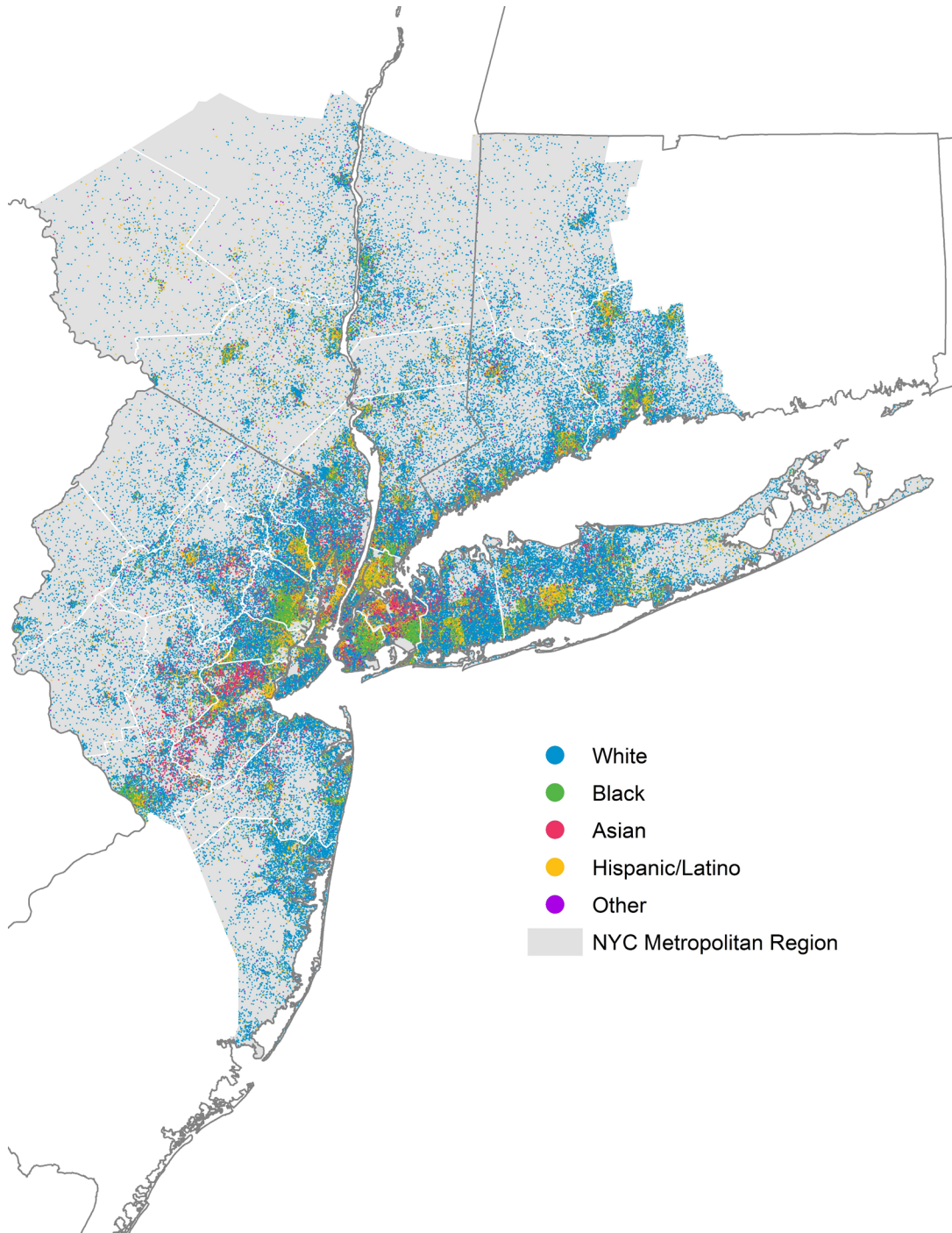
Source: ACS 2013-2017, five-year estimates.

Figure 5.16 Composition of NYC Metropolitan Region by Race and Ethnicity, 2013-2017

■ Asian/PI ■ Black ■ Hispanic ■ White ■ Other

	Asian/PI	Black	Hispanic	White	Other
Region	10%	15%	23%	49%	
Region without NYC	8%	11%	20%	59%	
NYC	14%	22%	29%	32%	
North NJ	11%	12%	21%	54%	
Long Island	6%	9%	18%	65%	
Hudson Valley	4%	11%	19%	63%	
Connecticut	4%	10%	17%	66%	

Source: ACS 2012-2016, five-year estimates, Table B0300 tract level data.

Living Patterns of New York City Residents by Race and Ethnicity

There is no consensus among academics or among New Yorkers on how to define a diverse or integrated neighborhood. This section therefore provides multiple approaches to help New Yorkers understand the residential patterns in the city's neighborhoods and how those patterns have changed since 1990. Taken together, the data in this section show that New York City is both increasingly diverse and still segregated by race and ethnicity. While the racial composition of many neighborhoods has changed dramatically since 1990—which is seen in Figures 5.18, 5.20, 5.22, and 5.24 below—the city remains highly segregated by most measures.

Studies of segregation require a comparison between geographic areas of different sizes. Typically, such studies compare the demographics of a city's neighborhoods to the city (or its surrounding region) as a whole. This report generally uses Neighborhood Tabulation Areas (NTAs) to facilitate our analysis of where New Yorkers are distributed by race and ethnicity. NTAs rely upon data from the U.S. Census Bureau and are representative of commonly-acknowledged New York City neighborhoods, such as the West Village in Manhattan, Highbridge in the Bronx, and Bay Ridge in Brooklyn.

How Do We Measure a Neighborhood?

This report uses the following geographic areas to present data about neighborhoods:

- **Census tracts.** Census tracts are small subdivisions of counties used by the U.S. Census Bureau to present demographic information across the country. In New York City, there are 2,168 census tracts, which typically have a population of about 3,000 to 4,000 people and an average land area of about 90 acres. While census tracts are often used to represent "neighborhoods" across the country, New York City's high population density means that a single housing complex can have its own census tract. Therefore, this report generally uses larger geographic areas than census tracts to approximate "neighborhoods."
- **Neighborhood Tabulation Areas (NTAs).** NTAs also utilize data from the U.S. Census Bureau to present demographic information, but they are much larger than census tracts. There are 188 residential NTAs in New York City, each of which has a minimum of 15,000 residents. The report relies on NTAs in most places as the best approximation of commonly-acknowledged New York City neighborhoods.
- **Community Districts.** New York City is divided into 59 community districts, which were created by local law in 1975. Community districts range in size from less than 900 acres to almost 15,000 acres, and in population from a little more than 50,000 residents to more than 200,000. To present demographic information about Community Districts, these areas are sometimes approximated by 55 Public Use Microdata Areas (PUMAs) from the U.S. Census, which have a minimum population of 100,000.

Before examining patterns of segregation among the city's four major racial and ethnic groups, it is important to look at each individual group on its own. This information indicates where each group is concentrated or is absent across the city, and this information provides an important complement to the data provided in Section 5.4, which highlights disparities in resources, amenities, and outcomes that residents of specific neighborhoods currently experience.

A. Racial and Ethnic Composition by Neighborhood

Figures 5.17 through 5.24 illustrate patterns of concentration for each individual racial and ethnic group between 1990 and today. Taken together, they tell a story of both continuity and change.

The most significant changes appear when examining where White New Yorkers live. In 1990, White New Yorkers were the predominant group (75% or more) in 57 out of 188 NTAs across the five boroughs, and were the majority group (between 50% and 75%) in an additional 35 NTAs. Today, as seen in Figure 5.17, White New Yorkers are predominant in only 16 NTAs and are the majority group in 34 NTAs.

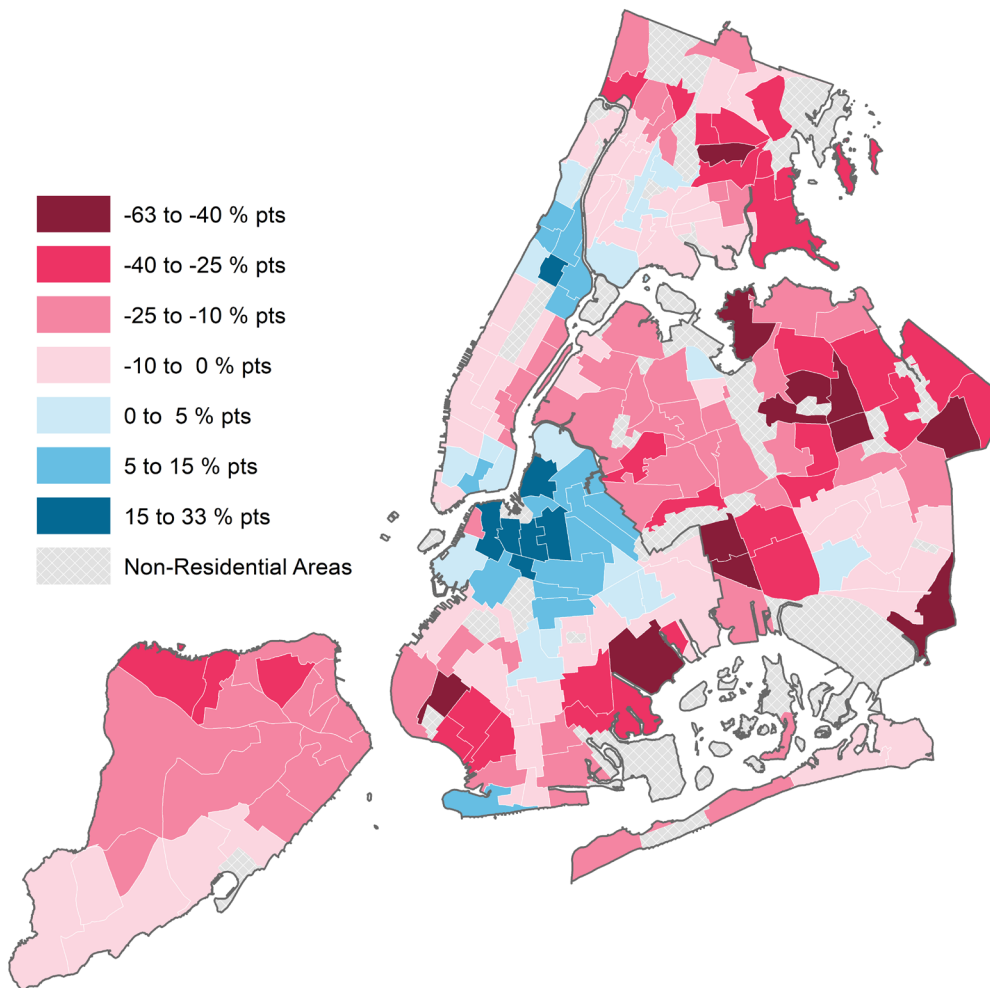**Figure 5.17 Share of White Population by NTA, 2012-2016**

0% - 10%

10% - 25%

25% - 50%

50% - 75%

≥ 75%

Non-Residential Areas
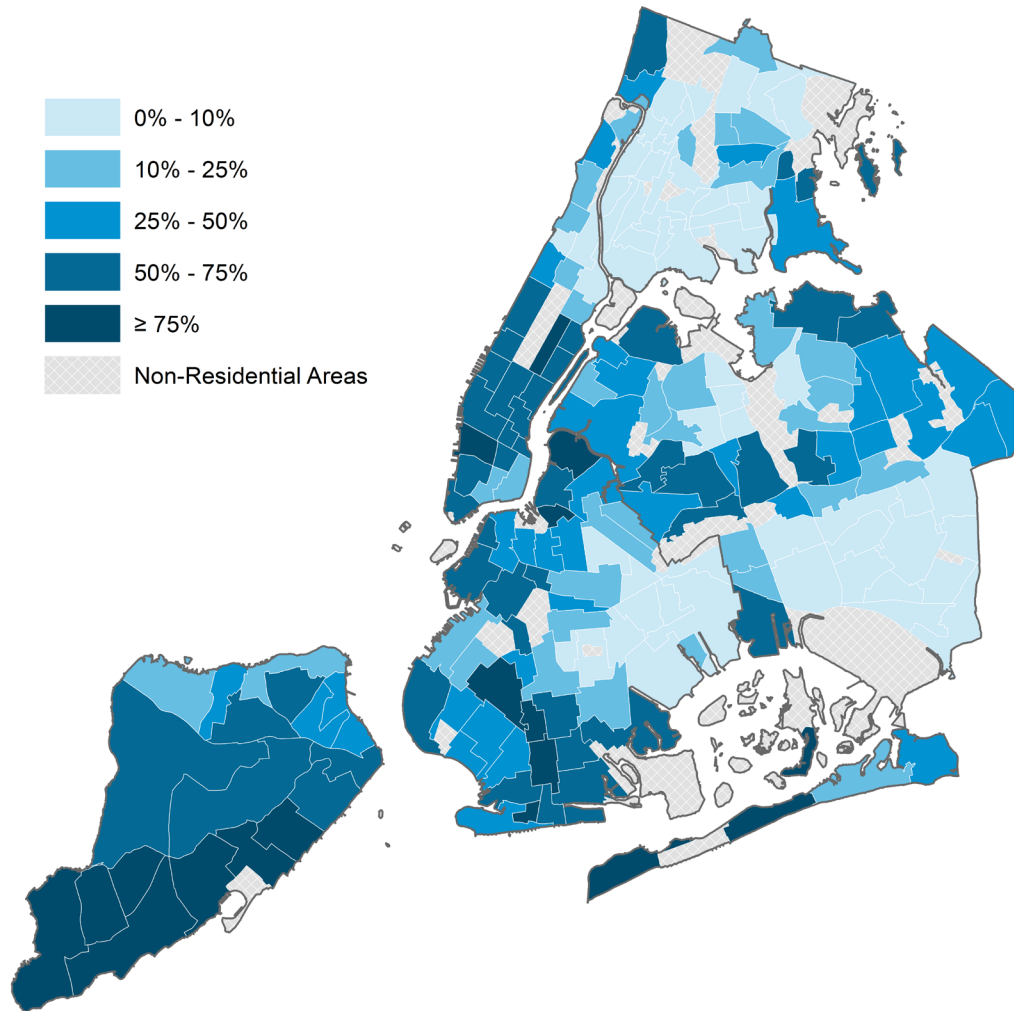
Source: ACS 2012-2016, five-year estimates, Table B03002. Unpopulated areas are excluded.

As shown in Figure 5.18, the most dramatic changes between 1990 and 2012-16 occurred in neighborhoods in Queens—including Ozone Park, Woodhaven, and College Point—where the share of White New Yorkers in the neighborhood decreased between 50 and 63 percentage points. The largest increases occurred in Brooklyn, including parts of Williamsburg, Bedford, Clinton Hill, and Prospect Heights, all of which saw increases between 25 and 32 percentage points in the share of White New Yorkers.

However, these maps also indicate continuity, as White New Yorkers remain largely absent from the South Bronx, parts of northern Manhattan, and large areas of central Brooklyn and southeast Queens, and remain the majority in large parts of Lower and Midtown Manhattan, southern Brooklyn, and Staten Island.

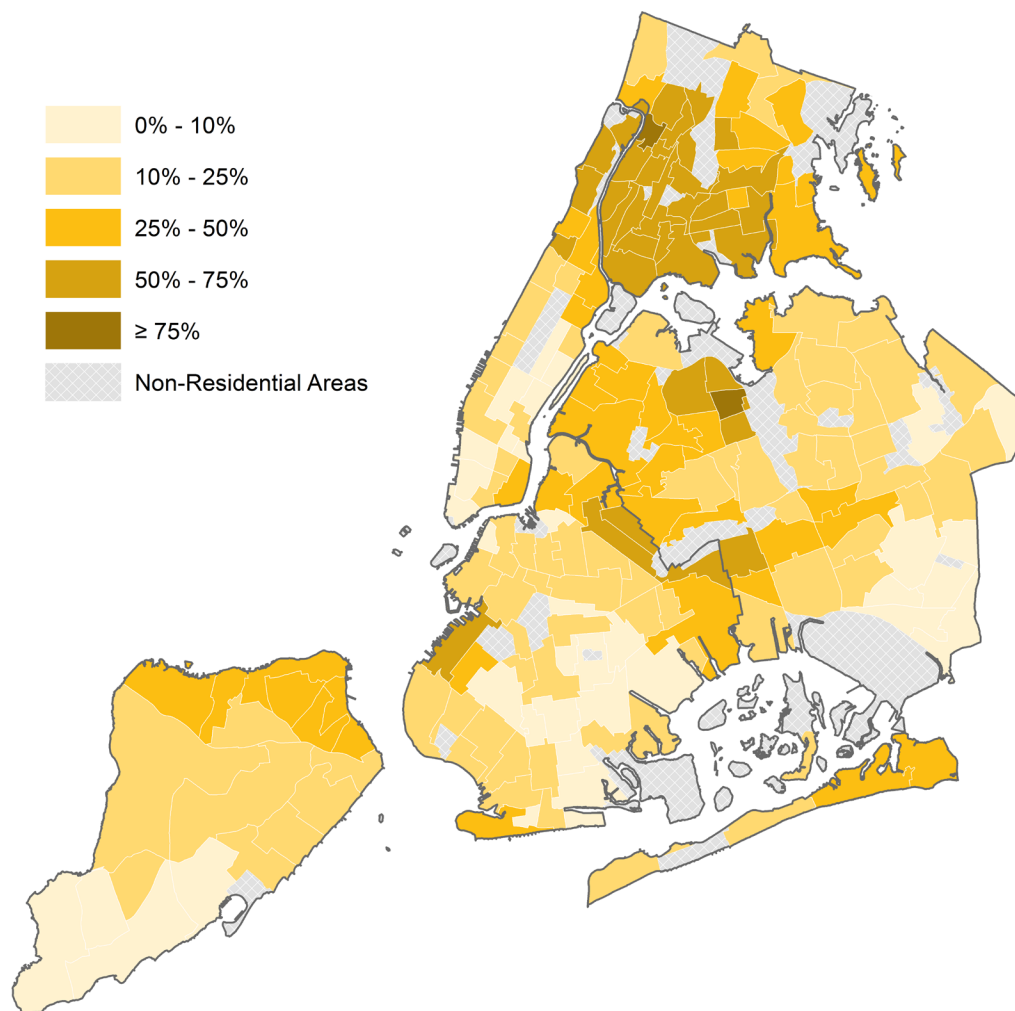## Figure 5.18 Change in Share of White Population by NTA, 1990 to 2012-2016

-63 to -40 % pts
-40 to -25 % pts
-25 to -10 % pts
-10 to 0 % pts
0 to 5 % pts
5 to 15 % pts
15 to 33 % pts
Non-Residential Areas

Sources: Decennial 1990 data from IPUMS NHGIS, University of Minnesota, www.nhgis.org. ACS 2012-2016, five-year estimates, Table B03002. Unpopulated areas are excluded. Note: Map shows the change in percentage points. The calculation should not be interpreted as percent change.

Figure 5.19 displays the share of Hispanic New Yorkers in neighborhoods across the city. Although the population of Hispanic New Yorkers has increased significantly in absolute numbers and relative share since 1990, the number of neighborhoods in which they predominate has stayed almost constant: two neighborhoods in 1990 (Hunts Point and Longwood in the Bronx); five neighborhoods in 2000 (Longwood (BX), Hunts Point (BX), North Corona (QN), Bushwick North (BK), and Washington Heights South (MN)); and two neighborhoods in 2016 (North Corona (QN) and Kingsbridge (BX)).

These maps also show that Hispanic New Yorkers have become an increasing presence in large parts of the city, particularly in the northeast Bronx, central Queens, and Staten Island, where the share of Hispanic New Yorkers has grown between 10 and 40 percentage points. In addition, the share of Hispanic New Yorkers in a few neighborhoods in Brooklyn—including parts of Williamsburg, Downtown Brooklyn, and Sunset Park—has decreased by 15 to 30 percentage points.

Figure 5.19 Share of Hispanic Population by NTA, 2012-2016

Legend:
- 0% - 10%
- 10% - 25%
- 25% - 50%
- 50% - 75%
- ≥ 75%
- Non-Residential Areas

Source: ACS 2012-2016, five-year estimates, Table B03002. Unpopulated areas are excluded.

Figure 5.20 Change in Share of Hispanic Population by NTA, 1990 to 2012-2016
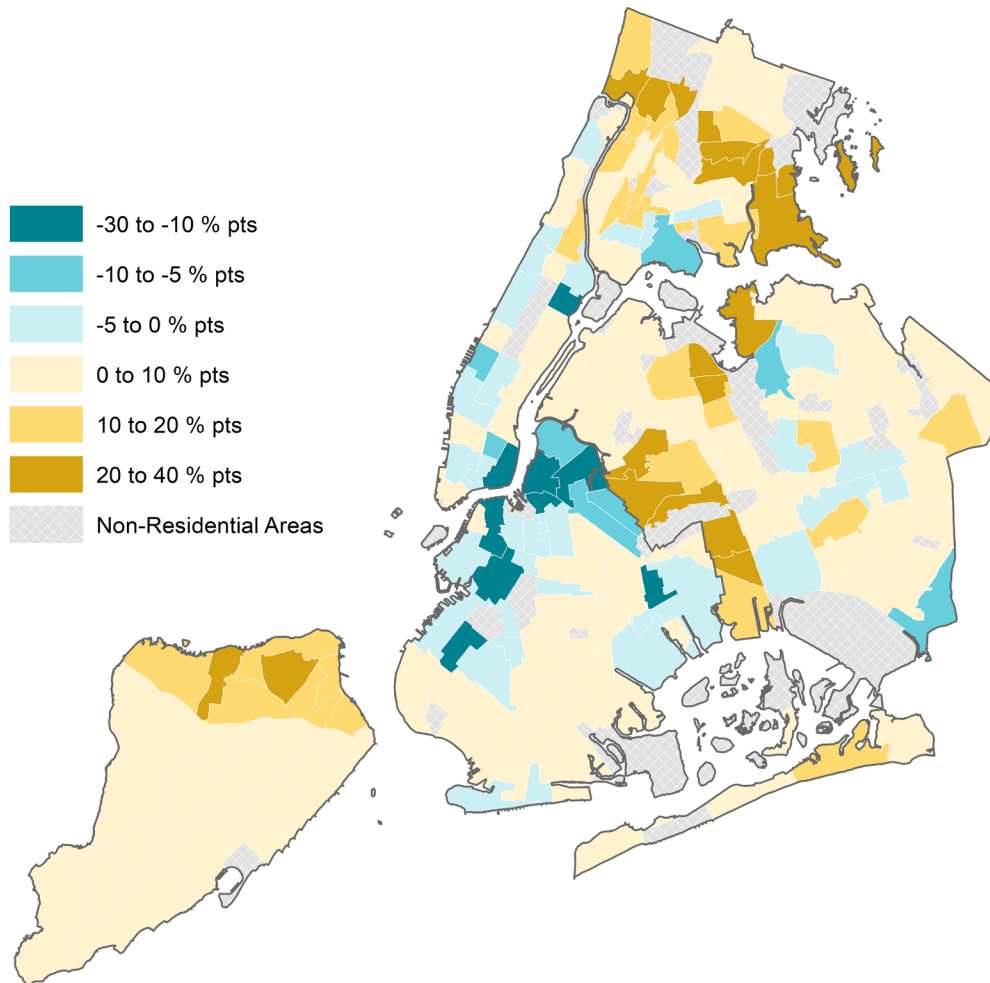
Sources: Decennial 1990 data from IPUMS NHGIS, University of Minnesota, www.nhgis.org. ACS 2012-2016, five-year estimates, Table B03002. Unpopulated areas are excluded. Note: Map shows the change in percentage points. The calculation should not be interpreted as percent change.

Figure 5.21 illustrates the residential patterns of Black New Yorkers. It shows that Black New Yorkers are concentrated in a smaller number of neighborhoods than Hispanic New Yorkers, and Black New Yorkers make up a larger share of the population in the neighborhoods in which they live.

These neighborhoods have changed over the past 30 years, however. In 1990, Black New Yorkers were 75% or more of the population in Central Harlem and multiple parts of central Brooklyn and southeastern Queens. By 2016, the share of Black New Yorkers in some of these neighborhoods—including Central Harlem, Bedford, and Crown Heights-North—fell to less than 75%, while remaining a majority of the population.

In other neighborhoods, such as East New York (BK), Eastchester-Edenwald-Baychester (BX), and Hollis (QN), Black New Yorkers remain predominant. In addition, Black New Yorkers now predominate in Canarsie (BK) and Rosedale (QN), two neighborhoods in which they were not even a majority in 1990; during this time period, the share of Black New Yorkers increased by 67 and 53 percentage points, respectively, in these neighborhoods.
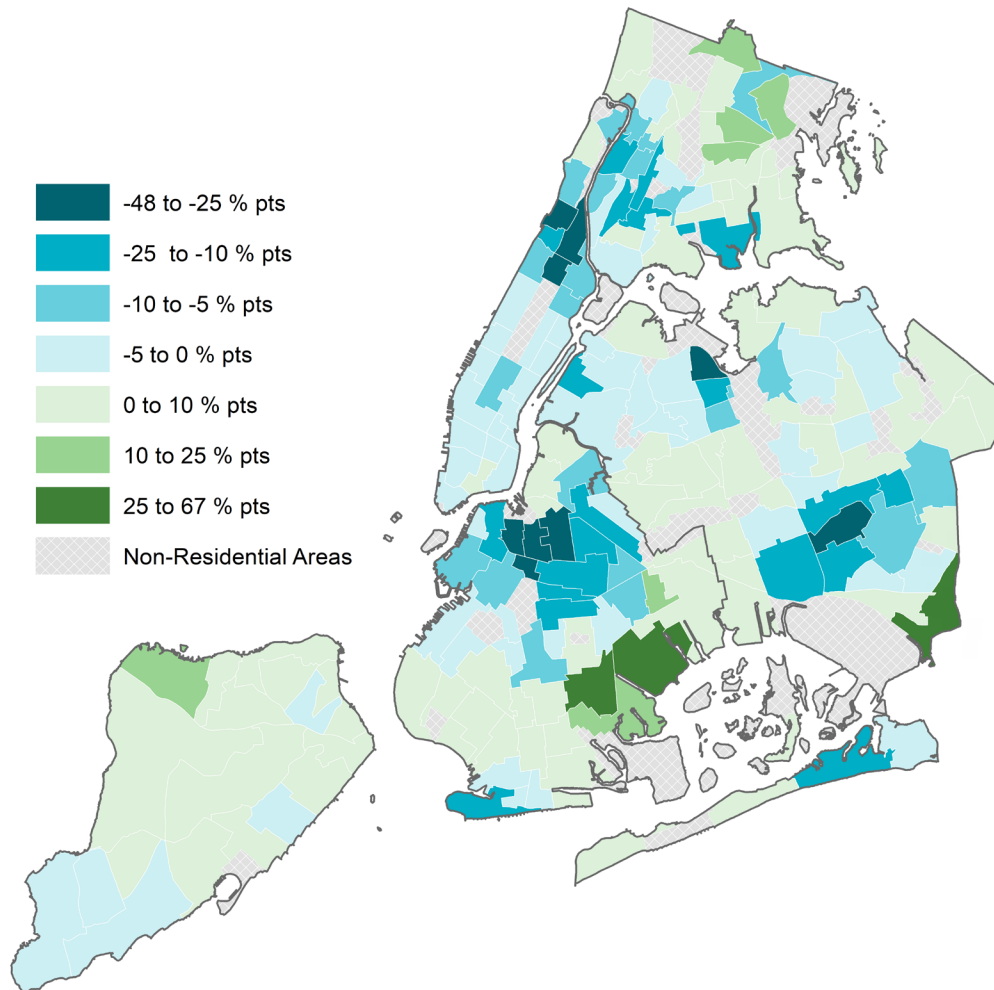
Figure 5.21 also shows that there are large sections of New York City with few Black New Yorkers, including much of Manhattan, Brooklyn neighborhoods west and south of Prospect Park, and much of Queens and Staten Island.

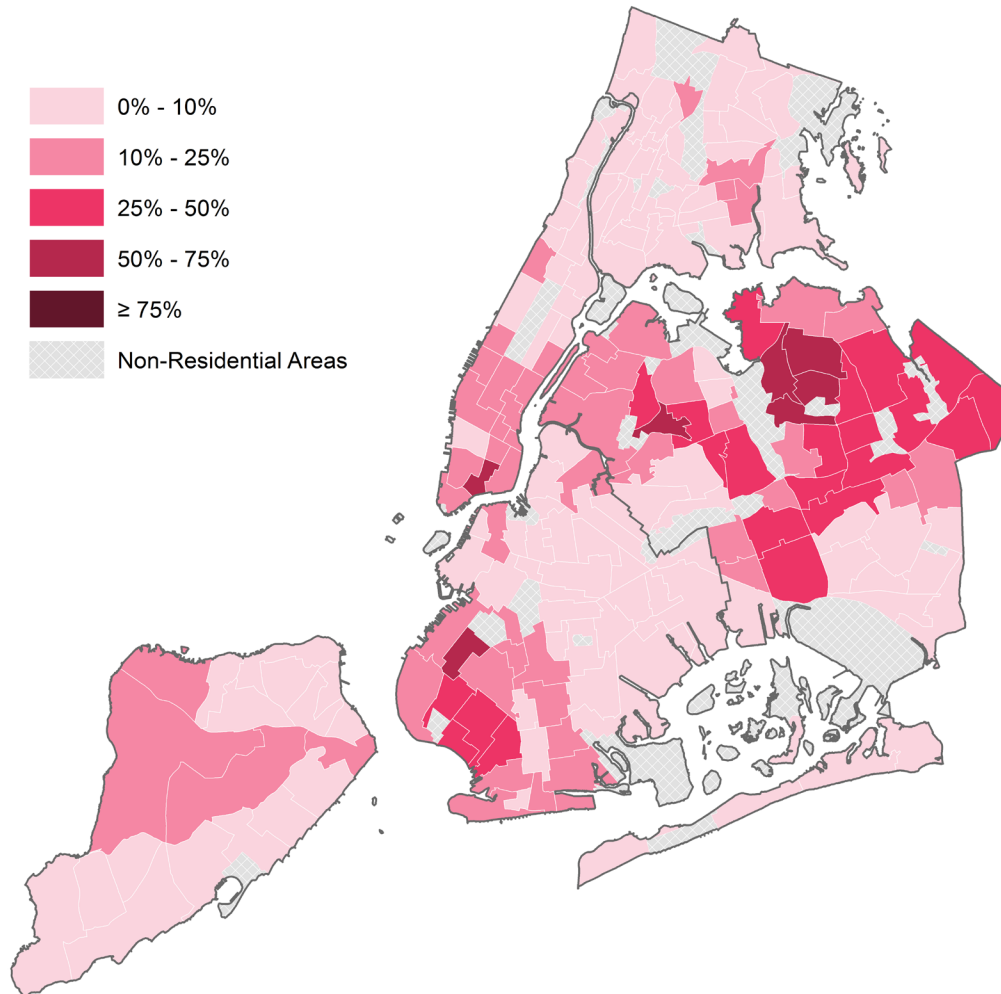**Figure 5.21 Share of Black Population by NTA, 2012-2016**
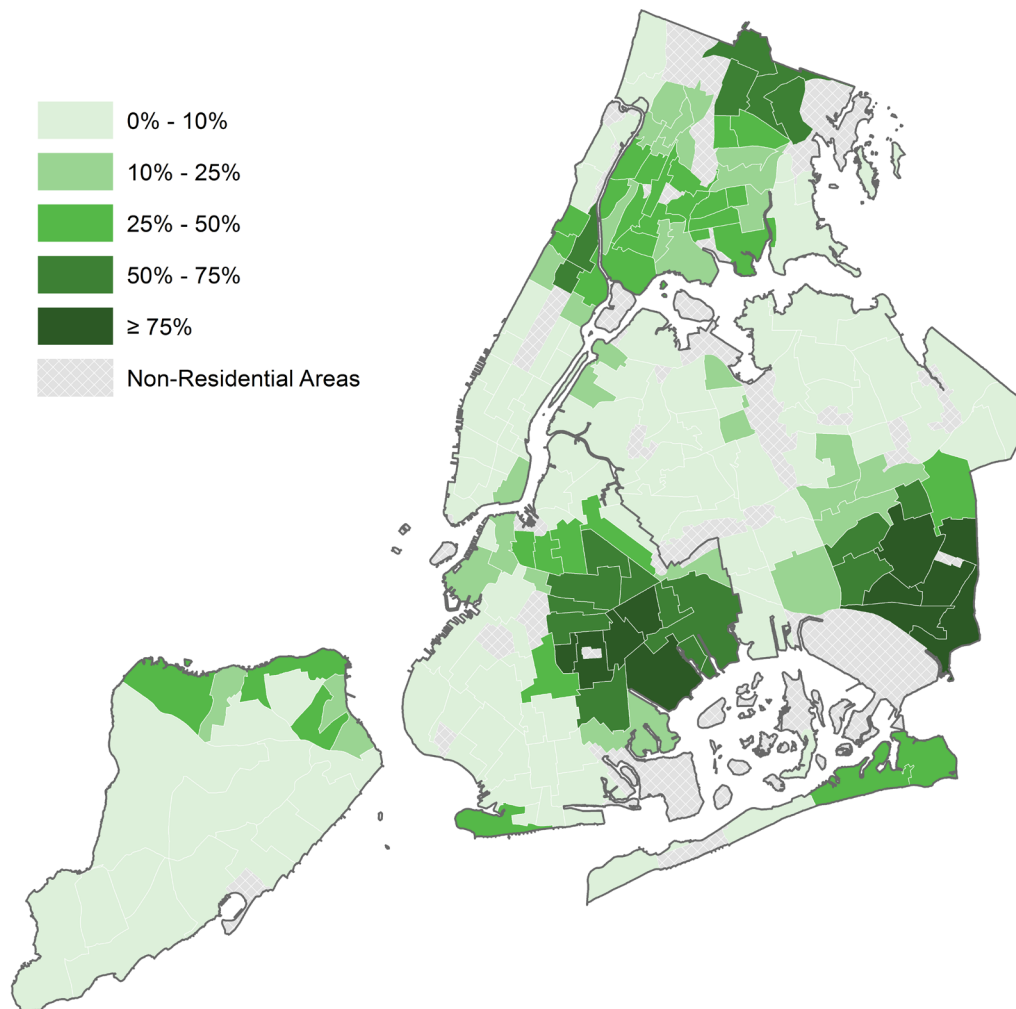
Source: ACS 2012-2016, five-year estimates, Table B03002. Unpopulated areas are excluded.

Figure 5.22 Change in Share of Black Population by NTA, 1990 to 2012-2016

-48 to -25 % pts
-25 to -10 % pts
-10 to -5 % pts
-5 to 0 % pts
0 to 10 % pts
10 to 25 % pts
25 to 67 % pts
Non-Residential Areas

Sources: Decennial 1990 data from IPUMS NHGIS, University of Minnesota, www.nhgis.org. ACS 2012-2016, five-year estimates, Table B03002. Unpopulated areas are excluded. Note: Map shows the change in percentage points. The calculation should not be interpreted as percent change.
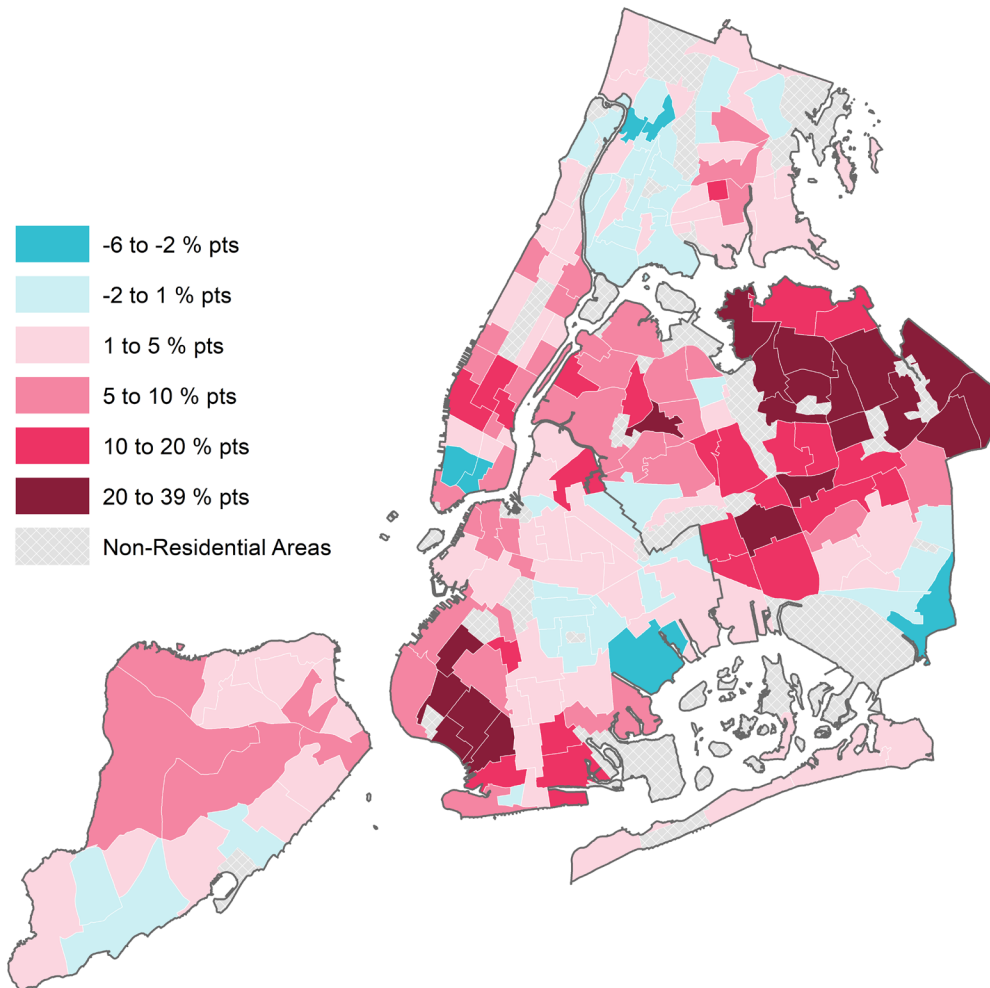
Finally, Figure 5.23 illustrates that, even though Asian/PI New Yorkers are only 14% of the city's overall population, they constitute the majority group in several neighborhoods of Queens centered around Flushing and an increasingly large share of the population throughout many other Queens neighborhoods and southern Brooklyn.

Figure 5.23 Share of Asian/PI Population by NTA, 2012-2016

0% - 10%

10% - 25%

25% - 50%

50% - 75%

≥ 75%

Non-Residential Areas

Source: ACS 2012-2016, five-year estimates, Table B03002. Unpopulated areas are excluded.

In addition, as seen in Figure 5.24, the share of Asian/PI New Yorkers has decreased in the lowest number of neighborhoods, as compared to Whites, Blacks, and Hispanics, and the decreases were relatively small, as compared to the decreases seen in Figures 5.18, 5.20, and 5.22.

Figure 5.24 Change in Share of Asian/PI Population by NTA, 1990 to 2012-2016

Legend:
- -6 to -2 % pts
- -2 to 1 % pts
- 1 to 5 % pts
- 5 to 10 % pts
- 10 to 20 % pts
- 20 to 39 % pts
- Non-Residential Areas

Sources: Decennial 1990 data from IPUMS NHGIS, University of Minnesota, www.nhgis.org. ACS 2012-2016, five-year estimates, Table B03002. Unpopulated areas are excluded. Note: Map shows the change in percentage points. The calculation should not be interpreted as percent change.

B. Numerical Measures of Segregation

Academic researchers have developed many tools to understand residential patterns by race and ethnicity.[8] This section uses two of the most commonly-used measures—the dissimilarity index and the isolation index—to provide a numerical analysis of the extent to which the major racial and ethnic groups live together or separately in New York City's neighborhoods.

8 John Iceland, et al., "Racial and Ethnic Residential Segregation in the United States: 1980-2000: Appendix B – Measures of Residential Segregation," Census 2000 Special Reports (Aug. 2002), available at: https://www.census.gov/hhes/www/housing/resseg/pdf/app_b.pdf.

The first measure is the dissimilarity index, which examines the evenness with which two racial groups are distributed across a geographic area, such as neighborhoods withing a city. It can be interpreted as the percentage of either group that would have to move so that each neighborhood would have the same proportion of both groups as the city's overall population. The dissimilarity index ranges from 0, which represents perfect integration, to 100, which indicates total segregation. According to guidance from HUD published in 2015, dissimilarity scores of 0 to 39 represent "low" segregation; 40 to 54 represents "moderate" segregation; and 55 to 100 represents "high" segregation.[9]

Figure 5.25 Dissimilarity Index by NTA
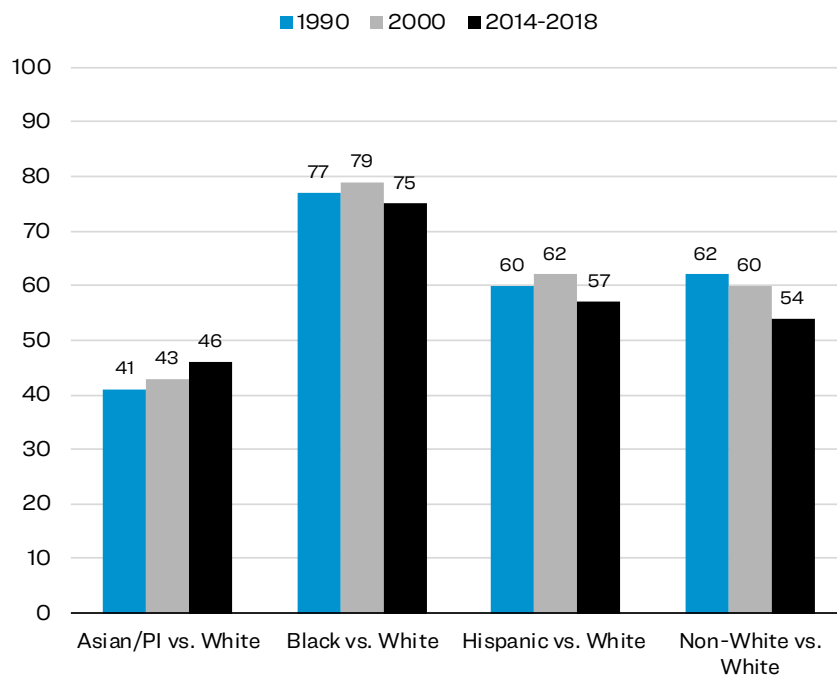
Sources: 1) 1990, 2000: HPD calculations based on data from IPUMS NHGIS, University of Minnesota, www.nhgis.org. 2) 2014-2018: HPD calculations based on ACS 2014-2018, five-year estimates, Table B03002.

Figure 5.25 presents New York City's dissimilarity scores by using White New Yorkers, who remain the largest racial or ethnic group in the city, as the group to which other groups are compared. Figure 5.25 also presents New York City's dissimilarity scores based on NTAs, which—as described above—are representative of commonly accepted neighborhood boundaries across the five boroughs. While many segregation analyses use census tracts to compare a smaller geographic area to the city's overall population, it is not unusual for a single housing complex in New York City to have its own census tract because of the city's high population density. Therefore, measuring segregation by NTA, rather than by census tract, provides a more accurate picture of New Yorkers' lived experiences in their neighborhoods.[10]

9 U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, "AFFH Rule Guidebook," (Dec. 31, 2015), p. 61, available at: https://www.nhlp.org/wp-content/uploads/HUD-AFFH-Rule-Guidebook-Dec.-2015.pdf.
10 The City also calculated all of these analyses by census tract in addition to NTA. While measuring segregation by census tract shows somewhat higher degrees of segregation across all comparison groups, the conclusions from these measures are the same: segregation in New York City has remained at moderate to high levels over the past 25 years.

Between 1990 and 2014-18, Figure 5.25 shows that segregation in New York City has remained at moderate to high levels, depending on the comparison groups. For example, the Asian/PI vs. White dissimilarity has increased slightly but remained moderate, meaning that these two racial groups have become more geographically separated. The Black vs. White, Hispanic vs. White, and non-White vs. White dissimilarities remain high but have decreased over time.

The second commonly-used measure of residential patterns by race and ethnicity is the isolation index, which examines the extent to which people are exposed only to members of their own group in their neighborhood. Lower isolation values indicate lower levels of segregation and indicate a higher likelihood that a member of one group will meet or interact with a member of another group.

Figure 5.26 Isolation Index by NTA
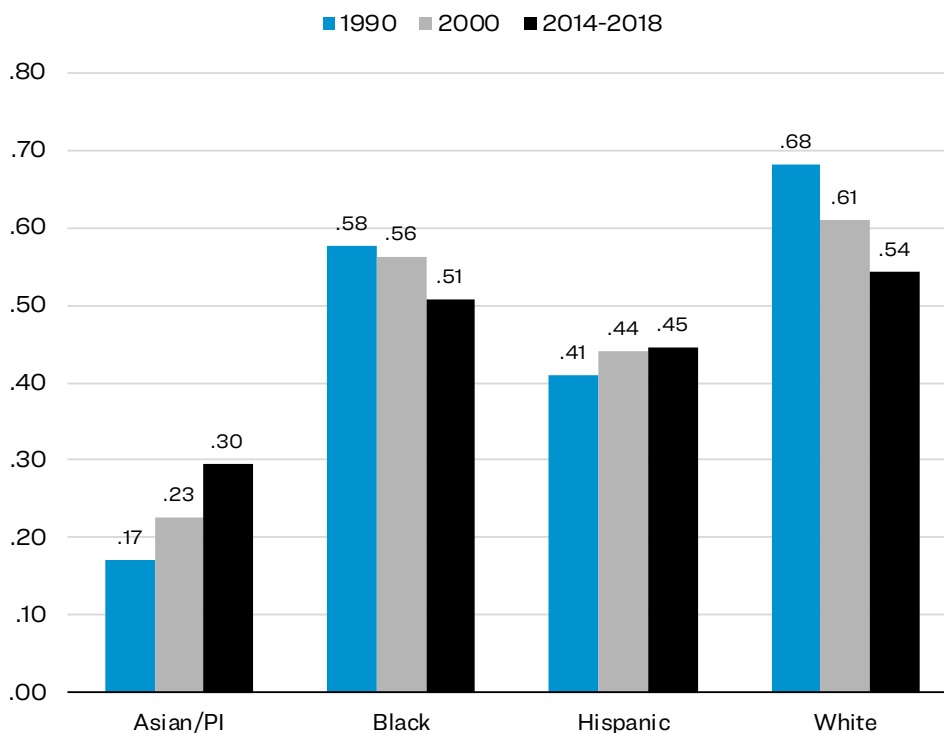
Sources: 1) 1990, 2000: HPD calculations based on data from IPUMS NHGIS, University of Minnesota, www. nhgis.org. 2) 2014-2018: HPD calculations based on ACS 2014-2018, five-year estimates, Table B03002.

Figure 5.26 demonstrates that isolation index trends over time have been mixed. The isolation of White and Black New Yorkers has declined, while the isolation of Asian/PI and of Hispanic New Yorkers has increased. However, the isolation index is sensitive to overall shares within the city's population, suggesting, for example, that the increased isolation of Asian/PI and Hispanic New Yorkers could be the result of the significant increases since 1990 in the Asian/PI and Hispanic populations, rather than a reflection of greater segregation.

These measures indicate persistent degrees of neighborhood segregation over the last three decades despite the fact that the city became more diverse overall and many neighborhoods experienced dramatic changes in their racial or ethnic composition.

C. Neighborhood Proportionality

While the dissimilarity and isolation indexes are often used to measure segregation across the country, the diversity of New York City includes nuance that these indexes do not capture. The dissimilarity and isolation indexes use a single comparison group—for example, White New Yorkers in Figures 5.25 and 5.26 above—to calculate segregation. In order to capture more of the diversity of New York City, the following two approaches look at all four major racial and ethnic groups simultaneously.

The first approach—Neighborhood Proportionality—is similar to the dissimilarity index, in that it examines whether the population of a specific group in each neighborhood is representative of its population in the city as a whole. Under this approach, a group is counted as represented in a neighborhood if its neighborhood share is at least 80% of its city-wide share. As an example, Black New Yorkers in 1990 were approximately 25% of the city's overall population; therefore, to be counted as represented in a neighborhood, Black New Yorkers would have to be at least 20% of the neighborhood's population, which was 80% of their city-wide share.

Figure 5.27 Changes in Neighborhoods' Proportional Diversity, 1990 to 2012-2016
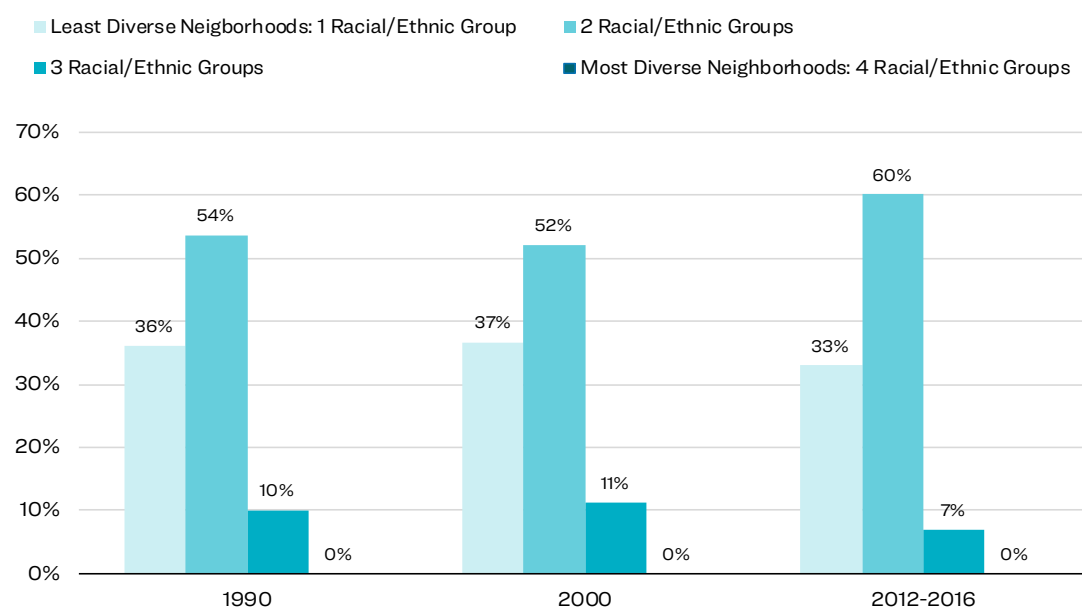
Sources: 1) 1990: Decennial 1990 data from IPUMS NHGIS, University of Minnesota, www.nhgis.org. Unpopulated areas are excluded. 2) 2000: Decennial 2000 data from IPUMS NHGIS, University of Minnesota, www.nhgis.org. Unpopulated areas are excluded. 3) 2012-2016: ACS 2012-2016, five-year estimates, Table B03002. Unpopulated areas are excluded.

Figure 5.27 shows that, over the past 25 years, no neighborhood in New York City has had all four racial and ethnic groups represented proportionally. In addition, the number and share of the most and least diverse neighborhoods declined modestly between 1990 and 2016, while the number of neighborhoods in which two groups are proportionally represented increased.

Figure 5.28 Neighborhood Proportionality, 2012-2016
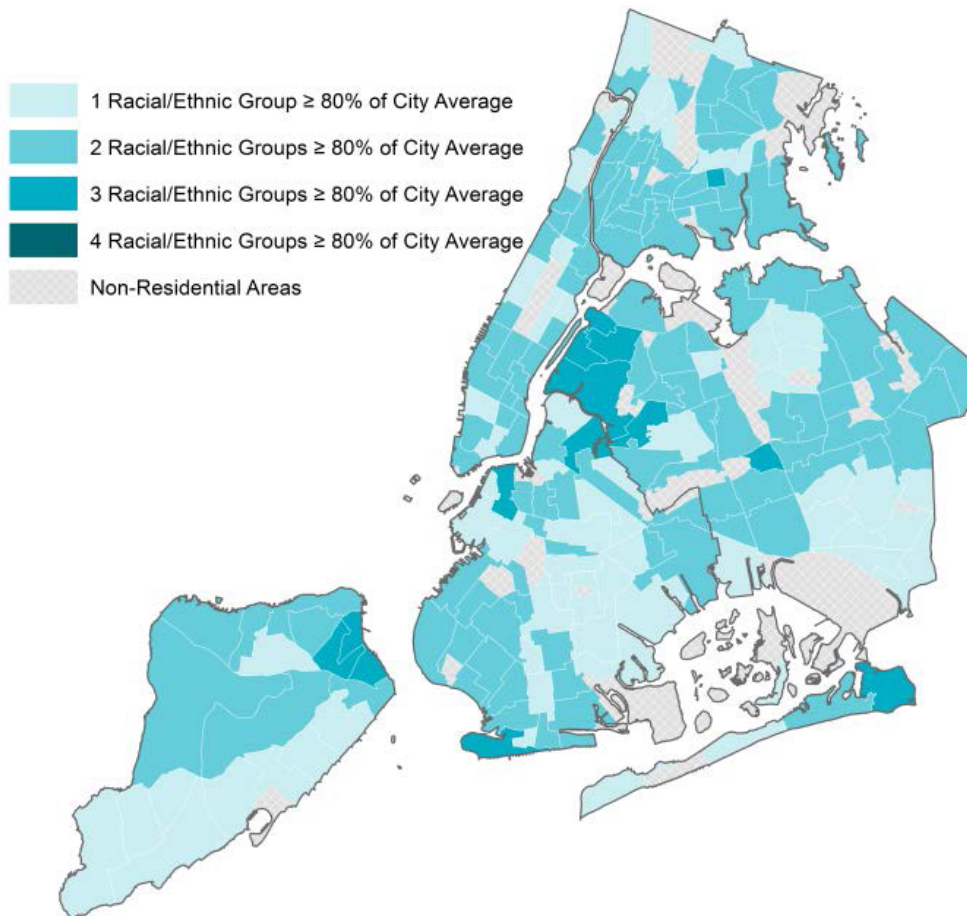
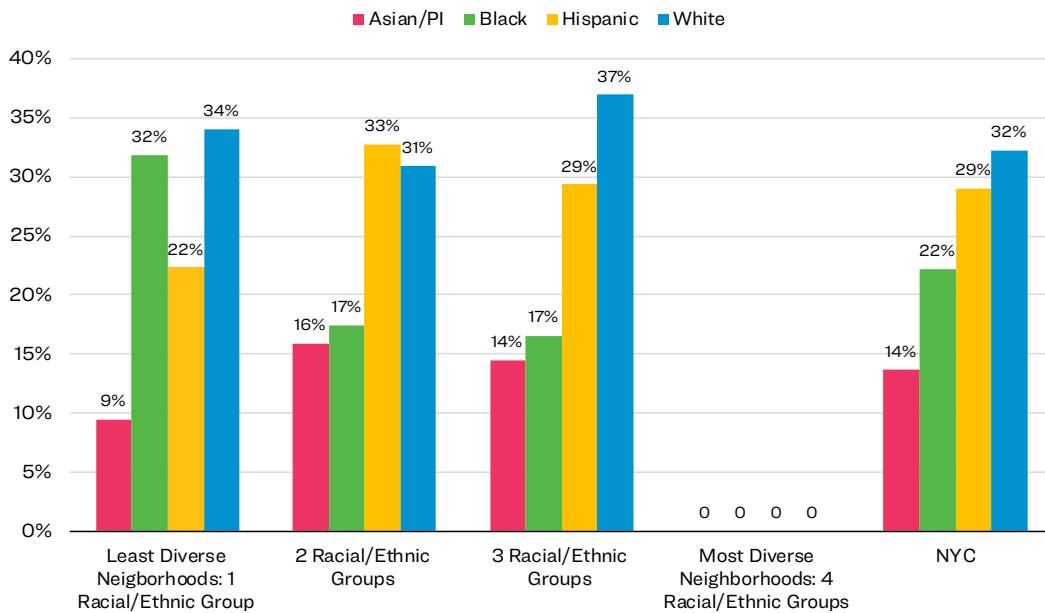*Source: ACS 2012-2016, five-year estimates, Table B03002. Unpopulated areas are excluded.*

Figure 5.28 shows how these neighborhoods are distributed across the city. Again, no neighborhood is shaded the darkest blue, because no neighborhood has all four groups proportionally represented. Of the 13 neighborhoods in which three racial or ethnic groups are represented proportionally, many of them are clustered in western Queens.

Finally, Figure 5.29 shows the distribution of each of the major racial and ethnic groups across New York City within each type of neighborhood. For example, when looking at the population of all of the least diverse neighborhoods—where one racial or ethnic group is proportionally represented—34% of these neighborhoods' population is White and 32% is Black. These numbers mean that White and Black New Yorkers are over-represented in these least diverse neighborhoods, while Black New Yorkers are under-represented in more diverse neighborhoods.

Figure 5.29 Racial Composition of Neighborhoods, by Proportional Diversity, 2012-2016

Legend: ■ Asian/PI ■ Black ■ Hispanic ■ White

	Asian/PI	Black	Hispanic	White
Least Diverse Neigborhoods: 1 Racial/Ethnic Group	9%	32%	22%	34%
2 Racial/Ethnic Groups	16%	17%	33%	31%
3 Racial/Ethnic Groups	14%	17%	29%	37%
Most Diverse Neighborhoods: 4 Racial/Ethnic Groups	0	0	0	0
NYC	14%	22%	29%	32%

Source: ACS 2012-2016, five-year estimates, Table B03002.

Overall, the share of New Yorkers living in the least diverse neighborhoods decreased slightly over the last three decades; almost 36% of the population lived in the least diverse neighborhoods in 1990, compared to 33% in 2016, as seen in Figure 5.30. The share of New Yorkers living in neighborhoods with three racial or ethnic groups proportionally represented decreased over the last three decades: in 1990, 10% of the population lived in these neighborhoods, compared to 6% of the population in 2016.

Figure 5.30 Changes in Total Population by Neighborhoods' Proportionality Diversity, 1990 to 2012-16
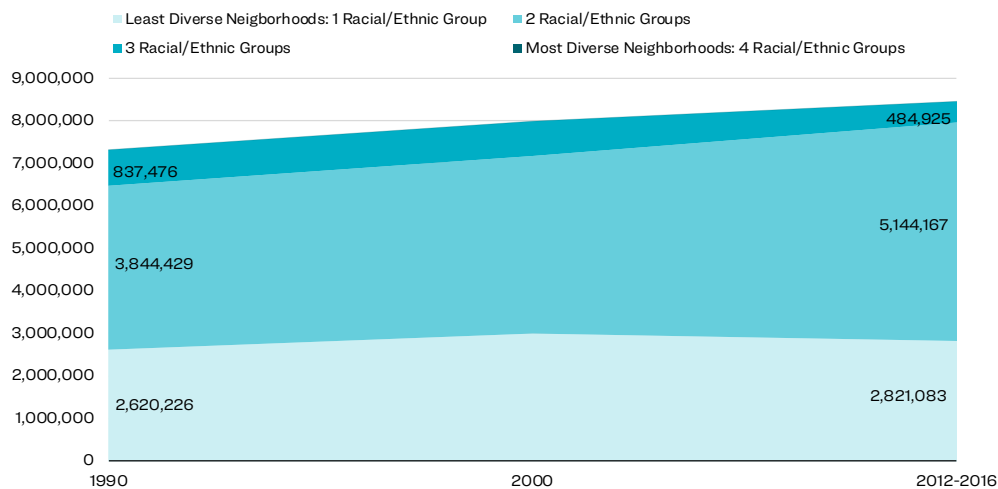
Sources: 1) 1990: Decennial 1990 data from IPUMS NHGIS, University of Minnesota, www.nhgis.org. Unpopulated areas are excluded. 2) 2000: Decennial 2000 data from IPUMS NHGIS, University of Minnesota, www.nhgis.org. Unpopulated areas are excluded. 3) 2012-2016: ACS 2012-2016, five-year estimates, Table B03002. Unpopulated areas are excluded.
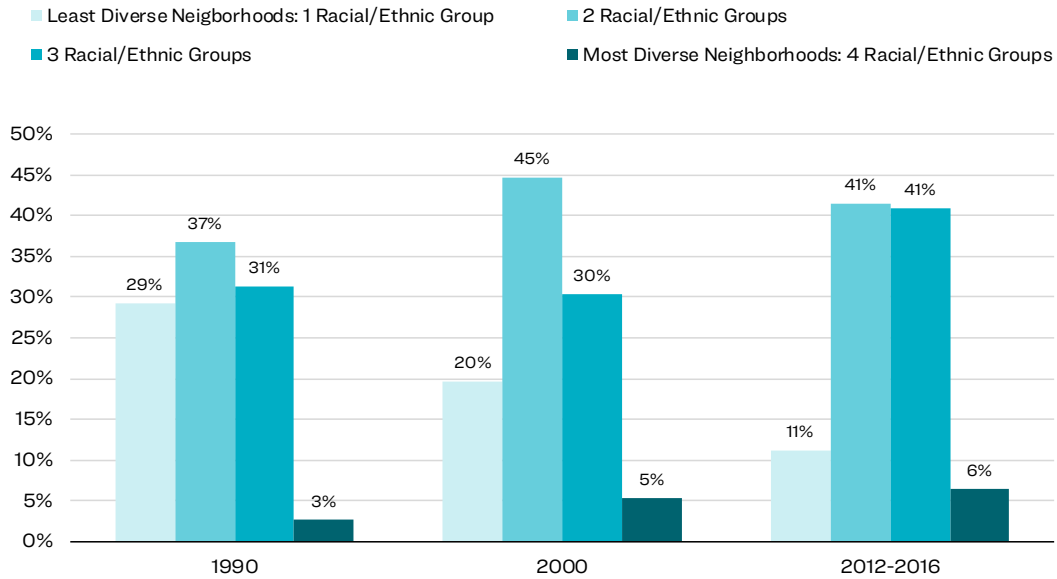
D. Neighborhood Presence

Another approach to measuring racial and ethnic diversity in New York City's neighborhoods is to consider the presence of each racial group in a neighborhood. Under this approach, a group is counted as represented in a neighborhood if its neighborhood share is at least 10%; the group's overall population in the city does not impact these calculations. Therefore, the most diverse neighborhoods under this measure are those in which Black, Hispanic, Asian/PI, and White New Yorkers each make up at least 10% of the neighborhood's population.

Figure 5.31 provides a summary of neighborhood diversity using this method. Unlike the Neighborhood Proportionality measure, this Neighborhood Presence measure clearly suggests that the city's neighborhoods have become more diverse over the past 25 years. In 1990, only 3% of the city's 188 neighborhoods were the most diverse under this measure, and 29% of neighborhoods were the least diverse. Between 1990 and 2000, however, the number and share of most diverse neighborhoods doubled, while the least diverse neighborhoods declined considerably. By 2012-16, 6% of neighborhoods can be categorized as the most diverse, and only 11% are the least diverse.

In terms of the city's population, Figure 5.32 shows that while almost 27% of New Yorkers lived in the least diverse neighborhoods in 1990, only 9% lived in these neighborhoods in 2012-16. During the same time, the number of New Yorkers living in the most diverse neighborhoods increased from 210,000 to 520,000 but remained a very small percentage overall (only 6% in 2016). Taken together, the data show that most New Yorkers do not live in the least or most diverse neighborhoods, but rather live in neighborhoods with some, but incomplete, representational diversity.

Figure 5.31 Changes in Neighborhoods' Representational Diversity, 1990 to 2012-16

- Least Diverse Neigborhoods: 1 Racial/Ethnic Group
- 2 Racial/Ethnic Groups
- 3 Racial/Ethnic Groups
- Most Diverse Neighborhoods: 4 Racial/Ethnic Groups

Sources: 1) 1990: Decennial 1990 data from IPUMS NHGIS, University of Minnesota, www.nhgis.org. Unpopulated areas are excluded. 2) 2000: Decennial 2000 data from IPUMS NHGIS, University of Minnesota, www.nhgis.org. Unpopulated areas are excluded. 3) 2012-2016: ACS 2012-2016, five-year estimates, Table B03002. Unpopulated areas are excluded.

Figure 5.32 Changes in Total Population by Neighborhoods' Representational Diversity, 1990 to 2012-16
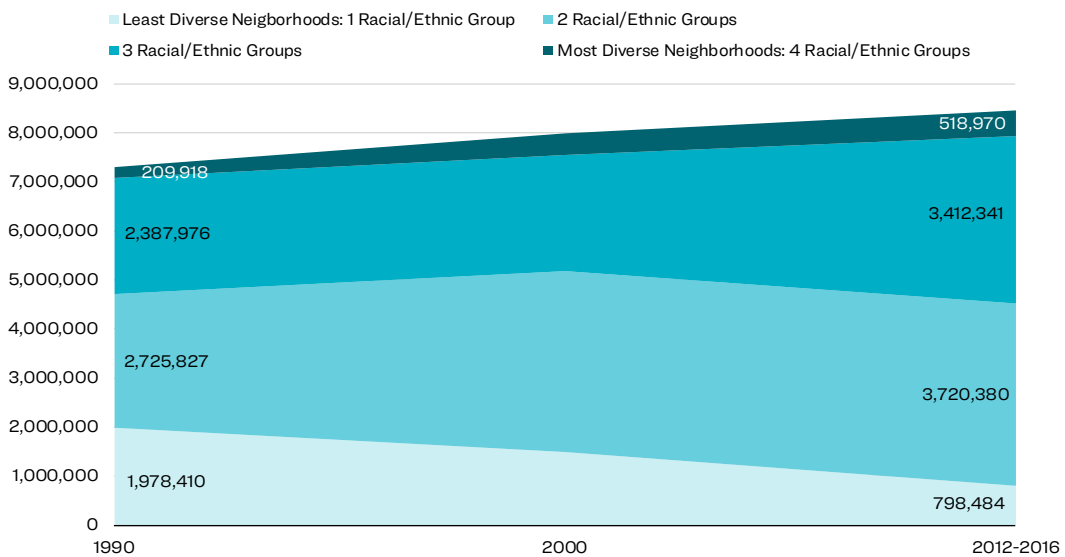
- Least Diverse Neigborhoods: 1 Racial/Ethnic Group
- 2 Racial/Ethnic Groups
- 3 Racial/Ethnic Groups
- Most Diverse Neighborhoods: 4 Racial/Ethnic Groups

Sources: 1) 1990: Decennial 1990 data from IPUMS NHGIS, University of Minnesota, www.nhgis.org. Unpopulated areas are excluded. 2) 2000: Decennial 2000 data from IPUMS NHGIS, University of Minnesota, www.nhgis.org. Unpopulated areas are excluded. 3) 2012-2016: ACS 2012-2016, five-year estimates, Table B03002. Unpopulated areas are excluded.
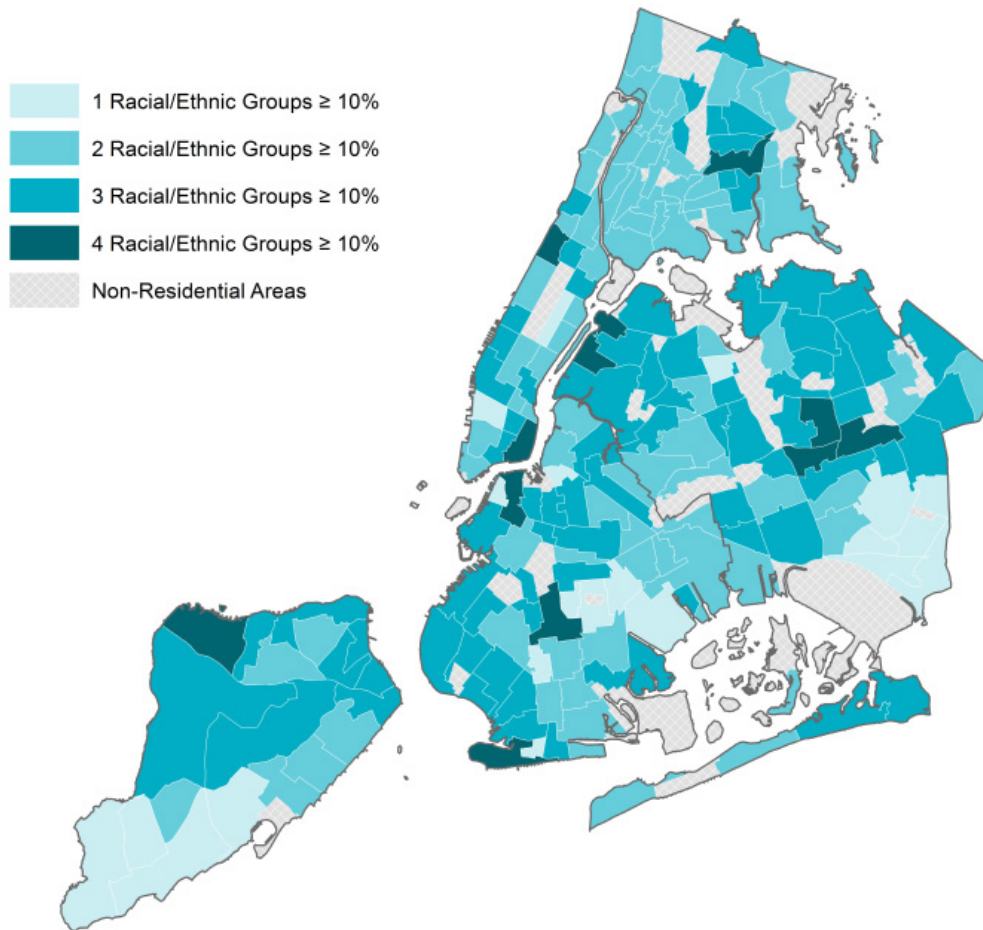
Further, as seen in Figure 5.33 below, each borough has at least one neighborhood in which all four major racial and ethnic groups meet the 10% threshold. Like in the Neighborhood Proportionality measure, Queens is the borough with the largest number of most diverse neighborhoods.

Figure 5.33 Neighborhood Presence, 2012-2016

Source: ACS 2012-2016, five-year estimates, Table B03002. Unpopulated areas are excluded.

Finally, Figure 5.34 shows the distribution of each of the major racial and ethnic groups within each type of neighborhood. When looking at all of the least diverse neighborhoods—where one racial or ethnic group is present—45% of the population is Black and 37% of the population is White; like in the Neighborhood Proportionality measure, White and Black New Yorkers are over-represented in these least diverse neighborhoods. In contrast, the most diverse neighborhoods tend to have a greater percentage of Asian/PI New Yorkers than the city as a whole.

Figure 5.34 Racial Composition of Neighborhoods, by Representational Diversity, 2012-2016

■ Asian/PI ■ Black ■ Hispanic ■ White
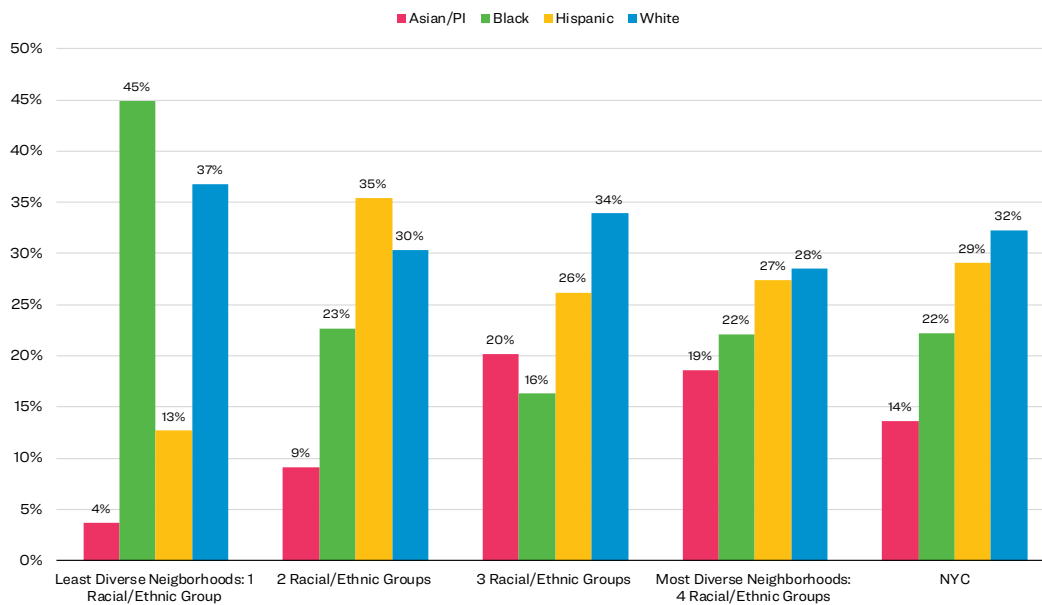
Source: ACS 2012-2016, five-year estimates, Table B03002. Unpopulated areas are excluded.

E. Conclusion

Taken together, these various measures of living patterns by race and ethnicity show that New York City is both increasingly diverse and still segregated. While the racial composition of many neighborhoods has changed dramatically since 1990, the city's high degree of segregation has not changed meaningfully by most measures. The data also indicates that how segregation and diversity are defined is crucial; conclusions drawn about the diversity of the city's neighborhoods are very different depending on whether one looks at the dissimilarity index between White and Black New Yorkers or the number of most diverse neighborhoods under the Neighborhood Presence measure.

As noted earlier, there is no consensus among New Yorkers or among academics over the right way to define an integrated neighborhood. In the years ahead, during the implementation of Where We Live NYC, the City plans to continue engaging New Yorkers in this conversation.

Living Patterns of New York City Residents by Poverty Rate

Urban policy has long focused on the intersection between poverty and race. For example, HUD's guidance regarding the 2015 AFFH rule directed cities to pay particular attention to "Racially or Ethnically Concentrated Areas of Poverty," which are defined as neighborhoods where there are both high shares of people of color (50% or more) and of people who are poor (40% or more).[11] Throughout the Where We Live NYC planning process, however, members of the Fair Housing Stakeholder Group expressed concern with limiting this plan's attention to such areas when discussing racial and economic segregation. Stakeholders encouraged the City also to identify concentrated areas of wealth with a high share of White New Yorkers.[12]

While accurately measuring wealth is challenging with available data, measuring areas that have notably high and low poverty rates in relation to race can provide important insights on the intersection of poverty, race, and place.

Overall, New York City's poverty rate has changed little over the past three decades.[13] Its poverty rate was 19.3% in 1990, 21.2% in 2000 and 20.3% in 2016. However, there are important patterns in the concentration of poverty across the city.

Figure 5.35 shows poverty rates in census tracts today. Most areas that had especially high poverty rates (40% or more) or low poverty rates (less than 10%) in 1990 are in the same category today, though poverty levels have fallen significantly in some areas of core Manhattan and parts of the waterfront in Brooklyn and Queens. On the other hand, poverty rates have increased in parts of the Bronx, Far Rockaway, and northern Staten Island. Overall, in 1990, 40% of census tracts across the city were low poverty and 13% of census tracts were high poverty; in 2012-2016, 28% of census tracts are low poverty and 8% of census tracts are high poverty, indicating a meaningful increase in socioeconomic diversity over the past 25 years.

11 U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, "AFFH Rule Guidebook," (Dec. 31, 2015), p. 68, available at: https://www.nhlp.org/wp-content/uploads/HUD-AFFH-Rule-Guidebook-Dec.-2015.pdf.
12 For recent academic research on this issue, see Edward G. Goetz et al, "Racially Concentrated Areas of Affluence: A Preliminary Investigation," Cityscape: The Fair Housing Act 50 (2019), 21(1): 99, available at: https://www.huduser.gov/portal/periodicals/cityscpe/vol21num1/ch4.pdf.
13 Measures of poverty generally include two components: (1) a definition of income that represents resources

Figure 5.35 Poverty Rate by Census Tract, 2012-2016
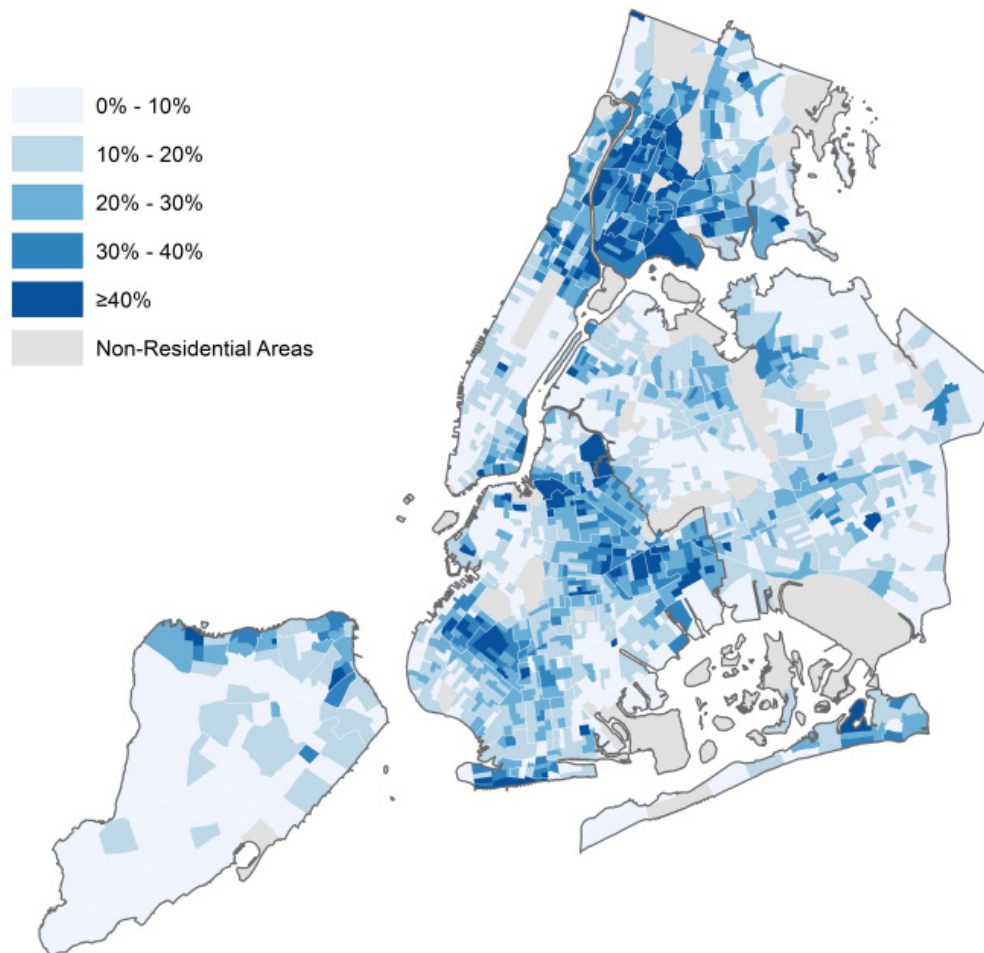
0% - 10%
10% - 20%
20% - 30%
30% - 40%
≥40%
Non-Residential Areas

Source: ACS 2012-2016, five-year estimates. Table B17001. Unpopulated areas are excluded.

Figure 5.36 displays the racial and ethnic composition of high- and low-poverty census tracts. When looking at New York City as a whole, Black and Hispanic New Yorkers are overrepresented in high-poverty areas, while White New Yorkers are the only racial group overrepresented in low-poverty areas.

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available to a household, and (2) a definition of a minimal poverty threshold adjusted for household size. If a household's income measure is less than their assigned minimal income threshold, they are defined as experiencing poverty, and the share of people living below their assigned poverty threshold constitutes the poverty rate. This report uses the U.S. Census Bureau's poverty measurement to be consistent with other measurements in the report and to trace back the historical poverty rate in New York City. However, the Mayor's Office for Economic Opportunity has also developed the NYCgov Poverty Measure, which adapted the U.S. official poverty rate by incorporating housing costs in New York City and a range of after-tax and in-kind income benefits. For more information, see: https://www1.nyc.gov/site/opportunity/poverty-in-nyc/poverty-measure.page.
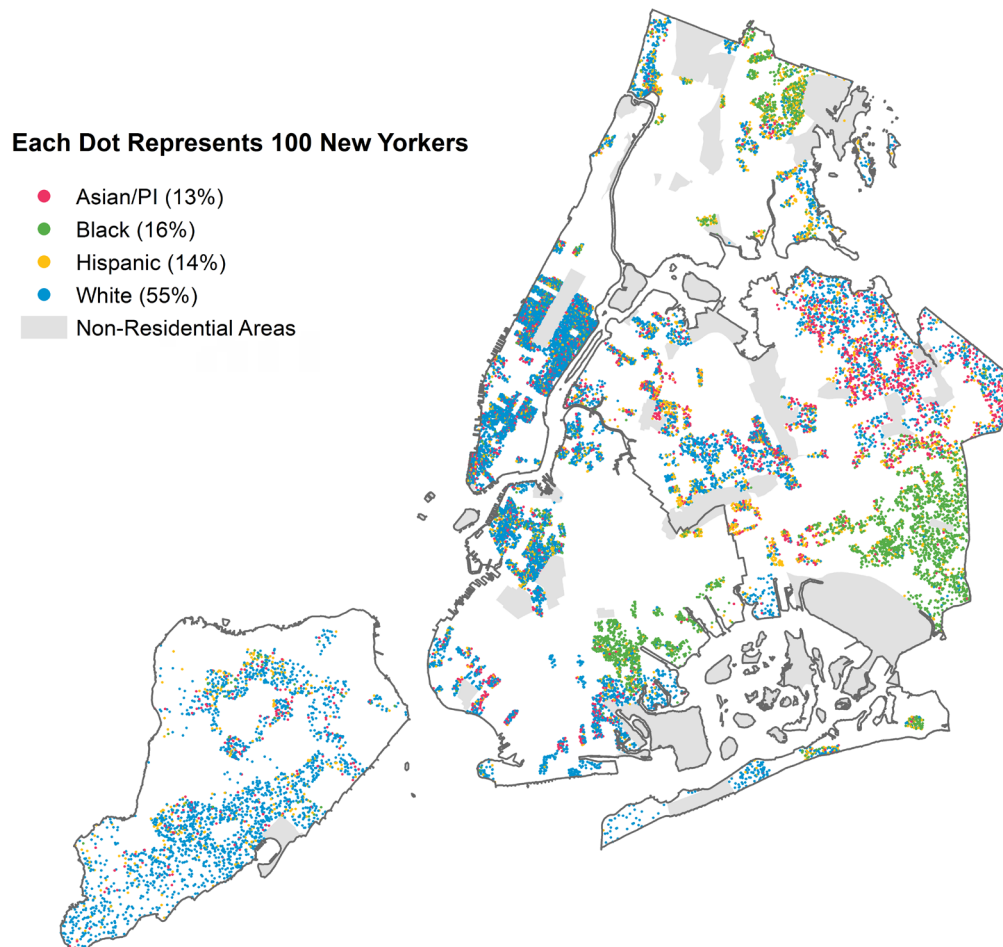
Figure 5.36 Population of Low-Poverty (<10%) and High-Poverty (>40%) Census Tracts by Race and Ethnicity, 2012-2016
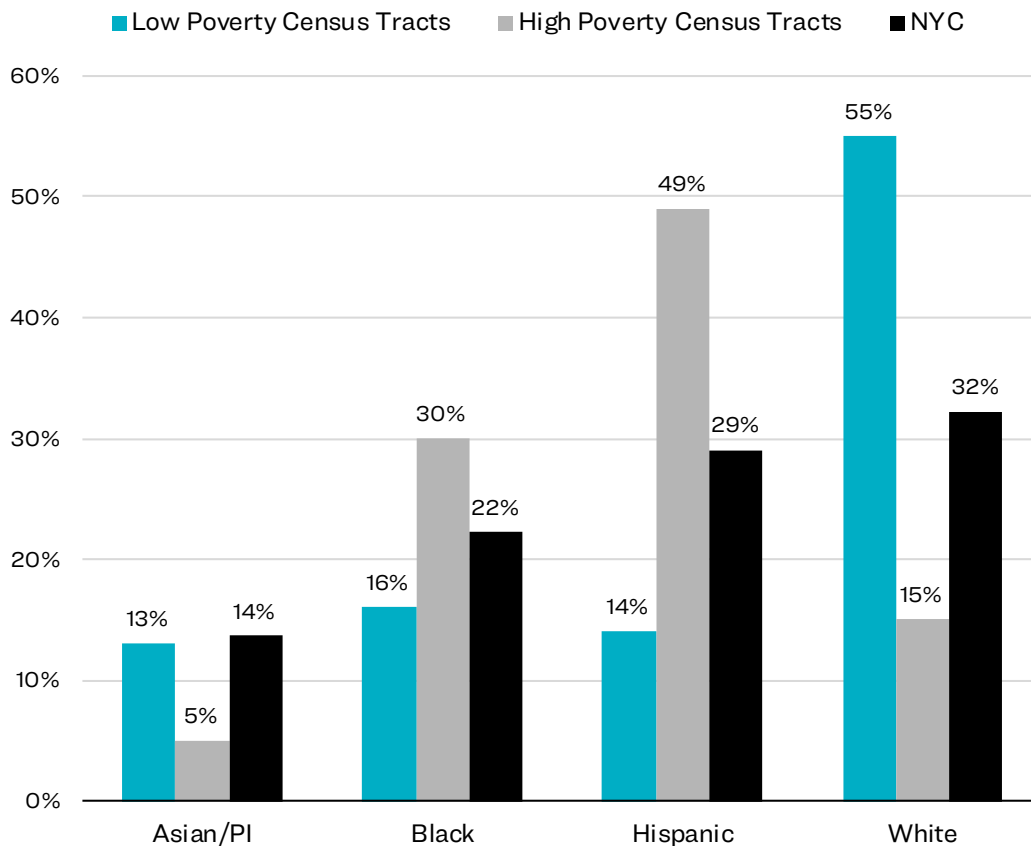
Sources: ACS 2012-2016, five-year estimates. Table B03002 for race/ethnicity and Table B17001 for poverty – tract level data.

The following two maps display the intersection of race and high- and low-poverty census tracts across the five boroughs. Areas with a small share of people living in poverty are shown in Figure 5.37. White New Yorkers predominate in low-poverty areas in Manhattan, Staten Island, and western Brooklyn, and are the only group over-represented in low-poverty areas as compared to their city-wide share of the population. Other groups are concentrated in a few low-poverty areas spread throughout New York City: Flatlands (BK), southeastern Queens, and the northern Bronx are predominantly Black; parts of northeastern Queens are predominantly Asian/PI; and parts of southern Queens have large Hispanic populations. Parts of Staten Island and northeastern Queens are racially diverse while also having low rates of poverty.

Figure 5.37 Population of Low-Poverty (<10%) Census Tracts by Race and Ethnicity, 2012-2016

Each Dot Represents 100 New Yorkers

● Asian/PI (13%)
● Black (16%)
● Hispanic (14%)
● White (55%)
⬜ Non-Residential Areas

Source: ACS 2012-2016, five-year estimates. Table B17001. Unpopulated areas are excluded.

Figure 5.38 shows the racial and ethnic composition of the population who lives in high-poverty census tracts. Many of these tracts are located in the South Bronx, where Hispanic and Black New Yorkers have a large presence. There is a cluster of high-poverty, majority Black Census tracts in eastern Brooklyn, while high-poverty, predominantly White areas are concentrated in Borough Park and Williamsburg, and high-poverty, majority Asian/PI areas are concentrated in Sunset Park.

Figure 5.38 Population of High-Poverty (>40%) Census Tracts by Race and Ethnicity, 2012-2016
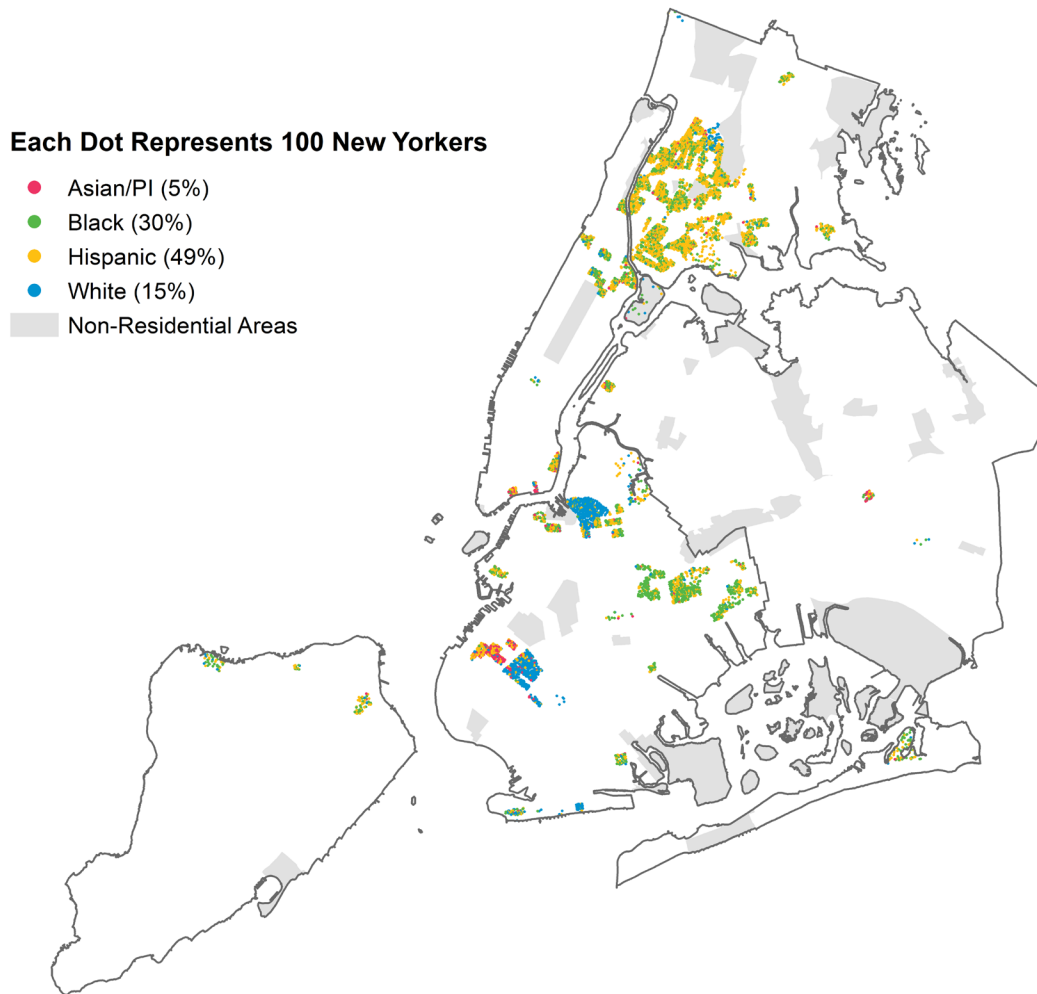
Each Dot Represents 100 New Yorkers

- Asian/PI (5%)
- Black (30%)
- Hispanic (49%)
- White (15%)
- Non-Residential Areas

Sources: ACS 2012-2016, five-year estimates. Table B03002 for race/ethnicity and Table B17001 for poverty – tract level data.

Living Patterns of New York City Residents by National Origin

New York City is home to 3.2 million foreign-born residents, the largest number in city history, and immigrants comprise nearly 31.7% of the city's population.[14] The 10 nations constituting the largest sources of foreign-born residents are the Dominican Republic, China, Mexico, Jamaica, Guyana, Ecuador, Haiti, Trinidad and Tobago, Bangladesh, and India.

14 Mayor's Office for Immigrant Affairs, "State of Our Immigrant City: MOIA Annual Report for Calendar Year 2018," available at: https://www1.nyc.gov/assets/immigrants/downloads/pdf/moia_annual_report%202019_final.pdf.

Immigrants from each of these countries tend to be clustered in specific areas of the city, which are displayed in Figures 5.39 and 5.40. To name a few examples, a large Dominican community resides in Washington Heights (MN) and the South Bronx, while residents originally from China cluster in several neighborhoods such as Chinatown (MN), Sunset Park West (BK), Bensonhurst (BK), and Flushing (QN). Jackson Heights and Corona in Queens are exceptions, where immigrants from multiple nations live.

Figure 5.39 Top 1-5 Largest Foreign Nationality Groups by Place of Birth, 2012-2016

Each Dot Represents 100 New Yorkers

- ● Dominican Republic
- ● China
- ● Mexico
- ● Jamaica
- ● Guyana
- ▢ Non-Residential Areas
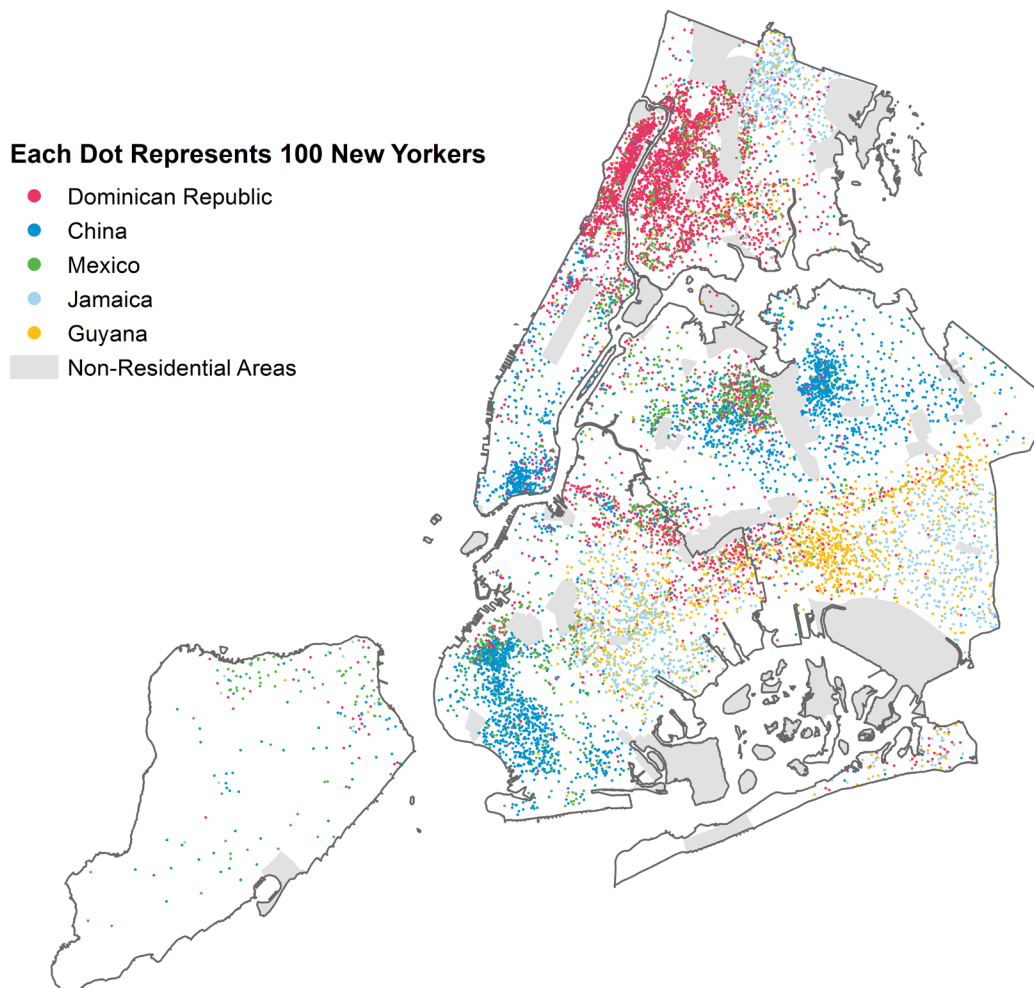
Source: ACS 2012-2016, five-year estimates, Table B0500 tract level data.

Figure 5.40 Top 6-10 Largest Foreign Nationality Groups by Place of Birth, 2012-2016

Each Dot Represents 100 New Yorkers
- ● Ecuador
- ● Haiti
- ● Trinidad Tobago
- ● Bangladesh
- ● India
- ▨ Non-Residential Areas
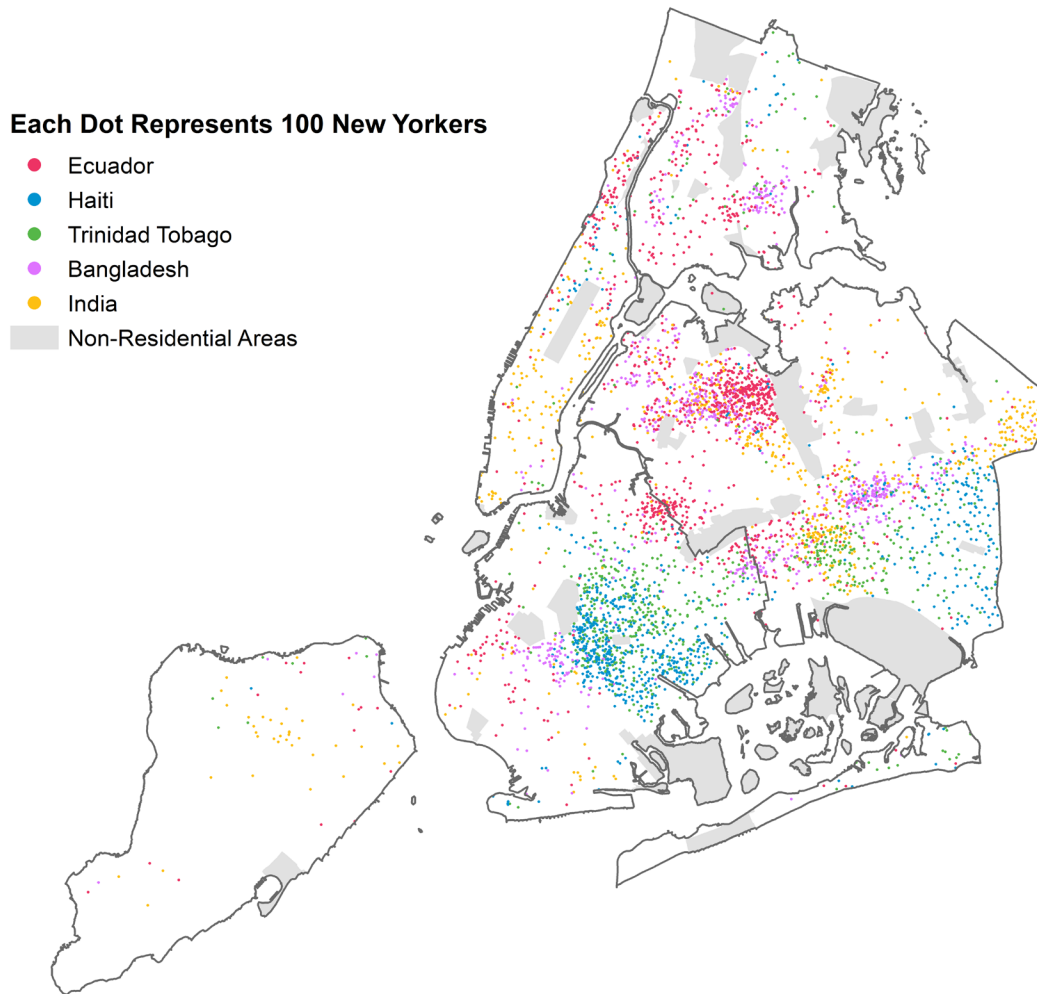
Sources: ACS 2012-2016, five-year estimates, Table B0500 tract level data.

Figures 5.41 and 5.42 show the largest language groups with limited English proficiency. These maps similarly demonstrate a highly diverse city, though residents sharing the same native languages tend to concentrate in the same areas. A large Spanish-speaking community resides in the Bronx, Washington Heights (MN), and East Harlem (MN), while a large Russian-speaking population clusters in Brooklyn's Brighton Beach and Sheepshead Bay, and French Creole-speaking residents cluster in Brooklyn's Flatbush, Prospect Lefferts Gardens, and Crown Heights.

Figure 5.41 Top 1-5 Languages Most Spoken by People with Limited English Proficiency, 2011-2015
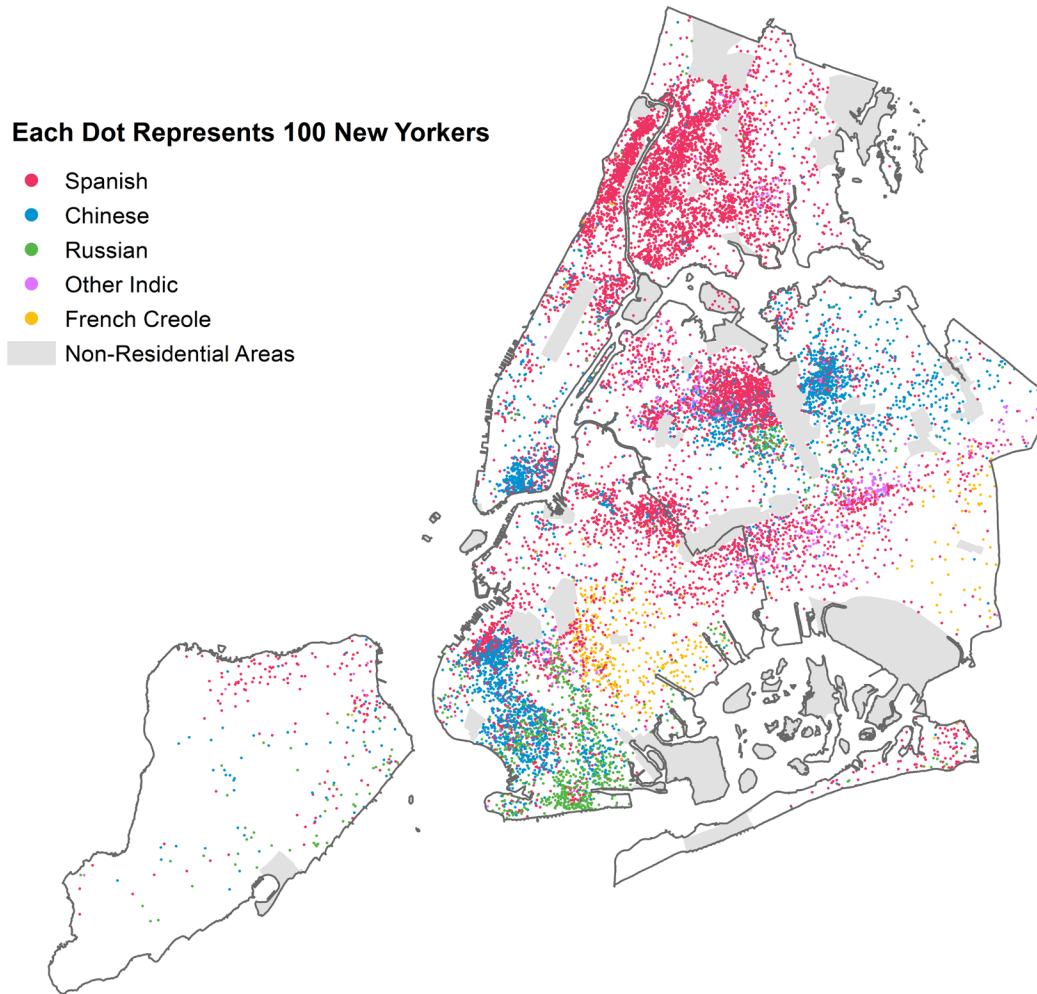
Each Dot Represents 100 New Yorkers

- ● Spanish
- ● Chinese
- ● Russian
- ● Other Indic
- ● French Creole
- ▢ Non-Residential Areas

Sources: ACS 2011-2015, five-year estimates, Table B16001 tract level data. Note that this Figure draws from a slightly different sample than other Figures in this report, because the U.S. Census Bureau discontinued publishing this table after 2011-2015.

Figure 5.42 Top 6-10 Languages Most Spoken by People with Limited English Proficiency, 2011-2015
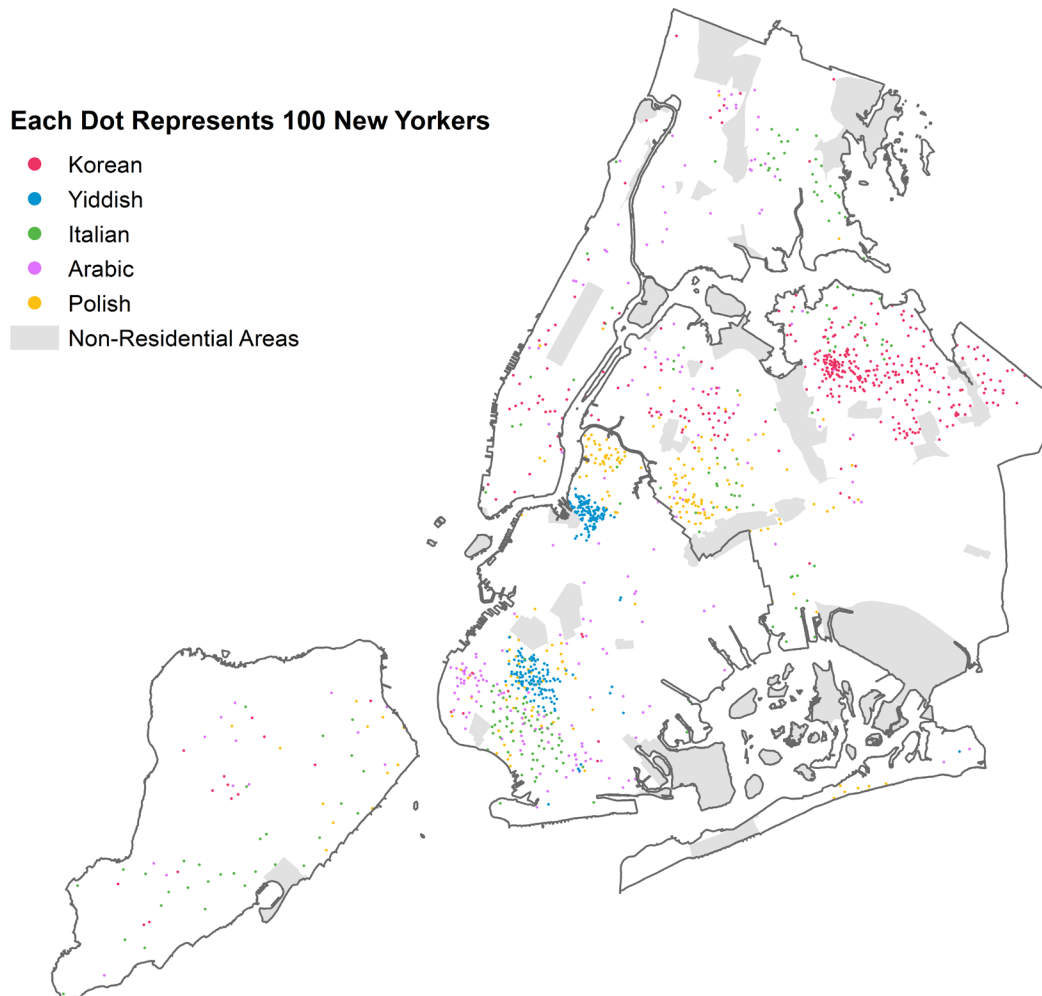
Each Dot Represents 100 New Yorkers

- ● Korean
- ● Yiddish
- ● Italian
- ● Arabic
- ● Polish
- ▨ Non-Residential Areas

Sources: ACS 2011-2015, five-year estimates, Table B16001 tract level data. Note that this Figure draws from a slightly different sample than other Figures in this report, because the U.S. Census Bureau discontinued publishing this table after 2011-2015.

As noted earlier in this section, residents of different immigrant communities who participated in the Community Conversations shared a variety of perspectives on living in neighborhoods with residents of a similar background. Some depended on such enclaves to practice cultural traditions, attend places of worship, shop for specialized goods, or connect with neighbors, employers, and doctors who spoke their language. Enclaves were also described as places of security, where residents could feel safe and accepted in their neighborhood. Other residents from these same immigrant communities preferred living in diverse neighborhoods, believing that integrated neighborhoods would create more opportunity and economic advancement.

Living Patterns of New York City Residents with Disabilities

New York City is also home to approximately 1 million New Yorkers who identify as living with a disability,[15] and New Yorkers with disabilities show patterns of concentration by neighborhood. Figure 5.43 shows a clustering of census tracts with a high concentration (>20%) of New Yorkers with disabilities in the Bronx, upper Manhattan, the Lower East Side, parts of east Brooklyn, Coney Island, and the Rockaways. Many of these areas also have high levels of poverty, as seen by comparing Figures 5.35 and 5.43.

Figure 5.43 Disability Rate by Census Tract, 2012-2016

0% - 5%
6% - 10%
11% - 15%
16% - 20%
>20%
Non-Residential Areas
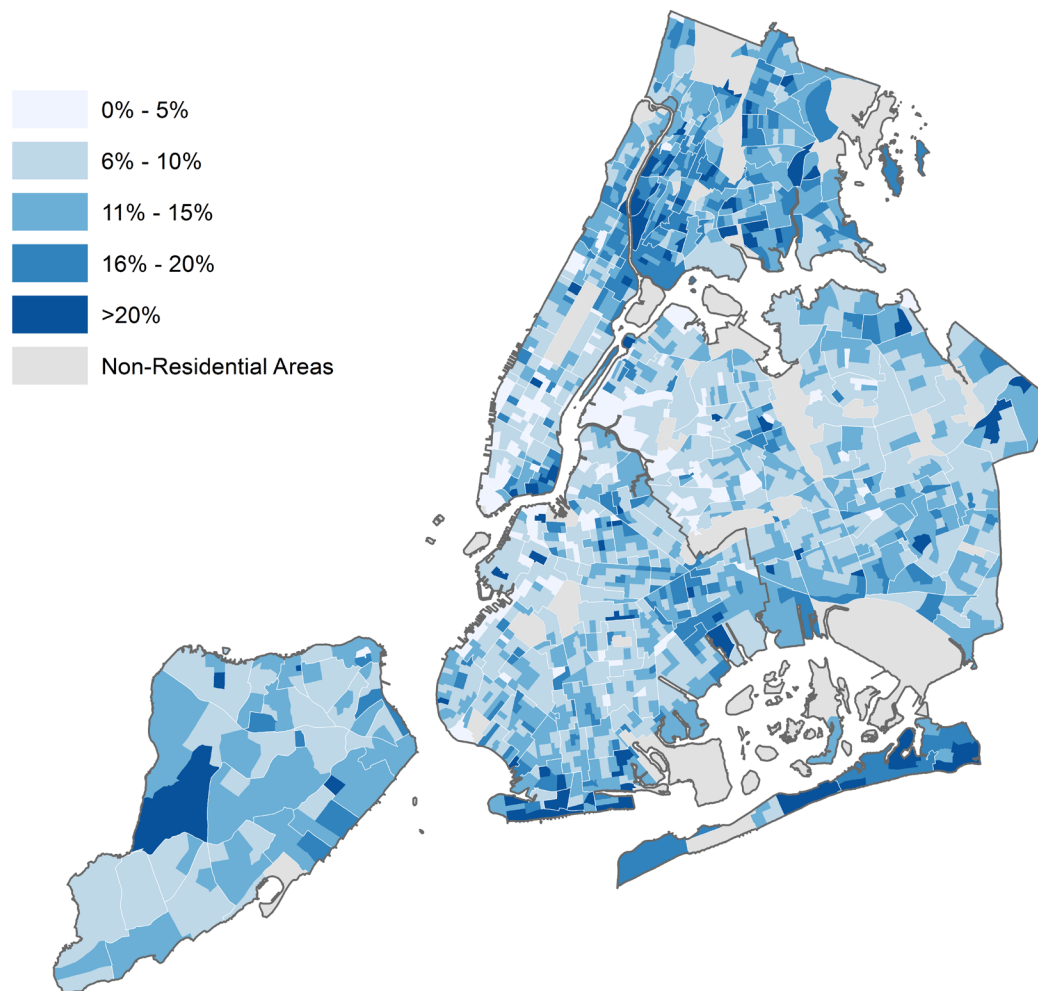
Source: ACS 2012-2016, five-year estimates, Table S1810 - tract level data. Unpopulated areas are excluded.

15 Mayor's Office for People with Disabilities, "AccessibleNYC: An Annual Report on the State of People Living with Disabilities in New York City, 2018 Edition," available at: https://www1.nyc.gov/assets/mopd/downloads/pdf/accessi-blenyc-2018.pdf.

But patterns of neighborhood concentration are not the only relevant measure when considering "integration" for people with disabilities, because integrated living patterns for people with disabilities has a specific and different meaning than definitions of racial integration and segregation. For people with disabilities, "integration" is also viewed from a building perspective, and the focus is on whether those living with disabilities are isolated from those without disabilities.

Members of the Fair Housing Stakeholder Group and New Yorkers with disabilities who paticipated in Community Conversations described the myriad challenges that they have faced in trying to find independent and integrated living options. Many people with disabilities live in institutional settings (like group, nursing, and adult homes), but expressed a preference to live in integrated settings with neighbors who have a range of abilities. These preferences were often driven by a desire for independence, equity, and safety.

As recognized by HUD, there are limited data sources available to understand patterns of building-level integration for people with disabilities.[16] While Section 5.5 examines the accessibility of the housing stock in New York City, the City of New York does not have reliable data about how isolated or integrated people with disabilities are on a building level. However, the City continues to expand the various ways in which it collects and uses data to improve access and equity in all types of housing. For example, the City has committed to expand the data collected about residents and their homes as part of the New York City Housing and Vacancy Survey (NYCHVS), the representative survey of the housing stock that the City conducts about every three years in partnership with the U.S. Census Bureau. In future survey cycles, NYCHVS will collect more information about the residential conditions of people with disabilities.

16 U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, "AFFH Rule Guidebook," (Dec. 31, 2015), p. 102, available at: https://www.nhlp.org/wp-content/uploads/HUD-AFFH-Rule-Guidebook-Dec.-2015.pdf.

5.3 Where School Children Live

Introduction

The previous section described patterns of residential segregation and integration in New York City, focusing on the continued separation of New Yorkers by race and ethnicity. This section extends the analysis by examining patterns of residential segregation and integration among New York City's public elementary school students and how those patterns connect to where students attend school.

New York City's public school system is by far the largest in the United States. During the 2017-2018 school year, more than 1.1 million students attended approximately 1,800 public schools administered by the New York City Department of Education (DOE) and various charter programs. Segregation by race and socioeconomic status has been an issue in New York City's schools for decades, and there are large disparities in academic outcomes by both characteristics.[17] DOE's *Equity and Excellence for All* initiative, introduced in 2015, is confronting school segregation and racial and socioeconomic disparities in student outcomes through crucial, school-based changes.[18]

Addressing Education Disparities

As introduced in Chapter 3, the City has invested significantly in education during the last six years—working to ensure all students benefit from an excellent education—resulting in increasing graduation rates, college readiness, and college attendance. The City has taken innovative steps to confront the root causes of racial and socioeconomic disparities in education outcomes, which have persisted here and across the country for too many years. New York City has become the national model for early childhood education by providing free, universal pre-K for all 4-year-olds and ramping up access for 3-year-olds in the highest need neighborhoods. These initiatives address key structural inequities present in a child's earliest years in order to generate lifelong benefits. New York City has also invested in free breakfast and lunch for all school children, eliminating the cost burden for families and sharpening all students' bodies and minds; expanded implicit bias training for staff and teachers; and funded community-driven diversity plans to drive the push for more integrated schools forward.

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17 Eliza Shapiro, "Segregation Has Been the Story of New York City's Schools for 50 Years," New York Times (Mar. 26, 2019); Ford Fessenden, "A Portrait of Segregation in New York City's Schools," New York Times (May 11, 2012).
18 New York City Department of Education, "Equity and Excellence for All: Diversity in New York City Public Schools," (Sept. 2015), available at: https://www.schools.nyc.gov/docs/default-source/default-document-library/diversity-in-new-york-city-public-schools-english.

The Where We Live NYC planning process focused on two aspects of students' lives outside of the classroom that significantly affect patterns of enrollment and students' performance in school: the segregation of the neighborhoods in which they live, which is explored in this section, and the presence or absence of resources and amenities in their neighborhoods, which is explored in the following sections. These core fair housing issues have broad implications for children's access to opportunity in New York City. Research has shown that while neighborhoods matter for people of all ages, they have the most lasting impact on young children across many areas of well-being and opportunity.[19]

As part of DOE's *Equity and Excellence for All* initiative, DOE formed a broadly representative and independent School Diversity Advisory Group ("SDAG"). SDAG has published two reports, "Making the Grade: The Path to Real Integration and Equity for NYC Public School Students," and "Making the Grade II: New Programs for Better Schools," which document the extensive benefits all children attending diverse and inclusive schools experience.[20] Students of all racial backgrounds have better academic outcomes, improved critical thinking, and increased creativity when they learn in diverse classrooms. Diverse classrooms also improve social-emotional skills, reduce implicit bias between students, and prepare students for long-term success in increasingly diverse and global work environments.[21]

As data in this section shows, residential segregation is an important factor that influences the continued segregation of New York City's schools. But the data here and other recent research also indicate that the relationship between residential patterns and school enrollment is more complicated than previously assumed, especially given the City's relatively complex enrollment and school choice policies.[22]

For example, the perceived quality of schools and their associated enrollment policies can strongly influence where families choose to live and adjacent housing prices.[23] In New York

19 Raj Chetty, et al., "The Effects of Exposure to Better Neighborhoods on Children: New Evidence from the Moving to Opportunity Experiment," American Economic Review (2016), 106(4): 855-902.

20 New York City School Diversity Advisory Group, "Making the Grade: The Path to Real Integration and Equity for NYC Public School Students," (Feb. 2019), pp. 6-7; SDAG, "Making the Grade II: New Programs for Better Schools," (Aug. 2019), available at: https://www.schools.nyc.gov/about-us/vision-and-mission/diversity-in-our-schools/school-diversity-advisory-group.

21 SDAG, "Making the Grade," pp. 26-31. See also Amy Stuart Wells, et al., "How Racially Diverse Schools and Classrooms Can Benefit All Students," The Century Foundation (Feb. 9, 2016), available at: https://production-tcf.imgix.net/app/uploads/2016/02/09142501/HowRaciallyDiverse_AmyStuartWells-11.pdf. For a fact-sheet summary, see: The Century Foundation, "The Benefits of Socioeconomically and Racially Integrated Schools and Classrooms," (Apr. 29, 2019), available at: https://production-tcf.imgix.net/app/uploads/2016/02/26171529/Factsheet_Benefits_FinalPDF.pdf.

22 On New York City, see Nicole Mader, et al., "The Paradox of Choice: How School Choice Divides New York City Elementary Schools," Center for New York City Affairs (May 2018), available at: http://www.centernyc.org/the-paradox-of-choice/; NYU Furman Center, "The Diversity of New York City's Neighborhoods and Schools," (2019), available at: https://furmancenter.org/files/sotc/2018_SOC_Focus_Web_Copy_Final.pdf. On national research, see Ryan Coughlan, "Divergent Trends in Neighborhood and School Segregation in the Age of School Choice," Peabody Journal of Education (2018), 93(4): 349.

23 Ann Owens, "Racial Residential Segregation of School-Age Children and Adults: The Role of Schooling as a Segregating Force," Russell Sage Foundation Journal of the Social Sciences (2016), 3(2): 67; Ann Owens, "Inequality in Children's Contexts: Income Segregation of Households With and Without Children," American Sociological Review (2016), 81(3): 549.

City, real estate articles discuss DOE's complex school enrollment policies and brokers' adver-
tisements highlight whether children who live there will receive priority admission to coveted
schools, particularly those with high test scores.[24] Members of the Fair Housing Stakeholder
group also raised these dynamics and noted that perceptions of school quality in New York City
are often based on standardized test scores, which not only influence where parents decide to
live, but also may reinforce bias against schools with more low-income students of color and
immigrant students and do not accurately capture the most important dimensions of student
growth and well-being.

What Does School Integration Mean?

The students, parents, teachers, advocates, and researchers that comprise the School
Diversity Advisory Group (SDAG) emphasize why school integration must mean more
than the movement of students of different races and ethnicities between schools. SDAG
adopted a framework developed by students called the "5Rs of Real Integration"—Race
and Enrollment; Resources; Relationships; Restorative Justice; and Representation—which
strives for a more equitable school system where all students receive the resources and
opportunities they need to reach their full educational potential. However, because this plan
is focused on the nexus between residential choices and access to educational opportunity,
the focus of this chapter will be on the first "R," "Race and Enrollment."

Together, these studies and norms suggest that residential patterns and school enrollment
policies simultaneously influence each other. In order to provide more opportunities for all
New Yorkers to live in thriving, integrated neighborhoods and for students to access diverse
educational environments, the City of New York must consider the complicated dynamics
between families' residential choices and school enrollment in making its fair housing plan.
This section provides demographic data on New York City's public school students, shows
where elementary school students live, and analyzes patterns of elementary school enrollment,
all of which influence school and neighborhood diversity.[25]

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24 Lucy Cohen Blatter and Mimi O'Connor, "The Buyer's and Renter's Guide to the NYC Elementary School Game,"
(Sept. 7, 2018), Brick Underground, available at: https://www.brickunderground.com/blog/2013/03/buyers_and_
renters_guide_to_NYC_grade_schools.
25 As discussed more fully below, this section focuses on elementary schools because where young students attend
school is most closely connected to where they live, due to their age and DOE's enrollment policies. When students
advance to middle and high school, they have more choice and the likelihood that they attend school in the area
surrounding their home decreases significantly. Since this plan is focused on the connections between where New
Yorkers live and their access to opportunity, elementary schools are the focus of this education section.

Patterns of Residential Segregation Among Elementary School Students

The composition of students in New York City's public and charter schools is similar to, but not the same as, the racial and ethnic demographics of all city residents. The city has far fewer White and far more Hispanic public school students than those groups' share of the city's population. As Figure 5.44 shows, 40% of students in public and charter schools identified as Hispanic, 26% as Black, 16% as Asian, and 15% as White during the 2017-2018 school year, while New York City's overall population is 29% Hispanic, 22% Black, 14% Asian/PI, and 32% White.

Figure 5.44 Composition of NYC Public School Students, 2017-2018

NYC Public School Students

16%	26%	40%	15%

NYC Population

14%	22%	29%	32%

| Asian/PI	Black	Hispanic	White
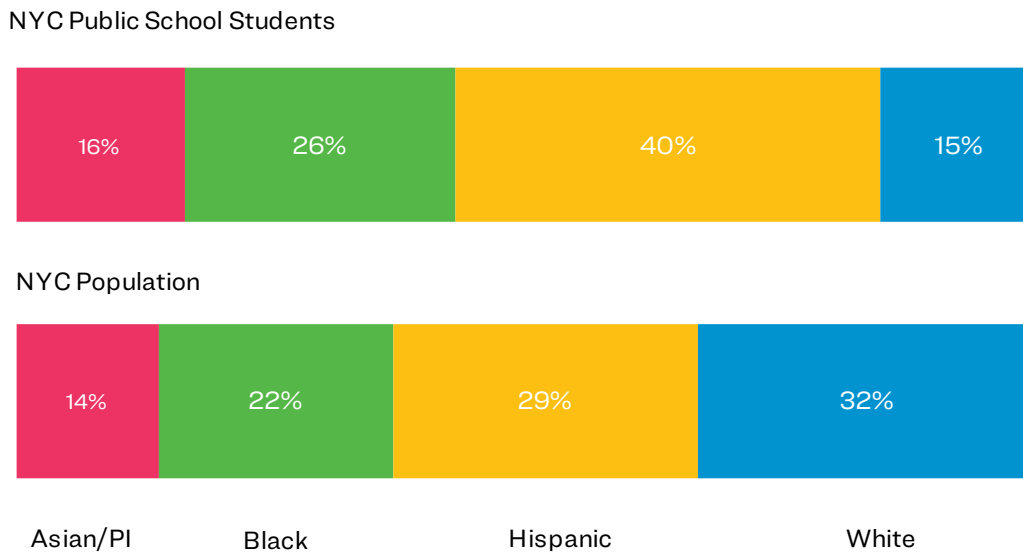
Sources: New York City Department of Education "2013 - 2018 Demographic Snapshot." Limited to school year 2017-2018. All races are mutually exclusive. DOE data uses the category "Asian" as opposed to "Asian/PI" as used in U.S. Census Bureau data. Hispanic includes all races. Not shown: 2.5% other or N/A. Total Enrollment PK-12: 1.1 million students in 1800+ schools. Both district and charter schools are included. HPD calculations based on ACS 2012-2016, 5-year estimates, Table B03002 for NYC population statistics.

Maps of where students live are a critical starting point for conversations on residential and school diversity, and the following maps focus on elementary school students, whose school attendance—due to their age and DOE's enrollment policies—is most closely connected to where they live.

These maps rely on "school zones" as the level of geography for analysis. School zones are the smallest geographic area by which the school system is divided. Though a school zone often captures only a few blocks in each direction, they are crucial geographic areas to analyze because most New York City school children receive priority in the admissions process for a specific elementary school that is linked to the specific school zone in which their family lives. As a result, the racial composition of the school children who live in each school zone is an important link to the enrollment patterns at elementary schools.

Figures 5.45 through 5.48 show the racial composition of public elementary school students who live in each elementary school zone across the five boroughs. In other words, these figures illustrate the living patterns of families who have children in the public school system—whether in district or charter schools. These figures highlight sharp geographic divides by race among elementary school students; these divides are even starker than those in Figures 5.17 through 5.24 in the previous section, which illustrated residential patterns by racial and ethnic group among all New Yorkers. There are many school zones where students of an individual racial or ethnic group make up more than 90% of the students who live in the zone. In addition, despite the fact that Black and Hispanic students comprise a sizeable majority of students in the public school system, these maps indicate many school zones where few Black and Hispanic students live.

Figure 5.45 Share of Kindergarten to 5th Grade Students Living in School Zone Who Are Hispanic, 2017-2018
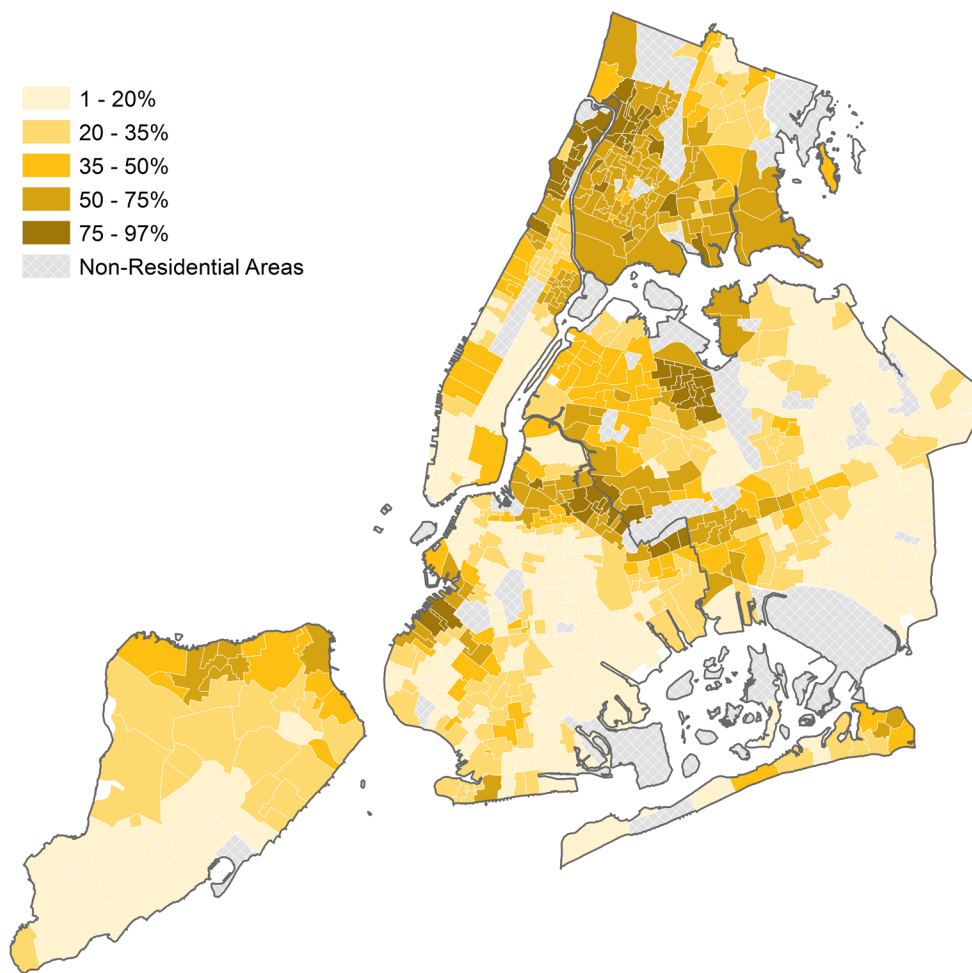
Source: NYC Department of Education tabulation of K-5 students during 2017-2018 school year. Includes both district and charter school students.

Figure 5.46 Share of Kindergarten to 5th Grade Students Living in School Zone Who Are Black, 2017-2018
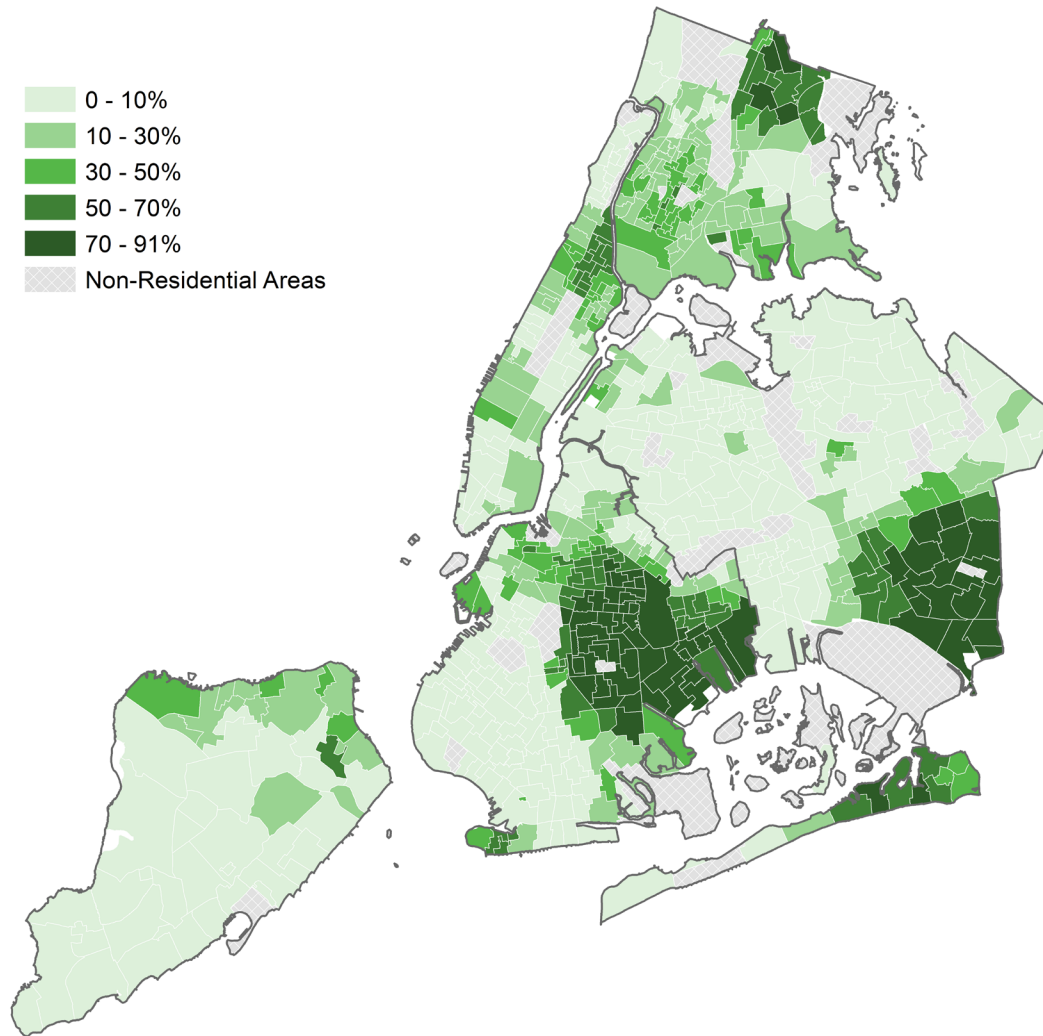
0 - 10%
10 - 30%
30 - 50%
50 - 70%
70 - 91%
Non-Residential Areas

Source: NYC Department of Education tabulation of K-5 students during 2017-2018 school year. Includes both district and charter school students.

Figure 5.47 Share of Kindergarten to 5th Grade Students Living in School Zone Who Are Asian, 2017-2018

Source: NYC Department of Education tabulation of K-5 students during 2017-2018 school year. Includes both district and charter school students.

Figure 5.48 Share of Kindergarten to 5th Grade Students Living in School Zone Who Are White, 2017-2018
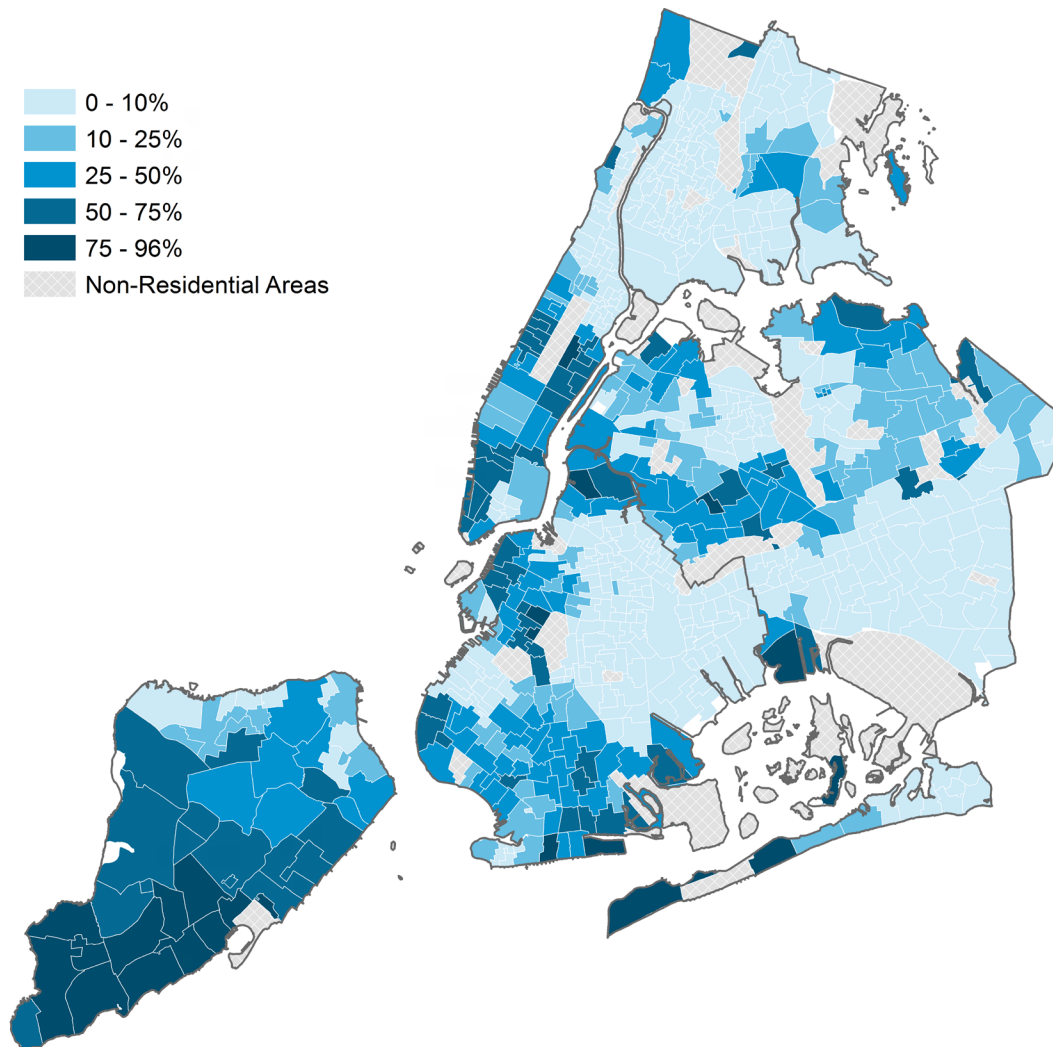
Legend:
- 0 - 10%
- 10 - 25%
- 25 - 50%
- 50 - 75%
- 75 - 96%
- Non-Residential Areas

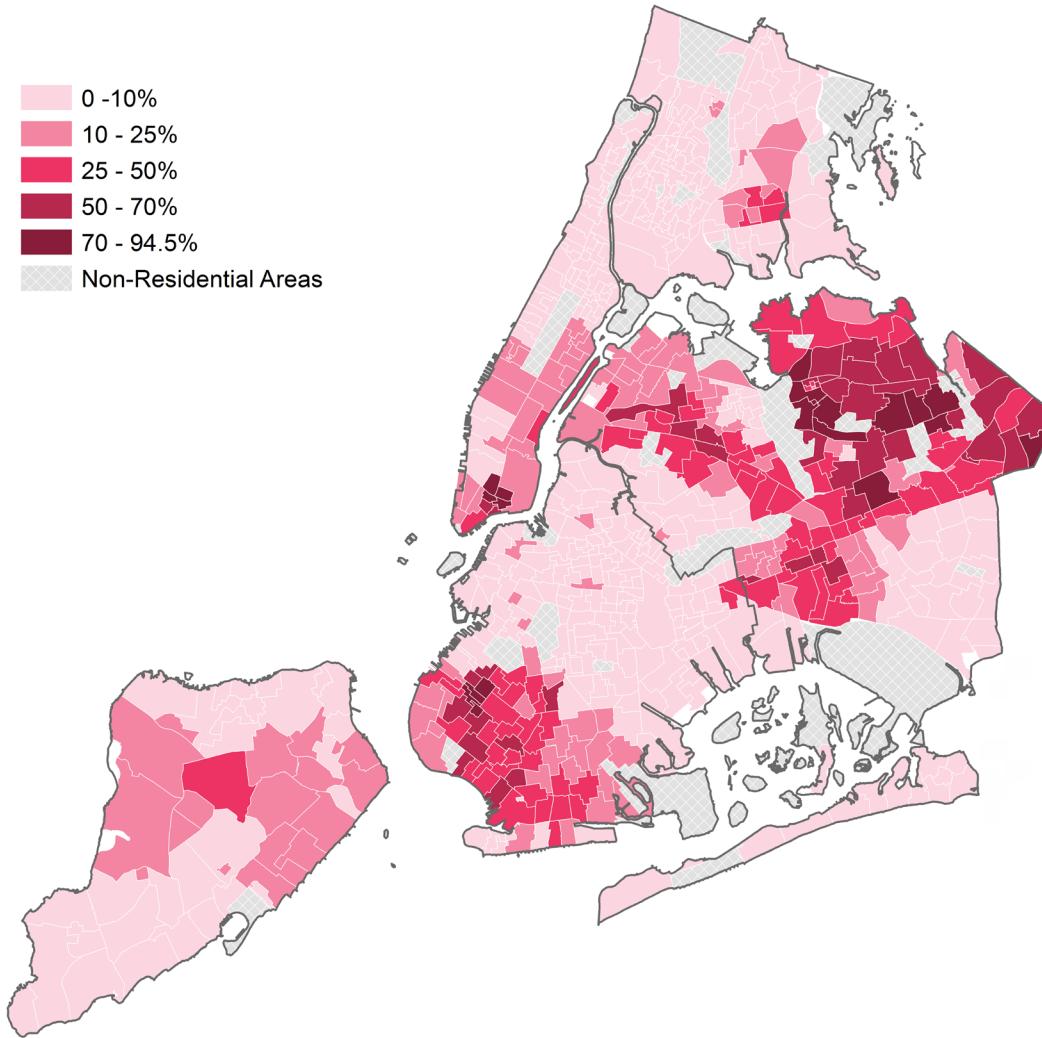*Source: NYC Department of Education tabulation of K-5 students during 2017-2018 school year. Includes both district and charter school students.*

These patterns also appear over relatively small geographic areas. Figure 5.49 focuses on areas of central and southern Brooklyn, which contain both predominantly White and predominantly Black neighborhoods, as well as neighborhoods undergoing significant demographic changes. The figures show the divide in racial composition among nearby school zones. Although the percentage categories are slightly different in each figure (to be reflective of each group's city-wide distribution), they illustrate that nearby school zones can have significantly different demographic distributions for the elementary school age children living in each area. The areas located directly on either side of Prospect Park, representing a division between the

areas of Park Slope (District 15) and Flatbush and Crown Heights (District 17), are almost entirely different demographically. Those on the western side of Prospect Park are predominantly White, and those on the eastern side are predominantly Black.

Figure 5.49 Central and Southern Brooklyn: Share of Students Living in School Zone Who Are Black and Share Who Are White, 2017-2018
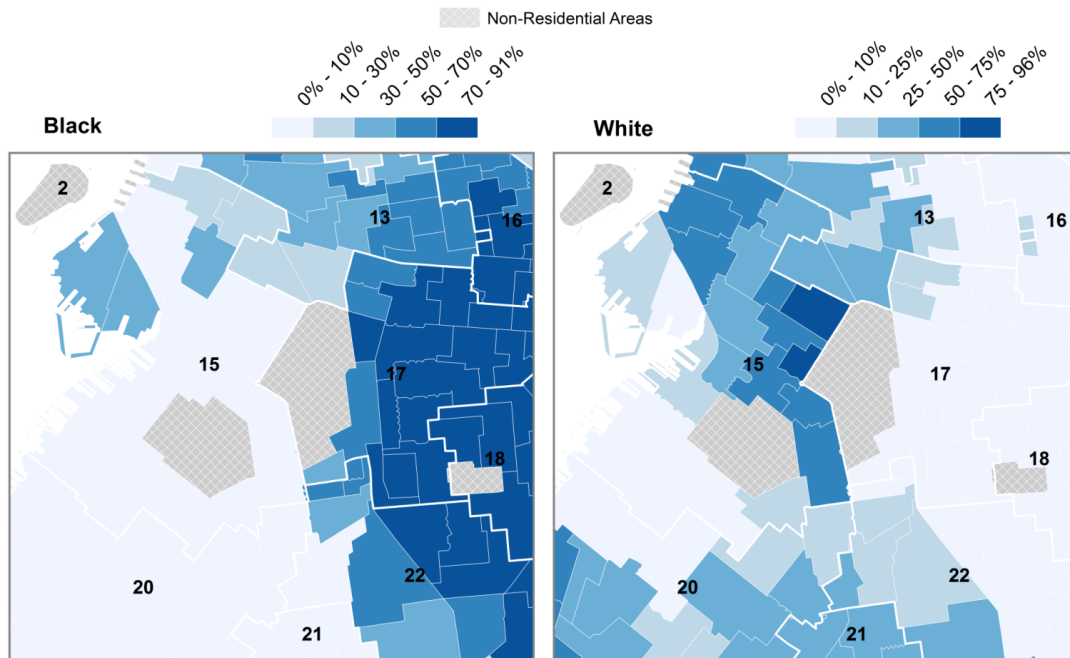
Note: Thicker white lines indicate Community School District boundaries, and thin white lines indicate school zone boundaries. Includes both district and charter school students.

Figure 5.50 shows a similar close-up for parts of central and northern Manhattan, including Midtown, the Upper West Side, the Upper East Side, West Harlem, Central Harlem, and East Harlem. Many school zones on the Upper East Side (District 2) and, to a lesser extent, on the Upper West Side (District 3) have few Black and Hispanic students living in the zone, while White and Asian students are mostly absent in East and Central Harlem (Districts 4 and 5).

Figure 5.50 Central and Northern Manhattan: Share of Students Living in School Zone by Race and Ethnicity, 2017-2018

Note: Thicker grey colored lines indicate Community School District boundaries, and thin white lines indicate school zone boundaries. Includes both district and charter school students.

Finally, Figure 5.51 shows a close-up of districts in eastern Queens. School zones to the north of the Grand Central Parkway in northeastern Queens (Districts 25 and 26) are home to substantial shares of White, Hispanic, and Asian students, reflecting some level of diversity. However, the map also shows that Black students are largely absent from many zones, and instead live in intensely concentrated zones immediately to the south, throughout southeastern Queens (District 29). These districts reflect a city-wide pattern of particular concentration for Black students, as displayed in Figures 5.49 and 5.50 above.

Figure 5.51 Eastern Queens: Share of Students Living in School Zone by Race and Ethnicity, 2017-2018
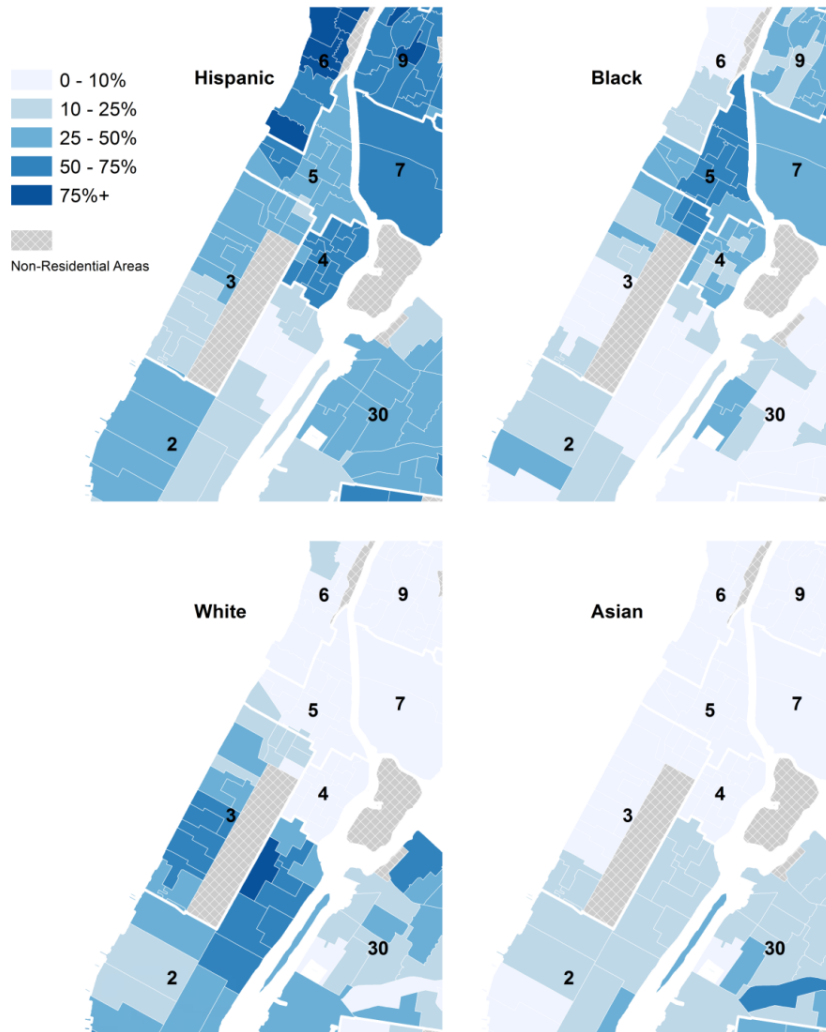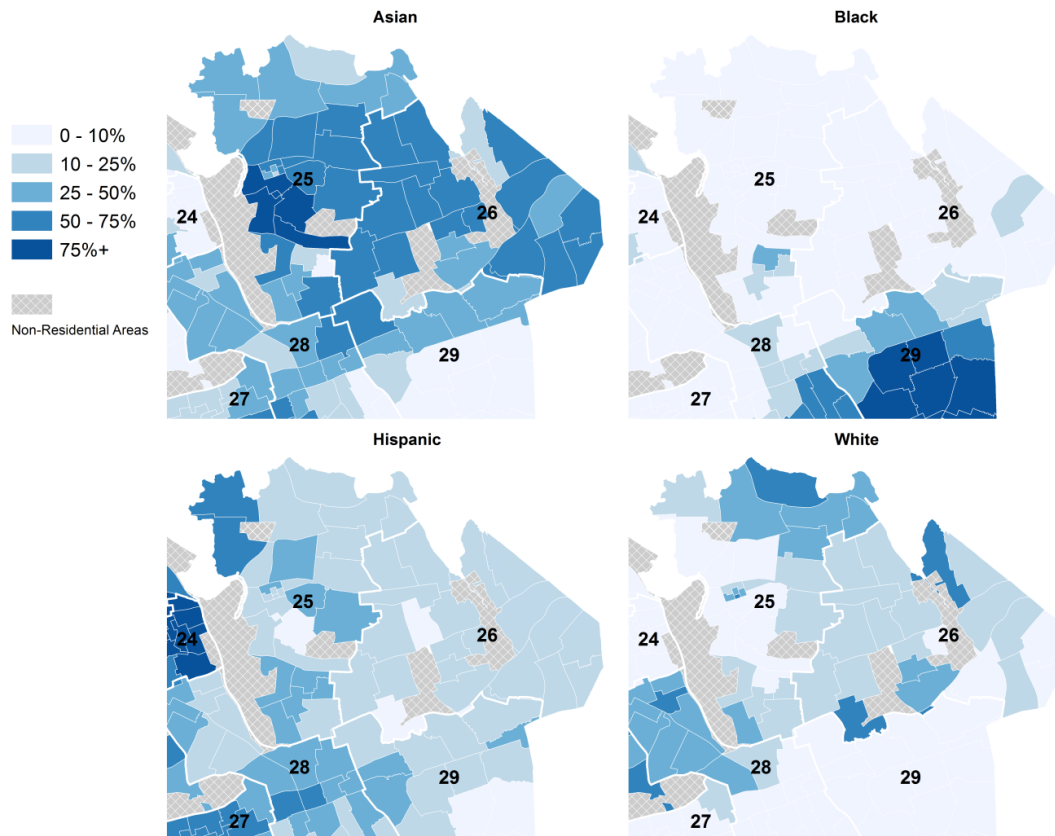

Note: Thicker grey colored lines indicate Community School District boundaries, and thin white lines indicate school zone boundaries. Includes both district and charter school students.

Residence and Enrollment

The NYU Furman Center recently measured whether students of each major racial and ethnic group attend schools with peers of different racial and ethnic backgrounds to determine the extent to which students attend schools with students of their own racial group versus different groups.

Figure 5.52 shows that while all students attend schools with a disproportionately high share of members of their same racial group, White and Asian elementary school students experience this over-representation more than Hispanic or Black students. For example, the typical White elementary school student attends a school that is 44% White, even though White students are only 14% of all public elementary school students. Figure 5.52 also shows that the typical Black student attends a school with very few White (5%) or Asian (5%) students.

Figure 5.52 Racial Composition of Schools Attended by Average Public Elementary School Student, 2017-2018

■ Asian ■ Black ■ Hispanic ■ White

	All Public Schools	Asian Student	Black Student	Hispanic Student	White Student
White	14%	17%	5%	10%	44%
Hispanic	41%	29%	31%	58%	26%
Black	30%	9%	56%	20%	9%
Asian	12%	43%	5%	11%	18%
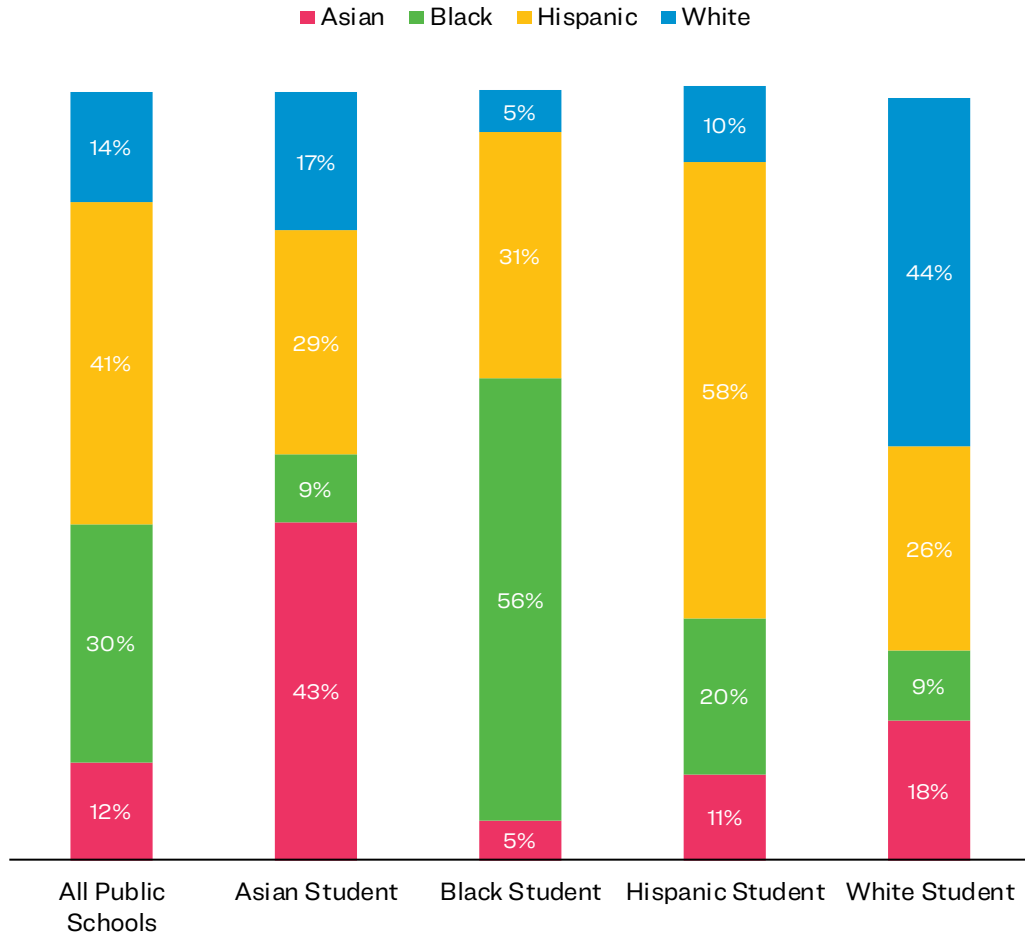
Source: NYU Furman Center, "The Diversity of New York City's Neighborhoods and Schools," (May 2019), available at: https://furmancenter.org/files/sotc/2018_SOC_Focus_Web_Copy_Final.pdf. Note: The first bar shows the overall racial composition of public elementary schools, which indicates that an elementary school perfectly representative of the student population would be approximately 12% Asian, 30% Black, 40% Hispanic, and 14% White. The numbers in these Figures do not add up to 100%, because students of an "Other" racial group are not included. Includes both district and charter schools.

These enrollment patterns are clearly influenced by the stark geographic divides in residential patterns displayed above and the priority in admissions that many students receive to elementary schools near their homes. But school enrollment is not solely determined by the patterns of where students live and how school zones function. As part of the system that determines who can attend each school, DOE does not require students to enroll in their local, zoned school. Rather, students and their families can "opt-out" of their zoned school and apply to schools across the city for which they do not receive a priority, though families may be constrained by the availability of seats in their desired school and transportation time and costs.

During the 2017-2018 school year, 37% of public elementary school students did not attend the elementary school for which they were zoned, and these numbers varied considerably by race. As shown in Figure 5.53, Black students were far less likely to attend the elementary school for which they were zoned as compared to all other students, particularly White and Asian students, which is partially attributable to high charter school enrollment rates among Black students.[26]

Figure 5.53 Share of Kindergarten to 5th Grade Students Attending Their Zoned School, by Race and Ethnicity
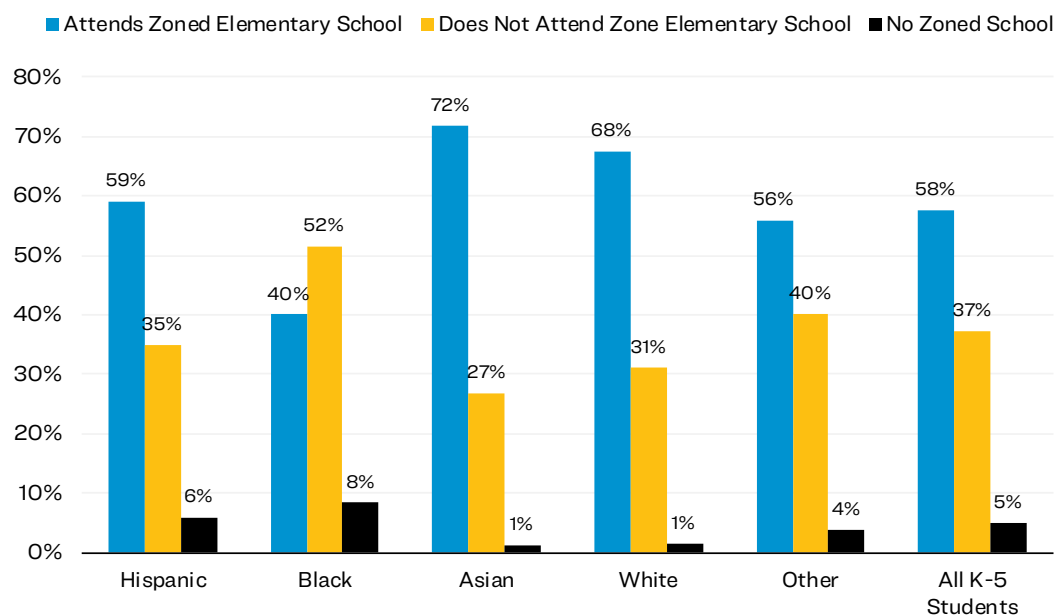
■ Attends Zoned Elementary School ■ Does Not Attend Zone Elementary School ■ No Zoned School

Source: NYC Department of Education tabulation of K-5 students during 2017-2018 school year. Note: Includes both district and charter schools. While the vast majority of residences in New York City are assigned a "zoned" school, some school districts do not have elementary school zones and so residences within these districts do not have a zoned school. Districts 1, 7, and 23—known as "choice" districts—have no zoned elementary schools. For more information, see: https://www.schools.nyc.gov/enrollment/enroll-grade-by-grade/kindergarten.

Figure 5.54 shows how these choices manifest in school zones across the five boroughs. This map illustrates the rate at which families living in each elementary school zone decide to attend their zoned elementary school. Students attend their zoned school at rates that range dramatically—from a low of 4.1% to a high of 95%. The lowest rates appear in predominantly Black neighborhoods in central Brooklyn and areas of Harlem, which is consistent with the data from Figure 5.53, above.

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26 New York City Independent Budget Office, "Demographic Characteristics of Charter School Students," (July 2015), available at: https://www.nyccharterschools.org/sites/default/files/school-indicators-for-new-york-city-charter-schools-2013-2014-school-year-july-2015.pdf

Figure 5.54 Share of Kindergarten to 5th Grade Students Attending Their Zoned School, 2017-2018
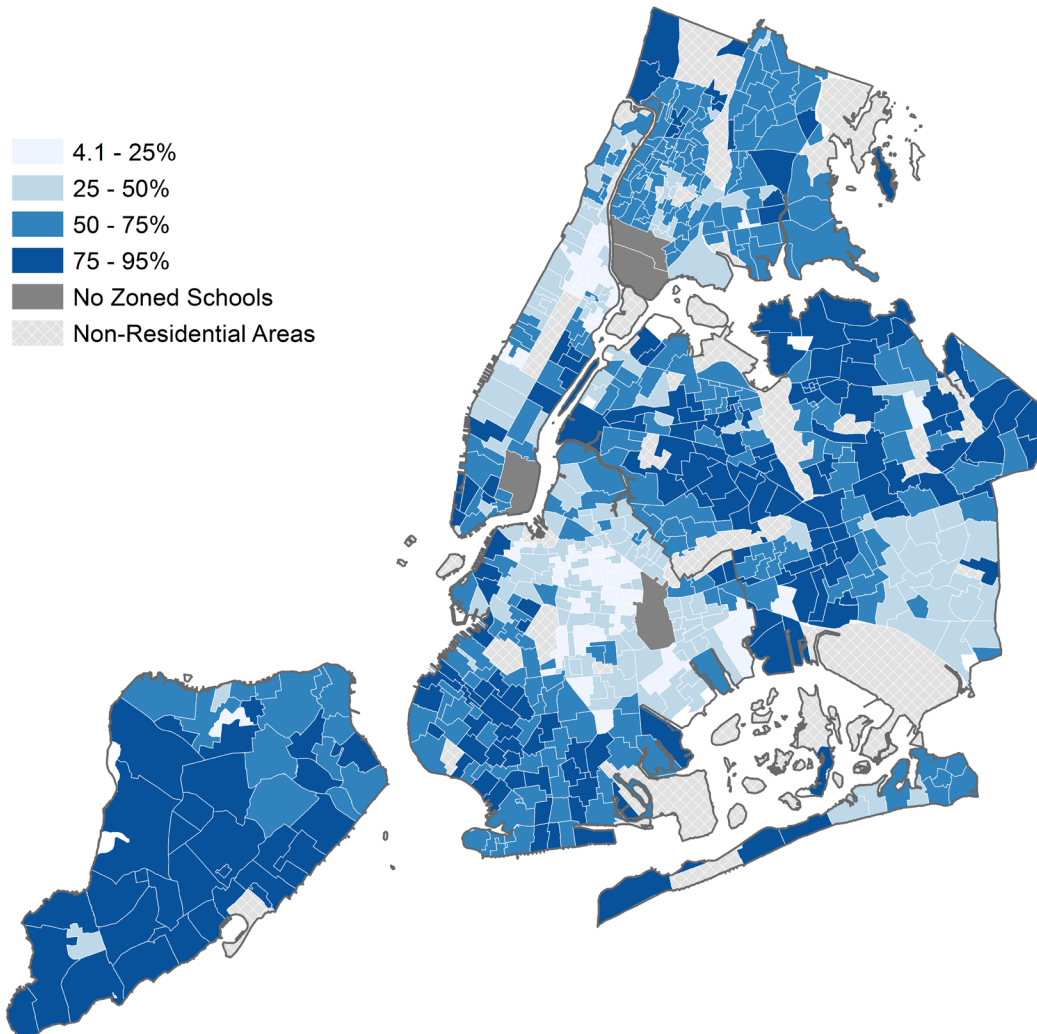
	4.1 - 25%
	25 - 50%
	50 - 75%
	75 - 95%
	No Zoned Schools
	Non-Residential Areas

Source: NYC Department of Education tabulation of K-5 students during 2017-2018 school year. Certain zones do not have any zoned schools. Includes both district and charter schools.

The rate at which students attend their local, zoned schools is particularly important for considering the residential choices of families with children. Because of the enrollment priority awarded to students living within a school zone, wealthier families who are able to pay more for housing can choose to move into a school zone connected to a school with a good reputation, and their children will be more likely to win enrollment in that local school than the students of families not living in the zone. This dynamic also increases the price of housing in neighborhoods with schools that are perceived to be the best and potentially limits the ability of lower-income families living in that area to stay in place and of other lower-income families to move to that area and to send their children to those schools.

However, the forces that contribute to the rates of enrollment in Figure 5.54 are myriad. Some of the school zones near Downtown Brooklyn, for example, are increasingly affluent and diverse, but the students living in the school zones have very low rates of enrolling in the zoned school. These low rates of enrollment may be because new, more affluent parents living in these areas are choosing and able to "opt-out" of their local schools. A recent study of families with kindergartners in DOE schools indicate, for instance, that a majority of White parents in gentrifying neighborhoods do not choose to send their children to their zoned school, and instead choose to send their children to schools with fewer low-income students and students of color.[27] This data suggests that even when neighborhoods become more diverse, the schools in that neighborhood may not reflect the neighborhood's increasing diversity.

Taken together, data on the demographics of families with elementary school children in each school zone and on the rates of school choice indicate that conversations about both school diversity and residential segregation must consider both housing and school policies. The following section on neighborhood disparities also considers a broader range of factors that affect students' lives and how those experiences may also affect their success in the classroom.

Students With Disabilities

Approximately 228,000 students—or one out of every five—in the public school system experience a disability, and they are served in a variety of educational settings. While the living patterns of students with disabilities are much more evenly represented in school zones across the city than students of each racial and ethnic group, students with disabilities often face unique barriers in accessing educational opportunity, whether the students are served in general classrooms or in specialized programs and environments. The School Diversity Advisory Group has documented the benefits to all students when students with disabilities are meaningfully integrated into diverse and inclusive classrooms. In its latest capital budget, DOE dedicated an additional $750 million over the next five years to ensure that at least a third of schools in each public school district are fully accessible.

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27 Mader, et al., "The Paradox of Choice," p. 21.

5.4 Neighborhood Disparities

Introduction

New York City is known for its resilient and diverse economy, an extensive public transit system, and world-class higher education, health, cultural, and technology institutions. But as the COVID-19 pandemic and recent economic downturn have made clear, access to these resources is not shared equally, and disparities in access are often clustered by neighborhood. This section pays particular attention to how these disparities intersect with the racial and ethnic composition of New York City's neighborhoods and how a history of unjust discrimination and forced segregation have contributed to the concentration of advantages and disadvantages in specific places across the five boroughs.

Over the past five years, the City has taken unparalleled steps to address these disparities with initiatives such as *Take Care New York 2020*, the *Mayor's Action Plan for Neighborhood Safety*, and many others discussed in Chapter 3. The common thread linking these initiatives is a focus on how many disparities – ranging from high rates of infant mortality to low rates of on-time high school graduation – are found in many of the same neighborhoods. While it will take years and even decades for the benefits of these programs to be fully realized, the data collected here highlight the urgency of this work.

The purpose of this section's assessment is not to assign simple labels to neighborhoods as "good" or "bad." New York City's current and future residents have diverse needs and preferences, which mean that specific resources may or may not be relevant to each person's neighborhood choice. For example, a single adult whose primary concern is commuting time may not think much about how children who live in a neighborhood are performing in school. But for families with young children, a neighborhood's impact on their child's education is likely critical in their choice of where to live.

Moreover, this section does not include an analysis of every type of resource or amenity that matters for families and communities, such as New York City's extensive public library system. Instead, this section focuses on metrics that clearly show disparities by neighborhood in order to provide a foundation for the policies that the City will implement over the next five years to ensure that all neighborhoods can thrive.

Engagement Feedback

Through Where We Live NYC's extensive community participation process, hundreds of New Yorkers discussed their experiences in particular neighborhoods and in the city as a whole. Many New Yorkers said that New York City offered unparalleled opportunities that they could not find anywhere else. Residents celebrated the City's strong safety net of social services, access to good education, and diverse cultures and identities. From LGBTQ individuals to immigrants, residents shared that they came to New York City to find acceptance and build a better life.

New Yorkers also discussed in great detail how investments from government and the private sector vary dramatically across different neighborhoods. Many reflected on how historic and present-day racism affect residents' access to opportunity, and said that neighborhoods with more White residents often had more wealth, investment, and higher-quality amenities. In addition, New Yorkers discussed how neighborhood change and the influx of wealthier residents can quickly shift the landscape of opportunity in a given neighborhood, bringing amenities and attention to areas that were long under-resourced. In some instances, residents reported that these changes led to better amenities for everyone. But others reported that change created a more complex dynamic, increasing the risk and fear of displacement, and generating a sense that existing residents are being racially profiled by their new neighbors and subject to heightened police surveillance.

When asked to define thriving neighborhoods, members of the Fair Housing Stakeholder Group described places where residents are healthy, are secure in their housing and community, and have access to amenities and resources that empower economic mobility, agency, and choice. Stakeholder Group members and participating residents also stressed the importance of diversity and a sense of social cohesion among neighbors.

Economic Opportunity

For decades, researchers have analyzed the relationship between residents' well-being and indicators of advantage and disadvantage within a neighborhood.[28] One of the most important indicators of disadvantage is concentrated poverty, because it is often associated with other disadvantages, such as housing instability, under-resourced schools, and the prevalence of environmental hazards.[29] As introduced in Section 5.2, poverty rates across New York City vary considerably and are closely connected to race. White New Yorkers are over-represented in census tracts with low levels of poverty, as compared to their overall share in New York City, while Black and Hispanic New Yorkers are over-represented in high-poverty census tracts.

The neighborhood-based patterns of who is employed, who participates in the official labor force, and who has a bachelor's degree also follow similar demographic patterns. Figure 5.55 uses the "Labor Market Engagement Index," created by HUD for the purposes of fair housing planning, to understand these metrics at the census-tract level. The higher the number, the stronger the rates of employment, labor force participation, and educational attainment are in the neighborhood as compared to national averages.

Figure 5.55 shows that areas of New York City rank both among the highest and the lowest nationally on the Labor Market Engagement Index. Large parts of the Bronx and central and eastern Brooklyn—whose residents are predominantly Black and Hispanic—score very low on the index, while much of core Manhattan, Downtown Brooklyn, and Long Island City—whose residents are disproportionately White and Asian/PI—score very highly on the index.

28 William Julius Wilson, The Truly Disadvantaged: The Inner City, the Underclass, and Public Policy, University of Chicago Press (1987); Robert J. Sampson, Great American City: Chicago and the Enduring Neighborhood Effect, University of Chicago Press (2011).
29 Patrick Sharkey, Stuck in Place: Urban Neighborhoods and the End of Progress Toward Racial Equality, University of Chicago Press (2013).

Figure 5.55 Labor Market Engagement Index, 2006-2010

Legend:
- 0 - 19
- 20 - 39
- 40 - 59
- 60 - 79
- 80 - 99
- Non-Residential Areas
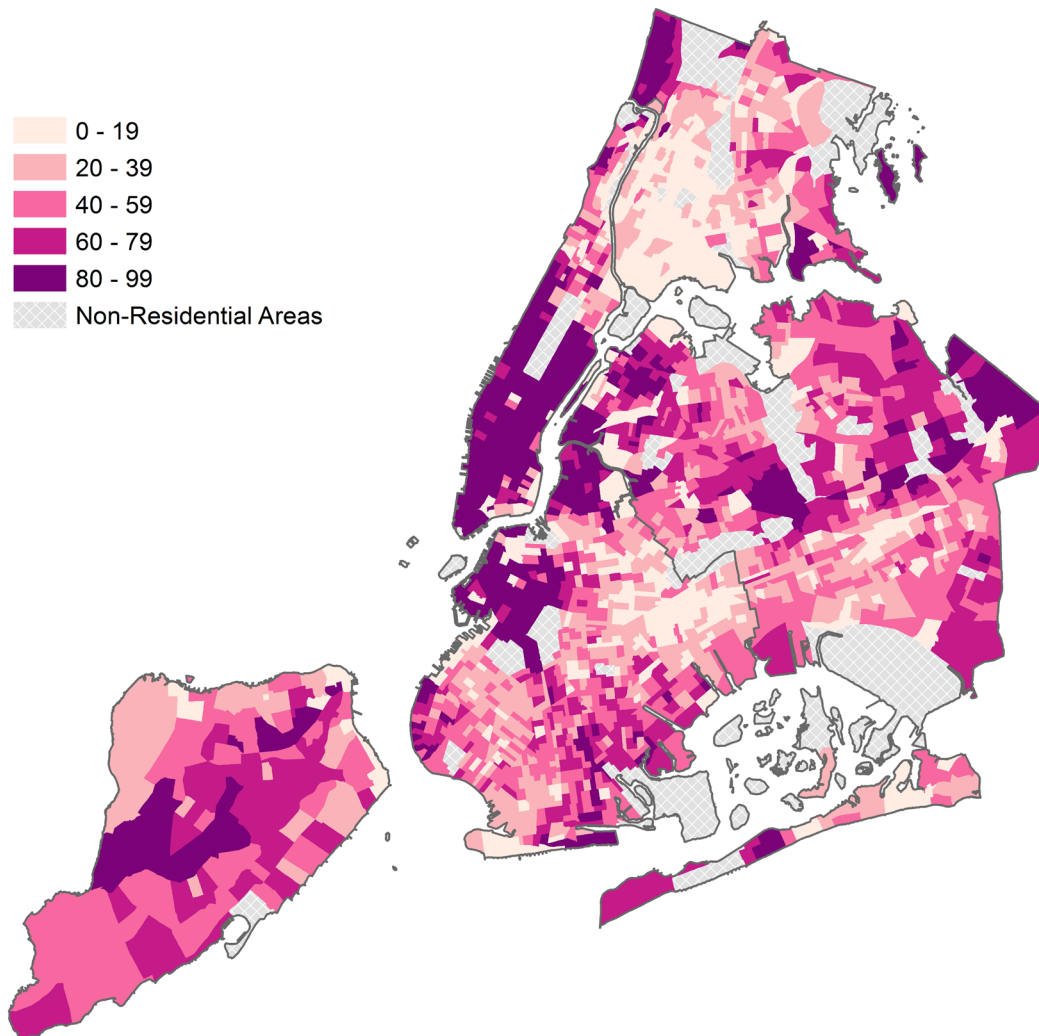
Sources: HUD AFFH-T Data (AFFHT0004), based on U.S. Census Bureau, 2006-2010 American Community Survey. The labor market engagement index provides a summary description of the relative intensity of labor market engagement and human capital in a neighborhood. The labor market index is a linear combination of these three standardized vectors. Values are percentile ranked nationally and range from 0 to 100. Unpopulated areas are excluded.

In many cities across the country, low scores on the Labor Market Engagement Index are connected to limited access to affordable public transportation. But as seen in Figure 5.56, which shows the number of jobs that a New Yorker can reach within a 60-minute commute on public transit, New York City's public transportation network provides affordable connections between neighborhoods that scored low in Figure 5.55 and millions of jobs.

People living in Lower and Midtown Manhattan, Downtown Brooklyn, and areas of western Queens have the most jobs accessible within an hour by public transit or walking, but lower-income neighborhoods in Upper Manhattan, the South Bronx, and Central Brooklyn are also well served. This analysis, however, does not take into account disabilities that some commuters might have and the barriers they might face in accessing public transit, which are discussed in more depth below.

Figure 5.56 Number of Jobs Accessible within an Hour by Transit
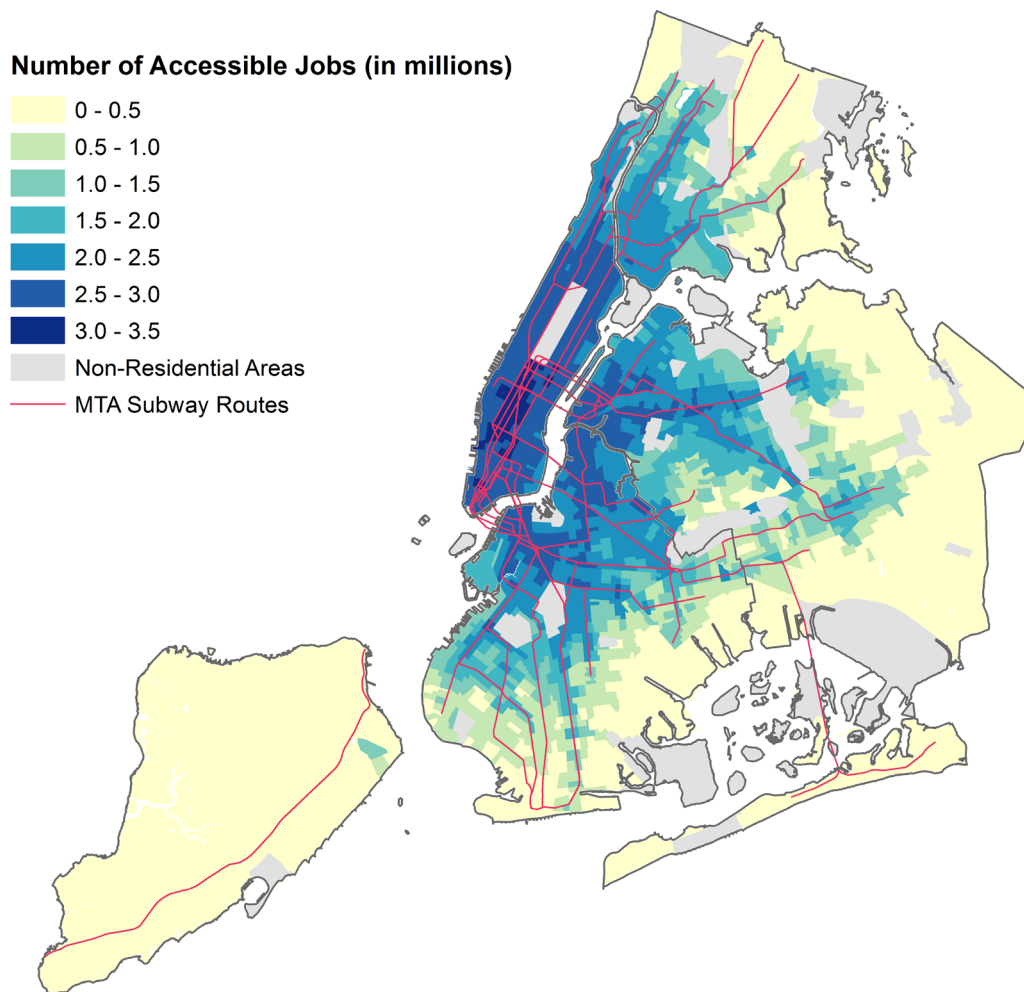
Sources: Transit travel time calculated by NYC Department of City Planning through Open Trip Planner. Jobs data is from Longitudinal Employer-Household Dynamics Workplace Area Characteristics Private Primary Jobs (2015). This analysis does not consider commuters' potential disability.

Figure 5.56 is particularly important for understanding the fear of displacement in some lower-income neighborhoods. Given the fact that housing production in the city has not kept up with population and job growth, lower-income neighborhoods with relatively inexpensive housing costs, proximity to wealthier areas, and access to jobs may be vulnerable to price increases in unregulated housing and competition from higher-income people seeking housing as demand grows.[30] Absent measures to preserve and grow the supply of affordable housing, including affordability protections and the production of additional mixed-income housing, residents of these neighborhoods and affordable and fair housing advocates express concern that the neighborhoods could become inaccessible to low-income families seeking housing, who then might have to seek housing in neighborhoods with fewer transit options and longer commutes.[31]

An analogous consideration is the accessibility of jobs to New Yorkers in lower-income neighborhoods, whose residents have lower rates of educational attainment on average. Figure 5.57 shows the location of jobs held by workers without a bachelor's degree. The Manhattan core provides by far the largest concentration of jobs available to workers at all skill levels, and is serviced by the greatest density of transit options. But even when residents live near transit, commutes to jobs in the core are of course longer for residents who live farther away.

Employment clusters outside the Manhattan core also offer significant job opportunities, which may provide shorter commutes for many residents. These centers include Downtown Brooklyn; Long Island City, Flushing, and the airports in Queens; the Hub in the Bronx; and areas throughout the city near large institutions, such as hospitals. However, because the subway system was designed primarily to bring travelers to the Manhattan core, employees in many of these centers rely not only on the subway, but also on buses and other options to reach their jobs, which have experienced particular challenges in speed and reliability recently.[32]

30 NYC Department of City Planning, "Mandatory Inclusionary Housing: Promoting Economically Diverse Neighborhoods," (Sept. 2015), pp. 25, 65, available at: https://www1.nyc.gov/assets/planning/download/pdf/plans-studies/mih/mih_report.pdf.
31 Joint Center on Housing Studies of Harvard University, "The State of the Nation's Housing," (2016), p. 32, available at: https://www.jchs.harvard.edu/sites/default/files/jchs_2016_state_of_the_nations_housing_lowres_1.pdf.
32 Winnie Hu, "For Health Care Workers, the Worst Commutes in New York City," The New York Times, (Jan. 31, 2018), available at: https://www.nytimes.com/2018/01/31/nyregion/health-care-worker-commutes.html.

Figure 5.57 Jobs Held by New Yorkers Without a Bachelor's Degree

Private, primary jobs per square mile

5 k   25 k   100 k   825 k
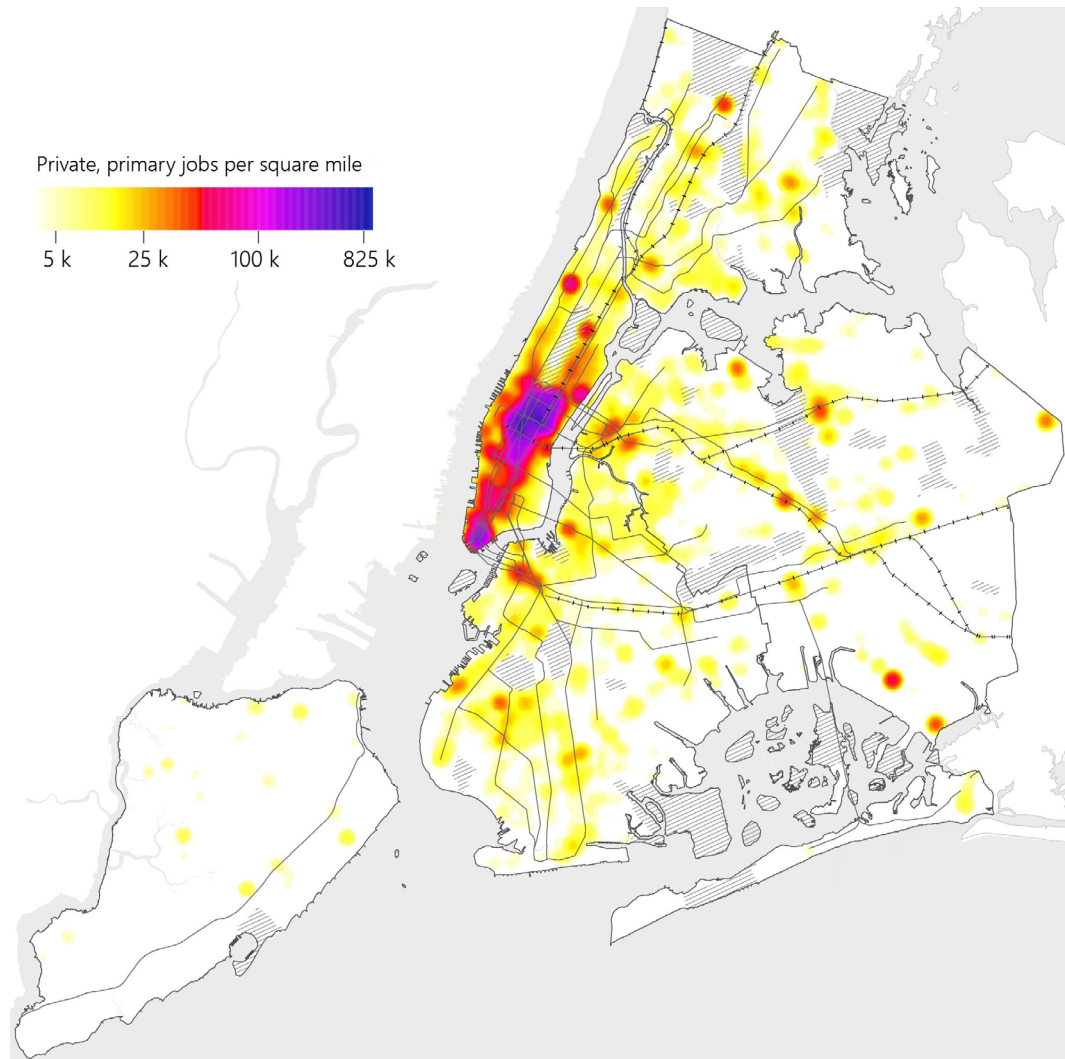
Source: Longitudinal Employer-Household Dynamics (LEHD) Origin—Destination Employment Statistics (LODES), 2015.

Finally, use of public transit during the height of the COVID-19 shows significant neighborhood-based patterns of where New Yorkers could shelter in place and areas that are home to many of the city's essential workers who had to continue to use public transit and risk contact with others. Figure 5.58 shows the difference between March 21, 2020 and March 21, 2019 in subway use across each station. In some neighborhoods, such as parts of the Upper West Side in Manhattan, use of transit stations fell to less than 10% of their pre-pandemic use, while in others, such as many neighborhoods in the Bronx, transit remained at about 40% of ridership. Many of the areas that had the lowest decreases in subway usage are also in at the furthest reaches of the transit system, suggesting long commutes on the subway during stay at home orders.

Figure 5.58 Change in Subway Use During the COVID-19 Pandemic

Source: MTA Turnstile Data. http://web.mta.info/developers/turnstile.html. Notes: The data shows the number of MetroCard swipes made during a week's period by customers entering each station of the NYC Subway, PATH, AirTrain JFK, and the Roosevelt Island Tram.

Public Transportation

New York City's vast public transportation system provides neighborhoods of all incomes with access to millions of jobs each day and to the region's diverse resources and amenities.[33] By making it possible to access employment, services, and a wide range of other resources and activities without having to bear the expense of owning a private vehicle, the city's public transit resources are a critical element in promoting economic opportunity for New Yorkers.

33 Jorge Hernandez et al, "Mobility, Economic Opportunity, and New York City Neighborhoods," available at: https://wagner.nyu.edu/files/rudincenter/2015/11/JobAccessNov2015.pdf.

New York City's transportation network faces considerable challenges, however, particularly with respect to serving New Yorkers who are living with disabilities. The majority of subway stations are not accessible to people with disabilities who require stair-free access. Figure 5.59 displays the accessible, partially accessible, and inaccessible subway stations throughout New York City. Many accessible stations are in major commercial hubs, particularly in Manhattan and Downtown Brooklyn. Some neighborhoods contain no accessible stations at all. Current and future residents with disabilities may feel excluded from these neighborhoods because of limited accessibility options. Conversely, because of New York City's constrained housing market, residents with disabilities may be stuck in neighborhoods that do not serve their transit needs.

As of July 2018, only 120 of the city's 493 stations were either partially or fully accessible.[34] While these stations represent 24% of the system, they serve 48% of daily ridership. There are 53 accessible stations in Manhattan, 13 in the Bronx, 20 in Queens, 28 in Brooklyn, and five in Staten Island. These stations have a total of approximately 270 elevators and, immediately prior to COVID-19, there were 25 subway stations with work in progress to become accessible. When these 25 stations are complete, the system will be 29% accessible by station count, and stations that serve 53% of daily ridership will be accessible.

Accessibility Efforts

As part of its *Fast Forward Plan*, the MTA's New York City Transit (NYCT) has committed to a multi-faceted program to accelerate accessibility, which includes the goal of adding 50 new accessible stations in the next five years. In 2018, NYCT hired its first Senior Advisor for System-wide Accessibility, who is leading NYCT to pursue additional physical station improvements like narrowing gaps between train cars and platforms, improved signage, continuing to install tactile platform edge warning strips in stations, as well as exploring additional wayfinding and accessibility technology and design to improve experiences in the system for people with disabilities. NYCT is also implementing enhanced disability awareness and sensitivity training for all employees, better information regarding elevator outages and alternate route information on its website, via kiosks, email, mobile app and text alerts, and more direct routes through a new Access-A-Ride scheduling and dispatch system. For more information, see: https://fastforward.mta.info/.

In addition, the NYC Department of City Planning is working with the MTA to propose a citywide expansion of zoning tools recently created as part of specific neighborhood rezonings, which require developments adjacent to transit stations to consult with the MTA about providing an easement for elevator and/or stair access to stations. In order to ensure that the transit easement does not impair the capacity for housing or other uses on sites, limited zoning relief would be provided.

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34 In "fully accessible stations," all platforms are accessible. "Partially accessible stations" have only some accessible platforms, which might limit travelers' ability to transfer between subway lines.

Figure 5.59 Subway Accessibility, 2018

MTA Subway Accessibility
● Non-Accessible Subway Stations
● Full Accessibility Subway Stations
● Partial Accessibility Subway Stations
— MTA Subway Routes
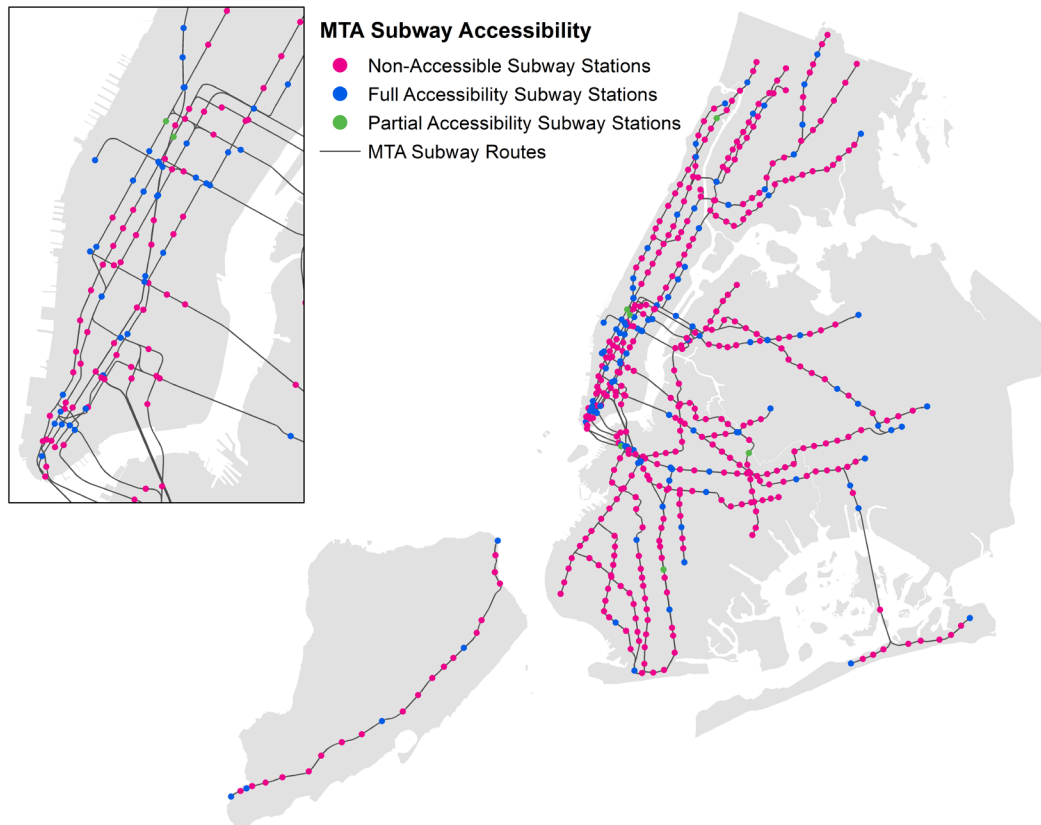
Source: Metropolitan Transportation Authority (July 2018).

There are also neighborhood-based gaps in access to the Long Island Rail Road (LIRR) and Metro-North commuter lines, which provide faster public transportation than the subway or bus. The proposed construction of four new Metro-North stations in parts of the East Bronx along underused Amtrak rail lines, which is displayed in Figure 5.60 as "Penn Station Access," would significantly expand access to the commuter lines. The proposal calls for all of these stations to be fully accessible to people living with disabilities, and they will provide a reliable and rapid form of public transit to neighborhoods that have limited or no access to the subway system.

While commuter rail offers an additional public transit option beyond the subway and bus, peak fares for Metro-North and LIRR service within New York City are significantly higher than a subway or bus ticket, and they do not provide a free transfer to the subway or bus if additional travel is needed.

These fare structures are not designed to maximize ridership or mobility among city residents, including low-income residents who rely on public transit.[35]

Figure 5.60 Metro-North, Long Island Rail Road, and Proposed Penn Station Access Stations
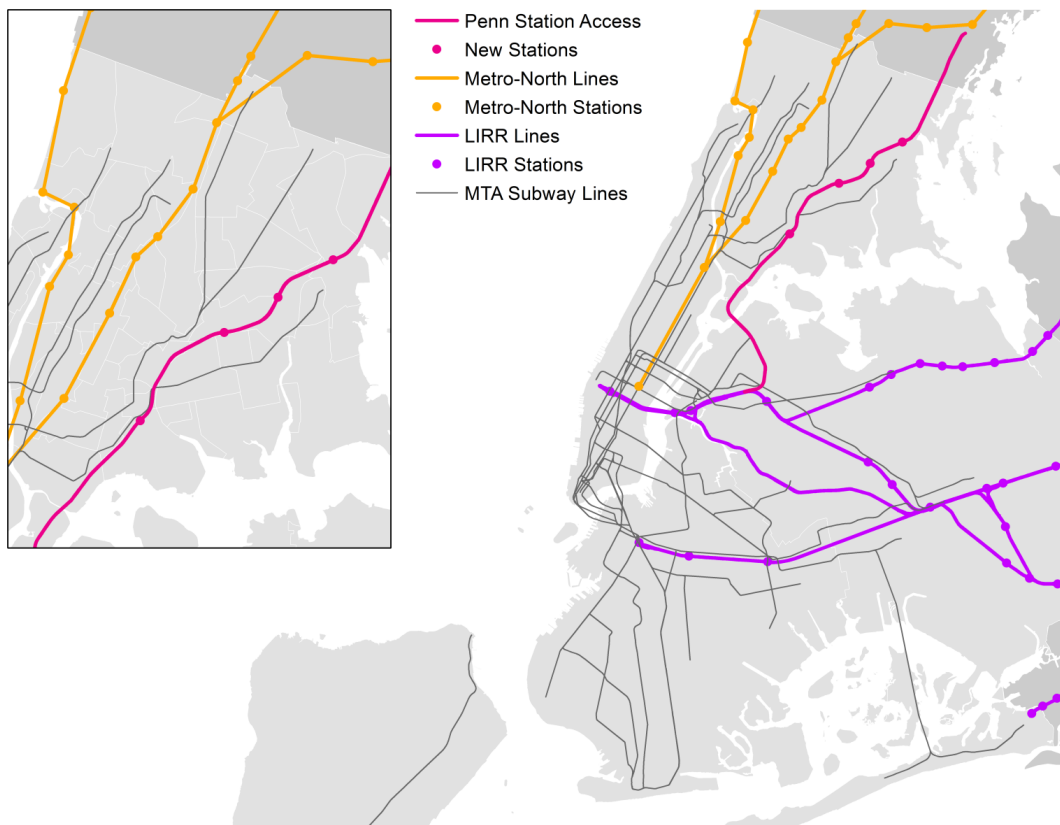
Source: New York City Department of City Planning.

35 To encourage ridership on elements of the transit network with available capacity, the MTA launched the "Atlantic Ticket" field study in 2018. The initiative allows riders to purchase a single ticket from select LIRR stations at a discounted rate or a weekly ticket that operates from the same stations and includes free transfers to the subway or local bus. This field study program lowers the cost of commuter rail for residents living in areas of central Brooklyn and southeast Queens, which contain many neighborhoods with a predominately Black population, and could serve as a precedent for increased commuter rail ridership within New York City. For more information, see: https://new.mta.info/fares-and-tolls/long-island-rail-road/atlantic-ticket.

In addition, the future of the city's bus service is a crucial issue for all New Yorkers. It is especially important for people of color, people living with disabilities, the growing elderly population, and workers in expanding low-wage service and healthcare industries, who often must travel during off-peak hours or to work sites that are not concentrated in the Manhattan core.[36] Figure 5.61 shows the composition of New Yorkers whose primary mode of transit to work is the bus or the subway, which are the two most common commuting modes within New York City.

Figure 5.61 Profile of New Yorkers Commuting to Work

	Bus Commuters	Subway Commuters	All New Yorkers
Median Income (of employed)	$28,455	$40,000	$38,840
Bachelor's Degree or Higher (age 25+)	31%	48%	36%
Parent (age 16+) with children at Home	42%	33%	36%
Foreign Born	55%	49%	41%
Person of Color	75%	66%	67%
Work in Healthcare, Hospitality, Retail, Food Services, or cultural industries	49%	38%	38%

Source: New York City Comptroller, "The Other Transit Crisis: How to Improve the NYC Bus System," (Nov. 2017), available at: https://comptroller.nyc.gov/wp-content/uploads/documents/The-Other-Transit-Challenge.pdf.

Before the pandemic, nearly 2.3 million New Yorkers rode buses every day. Bus speeds throughout the city have slowed in recent years to an average of 7.44 miles per hour in 2016.[37] Slow speeds for this important transit service are often due to traffic, clogged bus lanes, and other street conditions, as well as design issues with the bus system itself, including lack of all-door boarding and bus routes with frequent stops.

Figure 5.62 shows 28 heavily traveled routes that are particularly long (taking over 30 minutes to traverse) and slow (averaging less than 8 miles per hour). These "long and slow" trips are important to daily travel and relied on by many New Yorkers, especially those beyond the range of the subway network. In many cases there may not be a better transit alternative to these time-consuming bus trips, which are particularly concentrated in areas of central Brooklyn, connections to Jamaica in Queens, and various routes in the South Bronx—areas that are predominantly low-income communities of color.

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36 NYC Department of City Planning, "NYC Workers without a Bachelor's Degree,"(April 2019), available at: https://www1.nyc.gov/assets/planning/download/pdf/about/dcp-priorities/data-expertise/nyc-workers-without-bachelor-degree-info-brief.pdf.
37 NYC Department of Transportation, "New York City Mobility Report," (June 2018), available at: http://www.nyc.gov/html/dot/downloads/pdf/mobility-report-2018-print.pdf.

Figure 5.62 Long and Slow Bus Trips
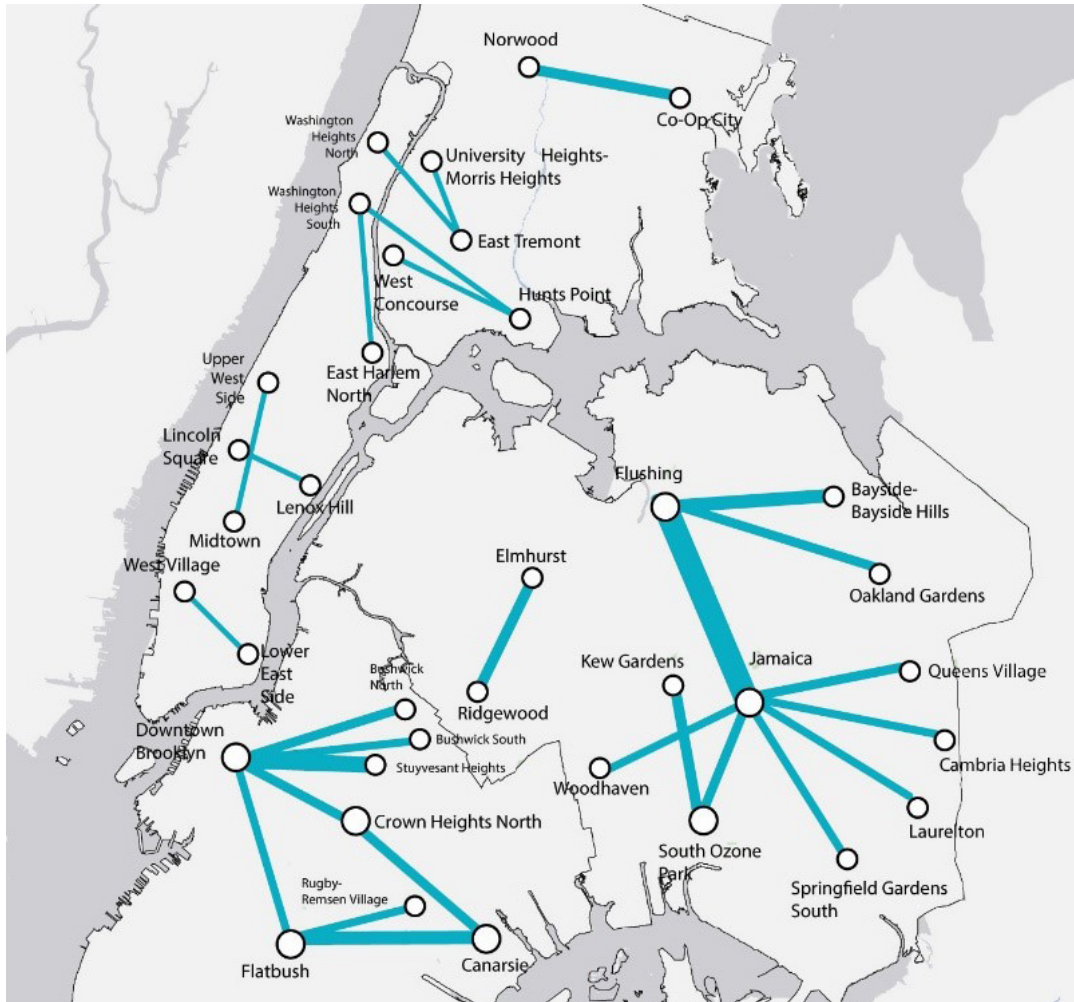
Source: NYC Department of Transportation, "2017 Bus Forward Report." The MTA identified trips between neighborhoods that take longer than 30 minutes; are slower than 8mph; and over 900 people use on an average weekday.

Improving Bus Speeds

The MTA and the NYC Department of Transportation are working together on a major effort to improve bus speeds throughout the city—the *Better Buses Action Plan*. Goals of this Action Plan include improving citywide bus speeds by 25% by the end of 2020 and installing 10-15 miles of bus lane per year. The key to meeting these goals will be implementing a host of targeted bus priority projects in neighborhoods throughout the city, many of which aim to improve the "long and slow" trips identified in Figure 5.62. For more information, see: https://www1.nyc.gov/html/brt/downloads/pdf/better-buses-action-plan-2019.pdf.

Health, Environment, Safety, and Financial Well-Being

A. Health and Environment

The New York City Department of Health and Mental Hygiene ("NYC Health Department") has focused the City's attention on dramatic disparities in health outcomes between neighborhoods through the publication of Community Health Profiles and *Take Care New York 2020*, the City's blueprint for improving every community's health.[38] A few of these disparate outcomes are highlighted here: COVID-19 impact, life expectancy, infant mortality, and asthma-related emergency department visits among children.

The COVID-19 pandemic has laid bare the continued significance of deeply embedded inequities in our city. Neighborhoods home to large numbers of Black, Hispanic, immigrant, and low-income New Yorkers have faced severe and frightening outcomes. Figure 5.63 shows the COVID-19 "case rate" by ZIP code, while Figure 5.64 shows the COVID-19 "death rate." Areas hardest hit by the pandemic include East New York, East Harlem, many areas of the Bronx, and immigrant hubs in Queens such as Corona and Jackson Heights.

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38 Community Health Profiles are available by borough and by community district at: https://www1.nyc.gov/site/doh/data/data-publications/profiles.page. For additional information on Take Care New York 2020, see: https://www1.nyc.gov/site/doh/health/neighborhood-health/take-care-new-york-2020.page.

Figure 5.63 COVID-19 Cases per 100,000 by ZIP Code
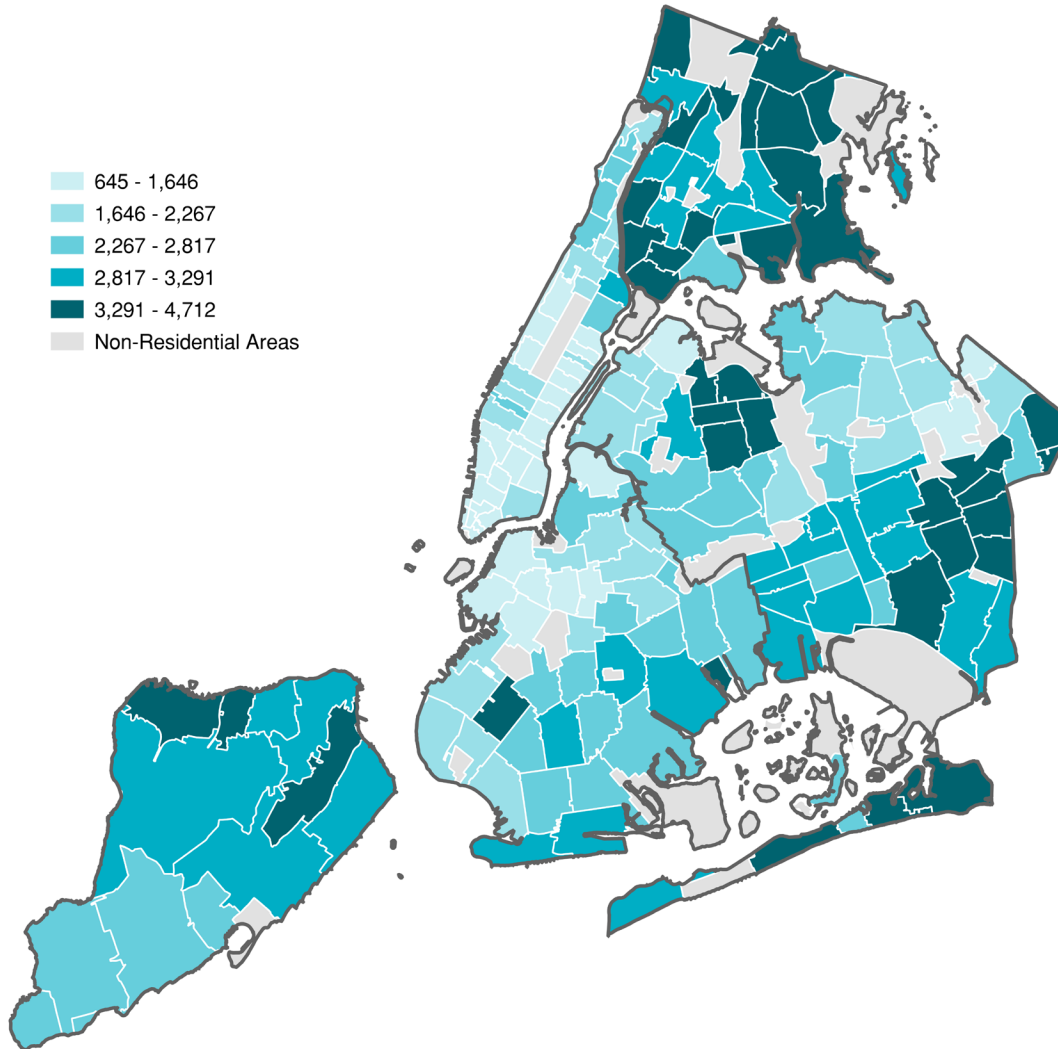
Legend:
- 645 - 1,646
- 1,646 - 2,267
- 2,267 - 2,817
- 2,817 - 3,291
- 3,291 - 4,712
- Non-Residential Areas

Source: NYC Department of Health and Mental Hygiene, COVID-19 Data, accessed August 2020. Note: Data are at the ZIP Code Tabulation Area (ZCTA). NYC COVID-19 data include people who live in NYC or who live in another country but were tested in NYC. The data do not include people tested in NYC but who live elsewhere in the United States.

Figure 5.64 COVID-19 Deaths per 100,000 by ZIP Code
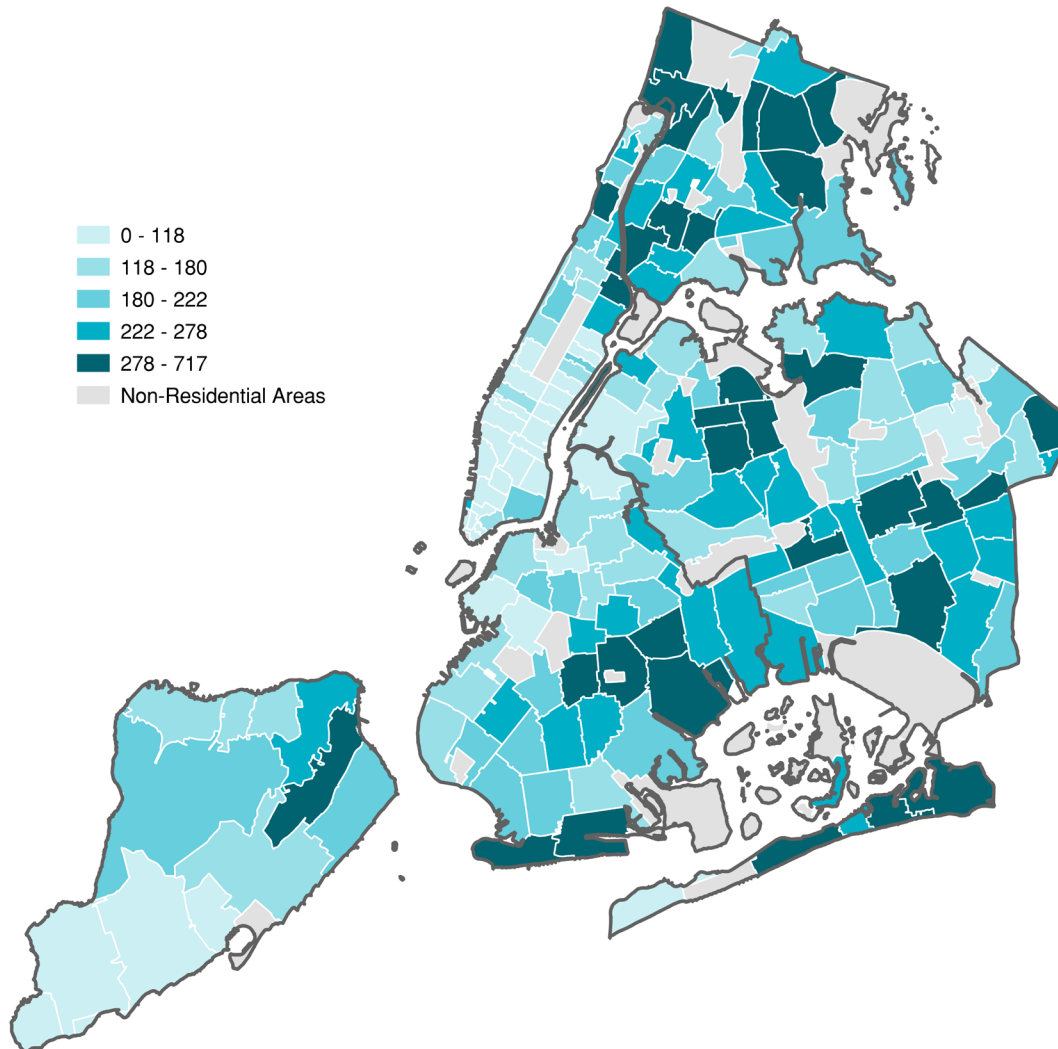
Source: NYC Department of Health and Mental Hygiene, COVID-19 Data, accessed August 2020. Note: Data are at the ZIP Code Tabulation Area (ZCTA). NYC COVID-19 data include people who live in NYC or who live in another country but were tested in NYC. The data do not include people tested in NYC but who live elsewhere in the United States.

These health disparities are not limited to COVID-19, however. Figure 5.65 shows New Yorkers' average life expectancy by Community District.[39] This map illustrates that a baby born in the Manhattan neighborhoods of Tribeca and the Upper East Side, which are predominantly White, is expected to live for 86 years, while a baby born in Brownsville, Bedford-Stuyvesant, or the Rockaways, which are predominantly Black, is expected to live between 75 and 77 years. Some of these stark spatial disparities in life expectancy occur between neighborhoods that border each

39 Because data on health disparities are not available at the "Neighborhood Tabulation Area" level, this section provides data on life expectancy and infant mortality at the larger "Community District" level. For more information on the geographic areas used in this report, see Section 5.2.

other, such as in Manhattan between the predominantly Hispanic area of East Harlem (77.5 years) and the affluent, largely White community of the Upper East Side (86.1 years). There are no genetic differences between racial and ethnic groups that account for these inequities. Rather, they are the result of centuries of policies and practices that shape the social determinants of health—the conditions in which people are born, grow, live, work, and age.

Figure 5.65 Life Expectancy at Birth by Community District

75.1 - 79.6
79.7 - 81.4
81.5 - 83.8
83.9 - 85.9
Non-Residential Areas
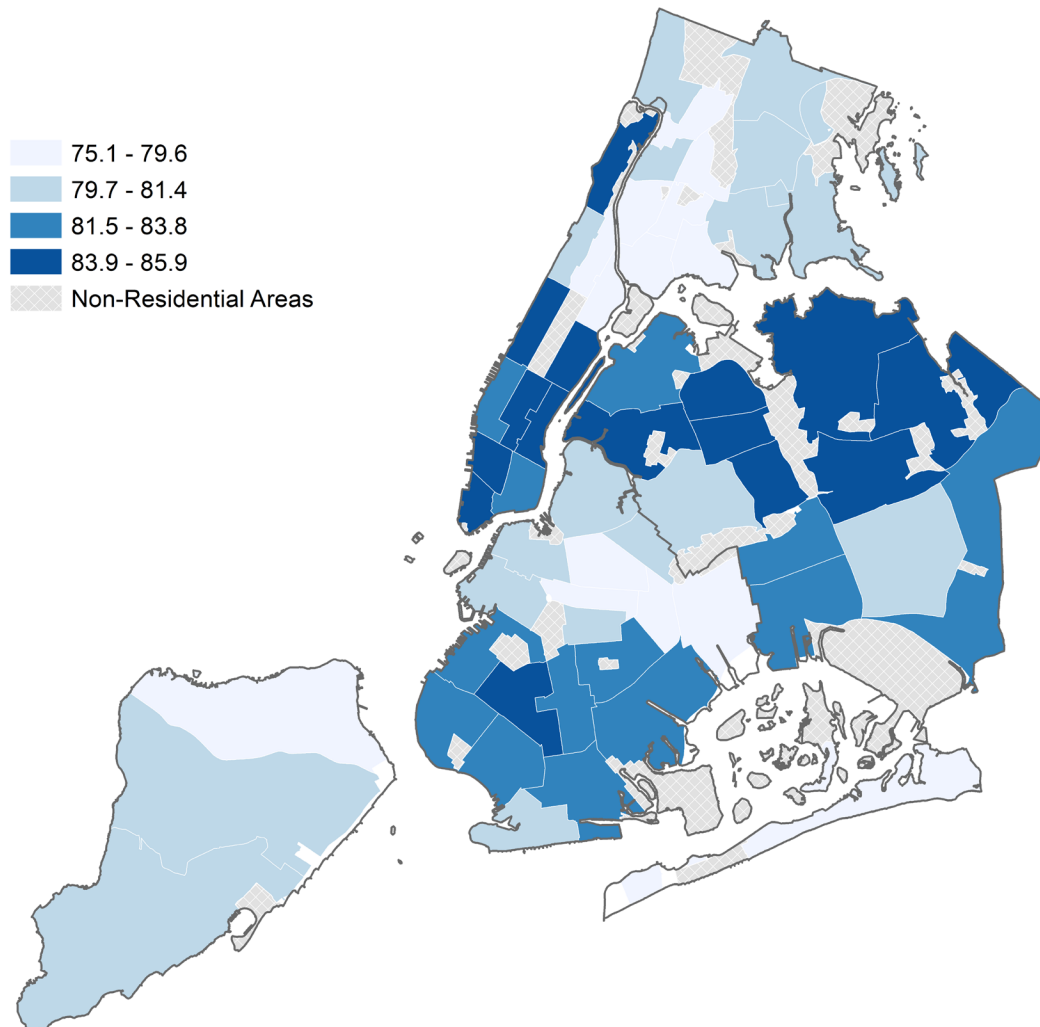
Source: NYC Department of Health and Mental Hygiene, Bureau of Vital Statistics, 2006—2015. From the "Community Health Profiles" public use dataset, available here: https://www1.nyc.gov/site/doh/data/data-publications/profiles.page.

Figure 5.66 shows rates of infant mortality—or death of a child before the age of one—across the city's Community Districts. Large swaths of predominantly Black areas of central Brooklyn and southern Queens and of many predominantly Hispanic areas of the Bronx, such as Morris Park, Bronxdale, Williamsbridge and Baychester, have rates of infant mortality that are almost double that of the city-wide average (4.4 deaths per 1,000 live births). In Staten Island, the rate of infant mortality in Port Richmond (4.8 deaths per 1,000 live births), which has a large immigrant population, is over 70% higher than that of nearby predominantly White Willowbrook/South Beach (2.8 deaths per 1,000 live births).

Figure 5.66 Infant Mortality by Community District
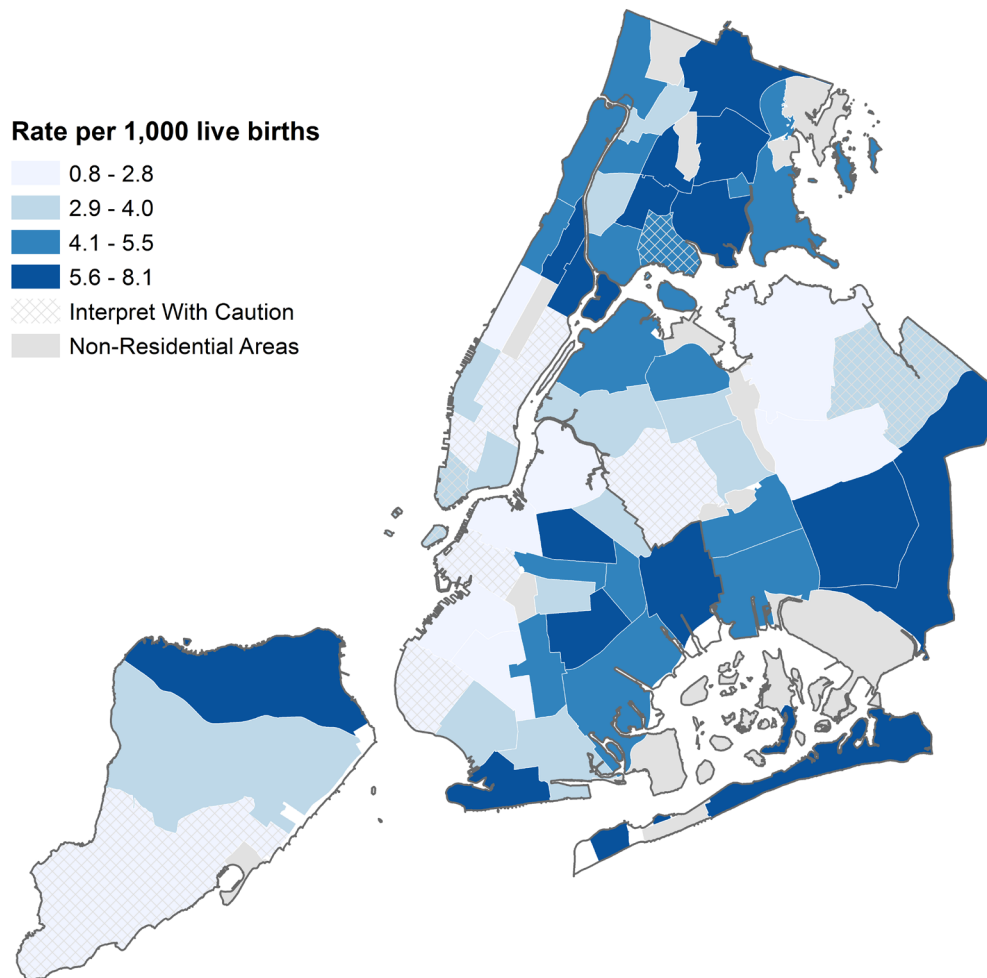
Source: NYC Department of Health and Mental Hygiene, Bureau of Vital Statistics, 2013—2015. From the "Community Health Profiles" public use dataset, available here: https://www1.nyc.gov/site/doh/data/data-publications/profiles.page. Note: In some Community Districts, the infant mortality rates shown here have a larger margin of error because these areas have far fewer children born than others in New York City. These areas are indicated on the map with "Interpret with Caution."

Figure 5.67 shows the rate of asthma-related emergency department visits among children by Community District. In predominantly Hispanic Mott Haven and Melrose in the Bronx, the annual rate per 10,000 children is 647, and in East Harlem in Manhattan it is 580; these figures are well over 20 times the rate for children from some low-density areas of the city, such as Bayside and Littleneck in Queens (38), as well as in parts of affluent Manhattan, like predominantly White areas of the Upper East Side (49) and Greenwich Village and Soho (38). Asthma has a significant impact on many aspects of children's—and their families'—well-being, affecting children's ability to play and increasing family healthcare costs. It is also one of the leading causes of school absenteeism, as described more fully below.

Figure 5.67 Asthma Hospitalization Rate for Children by Community District
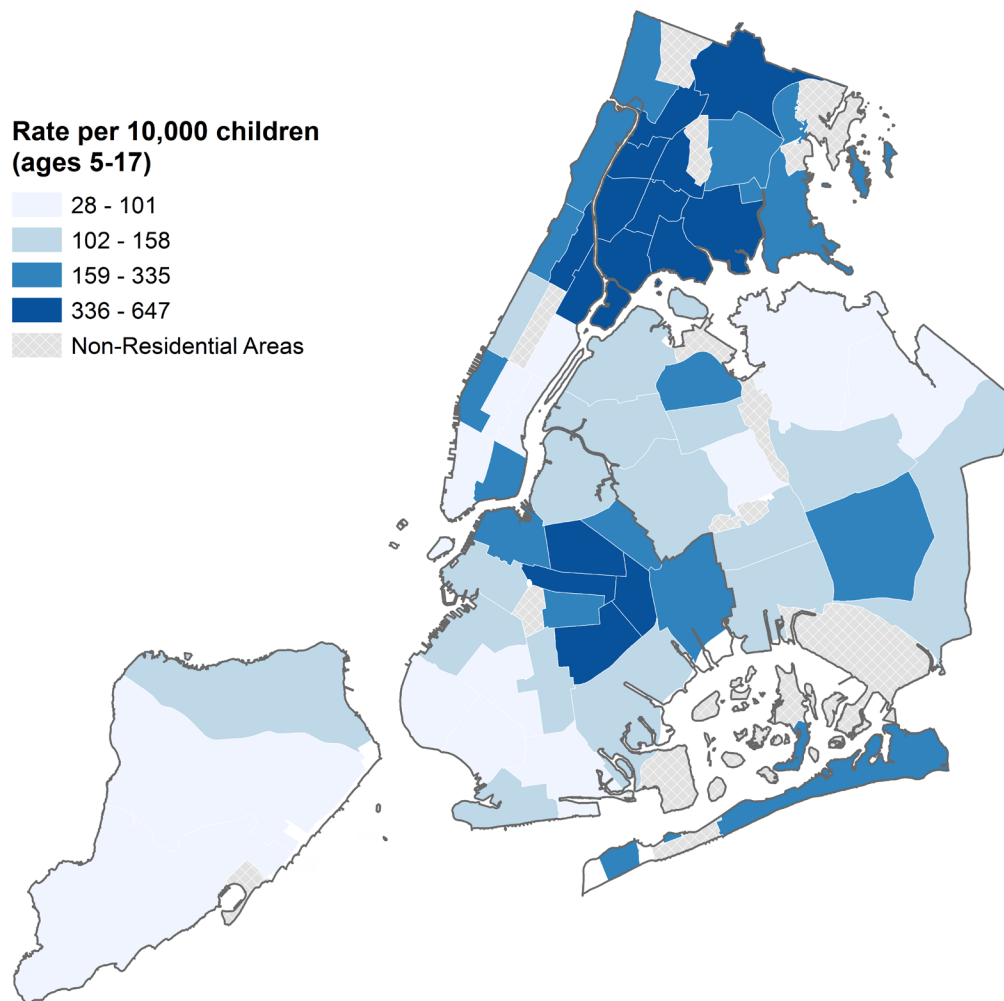
Rate per 10,000 children (ages 5-17)

- 28 - 101
- 102 - 158
- 159 - 335
- 336 - 647
- Non-Residential Areas

Source: NYC Department of Health and Mental Hygiene, Bureau of Vital Statistics, 2013—2015. From the "Community Health Profiles" public use dataset, available here: https://www1.nyc.gov/site/doh/data/data-publications/profiles.page.

The NYC Health Department, the Mayor's Office of Resiliency, and other agencies have also focused on New Yorkers' varying vulnerability to extreme heat conditions, which is the leading cause of death among all extreme weather events in the nation. Figure 5.68 displays a heat vulnerability score, which is a measure of how at-risk a neighborhood is during extreme heat compared with other neighborhoods; areas most vulnerable to heat illness and death are primarily low-income communities of color.

Figure 5.68 Heat Vulnerability Index

- 1 (lowest risk)
- 2
- 3
- 4
- 5 (highest risk)
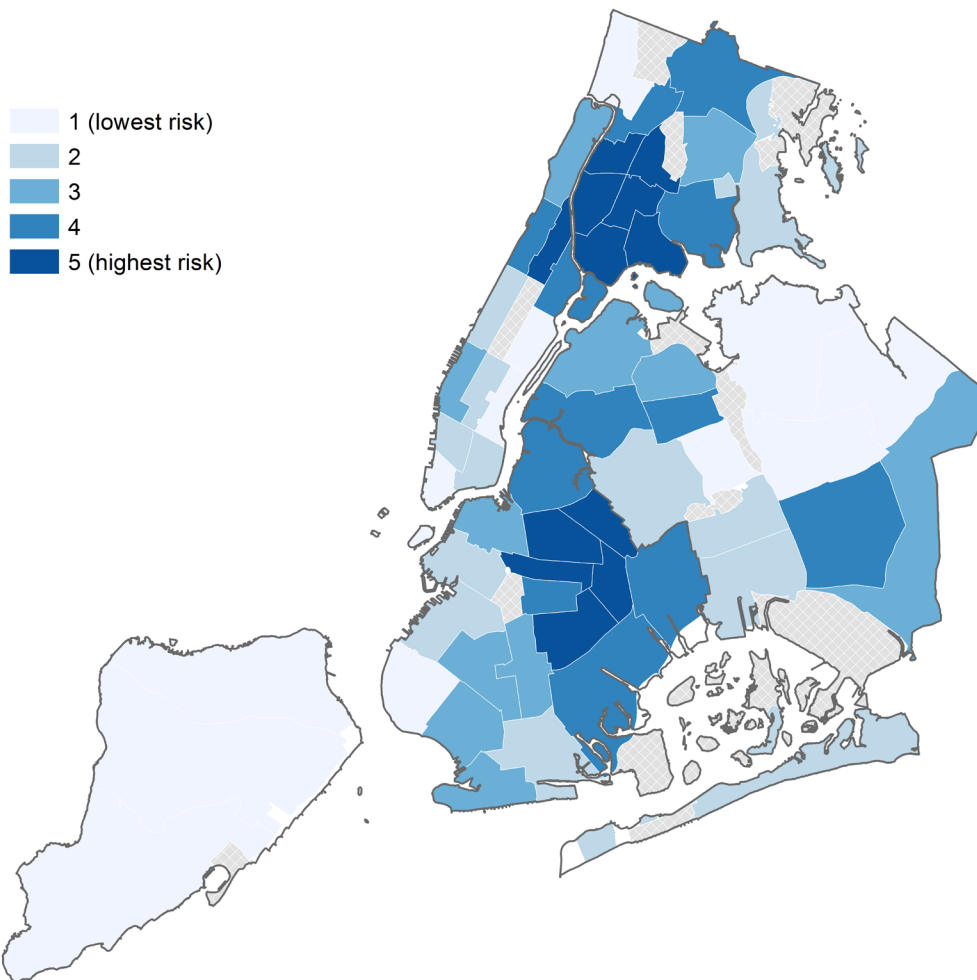
Sources: American Community Survey, New York City Department of Parks and Recreation, U. S. Geological Survey, United States Census; AC - New York City Housing and Vacancy Survey (HVS). For more information, please see: http://a816-dohbesp.nyc.gov/IndicatorPublic/EPHTPDF/HVI_FAQ.pdf.

These neighborhoods usually have a high percentage of impermeable surface, limited tree canopy, few spaces for parks and recreation, and residents often lack access to reliable and affordable indoor cooling.[40]

40 The Cool Neighborhoods NYC initiative brings together financial and educational resources to help New Yorkers who are especially vulnerable to extreme heat because of their neighborhood of residence, age, social isolation, or financial resources. For more information, see: https://www1.nyc.gov/assets/orr/pdf/Cool_Neighborhoods_NYC_Report_FINAL.pdf.

The threat of extreme heat will likely be exacerbated by climate change: the New York City Panel on Climate Change projects up to a 5.7°F increase in average temperatures and a doubling of the number of days above 90°F by the 2050s.

The COVID-19 pandemic has also highlighted the critical importance of access to parks and other open spaces. Figure 5.69 shows where New Yorkers reside within walking distance to a park and where they do not; walking distance is defined as living either within a quarter mile or half-a-mile of a park, depending on the park's size. While about 82% of New Yorkers currently live within walking distance of a park, about 18% (or 1.5 million New Yorkers) do not. The City has set a goal of increasing the share of New Yorkers living within walking distance of a park to 85 percent by 2030.

Figure 5.69 Areas Within Walking Distance to a Park

Walk-to-a-Park Service Area
- NYC Parks
- Served Areas
- Unserved Areas
- Non-Residential Areas
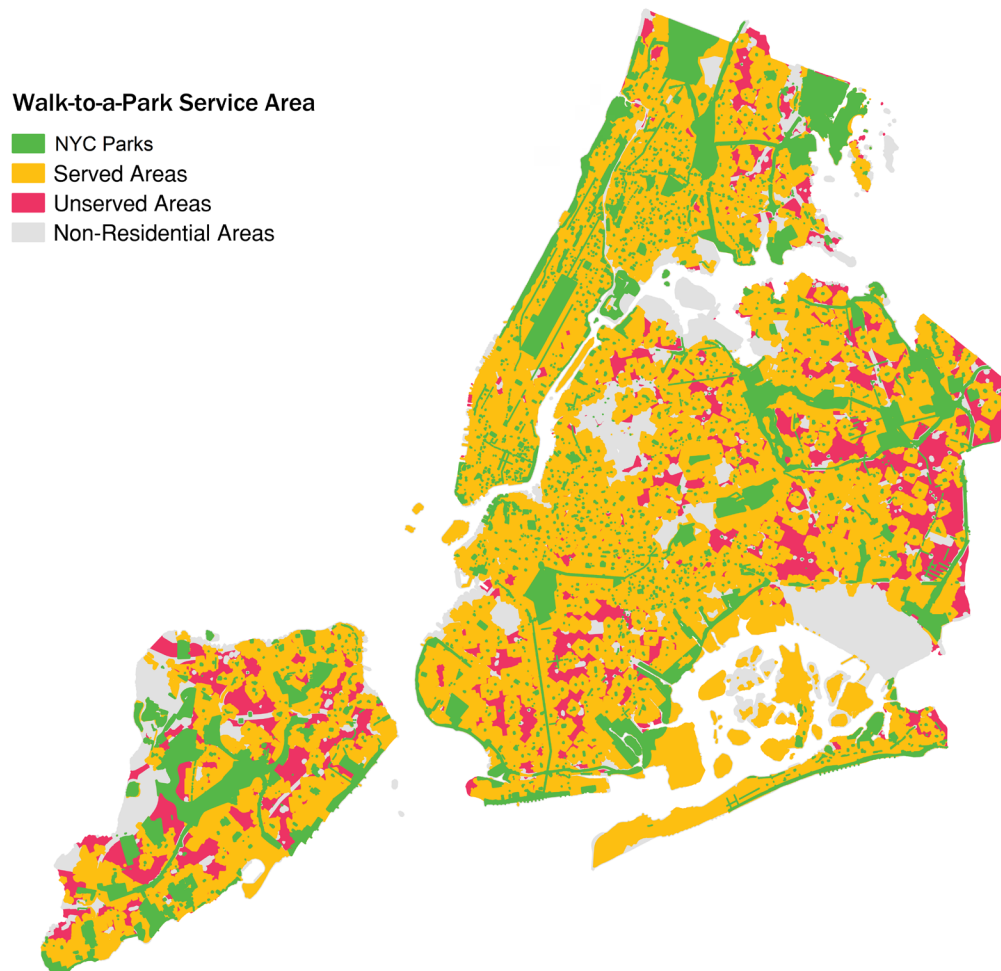
Source: NYC Parks, August 2020. Note: These areas are within a .25 mile and .5-mile walking distance of park entrances. Parks under 6 acres are assigned a .25-mile walk area, larger parks are assigned a .5-mile walk area. The analysis includes all publicly accessible open space in NYC, including plazas.

Like the health and environmental disparities discussed in this chapter, floods exacerbated by climate change impact the integrity of residential buildings and the functionality of surrounding neighborhood infrastructure. A single flood event can financially devastate vulnerable households. Reoccurring floods may erode property values over time, robbing households of the opportunity to build intergenerational wealth through property ownership. About 55 percent of residents in the city's existing floodplain are Black, Hispanic, or Asian/PI.[41] Emerging research suggests that the proportion of Black and Hispanic homeowners within New York City's neighborhoods exposed to reoccurring flooding risks is increasing, suggesting that the impacts of flooding could be borne disproportionately by people of color in the future.[42] The City will need to collect more information to better understand the potential disparate impacts of flooding risks by protected class.

Climate Change

Climate change is causing extreme temperatures and intense floods within New York City and across the region. These climate hazards will require costly retrofits for residential buildings and may have long-term consequences on real estate markets. The City's OneNYC plan outlines existing efforts to educate residents about flood risks and ways they can protect themselves by purchasing flood insurance and investing in retrofits. For more information, see https://onenyc.cityofnewyork.us/wp-content/uploads/2019/05/OneNYC-2050-A-Livable-Climate.pdf.

B. Safety

One of the most important social determinants of health is exposure to violence. Safe environments are foundational to family and community well-being. Violent crime has obvious negative impacts on the direct victims and their families, but exposure to violence—witnessing a homicide or robbery, hearing gun shots, feeling unsafe in one's surroundings—also causes tremendous harm to entire communities. From affecting the mental health of adults by increasing anxiety, stress, and fear, to severely damaging early childhood development and academic performance, the ripple effects of exposure to violence are major chronic stressors on communities.[43] Incarceration also has profound impacts on community health. For example, a recent study in New York City showed that between 2011 and 2015, approximately 6,000 potentially avertable premature deaths were associated with incarceration.[44]

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41 American Community Survey (ACS), 2013-2017 5-year estimates.

42 Ingrid Gould Ellen et al, Heterogeneity in the Recovery of Local Real Estate Markets After Extreme Events: The Case of Hurricane Sandy (Jan. 2020), available at: https://www.aeaweb.org/conference/2020/preliminary/1966.

43 New York City Department of Health and Mental Hygiene, "Violence: A Health Issue," available at: https://www1.nyc.gov/site/doh/health/neighborhood-health/anti-violence.page. On school impact, see Patrick Sharkey, et al., "High Stakes in the Classroom, High stakes on the Street: The Effects of Community Violence on Student's Standardized Test Performance," Sociological Science (May 2014), 14(1): 199.

44 Kathleen H. Reilly, et al., "Potentially Avertable Premature Deaths Associated with Jail Incarceration in New York City," Journal of Community Health (Jan. 2019).

Like many other cities, New York City has experienced a tremendous decrease in violence over the past 30 years, which has profoundly improved health and general community well-being.[45] But far more work is needed, as violence and incarceration continue to be concentrated in neighborhoods whose residents are predominantly Black and Hispanic, with severe and lasting consequences.

Anti-Violence Initiatives in NYC

Over the past six years, the Mayor's Office of Criminal Justice (MOCJ) and the New York City Police Department (NYPD) have prioritized new models of engagement with communities where violence is disproportionately concentrated. The Mayor's Office to Prevent Gun Violence (OPGV) serves as a coordinating agency, linking City initiatives, community-based nonprofit organizations, and everyday New Yorkers to partner in creating healthy, vibrant communities and addressing the causes and traumas of gun violence in New York City. This collaboration is built on the understanding that violence is a crisis with roots in structural racism, economic distress, trauma, and behavioral and public health. It also complements the NYPD's expansion of Neighborhood Policing, through which NYPD's patrol model has been restructured and decentralized. Local Neighborhood Coordination Officers (NCOs) meet at least quarterly with engaged neighborhood residents in what are known as "build-the-block" meetings to learn about problems and to share responsibility for safety and security; the thrust of Neighborhood Policing is sector-based local officers doing their police work with the community.

In 2014, the City launched the Mayor's Action Plan for Neighborhood Safety (MAP) in response to a spike in violence in public housing. This complex, City-led initiative channels resources into 15 NYCHA developments and surrounding neighborhoods with high rates of violence. Most importantly, MAP creates a larger role for residents in improving their own communities—because a sustainable peace is one where residents have a role in defining and maintaining public safety. MAP brings residents, government, and non-profits together through NeighborhoodStat (NSTAT) to collectively identify and solve problems. Facilitated by MAP engagement coordinators, who are hired and trained by project partners the Center for Court Innovation, local NSTAT meetings are led by stakeholder teams made up of residents and partners from over 10 City agencies who gather to discuss issues of concern, identify common goals, and begin the process of organizing people and resources to implement real change.

Figure 5.70 shows the prevalence of certain reported violent felonies—homicides, robberies, and felony assaults—by neighborhood. The areas with the highest reported violent crime rates are in areas of the South Bronx, portions of Harlem, Norwood to Wakefield in the North Bronx, and portions of central and east Brooklyn, all of which have predominantly Black or Hispanic populations. Smaller areas that also have high rates of community violence are on the north shore

45 Patrick Sharkey, Uneasy Peace: The Great Crime Decline, the Renewal of City Life, and the Next War on Violence, W.W. Norton & Company (2018).

of Staten Island, Coney Island, Queensbridge, Jamaica, and the Rockaways. Midtown Manhattan and Downtown Brooklyn have elevated rates of NYPD complaints due to their high volume of daily visitors; it is therefore less likely that residents of these areas experience crime in the same way or to the same degree as residents of other, more residential neighborhoods that are predominantly communities of color, such as the Melrose and Mott Haven neighborhoods of the Bronx and Brownsville and East New York in Brooklyn.

Figure 5.70 Exposure to Violent Crime by NTA

Violent Crime Rate per 1,000 Residents

- 0.4 - 1.0
- 1.0 - 3.0
- 3.0 - 6.0
- > 6.0
- Non-Residential Areas
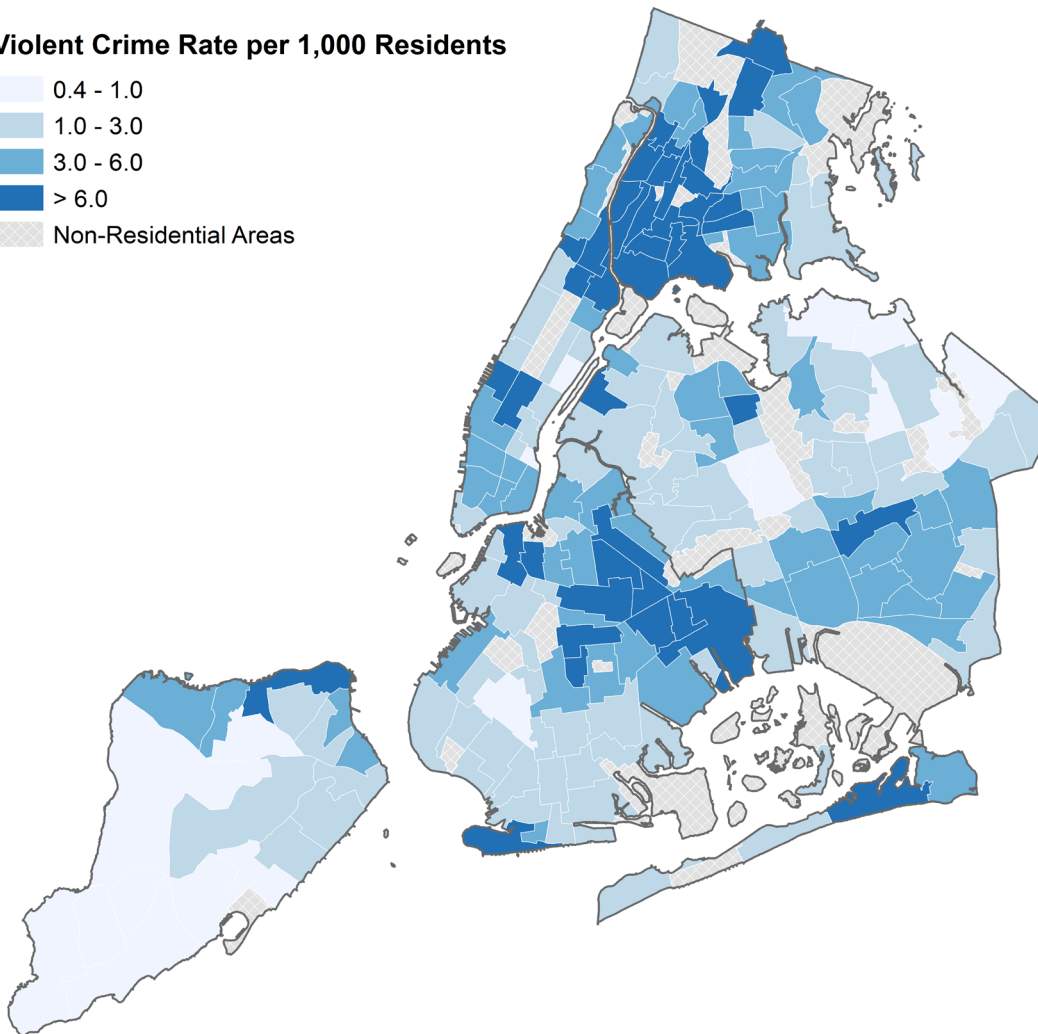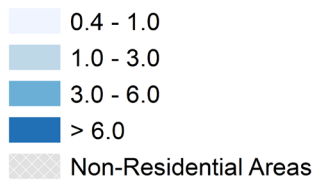
Sources: HPD tabulations of historic NYPD complaints (Source: NYC Open Data) and U.S. Census Bureau (Source: HUD AFFH-T). Notes: Data include valid homicide, robbery, and felony assault complaints reported to NYPD during calendar year 2017. Only complaints with spatial coordinates have been mapped, and the locations of some complaints are approximate. See NYPD documentation for additional notes. Rates are constructed using population in 2010.

Given these highly unequal spatial patterns of violent crime, Black and Hispanic New Yorkers have the highest rates of exposure to violent felony crimes near their homes, as described earlier in Section 5.1. Communities also experience the consequences of violence differently because of a history of discrimination in the criminal justice system that underlies the different rates at which racial and ethnic groups are policed and incarcerated.[46]

Figure 5.71 Jail Incarceration Rate by NTA

Incarceration Rate per 1,000 people ages 18 and older

- 0.5 - 3.0
- 3.0 - 6.0
- 6.0 - 10.0
- 10.0 - 19.2
- Non-Residential Areas
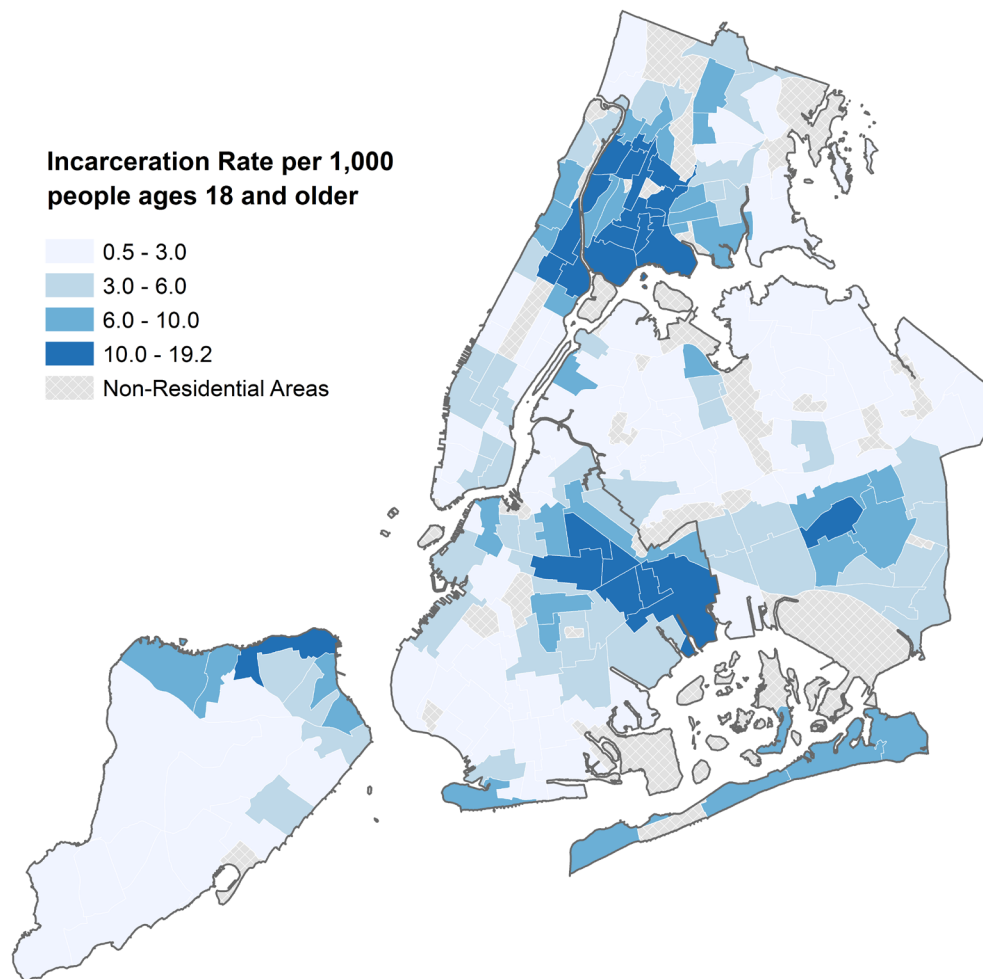
Sources: NYC Department of Health and Mental Hygiene "Neighborhood Health Atlas," based on data from NYC Department of Correction, 2011-2016. Crude rate of incarcerated adults in NYC Department of Correction facilities per 1,000 population ages 18 and older. Addresses at admission to New York City Department of Correction facilities were geocoded; 69% of all records could be geocoded to a valid NTA. Unpopulated areas are excluded.

46 Michelle Alexander, The New Jim Crow: Mass Incarceration in the Age of Colorblindness, The New Press (2010); Elizabeth Hinton, From the War on Poverty to the War on Crime, Harvard University Press (2017).

Figure 5.71 shows that imprisonment and the consequences of incarceration are felt most severely in certain communities in New York City. The map shows the rates at which adults have been admitted to jails managed by the New York City Department of Corrections by neighborhood of residence. Incarceration rates are elevated in central and eastern Brooklyn, upper Manhattan, the Bronx, and parts of Queens. The highest rates of incarceration are in the Brooklyn neighborhoods of Ocean Hill (19.1%) and Brownsville (15.3%), where Black households make-up more than 78% of the population, and in East New York (15.6%), which is predominantly Black and has a substantial Hispanic population.

The lowest rates of incarceration are experienced in the predominantly White communities of Stuyvesant Town/Peter Cooper Village and the Upper East Side (0.5%) in Manhattan and Brooklyn Heights-Cobble Hill in Brooklyn (0.7%). In these areas, the rates of incarceration are 20 times less than those in the highest areas of New York.

Supporting Re-entry and Building Community Ties

The New York City Department of Probation (DOP) has sought to address the concentrated effects of involvement with the criminal-justice system through the development of its Neighborhood Opportunity Network (NeON) centers. NeON centers are located in neighborhoods with the highest density of DOP clients—including Brownsville, East New York, Bedford-Stuyvesant, Central Harlem, South Jamaica, the South Bronx, and Bay Street in Staten Island—which are also the neighborhoods with the highest rates of incarcerated residents. These centers bring together local service providers, businesses, and residents to centralize relevant services and activities in order to promote the success of people on probation and the communities in which they live.

One of the links between NeON, the Mayor's Action Plan for Neighborhood Safety, and NYPD's community policing model is a focus on supporting local non-profit organizations and creating or improving spaces for building community ties. Researchers have emphasized the importance of active non-profit organizations and bonds between community members in improving not only neighborhood safety, but also a range of other health outcomes, including asthma, low birth weight, and heat-wave deaths. Additional efforts by City agencies to support local non-profits and social cohesion include DCLA's Building Community Capacity initiative, DOT's Plaza Program, and the Department of Parks and Recreation's ("NYC Parks") Community Parks Initiative. And as part of its Community Health Survey, NYC Health Department has begun to track the rate at which neighborhood residents feel that people in their neighborhood are willing to help their neighbors. Over the long-term, this data will assist the City in understanding the relationship between social ties and important neighborhood outcomes.

Incarceration brings a host of collateral consequences for the incarcerated individual: Upon re-entry, a history of criminal-justice involvement may reduce employment opportunities and limit access to quality housing because of discrimination in the housing market against individuals with criminal records.[47] Incarceration also affects the families of those incarcerated by causing economic and housing insecurity, increasing stress, imposing additional demands on family members, and potentially causing homelessness. For communities, incarceration affects social ties, impacts mental health, and drains economic activity and business development.

C. Financial Health

New York City's Department of Consumer and Worker Protection (DCWP) and its Office of Financial Empowerment (OFE) have focused on developing a framework of metrics to understand how neighborhoods can promote or hinder financial health and how financial security can be improved. Those neighborhood financial health indicators, which are examined in "How Neighborhoods Help New Yorkers Get Ahead: Findings from the Collaborative for Neighborhood Financial Health," provide extensive information about how financial resources vary by neighborhood.[48] Neighborhood conditions that promote long-term financial resiliency and provide resources that residents can use to spend, save, borrow, and plan for life contribute to a strong and cohesive neighborhood and local economy.

Figure 5.72 uses the location of financial service providers, including banks, credit unions, pawnshops, and check cashers, to analyze the type of financial resources that are available in different neighborhoods. Because they charge high interest rates and fees and impose riskier terms, pawnshops and check cashers can damage the financial health of hard-working New Yorkers with low incomes. Figure 5.72 therefore examines the ratio of banks and credit unions to check cashers and pawnshops in each of the city's Community Districts, and it shows. Figure 5.72 shows that in many New York City neighborhoods that are predominantly Black and His-panic, there are more check cashers and pawn- shops than banks and credit unions. In the dark red areas, the number of pawnshops and check cashers is two to 10 times the number of banks and credit unions. As one resident of East Harlem said to OFE, "We're... flooded with check cashers and pawnshops. Whatever little left that poor families have, [these businesses are] just stripping them of value... because families are in desperate need."

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47 John Bae et al, "Coming Home: An Evaluation of the New York City Housing Authority's Family Reentry Pilot Pro-gram," (Nov. 2016), p. 7, available from: https://storage.googleapis.com/vera-web-assets/downloads/Publications/coming-home-nycha-family-reentry-pilot-program-evaluation/legacy_downloads/NYCHA_report-032917.pdf.

48 NYC Department of Consumer Affairs, "How Neighborhoods Help New Yorkers Get Ahead: Findings from the Collaborative for Neighborhood Financial Health," (Dec. 2017), available at: https://www1.nyc.gov/assets/dca/down-loads/pdf/partners/Report-HowNeighborhoodsHelpNYersGetAhead.pdf.

Figure 5.72 Availability of Banks and Credit Unions versus Check Cashers and Pawnshops

Ratio of Banks & Credit Unions to Check Cashers & Pawnshops

- 0.1 - 0.5
- 0.5 - 1.0
- 1 - 2
- 2 - 4
- 4 - 10
- 10 - 44
- Non-Residential Areas
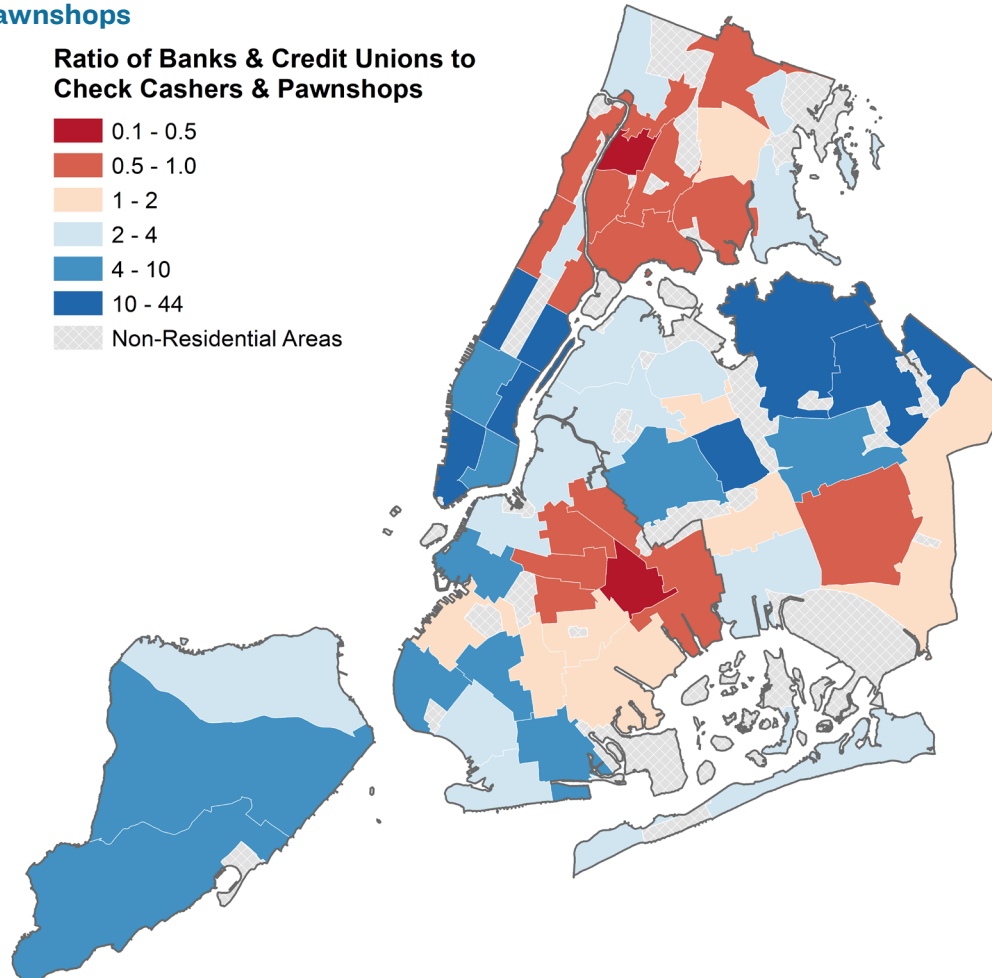
Source: Department of Consumer Affairs. Bank branch data: FDIC Summary of Deposits - June 2018; Credit Union data: National Credit Union Administration - November 2018; Check Cashers: New York State Department of Financial Services - November 2018; Pawnshops: New York City Department of Consumer Affairs - March 2019. Note: A ratio of 0.1 means that for every one bank or credit union, there are 10 check cashers or pawnshops, where as a ratio of 10 means that for every one check casher or pawnshop, there are 10 banks or credit unions.

Another critical indicator is credit score, which predicts how likely an individual is to repay their debts by analyzing a portion of the individual's financial history, including credit card debt, student loans, auto loans, mortgages, and personal accounts. This number carries significant implications for the financial well-being of families, affecting everything from the availability and cost of a mortgage to the ability to secure a rental apartment. However, many Americans do not have enough of a financial history to generate a credit score—because of their youth, immigration status, or lack of interaction with financial institutions and resources. These individuals are considered "unscorable," and the United States Consumer Financial Protection Bureau estimates that 21% of New Yorkers are unscorable.[49]

49 New York City Comptroller, "Making Rent Count: How NYC Tenants Can Lift Credit Scores and Save Money," (Oct. 2017), p. 7, available at: https://comptroller.nyc.gov/wp-content/uploads/documents/Rent-and-Credit-Report.pdf.

Figure 5.73 shows the percentage of people by New York City ZIP Code with "subprime" credit, which is a score of 600 or below, or who are "unscorable." Residents with subprime credit or who are unscorable may be charged higher interest rates when trying to access loans or may be rejected by landlords who believe that relatively low credit scores demonstrate a greater likelihood of non-payment of rent. While NYCHA and HPD ensure that New Yorkers cannot be rejected from their affordable housing options simply due to their credit score or lack of credit history, such protections are not applicable to most of the city's housing stock.

Figure 5.73 Share of Residents with a Subprime or No Credit Score
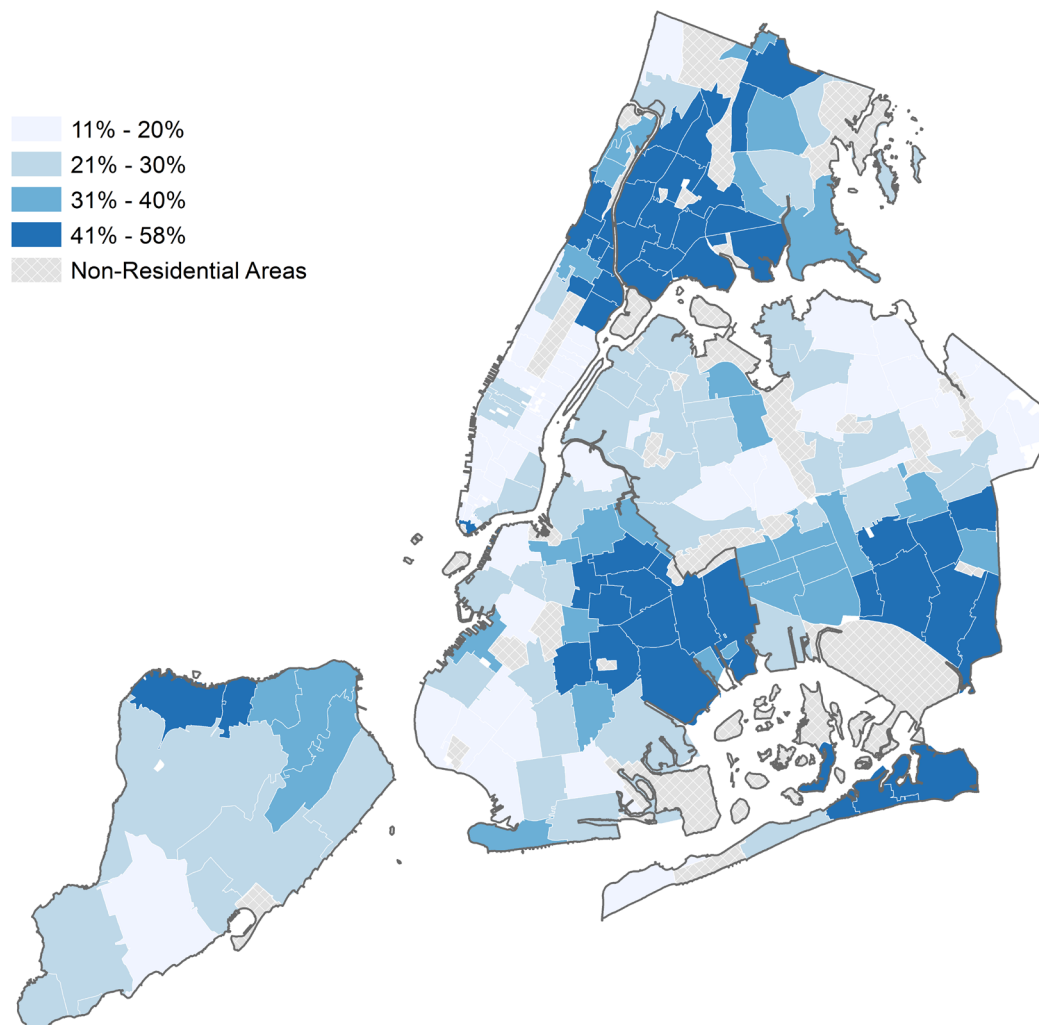
11% - 20%
21% - 30%
31% - 40%
41% - 58%
Non-Residential Areas

Source: New York City Comptroller, "Making Rent Count: How NYC Tenants Can Lift Credit Scores and Save Money," (Oct. 2017), https://comptroller.nyc.gov/wp-content/uploads/documents/Rent-and-Credit-Report.pdf.

There are some ZIP Codes in the Bronx, central Brooklyn, and southeast Queens—all areas with predominant populations of people of color—where more than 50% of the population has subprime credit or is unscorable. These neighborhoods also have some of the highest ratios of pawnshops and check cashers to banks and credit unions, as seen above in Figure 5.72. Together, these factors indicate that certain neighborhoods have little access to the financial services and resources that are critical to residents' financial stability and ability to build assets.

Figure 5.74 shows disparities in New Yorkers access to broadband. About 40% of New York City households, or 3.4 million households, do not have access to both home and mobile broadband, and about 1.5 million households lack access to either. Broadband is essential for applying to jobs, doing homework, accessing services, and, during the COVID-19 pandemic, remaining connected to the workforce, school, and community.

Figure 5.74 Broadband Access
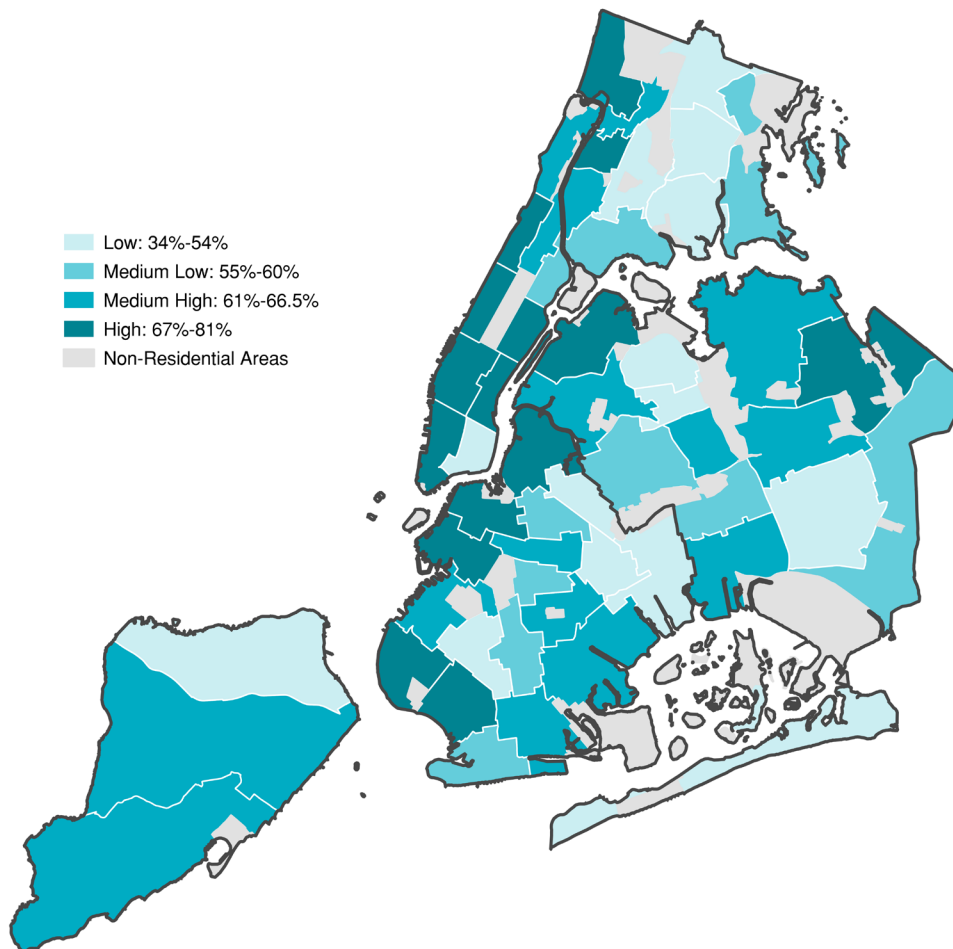
Source: Tabulations from 2013-2017 ACS for "The New York City Internet Master Plan", available for download on City of New York's open data portal. Note: Data tabulated at Public Use Microdata Areas (PUMA) level.

Education

Innumerable factors affect a child's ability to thrive in school, and many of these factors vary considerably by the neighborhood in which a child lives—whether measured in its rate of asthma-related emergency room visits, the prevalence of violent crime, or its availability of safe and affordable housing. While it can be difficult to connect any individual factor to students' success in schools, one recent analysis conducted by researchers at New York University and the University of Southern California found that exposure to violent crime accounts for over 30 percent of the Black-White English language arts (ELA) test-score gap for students in New York City public elementary schools,[50] and, as discussed above, violent crime is now clustered in a small number of neighborhoods in New York City.

This section therefore examines data from DOE on education outcomes of public elementary and middle-school students by the neighborhood in which they live, regardless of the location of the schools they attend. As discussed in Section 5.3, an increasing number of students in the city are not enrolled in the elementary schools closest to their homes, so examining student performance at each school is not necessarily indicative of how well the students who live near that school are performing.

Figure 5.75 shows the rates of proficiency on State-level math tests for 3rd to 8th graders living in different neighborhoods, and Figure 5.76 shows this rate for the ELA exam. There are significant disparities in academic outcomes by where students live.

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50 Patrick Sharkey, et al., "High Stakes in the Classroom, High stakes on the Street: The Effects of Community Violence on Student's Standardized Test Performance," Sociological Science (May 2014), 14(1): 199.

Figure 5.75 3rd-8th Grade Math Proficiency by Where Students Live
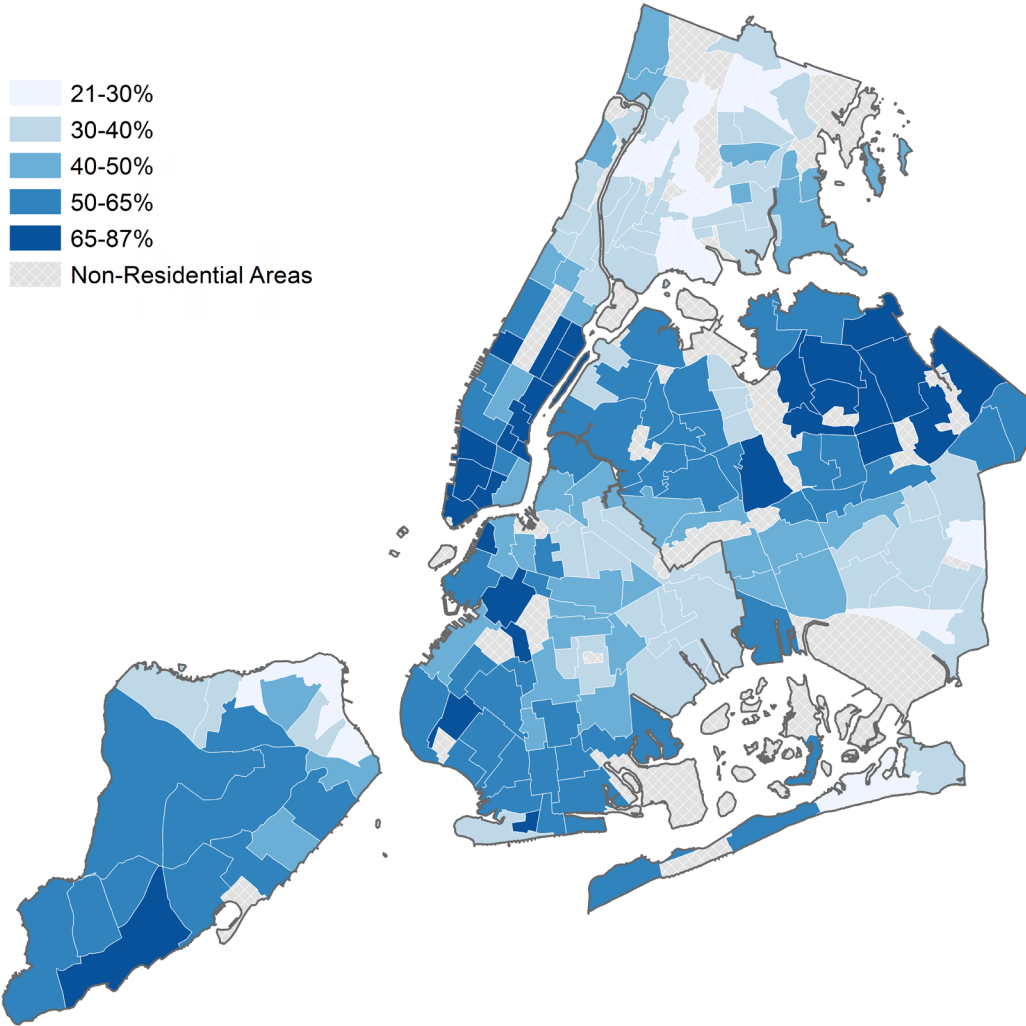
21-30%
30-40%
40-50%
50-65%
65-87%
Non-Residential Areas

Source: Custom tabulations from the Department of Education for 2017-2018 school year. Includes both district and charter school students.

Figure 5.76 3rd-8th Grade English Language Arts (ELA) Proficiency by Where Students Live
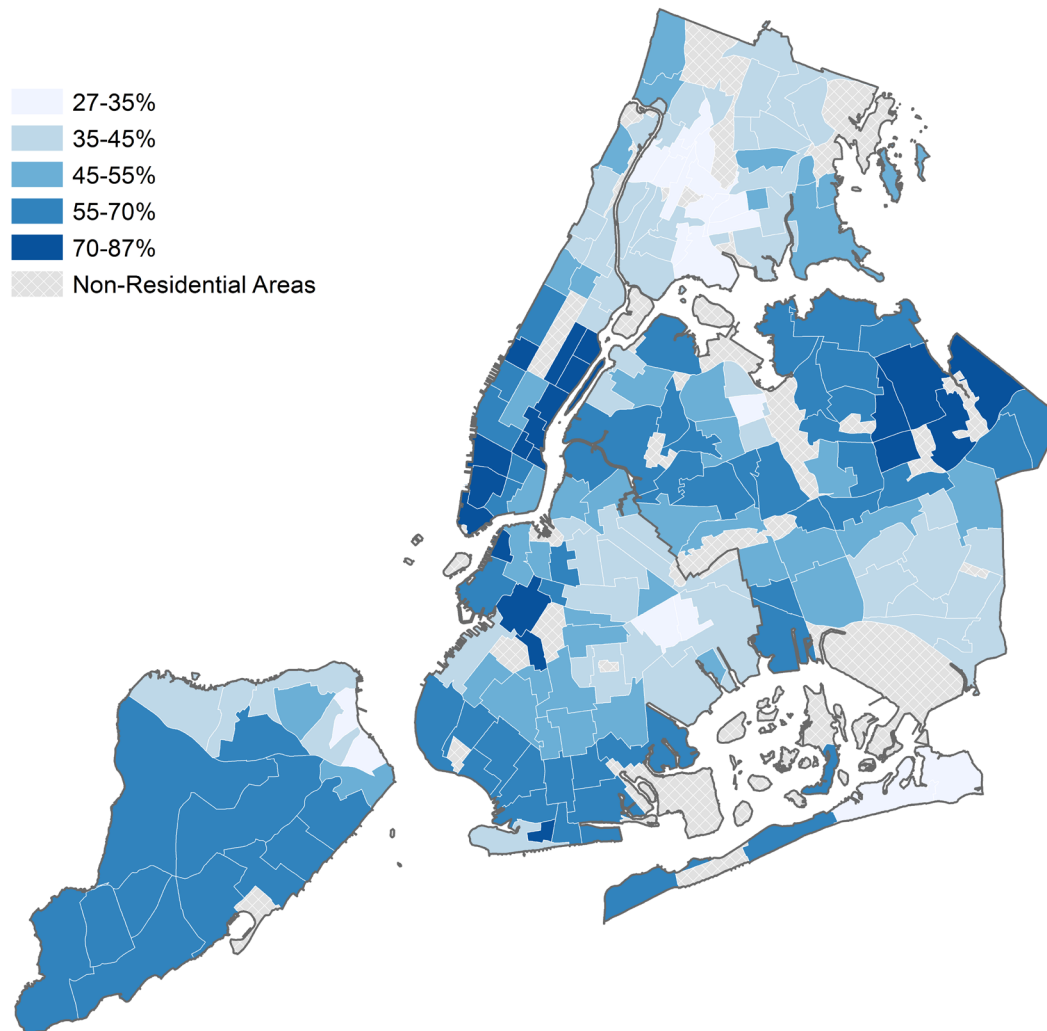
27-35%

35-45%

45-55%

55-70%

70-87%

Non-Residential Areas

Source: Custom tabulations from the Department of Education for 2017-2018 school year. Includes both district and charter school students.

Figure 5.77 shows the rate of chronic absenteeism for students living in different neighborhoods. In some neighborhoods of New York City, more than 30% of 3rd through 8th grade students are chronically absent from school. Figure 5.77 is almost an inverse of Figures 5.75 and 5.76; where rates of chronic absenteeism are particularly high, the rates of student proficiency are particularly low.

Absenteeism is also closely connected to a range of factors in a student's life outside of the classroom, such as whether the student is exposed to elevated asthma risks or experiences housing instability.[51]

Figure 5.77 3rd-8th Grade Chronic Absenteeism Rate by Where Students Live
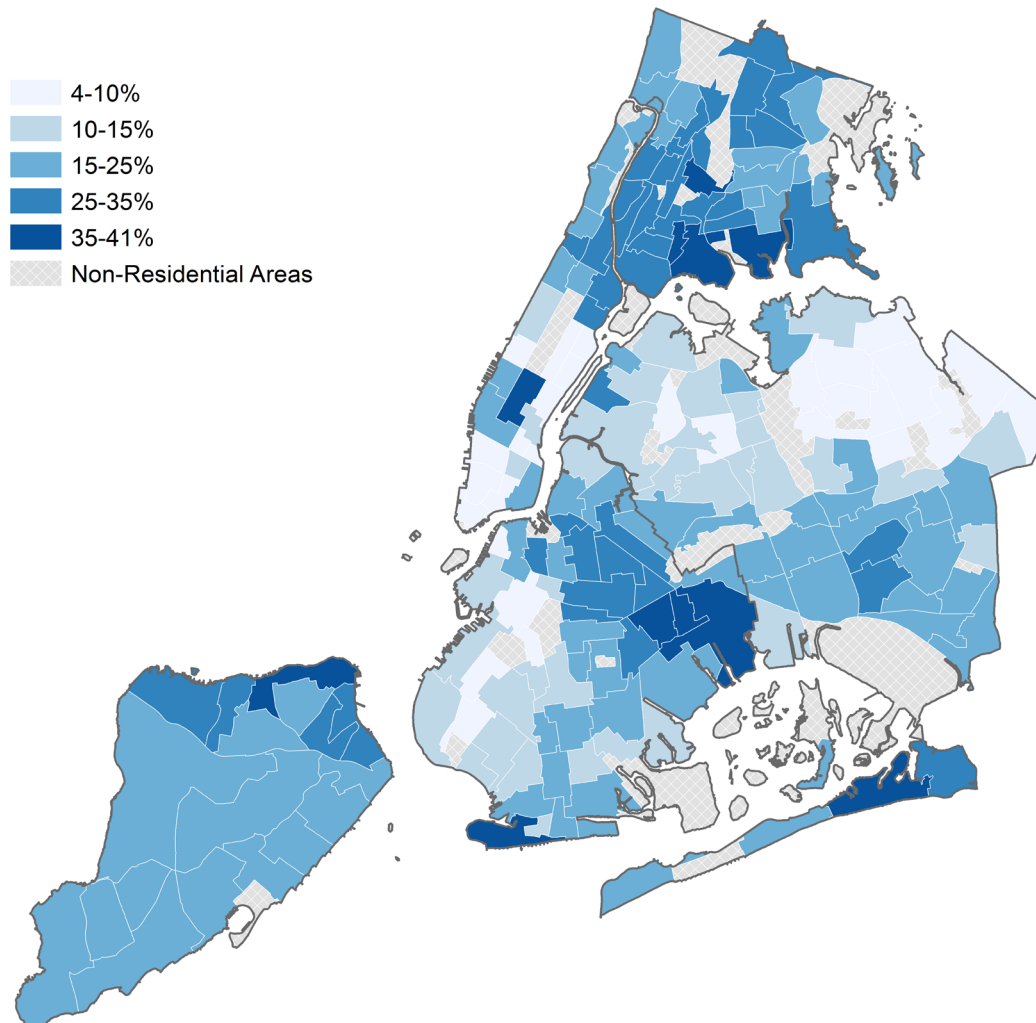
Source: Custom tabulations from the Department of Education for 2017-2018 school year. Includes both district and charter school students.

51 Mary Cunningham and Graham MacDonald, "Housing as a Platform for Improving Education Outcomes among Low-Income Children," (May 2012), p. 7, available at: https://www.urban.org/sites/default/files/publica-tion/25331/412554-Housing-as-a-Platform-for-Improving-Education-Outcomes-among-Low-Income-Children.PDF; Erin Einhorn and Lori Higgins, "Inside Detroit's efforts to address one of the biggest obstacles to better schools: sky-high absenteeism," (Apr. 23, 2019), available at: https://www.chalkbeat.org/posts/detroit/2019/04/23/inside-detroits-efforts-to-address-one-of-the-biggest-obstacles-to-better-schools-sky-high-absenteeism/.

Finally, the large neighborhood disparities in education outcomes seen in elementary and middle school test scores also appear in graduation rates, even though the majority of high schoolers do not attend high school in their local school district and nearly 20% of students do not attend in their home borough. Figure 5.78 shows the graduation rates from New York City public schools by neighborhoods of where students live. Neighborhoods with the highest resident graduation rates are the West Village and Upper East Side, and the lowest are in Harlem, Inwood, Coney Island, and many parts of the south and central Bronx.

Figure 5.78 High-School Graduation Rate by Where Students Live
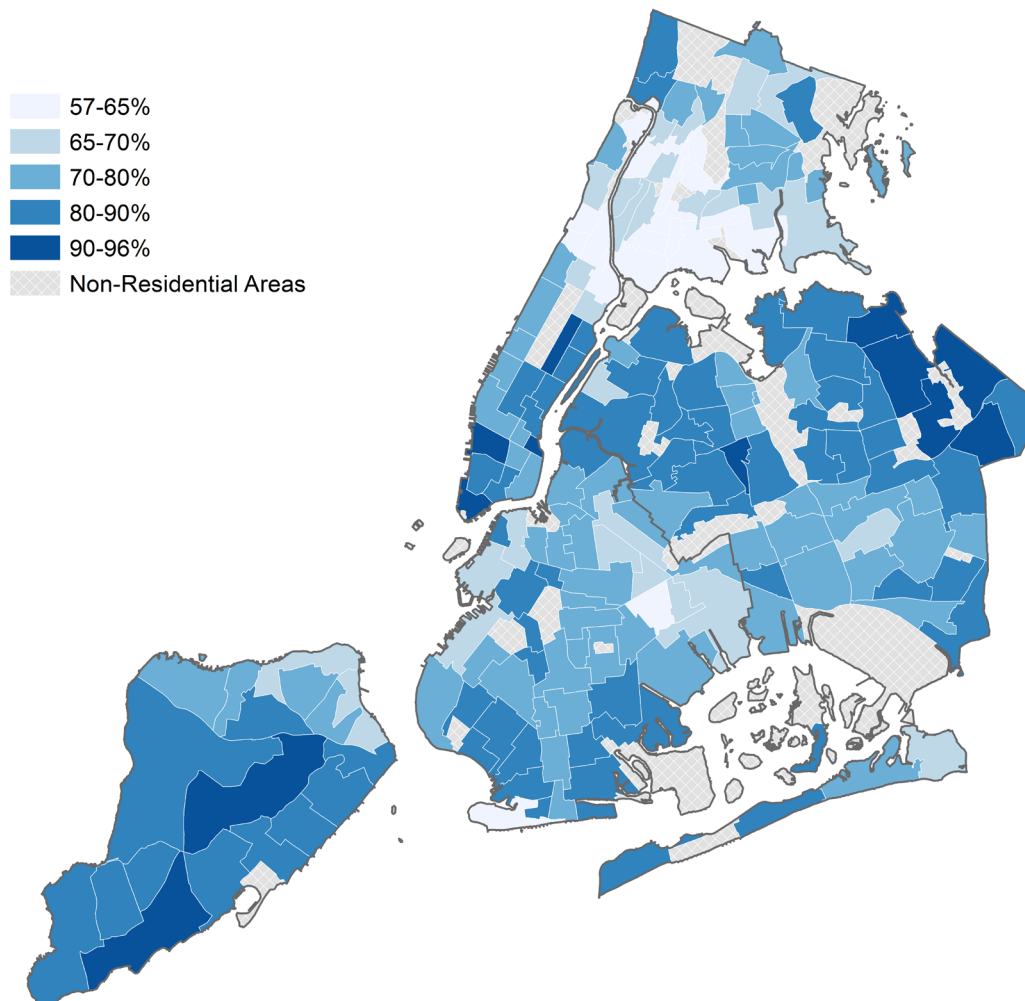
Source: Custom tabulations from the Department of Education for 2017-2018 school year. Includes both district and charter school students.

5.5 Housing Stock and Experiences

Introduction

Housing is an essential part of the environment in which New Yorkers live. It can affect physical health by exposing residents to hazards and triggers. It can affect financial health by limiting the disposable income that can be spent on other basic necessities or by increasing owners' assets and wealth over the long-term. It is also a crucial source of social interaction—one that many New Yorkers rely on as the primary source of social support and connection. Well-maintained, safe, affordable housing provides a stable base from which to launch a healthy and satisfying life.

Previous sections in this chapter described where New Yorkers of different personal characteristics live in relation to each other and how access to resources and opportunities differs dramatically by neighborhood. This section turns to the housing that New Yorkers live in—the 3.5 million housing units spread among houses, brownstones, and towers that 8.5 million New Yorkers call home.

Figure 5.79 Median Gross Rent to Income Ratio, 1965 – 2017
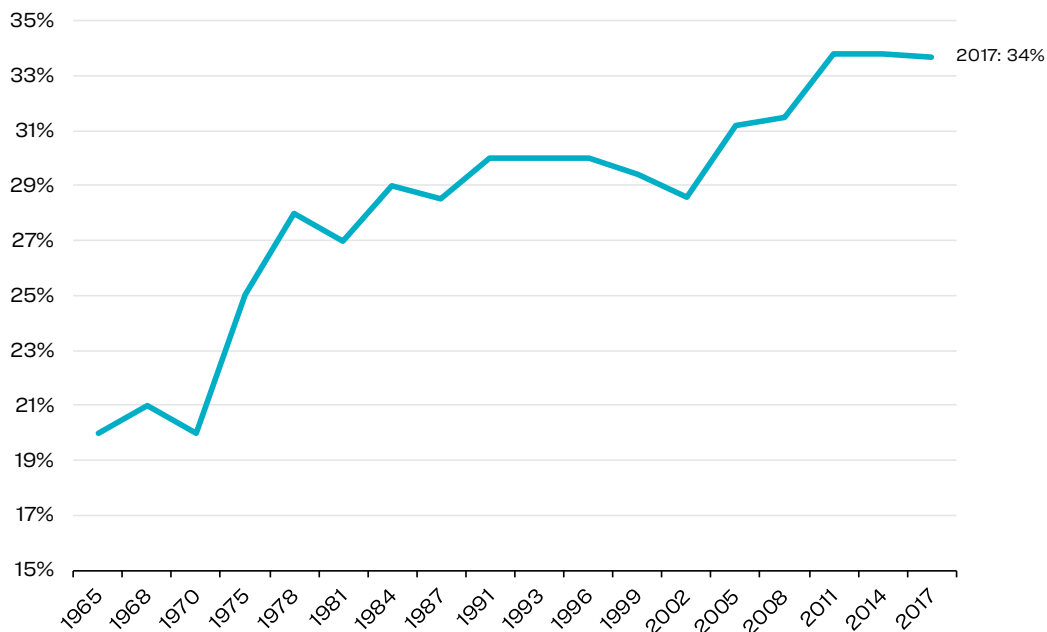
Source: NYC Housing and Vacancy Survey, 1965-2017. US Census Bureau/NYC HPD

Despite the City's unparalleled investments in creating and preserving affordable housing, a shortage of housing options contributes, along with limited wage growth, to an ongoing affordability crisis. The share of tenants that are rent burdened—which means they are paying more than 30% of their income toward rent—remains at the highest level on record. A record number of people—even among New Yorkers with full-time employment—are experiencing homelessness,[52] and that homelessness is deeply inequitable: in 2018, 95% of families with children in homeless shelters were people of color, largely Black and Hispanic.[53]

Figure 5.79 above shows the median rent-to-income ratio from 1965 through 2017 for all renter households; in 2017, the typical New Yorker paid 34% of their income toward rental housing costs. Today, more than half of New York City renter households are rent burdened, including one third of renter households who are severely burdened and pay more than 50% of their income toward housing costs. This crisis is particularly acute for the 890,000 households in New York City who rent their homes and are extremely low- or very low-income according to federal housing guidelines.[54] While 260,000 of these households benefit from living in public housing or receive federal housing vouchers—and are labeled as "means-tested renters" in Figure 5.80 below—630,000 extremely low- and very low-income households do not. In 2017, 90% of these 630,000 households were rent burdened, including 70% of whom were severely rent burdened.

52 Mireya Navarro, "In New York, Having a Job, or 2, Doesn't Mean Having a Home," The New York Times (Sept. 17, 2013); Mara Gay, "Thousands of Working New Yorkers are Living in Homeless Shelters," The Wall Street Journal (Apr. 10, 2017).
53 NYC Department of Homeless Services Data Dashboard – Fiscal Year 2018, available at: https://www1.nyc.gov/assets/dhs/downloads/pdf/dashboard/FY2018-DHS-Data-Dashboard-revised-1'30'2019.pdf.
54 According to federal housing guidelines, households with 3 people who earned between $0 and $25,770 in 2017 were considered "extremely low-income" in New York City, while households with 3 people who earned between $25,771 and $42,950 were considered "very low-income." Federal housing guidelines also describe these households in relation to New York City's Area Median Income ("AMI"), though these calculations are particularly complicated in New York City and other high-cost cities across the country. As noted in Figure 5.80, extremely low-income households are categorized as between 0% and 30% of AMI, while very low-income households are categorized between 30% AMI and 50% AMI. For more information and updated calculations for 2020, see: https://www1.nyc.gov/site/hpd/services-and-information/area-median-income.page.

Figure 5.80 Rent Burden of Extremely Low- and Very Low-Income Renter Households, 2017

■ Severely Burdened   ■ Burdened   ■ Not Burdened   ■ Means-tested Renters
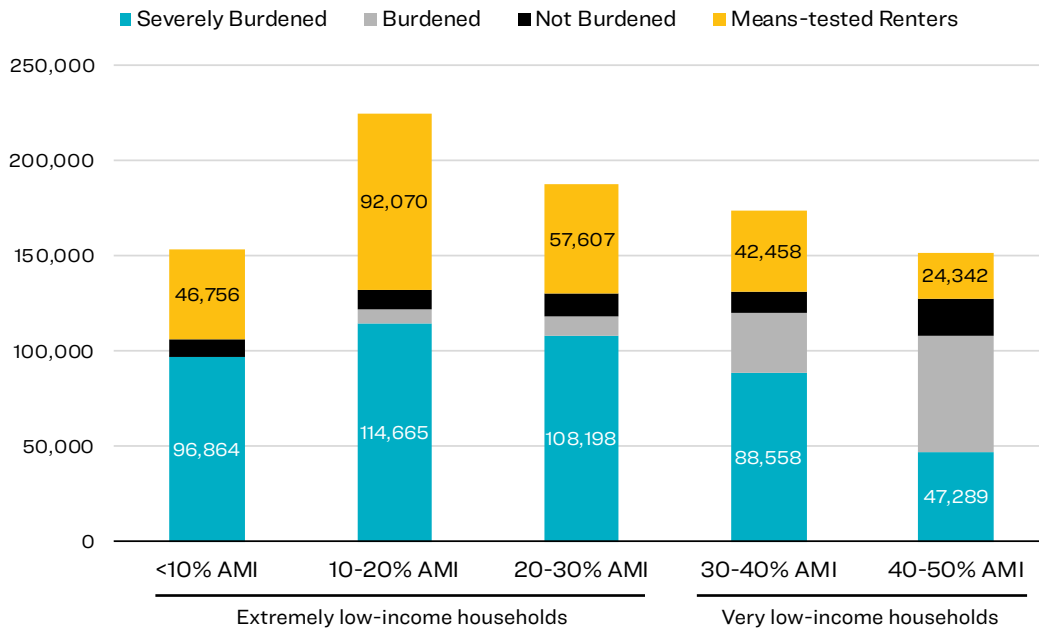
Source: NYC Housing and Vacancy Survey, 2017. US Census Bureau/NYC HPD. "Extremely low-income" house-holds are represented in the first three bars, while "very low-income" households are represented in the last two bars. "Means-tested renters" include those living in public housing and/or receiving a federal housing voucher.

In addition, Figure 5.81 shows that many New Yorkers experience significant overcrowding in their homes, which is defined here as households with more than two residents per bedroom.[55] In some areas of New York City, over 25% of residents are living in overcrowded homes, including many neighborhoods in Queens that have experienced the highest prevalence of COVID-19, such as Jamaica, Jackson Heights, and Corona.[56]

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55 There are many definitions of "overcrowding" in use in the academic literature, and the U.S. Census Bureau and the U.S. Department of Housing & Urban Development (HUD) often use definitions that do not differentiate between bedrooms and other types of rooms in a home, such as "more than one person per room" or "more than 1.5 persons per room." We opted not to use these other measures because they assume that all types of rooms are of equal importance in determining how crowded a home is. The definition used here aligns with HPD's occupancy standards, which are based on persons per bedroom, not persons per room. In addition, this measure of overcrowding focuses on total persons who are experiencing overcrowding rather than households.

56 Joseph Goldstein, "1.5 Million Antibody Tests Show What Parts of N.Y.C. Were Hit Hardest," New York Times, Aug. 19, 2020, available at: https://www.nytimes.com/2020/08/19/nyregion/new-york-city-antibody-test.html.

Figure 5.81 Share of Residents Experiencing Overcrowding, by PUMA

5% - 12%
12% - 14%
14% - 19%
19% - 27%
27% - 36%
Non-Residential Areas
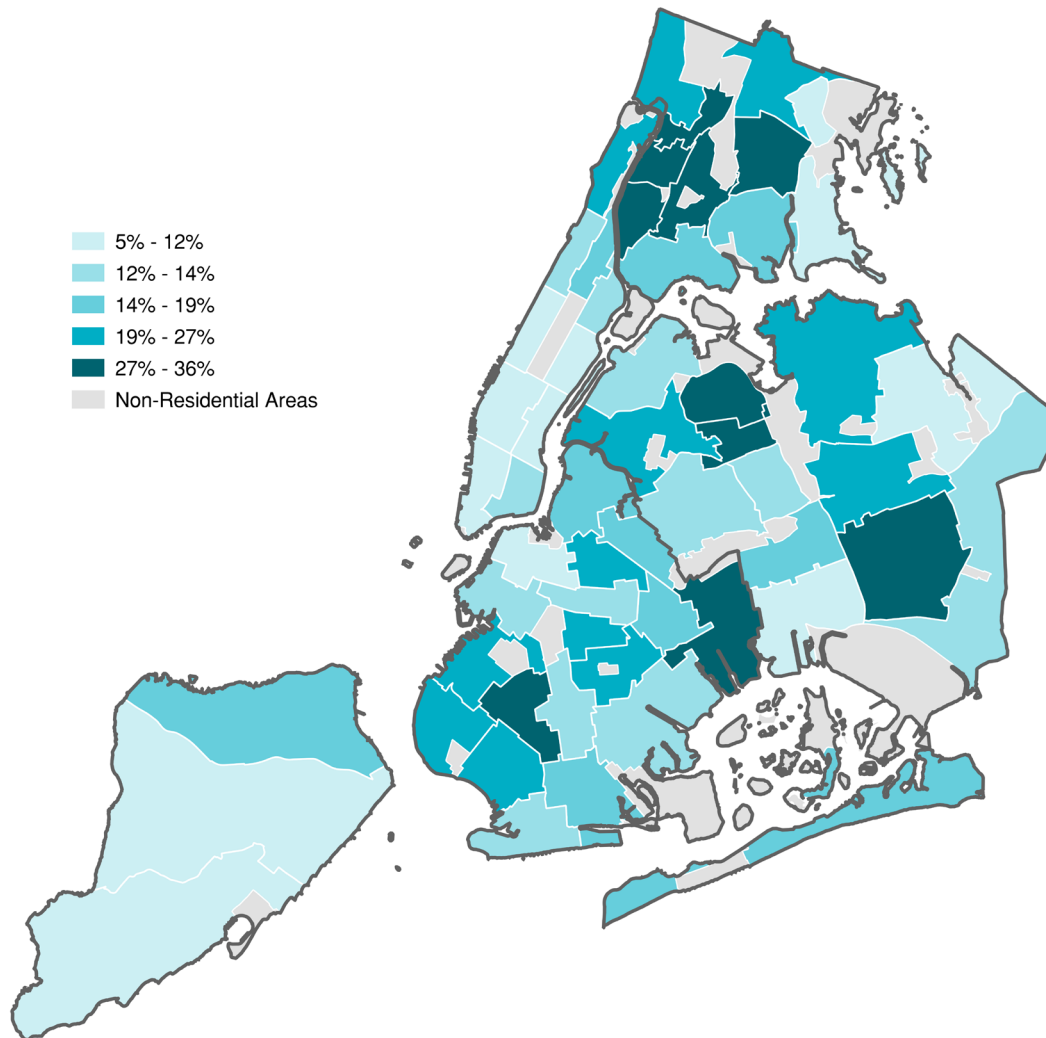
Source: NYC Housing and Vacancy Survey, 2017. US Census Bureau/NYC HPD. A crowded unit is defined as having more than two people per bedroom. Studios are counted as having one bedroom for this measure.

The data analysis in this section serves two primary functions. First, it examines New York City's current housing stock, focusing on the composition and location of different types of housing, as well as trends in where new housing is being built. Second, to better understand whether and how housing disparities might exist between different demographic groups, it evaluates four key issues that shape New Yorkers' experiences in their homes: affordability, quality, accessibility, and stability. Before analyzing the data, however, experiences in the housing market and feedback on government housing programs that New Yorkers provided in the Where We Live NYC participation process are described.

Turning the Tide on Homelessness

In 2017, the City of New York released a comprehensive strategy to address the home-lessness crisis. The City's primary goal is to keep families and individuals from losing their homes and ending up on the street or in shelter. Since 2013, the number of residential evictions by marshals in New York City has fallen by over 40%. During this time, the City began to provide legal assistance for low-income tenants facing eviction and strengthening other homelessness prevention programs.

When staying in a shelter is unavoidable, it is the City's goal to provide shelter in a way that enables New Yorkers who are homeless to stabilize their lives and move back into their communities as soon as possible. Reimagining the shelter system includes closing cluster apartments, closing commercial hotels and replacing them with new shelters to shrink the city-wide shelter footprint, improving the quality of services, and keeping people in their neighborhoods.

Engagement Feedback

Because of the high cost of housing, most New Yorkers who shared their experiences in Where We Live NYC's community participation process did not feel like they have meaningful options when choosing a home or neighborhood. Many participants reported compromising on poor conditions, crowding with extra roommates, or limiting their housing search to specific neighborhoods with less expensive housing options. Seniors and people with disabilities reported particularly limited housing options, because they are often seeking accessible and affordable homes on a fixed income.

- "Affordability dictates everything. The conversation with clients is about where they can afford to live, and then we plan for safety afterwards. Same with school quality—my clients would love to live in a place with good school quality, but they can't afford it. There is a hierarchy of needs. You can't even get to other needs or wants, because first you have to live in a place you can afford." – Service Provider at Community Conversation, Anti-Violence Project
- "I don't want to be rent burdened. I want to have a life. I want to have disposable income at the end of the month. I want to do things after I pay my bills. That's your ability to buy food, buy clothing, and not live paycheck to paycheck." – Community Conversation Participant, Banana Kelly CIA

Participating New Yorkers also discussed relying heavily on government-assisted housing programs to survive in a market that feels too expensive. For many, these programs provided positive, even transformative, opportunities—serving as a pathway out of homelessness or a chance for true housing stability. However, residents also reported that participating in these government programs can limit neighborhood choice. Many residents accepted into these

programs prioritized an affordable home, regardless of location. This can mean moving away from friends and family, or moving into neighborhoods with fewer resources.

Once they moved in, some participants reported feeling stuck with no pathway for leaving publicly-supported housing—particularly NYCHA—because of the lack of affordability in the housing market. Some residents who participate in rental assistance programs also reported feeling "quarantined" in certain neighborhoods due to discrimination, voucher payment limits, and red tape for themselves as well as landlords.

Public Housing (NYCHA):

- "I can't leave NYCHA. Right now, at end of pay week, I have $200-300 after rent. And if I moved, I would only have $5 left. I would go hungry in a nice apartment." – Community Conversation Participant, NYCHA Public Housing
- "NYCHA said to me, 'You can pick three areas.' My daughter and I lived in Astoria, so I asked to move to Queens or Manhattan or Brooklyn. I didn't know Staten Island. But I was sent here, and I took it because I needed it. But in these years that I can still walk, I don't want to be two hours from my daughters and my grandkids." – Community Conversation Participant, NYCHA Public Housing
- "The lack of repairs makes it hard to want to keep staying, but [NYCHA] is the only place nearby that many people can afford." – Community Conversation Participant, Fifth Avenue Committee

New Affordable Housing (HPD):

- "The first apartment I got [through HPD's housing lottery] was in Manhattan. I didn't have a choice about it because it was subsidized housing. I had to go where the housing was, due to accessibility and affordability. So, I had to break off everything I had in Brooklyn and start over with friends, doctors, and everything. I did give that up but I got more in return." – Community Conversation Participant, Brooklyn Center for Independence of the Disabled
- "Low-income people don't really have a choice. We're in our building because we got chosen by the lottery. Most people live in the building because they don't have a choice. I'm just there. I don't feel connected to my neighborhood and don't know my neighbors." – Community Conversation Participant, Center for Court Innovation
- "I'm in an HPD building. I wouldn't have selected that location, but I was paying $1,800 for a two-bedroom and that meant we were eating noodle soup every day. So I got into something, and it's in Crown Heights, and it's extremely affordable: two-bedroom at $995. I was standing there shocked when I won. I'm on the 6th floor and I have a beautiful view of the city." – Community Conversation Participant, Flatbush Development Corporation

Federal (Section 8) and City Vouchers:

- "They [Section 8 staff] gave me a list and they circled three different places in Far Rockaway. I have never lived in Far Rockaway. I lived in Brooklyn for 40 years. I would have preferred Brooklyn, but I was desperate so I chose the first thing they gave me, which was the Rockaways." – Community Conversation Participant, Section 8 Housing Choice Voucher program
- "The City's voucher is so limiting. You can't leave the city, and also the amount of the voucher keeps your search incredibly closed. There is almost nothing but rooms available in the voucher price range. Now the cost of rooms has gone up to the point that the voucher will barely cover that." – Community Conversation Participant, Neighbors Together

For many New Yorkers, the lack of housing choice has a fundamental impact on their lives— from day-to-day behaviors to planning for the future. Residents discussed the high stress and sacrifice that result from having little or no access to safe, quality, and affordable housing. Here are some experiences regarding housing choice and quality that were shared:

- A single mother got pneumonia because of poor heating in her apartment but was afraid to make a complaint because she was undocumented.
- A young immigrant moved five times in three years—once living in a windowless basement—to afford rent.
- A transgender person feared for their safety because they could not receive gender-affirming surgery since they did not have the required stable housing available for post-surgery care.
- In order to prepare fresh food for her family, a person using a rental voucher reported that she began barbecuing on the sidewalk outside her apartment after the landlord refused to fix her stove.
- A disabled 89-year-old took over an hour to get up the stairs each day because their rent-stabilized building had no elevator but was all they could afford.

New York City's Housing Stock

Introduction

New York City houses a total of about 8.5 million people in approximately 3.1 million occupied housing units. About two thirds of the occupied units, or 2.1 million units, are rented, and the remaining third of occupied units, or about 1 million units, are occupied by households who own their home.

A large majority of the city's occupied rental housing stock falls into one of two categories—rent-stabilized and market-rate—and each has approximately 900,000 units. Rent-stabilized units are predominantly in buildings built before 1974 that contain six or more units. A small number of units in older buildings with fewer than six units are also subject to rent

stabilization, as are units in buildings receiving tax benefits or subject to regulatory agreements with the State or City. There are three categories of market-rate rental units: (1) units that were never rent-stabilized because their buildings contain fewer than six units or were built after 1974; (2) units that were subject to rent regulation but have decontrolled or been released from rent regulation; and (3) unregulated rental units in co-op and condo buildings.

New York City also has a substantial amount of government-assisted housing, which are categorized for the purposes of this section's analysis as "NYCHA," "Section 8," and "Other Regulated."

- **NYCHA**: New York City was the first in the nation to construct public housing, and NYCHA's properties remain the largest portfolio of public housing in the country. Public housing is affordable, means-tested housing for low- and moderate-income residents, who pay no more than 30% of their income toward rent.
- **Section 8**: Section 8 vouchers are means-tested and rent levels are set at a specified percent of residents' incomes. But unlike public housing residents, people with vouchers mostly live in privately-owned buildings, and the government pays a portion of their rent.
- **Other Regulated**: Other Regulated housing includes *in rem* units that are owned by the City or are regulated under a variety of federal, state, and local programs, including Mitchell-Lama, HUD-regulated, Article 4, Municipal Loan, Loft Board, and rent control units. Some of these units are means-tested and some are not.

Who lives in each housing type?

New York City's population is not evenly distributed among the different housing types described in this section. Because different housing types can contribute to different experiences that residents have in their homes, it is important to analyze which populations live in each housing type. Differences by race and ethnicity, household composition, and foreign-born status, among others, may lead to different opportunities or constraints.

Figure 5.83 illustrates that there is substantial variation among housing types in terms of the race and ethnicity of their residents. White residents represent the largest share of residents in both owner-occupied and market-rate rental units. Hispanic residents represent the largest share of New Yorkers in public housing, households with a voucher, and rent-stabilized units, though Black households are also disproportionately represented in public housing and in households renting with a voucher. Both Asian/PI and White residents are severely under-represented in public housing and households renting with a voucher.

Figure 5.82 Race and Ethnicity by Housing Type

■ White ■ Black ■ Hispanic ■ Asian ■ Other
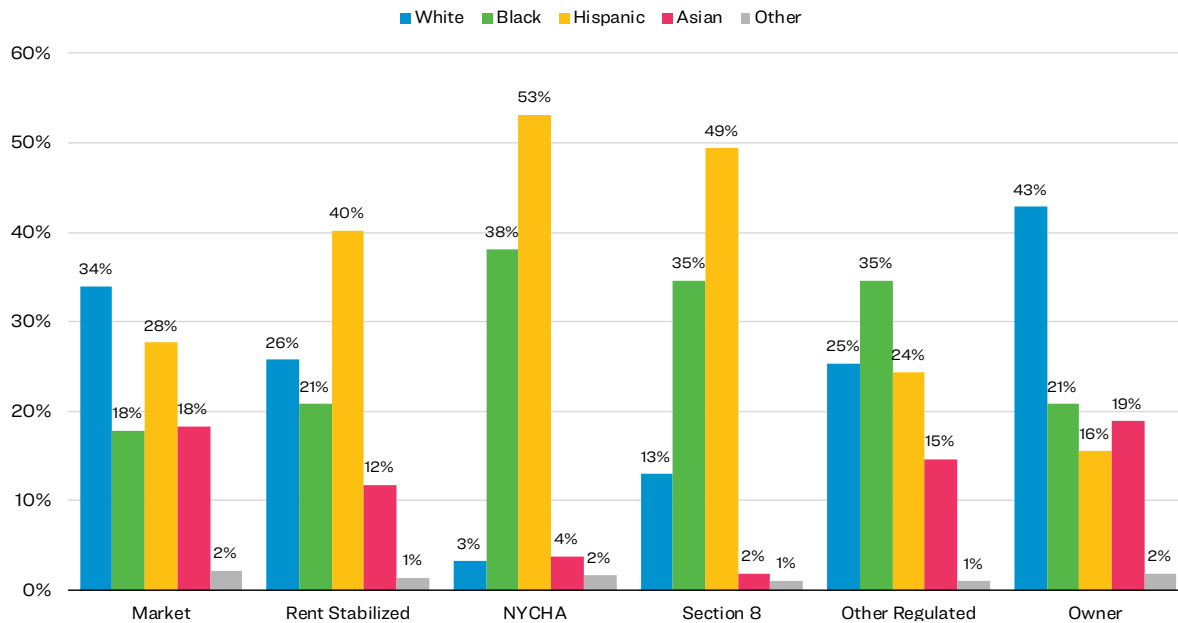
Source: NYC Housing and Vacancy Survey, 2017. US Census Bureau/NYC HPD.

Household composition can be measured in many ways beyond race and ethnicity. Here, three household types are considered: individuals who live alone, those who live with one or more children under age 18, and those who live with one or more seniors (someone age 62 or older). These are not mutually exclusive—a senior may live alone and a household with children may also have one or more co-resident seniors.

Figure 5.82 shows that more residents live with children in public housing or with a voucher than in any other type of housing, though a substantial share of households in all types of housing includes a child under the age of 18. Other regulated and owner-occupied housing have the largest shares of residents living with one or more seniors (43% and 42%), followed by public housing (31%), households with a voucher (28%), and rent-stabilized residents (26%). Only 17% of residents in market-rate housing live with a senior.

Across all housing types, about one in eight New Yorkers lives alone. Other Regulated has the highest share of individuals living alone (28%), and owner-occupied has the lowest (9%).

Figure 5.83 Household Composition by Housing Type

■ 1+ child in home   ■ 1+ senior in home   ■ Lives alone

Chart: Household composition percentages by housing type

Housing Type	1+ child in home	1+ senior in home	Lives alone
Market	50%	17%	11%
Rent Stabilized	45%	26%	14%
NYCHA	56%	31%	12%
Section 8	56%	28%	17%
Other Regulated	37%	43%	28%
Owner	45%	42%	9%
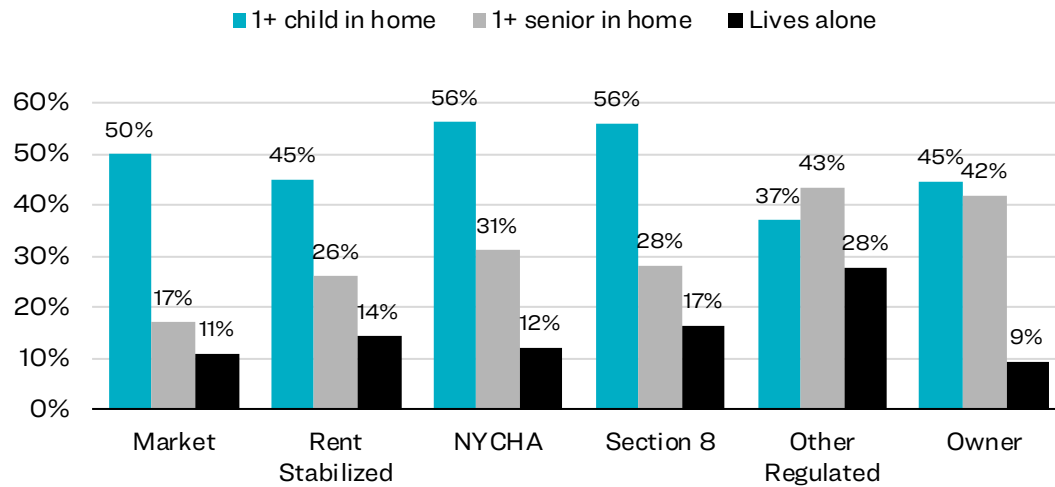
Source: NYC Housing and Vacancy Survey, 2017. US Census Bureau/NYC HPD.

The housing stock also varies by foreign-born status of the head of household. Figure 5.84 illustrates that owner-occupied units, market-rate rentals, and rent-stabilized units are relatively similar in terms of the share of households that are headed by someone who was born outside of the United States, while public housing, units rented with a voucher, and other regulated units have significantly lower rates of foreign-born heads of household. Public housing has the lowest share with 34%, followed by households with a voucher and other regulated housing.

Figure 5.84 Foreign-born Status by Housing Type

Housing Type	Percentage
Market	53%
Rent Stabilized	57%
NYCHA	34%
Section 8	39%
Other Regulated	40%
Owner	48%
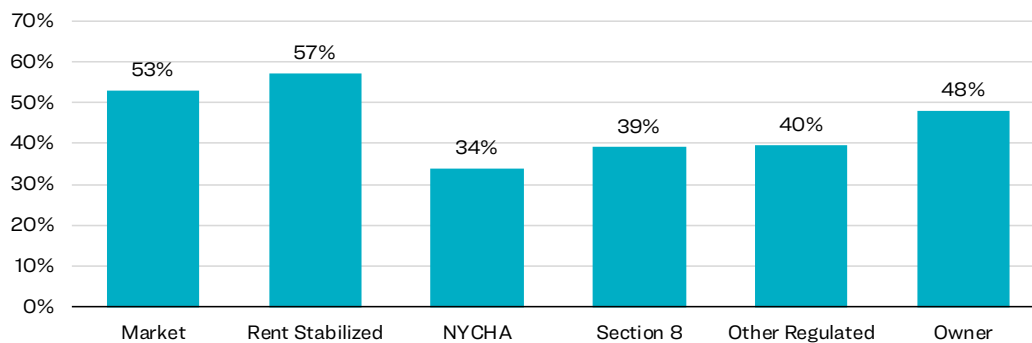
Source: NYC Housing and Vacancy Survey, 2017. US Census Bureau/NYC HPD.

Where is each type located?

Figures 5.85 to 5.89 below show the share of units of each housing type in each of the 55 sub-borough areas in New York City.[57] For example, Figure 5.85 below shows the share of each sub-borough's total housing units that is market-rate rental housing.

Figure 5.85 Market-Rate Rental Housing by Share of Total Units
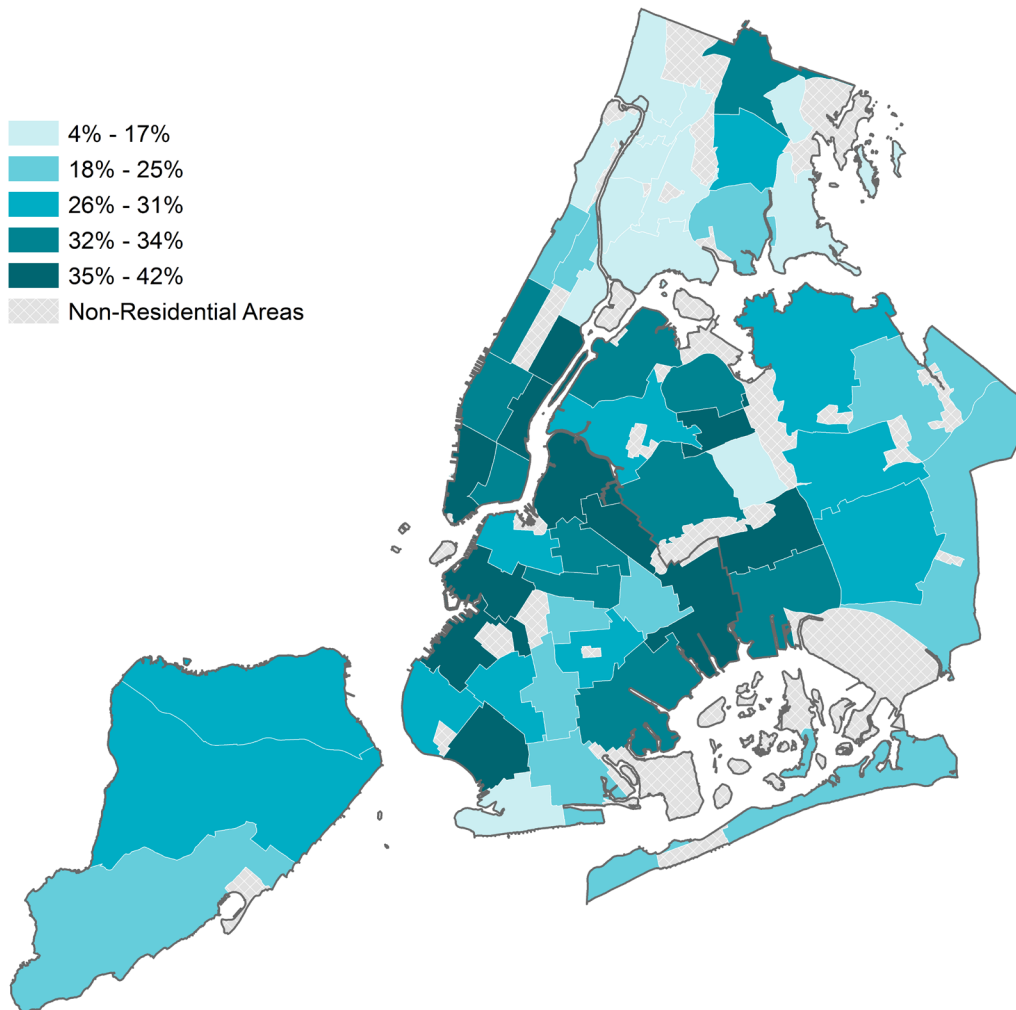
Source: NYC Housing and Vacancy Survey, 2017. US Census Bureau/NYC HPD.

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57 While most of the analysis in this report uses Neighborhood Tabulation Areas (NTAs) as the primary geographic unit, NTAs are too small for analyzing data from the New York City Housing and Vacancy Survey (NYCHVS), which is the primary data source on the city's housing stock. This section relies on Public Use Microdata Areas (PUMAs), which have a minimum population of 100,000, are aggregated from census tracts, and approximate Community Districts (CDs) or combinations of CDs. (There are 59 CDs and only 55 NYC PUMAs because of such combinations.)

Market-rate rental housing makes up the largest share of the neighborhoods' housing in parts of Lower and Midtown Manhattan, Brooklyn, and western Queens. The highest number of market-rate rentals are located in Manhattan south of 110th Street and specific areas of Brooklyn and Queens, including Greenpoint/Williamsburg, Bensonhurst, Ridgewood, Astoria/Long Island City, and Flushing.

Figure 5.86 Rent-Stabilized Rental Housing by Share of Total Units

1% - 15%
16% - 24%
25% - 29%
30% - 37%
38% - 67%
Non-Residential Areas
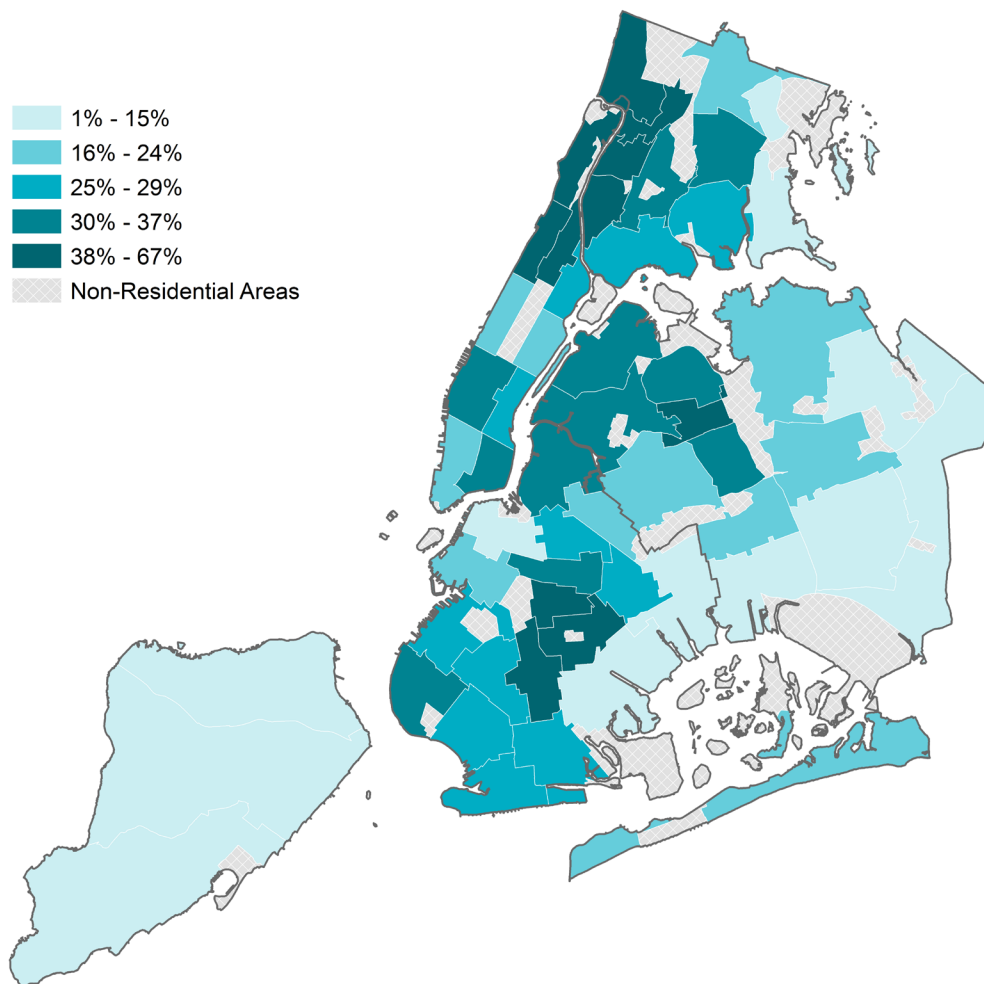
Source: NYC Housing and Vacancy Survey, 2017. US Census Bureau/NYC HPD.

Figure 5.86 shows rent-stabilized housing by share of units in each neighborhood. The highest shares of rent-stabilized units are in Upper Manhattan above 110th Street, western neighborhoods in the Bronx, Elmhurst in Queens, and a cluster of neighborhoods in central Brooklyn, including South Crown Heights, Flatbush, and East Flatbush. There are fewer rent-stabilized units, as a share of the neighborhoods' housing, in southeast Queens and Staten Island, where the homeownership rates are higher.

Figure 5.87 Public Housing by Share of Total Units
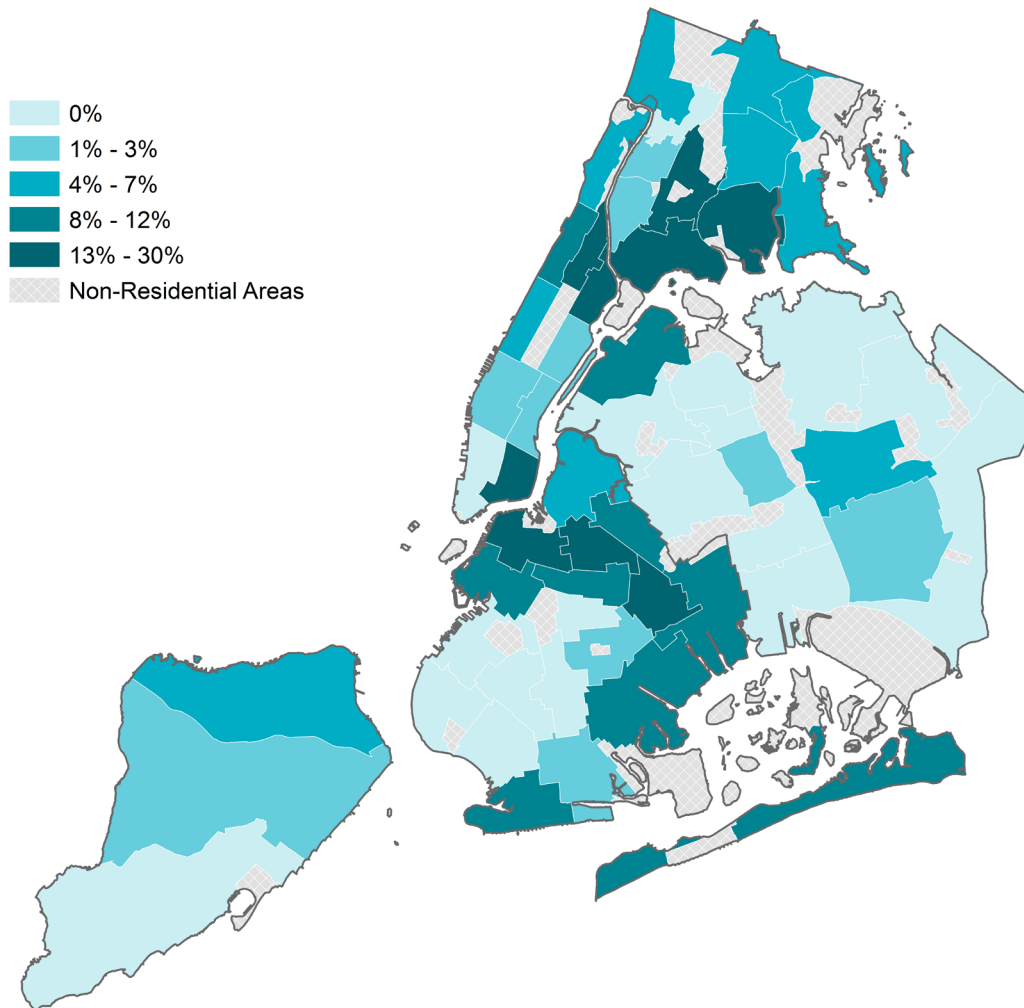
Source: NYC Housing and Vacancy Survey, 2017. US Census Bureau/NYC HPD.

Figure 5.87 shows the location of public housing. The largest concentration of public housing are in the South Bronx and East and Central Harlem. A substantial number of public housing units are located in Brooklyn, including Brooklyn Heights/Fort Greene, Bedford Stuyvesant, and Brownsville/Ocean Hill. There are relatively few public housing units in Queens and Staten Island.

Figure 5.88 Share of Total Units Rented with Federal Housing Vouchers

Legend:
- 0% - 1%
- 2% - 1%
- 2% - 4%
- 5% - 8%
- 9% - 24%
- Non-Residential Areas
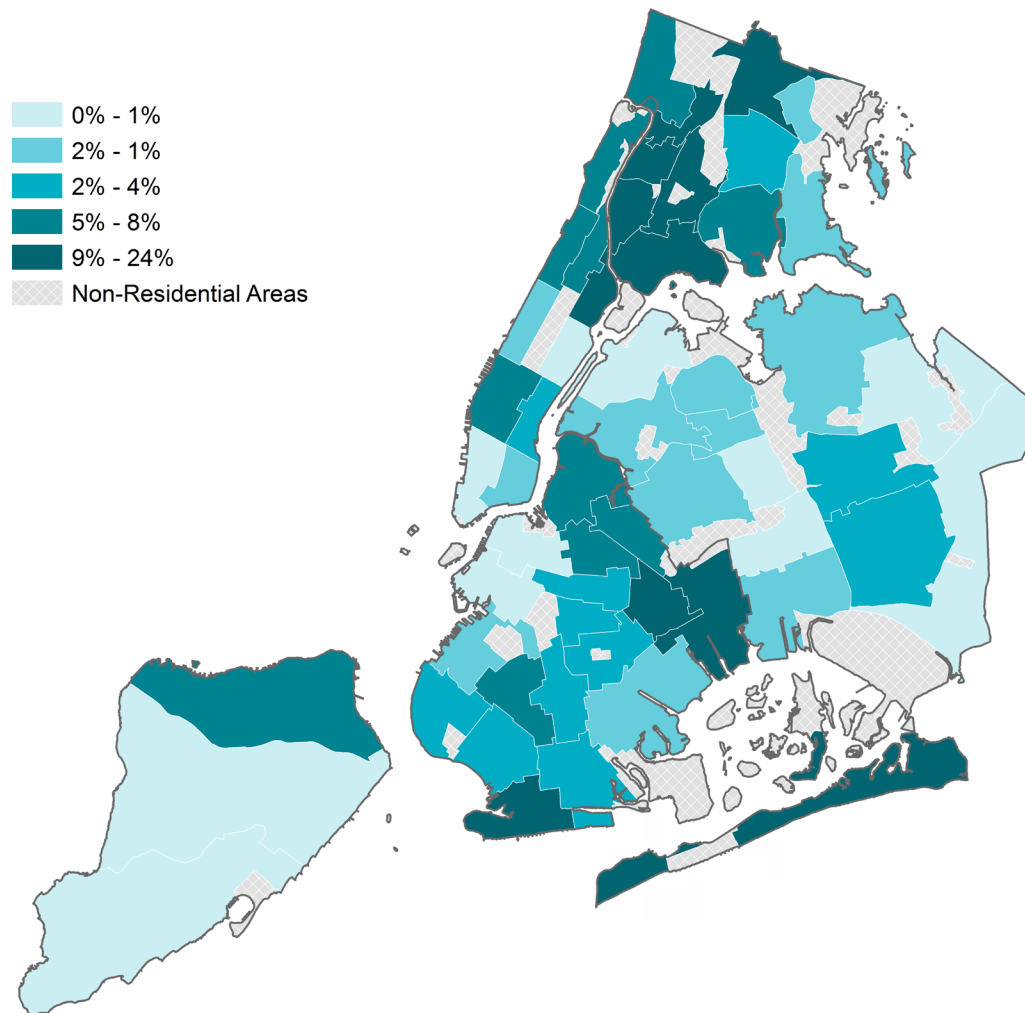
Source: NYC Housing and Vacancy Survey, 2017. US Census Bureau/NYC HPD.

Figure 5.88 shows where people live who use federal rental assistance provided, under Section 8 of the Housing Act of 1937, which is typically referred to as Section 8 vouchers. These units overlap with other maps in this section, because Section 8 vouchers can be used in market-rate, rent-stabilized, or some government-assisted units. The neighborhoods with the highest share of households using Section 8 vouchers are in the Bronx and upper Manhattan, with a large number of people also living in the Rockaways, Coney Island, East New York, and Brownsville. Location data on City-funded vouchers are not available.

Figure 5.89 Share of Owner-Occupied Housing

5% - 14%
15% - 26%
27% - 33%
34% - 44%
45% - 73%
Non-Residential Areas
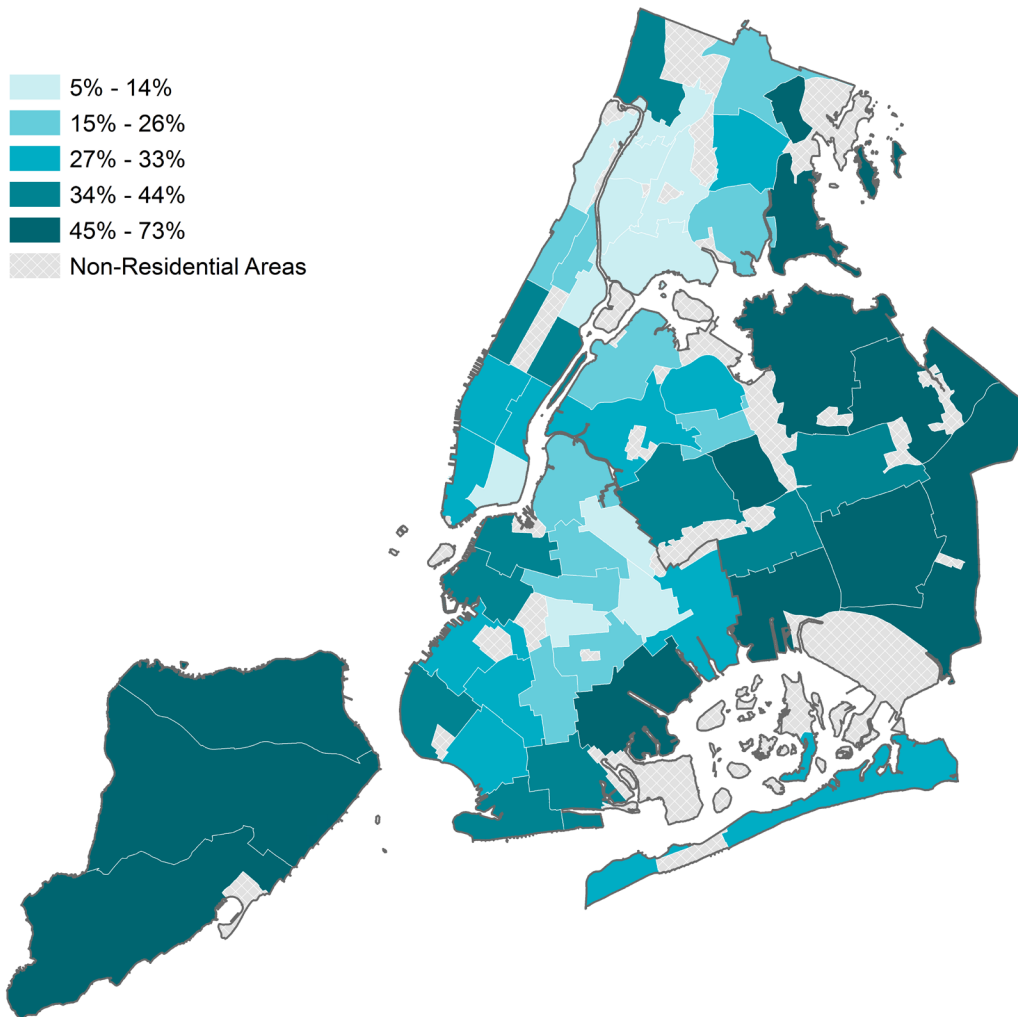
Source: NYC Housing and Vacancy Survey, 2017. US Census Bureau/NYC HPD.

Figure 5.89 shows the share of a neighborhood's housing that is owner-occupied housing. Owner-occupied housing is a majority of the housing stock in Staten Island and southeast and northeast Queens, and there are also a substantial number of owner-occupied units in core Manhattan, though core Manhattan's housing is majority rental. While in other cities owner-occupied housing is nearly synonymous with single-family homes, it is important to note that in New York City owner-occupied housing includes many condominium and co-op buildings.

The Region's Housing Stock

As discussed earlier in Chapter 5.2, New York City's economy, population, and housing stock are interconnected with the larger, tri-state region. New York City historically has and continues to provide a disproportionate share of the region's rental housing available to lower income residents, as well as of its multifamily housing generally.

There are more than 9 million housing units in the metropolitan area. Rental housing is concentrated in New York City: 39% of the region's total units are located in the city, but 56% of the region's rental housing is in the City. In addition, nearly half of the region's homes are single-family (4.2 million units), 18% (1.6 million) are in buildings with two-to-four units, and 36% of homes (3.2 million) are in buildings with five or more units. Buildings that hold five or more units, typical of medium or larger multifamily buildings that can offer low-cost rental housing, are concentrated in New York City—where two-thirds of those units are located.[58]

The regional barriers to creating multi-family and low-cost housing significantly constrain the choices of where to live that are available to people in New York City and the region as a whole. Low-density zoning, limited public transportation, and, in some areas, a history of discrimination and opposition to multi-family housing are among some of the barriers that result in limited housing options for low-income households and communities of color in the region.

Figure 5.90 Share of Renter Households Spending More than 30% of Income on Rent
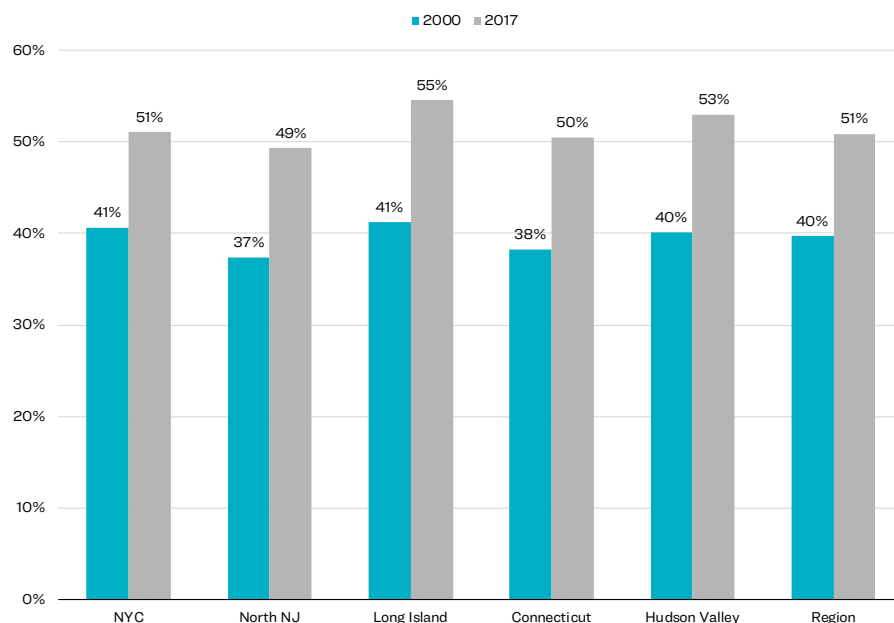
Source: U.S. Census Bureau Decennial Census SF3 H073; U.S. Census Bureau ACS 5-Year Estimates 2013-2017 B25074. Note: 2017 represents a 5-year average of 2013-2017.

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58 U.S. Census Bureau ACS 1-Year Estimates, 2017.

Since 2000, the rent burden experienced by households has risen consistently across the region, with rents rising faster than incomes in most areas. While the share of New York City renter households that are rent-burdened has increased from 41% in 2000 to 51% in 2017, the increases were similar and or even greater in other parts of the region.

Regional Housing Trends

New York City has long been the region's economic engine and holds the greatest concentration of jobs. Declines in the region's housing production, combined with strong economic growth, pose major fair housing challenges. The continued limited production of housing across the region both reduces choices for where to live and likely contributes to increasing housing prices in New York City.

The region produced 30% fewer housing units per year after the Great Recession than in the prior decade. From 2001 to 2008, the Region collectively issued 508,800 permits for new housing units, averaging 63,600 units per year. From 2009 to 2018, this production significantly declined to 457,860 units in total, averaging 45,800 units per year.[59]

Figure 5.91 Average Number of Housing Units Per Year by Building Size, Pre- v. Post-Great Recession
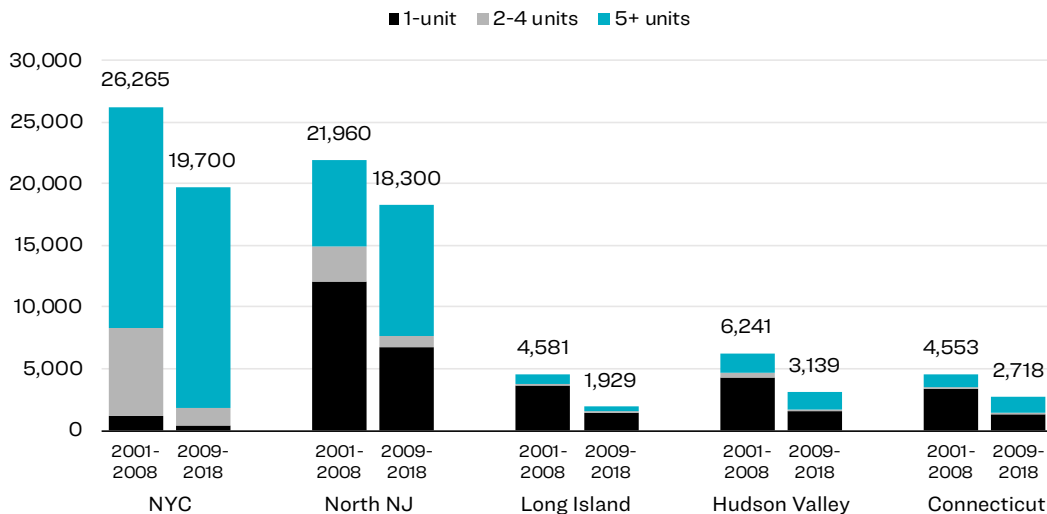
59 NYC Department of City Planning, The Geography of Jobs: NYC Metropolitan Region Economic Snapshot (Oct. 2019), available at: https://www1.nyc.gov/assets/planning/download/pdf/planning-level/housing-economy/nyc-geography-jobs2-1019.pdf.

Since 2009, a disproportionate share of the region's 458,000 permits for new housing has been concentrated in New York City and northern New Jersey. New York City accounted for 43% of the Region's housing units permitted since 2009, while representing 37% of regional population, and North New Jersey similarly permitted 40% of new units while representing just 31% of the region's population. Long Island, southwest Connecticut, and the Hudson Valley, which have 32% of regional population, had just 17% of units permitted.

Where is new housing being built?

As discussed in Section 5.2, New York City's population has rebounded after a steep decline during the 1970s—well over 1 million more people live here today than in 1980. But as seen in Figure 5.92, fewer new housing units were completed during the 1980s and 1990s than in any other decades on record.

Figure 5.92 New Housing Production by Decade
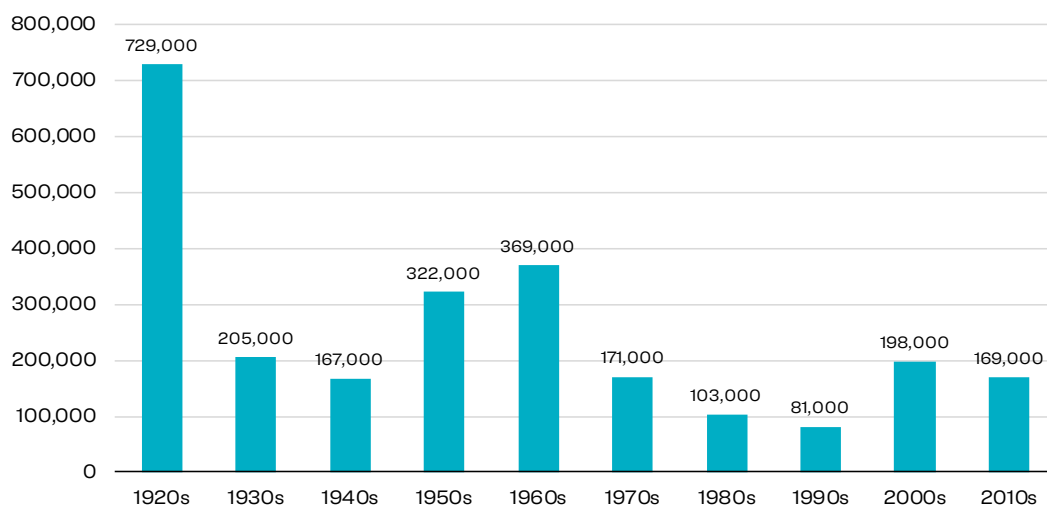
Source: NYC Department of City Planning, 2019

In 2000, the city reached a new peak population, and the number of New Yorkers has steadily grown since then. Although housing construction picked up beginning in the 2000s, a lot less housing is being built today than during the first three-quarters of the 20th century, even as other high-cost cities around the country have developed new housing at faster rates. For example, in 2018, New York City permitted the construction of 23.1 housing units per 10,000 residents, which is less than a quarter of Seattle's 109.3 units per 10,000 residents and less than half of San Francisco's 58.6 units per 10,000 residents.[60] This lower rate of development is

60 Mike Maciag, "Building Booms and Busts: Where Housing Construction Is Up, and Where It's Slowing Down," (March 13, 2019), available at: https://www.governing.com/topics/urban/gov-cities-construction-boom-bust.html.

particularly significant to the city's affordability crisis because the city's job growth was especially strong between 2000 and 2017. During this period, employers added 643,000 net jobs in the city, while developers received permits for only 390,000 new housing units.[61]

Figure 5.93 Housing Units in New Buildings Completed Between 2010-2018
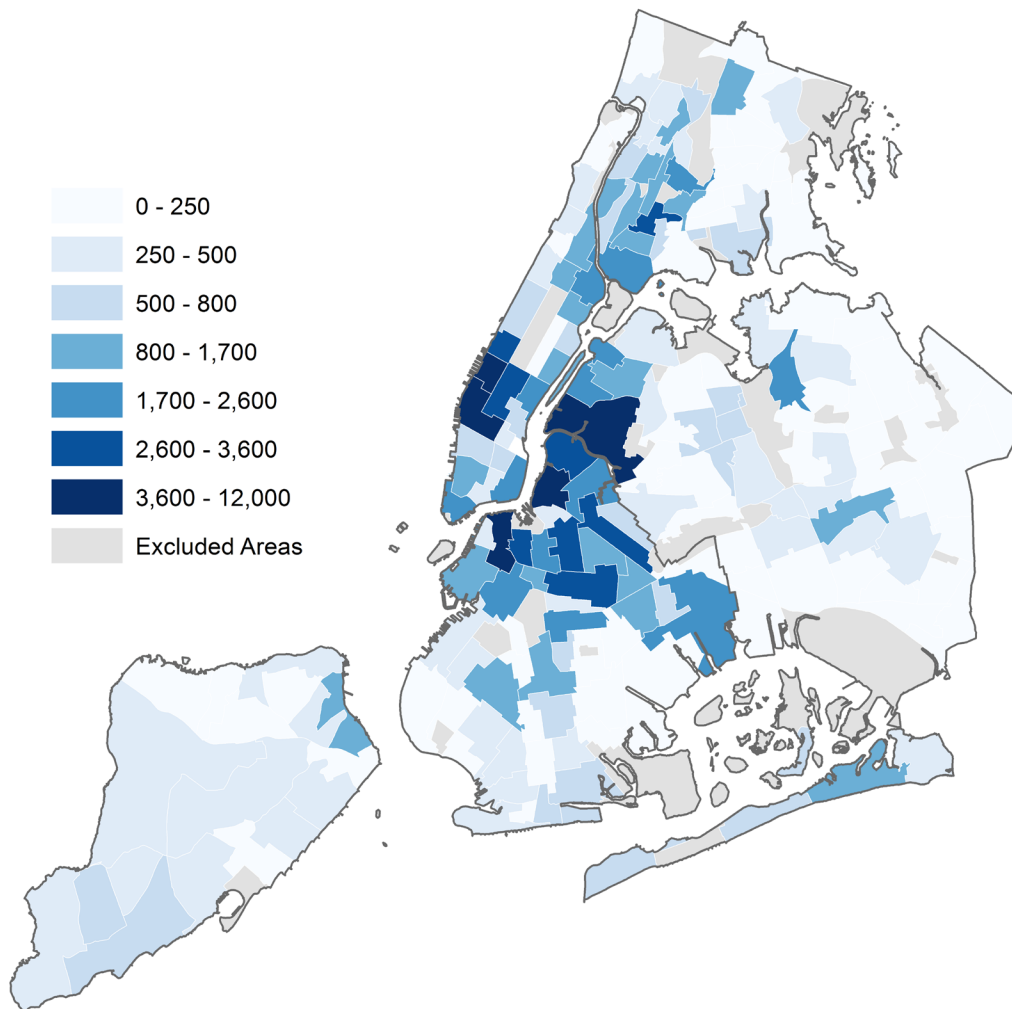
Source: NYC Department of City Planning Housing Database 19v1, compilation of NYC DOB Applications and Certificates of Occupancy Data.

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61 NYC Department of City Planning, "The Geography of Jobs: NYC Metro Region Economic Snapshot," July 2018, p. 14, available at: https://www1.nyc.gov/assets/planning/download/pdf/planning-level/housing-economy/nyc-geography-jobs-0718.pdf.

Of the 169,000 housing units that were completed in new buildings between 2010 and 2018, over one-third of completed units were located in Brooklyn (35%), followed by Manhattan (26%), Queens (20%), the Bronx (15%), and Staten Island (4%). The neighborhoods that added the most new units since 2010 include Long Island City (12,000 units), Williamsburg (8,900 units), Hudson Yards/Chelsea (7,600 units), Hell's Kitchen (7,600 units), and Downtown Brooklyn (7,300 units). These five neighborhoods contained over one quarter of new housing units citywide.

Figure 5.94 *Housing New York*, New Construction Units, 2014-2020
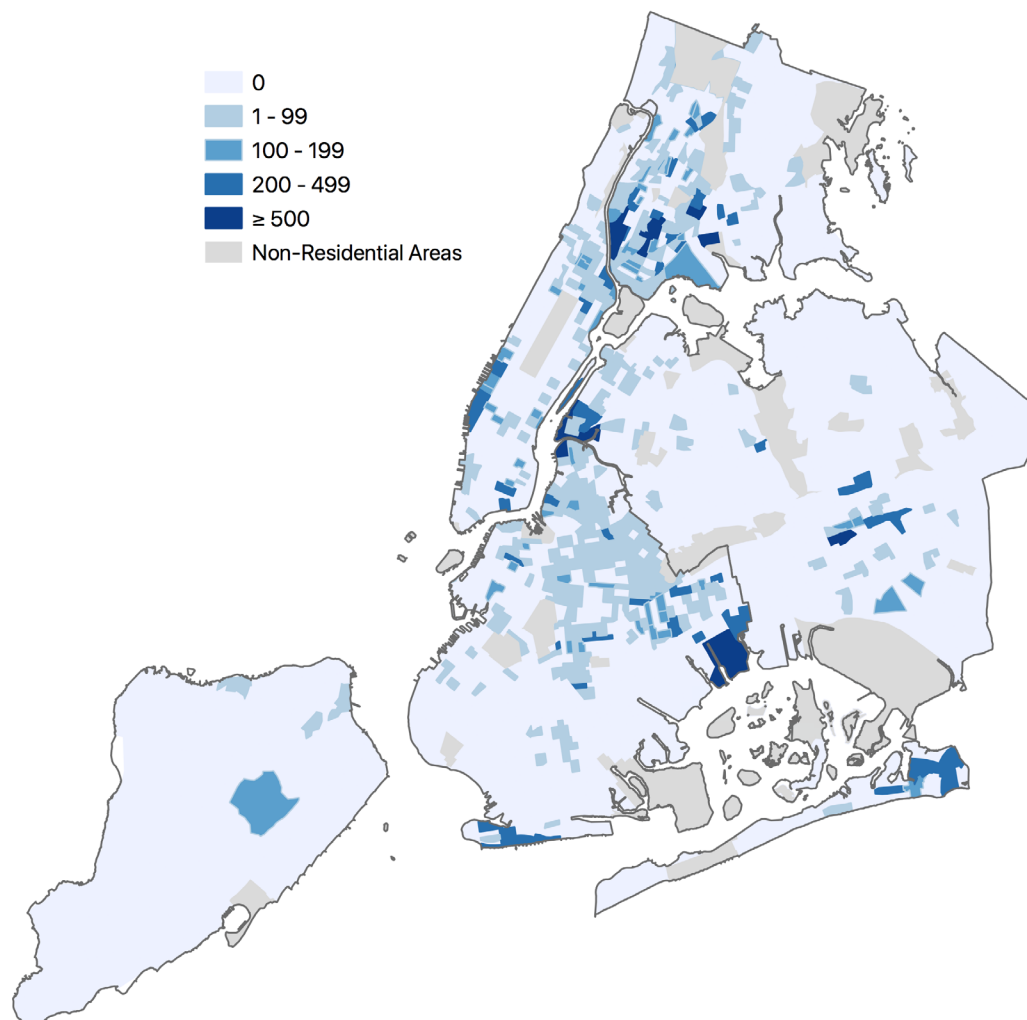
Source: NYC HPD, Housing New York new production data (2014-2020).

A substantial portion of new housing construction is supported by government assistance. For example, in 2017, approximately 20% of new housing units completed in New York City were part of the *Housing New York* plan; these are regulated, income-restricted units that are affordable to a mix of low-, moderate-, and middle-income households.

Figure 5.94 shows the location of new construction units started under the *Housing New York* plan between January 2014 and March 2020. These nearly 50,000 units are located in many neighborhoods throughout the five boroughs, but—like Figure 5.93 above—there are also evident absences. The largest numbers of new affordable housing units are located in the South Bronx, East Harlem, Midtown West, Hunter's Point South, Greenpoint, and East New York, while most of Staten Island, Queens, southern Brooklyn, and many parts of the Manhattan below 96th Street are absent. A range of factors influence where new construction—and particularly new affordable housing—is built, including zoning, historic preservation regulations, State law limits on density, City ownership of land, the cost and availability of privately-owned land, and community opposition to or support for affordable housing.

Figure 5.95 shows the location of preservation units started under the *Housing New York* plan between January 2014 and March 2020. Preservation of affordable housing is the cornerstone of *Housing New York*, which will preserve 180,000 affordable homes through a range of programs that address the physical repair needs of privately-owned buildings while securing affordable rents for current and future residents.

Between January 2014 and March 2020, HPD preserved over 110,000 housing units. As seen below in Figure 5.95, the location of preserved units is similar to, though not the same as, the location of new construction units shown above in Figure 5.94. The largest numbers of preserved units are located in Central and East Harlem, much of the Bronx, and East New York, while most of Staten Island, Queens, and southern Brooklyn are absent. Figure 5.95 also highlights a large number of preserved units in Lower Manhattan and the north Bronx, which were not highlighted in Figure 5.94 above. Like the development of newly built affordable housing, discussed above, a range of factors influence the distribution of preservation units across the five boroughs, including where the City inherited vacant land or abandoned buildings in the 1970s and 1980s and where it financed affordable housing during those years. Three or four decades later, such affordable housing now requires rehabilitation and can receive new financial assistance in exchange for longer affordability agreements.

Figure 5.95 *Housing New York*, Preservation Units, 2014-2020
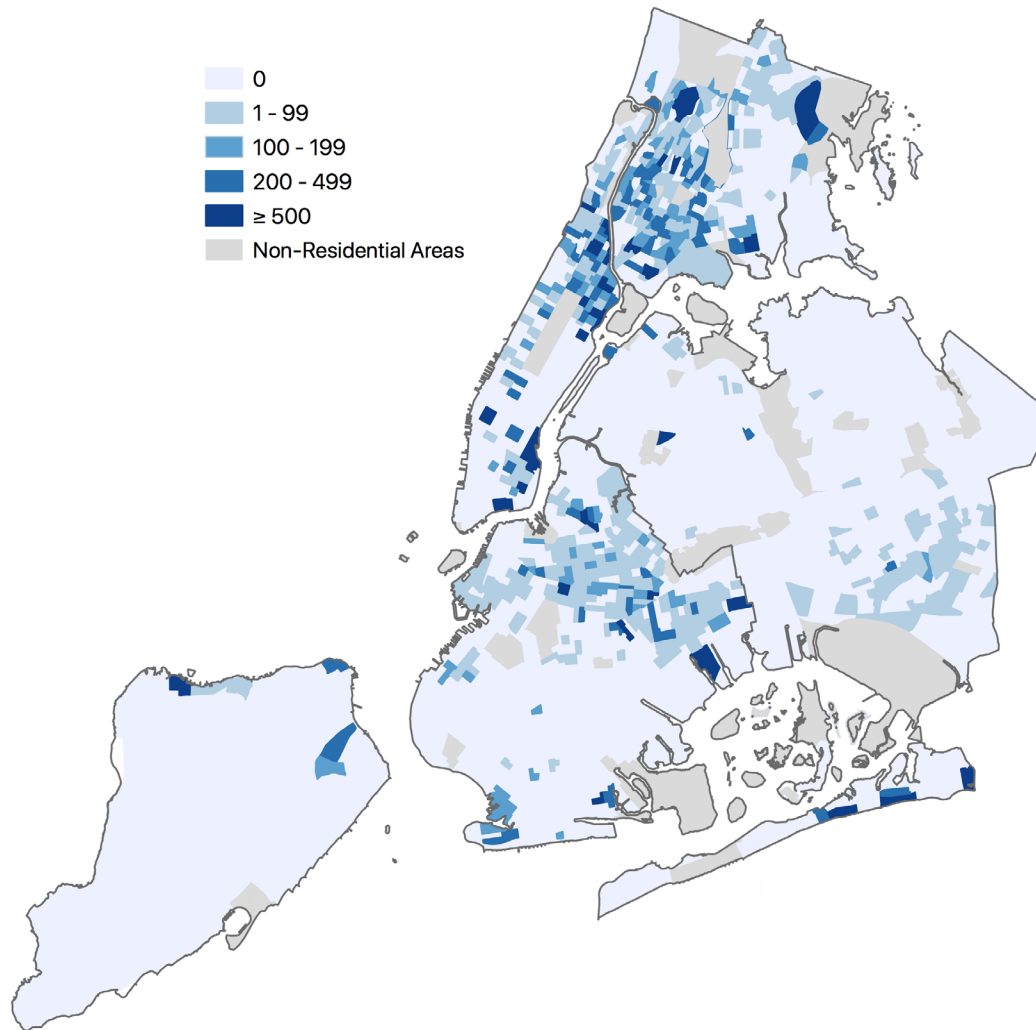
Source: NYC HPD, Housing New York new production data (2014-2020).

Despite the recent expansion of regulated affordable housing in many parts of the city, some neighborhoods remain largely off-limits to low-income New Yorkers because of a lack of low-cost rentals. Figure 5.96 highlights the share of homes that rented at prices affordable to households earning 60% of the Area Median Income ("AMI") in 2017. According to federal housing guidelines, an affordable rent requires 30% or less of a renter's gross income; for example, a household of three people earning 60% AMI in 2017 would need to find a 2-bedroom apartment renting for no more than $1,166 for that home to be considered affordable. Figure 5.96 illustrates the presence or absence of such homes in neighborhoods across the city.

While about 22% of homes across the city in 2017 rented at low enough prices to be affordable to households earning 60% AMI, the share of such housing in many areas falls significantly below this average. As seen in Figure 5.96, less than 10% of homes rent for low enough prices to be affordable to these households in parts of core Manhattan, Queens, and Staten Island.

Figure 5.96 Low-Cost Rentals As a Share of Total Homes
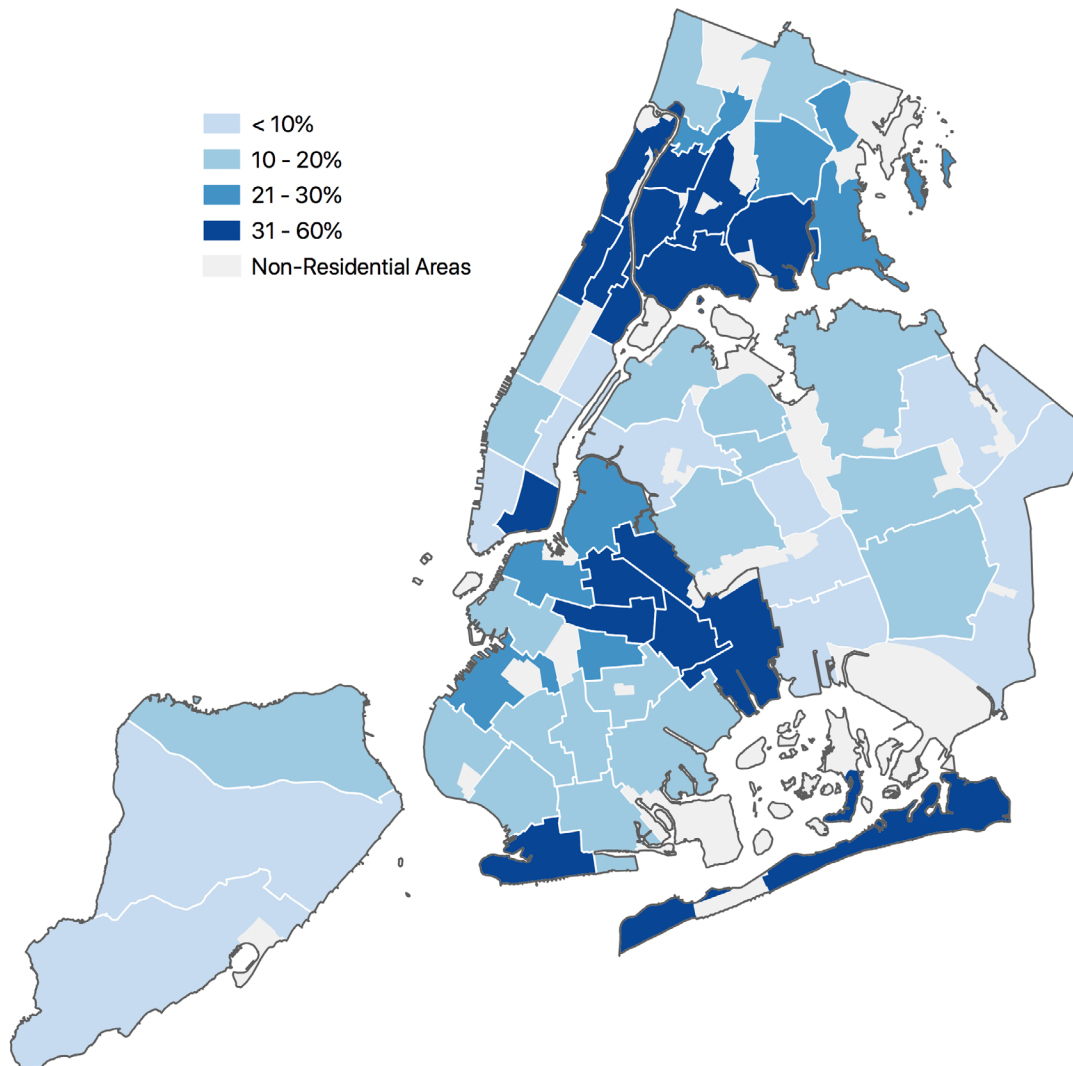
Source: 2013-2017 American Community Survey Public Use Micro Data. Note: Denominator includes both owner and rental units. Affordable units include both those that receive subsidies or are under regulatory agreements and units that are unregulated but still affordable to families below 60% AMI. Rent tiers are based on 2017 HUD Income Limits.

How Does Housing Matter?

New Yorkers' experiences in their homes can be examined through many different metrics. This final part focuses on four key measures—affordability, quality, accessibility, and stability—that affect many aspects of people's lives beyond just housing. The proportion of a household's income spent on housing costs shapes residents' lives in important ways: the larger the share of one's income spent on housing, the less money left over to spend on food, healthcare, childcare, education, and other critical expenses. But there are many other experiences in housing that also matter, including its quality, accessibility, and stability. Poor housing quality can contribute to health issues like asthma. Lack of accessible housing creates significant hardship for people with mobility impairments. Residential stability shapes people's to form and maintain meaningful ties to neighbors and schools, but also may impede mobility to a new home or neighborhood.

This part approaches these measures in two steps. First, it examines how residents in each type of housing experience affordability, quality, accessibility, and stability. Second, it combines insights from earlier in this section, regarding who lives in each type of housing, to try to estimate how much the type of housing that New Yorkers live in or their protected characteristics affect the likelihood that they will experience unaffordable rents, poor quality housing, limited accessibility, or residential stability.

Housing Costs and Affordability

Housing costs are a primary driver of housing affordability. Housing is generally considered affordable when a household pays no more than 30% of its gross income toward housing costs. As noted at the beginning of this section, the typical New Yorker in 2017 paid 34% of their income toward housing costs.

Figure 5.97 Housing Cost by Housing Type
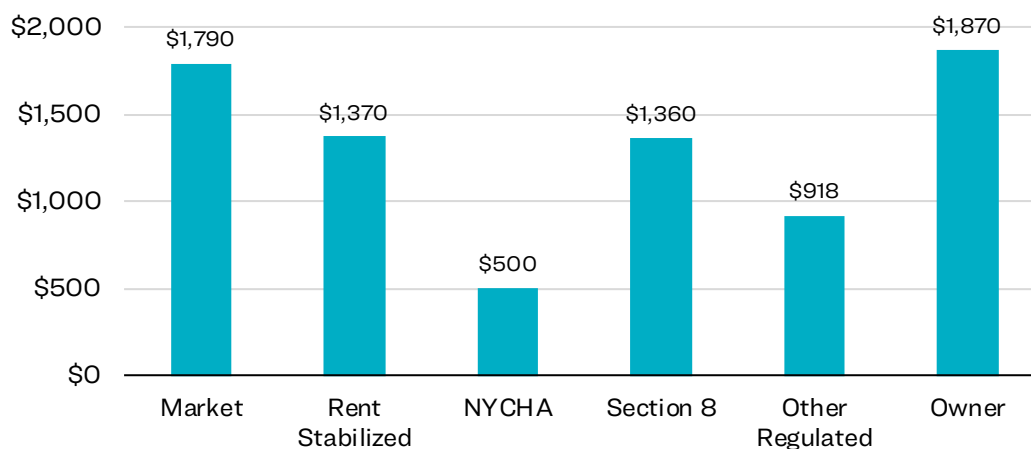
*Source: NYC Housing and Vacancy Survey, 2017, U.S. Census Bureau/NYC HPD. *Note: This cost comprises both a tenant's share of rent – which is typically 30% of the tenant's income – and the remainder that is paid by the rental assistance program.*

Figure 5.97 shows that owner-occupied households have the highest monthly housing costs at a median of $1,870. This includes the cost of the mortgage, maintenance fees in co-op and condos, taxes, insurance, and utilities. Market-rate rental housing is the next most expensive at $1,790 per month, while rent-stabilized housing has a median monthly rent of $1,370 per month. The median rent of units in which a federal voucher is used is similar to rent-stabilized at $1,360 per month, though it is important to note that this cost comprises both the tenant's share of rent and the remainder that is paid by the rental assistance program.

Housing Accessibility

One measure of housing accessibility is whether a home can be accessed without climbing stairs.[62] The inaccessibility of large portions of the housing stock creates significant hardship for New Yorkers with mobility impairments. Accessible units are also important for seniors looking to age in place and even families with small children.

Figure 5.98 Units Not Requiring Stairs to Enter by Housing Type
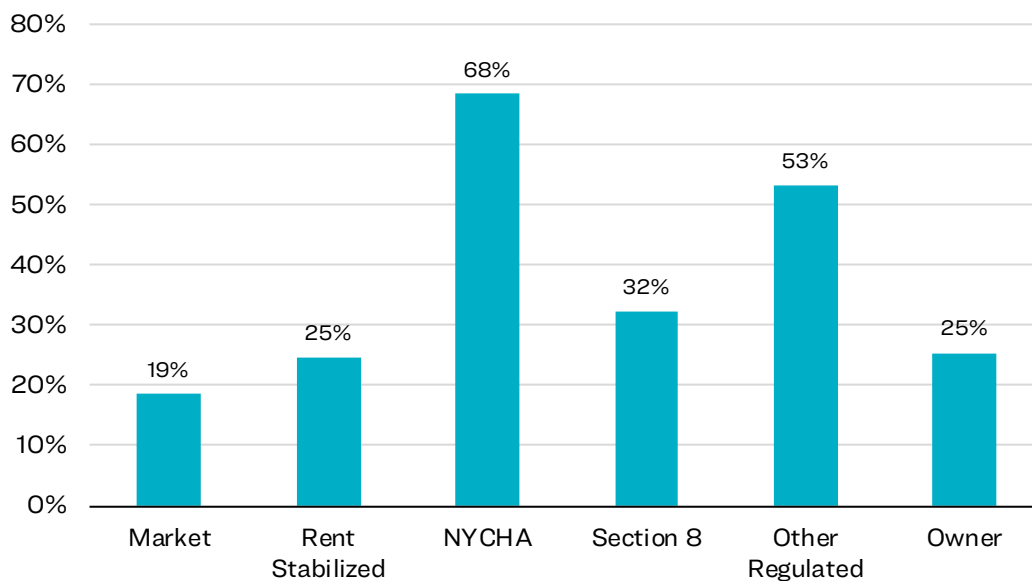
Source: NYC Housing and Vacancy Survey, 2017, U.S. Census Bureau/NYC HPD. Note: Accessibility is defined as units that do not require stairs to enter.

Figure 5.98 shows the proportion of accessible units by housing type. Public housing (68%) and other regulated units (53%) have the highest share of units that do not require stairs to get from the sidewalk to the unit, while one in four people in owner-occupied and rent-stabilized housing have units that do not require stairs. People living in market-rate rentals have the lowest

62 The City recognizes that this single measure of accessibility is limited and has committed to expand future cycles of the NYCHVS in order to better understand the residential experiences of people with disabilities New York City.

accessibility, with only 19% of units accessible without stairs. Variations in the accessibility of the housing stock by housing type is likely to have significant impacts on the housing options available to New Yorkers in need of accessible housing.

Housing Quality

Housing quality affects residents' health, safety, and overall well-being. This report defines quality based on maintenance deficiencies. A home is considered low quality if the current occupant has reported three or more maintenance deficiencies, including lack of heat, need for an additional heating source, presence of rodents, toilet breakdowns, leaks, peeling paint or plaster, and holes in the floor.

Figure 5.99 Prevalence of Three or More Maintenance Deficiencies by Housing Type
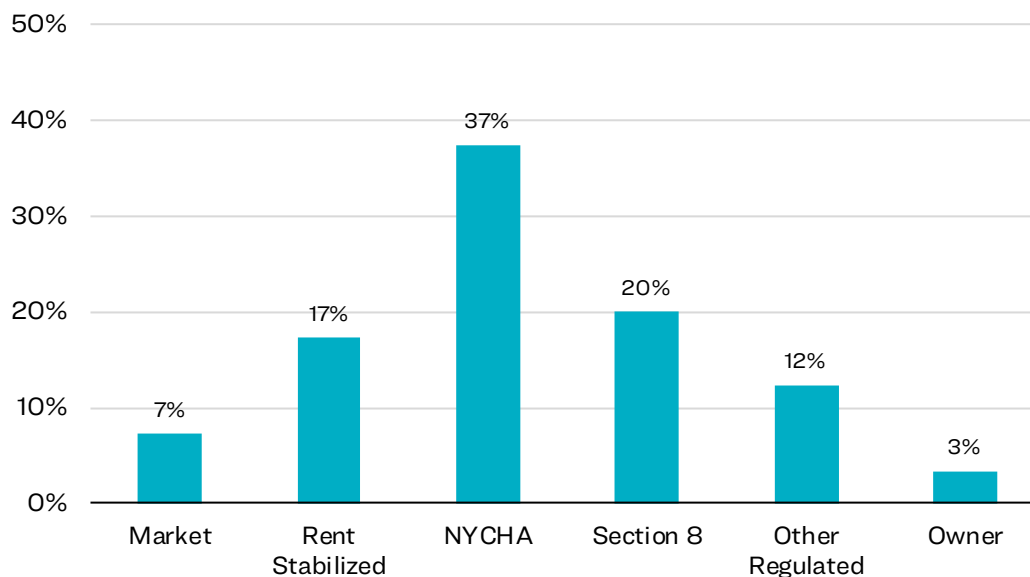
Source: NYC Housing and Vacancy Survey, 2017, U.S. Census Bureau/NYC HPD.

Figure 5.99 shows the prevalence of low quality housing, by housing type. Public housing residents and households that have a voucher report the highest prevalence of low quality housing, with 37% and 20% of residents, respectively, reporting three or more problems in 2017. Seventeen percent of rent-stabilized residents reported three or more problems, followed by other regulated, where 12% reported poor quality housing. Market-rate rental and owner-occupied housing have the fewest maintenance problems, with 7% and 3% of residents, respectively, reporting low quality housing.

Length of Residence

Length of residence or "stability" in a home is determined by both resident and housing characteristics. For example, changes in household size or job location may guide decisions to move, while the ability to remain close to friends or a child's school may increase the desire to stay. Housing policies may make mobility more or less likely through various approaches, such as tenant protections, regulation of rents or prices, or the availability of different-sized units.

Unlike other indicators, length of residence does not imply inherently good or bad outcomes. Consider a resident who would prefer to move to an elevator building yet is unable to find an affordable, accessible unit within her neighborhood; for her, stability is unwelcomed. But also consider a resident who maintains strong ties within his community who wishes to stay near family and friends after he retires; for him, stability is highly valued.

Figure 5.100 Average Length of Residence in Years by Housing Type

Source: NYC Housing and Vacancy Survey, 2017, U.S. Census Bureau/NYC HPD.

Figure 5.100 shows the average length of residence in years by housing type. Residents of owner-occupied units stay in their homes for 19 years on average, while rent-stabilized residents average 13 years in their home. Market-rate renters average the shortest amount of time at seven years. Residents with the longest average tenures live in public housing and other regulated units—the latter includes several government-assistance programs that largely serve long-term tenants who have aged in place.

Intersection of Housing Type and Population

This section has already shown that New Yorkers' housing experiences with respect to affordability, accessibility, quality, and stability vary by the type of home they live in. In addition, because residents of each type of housing also have different demographic characteristics, the positive and negative impacts of these experiences are distributed unevenly among New Yorkers by certain characteristics, most notably race. For example, because certain racial groups are more likely to live in certain types of housing, racial disparities in key housing experiences may be driven by the type of housing that they live in.

But housing type is not the only factor that affects residents' experiences with affordability, quality, accessibility, and residential stability. For example, household characteristics such as income or labor force participation are an important part of understanding affordability. The size and composition of a household may help to explain why some households are more likely to have stayed in their home for many years or moved more recently, net of other factors such as age or gender.

This final analysis uses statistical models to examine the chances that households among various protected classes will have high quality, affordable, accessible, or stable housing. In order to more confidently determine if there are major disparities among protected classes, these models "control" for personal, household, unit, and building characteristics that may help to explain differences. In other words, these models seek to isolate a single variable, such as a race or foreign-born status, to understand how New Yorkers' housing experiences differ by that variable.

Methods

To understand how certain characteristics, such as household size or income, partly explain the living conditions of different groups, we use a set of statistical models. All the data used for this analysis comes from the NYCHVS. The NYCHVS is a representative survey of the entire housing stock that is sponsored by the City of New York and conducted by the U.S. Census Bureau. It has been conducted about every three years since 1965, making it the longest running housing survey in the country.

We estimate the probability that someone will experience high cost burden, lower housing quality, and limited accessibility. These probabilities are akin to the percentage of persons in a group that experience a given outcome. For the fourth major housing experience, stability, we estimate how long a household is likely to have lived in their home. These models allow allow us to estimate the extent to which various characteristics—personal, sociodemographic, housing type, sociodemographic, building, or unit—explain differences in the characteristics of the housing different populations occupy. This, in turn, helps identify the most effective approaches to reducing these disparities.

Figure 5.101 Estimated Differences in Housing Quality by Race/ Ethnicity, Unadjusted
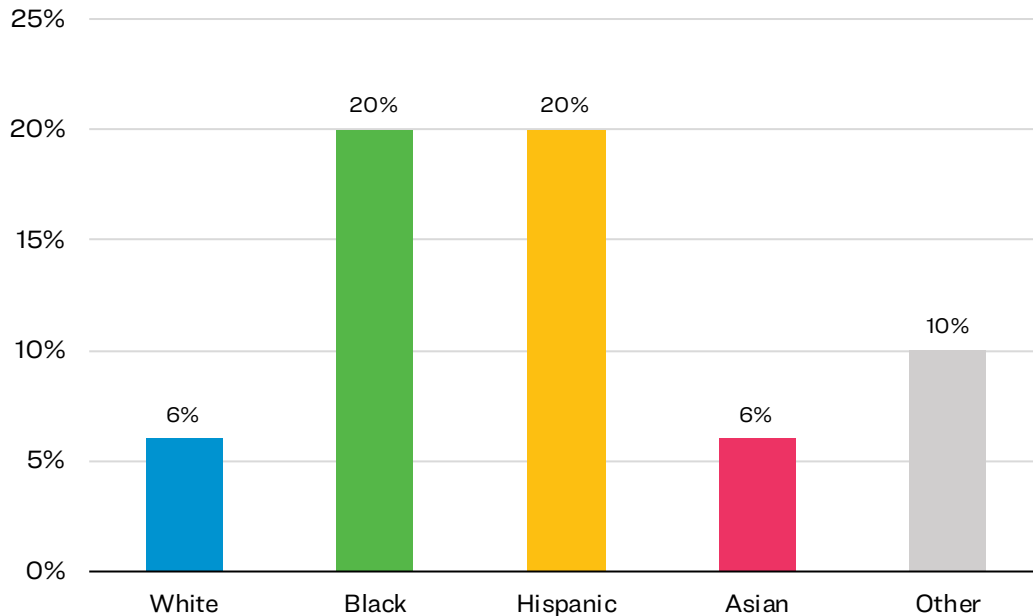
Source: NYC Housing and Vacancy Survey, 2017, U.S. Census Bureau/NYC HPD.

Figure 5.101 illustrates the percentage of households that report lower housing quality within each of the major racial and ethnic groups, and does not control for any other characteristics that could contribute to these experiences. This "unadjusted" figure means that the statistical model does not control for other household characteristics that may contribute to this outcome. Black (20%) and Hispanic (20%) New Yorkers are each far more likely to report the presence of maintenance deficiencies in their homes than White New Yorkers (6%). Asian/PI New Yorkers (7%) are similarly likely to report maintenance deficiencies as White residents, and individuals of other races (10%) are slightly more likely to report experiencing lower quality housing.

Figure 5.102 repeats the analysis above, but controls other factors that could explain racial disparities in housing quality, including household characteristics, such as residents' employment and education levels, and characteristics of a home, such as its type and age. When controlling for all these factors, the gap in quality between racial and ethnic groups narrows, but an important gap still remains: Black New Yorkers are still more than twice as likely to report lower quality housing as White and Asian New Yorkers. In other words, this analysis shows that Black New Yorkers have significantly higher rates of experiencing poor housing conditions, even after accounting for many other factors that could explain the disparities.

Figure 5.102 Housing Quality by Race/Ethnicity, Adjusted for Household and Housing Characteristics
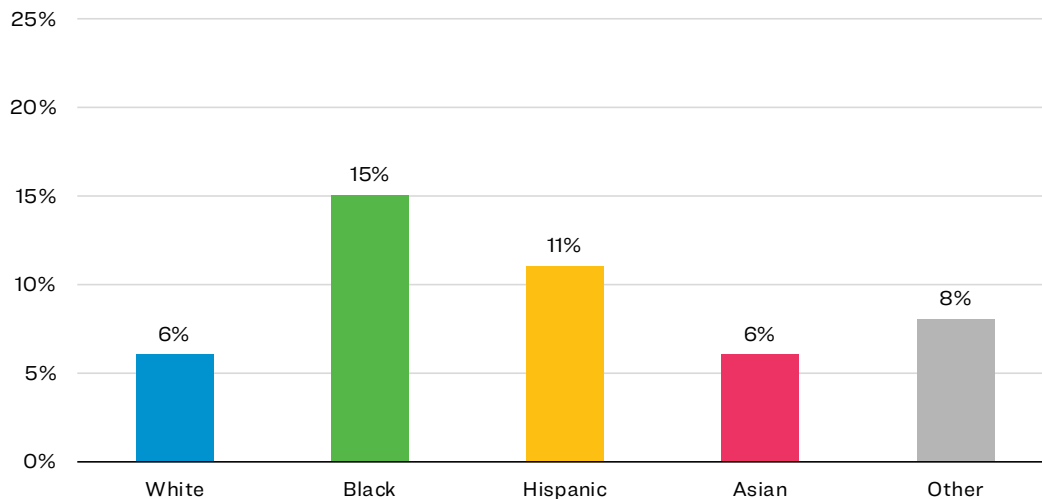
Source: NYC Housing and Vacancy Survey, 2017, U.S. Census Bureau/NYC HPD.

With respect to housing quality, similar results were not found when the analysis focused on household composition or foreign-born status; the statistical models predict small-to-no differences in housing quality based on these characteristics. In addition, unlike housing quality, the models did not find disparities in housing affordability, accessibility, or stability based on race/ethnicity, household composition, or foreign-born status when household characteristics are controlled.

Taken together, this data and this analysis show that the New York City population is not evenly distributed among housing types and that disparities in housing experiences—which are rooted in a complex mix of factors—exist across demographic groups. Important findings include:

- Market-rate housing has the lowest accessibility of all the housing types. Only 19% of market-rate units are accessible without stairs. This severely constrains the options for people with mobility impairments who are looking for housing on the private market.
- The prevalence of low quality housing is highest in public housing, which disproportionately serves Hispanic and Black New Yorkers.
- Black New Yorkers are more than twice as likely and Hispanic New Yorkers are almost twice as likely to report lower quality housing as White and Asian New Yorkers, even when fully controlling for a number of other characteristics.

5.6 Housing Discrimination and Enforcement

New Yorkers searching for a rental apartment, applying for a mortgage, trying to access housing assistance, or engaging in many other housing-related activities are protected by federal, state, and local fair housing laws. These laws seek to ensure that New Yorkers are not treated differently in the housing market because of protected characteristics, including, for example, race, sex, religion, and lawful source of income. However, feedback gathered during the Where We Live NYC planning process, combined with information gleaned from fair housing complaints and investigations, indicate that housing discrimination remains a widespread problem in the New York City housing market, comes in many forms, and significantly limits mobility and opportunity for many New Yorkers.

Fair Housing Protections and Enforcement

The New York City Human Rights Law (NYCHRL) is one of the oldest and broadest civil rights laws in the country, covering all protected characteristics included in the federal Fair Housing Act, plus several others. New York City residents are protected against housing discrimination based on their age, color, disability, gender, gender identity, immigration status, occupation, source of income (including housing assistance), marital or partnership status, military service, national origin, pregnancy, presence of children in the home, race, religion, sexual orientation, and status as a victim of domestic violence, sexual violence, or stalking. As of October 2018, the NYCHRL also provides a distinct legal claim against housing providers who fail to engage with residents with disabilities in cooperative dialogue about their need for a reasonable accommodation.

Fair housing laws do not just protect against direct discrimination; they also prohibit policies that have a disproportionate effect on a particular group. For example, when rental applications include requirements for certain credit scores or screen for criminal justice involvement, these practices can disproportionately impact people of color, immigrants, people with disabilities, and other groups who are often locked out of the financial opportunities needed to build good credit or face a history of discrimination in the criminal justice system.

The New York City Commission on Human Rights (CCHR) is the municipal agency responsible for enforcing the NYCHRL. CCHR investigates individual allegations of housing discrimination brought by New Yorkers and initiates its own investigations to root out pattern-or-practice discrimination. Through paired testing, for example, CCHR works to uncover discrimination that may not be obvious to victims and to build strong cases against bad actors when discrimination has occurred.[63] In addition, the New York City Housing Authority (NYCHA)

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63 "Paired testing" is an investigative method and a powerful tool for discovering housing discrimination. It involves sending trained actors under nearly identical circumstances but with one, meaningful difference (such as different races or sources-of-income) to investigate whether a landlord, broker, banker, or property manager is discriminating on the basis of that difference. Tests can reveal differential treatment, such as when one tester is told a home is available and another tester is told it is not; when one tester is shown more homes than the other; or when the testers receive different terms and conditions for renting, such as price or fees. Because paired testing sends nearly identical testers under nearly identical circumstances but for a single difference, it can help demonstrate whether discrimination on the basis of that difference is occurring.

operates an Office of Employment and Fair Housing Investigations, which investigates fair housing complaints brought by NYCHA residents, and the NYC Department of Social Services (DSS) has a Fair Housing Litigation Unit, which investigates and brings litigation to combat source of income discrimination experienced by New Yorkers who use City-financed rental assistance. When discrimination has occurred, these agencies pursue remedies on behalf of the victims through mediation, negotiated settlements, or litigation.

What is Source-of-Income Discrimination?

The New York City Human Rights Law—and, as of 2019, the New York State Human Rights Law—protects residents from discrimination based on the source of income they use to pay their housing expenses. Protections based upon New Yorkers' "lawful source of income" include any federal, state, or local public or housing assistance towards the payment of rent, such as Section 8, CityFHEPS, Supplemental Security Income (SSI), HIV/AIDS Services Administration (HASA), Veterans' GI Bill, among others. Security deposits and one-time emergency grants ("one shot deals"), which help people who can't meet an expense due to an unexpected situation or event, are also included in this category. Public assistance and housing vouchers should always be accepted towards rent and security deposits.

Despite these protections, many recipients of public assistance reported experiencing explicit source-of-income discrimination. Some described feeling like they were treated like criminals by landlords, brokers, and neighbors.

- "I live in a shelter, and we called and called and nobody takes vouchers. They think because you're homeless, you're dirty and uneducated, and you'll bring insects and roaches. They think you can't hold a job. A voucher has the stigma of poverty." – Community Conversation Participant, Center for Independence of the Disabled NY
- "I wanted to pursue a housing lead but the broker said she would not deal with me after I disclosed that I had a voucher. She had been nice before, but after that she stormed out." – Community Conversation Participant, Section 8 Housing Choice Voucher program
- "You go to a real estate [broker] with a voucher and they turn you away. It's not fair that I walk in to a place and I'm Black, and the woman next to me is White, and I'm treated like a criminal." – Community Conversation Participant, Center for Court Innovation
- "When we moved, the landlord told us he would not take any vouchers or any kind of government subsidy. He said he didn't want 'those kinds of people here.'" – Community Conversation Participant, Make the Road

For more information, see https://www1.nyc.gov/assets/cchr/downloads/pdf/materials/SourceOfIncomeFactSheet.pdf.

What Are Reasonable Accommodations?

The New York City Human Rights Law protects the rights of people with disabilities by requiring landlords, co-ops, and condominiums to make a reasonable accommodation for tenants, shareholders, or owners who are disabled. A reasonable accommodation can be structural, such as a ramp at the building entrance to provide wheelchair access or installing grab bars in a bathroom. A reasonable accommodation can also involve a policy change, such as permitting a tenant who is blind or has a psychological disability to have a guide dog or companion animal, despite a building's 'no pets' policy. Throughout the Where We Live NYC planning process, New Yorkers living with disabilities described several forms of housing discrimination that they experienced as house seekers and as tenants. Across the country and in New York City, instances of discrimination against people with disabilities account for the largest number of fair housing complaints each year, highlighting the persistent hurdles that people living with disabilities face in accessing housing that should, by law, be available and accessible to them.

- "At an apartment I went to see, that my girlfriend saw first, they didn't have any problems. But when they see me and see my cane, they had a problem." – Community Conversation Participant, Chhaya CDC
- "I work as a real estate agent and landlords will tell me to find tenants with no kids and no disabilities." – Community Conversation Participant, Make the Road
- "I'm the president of the tenant association and I had to take the building on a rent strike because we had a ramp that was still not done." – Community Conversation Participant, SAGE Advocacy & Services for LGBT Elders

For more information, see: https://www1.nyc.gov/site/cchr/law/in-housing.page.

Engagement Feedback

During the Where We Live NYC process, Community Conversation participants recounted many examples of discrimination they believed they experienced in interactions with landlords and brokers during their housing search process. Examples included receiving incorrect or different information about apartment availability or application requirements, such as fees, credit checks, or income thresholds, in instances where the differential treatment appeared to be based on race, ethnicity, or other protected characteristics.

- "When I was looking for my first apartment in Crown Heights I went alone and I gave the deposit. Then, I went back with my husband who's Black and Puerto Rican. They told us it was rented. So we went to the Urban League and they sent a White person to check it out. We could have gone through a lawsuit but my husband didn't want to because, even if we won, he didn't want to live there knowing they would treat us badly." – Community Conversation Participant, Fifth Avenue Committee

- "I am Black. I was filling out apartment applications and I was making a good amount of money. When I would check the 'Black' box on the application, I wouldn't hear anything. So I didn't fill it out... [But] when I got to the apartment, I saw the expression on the landlord's face, and then I would hear every excuse under the sun: 'Needed more proof of income, work, and so on.' You start to give up. I would come with money in my hand to try and show them I was reliable. It is so difficult to prove [discrimination] sometimes. You feel it. You know the racial discrimination exists, but it can be incredibly hard to prove." – Community Conversation Participant, Neighbors Together
- "I went to get an apartment and was approved. I was moving in, and my boyfriend was coming with me. We had our stuff packed and had our deposit. We were both on the lease, and they saw him with tattoos, braids, they told me the apartment was already taken and wouldn't let us move in. Everything was okay until they saw [he was Hispanic]. It was not an issue until he showed up." – Community Conversation Participant, Banana Kelly CIA
- "I work as a real estate agent and landlords will tell me to find tenants with no kids and no [people with] disabilities." – Community Conversation Participant, Make the Road

Intimidation, Harassment, and Neglect as Discrimination

Community Conversation participants—particularly immigrants, single women and single mothers, and transgender or gender nonconforming individuals—also described experiencing housing discrimination from current landlords and property managers in the form of intimidation and harassment. Examples included threatening or offensive language, financial exploitation, sexual harassment, and even physical violence appearing to be based on their protected characteristic. Community Conversation participants also described situations in which they believed landlords and property managers either refused to make repairs or purposely allowed their building or unit to fall into disrepair because of their membership in a protected class.

- "My landlord told me that he received a letter that ICE was coming to inspect all apartments. I asked him to see the letter and he refused. I was being threatened because my landlord wanted me to vacate my unit." – Community Conversation Participant, Make the Road
- "If you're White, you don't have problems with repairs. If you're White and your lightbulb is out, they come and fix it. They treat us differently [because] we don't speak English and we don't know the country." – Community Conversation Participant, MinKwon Center
- "I was told I need to replace and pay $250 dollars for a gate on my fire escape. All the repairs done in my apartment are done by me or my husband. There are younger tenants in the building who are new. They have gotten this gate installed for free, without issue." – Community Conversation Participant, Banana Kelly CIA

Enforcement Challenges and Gaps in Protection

Rooting out housing discrimination is especially challenging because it can be difficult to identify and it very frequently goes unreported.[64] Many people experiencing discrimination are in vulnerable circumstances and fear retaliation, are uncertain about their rights, and may be particularly skeptical of government enforcement processes. Community Conversation participants' feedback suggests these factors are compounded by New York City's housing market – many feel trapped in subpar conditions or with abusive landlords, roommates, and neighbors because the prospect of finding alternate housing is so tenuous. Participants who said they had reported discrimination found government enforcement processes to be slow, time consuming, and confusing. Furthermore, many believed the consequences for owners found to be discriminating would be so minimal that they would not meaningfully change how landlords do business.

- "I think local governments have to do more to protect tenants. There have to be real penalties for landlords who intentionally harass and abuse tenants in their buildings." – Community Conversation Participant, Make the Road
- "What is the purpose of the Fair Housing Act if there is such a bureaucratic process to go through that it does not benefit the person who needs help? I was living in an apartment and had a stroke. I couldn't walk. Insurance gave me a motorized wheelchair, but I couldn't get it into the apartment because it was not handicap accessible. I went through a lot of court procedures, spoke to lawyers. In the end, it was the landlord's discretion because if he wanted to sell the building, the ramp could impact the cost. The court was going back and forth. I got fed up and just gave up. It seems like they know that people will get tired of fighting." – Community Conversation Participant, Neighbors Together

Participants in the Fair Housing Stakeholder Group also raised multiple, additional barriers that limit New Yorkers' access to safe, affordable housing, often in ways that produce disproportionate impacts based on protected class. First, justice-involved New Yorkers – who are disproportionally Black and Hispanic – are frequently denied housing opportunities solely because of their criminal records. While the City has overhauled the admissions process to City-supported affordable housing since 2016 to address this discrimination, much of the private market has failed to adopt the procedures required by the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development. Pervasive discrimination against justice-involved New Yorkers impedes successful reentry and contributes to repeated experiences with homelessness. Stakeholders also described opaque application approval processes and requirements from cooperative associations, making discrimination nearly impossible to identify and leaving prospective applicants unsure of why their applications were rejected.

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64 National Fair Housing Alliance, "Fair Housing Trends Report," (Aug. 13, 2014), p. 15, available at: https://national-fairhousing.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/04/2014-08-11_nfha_trends_report_2014.pdf.

Chapter 6
Fair Housing Goals and Strategies

Like all cities in the United States, New York City is scarred by a long history of discrimination, segregation, and concentrated poverty, which systematically disadvantaged—and still disadvantages—specific groups and neighborhoods.[1] Racist and exclusionary ideologies influenced where housing was developed or demolished; where parks and waste transfer stations were sited; where transit options were provided; and where schools were built and who was allowed to enroll. These decisions continue to be felt today in the unequal experiences and outcomes described throughout this report.[2]

Over the past two years, the City of New York has engaged hundreds of residents, over 150 community-based and advocacy organizations, and dozens of governmental agencies through the Where We Live NYC process to discuss our history, assess how it is affecting our residents, our housing, and neighborhoods today, and create a plan to address persistent disparities.

In accordance with the federal Fair Housing Act, the City follows a balanced approach to advancing fair housing. The City makes substantial housing, infrastructure, and service investments in neighborhoods that were historically disadvantaged by discrimination, disinvestment, and exclusion, while also facilitating the construction and preservation of affordable housing opportunities in amenity-rich neighborhoods. Together, such investments are designed to empower New Yorkers with realistic choices to live in thriving, integrated neighborhoods and to ensure that no one is deprived of access to fundamental resources because of their race, ethnicity, disability, religion, or other protected characteristic.

But the disparities described in this report demonstrate that much more work is required to address the compounded disadvantages that centuries of discrimination and segregation have produced. The unprecedented and disproportionate health and economic impacts of the COVID-19 pandemic has had on specific racial and ethnic groups and in specific neighborhoods have also highlighted the continued significance of these disparities. The City of New York has accelerated the process of addressing these racial and geographic disparities as part of its ongoing efforts to recover from the COVID-19 pandemic, led by the City's Task Force on Racial Inclusion & Equity. While the City will face extraordinary challenges over the new few years, with fewer financial resources to address them, the data and analysis in this plan provide guideposts for the City's immediate and long-term recovery efforts.

The following fair housing plan, which the City expects to implement over the next five years, proposes goals, strategies, and actions to take on the disparities highlighted in the previous chapters.

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1 For background on how this history impacted New York City, see Kenneth Clark, Dark Ghetto: Dilemmas of Social Power, Harper (1965); Robert Caro, The Power Broker: Robert Moses and the Fall of New York, Vintage Press (1975); Craig Wilder, A Covenant with Color: Race and Social Power in Brooklyn, Columbia University Press (2001); Martha Biondi, To Stand and To Fight: The Struggle for Civil Rights in Postwar New York City, Harvard University Press (2003). For a national perspective, see Mindy Thompson Fullilove and Rodrick Wallace, "Serial Forced Displacement in American Cities, 1916-2010," Journal of Urban Health, 88(3): 381 (2011); Richard Rothstein, The Color of Law: A Forgotten History of How Our Government Segregated America, Liverlight (2017).
2 Robert J. Sampson, Great American City: Chicago and the Enduring Neighborhood Effect, University of Chicago Press (2011); Patrick Sharkey, Stuck in Place: Urban Neighborhoods and the End of Progress Toward Racial Equality, University of Chicago Press (2013).

Contributing Factors

Each goal in this chapter addresses the root causes of fair housing challenges. During the Where We Live NYC community participation process, the Fair Housing Stakeholder Group prioritized nine root causes or "contributing factors" as most important to New York City's fair housing challenges today. (For more information on this prioritization process, please see Chapter 4: Creating the Report.) These contributing factors included:

(1) Discrimination and the enforcement of fair housing laws;
(2) Siting and type of affordable and accessible housing in NYC and the region;
(3) Loss of and displacement from housing that is affordable to low- and moderate-income New Yorkers;
(4) Community opposition to housing and infrastructure investments that accommodate growth in NYC and the region;
(5) Disparities in public and private investments, services, and amenities across neighborhoods in NYC and the region;
(6) Challenges to using housing rental assistance in NYC and in the region;
(7) Admissions and occupancy restrictions in publicly-supported housing;
(8) Location of proficient schools and school assignment policies;
(9) The availability, type, accessibility, and reliability of public transportation

The six goals in this chapter organize 19 strategies and 78 actions to address these fair housing challenges. Moreover, in response to public comments submitted following the release of the Draft Plan, numerical indicators are now included throughout this chapter. At the beginning of each goal, "Key Disparities" connect to the inequities described in Chapters 1 through 5. While these complex issues cannot be simply summarized in numbers, tracking these disparities over time will provide important insights into how the city's most important fair housing challenges are changing. In addition, at the beginning of each strategy, "Key Metrics" will provide opportunities to track the concrete steps that the City takes to further fair housing.

Goal 1

Combat persistent, complex discrimination with expanded resources and protections

Key Disparities
- Black vs. White Dissimilarity Index (2018: 75); Hispanic vs. White Dissimilarity Index (57)
- Share of New Yorkers receiving new mortgages, by race and ethnicity (2017: 48% White, 33% Asian/PI, 9% Hispanic, 9% Black)

The City of New York led the nation in passing fair housing laws in the 1950s, yet discrimination in the city's housing market remains a persistent problem sixty years later. During the Where We Live NYC public planning process, numerous New Yorkers described discrimination they had experienced in their housing searches, which Section 5.6 of this report details. Such stories are consistent with the hundreds of complaints submitted to the New York City Commission on Human Rights (CCHR) each year and with recent local and national studies.[3]

"I am Black. I was filling out apartment applications and I was making a good amount of money. The application was filled out, and I didn't fill out the race. Why do they even include that? When I would check the 'Black' box on the application, I wouldn't hear anything. So I didn't fill it out and I can speak articulately [on the phone], so when I got to the apartment, I saw the expression on the landlord's face, and then I would hear every excuse under the sun: 'Needed more proof of income, work, and so on.' You start to give up. I would come with money in my hand to try and show them I was reliable. It is so difficult to prove [discrimination] sometimes. You feel it. You know the racial discrimination exists, but it can be incredibly hard to prove."

– Community Conversation Participant, Neighbors Together

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3 Albert H. Fang et. al., "Can the Government Deter Discrimination? Evidence from a Randomized Intervention in New York City," *Journal of Politics* (Oct. 16, 2018), available at: https://www.journals.uchicago.edu/doi/10.1086/700107; Margery Austin Turner, et. al., "Housing Discrimination Against Racial and Ethnic Minorities 2012," (June 2013), available at: https://www.huduser.gov/portal/publications/fairhsg/hsg_discrimination_2012.html; Ann Choi et. al., "Long Island Divided," *Newsday* (Nov. 17, 2019), available at: https://projects.newsday.com/long-island/real-estate-agents-investigation/.

Discrimination in the housing market affects a wide range of New Yorkers, including people living with disabilities, families with young children, survivors of gender-based violence, and many others. Across the nation and in New York City, discrimination against people living with disabilities produces the largest number of fair housing complaints each year, primarily concerning the persistent hurdles that people living with disabilities face in accessing housing that should, by law, be accessible to them.[4]

Addressing discrimination in the housing market is extraordinarily difficult. Since the passage of New York City's original fair housing laws in the 1950s, acts of discrimination have become less overt but remain pernicious.[5] Black and Hispanic New Yorkers were once openly refused admittance to apartment buildings, including publicly-supported developments such as Stuyvesant Town. Today, a broker may fail to contact a person of color following an open house; a landlord may impose additional application requirements, such as an extra fee or background check; or a banker may deny a mortgage application without explanation. Each of these decisions constitutes illegal discrimination if motivated, at least in part, by an applicant's race, ethnicity, or other protected characteristic, or if a policy has a disproportionate and unjustified effect on a particular group. But prospective homeowners and renters can rarely identify discriminatory treatment on their own. Rooting out discrimination by landlords, brokers, co-op boards, and banks requires significant investments in enforcement and education, through increased paired testing, research, attorneys, community engagement, and public awareness.

CCHR is the municipal agency responsible for enforcing New York City's anti-discrimination and anti-harassment law, the New York City Human Rights Law (NYCHRL). The NYCHRL is one of the broadest civil rights laws in the country, protecting the housing rights of all the classes of people covered by the federal Fair Housing Act, in addition to many others. In addition to investigating and prosecuting discrimination claims filed pursuant to the NYCHRL, CCHR also educates New Yorkers on their legal protections, their legal obligations, and other human rights-related issues.[6]

The City will prioritize the following strategies and actions to address persistent discrimination in the housing market.

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4 National Fair Housing Alliance, "Making Every Neighborhood A Place of Opportunity," (2018), p. 52, available at: https://nationalfairhousing.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/04/NFHA-2018-Fair-Housing-Trends-Report.pdf.
5 Devah Pager and Hana Shepherd, "The Sociology of Discrimination: Racial Discrimination in Employment, Housing, Credit, and Consumer Markets," Annual Review of Sociology (2008) 1(34): 186, available at: https://www.annualreviews.org/doi/full/10.1146/annurev.soc.33.040406.131740.
6 The NYC Department of Social Services (DSS) also has a Fair Housing Litigation Unit, which is currently focused on combatting source-of-income discrimination experienced by New Yorkers who use City-financed rental assistance.

Strategy 1.1: Strengthen NYC's fair housing protections and enforcement

Key Metrics
- Number of paired testing investigations initiated by the City of New York
- Number of successful pre-complaint interventions for New Yorkers in cases filed at CCHR
- Total damages and penalties obtained for New Yorkers in cases filed at CCHR

1.1.1.   Building upon recent work at NYCHA and HPD, support local legislation to address discrimination in the private housing market based on residents' past involvement with the criminal justice system. Such protections should be designed to minimize the disproportionate impact that criminal records-based barriers pose for people of color, while meeting the needs of New York City's diverse housing stock.

1.1.2.   In collaboration with HPD, CCHR will publish legal enforcement guidance focused on housing discrimination by cooperative ("co-op") associations to educate co-ops and applicants about their respective obligations and rights under the New York City Human Rights Law ("NYCHRL"). Through Where We Live NYC, New Yorkers described suspicions of discriminatory behavior in the application process for purchasing a co-op, but the opaque approval process makes it extremely difficult for applicants to prove discrimination. Because approximately 260,000 homes in New York City are co-ops, discrimination in the co-op application process may be a significant barrier to accessing affordable homeownership opportunities.

1.1.3.   Propose local legislation to ensure that the NYCHRL's prohibition on discrimination on the basis of a resident's source of income, applicable to owners of 6 or more units, conforms to new provisions in the State Human Rights Law which extends the coverage to all buildings except 1- and 2-family homes that are owner occupied.

1.1.4.   Expand paired testing investigations in the housing market to identify illegal discrimination, focusing resources on both rental and ownership opportunities. Paired testing is the best method in identifying ongoing discrimination and preparing cases to punish and deter discriminatory behavior.

1.1.5.   Expand agency resources, including the number of attorneys and investigators, for addressing fair housing complaints, with particular attention to source-of-income discrimination, reasonable accommodation requests, and failures to construct or renovate housing according to accessibility requirements. Expanded resources are needed to shorten processing and response times when New Yorkers submit discrimination complaints to CCHR and to increase the number of large-scale, affirmative cases against property owners who persistently violate fair housing laws.

Goal 2

Facilitate equitable housing development in New York City and the region

Key Disparity

- Percentage of community districts with at least 25% of their rental housing units affordable to low-income New Yorkers (2017: 46%)

In order to affirmatively further fair housing, the City of New York must ensure that its residents have realistic options to live in quality, affordable housing in a variety of thriving neighborhoods. While the City stated this mandate clearly in its Draft Plan in January 2020, the COVID-19 pandemic has made the importance of this mandate even clearer. The city's long-standing housing crisis, which forces millions of households to pay more than 30% of their income toward rent and hundreds of thousands of households to live in severely overcrowded conditions, is a public health emergency.

Advancing equitable development during the recovery from the COVID-19 pandemic will be challenging. The City's ability to finance affordable housing is strained. Density has been vilified as a contributor to disease, even while the data decisively debunks this fear. But the development of all types of housing, with a focus on neighborhoods that have lagged in the production of affordable housing during the past 20 years, is necessary for New York City to thrive. New York City is defined by its diversity and its density, and the COVID-19 pandemic provides an opportunity to double-down on these qualities while simultaneously improving housing affordability and quality.

The City laid the foundation for racially and economically inclusive development in 2016 by enacting amendments to the Zoning Resolution regarding Mandatory Inclusionary Housing (MIH) and Zoning for Quality and Affordability (ZQA), and, under the *Housing New York* plan, the City has supported the development of over 50,000 affordable units in new buildings. But large parts of the city – including many neighborhoods where residents are thriving as measured by the indicators in Section 5.4 of this report – and the region have provided limited or no new affordable housing.

Over the past decade, community opposition to development has increased in both amenity-rich and historically disadvantaged neighborhoods, though opposition has had different roots and motivations. In many amenity-rich neighborhoods, opposition to new housing—and

particularly affordable housing—is expressed as concerns about competition for local services or about changes to neighborhood character, and can serve to exclude low-income residents and particularly people of color. In contrast, residents in many historically underserved neigh-borhoods fear that new housing development will exacerbate their already unaffordable rents and the risk that they or their neighbors will be displaced. These fears are often compounded by distrust of government, since many momentous land-use decisions in the 20th century were enacted with little community input and had drastic, negative impacts.

Together, these and many other pressures have limited housing growth in New York City to levels that are far lower than what the city experienced in earlier periods of growth, and lower than other growing, high-cost cities. For example, in 2018, New York City permitted the construction of 23.1 housing units per 10,000 residents, which is less than a quarter of Seattle's 109.3 units per 10,000 residents and less than half of San Francisco's 58.6 units per 10,000 residents.[7] While the COVID-19 pandemic presents many uncertainties about the city's population growth over the next few years, limited housing development will slow the city's immediate economic recovery and its long-term ability of improving housing affordability for New Yorkers.

The following strategies and actions will help facilitate vital housing development—and espe-cially growth in affordable housing—and ensure broader access to quality, affordable housing.

Strategy 2.1: Increase housing opportunities, particularly for low-income New Yorkers, in amenity-rich neighborhoods

Key Metrics
- Number of new publicly-financed affordable homes developed on City-owned land in amenity-rich neighborhoods
- Number of new privately-financed affordable homes developed in MIH areas
- Number of new homes developed in historic districts

Rental Assistance

See Goal 4 below for strategies and actions that will empower New Yorkers who receive rental assistance benefits with more housing options in a variety of neighborhoods.

2.1.1. Expand housing options in low-density zoning districts to encourage the development of low-cost housing in neighborhoods across the city and give small homeowners more flexibility to create extra space and income. This could include legalizing basement apartments and other accessory dwelling units citywide, as well as changes to zoning requirements like parking, lot size, and density factor to allow for the addition of new homes in low-density areas. Analysis of data and regulations will identify zoning provisions that could be changed to enable the creation of a wider variety of unit types and low-cost housing in lower-density zoning districts.

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7 Mike Maciag, "Building Booms and Busts: Where Housing Construction Is Up, and Where It's Slowing Down," (March 13, 2019), available at: https://www.governing.com/topics/urban/gov-cities-construction-boom-bust.html.

2.1.2.   Analyze citywide trends in housing growth and loss, the availability of low-cost housing, and demographic changes to inform the creation of a citywide framework for future land use changes to implement Mandatory Inclusionary Housing and other tools that encourage growth and affordability. This citywide strategy will take a race-forward and equity-centered approach to planning for the creation of new housing. The analysis will be released by the end of 2021.

2.1.3.   Advance proposals for neighborhood rezonings in Gowanus and SoHo/NoHo to expand the housing stock, add new affordable housing, and increase neighborhood diversity, among other neighborhood planning objectives.

2.1.4.   Propose modifications to the Zoning Resolution to allow for an increase in density for affordable housing. Preferential floor-area-ratio (FAR) for affordable housing would apply to income-restricted housing for all populations, including housing for seniors and special needs populations.

2.1.5.   Explore ways to increase housing production – and particularly affordable housing production – in historic districts. Many high-opportunity neighborhoods in which new housing production is constrained by historic district designation have experienced a net loss of housing in recent years. Advancing a neighborhood rezoning in SoHo/NoHo is one example of an action that addresses this issue.

2.1.6.   Advocate for State legislative action to encourage affordable or low-cost housing development in municipalities with limited housing opportunities. Many states have similar laws – beginning with Massachusetts, which passed its first law to promote affordable housing development in 1969 – but New York State has never taken similar action to address exclusionary zoning. The State should also align any legislative action with existing financial incentives to reward municipalities that take the lead in promoting equitable development.

2.1.7.   Generate new opportunities to redevelop underused public properties, including on NYCHA land, in amenity-rich neighborhoods with affordable housing for extremely low- and very low-income households, homeless, and other special needs populations. Although there are many logistical and budgetary challenges in repurposing City-owned land for affordable housing development, the City can expand access to amenity-rich areas by prioritizing redevelopment of underused public properties in areas of the city with limited affordable housing.

2.1.8.   Incorporate data and metrics from this Plan in the processes through which HPD allocates its annual capital funding and its new project-based Section 8 vouchers each year. These new procedures will be aimed at achieving broader geographic distribution of affordable housing across the five boroughs.

2.1.9.   Restrict the use of middle-income option ("Option C") under the 421-a tax incentive program in neighborhoods where market conditions allow for new housing development without it. Further restricting the geographic areas where Option C can be used will help promote the construction of more lower-income units in higher-cost, amenity-rich neighborhoods.

2.1.10 Expand the financial support provided by HPD's down payment assistance program, HomeFirst, to enable low-income New Yorkers to buy their first homes in more neighborhoods, including places that are now largely out of the reach due to high prices.

Strategy 2.2: Remove legislative and process barriers that slow or limit the development of affordable housing, particularly in areas with few affordable options

Key Metrics
- Number of Community Boards receiving fair housing training
- Share of new affordable homes developed without requiring discretionary land use actions

2.2.1. Explore opportunities to accelerate the land use and environmental review processes for affordable and supportive housing, particularly in amenity-rich areas with limited affordable options. Accelerated review processes will reduce delays that add significant costs to developing affordable housing and prevent projects from reaching more neighborhoods.

2.2.2. Conduct trainings for Community Boards, civic organizations, and elected officials about fair housing issues and the City's responsibility to affirmatively further fair housing. A standardized training curriculum can help ensure that the various bodies involved in public approval processes understand the implications of their decisions for the City's obligation to advance fair housing.

2.2.3. Support changes to New York State legislation that facilitate housing development in New York City, such as removing the state cap on residential FAR. In areas already zoned for the highest densities, such as high-cost parts of Manhattan or Downtown Brooklyn, the State cap on allowable residential floor area prevents requiring affordable housing in new private developments through Mandatory Inclusionary Housing.

Strategy 2.3: Open publicly-supported housing to more New Yorkers

Key Metrics
- Number of affordable homes available through Housing Connect
- Number of New Yorkers served by the Housing Ambassador program
- Number of NYCHA households in its Reentry Program

2.3.1. Continue the roll-out of a new version of Housing Connect, HPD's unique affordable housing portal. The new system simplifies the process for New Yorkers to apply for affordable housing, improves the application experience for people with disabilities, is optimized for use on mobile devices (which is the most common method low-income households use for accessing web applications), and results in significantly improved information exchanges and monitoring capabilities of housing lotteries, lease-ups, and renewals. The new Housing Connect will also significantly expand the number of affordable units available to online applicants, because affordable units that are being re-rented after a household leaves will be available for online application for the first time.

2.3.2. Expand the Housing Ambassadors program to provide direct assistance to residents navigating the affordable housing search and application processes, with a specific focus on expanding access to services for households experiencing homelessness, using rental

assistance, or for whom a disability or language are barriers to access. Expanded resources can ensure that dedicated Housing Ambassadors are available to support New Yorkers most in need of support during the search for affordable housing.

2.3.3.   Advance new flexible options for New Yorkers to access affordable housing by piloting security deposit alternatives within City-financed developments. Incoming renters at participating buildings would have the option to use an alternative to an up-front, lump-sum security deposit at move-in, ensuring low- and moderate-income renters have more money available to cover basic needs.

2.3.4.   Clarify relevant policies and educate non-citizens and mixed-citizenship households about their ability to access publicly-supported housing. Continued receipt of misinformation can discourage immigrants and mixed-status households from accessing resources for which they are eligible, including affordable housing made available through HPD's Housing Connect system.

2.3.5.   Improve training initiatives for staff and contracted providers to ensure that LGBTQ individuals, people with disabilities, and survivors of domestic violence feel accommodated and safe in accessing housing and shelter, and explore how to incorporate successful practices across relevant agencies. By evaluating and scaling trainings that work, the City is taking steps to ensure that all participating New Yorkers receive quality services, are treated with dignity and compassion, and have the tailored support they need to access safe and affordable housing.

2.3.6.   Continue to improve awareness regarding changes to NYCHA's permanent exclusion policy and the process for lifting exclusions. Although NYCHA has redesigned, streamlined, and clarified the process for lifting a permanent exclusion for a resident who has served a prison sentence, proactive outreach is needed to address continued widespread misunderstanding on these changes and eligibility for return.

2.3.7.   Expand outreach and support services for the NYCHA Family Reentry Program, which reunites justice-involved New Yorkers with family members in NYCHA housing. After a successful two-year pilot supported by HUD and the Vera Institute, the program should be expanded to reach more eligible individuals.

Goal 3

Preserve affordable housing and prevent displacement of long-standing residents

Key Disparities

- Percentage of renters who report three or more maintenance deficiencies, by race and ethnicity (2017: 20% Black, 20% Hispanic, 6% White, 6% Asian/PI)
- Percentage of renters who report three or more maintenance deficiencies, by housing type (2017: 37% NYCHA, 20% Section 8, 17% Rent Stabilized, 12% Other Regulated, 7% Market)

In addition to enabling more equitable housing development, the City is committed to preserving the affordability and improving the quality of housing that is affordable to low- and moderate-income New Yorkers. This work begins with the New York City Housing Authority (NYCHA), which is the largest source of affordable housing for extremely low- and very low-income New Yorkers in the city; is an especially vital resource for Black and Hispanic New Yorkers; and is currently struggling with the impact of decades of federal disinvestment.

In July 2020, NYCHA released a *Blueprint for Change*, a set of ideas for how the Authority can reorganize and invest capital to stabilize and improve its properties. The capital strategy includes the creation of a Public Housing Preservation Trust, which would enable the Authority to address between $18 billion and $25 billion in capital needs across roughly 110,000 apartments. The proposed Public Housing Preservation Trust would allow NYCHA to rehab buildings using an end-to-end public process, ensure capital work is done through a public entity, and retain NYCHA's public, represented workforce.

This stabilization plan would complement the strategies outlined in *NYCHA 2.0*, which are designed to meet the capital needs of over 62,000 apartments through a range of federal, state, and local funding sources. The *NYCHA 2.0* plan includes the use of federal programs to rehab and convert 62,000 apartments to permanently affordable housing, construction of new buildings on underused NYCHA sites, and transfer of air rights at high-value sites.

Altogether, these strategies represent the first-ever comprehensive plan for every property and every building in NYCHA's portfolio. This effort is critical to improving housing conditions for current NYCHA residents, which are discussed in Section 5.5 of this report, and for retaining NYCHA developments as an affordable resource for future generations.

More generally, the City's multi-pronged approach to addressing displacement and improving housing quality will face new challenges during the recovery from the COVID-19 pandemic. HPD's efforts to preserve affordability and improve quality across the city's privately-owned housing stock will be more crucial than ever, as tenants face immense financial strain and land-lords may not have the resources for proper maintenance. Thousands of tenants will need legal assistance when Housing Court reopens fully, and alternative methods of settling disputes will be important resources. Fraud and scams increase during times of emergency, and low-income homeowners will be especially vulnerable to predatory buyers in the months ahead.

Over the past five years, the City has built a robust anti-displacement plan, from creating the nation's first program to provide universal access to free legal services in eviction proceedings, to investing billions of dollars in rehabilitating existing housing units, to providing a preference for income-eligible New Yorkers who apply for new affordable housing near their homes. To build on these initiatives to ensure that New Yorkers have the opportunity to remain in their homes during these unprecedented times, the City will implement the following strategies and actions.

Strategy 3.1: Transform NYCHA's portfolio – the largest single source of affordable housing in New York City – through comprehensive renovations and management reforms

Key Metrics
- Total number of NYCHA units rehabilitated
- Share of NYCHA's physical needs addressed

3.1.1. Implement the *Blueprint for Change* plan by creating a Public Housing Preservation Trust and accessing federally-funded Tenant Protection Vouchers (TPVs) to address the repair needs of 110,000 NYCHA apartments.

3.1.2. Rehabilitate 62,000 units through NYCHA's Permanent Affordability Commitment Together (PACT) portfolio, where NYCHA works with development partners to fund extensive renovations and repairs, by 2028. NYCHA has already closed on agreements to renovate approximately 7,800 units across 33 developments, addressing $1.1 billion in necessary capital repairs. In 2020 and 2021, NYCHA expects to use PACT to address another approximately 7,600 additional units across 25 developments.

3.1.3. Develop new, mixed-income housing developments on NYCHA land in order to create new, high-quality affordable homes in amenity-rich areas and generate $2 billion in funds for capital repairs in 10,000 NYCHA apartments by 2028. NYCHA is currently engaged in extensive community engagement at developments in Chelsea in order to produce community-driven recommendations for the future of Chelsea, Chelsea Addition, Elliot, and Fulton Houses.

3.1.4. Raise additional funds for renovations and repairs by selling some of NYCHA's 80 million square feet of unused development rights to adjacent privately-owned sites. NYCHA expects to raise up to $1 billion by 2028 by supporting housing development on privately-owned sites.

Strategy 3.2: Improve quality and preserve affordability for existing residents

Key Metrics
- Number of low-to-moderate income homeowners supported through HomeFix
- Number of small-building owners assisted through the Landlord Ambassador Program

3.2.1. Continue roll-out of HPD's new HomeFix program, which provides low-interest financing to homeowners for necessary maintenance. This capital would likely otherwise be out of reach for many lower-income or elderly homeowners or homeowners of color. HomeFix will also provide special financing to residents in neighborhoods that have limited access to traditional banking in order to address ongoing disparities between neighborhoods in access to financial resources. The program is expected to benefit 150 homeowners each year.

3.2.2. Expand the Landlord Ambassadors Program to provide more dedicated assistance to small property owners navigating the process of applying for HPD financing to stabilize their buildings. Smaller buildings are an important source of naturally occurring affordable housing, and stabilizing this rental housing stock will help maintain their affordability and ensure housing quality.

3.2.3. Advocate for reforms to the J-51 tax incentive program, which offers financial assistance to owners who have renovated their buildings, to align the program with the City's goals for housing quality, affordability, and sustainability. The program should target rental buildings that currently provide low-cost housing and need financial assistance to fund needed repairs and upgrades to improve quality of life for tenants.

3.2.4. Explore funding sources to support the proactive inspection of homes in buildings and neighborhoods with high health-related risks. Strengthening coordination between DOHMH and HPD, as well as enhanced outreach in partnership with community-based organizations, can address the physical building conditions that lead to health disparities.

Strategy 3.3: Protect tenants facing economic challenges, harassment, and evictions

Key Metrics
- Percentage of renters facing eviction with access to legal representation in Housing Court

3.3.1. Continue citywide expansion of NYC's Universal Access program to provide free legal services for tenants facing eviction in Housing Court and NYCHA proceedings, which already is associated with a dramatic increase in the availability of free legal representation for tenants facing eviction citywide as well as a reduction in evictions by marshals across the city.

3.3.2. Provide education and navigation services for litigants in Housing Court. Enhancing awareness of the range of resources that help tenants prevent eviction and navigate Housing Court will ensure that tenants have effective and efficient access to legal assistance, receive necessary repairs by their landlords, and are aware of their rights as renters and litigants in the City's Housing Court.

3.3.3. Determine whether new anti-harassment initiatives, including the Partners in Preservation and Certification of No Harassment pilot programs, are showing sufficient promise to justify expanding them to additional neighborhoods.

3.3.4. Evaiuate the new City-Wide Landlord-Tenant Mediation Project, which is a partnership between the City of New York and the non-profit Community Dispute Resolution Centers (CDRCs) that serve all five boroughs. Launched in response to the unprecedented economic harm caused by the COVID-19 pandemic, this free service provides an alternative to Housing Court for tenants and landlords to work out issues regarding the non-payment of rent.

Strategy 3.4: Protect homeowners vulnerable to displacement, fraud, and scams

Key Metrics
- Number of neighborhoods covered by anti-foreclosure or anti-harassment programs
- Number of homeowners assisted through City-supported counseling programs

3.4.1. Explore philanthropic funding for a new initiative to stabilize low-income homeowners who are at risk of foreclosure. The City will advocate for external funding opportunities to replicate the success of the state-wide Mortgage Assistance Program (MAP) that provided direct mortgage assistance, financial counseling, and other supports to put homeowners on a long-term path of financial stability.

3.4.2. Expand the reach of the Homeowner Help Desk to connect with additional vulnerable homeowners. The City will seek philanthropic funding to expand the number of neighborhoods covered by the Homeowner Help Desk, which was first launched in East New York to provide assistance and advice on a range of issues affecting the stability of low-income homeowners.

3.4.3. Support the designation of additional "Cease and Desist Zones" to protect homeowners from aggressive real estate solicitation and scams, either through current procedures established by the New York Department of State or through new local legislation.

3.4.4. Advocate for State legislative amendments to HPD's loan authorities to improve the agency's ability to preserve affordable housing, which could include larger subsidized loans for low-income homeowners who need to make significant repairs.

3.4.5. Evaluate the changing racial composition of homeownership in neighborhoods facing increased risks to chronic floods in order to understand and respond to potential disproportionate impacts of climate change on communities of color.

Goal 4

Enable more effective use of rental assistance benefits, especially in amenity-rich neighborhoods

Key Disparities

- Percentage of community districts with at least 3% of their housing units occupied by New Yorkers receiving rental assistance (2017: 49%)

Federal housing vouchers constitute the nation's largest rental housing program, benefiting over 2 million low-income renters nationwide and approximately 145,000 households in New York City alone.[8] Housing vouchers come in many forms depending on their sources of funding, include complex eligibility requirements, and provide differing levels of support, but each voucher serves the same core purpose: To provide financial assistance to renters in finding safe and affordable homes.

Housing vouchers have provided significant benefits to millions of Americans over the past 40 years by lowering recipients' rent burdens, allowing families to spend more money on groceries, and increasing household stability.[9] But people who use vouchers to help pay their rent in New York City and across the nation do not typically access neighborhoods with low levels of poverty or high performing schools. Instead, housing vouchers are most often used to secure apartments in neighborhoods that are relatively disadvantaged.[10]

Empowering individuals and families with housing vouchers to access a diversity of neighborhoods is a crucial part of advancing fair housing. Throughout the Where We Live NYC process, community-based organizations that serve people with vouchers, agencies that administer vouchers, and New Yorkers who use vouchers themselves were engaged to discuss the barriers that impede their wider use.

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8 For national figures, see Alison Bell, et. al., "Prohibiting Discrimination Against Renters Using Housing Vouchers Improves Results," Center on Budget and Policy Priorities (October 10, 2018), p. 1, available at: https://www.cbpp.org/research/housing/prohibiting-discrimination-against-renters-using-housing-vouchers-improves-results.
For New York City, see Section 5.5 of this report.
9 Ingrid Gould Ellen, "What Do We Know About Housing Choice Vouchers?" (August 2017), available at: http://furmancenter.org/files/HousingChoiceVouchers_WorkingPaper_IngridGouldEllen_14AUG2017.pdf.
10 Ellen, p. 5; Philip Garboden, et. al., "Urban Landlords and the Housing Choice Voucher Program: A Research Report," (May 2018), p. 1, available at: https://www.huduser.gov/portal/publications/UrbanLandlords.html.

The first barrier is discrimination by landlords against individuals and families with vouchers. Even though source-of-income discrimination has been illegal in New York City for the majority of housing units since 2008, stakeholders, voucher holders, and City agencies reported frequent and explicit non-compliance by many landlords. New York State took a significant step this year by prohibiting source-of-income discrimination in almost all homes across the state. Additional resources will be needed to ensure that landlords comply with this new mandate in New York City and across the region.

"I called over 50 landlords and brokers and supers and they all say the same thing about vouchers: 'unit is not available' or 'we don't take vouchers' or 'you need better credit.' This had been going on for three years. It's so discouraging."

– Community Conversation Participant, Neighbors Together

"[Section 8 staff] gave me a list and they circled three different places in Far Rockaway. I have never lived in Far Rockaway. I lived in Brooklyn for 40 years. I would have preferred Brooklyn, but I was desperate, so I chose the first thing they gave me, which was the Rockaways."

– Community Conversation Participant, Section 8 Housing Choice Voucher program

A second barrier in New York City's competitive housing market is the level of rent that a voucher supports. Stakeholders and community members reported that vouchers do not provide realistic options to secure apartments in high-demand, amenity-rich neighborhoods. Moreover, landlords in high-demand neighborhoods may be hesitant to accept voucher holders over cash-paying tenants because of the bureaucratic requirements tied to vouchers, including special inspections and extensive paperwork.[11] Finally, stakeholders and community members also reported that brokers and staff at various agencies provide limited or no counseling regarding neighborhood amenities and they direct many tenants to landlords in high-poverty neighborhoods where voucher payments are more likely to be accepted. The combined impact of these barriers means that the use of vouchers in New York City is heavily concentrated – about 10% of the city's census tracts are home to 53% of households who use federally-funded vouchers.

The following strategies and actions will better support New Yorkers who use housing vouchers to help pay their rent:

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11 Garboden, et. al., at pp. v, 26.

Strategy 4.1: Expand the number of homes available to New Yorkers who receive rental assistance benefits

Key Metrics
- Percentage of vouchers newly used in amenity-rich neighborhoods

4.1.1. Expand resources for addressing discrimination complaints based on New Yorkers' source of income and coordination among City agencies (see Goal 1 for more information).

4.1.2. Ensure that all rental assistance programs provide information, when appropriate, about Housing Connect to their clients and direct clients in need of assistance to HPD Housing Ambassadors. By improving coordination between rental assistance programs and HPD's Housing Connect team, the City can ensure that residents participating in rental assistance programs are aware of the opportunity to use their voucher in HPD's lottery process to access high quality, affordable housing in a range of neighborhoods.

4.1.3. Evaluate new initiatives that assist HPD voucher holders who are seeking to move to amenity-rich neighborhoods, including higher payment standards in certain neighborhoods and intensive counseling and financial assistance for a limited number of families who are interested in moving.

4.1.4. In collaboration with the Department of Social Services, HPD will increase the number of referrals in its marketing process for homeless households who use City-funded rental assistance. This new program will open more affordable apartments to homeless households, quickening the transition to permanent, high-quality housing. HPD estimates that over 300 households will benefit from this program in 2020.

Strategy 4.2: Improve the effectiveness, efficiency, and experience of services provided to rental assistance clients and landlords

Key Metrics
- Number of Section 8 tenants and owners using HPD's online portals

4.2.1. Comprehensively evaluate the service-design in rental assistance programs, based upon expanded forms of outreach to voucher holders, in order to improve the effectiveness, efficiency, and experience of services provided.

4.2.2. Develop online portals to help HPD voucher holders and their landlords submit and receive documents and payments electronically. These new portals will improve efficiency and reduce the number of necessary in-person visits.

Goal 5

Create more independent and integrated living options for people with disabilities

Key Disparities

- Stair-free accessibility for people with a mobility disability (2017: 68% NYCHA, 53% Other Regulated, 32% Section 8, 25% Rent Stabilized, 19% Market)

New York City is home to approximately 1 million people who identify as living with a disability.[12] Throughout the Where We Live NYC public planning process, members of the Fair Housing Stakeholder Group and residents in our Community Conversations raised myriad challenges that New Yorkers with disabilities face in finding independent living options that are not isolated from New Yorkers without disabilities. Residents also described experiences of facing discrimination because of their disability and landlord resistance to providing reasonable acoommodations to their homes or policies to meet the needs of residents or applicants with a disability.

"At an apartment I went to see, that my girlfriend saw first, they didn't have any problems. But when they see me and see my cane, they had a problem."

– Community Conversation Participant, Chhaya CDC

"Couple of years ago, I was living in an apartment and had a stroke. I couldn't walk. Insurance gave me a motorized wheelchair but I couldn't get it into the apartment because it was not handicap accessible. The landlord wouldn't put a ramp in because he said it would bring down the value of the building. They did not want to reface the building to accommodate one person. I pointed out that this was out of my control. I moved in while I was physically capable, and became disabled while in the building. Went through a lot of court procedures, spoke to lawyers. In the end, it was in the landlord's discretion because if he wanted to sell the building, it could impact the cost. The court was going back and forth. I got fed up and just gave up. It seems like they know that people will get tired of fighting. What is the purpose of the Fair Housing Act if there is such a bureaucratic process to go through that it does not benefit the person who needs help?"

– Community Conversation Participant, Neighbors Together

12 Mayor's Office for People with Disabilities, "AccessibleNYC: An Annual Report on the State of People Living with Disabilities in New York City, 2018 Edition," available at: https://www1.nyc.gov/assets/mopd/downloads/pdf/accessiblenyc-2018.pdf.

Many of the strategies and actions already described in this Plan will benefit people with disabilities. For example, additional resources to perform paired testing will root out discrimination on the basis of disability, and increased resources to enforce fair housing laws will allow for more complaints to be processed that allege non-compliance with accessibility requirements and reasonable accommodation requests. Moreover, strategies intended to encourage equitable growth will spur the development of new affordable units in a variety of neighborhoods, which will include units specially designed for people with mobility, vision, and hearing disabilities and other units that are easily adaptable to accommodate many disabilities.

In addition, the following strategies and actions will target the housing needs of people with disabilities:

Strategy 5.1: Increase support and improve processes for residents transitioning out of institutional settings

5.1.1. Convene a task force of healthcare providers, health insurance companies, housing providers, community-based partners, and City, State, and Federal government representatives to make recommendations to systematically help people with disabilities transition out of nursing homes, hospitals, rehabilitative care, and other institutional settings. Recommendations coming out of this process could address, for example, how to allow Medicaid to be used to pay for non-institutional housing for people with disabilities or how to strengthen the New York State Nursing Home Transition and Diversion program.

Strategy 5.2: Improve process and reduce barriers for people with disabilities to access affordable housing

Key Metrics
- Number of accessible, affordable homes available through Housing Connect
- Number of Housing Connect applicants assisted with new Housing Ambassadors resources for people with disabilities

5.2.1. Continue roll-out of HPD's new Housing Connect system, which enables greater tracking, monitoring, and enforcement of requirements for apartments designed for people living with disabilities. The improved system will allow better monitoring of whether these units are going to New Yorkers with disabilities during their initial rent-up and subsquent tenancies.

5.2.2. Expand the Housing Ambassadors program to provide direct assistance to residents navigating the affordable housing search and application processes, with a specific focus on expanding access to services for households for whom a disability is a barrier to access. Expanded resources in 2020 and 2021 from philanthropic funding will ensure that dedicated Housing Ambassadors are available to support New Yorkers with disabilities during the search for affordable housing.

5.2.3. Offer regular trainings for frontline staff, such as case managers, health care workers, housing specialists, and marketing staff on housing rights, resources, and best practices in outreach and for providing reasonable accommodations for people with disabilities.

Strategy 5.3: Increase the number of affordable homes that are accessible

Key Metrics
- Number of paired testing investigations focused on people with disabilities
- Number of seniors and people with disabilities served through home modification programs

5.3.1. Evaluate potential changes to the set asides in HPD-assisted housing for people with disabilities, including the number of homes set aside and the types of disabilities accommodated, by analyzing new sources of data about New Yorkers living with disabilities and about the accessibility of the city's housing stock. The current set aside requirement is 7% of total units -- 5% for applicants with a mobility disability and 2% for vision and hearing.

5.3.2. Expand existing programs, including Project Open House, that assist seniors and people with disabilities in obtaining modifications to their homes to accommodate their physical needs.

5.3.3. Improve education of architects, developers, and general contractors to review their legal responsibilities when designing and constructing residential buildings to ensure accessibility requirements are met.

Goal 6

Make equitable investments to address the neighborhood-based legacy of discrimination, segregation, and concentrated poverty

Key Disparities

- Infant Mortality Rate Per 1,000 Live Births (2016: 8 Black, 3.7 Hispanic, 2.9 Asian/PI, 2.6 White)
- Rates of Exposure to Select Violent Crimes Per 1,000 Residents (2017: 6.0 Black, 5.1 Hispanic, 3.0 Asian/PI, 2.6 White)
- Median Household Income (2016: $79,700 White, $58,500 Asian/PI, $43,300 Black, $37,300 Hispanic)
- High School Graduation Rate (2018: 88% Asian, 84% White, 72% Black, 70% Hispanic)

New York City—like all cities in the United States—is scarred by a long history of discrimination, segregation, and injustice. This history has particularly affected neighborhoods in which people of color make up the majority of the population.[13] A holistic approach to advancing fair housing requires substantial investments and policy changes to address the structural disadvantages that these neighborhoods and their residents experience. Such commitments are meant to ensure that no one is deprived of access to fundamental resources because of their race, ethnicity, disability, religion, or other protected characteristic, and that residents of all neighborhoods can thrive.

During the past 40 years, the City of New York—more so than any other city in the country—has marshalled financial resources and governmental expertise to support structurally

13 Kenneth Clark, Dark Ghetto: Dilemmas of Social Power, Harper (1965); Craig Wilder, A Covenant with Color: Race and Social Power in Brooklyn, Columbia University Press (2001); Robert J. Sampson, Great American City: Chicago and the Enduring Neighborhood Effect, University of Chicago Press (2011); Patrick Sharkey, Stuck in Place: Urban Neighborhoods and the End of Progress Toward Racial Equality, University of Chicago Press (2013); Tommie Shelby, Dark Ghettos: Injustice, Dissent, and Reform, Harvard University Press (2016).

disadvantaged neighborhoods. These investments have reinvigorated neighborhoods that were once left for abandonment and have made New York City "the poster child for the Great American Crime Decline."[14]

More recently, the City created a $1 billion Neighborhood Development Fund (NDF) to support neighborhood growth with complementary investments in schools, parks, transportation, and other critical resources. Additionally, City agencies are engaging with communities to address long-standing needs and inequities through the Community Parks Initiative and the co-location of community amenities within affordable housing developments. The City also recognizes that neighborhood-based investments must be paired with resources – such as better K-12 education, job training, and higher learning – that can raise families out of poverty and ultimately make housing more affordable.

But the disparities described in this report demonstrate that much more work is required to address the compounded disadvantages that centuries of discrimination and segregation have produced. This work has become even more challenging and urgent in response to the unprecedented and disproportionate health and economic impacts that the COVID-19 pandemic has had on specific racial and ethnic groups and in particular neighborhoods. While the city will face extraordinary challenges over the next few years, with fewer financial resources to address them, the data and analysis in this plan provide guideposts for the City's recovery efforts.

Building upon the City's Taskforce on Racial Inclusion & Equity and the many other programs and policies discussed throughout this report, the following strategies and actions will address the neighborhood-based factors that perpetuate disparate outcomes.

Strategy 6.1: Ensure key housing, capital, and service agencies are integrating race and social equity perspectives into government decision-making

Key Metrics
- Number of agencies engaged in the NYC Equity Initiative

6.1.1.   As part of the NYC Equity Initiative, expand the number of City agencies conducting equity assessments and developing equity action plans. Led by NYC Opportunity, the initiative provides guidance, support, and training for City agencies, with a particular focus on those with large capital or social service responsibilities, to ensure that equity and addressing disparities based on race, gender, and other characteristics is an integral consideration in all policymaking, programs, and initiatives.

6.1.2.   Develop standardized race and social equity tools to help evaluate and guide the City's capital planning and budgeting processes.

6.1.3.   Include a description of racial characteristics of the project area into the analyses that accompany and underpin the environmental review for proposed land use changes.

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14 For information about housing investments and their impact on surrounding neighborhoods, see Alex Schwartz, "New York City and Subsidized Housing: Impacts and Lessons of the City's $5 Billion Capital Budget Housing Plan," Housing Policy Debate (1999), 4(10): 839. For information about decline in crime, see Patrick Sharkey, Uneasy Peace: The Great Crime Decline, the Renewal of City Life, and the Next War on Violence, W.W. Norton & Company (2018), p. 30.

6.1.4. Incorporate fair housing goals and equity metrics into the citywide Social Indicators Report in order to more effectively track and address critical disparities based on where New Yorkers live. Including key fair housing goals in the report, such as disparities based on protected class status, racial segregation, and access to opportunity based on where people live, will further embed fair housing principles into City-wide efforts to advance equity.

6.1.5. In key neighborhoods that have historically experienced disinvestment, conduct community-based planning processes, such as the Brownsville Plan, to ensure government policies and capital plans are informed by a diversity of local perspectives. Expanding the number of these inclusive planning processes can promote the equitable distribution of service and infrastructure investments in neighborhoods that have experienced historic disinvestment and discrimination.

Strategy 6.2: Decrease violence through evidence-based, restorative methods in parts of the city that still experience violence disproportionately

Key Metrics
- Number of neighborhoods covered by a social service plan or activated community network
- Number of neighborhoods implementing participatory community design and budgeting projects around public space

6.2.1. Develop social service plans for neighborhoods that experience the highest concentration of major felony crime, focusing on restorative practices and neighborhood-based coordination that amplify residents' voices and participation. Identifying neighborhoods and developing local coordination plan for social services for communities based on their priorities, and for families with multi-system involvement, developing community-centered and holistic support for youth in high crime neighborhoods that includes individual mentorship and family-level social service coordination.

6.2.2. Implement a Neighborhood Activation Initiative, which will coordinate multiple City agencies in activating underused public spaces by making them safer and more appealing for community use. Communities that have historically experienced disinvestment often have vacant or underutilized public-owned spaces that contribute to a sense of danger and instability. Interventions in the design of the built environment that address public safety, encourage social interaction, and reduce crime include providing adequate street lighting and increasing the amount of space for convening and creating street activity.

Strategy 6.3: Strengthen social resiliency, shared trust, and bonds between community members

Key Metrics
- Number of community-owned, affordable homes developed or preserved
- Number of NYCHA campuses improved through the Connected Communities initiative

6.3.1. Accelerate opportunities for mission-based groups, including Mutual Housing Associations and Community Land Trusts, to create and preserve community-owned or shared-equity housing. The City will release an RFP for innovative models and provide ongoing technical assistance and capacity building for community land trusts and other mission-based groups with the goal of gaining over 3,000 units of community-owned or shared equity housing.

6.3.2. Renovate and reopen community centers on NYCHA's campuses to improve existing shared spaces and create new facilities for connected communities.

6.3.3. On NYCHA campuses, remove physical barriers that cut NYCHA residents off from opportunities by working with residents and neighboring communities to re-map public ways, reduce perimeter fencing, and introduce better signage through NYCHA's Connected Communities initiative.

6.3.4. Invest in green spaces on NYCHA's campuses as part of NYC Parks's Walk to the Park initiative, in order to expand the use of space for residents and members of neighboring communities.

Strategy 6.4: Improve household financial security and wealth-building opportunities, particularly in neighborhoods with concentrated poverty

Key Metrics
- Number of NYCHA residents employed through Section 3 programming
- Number of new households participating in City-financed affordable homeownership opportunities

6.4.1. Connect low-income New Yorkers, including NYCHA residents, justice-involved individuals, immigrants, and people with disabilities, to adult education, job training, bridge programs, and apprenticeships through the City's workforce system, and ensure low-income New Yorkers have access to good careers through the City's capital investments, procurements, and hiring processes.

6.4.2. Create job opportunities for NYCHA residents and other low-income households by strengthening Section 3 programming and connecting NYCHA residents to jobs created through investment from proposed rehabilitation plans (e.g. the Blueprint for Change and NYCHA 2.0).

6.4.3. Expand rent-payment reporting tools in publicly-subsidized housing to help residents build credit. Although residents may consistently pay rent on time, this line of information is not considered in developing a person's credit score because it is currently not reported to credit bureaus. Lessons learned from existing pilots in NYCHA buildings and from other initiatives across the country can provide evidence on how to scale efforts to improve credit of residents living in publicly-subsidized housing.

6.4.4. Accelerate initiatives to expand access to broadband Internet at home for 600,000 New Yorkers, including 200,000 NYCHA residents. The COVID-19 pandemic again has made clear the importance of ending the digital divide at home. New Yorkers' ability or inability to work and learn from home is dependent on access to high-quality Internet connections, which these accelerated initiatives will provide.

6.4.5. Explore the development and expansion of programs designed to enable greater financial security and reduce generational poverty, such as child savings accounts, baby bonds, and guaranteed minimum income.

6.4.6. Study the impact of key HPD homeownership programs on the long-term financial health of households. Racial disparities in homeownership are the result of past and present discrimination and contribute to stark disparities in household wealth. Various existing City programs support affordable homeownership, including down payment assistance and affordable loan programs. Studying program impact can help prioritize those that maximize the effects of reducing disparities while efficiently using public subsidy.

6.4.7. Continue advocating for improvements to the federal Community Reinvestment Act ("CRA"), and protect the proven successful tools currently supported by the CRA, in order to reward investments that benefit low- and moderate-income communities ("LMI") while excluding predatory investments.

Strategy 6.5: Build the foundation for more diverse, integrated schools throughout the five boroughs

Key Metrics
- Percentage of school districts that are implementing diversity plans

6.5.1. Support the creation of additional, robust school district diversity plans, following the lead of Districts 1 and 3 in Manhattan and District 15 in Brooklyn. Learning from these models and supported by DOE planning grants, more school districts are planning to create comprehensive, community-driven diversity and integration plans, and serve as a national-model for creative and effective school integration.

6.5.2. Improve on the process by which DOE and Community Education Councils (CEC) address the potential impacts of school zoning proposals on school diversity. CECs should be aware of such impacts when they decide to approve or disapprove each proposal, and DOE can encourage more school rezonings that would spur integration in districts across the city.

6.5.3. Explore alternative geographic preferences for elementary and middle schools that are based on distances between residences and schools, which may cut across attendance zones and district boundaries in order to facilitate integration. While school rezonings are a key tool to spurring integration, they usually occur only within a school district, such as when two elementary schools merge their attendance zones. As a result, school rezonings are limited by and typically do not cross school district lines. By exploring new geographic preferences that can cut across both attendance zones and district boundaries, DOE will be able to expand the types of school assignment policies that can promote integration.

6.5.4. Consult with officials from DOE, the real estate industry, and outlets that distribute information on school quality to design best practices for discouraging bias and spreading accurate information about school performance. Brokers, online home search companies, and independent school consultants have rated schools on narrow, mis-leading, or biased metrics, such as test scores or even student demographics. This

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practice can steer homeseekers into certain neighborhoods where the "best" schools are located, leaving other schools and neighborhoods stigmatized, even when they provide a quality education. The City will work with these industries to develop new tools to discuss school quality with parents and students.

6.5.5.   Produce and distribute materials for residents using rental assistance and residents of publicly-supported housing to ensure that families with minor children are aware of the school options available to them if they choose new neighborhoods. Navigating the school choice system can be challenging for families, especially those with less time or resources to fully explore their school options. By developing new materials that will be provided to families who move into publicly-supported housing, NYC can ensure all families have the information they need to make the best school decisions for their children.

Strategy 6.6: Make NYC region's public transportation network more equitable and accessible

Key Metrics
- Average speed of travel on MTA buses
- Number of pedestrian ramps constructed or rehabilitated

6.6.1.   Facilitate faster and more reliable bus service by expanding bus priority citywide through the installation or improvement of bus lanes, transit-signal priority, and other measures, and ensuring their effectiveness through enforcement.

6.6.2.   In support of broader efforts to expand the number of accessible transit stations, propose zoning text amendments to require owners of development sites adjacent to transit stations to consult with the MTA about potential easements and expand eligibility for a zoning bonus for transit accessibility improvements within high-density areas.

6.6.3.   Through DOT's Pedestrian Ramps Program, rehabilitate or construct all required pedestrian ramps across the five boroughs by 2047, including all standard ramps by 2032.

Chapter 7
Implementation

The Fair Housing Goals and Strategies outlined in Chapter 6 were developed through intensive data and policy analysis, over a year of stakeholder and public participation, and collaboration with more than 30 government partners. They constitute a set of strategies and actions that the City proposes to undertake to advance fair housing over the next five years. However, nearly every action will require additional analysis, stakeholder and public engagement, and inter-agency collaboration in order to be successfully implemented. Some actions will also require, and offer opportunities for, broader advocacy and partnerships.

The implementation chart included below provides a preliminary framework for agency responsibilities in implementing this plan. Following the public comment period, the plan will be revised and finalized, and a more complete and detailed implementation strategy will be included in the final version.

Oversight

The New York City Department of Housing Preservation and Development (HPD), who led the creation of the Where We Live NYC plan in collaboration with the New York City Housing Authority (NYCHA), will oversee implementation. Each action has been assigned a lead agency, and government and external partners will be identified to support implementation. HPD will work with partner agencies to develop implementation milestones and measures of success for each action in the plan.

Tracking and Reporting

In addition to incorporating the goals, strategies, and actions into the City's submissions to HUD, the City will release annual progress updates. These progress updates will be made publicly available on the Where We Live NYC and HPD websites.

Implementation Matrix

#	Action	Lead Agency	Participating Agencies

Goal 1
Combat persistent, complex discrimination with expanded resources and protections

Strategy 1.1: Strengthen NYC's fair housing enforcement and protections

#	Action	Lead Agency	Participating Agencies
1.1.1.	Building upon recent work at NYCHA and HPD, support local legislation to address discrimination in the private housing market based on residents' past involvement with the criminal justice system. Such protections should be designed to minimize the disproportionate impact that criminal records-based barriers pose on people of color, while meeting the needs of New York City's diverse housing stock.	CCHR	HPD, NYCHA
1.1.2.	In collaboration with HPD, CCHR will publish legal enforcement guidance focused on housing discrimination by cooperative ("co-op") associations, to educate co-ops and applicants about their respective obligations and rights under the New York City Human Rights Law ("NYCHRL"). Through Where We Live NYC, New Yorkers described suspicions of discriminatory behavior in the application process for purchasing a co-op, but the opaque approval process makes it extremely difficult for applicants to prove discrimination. Because approximately 260,000 homes in New York City are co-ops, discrimination in the co-op application process may be a significant barrier to accessing affordable homeownership opportunities.	CCHR	HPD
1.1.3.	Propose local legislation to ensure that the NYCHRL's prohibition on discrimination on the basis of a resident's source of income, applicable to owners of 6 or more units, conforms to new provisions in the State Human Rights Law, which extends the coverage to all buildings except 1- and 2-family homes that are owner occupied.	CCHR	DSS, HPD
1.1.4.	Expand paired testing investigations in the housing market to identify illegal discrimination, focusing resources on both rental and ownership opportunities. Paired testing is the best method in identifying ongoing discrimination and preparing cases to punish and deter discriminatory behavior.	CCHR	DSS, HPD

#	Action	Lead Agency	Participating Agencies
1.1.5.	Expand agency resources, including the number of attorneys and investigators, for addressing fair housing complaints, with particular attention to source-of-income discrimination, reasonable accommodation requests, and failures to construct or renovate housing according to accessibility requirements. Expanded resources are needed to shorten processing and response times when New Yorkers submit discrimination complaints to CCHR and to increase the number of large-scale, affirmative cases against property owners who persistently violate fair housing laws.	CCHR	DSS, HPD

Goal 2
Facilitate equitable housing development in New York City and the region

Strategy 2.1: Increase housing opportunities, particularly for low-income New Yorkers, in amenity-rich neighborhoods

#	Action	Lead Agency	Participating Agencies
2.1.1.	Expand housing options in low-density zoning districts to encourage the development of low-cost housing in neighborhoods across the city and give small homeowners more flexibility to create extra space and income. This could include legalizing basement apartments and other accessory dwelling units citywide, as well as changes to zoning requirements like parking, lot size, and density factor to allow for the addition of new homes in low-density areas. Analysis of data and regulations will identify zoning provisions that could be changed to enable the creation of a wider variety of unit types and low-cost housing in lower-density zoning districts.	DCP, HPD	
2.1.2.	Analyze citywide trends in housing growth and loss, the availability of low-cost housing, and demographic changes to inform the creation of a citywide framework for future land use changes to implement Mandatory Inclusionary Housing and other tools that encourage growth and affordability. This citywide strategy will take a race-forward and equity-centered approach to planning for the creation of new housing. The analysis will be released by the end of 2021.	DCP, HPD	

#	Action	Lead Agency	Participating Agencies
2.1.3.	Advance proposals for neighborhood rezonings in Gowanus and SoHo/NoHo to expand the housing stock, add new affordable housing, and increase neighborhood diversity, among other neighborhood planning objectives.	DCP	HPD
2.1.4.	Propose modifications to the Zoning Resolution to allow for an increase in density for affordable housing. Preferential floor-area-ratio (FAR) for affordable housing would apply to income-restricted housing for all populations, including housing for seniors and special needs populations.	DCP, HPD	
2.1.5.	Explore ways to increase housing production – and particularly affordable housing production – in historic districts. Many high-opportunity neighborhoods in which new housing production is constrained by historic district designation have experienced a net loss of housing in recent years. Advancing a neighborhood rezoning in SoHo/NoHo is one example of an action that addresses this issue.	DCP	HPD, LPC
2.1.6.	Advocate for State legislative action to encourage affordable or low-cost housing development in municipalities with limited housing opportunities. Many states have similar laws – beginning with Massachusetts, which passed its first law to promote affordable housing development in 1969 – but New York State has never taken similar action to address exclusionary zoning. The State should also align any legislative action with existing financial incentives to reward municipalities that take the lead in promoting equitable development.	DCP, HPD	
2.1.7.	Generate new opportunities to redevelop underused public properties, including on NYCHA land, in amenity-rich neighborhoods with affordable housing for extremely low- and very low-income households, homeless, and other special needs populations. Although there are many logistical and budgetary challenges in repurposing City-owned land for affordable housing development, the City can expand access to amenity-rich areas by prioritizing redevelopment of underused public properties in areas of the city with limited affordable housing.	DCP, HPD	

#	Action	Lead Agency	Participating Agencies
2.1.8.	Incorporate data and metrics from this plan in the processes through which HPD allocates its annual capital funding and its new project-based Section 8 vouchers each year. These new procedures will be aimed at achieving broader geographic distribution of affordable housing across the five boroughs.	HPD	
2.1.9.	Restrict the use of middle-income option ("Option C") under the 421-a tax incentive program in neighborhoods where market conditions allow for new housing development without it. Further restricting the geographic areas where Option C can be used will help promote the construction of more lower-income units in higher-cost, amenity-rich neighborhoods.	HPD	
2.1.10	Expand the financial support provided by HPD's down payment assistance program, HomeFirst, to enable low-income New Yorkers to buy their first homes in more neighborhoods, including places that are now largely out of the reach due to high prices.	HPD	

Strategy 2.2: Remove legislative and process barriers that slow or limit the development of affordable housing, particularly in areas with few affordable options

#	Action	Lead Agency	Participating Agencies
2.2.1.	Explore opportunities to accelerate the land use and environmental review processes for affordable and supportive housing, particularly in amenity-rich areas with limited affordable options. Accelerated review processes will reduce delays that add significant costs to developing affordable housing and prevent projects from reaching more neighborhoods.	DCP, HPD	
2.2.2.	Conduct trainings for Community Boards, civic organizations, and elected officials about fair housing issues and the City's responsibility to affirmatively further fair housing. A standardized training curriculum can help ensure that the various bodies involved in public approval processes understand the implications of their decisions for the City's obligation to advance fair housing.	HPD	DCP, Civic Engagement Commission, HPD, CCHR

#	Action	Lead Agency	Participating Agencies
2.2.3.	Support changes to New York State legislation that facilitate housing development in New York City, such as removing the state cap on residential FAR. In areas already zoned for the highest densities, such as high-cost parts of Manhattan or Downtown Brooklyn, the State cap on allowable residential floor area prevents requiring affordable housing in new private developments through Mandatory Inclusionary Housing.	DCP	HPD

Strategy 2.3: Open publicly-supported housing to more New Yorkers

#	Action	Lead Agency	Participating Agencies
2.3.1.	Continue the roll-out of a new version of Housing Connect, HPD's unique affordable housing portal. The new system simplifies the process for New Yorkers to apply for affordable housing, improves the application experience for people with disabilities, is optimized for use on mobile devices (which is the most common method low-income households use for accessing web applications), and results in significantly improved information exchanges and monitoring capabilities of housing lotteries, lease-ups, and renewals. The new Housing Connect will also significantly expand the number of affordable units available to online applicants, because affordable units that are being re-rented after a household leaves will be available for online application for the first time.	HPD	
2.3.2.	Expand the Housing Ambassadors program to provide direct assistance to residents navigating the affordable housing search and application processes, with a specific focus on expanding access to services for households experiencing homelessness, using rental assistance, or for whom a disability or language are barriers to access. Expanded resources can ensure that dedicated Housing Ambassadors are available to support New Yorkers most in need of support during the search for affordable housing.	HPD	

#	Action	Lead Agency	Participating Agencies
2.3.3.	Advance new flexible options for New Yorkers to access affordable housing by piloting security deposit alternatives within City-financed developments. Incoming renters at participating buildings would have the option to use an alternative to an up-front, lump-sum security deposit at move-in, ensuring low- and moderate-income renters have more money available to cover basic needs.	HPD	
2.3.4.	Clarify relevant policies and educate non-citizens and mixed-citizenship households about their ability to access publicly-supported housing. Continued receipt of misinformation can discourage immigrants and mixed-status households from accessing resources for which they are eligible, including affordable housing made available through HPD's Housing Connect system.	MOIA	DSS, HPD, NYCHA
2.3.5.	Improve training initiatives for staff and contracted providers to ensure that LGBTQ individuals, people with disabilities, and survivors of domestic violence feel accommodated and safe in accessing housing and shelter, and explore how to incorporate successful practices across relevant agencies. By evaluating and scaling trainings that work, the City is taking steps to ensure that all participating New Yorkers receive quality services, are treated with dignity and compassion, and have the tailored support they need to access safe and affordable housing.	HPD	NYCHA, DSS, CCHR
2.3.6.	Continue to improve awareness regarding changes to NYCHA's permanent exclusion policy and the process for lifting exclusions. Although NYCHA has redesigned, streamlined, and clarified the process for lifting a permanent exclusion for a resident who has served a prison sentence, proactive outreach is needed to address continued widespread misunderstanding on these changes and eligibility for return.	NYCHA	

#	Action	Lead Agency	Participating Agencies
2.3.7.	Expand outreach and support services for the NYCHA Family Reentry Program, which reunites justice-involved New Yorkers with family members in NYCHA housing. After a successful two-year pilot supported by HUD and the Vera Institute, the program should be expanded to reach more eligible individuals.	NYCHA	

Goal 3
Preserve affordable housing and prevent displacement of long-standing residents

Strategy 3.1: Transform NYCHA's portfolio – the largest single source of affordable housing in New York City – through comprehensive renovations and management reforms

#	Action	Lead Agency	Participating Agencies
3.1.1.	Rehabilitate 110,000 units through the Blueprint for Change plan by creating a Public Housing Preservation Trust and accessing federally-funded Tenant Protection Vouchers (TPVs).	NYCHA	
3.1.2.	Rehabilitate 62,000 units through NYCHA's Permanent Affordability Commitment Together (PACT) portfolio, which uses public-private partnerships to fund extensive renovations and repairs. NYCHA has already closed on agreements to renovate approximately 7,800 units across 33 developments, addressing $1.1 billion in necessary capital repairs. In 2020 and 2021, NYCHA expects to convert approximately 7,600 additional units across 25 developments.	NYCHA	
3.1.3.	Develop new, mixed-income housing developments on NYCHA land in order to create new, high-quality affordable homes in amenity-rich areas and generate $2 billion in funds for capital repairs in 10,000 NYCHA apartments. NYCHA is currently engaged in extensive community engagement at developments in Chelsea in order to produce community-driven recommendations for the future of Chelsea, Chelsea Addition, Elliot, and Fulton Houses.	NYCHA	
3.1.4.	Raise additional funds for renovations and repairs by selling some of NYCHA's 80 million square feet of unused development rights to adjacent privately-owned sites. NYCHA expects to raise up to $1 billion by supporting housing development on privately-owned sites.	NYCHA	

#	Action	Lead Agency	Participating Agencies
Strategy 3.2: Improve quality and preserve affordability for existing residents			
3.2.1.	Continue roll-out of HPD's new HomeFix program, which provides low-interest financing to homeowners for necessary maintenance. This capital would likely otherwise be out of reach for many lower-income or elderly homeowners or homeowners of color. HomeFix will also provide special financing to residents in neighborhoods that have limited access to traditional banking in order to address ongoing disparities between neighborhoods in access to financial resources. The program is expected to benefit 150 home-owners each year.	HPD	
3.2.2.	Expand the Landlord Ambassadors Program to provide more dedicated assistance to small property owners navigating the process of applying for HPD financing to stabilize their buildings. Smaller buildings are an important source of naturally occurring affordable housing, and stabilizing this rental housing stock will help maintain their affordability and ensure housing quality.	HPD	
3.2.3.	Advocate for reforms to the J-51 tax incentive program, which offers financial assistance to owners who have renovated their buildings, to align the program with the City's goals for housing quality, affordability, and sustainability. The program should target rental buildings that currently provide low-cost housing and need financial assistance to fund needed repairs and upgrades to improve quality of life for tenants.	HPD	
3.2.4.	Explore funding sources to support the proactive inspection of homes in buildings and neighbor-hoods with high health-related risks. Strengthen-ing coordination between DOHMH and HPD, as well as enhanced outreach in partnership with community-based organizations, can address the physical building conditions that lead to health disparities.	HPD	DOHMH

#	Action	Lead Agency	Participating Agencies
Strategy 3.3: Protect tenants facing economic challenges, harassment, and evictions			
3.3.1.	Continue citywide expansion of NYC's Universal Access program to provide free legal services for tenants facing eviction in Housing Court and NYCHA proceedings, which already is associated with a dramatic increase in the availability of free legal representation for tenants facing eviction citywide as well as reduction in evictions by marshals across the city.	DSS	PEU
3.3.2.	Provide education and navigation services for litigants in Housing Court. Providing awareness of and resources for organizations that help tenants navigate Housing Court will continue to reduce evictions, ensure tenants receive necessary repairs, and otherwise improve the accessibility and experience of Housing Court for New York City's most vulnerable tenants.	DSS	PEU
3.3.3.	Determine whether new anti-harassment initiatives, including the Partners in Preservation and Certification of No Harassment pilot programs, are showing sufficient promise to justify expanding them to additional neighborhoods.	HPD	
3.3.4.	Evaluate the new City-Wide Landlord-Tenant Mediation Project, which is a partnership between the City of New York and the non-profit Community Dispute Resolution Centers (CDRCs) that serve all five boroughs. Launched in response to the unprecedented economic harm caused by the COVID-19 pandemic, this free service provides an alternative to Housing Court for tenants and landlords to work out issues regarding the non-payment of rent.	HPD	MOPT, PEU
Strategy 3.4: Protect homeowners vulnerable to displacement, fraud and scams			
3.4.1.	Explore philanthropic funding for a new initiative to stabilize low-income homeowners who are at risk of foreclosure. The City will advocate for external funding opportunities to replicate the success of the state-wide Mortgage Assistance Program (MAP) that provided direct mortgage assistance, financial counseling, and other supports to put homeowners on a long-term path of financial stability.	HPD	

#	Action	Lead Agency	Participating Agencies
3.4.3.	Support the designation of additional "Cease and Desist Zones" to protect homeowners from aggressive real estate solicitation and scams, either through current procedures established by the New York Department of State or through new local legislation.	HPD	
3.4.4.	Advocate for State legislative amendments to HPD's loan authorities to improve the agency's ability to preserve affordable housing, which could include larger subsidized loans for low-income homeowners who need to make significant repairs.	HPD	
3.4.5.	Evaluate the changing racial composition of homeownership in neighborhoods facing increased risks to chronic floods in order to understand and respond to potential disproportionate impacts of climate change on communities of color	MOR	HPD

Goal 4
Enable more effective use of rental assistance benefits, especially in amenity-rich neighborhoods

Strategy 4.1: Expand the number of homes available to New Yorkers who receive rental assistance benefits

#	Action	Lead Agency	Participating Agencies
4.1.1.	Expand resources and coordination for addressing discrimination complaints based on New Yorkers' source of income (see Goal 1 for more information).	CCHR, DSS	HPD
4.1.2.	Ensure that all rental assistance programs provide information, when appropriate, about Housing Connect to their clients and direct clients in need of assistance to HPD Housing Ambassadors. By improving coordination between rental assistance programs and HPD's Housing Connect team, the City can ensure that residents participating in rental assistance programs are aware of the opportunity to use their voucher in HPD's lottery process to access high quality, affordable housing in a range of neighborhoods.	HPD	DSS, NYCHA
4.1.3.	Evaluate new initiatives that assist HPD voucher holders who are seeking to move to amenity-rich neighborhoods, including higher payment standards in certain neighborhoods and intensive counseling and financial assistance for a limited number of families who are interested in moving.	HPD	NYCHA

#	Action	Lead Agency	Participating Agencies
4.1.4.	In collaboration with the Department of Social Services, HPD will increase the number of referrals in its marketing process for homeless households who use City-funded rental assistance. This new program will open more affordable apartments to homeless households, quickening the transition to permanent, high-quality housing. HPD estimates that over 300 households will benefit from this program in 2020.	HPD, DSS	

Strategy 4.2: Improve the effectiveness, efficiency, and experience of services provided to rental assistance clients and landlords

#	Action	Lead Agency	Participating Agencies
4.2.1.	Comprehensively evaluate the service-design in rental assistance programs and improve the effectiveness, efficiency, and experience of services provided.	HPD	DSS, NYCHA
4.2.2.	Develop online portals to help HPD voucher holders and their landlords submit and receive documents and payments electronically. These new portals will improve efficiency and reduce the number of necessary in-person visits.	HPD	

Goal 5
Create more independent and integrated living options for people with disabilities

Strategy 5.1: Increase support and improve processes for residents transitioning out of institutional settings

#	Action	Lead Agency	Participating Agencies
5.1.1.	Convene a task force of healthcare providers, health insurance companies, housing providers, community-based partners, and City, State, and Federal government representatives to make recommendations to systematically help people with disabilities transition out of nursing homes, hospitals, rehabilitative care, and other institutional settings. Recommendations coming out of this process could address, for example, how to allow Medicaid to be used to pay for non-institutional housing for people with disabilities or how to strengthen the New York State Nursing Home Transition and Diversion program.	Deputy Mayor for Health and Human Services	DOHMH, DSS, DVS, H+H, HPD, MOPD

#	Action	Lead Agency	Participating Agencies
Strategy 5.2: Improve process and reduce barriers for people with disabilities to access affordable housing			
5.2.1.	Continue roll-out of HPD's new Housing Connect system, which enables greater tracking, monitoring, and enforcement of requirements for apartments designed for people living with disabilities. The improved system will allow better monitoring of whether these units are going to New Yorkers with disabilities during their initial rent-up and subsequent tenancies.	HPD	
5.2.2.	Expand the Housing Ambassadors program to provide direct assistance to residents navigating the affordable housing search and application processes, with a specific focus on expanding access to services for households for whom a disability is a barrier to access. Expanded resources in 2020 and 2021 from philanthropic funding will ensure that dedicated Housing Ambassadors are available to support New Yorkers with disabilities during the search for affordable housing.	HPD, MOPD	
5.2.3.	Offer regular trainings for frontline staff, such as case managers, health care workers, housing specialists, and marketing staff on housing rights, resources, and best practices in outreach and for providing reasonable accommodations for people with disabilities.	HPD	DSS, MOPD, NYCHA, CCHR
Strategy 5.3: Increase the number of affordable homes that are accessible			
5.3.1.	Evaluate potential changes to the set asides in HPD-assisted housing for people with disabilities, including the number of homes set aside and the types of disabilities accommodated, by analyzing new sources of data about New Yorkers living with disabilities and about the accessibility of the city's housing stock. The current set aside requirement is 7% of total units -- 5% for applicants with a mobility disability and 2% for vision and hearing.	HPD	
5.3.2.	Expand existing programs, including Project Open House, that assist seniors and people with disabilities in obtaining modifications to their homes to accommodate their physical needs.	HPD	CCHR, DFTA, MOPD

#	Action	Lead Agency	Participating Agencies
5.3.3.	Improve education of architects, developers, and general contractors to review their legal responsibilities when designing and constructing residential buildings to ensure accessibility requirements are met.	HPD	DOB

Goal 6

Make equitable investments to address the neighborhood-based legacy of discrimination, segregation, and concentrated poverty

Strategy 6.1: Ensure key housing, capital, and service agencies are integrating race and social equity perspectives into government decision-making

#	Action	Lead Agency	Participating Agencies
6.1.1.	As part of the NYC Equity Initiative, expand the number of City agencies conducting equity assessments and developing equity action plans. Led by NYC Opportunity, the initiative provides guidance, support, and training for City agencies, with a particular focus on those with large capital or social service responsibilities, to ensure that equity and addressing disparities based on race, gender, and other characteristics is an integral consideration in all policymaking, programs, and initiatives.	NYC Opportunity	
6.1.2.	Develop standardized race and social equity tools to help evaluate and guide the City's capital planning and budgeting processes.	NYC Opportunity	
6.1.3.	Include a description of racial characteristics of the project area into the analyses that accompany and underpin the environmental review for proposed land use changes.	DCP	
6.1.4.	Incorporate fair housing goals and equity metrics into the citywide Social Indicators Report in order to more effectively track and address critical disparities based on where New Yorkers live. Including key fair housing goals in the report, such as disparities based on protected class status, racial segregation, and access to opportunity based on where people live, will further embed fair housing principles into City-wide efforts to advance equity.	NYC Opportunity	DCP, HPD

#	Action	Lead Agency	Participating Agencies
6.1.5.	In key neighborhoods that have historically experienced disinvestment, conduct community-based planning processes, such as the Brownsville Plan, to ensure government policies and capital plans are informed by a diversity of local perspectives. Expanding the number of these inclusive planning processes can promote the equitable distribution of service and infra-structure investments in neighborhoods that have experienced historic disinvestment and discrimination.	HPD	DCP

Strategy 6.2: Decrease violence through evidence-based, restorative methods in parts of the city that still experience violence disproportionately

#	Action	Lead Agency	Participating Agencies
6.2.1.	Develop social service plans for neighborhoods that experience the highest concentration of major felony crime, focusing on restorative practices and neighborhood-based coordination that amplify residents' voices and participation. Identifying neighborhoods and developing local coordination plan for social services for communities based on their priorities, and for families with multi-system involvement, developing community-centered and holistic support for youth in high crime neighborhoods that includes individual mentorship and family-level social service coordination.	MOCJ	ACS, DOE, DOHMH, DOP, DSS, DYCD, NYCHA, NYPD
6.2.2.	Implement a Neighborhood Activation Initiative, which will coordinate multiple City agencies in activating underused public spaces by making them safer and more appealing for community use. Communities that have historically experi-enced disinvestment often have vacant or underutilized public-owned spaces that contribute to a sense of danger and instability. Interventions in the design of the built environ-ment that address public safety, encourage social interaction, and reduce crime include providing adequate street lighting, and increasing the amount of space for convening and creating street activity.	MOCJ	DCLA, DCP, DDC, DOT, DPR, NYCHA, NYPD

#	Action	Lead Agency	Participating Agencies

Strategy 6.3: Strengthen social resiliency, shared trust, and bonds between community members

#	Action	Lead Agency	Participating Agencies
6.3.1.	Accelerate opportunities for mission-based groups, including Mutual Housing Associations and Community Land Trusts, to create and preserve community-owned or shared-equity housing. The City will release an RFP for innovative models and provide ongoing technical assistance and capacity building for community land trusts and other mission-based groups with the goal of gaining over 3,000 units of community-owned or shared equity housing.	HPD	
6.3.2.	Renovate and reopen community centers on NYCHA's campuses to improve existing shared spaces and create new facilities for connected communities.	NYCHA	
6.3.3.	On NYCHA campuses, remove physical barriers that cut NYCHA residents off from opportunities by working with residents and neighboring communities to re-map public ways, reduce perimeter fencing, and introduce better signage through NYCHA's Connected Communities initiative.	NYHCA	
6.3.4.	Invest in green spaces on NYCHA's campuses as part of NYC Parks' Walk to the Park initiative, in order to expand the use of space for residents and members of neighboring communities.	DPR	NYCHA

#	Action	Lead Agency	Participating Agencies
Strategy 6.4: Improve household financial security and wealth-building opportunities, particularly in neighborhoods with concentrated poverty			
6.4.1.	Connect low-income New Yorkers, including NYCHA residents, justice-involved individuals, immigrants, and people with disabilities, to adult education, job training, bridge programs, and apprenticeships through the City's workforce system, and ensure low-income New Yorkers have access to good careers through the City's capital investments, procurements, and hiring processes.	WKDEV	ACS, CUNY, DOE, DSS, DYCD, MOCJ, NYC Opportunity, NYCHA, SBS
6.4.2.	Create job opportunities for NYCHA residents and other low-income households by strengthening Section 3 programming and connecting NYCHA residents to jobs created through investment from proposed rehabilitation plans (e.g. the Blueprint for Change and NYCHA 2.0).	NYCHA	
6.4.3.	Expand rent-payment reporting tools in publicly-subsidized housing to help residents build credit. Although residents may consistently pay rent on time, this line of information is not considered in developing a person's credit score because it is currently not reported to credit bureaus. Lessons learned from existing pilots in NYCHA buildings and from other initiatives across the country can provide evidence on how to scale efforts to improve credit of residents living in publicly-subsidized housing.	HPD, NYCHA	DCWP
6.4.4.	Accelerate initiatives to expand access to broadband Internet at home for 600,000 New Yorkers, including 200,000 NYCHA residents. The COVID-19 pandemic again has made clear the importance of ending the digital divide at home. New Yorkers' ability or inability to work and learn from home is dependent on access to high-quality Internet connections, which these accelerated initiatives will provide.	MOCTO	NYCHA
6.4.5.	Explore the development and expansion of programs designed to enable greater financial security and reduce generational poverty, such as child savings accounts, baby bonds, and guaranteed minimum income.	NYC Opportunitiy	DOE

#	Action	Lead Agency	Participating Agencies
6.4.6.	Study the impact of key HPD homeownership programs on the long-term financial health of households. Racial disparities in homeownership are the result of past and present discrimination and contribute to stark disparities in household wealth. Various existing City programs support affordable homeownership, including down payment assistance and affordable loan programs. Studying program impact can help prioritize those that maximize the effects of reducing disparities while efficiently using public subsidy.	HPD	
6.4.7.	Continue advocating for improvements to the federal Community Reinvestment Act ("CRA"), and protect the proven successful tools currently supported by the CRA, in order to reward investments that benefit low- and moderate-income communities ("LMI") while excluding predatory investments.	HPD	DCWP

Strategy 6.5: Build the foundation for more diverse, integrated schools throughout the five boroughs

#	Action	Lead Agency	Participating Agencies
6.5.1.	Support the creation of additional, robust school district diversity plans, following the lead of Districts 1 and 3 in Manhattan and District 15 in Brooklyn. Learning from these models and supported by DOE planning grants, more school districts are planning to create comprehensive, community-driven diversity and integration plans, and serve as a national-model for creative and effective school integration.	DOE	
6.5.2.	Improve on the process by which DOE and Community Education Councils (CEC) address the potential impacts of school zoning proposals on school diversity. CECs should be aware of such impacts when they decide to approve or disapprove each proposal, and DOE can encourage more school rezonings that would spur integration in districts across the city.	DOE	

#	Action	Lead Agency	Participating Agencies
6.5.3.	Explore alternative geographic preferences for elementary and middle schools that are based on distances between residences and schools, which may cut across attendance zones and district boundaries in order to facilitate integration. While school rezonings are a key tool to spurring integration, they usually occur only within a school district, such as when two elementary schools merge their attendance zones. As a result, school rezonings are limited by and typically do not cross school district lines. By exploring new geographic preferences that can cut across both attendance zones and district boundaries, DOE will be able to expand the types of school assignment policies that can promote integration.	DOE	
6.5.4.	Consult with officials from DOE, the real estate industry, and outlets that distribute information on school quality to design best practices for discouraging bias and spreading accurate information about school performance. Brokers, online home search companies, and independent school consultants have rated schools on narrow, misleading, or biased metrics, such as test scores or even student demographics. This practice can steer homeseekers into certain neighborhoods where the "best" schools are located, leaving other schools and neighborhoods stigmatized, even when they provide a quality education. The City will work with these industries to develop new tools to discuss school quality with parents and students.	DOE	

#	Action	Lead Agency	Participating Agencies
6.5.5.	Produce and distribute materials for residents using rental assistance and residents of publicly-supported housing to ensure that families with minor children are aware of the school options available to them if they choose new neighbor-hoods. Navigating the school choice system can be challenging for families, especially those with less time or resources to fully explore their school options. By developing new materials that will be provided to families who move into publicly-supported housing, NYC can ensure all families have the information they need to make the best school decisions for their children.	DOE	DSS, HPD, NYCHA

Strategy 6.6: Make NYC region's public transportation network more equitable and accessible

#	Action	Lead Agency	Participating Agencies
6.6.1.	Facilitate faster and more reliable bus service by expanding bus priority citywide through the installation or improvement of bus lanes, transit-signal priority, and other measures, and ensuring their effectiveness through enforcement.	DOT	MTA
6.6.2.	In support of broader efforts to expand the number of accessible transit stations, propose zoning text amendments to require owners of development sites adjacent to transit stations to consult with the MTA about potential easements and expand eligibility for a zoning bonus for transit accessibility improvements within high-density areas.	DCP	MTA
6.6.3.	Through DOT's Pedestrian Ramps Program, rehabilitate or construct all required pedestrian ramps across the five boroughs by 2047, including all standard ramps by 2032.	DOT	

Appendices

The appendices listed below are included in a separate document, available for download on the Where We Live NYC website at nyc.gov/WhereWeLive.

Appendix A: Community Conversation Results

Appendix A includes the Community Conversations: New Yorkers Talk Fair Housing report, released in June 2019, which summarizes what was learned through a series of focus-group style conversations with New Yorkers about fair housing issues. The Community Conversations invited New Yorkers to reflect on how they make tough decisions about where to live, their varied experiences in searching for housing, how their home and neighborhood impact their lives, and what goals they have for their family and community.

Appendix B: Stakeholder Roundtable Results

Appendix B includes the key materials summarizing the results of each of the convenings of the Fair Housing Stakeholder Group. The Stakeholder Group met over the course of 2018 and 2019 through three phases, each of which included multiple roundtables on a range of fair housing topics. Careful notes were taken at each workshop, which were synthesized, shared back with participants, and used as the basis for future discussions. For explanation of the structure and format of the Fair Housing Stakeholder Group, please see Chapter 4: Creating the Report.

Appendix C: Response to Public Comments Received on the Draft Plan

Appendix C summarizes and provides the City's responses to all oral and written comments received during a public comment period from January 7 to March 7, 2020, and a public hearing held on February 6, 2020. The New York City Department of Housing Preservation and Development (HPD), the New York City Housing Authority (NYCHA), and the New York City Department of City Planning (DCP), on behalf of the City of New York, solicited feedback on the draft Where We Live NYC Draft Plan. All comments that the City received have been carefully reviewed in their totality and considered for changes in the final Where We Live NYC Plan.

Appendix D: Response to Public Comments Received in Advance of the Draft Plan

Appendix D summarizes and responds to all oral and written comments received during the comment period related to the formulation of the draft of the City of New York's Where We Live NYC Report. These consist of comments made at the public hearing held by the New York City Department of Housing Preservation and Development (HPD), the New York City Housing Authority (NYCHA), and the New York City Department of City Planning (DCP) and written comments submitted to HPD. The public hearing was held on Wednesday, June 12, 2019 at 120 Broadway. This public hearing was held in advance of the publication of the draft Where We Live NYC report to solicit feedback on priorities of what should be included in the draft. The City held a public hearing on February 6, 2020, to solicit feedback on the draft plan, and – as described in more detail on p. 3 – the public may submit comments on or before February 18, 2020, by mail or e-mail as well.

where we live nyc
FAIR HOUSING TOGETHER

Confronting segregation and taking action
to advance opportunity for all.

The City of New York
Mayor Bill de Blasio

Vicki Been
Deputy Mayor for Housing and
Economic Development