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Examination of United States Housing Data and the Racial Wealth gap Case Study of Westchester County, NY

Ezekiel Nana Demasio
Bard College

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Examination of United States Housing Data and the Racial Wealth gap: Case Study of Westchester County, NY

Senior Project submitted to
The Division of Social Studies
Of Bard College
By
Ezekiel Demasio
Annandale-on-Hudson
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Acknowledgments

Much thanks to my Mother,

Much thanks to my Grandmother,

Much thanks to God,

The Marathon Continues.

All my life, been grindin' all my life
sacrificed, hustled, paid the price
want a slice, got to roll the dice
That's why, all my life, I been grindin' all my life

-Nipsey Hussle
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Source: Rashad Crooks, Bard College 2015
Examination of United States Housing Data and the racial wealth gap.

The U.S government's Homestead Act of 1862 attempted to even the playing field for citizens, which included “freed slaves,” women, and anyone who could improve the land in the Western US with the promise of ultimately owning that land. This legislation presented an opportunity for African Americans to acquire land and build wealth in the US but was also derailed by the development of policy, which when enacted resulted in terrible treatment towards different ethnic groups. The most extensive US land distribution, 270 million acres of the free homestead, was given to White settlers and immigrants and much less to African Americans that were left with little ability to improve the land. Policies enacted after the abolishment of slavery, the civil war, and court-ordered civil rights were met with discrimination towards African Americans by society because of the attitudes and perceptions that were established towards race in the 19th and 20th centuries. The homestead act was possibly the beginning of African American wealth opportunity, or did it set the stage for the racial wealth gap (RWG), and promote unfair practices towards African Americans that has carried through time to the present day racial housing gap (RHG)? The goal is to examine national, local and urban housing maps and US policies to discuss the RHG and its association with current opportunities for home equity and wealth accumulation in the African American community.
A Recount of 19 and 20 century attitudes and perception towards race in America; the development of racial classification

Historic events describe “racial” perceptions and attitudes in the 19th and 20th centuries that influenced the land acquisition of certain groups in the United States. The 14th amendment guaranteed US citizenship to African American freed slaves, and therefore the opportunity to own land. Early settlers from Europe who were considered citizens, looked at people in the 1800s and saw differences of religion, language, nationality, and ethnicity, which caused unrest. The U.S. Congress ban on further importation of slaves occurred in early 1800. Irish immigration, of impoverished Irish families escaping famine in their country, slowed by the year 1880 and government policy restricting specifically Asians who had immigrated as laborers and for the gold mines, were enacted due to fears from the West Coast. The Freedman’s Bureau, a Federal agency established to help millions of former slaves and poor Whites after the Civil war, was highly resented and inefficient at accomplishing this goal. The popular phrase “40 acres and a mule” originated in the south and was the motivation for millions of freed Blacks to own land and access to material assets upon entering the new south economy. Government confiscated
lands and plantations were to be redistributed by the Freedman’s Bureau to the freed Blacks in the form of 40-acre strips of land, and the US troops were to help secure mules. This action was to be a form of reparations for slavery where Blacks were used as free labor. Land redistribution efforts basically came to a halt, and almost all southern lands were returned to White owners. The sharecropping system that remained left the economic structure of slavery intact in the south. The skills of the hard-working former slaves lead to clearing the wilderness and made the land profitable for others to own. The 1862 Homestead Act that was enacted seemed to favor confederate Whites and not Blacks, leading to the persistence of inequality.

The 1866 Civil Rights Act, which was passed to stop labor and housing discrimination against African Americans failed at ending private discrimination in the marketplace. The year prior saw the 13th amendment and the beginning of the Reconstruction Era. When it came to the recognition of land claims submitted by Blacks, it was not until the passing of the Southern Homestead Act, a US law, in 1866 where out of the 6500 claims submitted by freed Blacks, certificates of land ownership were issued for only 1000 claims before the law was later repealed. The importance of the Southern Homestead Act was that it provided a legal basis and mechanism to promote black land ownership. The amount of available land totaled approximately 46 million acres in Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, and Mississippi, and in short, the Southern Homestead Act failed to create a land ownership class for the Blacks that it was intended to help, and more importantly delayed any socioeconomic assimilation. Following these events, Black residents were primarily overlooked for any productive land, which in large part they assisted in clearing. Instead, they were housed in swamp marsh terrain which proved to be
unable for any industry. In contrast, overwhelming large numbers of Whites were given productive lands.

During this time we see patterns of the government’s commitment to separating residential areas. Section 2 of the 13th Amendment empowered congress to enforce the abolition of slavery by passing a ban that invalidated the black codes that made African Americans second-class citizens by keeping them dependent on former slave owners. Racial discrimination in housing was included within the ban. To avoid individual cases of discrimination, the government turned to what would be known as redlining later in 1939, where local banks held power over issuing or withholding mortgage approvals based on the racial demographics of the community. The ability to obtain a mortgage was a prerequisite for homeownership in the U.S., and this process was made impossible for African Americans. Influential people working in government continued the oppression, or control of liberated African American communities until the later creation of the Federal Housing Administration (FHA) in 1934. High illiteracy rates resulting from limited access to education, lack of capital, and plenty of cheap workers to be capitalized on within the African American community left little incentive for society to make a change, so racial discrimination continued despite government policies.

In the 1880s the immigration movement led to the emergence of the "Alien Menace." Immigrants and African Americans lost land, business, and homes at the leisure of the government that was backed by the military. The Alien Menace was a prime example of injustice based on race. The concept of an alien threat led to the demise of land ownership in many regions of the United States for immigrants as well as the African Americans who were now
freed men. Racial classification at this point was not yet Black and White, but a perception of hierarchy between different groups, immigrants, African Americans, and citizens.

The New Immigration

The next phase of "New Immigration" into America occurred with the influx of the southern and eastern Europeans affiliated with the Catholic church who were known as "Slavs." The statistic of the time was that six out of ten American workers were foreign-born. A United States Congress bipartisan immigration committee was formed and chaired by Senator William Paul Dillingham, known as the Dillingham Commission. This committee formed in 1907 and ended in 1911 with their only publication “Dictionary of Races and Peoples.” This infamous document was a classification system of immigrants by race. The classification system used by the commission was said to come from Ellis Island officials who recorded race, amongst other things, at the entry port to the US. (28) The commission’s only finding was that immigration from southern and eastern Europe was a “serious threat” to American society and should significantly be limited. Another classification system was used on immigrants entering the country at Ellis Island. Henry Herbert Goddard, a New Jersey educator, created taxonomy based on intellectual ability, and introduced the label of "moron" and “feeble-minded.” He used women as examiners or "testers" to apply his test to immigrants traveling in steerage, but not immigrants in first class. The women's only qualification was "natural," or intuitive abilities. They looked at immigrants who were on a boat for a long time, and their first look sized up their potential for an occupation or skill. The test administered seemed based on the visual approval of the American women, and it led to 80% of immigrants classified as feeble-minded, a classification that would limit the opportunity for work. Another advocate of restricted southern
and eastern European immigration to the United States was Madison Grant. Madison Grant, a New York City lawyer, zoologist, and conservationist in the early 20th century, took the concept of racism to the extreme by introducing “scientific racism.” His writings on segregation of the “unfavorable” races were widely influential and known to form the basis of Nazi Germany ideology. For no apparent reason, he propagated the idea of a biological group from Scandinavia, the Nordic race, as the key of human and social developments, and his theory to achieve this perfect race was by removing the “undesirable” races of which African Americans were a part.

Grant’s theories on segregation were expressed in a document “The racial transformation of America” where he wrote that “The Negro Problem” should have guided America against the idea of a melting pot. He urged in his writing to apply race eugenics and “check the evil of the melting pot” referring to the modern world. Thomas Dixon, author of the Clansman and D.W. Griffith, a writer-producer of films that glorified the Ku Klux Klan, were other proponents of aggressive racial segregation with influence on society so much so that their opinionated, aggressive rhetoric need not be discussed. The levels of cultural “fixedness” of the modern time, or preference towards ethnic groups (political correctness), was to the dismay of Grant and his colleagues. Through his connection with presidents and elitists who themselves were in their wealthy bubble and perceived ethnic groups with less wealth negatively, enacted policies that placed restrictions on the economic mobility of the non-Nordic type ethnic groups.

“Negrophobia” was the norm in the south and a dangerous, hostile environment existed. Jim Crow state legislation for racial segregation based on color forced segregation of public places in the south, and probably had a lot to do with where and how African Americans lived.
Although laws for freedom had been passed, the American society chose not to comply and to outright disobey them. The Exodus of 1879 was the first group migration of African Americans from the south after the civil war. They were known as Exodusters, and they settled in Colorado, Kansas, and Oklahoma. Communities such as Nichodemus, Kansas exist in today’s society and will help to examine the influences of past migration to present day housing neighborhoods. Racial propaganda was rampant in the society during the late 19th to the 20th century and had now become a Black White focus. A disjunction existed between the Northeast and the South regions of the US in 1916. (41) The Great Migration took place over a 50 year period where African Americans left the south to take on industrial jobs in the north. African American populations formed cities in New York, Chicago, Detroit, and Philadelphia. Economic opportunity and the ability to earn money was greater in the north than the south. This movement led to economic, social and racial challenges that ultimately laid the foundation for the creation of Black urban culture as we see it today. The great migration reflected a “disjunction” that will guide the study of the current day effects on Black communities, household income, home ownership, and wealth in this country by examining the states where large Black populations migrated to for a better life.

Understanding the attitudes of society and government towards African Americans in the 19th century is important to understand the path to wealth in the present-day U.S. The premise is that the effects of prejudice, segregation, migration, and economic policies in the U.S are reflected in census housing and income data.

Matthew Guterl recounted the prejudice attitudes of America in the early 20th century in his book The Color of Race in America 1900-1940. He did this through the views of the
prominent black activist W.E.B Dubois and others. The significance of his book was that in addition to the opinions of Dubois, he incorporated the writings of an Irish American now considered prominent “White,” Madison Grant, the Nordic promoting White supremacist, and a biracial writer-novelist. The Color of Race in America 1900-1940 discusses a biracial society of a Black and White race, and more importantly to examine wealth by race, how each of these men viewed the economic and social changes that were occurring in New York City. Regardless of viewpoint, what was clear was that home ownership, or land acquisition, is significantly tied to the building of wealth, and the conditions of homeownership and neighborhood configuration are the result of both social and economic policies of the government.

**Housing Segregation**

The early 1930s were marked by the Great Depression, which ravaged the American economy and resulted in the near collapse of the housing market. This global economic collapse that started in the US, by the mid-1930s had led to roughly half of all mortgages defaulting around the country. Residential property construction had come to a stop, and declined by 95 percent from 1928, signifying the end of the “Roaring Twenties.” The construction industry had some of the highest unemployment rates in the entire labor force, and a large number of slums existed in the cities around the country. Former president Franklin Delano Roosevelt’s New Deal program in 1934, sought to put “construction workers back to work” by stimulating the housing market. Two programs resulted in Home Owners Loan Corporation (HOLC) and the Federal Housing Authority (FHA). These two programs slowed the momentum of foreclosure rates and encouraged new construction and home purchases. The FHA, a federally backed mortgage insurance program, guaranteed banks would receive full repayment with interest from
the federal government in cases of homeowners defaulting on loans. With this protection banks lowered collateral and down payment requirements, and extended the term rates of loans to specific Americans. The development of the FHA set the foundation for discriminatory lending practices, which were illegally established to favor White households and to segregate the residential living of Blacks and Whites.

**Redlining; Black and White Residential Segregation**

The practice of “Redlining” was solely and thoroughly racial housing discrimination by the federal government using their maps of metropolitan areas around the country. The maps were color-coded by HOLC moreover, then FHA, and later adopted by the Veterans Administration (VA). Appraisers for the VA relied on the FHA Underwriting manual to the extent that by 1950s along with the FHA, were insuring half of the new mortgages available to the nation. The FHA biggest impact on segregation, was not through discriminatory evaluations for individual mortgage applicants, but primarily through financing subdivisions such as suburbs as racially exclusive. The FHA was known for withholding their approval if African Americans were present One example of this practice was the Levittown suburban housing developments. These communities were newly built homes sold to veterans at a fraction of the price. The only stipulation by the VA and FHA that was included in the contract agreements was that the homes be sold to Caucasian veterans only. Imagine the outrage of returning African American servicemen, who fought for defended the same government that refused to recognize their civil right to shelter because of race. The situation garnered attention, but this practice continued for almost 3 decades after the discriminatory housing acts passed. The growth of hubs in California and other western locations was through financing from a race restrictive government.
Westchester south of Los Angeles, Westlake, Lakewood were developments by Kaiser
Community Homes in the San Fernando Valley south of San Francisco in 1950 - and were FHA
Whites only projects. Color coded maps, were used to indicate where the FHA felt it was safe to
insure mortgages. African-Americans communities, or any community where African-Americans
lived nearby were colored red so that bank appraisers would know which neighborhoods would
not be insured. Approximately eleven million families bought homes backed by the FHA over the next
three decades leading up to the 1960s. The effect was a transition from a renting nation to one of
homeowners, which was the desired effect. The social effect of this transition helped to develop the
wealth pool of the White majority by providing equity, and disadvantaged many Black minorities as this
group couldn’t profit from this government policy. As part of their nationwide program the FHA
categorized every neighborhood in the country with the color-coded favoritism scale from Green (most
desirable) to Red (least desirable). This scale enabled nationwide standards for evaluating residential
properties. The government did not insure any mortgage in the country that was in a red neighborhood.
Entire neighborhoods were “redlined”, rather than the individual mortgage, which resulted in exclusion of
the neighborhood from the FHA-backed mortgages. The red zones were usually designated by their close
proximity to pollution-producing factories and as mentioned, the primary reason neighborhoods were
labeled red were because they included black residents.
1939 HOLC "redlining" map of central Los Angeles, courtesy of LaDale Winling and Urbanoasis org
Race became a prerequisite for a loan to live in certain communities. The federal policy that controlled where Blacks lived even existed in a written form as the “Underwriting Manual,” and was used by the FHA. Basically, the value of homes were linked to keeping an exclusively White household neighborhood. The practice of “redlining” placed significant tension on civil housing goals that African Americans of any class wanted to achieve because it presented continued limitations by race, with the federal government’s insuring policy. Emphasis was placed on White homeowner’s financial security, a flawed but favored social practice. The result of the housing associations that regularly denied loans to minorities led to the deterioration of black communities into what was referred to as ghettos. “White society is deeply implicated in the ghetto. White institutions created it, white institutions maintain it and White society condemns it” (Kerner Report, 1968).
Government Housing Projects

Housing opportunities for African Americans to own homes was only limited to the few in selected states. With so many African Americans living below the poverty line survival was the reality. Parallel government events occurred in the housing market. Mayor Daniel Hoan of the Socialist party, and also the longest sitting Mayor for the City of Milwaukee, had been credited with the United States first public-housing project. In company with New York State, a Limited Dividend Housing Companies Act was passed providing the first signs of significant effort within the country to offer any kind of affordable housing. Public housing was created with good intention to provide decent and safe rental housing for eligible low-income families, which would also meet the demands of the elderly and other individuals with disabilities. The various designs of public housing were to provide options of housing in the suburbs and replace slums within the cities. Reaching the late 1930’s, congress passed the Housing Act of 1937 with the intention of creating public housing surplus for both poor and middle-class families. However, what resulted was that only low-income families were deemed appropriate.

The story of housing projects and the FHA in the US is a tale of two cities when race is included in the picture. In fact a recounting of this tale is the subject of a recent publication (The Color of Law, Richard Rothstein 2017) detailing government practices that forced residential segregation through policy. As discussed, segregation of Blacks and Whites was achieved with the use of residential policy from the FHA practice of selectively insuring loans. Housing Project developments were also segregated. They were built in the suburbs (low rise) and in the inner cities (high-rise design to accommodate the many more people living in the cities) replacing
the slums. Lower income Blacks tended to be housed in the inner cities. These housing complex units were operated by state and local housing authorities and funded by the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development. The recent negative press about the complete breakdown of public housing is the foreseeable result of neglect of this sector of housing. Use of public housing by federal and local governments to herd African Americans into urban ghettos had as big a social influence as any in the creation of our de jure system of segregation. One opinion presented by Raymond Franklin, author of *Shadows of Race and Class* (1991) is that “the overcrowding of blacks in the lower class - - casts a shadow on middle-class members of the black population that have credentials but are excluded against on racial grounds”. In other words, regardless of their social status and accomplishments, African Americans are perceived by the American society as the same.

The true purpose of public housing was to situate working and lower middle class White families. The units were not significantly subsidized at first, which left renters paying full price for the cost of operations. The housing projects were not meant to shelter people who were not financially sound, but to shelter people who could afford decent housing conditions, and the upkeep of them, but were unable to access them due to lack of availability. Over time the housing projects have deteriorated to the state that they are in now.

The impact of the Great Depression for African Americans, regardless of status within the country, was dismal and continued that way well into 1944. In the early 1940s an act was passed for the first time that provided federal rent control, referred to as the Emergency Price Control Act. Scranton Pennsylvania was the only city in January of 1945 that had residents exceeding 100,000 with unregulated rents in the country. At this time the controversial GI Bill of
1944 was passed and was intended to provide aid for veterans returning from World War II so that they could purchase homes through mortgage-loan guarantees. Again, this government source of aid was not without controversy and it mirrored practices of the FHA, depicting the racial social climate of that time. By 1955, New York State placed the Mitchell-Lama program into effect. These housing complexes were meant to attract middle and moderate income families and were more co-operative in nature than rentals. The developers were given tax incentives and the units were subsidized.

The department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) was established by Congress in 1965 with its purpose of “fair” & “equal” housing for all. Additionally, to provide housing and community development programs that would displace the overtly discriminatory practices of banks. Many changes in the country occurred at this time. The Civil Rights Act of 1964 ended segregation in public places and banned employment discrimination on the grounds of race, gender, religion, or national origin. The Act brought into light how poorly the non-majority in this country were treated. The Detroit Riots occurred in 1967 with a series of extremely violent and brutal confrontations, in predominantly African American neighborhoods, with Detroit's police department. These riots lasted five days in the summer, July 23, 1967. A raid by the police on an unlicensed bar called “Blind Pig” was the initial inciting factor, but the deadly riots between African Americans and police represented a culmination of decades of institutional racism, segregation, unemployment and pent up frustration with the unjust social structure in the US that denied African Americans their basic human rights, and the opportunity to prosper. The 5-day riot really had nothing to do with the bar itself, but the confrontation carried on because of the above sentiments. Congress passed the Fair Housing Act, also known as the Civil Rights Act
of 1968, which was part of the social economic movement that restricted housing discrimination. This action should probably have decreased the racial wealth gap, but other factors were still in plan and will be discussed in more detail.

By the year 1973 the Nixon administration placed a moratorium, a legally authorized delay in payment of debt obligations that were previously promised, on a large percentage of subsidized-housing programs. This may have been due to the Vietnam war, which had come to an end and the US was removing troops from Vietnam. Alongside the GI Bill the government had to prepare for returning veterans who would need to reenter the marketplace and working class pool. The influx of African American soldiers, again unfairly housed, plus additional minority veterans already having hard times, led to the 1974 Housing and Community Development Act, which was the origin of Section 8 housing programs. President Nixon was forced to resign in 1974 over the highly publicized Watergate scandal.

The Section 8 housing program was a choice voucher program, meaning that if applicable, the program would pay for the balance of the rent that surpassed 30% of the renter's monthly income. There were policy guidelines and financial limitations involved in participation in the program. The rental unit had to be inspected and approved by the local housing authority and the rent amount had to be at or below the Fair Market rent set by HUD. Needless to say, landlords were not receptive to renting their units below market value, and they may be reluctant to meet all the inspection demands that are put through. This program was projected to help the African American community to be able to afford certain housing areas. The actual benefits of the program for that time are unclear as many landlords chose not to participate because of the various restrictions, and those landlords who participated in the housing programs had rental
units that were subpar and remained within certain areas. The local housing supervision suggest that the program is state based, or administered by the municipality, and dependent on the affordable housing of the service area.

Race relations in the US and housing continued to plague the African American communities. The Supreme Court ruled in 1976, in Hills v. Gautreaux, that the Chicago Housing Authority contributed to racial segregation by discriminatory practices. This was in violation of the Fair Housing laws that were already in place. The ruling resulted in the release of vouchers by HUD to residents in the city of Chicago addressing the segregation and poverty.

Over the six years of Ronald Reagan’s presidential term there were extreme budget cuts, and more than 50 percent of the original housing budget was cut. This was upwards of $83.6 billion. By 1986, Reagan placed into policy a low-income housing tax credit for the federal funding of low cost housing. In the early 1990s another series of riots broke out in Los Angeles (1992). These riots were deadly and left another lasting imprint on relations between the police department and the African Americans in the community. In early 1991 the infamous Rodney King beating from over 20 police officers with police batons, most from the LAPD, was caught on camera and was publicized by many media venues which brought race relations to the forefront. The extent of the beating and eleven fractures, as well as the court settlement of $3.8 million in a civil lawsuit against the City of Los Angeles was a sign of the time in 1994. Rodney King demanded $56 million in his initial lawsuit which included punitive damages. He received $0 in punitive damages. The 1990s was a challenging time because of the weak economy and the national financial crisis. The country was in debt, and there was global competition for industry goods.
What is interesting about the home ownership status of African Americans, during these times of housing changes and government housing programs, is that it remained unchanged. The numerous housing programs and subsidized housing was meant for the lower socioeconomic class and had no effect on the moderate or middle-class household. The lower socioeconomic group were not buying homes, they were trying to just survive from day to day with basic housing needs. We can assume that none of the programs that were enacted advanced the social standing in wealth of African American citizens because the rate of homeownership amongst this group remained the same. What may not be obvious by looking at the graph, which may impact wealth by increasing equity, are where home purchases were being made over the time that housing changes were enacted, and discriminatory housing practices were being changed. In other words, were African Americans who could afford to buy homes buying homes in the exclusively White neighborhoods with higher property values, or were they buying homes in exclusively Black neighborhoods as they had always done before?

Homeownership by Race/Ethnicity 1976-2016; Source; Urban Institute
Defining Wealth and Social Class by Race

Wealth is interpreted as a special form of money that is not wage, and not used to purchase milk, shoes, or other life necessities. It is used to create opportunities, which makes knowledge of how to attain wealth highly valuable and may result in the reluctance to share this knowledge, especially outside of race. Quoted by Oliver & Shapiro is the concept that “Financial Wealth is the buried fault line of the American social system”. This statement is taken to mean that to obtain financial success and accumulate wealth, the process cannot be separated from social events that transpire within the country. The fact that wealth is concentrated towards the top of the social class cannot be dismissed, and the inequality of wealth has to be examined and interpreted within the social structure of our time. Others have opined on the concept of wealth and income. Harold Kerbo, a sociologist and author of the textbook Social Stratification and Inequality, points out that “despite the importance of income inequality in the United States, in some ways wealth inequality is more significant.” In addressing racial inequality we also then place a spotlight on the differences of background that we see in the social classes and the separation of the two in terms, wealth and background, of economic happenstance. When people are acting to obtain all the chips, or income, that command resources, it will inevitably dictate life’s chances.

While resources in situating the wealth disparities of blacks and whites are through system barriers of numerous generations, this places African Americans at an extreme disadvantage because of their complex history in this country and the fact that the group is a negative consumer in American society. African American barriers of slavery, racial bias, Jim Crow laws during Reconstruction said to lead them straight to the grave from out the cradle, injustices in employment, housing, access to credit
opportunities, and increasing debt, as well as institutionalized discrimination is a lot to contend with. Structured policies, both socially and financially, has led to growth in inequalities manifested in the wealth gap creation of black and white people.

Wealth serves as a primary indicator of economic security. Wealthier families are better positioned to finance elite independent schools, and college educations thereby guaranteeing the future of the families wealth to a certain extent. Wealthier families are able to access capital to start a business, finance expensive medical procedures in the best medical facilities, reside in neighborhoods with higher amenities, specifically schools, and exert political influence by contributing financially to campaigns and various organizations. Wealthier families are able to purchase better counsel if confronted with an expensive legal system, leave a bequest, and/or withstand financial hardship resulting from any number of emergencies (Hamilton and Darity, 2009).

Black Wealth/ White Wealth published by Oliver & Shapiro (1997) examines data from the late 1980s on wealth acquisition by race. They report that a wealth gap exists between the races and suggests that inequality has been structured through barriers in American society and public policy over generations. This common concept is supported by the earlier discussion on racial attitudes, and the African American struggle that has carried forward from the 19th century. They also report that social factors specific to African Americans influence the ability for wealth accumulation and homeownership in the 20th century, which was their present time of publication. What are these social factors? Do they arise from inside, or outside of the African American communities? The factors proposed that are thought to hamper the acquiring and accumulating wealth for Blacks in the US, are poor education or the opportunity for higher
education, high rates of joblessness leading to dependence on Public Assistance (welfare) or, and low incomes. Additionally, community instability that leads to hardships on families impacts the wealth and health of African Americans\textsuperscript{1}. The most significant economic gains for African Americans was said to occur in the 1940s and 1960s and was thought to benefit both men and women. However, evidence of economic gain for African Americans during this time is lacking. The climate of the mid-20th century as seen through the perspective of James Baldwin a Black American novelist in his 1963 essay, A Talk to Teachers, is as follows;

"The Reconstruction, as I read the evidence, was a bargain between the North and South to this effect: "We’ve liberated them from the land – and delivered them to the bosses.” When we left Mississippi to come North we did not come to freedom. We came to the bottom of the labor market, and we are still there. Even the Depression of the 1930’s failed to make a dent in Negroes’ relationship to white workers in the labor unions. Even today, so brainwashed is this republic that people seriously ask in what they suppose to be good faith, “What does the Negro want?” I’ve heard a great many asinine questions in my life, but that is perhaps the most asinine and perhaps the most insulting. But the point here is that people who ask that question, thinking that they ask it in good faith, are really the victims of this conspiracy to make Negroes believe they are less than human."- James Baldwin

Slavery was over but inequality still existed and an oppressive society was still present that was plagued by bias in many aspects. A historic example of the early 20th century race relationship is the incident in Tulsa, Oklahoma where successful African American businessmen established a freedom colony that was well known as “Black Wall Street” of America. 

\textsuperscript{1} Black-White differentials on Social and medical well-being see Carnoy 1994; Hacker 1992; Jaynes and Williams 1989; Thio 1992; and Wilson 1987
White residents massacred black residents and injured many more. They burned down neighborhoods and destroyed the community. This community was later rebuilt, but one wonders, what was the point of such violence and destruction? Du Bois (born 1868 and deceased in 1963) illustrates through a series of books, articles, essays and various publications over his many years as a sociologist, a reflection of the Black man’s struggle through the decades. Expressing a Marxist approach as a young bright eyed politician, he sought to depict the new “Negro” propaganda during times of the successful roaring 20’s. He also embodied a radical rebirth approach that the advancement of African Americans was truly necessary. Du Bois’s propaganda depicted a different, truthful and blunt, perspective to the society at hand. It contained protagonist with the character traits of the fatally optimistic.. His self portrayed character named Mathew Thomas was denied social advancement and financial advancement in *The Quest For the Silver Fleece (1911)*. The reason for this denial of upward mobility was due to skin color. The story relayed the process of a man of color, specifically in the foreign land, in United States of America. His quote expresses his emotions at the time, “soon full of hate for the white leviathan, and thoroughly disheartened about the prospects of political change in the U.S.” In a further dialogue with another character, a woman of color, he wraps up the future outlook of “hope” for the “Negro” in America lies in the new dark will of self-assertion.

Discrimination in employment and lending practices of banks, more extended layoff periods, higher costs of living due to less liquid assets, could explain wealth disparities and the racial housing disparity because these factors prevent wealth accumulation, and result in the use of resources for day to day living. Another significant factor is lack of self-employment, or private enterprise, by the African American citizen, which can be detrimental to both culture and
economic standing in a society based on capitalism. Many also refer to the lack of a father figure as a barrier to establishing generational wealth. Generational wealth is an important concept to be further discussed; however, whether it is independently related to the presence of father figures in the home is not well established. A two-parent household where there may be two income lines provides the opportunity for saving money and monetary gifts to older children. Such can increase the potential for homeownership by providing the initial down payment required to make that purchase. Without the accumulation of wealth, it is challenging to have generational wealth.

The last factor relevant to this discussion are the higher rates of incarceration of African American men and the slow process of the judicial system. With the subsequent stigma of a conviction, comes a negative perception by the American public, further limiting attaining of wealth. The weighted influence of these factors, versus racial discrimination itself, and how they influence mobility upward in the African American household has been debated over many years. The general conclusion suggested by Oliver & Shapiro is that long-term life prospects of African American households are substantially poor compared to those of Whites that start in similar income brackets. Oliver and Shapiro’s analysis of wealth leaves little doubt that economic disparity may be misrepresented when one relies exclusively on income data. These factors will be examined to determine their influence on wealth of the present day African American community, which is the most wealth parched racial group to date.
Source: Current Population Survey

An important observation is that wealth holdings, or assets, more so than income, remains very sensitive to historic sentiments of race. The housing gap is more likely defined by a wealth gap rather than differences in earnings, or income, between the races. Chart 1 (Black Wealth/White Wealth; Oliver & Shapiro, 2006; 104) shows resource distribution within the two racial groups from the 1980s, which is over 30 years ago (1984). The poverty line was a household income equal to or below $11,612, moderate-level was between $11,612 to $25,000, middle-level was more significant than $25000 to $50,000, and high-income households earned greater than $50,000 annually. The first level pie chart depicts income distribution and shows that one in five White households were below the poverty line compared to slightly over one in three Black households, and that over 15 percent of White households earned more than $50,000 annually.
compared to 6 percent, less than half, of Black households. The most striking information is the third level pie chart that compares net financial assets by race. In Black households, 63 percent had less than zero assets compared to 8.5 percent of White households. This disparity in net financial assets may underscore the absence of generational wealth in Black households. Net financial assets in the 21st century (2016) between different races are demonstrated in Chart 2. The disparity in net financial assets between White and Black households remains over the three decades and has increased.

**Chart 1: Shares of Income and Wealth Held by Whites and Blacks**

![Pie charts showing shares of income and wealth held by Whites and Blacks.](image-url)
Chart 2: Net Worth by race/ethnicity, 2016 survey

Thousands of 2016 dollars

![Chart of Mean and Median net worth by race/ethnicity]

Source: Federal Reserve Board, Survey of Consumer Finances.

Chart 3: Gains and Gaps in Racial Wealth Accumulation\(^2\), 1967-1988

![Chart of Gains and Gaps in Racial Wealth Accumulation]

\(^2\)Mean net worth Source; Terrell 1971; Oliver and Shapiro (1989); SIPP, 1987 Wave 4
Henry Terrell in 1971 was able to report through his study on Black and White households that Black households owned less than one-fifth of the accumulated (mean) wealth of White households. This news is not unremarkable given the history of oppression of African Americans in the U.S.. It can not be expected that after 150 years since the aftermath of racial oppression both races would be on the same success scale. Nearly three-quarters of all Black children, 1.8 times the rate for the Whites, grow up in households without financial assets. Nine in ten Black children come of age in households that lack sufficient financial reserves to endure three months of loss of income at the poverty line, which is about 4x the rate for children in White households.

This lack of financial security in a household means that the children are not only susceptible to instability from emergency financial situations, but may also pattern financial life in what they observe, which can lead to less financial success in their adulthood.

By 1988, SIPP showed that for every dollar earned by White households Black households earned $0.62. Larger disparities exist when looking at wealth data. Whites households possessed 12 times as much median net worth as Blacks, or $43,800 versus $3,700 by 1988 dollars. Median Net financial assets (NFA) data for 1988 depicted that the average White household controls $6,999 in net financial assets while the average Black household retains no NFA, or nest egg whatsoever.

To provide a present-day analysis the Federal Reserve Board’s Survey of Consumer Finances (SCF), which is conducted triennially from 1983 to 2016 (last updated Oct. 12, 2017), is discussed. Households are categorized by their income after adjusting for family size. Middle-income families possess size-adjusted incomes between two-thirds and twice the national
median size-adjusted income. Lower-income families have the adjusted size household income less than two-thirds of the median, and upper-income families have more than twice the median.

A household of three in 2016 with an income in the range of $42,500-$127,600 would then qualify as middle income by the SCF. A low-income household lived on earnings less than $42,500, and an upper-income household earning was more than $127,600. In the year 2016, this classification resulted in 32 percent, or one-third of households were low-income, 21 percent of households in the U.S. were upper income, and 47 percent of American households were classified as middle-income. A representation of how 2016 wealth compares by race is shown in chart 4. In the years of 1988 and 2016 income gap between the races has remained stable. However the wealth gap for White household increased exponentially until 2007, corresponding with the Great Recession, and after a down trend it is going back up exponentially. Meanwhile in the Black household there is minimal change in wealth. Black households through almost three decades have seen marginal wealth accumulation compared to the White households.

College educated Blacks were represented in the study from Garriga, Ricketts, Schlagenhauf, 2014. The data shows that the housing crash in 2007, and the Great Recession that followed collectively erased $13 trillion of assets from household balance sheets. The loss included $5.1 trillion in lost real estate assets, or 39 percent of the total decline. In addition to the lower home values, the decline in assets was representative of walking away from homeownership and a movement towards renting, shown by the substantial reduction in homeownership that followed the recession. We see that homeownership progress that occurred after 1994, a 12 year span (5.5 percent) was then erased in a nine year span from (2006-2015).
This meant for Blacks 42.3 percent loss; compared to Non-Hispanic White being who gained almost 2 percent of homeownership despite the housing crisis.

**Chart 4: Median Income & Wealth of Black and White families over time, 2016 dollars**

Source: Survey of Consumer of Finances

The surveys from 2007, 2010, 2013 and 2016 span the duration of the Great Recession, a result of the collapse in the US housing market, the subprime mortgage crisis that occurred from December 2007 to June 2009, and the economic recovery afterwards. The influence of wealth and financial assets is contextualize with the great recession. The following discussion examines the ability of low-income and middle-income families to bounce back, or demonstrate economic recovery through this housing recession.
Effects of the Great Recession by Race

Chart 5: 2007, 2013 and 2016 Median Net Worth by Race

Source: Pew Research Center analysis of Survey of Consumer Finances public-data

The housing market crumbled and people lost their homes. The effect of the subprime mortgage bust was felt in all walks of life. Again the banks came under scrutiny for their practice habits. People who qualified for loans, buy may have problems meeting their mortgage payments due to unforeseen events, were given loans that were risky. These subprime mortgages came with adjustable rate interest that varied and were based on the market. Life situations such as sudden unemployment, health issues, unexpected death of the head of household are situations that could greatly impact a household with a subprime mortgage loan. As previously shown in the earlier section, the home buying rate for African Americans has remained the same for many decades. However, it was clear that those who were the hardest hit, and the most affected by the
great recession were minorities. Chart 5 demonstrates the median net worth by race for the years of the recession and the recovery period afterwards. Income decreased the most for Whites, most likely due to loss of white-collar jobs or loss of a line of income from the household. Income decreased in Hispanic and Black households, but at a less steep slope, and therefore to a lesser degree. What is very clear in chart 5 however, is that the net worth of Blacks and Hispanics decreased significantly by 50-60 percent and had minimal recovery by 2016. White household net worth also decreased from 2007 to 2013, but by 2016 81% of the net worth was regained. Reasons for lack of recovery in minority households is likely due to lack of reserve for the unexpected financial crisis that may occur. The lack of liquid funds or diverse investments can significantly affect the ability to bounce back. Graph 6 demonstrates the percentage that a home (equity) contributes to the composition of net worth by race. The lowest equity contribution to overall net worth is with White households, which limits loss of net worth in the circumstance of a recession that is due to housing markets. Therefore the great recession, and loss of equity, is less likely to have a lasting effect with the White households net worth. Minorities, on the other hand, had more at stake for loss and therefore a longer road to recovery. The 2009 Census Bureau data, which shows just after the great recession, shows that the median net worth for White household from 2005 to 2009 decreased by 16 percent. This is compared to 53 percent for Black households and 66 percent for Hispanic households.

By evaluating White working & middle-class families’ suburban housing has since appreciated substantially over the years, resulting in vast wealth differences between Whites and Blacks that helped to both define and separate permanently our racial living arrangements. Prior to the housing crisis the wealth of White household to Black households was 9.8 times. In the
recovery phase the wealth gap cut to 4.6 times for low-income households. The middle-income households prior to recession the wealth earnings of White households was 3 times that of black households; this gap rose to White households earning of 4 times that of black households.

Chart 5: Equity in Net Worth by Race

Source: Federal Reserve Board Survey of Consumer Finances (2013)

Chart 6: Federal Reserve Economic Data 1960 to 2010
After the FHA was established in the 1960s homeownership rates and the rate of rental vacancy have varied according to Chart 6 from the U.S. Bureau of the Census that cover 1960-2010. The shaded regions depict the recessions that occurred in the U.S. The last recession, the great recession of 2007, was crippling and led to a transition to renting. The rental vacancy was 11.1 percent following the recession, and further decreased to 6.6 percent by 2018. The Homeownership following the recession was at 67 percent and dipped to a record low 62% before recovering 3 percent by end of 2018. The graph depicts that renting has become increasingly popular, which appears to be the trend following a recession in the United States. Declining rates of both rental vacancy and homeownership rates may seem to be correlated however, other factors may be the underlying cause. One example of this could be generational differences so that a young adult moving to their own place probably would not have the same interest in purchasing a home in the suburbs, but prefers to be closer to work in an apartment in the city. Rental units over time can lead to transitions in the neighborhood commonly known as gentrification of the neighborhood. Areas that were previously untouched or “predominantly black” are becoming largely occupied by White tenants that earn more, and are therefore able to pay more rent. Higher rents displace the existing minority tenants because they are unable to afford these rents.

St. Louis is an example of a city hosting a young population of workers. Renting is more common with Generation X (Gen-X), who are individuals born between the 70s and 80s and have experienced 5-7 U.S. economic recessions. These households are less likely to reinvest in a home because of the lengthy mortgage terms, and the thought that they may not be able to fulfill the payments. There is a concern for homelessness, which is a real possibility, and outcome.
Gen-X are more likely to invest in their first home later in age. Throughout the rise and crash, and recovery of the housing bubble, Blacks have been denied mortgage loans at a higher rate than their White counterparts (Chart 6B). In 2015, 27.4% of Black applicants were denied mortgages, compared with about 11% of white applicants. The problem of repeated denial that Blacks faced led to a pattern of decreasing applicant pool over time. Conventional mortgage applications from Black households fell from 10 percent to 4 percent in one decade, and the 60 percent decrease was noticeable.

Chart 6B: Mortgage Denial Rates by Race 2000-2015
A Look at Factors that Influence Homeownership in African American Communities: Higher Education

Inequality in access to mortgage and credit markets, and inequality in the intergenerational transfer of wealth are factors that impact the accumulation of wealth by race. Higher education, or the lack of, has been proposed as a significant barrier in wealth accumulation. However, in a standard wealth regression model differences in college and post-graduate degree attainment alone explains less than half of Black-White and Hispanic-White wealth gaps. Differences in family structure and the measure of luck, such as income windfalls and inheritances, explain even less of the inequality. What are the influence of these factors directly and indirectly when closely examined?

Higher education is linked to higher financial achievement. The ability to earn wages increases the potential to accumulate wealth. At least that is the common teaching. Tatjana Meschede and co-investigators, including Thomas Shapiro, analyzed wealth trends and the financial transfers within the family of college-educated White and Black household heads from 1989-2013. This time period that extends into the 21st century, is more likely to reflect the effects of the Black White historic events that were discussed earlier. Two datasets were used. Panel Study of Income Dynamics (PSID), which includes longitudinal data that tracks households and their descendants from 1968 to present. It includes information on income and employment, wealth, health, and expenditures. This data set also collects information on family financial transfers of large gifts and/or inheritances. The second dataset, Institute on Assets and Social Policy (IASP) Leveraging Mobility (LM), was a qualitative dataset created through in-depth interviews conducted in 1998 and then again between 2010 and 2012. Black and White
families were interviewed about financial decisions made over a decade of economic changes. The families represented working class and middle-class Black and White families that had children between ages 3 and 10 in the 1998. The second interviews in 2010-2012 included families with children at the end of high school or beyond, and parents between 40 to 60 years old. The qualitative interviews showed that the majority of the families continued to live in three cities, one on the East Coast, the West Coast, and one city in the Midwest. The interviews were comprehensive and covered data for the families that included information about the children’s educational histories and life trajectories, parents work histories, income and expenditures, wealth and debt, financial and non-financial assistance, where they resided previously and at that present time. We see through chart 7 which maps median net wealth including home equity of college educated white and black households, that the smallest point of the wealth gap between the two groups was in 1994 the year in which Clinton administration was in office and was able to decrease the US deficit and improve the economy for all. After that point the net worth of Blacks continued to decrease to 2013. The reason behind this decrease is thought to be that Black households with college educated head of households are more likely not to have received financial assistance, which means depending on the educational institution they attend, they are more likely to accumulate student loan debt. Additionally Black households with college educated heads are more likely to take care of their parents when compared to the White households. The effect on homeownership, is that Black college educated individuals have lower net wealth because they have higher debt.
The transfer of wealth amongst college educated White and Black individuals was evaluated in the same study and is summarized in Chart 8. It shows that from age 18 years old, the transfer of wealth from White households to their children compared to the that of Black households is significantly more. We can see where these difference in the transfer of wealth, or financial support, of the family to the next generation contributes to wealth accumulation in the White family and the lack of wealth accumulation in African Americans. Greater challenges faced by college educated black families does not change just because of a college education. However, this is likely more potential for growth and higher income potential with a college degree. At least that is the common belief.
Certain measures of financial decision making, such as the share of housing in a portfolio of assets, and debt ratios are much more important in defining wealth. Controlling for differences in all of these observable factors simultaneously, and adjusting for life-cycle effects, are thought to explain about 70 percent of the Black-White wealth gap (William R. Emmons and Lowell R. Ricketts 2017).
Incarceration Factor:

Lifetime Likelihood of Imprisonment for U.S. Residents Born in 2001

*Source Bureau of Justice Statistics

Studies done by the NAACP found that racial disparities of incarceration are eye opening. As of 2014, African Americans constituted 2.3 million, or 34%, of the total 6.8 million incarcerated population. African Americans are incarcerated at more than 5 times the rate of whites. This statistic changed to 6 times the rate. The imprisonment rate for African American women is twice that of white women. Nationwide, African American children represent 32% of children who are arrested, 42% of children who are detained, and 52% of children whose cases are judicially waived from criminal court. Though African Americans and Hispanics make up approximately 32% of the US population, they comprised 56% of all incarcerated people in 2015. As of 2018, if African Americans and Hispanics were incarcerated at the same rates as whites, prison and jail populations would decline by almost 40%. This decline would result in loss of jobs in the correctional system. In 2012 alone, the United States spent nearly $81 billion
on corrections. Spending on prisons and jails has increased at triple the rate of spending on Pre-K-12 public education in the last thirty years.

The effects of incarceration have been previously stated. A criminal record can reduce the likelihood of a call back for a job interview, or job offer, by nearly 50 percent. The negative impact of a criminal record is twice as high for African American applicants. Infectious diseases are highly concentrated in correctional facilities: 15% of jailed inmates and 22% of prisoners, compared to 5% of the general population reported ever having tuberculosis, Hepatitis B and C, HIV/AIDS, or other STDs. Basically once a person of color is inducted into the penal system their chance of success re-entry into normal life is drastically decreased and this is irrespective of guilt or innocence.

**The Racial Wealth Gap**

The racial wealth gap (RWG), the disparity in wealth between Black compared to White households, is seen with the Gini coefficient proposed to measure inequality of income. A measure of 0 indicates there is perfect equality, where everyone has the same income. The larger the percentage approaches 100% (or 1) means that one person has all the income, which is the highest level of inequality, and signals perfect inequality. The Gini chart (Graph 1) demonstrates income inequality in many states in the country for the year 2016. We see that compared to other states, New York leads with the highest inequality at 51 percent (ranked #1). The state of Kansas where Exodusters first settled, is ranked 33rd and the inequality is at 45.6 percent, which is below the national average of 48 percent. Housing data for Kansas may help to demonstrate why there is lower inequality in that state. Five states within the top 10 ranked states of income inequality are situated in the south and in close proximity to each other. These are Louisiana,
Georgia, Texas, Mississippi, Florida. This discrepancy increases when looking at the top 15 ranked states highest for inequality. Nine are from the southern part of the country. This reflects the long time economic difference between north and south.

**Graph 1 : Gini Index Income Inequality 2016**

**By State**

**By Metro Area**

**Source: U.S. 2016 Census**
Segregation of Westchester county, 21st Century

Scarsdale was to build 180 affordable housing units by 2015 according to a countywide plan unrelated to the housing settlement. It has built zero.

African American Households
- 0 - 353
- 354 - 818
- 819 - 1805
- 1806 - 4170
- 4170+

Affordable housing units
- 0 - 30
- 31 - 60
- 61 - 90
- 90+

African Americans are 60 percent of Mount Vernon's households. If African Americans lived in areas with whites of the same income, they would make just six percent.

(Source: ACS 5-year estimates, Census Designated Places)

Source: ACS 5 year estimates Census Designated Places
2007-2011 American Community Survey (ACS)

2016 U.S Census

Data U.S. Bureau of the Census
Map 4: Westchester county households in poverty
**Westchester, New York: Analysis of Housing and Wealth Gaps by Race**

April 2006, the Anti-Discrimination Center (ADC) sued Westchester County under the “False Claims Act,” stating the county did not advance fair housing and that the certifications filed with HUD in order to receive money from the government towards this purpose was false. In 2009, HUD rejected the County’s certification of fair housing and did not approve the County’s plan for that year. This led to loss of more than $8 million in grants for community development, investments from an organization known as HOME, and Emergency Solutions Grant (ESG) funds until there was evidence that progress had been made towards zoning fair housing. An attorney for the federal government reported problems to the county’s “Analysis of Impediments to Fair Housing” (AI) a document to analyze zoning for the fair housing. The county included a women’s prison to count minority population in their analysis, and they omitted certain zones with larger lot sizes, suggesting that small lot sizes would not disadvantage minorities. Failed to address why minority populations were of small numbers in many towns compared to the minority population of the County as a whole. Some towns have a minority population of less than or equal to 1.5 percent, while the African American population in the county is significantly more. It was pointed out that minority populations decreased as lot sizes grew larger. Westchester County has turned in multiple versions of their “analysis of impediments,” (AI) and each time, HUD officials in the Obama administration rejected it. With the reports laying out both demographics and zoning maps, sometimes in more than 200 pages, housing officials argued this refusal to acknowledge the barriers was keeping the county from adequately analyzing them and coming up with solutions. Westchester County has insisted “there is no zoning-related barrier to minority populations.” A new federal monitor of county, Stephen Robinson, has been assigned in this slowly progressing, an ongoing battle. In the meantime, the County has higher taxes for all who live there. This modern day housing standoff between an affluent county and the government will serve to analyze the RHG and RWG. The Gini index ranked New York as #1 for inequality. To examine factors for this disparity the
income and housing data for Westchester county will be analyzed. Westchester county is the second most populated county in NY after the Bronx. According to the 2010 census, the county had a population of almost one million people (949,113). Oliver and Shapiro, defined, or referred to, income as a flow of dollars (salaries, wages, and payments periodically received as returns from an occupation, investment, or government transfers) over a set period of time, typically one year. (30, Oliver & Shapiro 1997) Westchester county has income from many sources, and can be analyzed depending on class (high, middle, low), or earnings position, diversity, schools, and potential spending habits. Homeownership can be examined, influence of businesses, and economic or political policies. Map 3 shows cities where the greatest percentage of Blacks reside within Westchester county and Map 2 demonstrates median household incomes for the county. It is clear that cities with the higher percentage of African Americans, Mount Vernon, Elmsford, Peekskill, and Yonkers have the lowest incomes per household for the county, and more households that are in poverty within the County. These cities also have the slowest rate of accumulating wealth inferred from their median income earnings annually over 5 years and not just a snapshot of a point in time (Map 2). The number of rooms per household is a marker that signifies wealth. The more rooms in the house, the larger the lot size, and subsequently more valuable the land. Graph 4 shows that smaller properties are located in the southern region of Westchester, and again correspond with cities that have a higher percentage of African Americans. It makes sense that higher income households would have larger properties, but the lack of diversity in these locations exemplifies the RWG and RHG in our present time. Policies with a focus on shrinking the racial wealth gap require other unique solutions than just income equality, which is not likely for decades.

Westchester county reports a median household income of $86,310 mapped from 2010 Census data (Map 2). Households with incomes under $20,000 ($20K) are located in clusters in Westchester county and represents earnings of minorities and immigrants (Mexican, South American, Hispanic, and African American). Household locations with incomes in the range of
$20K-$50K averaged over 5 years were Yonkers, Mount Vernon, Pelham, Peekskill, Port Chester/Rye, and various segments within Southeast White Plains area. A majority of cities are the cities, are all located towards the Southern region of Westchester in the more urban surroundings. In contrast the predominantly White neighborhoods of Bronxville have a median household income over $240K, and borders the less wealthy and mostly Black and Hispanic communities.

How does one explain this stark disparity between the two communities? African American areas have been represented in official planning documents with specific designations to guide spot zoning decisions. Kansas City continued this practice until as recent as 1987. Housing deeds effectiveness limited diversity by contract within a white neighborhood as a neighbor could sue if an African American family purchased a home in their community, and would be able to have a standing in court to reverse the sale, and the family evicted. This was common occurrence in Kansas when developer J.C. Nichols created a country club of 6,000 homes, 35,000 residents, 160 apartments. Nichols was able to get the required signatures of residents to have such a policy or provision. This racial model which was used widely, prohibited the sales or rental to black families and couldn't be modified without the majority of the community’s consent.

In the following data, we will see that in the modern day society, Scarsdale and Mount Vernon differ by multiple factors that create a wealth and housing gap as was previously discussed. The two cities are located in the south for Mount Vernon and further north for Scarsdale. The earning of the two cities based on level of education are compared in chart 2 and chart 3. Compared to Mount Vernon, persons 25 years and older living in Scarsdale are almost
50 percent more likely to have a graduate degree and earn twice as much money. Regardless of the level of education, the earnings are more for the citizens of Scarsdale. As discussed earlier in the section of factors, a college educated African American household is more likely to have higher debt from different sources and will not be able to save money or build wealth.

**Median Earnings by Education Attainment of Westchester County**

**Mount Vernon (Chart 2)**

**Scarsdale (Chart 3)**

Relative Race and Ethnicity to New York State: Scarsdale(Chart 5)

**Mount Vernon (Chart 4)**

*Source:Charts 2-5 2016 U.S. Census*
Median Earnings by Education Attainment & Sex of Westchester County
Mount Vernon (Chart 6) Scarsdale (Chart 7)

Household Composition by Ethnicity relative to New York
Mount Vernon (Chart 8) Scarsdale (Chart 9)
*Source: Charts 6-9 2016 U.S. Census

Westchester County: Median Income Relative Industry
## Chart 10: W.C. Industry

### Median Income by Industry

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<tr>
<th>Industry</th>
<th>Westchester County</th>
<th>New York</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Management</td>
<td>$161.7k</td>
<td>$180.6k</td>
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<tr>
<td>Finance &amp; Insurance</td>
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<td>Oil &amp; Gas, and Mfg.</td>
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### Source: Charts (10-12) 2016 U.S. Census

## Chart 11: W.C. Relative Industry

### Relative Industry

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<td>Finance &amp; Insurance</td>
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<td>7%</td>
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<td>Professional</td>
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<td>Entertainment</td>
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<tr>
<td>Administrative</td>
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<td>10%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Other Services</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Healthcare</td>
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<td>Retail</td>
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<tr>
<td>Manufacturing</td>
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<tr>
<td>Agriculture</td>
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<td>10%</td>
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### Source: Charts (10-12) 2016 U.S. Census

## Chart 12: W.C. Household Income

### Household Income by County

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<th>Income Level</th>
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<th>New York</th>
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<tr>
<td>$50k-100k</td>
<td></td>
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### Source: Charts (10-12) 2016 U.S. Census
Mount Vernon: Relative Industry (Chart 13) Median Income (Chart 14)

Household Income (Chart 15)

Mount Vernon = Health Care

Household Income by Race (Chart 16)

Source: Charts 13-16 2016 U.S. Census
Scarsdale: Relative Industry (Chart 17) Median Income (Chart 18)

High Class Industry Scarsdale = Finance & Insurance

Relative Household Income (Chart 19) Household Income by Race (Chart 20)
In comparing Mount Vernon to Scarsdale through the Census data charts that show the various characteristics of the two populations, we see differences that both prove the RWG in this example of a racial housing gap. When taking into account charts 4 and 5 the populations of both areas concerning New York State, Scarsdale is a majority of the White community (97%), and Mount Vernon has majority Blacks (65%). This demonstrates the segregation of the races and can result in significant disadvantages to one community versus the other from County funds that are provided from HUD. To see the earnings by education attainment controlled for sex (charts 6 & 7), we see that residents of Scarsdale regardless of sex earn significantly more than their Mount Vernon neighbors with earnings that far exceed that of residents of Mount Vernon. Earnings difference may expect with a higher level of education; however, an event with no high school diploma, compared to Mount Vernon Scarsdale resident of the same educational attainment earn much more. The graph can not explain why this occurs; it can only show us that this disparity does occur. Because we know that there is a difference in the racial demographic we have to assume there is a racial disparity that influences this factor.

Charts 8 & 9 illustrates the household makeup of both cities. We see that Black households with one-person are predominate with a male in Mount Vernon, and in Scarsdale one-person households are more often single females. Understanding the racial makeup of Scarsdale, we know that the single females in Scarsdale are White. It is difficult to understand this difference other than that those single Black women who live in Scarsdale prefer to live there and earn enough to live there. The males in Mount Vernon more likely cannot afford to live in Scarsdale, which illustrates an income disparity. The single Black male households in
Mount Vernon and the one person household appear to represent all races indicating less disparity within the city.

Interestingly there are no single male households reported in Scarsdale. Scarsdale household makeups are different. With high levels of married households, may also represent two-income families, and therefore implying a secure household with financial stability. To distinguish what industry is more common in Westchester County we can examine charts 10 & 11. Westchester County top three relative industries are executive positions such as Management, Finances, and Insurance, and professional jobs. They are subsequently are the highest paying professions for the state. To understand how Scarsdale and Mount Vernon compare with the County in relative industries, charts 13 & 14 provide that information.

Healthcare is Mount Vernon’s most relative industry with 25 percent, and it is not a high paying industry (approximately $40.1K annually). This earning for Mount Vernon suggest that these citizens work in the healthcare field in ancillary services and probably use all their income for day to day living rather than accumulation of wealth. We see in chart 14 the top 3 industries in Mount vernon only make up about 9 percent of the Mount Vernon labor population All industries average $43k with healthcare earning less than that at ($40.1K). Reflected through charts 15 & 16 we see that Black households earn about $50,000, which is the relative income for Mount Vernon. This suggest as we saw in the racial demographics that the city’s occupants are mostly Black. Scarsdale, charts 17 & 18, shows the relative industry compares with Westchester County’s top three, just in a different order. These top three contain about 50% of Scarsdale labor force. All industries within Scarsdale average to $181k more than 4 times that of Mount Vernon. The industry of Healthcare Is 14 percent of Scarsdale labor and they earn predominantly
more ($191k) than residents in Mount Vernon by more than 4 times. Chart 19 depicts the stark
difference between Scarsdale and New York State residents with the 40th percentile earning
359% more than New York’s counterpart. Even the 20% earnings surpassing 400% than those of
New York State. Lastly in chart 20 we see that Black households in Scarsdale are earning almost
twice the amount of Black households in Mount Vernon. This confirms the ability of certain
Blacks to earn high enough wages to provide the financial stability needed to live in a place like
Scarsdale. The wealth inequality is significantly different in Scarsdale as Black households are
the only ethnicity not earning a six figure income in a town where all races besides Black
households are.

**Racial Housing Gap Movement**

When paying more than a quarter of the income earned on living expenses it leads to a
cyclical problem with generations down the line. When looking at data depicting the median
household income by race, the information provided through the U.S. Census shows that Blacks
are bringing home the lowest amount of pay for their labor in the year 2016. The estimate is that
66 percent of the total Black population is earning $36.7k which is almost $20k less than the
average median household in the country at $55.3k. The category of a non-Hispanic White and
all White goes in line with Guterl theory of America’s eventual acceptance of White immigrants
while continued further separation from blacks. The Asian population accumulates the highest
income for their labor, remembering the initial oppression that Asians faced at the hands of the
government, they too are accepted and have risen in capital in America. When looking at
United States households income distribution in the year 2016, Blacks have a higher percentage
of low earning per households with the median income value $55k, The 2016 concentration of poverty is mostly a Black problem, and to question even further the correlation with poverty in Black communities, neighborhoods are valued less than Whites. This question is fueled by the fact that over 8 percent or 9.58 million people are earning between $10-15k annually in the Black community. This is not the concern for the majority of Whites were just over 2 percent have this low earning. There is a misconception that Blacks are doing fine. The Black population earned $100k-125k where close to a reasonable percentage. In other words, the majority are living in poverty still. The Black households percentage in impoverished income brackets rises as the income decreases. The mortgage-market data indicates continuing challenges Black homebuyers and would-be homebuyers face. Among other things, they have a much harder time getting approved for conventional mortgages than Whites, and when they are approved, they tend to pay higher interest rates further restricting options.
A study on house appreciation was performed and the results conclude that White homeowners benefitted through inflation to the point that a $60,000 gain occurred within home equity. This is compared to black households $28,700 who made the same financial decision to purchase a home with a low mortgage below $28,000. Appreciation rate of an increase 325 percent juxtapose to blacks 175 percent house appreciation. The prior generation of Black homeowners paid $10.5 billion in extra interest. Assuming lost of home equity of $58 billion, and housing appreciation biases, approval rates for home mortgages similar to Whites constituents leads to a compound effect that has persisted since the ending of slavery, referred to as institutional discrimination. Lastly with the assumption of mortgage approval rates of Blacks
equal to qualified Whites we would see an increase of 8 percent in homeownership for Blacks. The year 1992 had 177,501 applicants if 8 percent more were approved, which is the equivalent to 14,200 Black homeowners annually, with a stable foundation or nest-egg, keeping the same residential framework, then 383,400 black homeowners would potentially be approved for residential lending. An increase of $38,000 to each of those Black homeowners would be equivalent to $14.56 billion representing the White housing-appreciation rate.

A LOOK INTO THE WEALTHY & The POOR By STATE

Chart 22 New York

Chart 23 Maryland

Chart 24 Mississippi
from Left to Right We have the breakdown of median households income controlling for ethnicity. In locations such as New York, Westchester, Maryland are the highest earning state in the country at $76.1k average, Mississippi is the lowest earning state in the country $40.5K.

Median Household Income that the majority of Blacks ,80 percent earn above the median average at $60.6k in the highest earning state, but in low earning states Blacks severely suffer as the majority of the Black households in the state, 67 percent, earn $27.2K. The lowest bracket. In addition to prove that black households in majority are still earning below the average we have fig 9 (left to right) Households income distribution controlling ethnicity groups normalized with $5k intervals-above $200k $50k intervals from New York, Maryland, Mississippi. Maryland households with incomes above $200k was 365k, to Mississippi’s households in the same bracket was only 47.1K. We see within Maryland once again high earning Black households is not the norm with less than 1 percent of 365k people, while the majority were straddling the 4 percent threshold of the total state population with noticeable large portions of the households in the state, 121k in that interval ($40-45k) Black households was above 4 percent. Two other brows raising low bracket ranges was the ($30-35K) range where Black households were above 4 percent containing 120k people and the ($10-15k) bracket showed them above 4 percent. The poorest state in the country Mississippi’s household income distribution by race trend line blows Maryland’s Black households out of the water with Black households making up over 10 percent of the total state’s population in the bracket of ($10-15k) at with 124k people. Similar to the other states compared( figure 9) charts of households income distribution by race, comparing the
states households earning below $10k is a large concentration of low earning households well below the Country average.

In Graph 1 we are able to determine by state and subsequently by region fig 10 the lowest and poorest earning households according to the most recent 2016 U.S Census. Fig 13 containing data for the median household income by state to situate a closer look by the 50 states. Graph 14 providing by state the percentage of six-figure incomes (above $100k) this helps to determine where the concentration of wealth resides within by state in this chapter, and a closer comparison with Westchester in Chapter 3. Graph 12 we see by region the South median household income is $11k less than the Northeast region and $9k less than the West region. A four year span leading to a wealth gap of $44k discrepancy in earnings between the Northeast and the South regions. The Northeast region earning about 13 percent more than the country median needs to be noted. Same goes for the point that the Southern households earn about 7.5 percent less than the country average household. We can examine through fig We see that the three major economic coastal States being California, New York, Massachusetts being above the average of the countries median household income $55.3k.

Source: 2016 U.S. Census fig 10
California has been historically segregated done by both local and larger government powers. We see that as of 2016 California was the fourth highest state of income inequality in the country (gini coefficient) at 48.8% above the national average of 48 percent. California also contains the highest volume of six figure income households within the country at 4 million. We see with fig 8 [California] the same consistent component Asian households earning the highest
with $81.9k Non-Hispanic White households following suite earning 118 percent of the median household income of the entire population at $75.1K. Black households are once again below the median and are the lowest earned ethnic group at $44.2k summing to 69 percent of the entire median household population. To re-emphasise the disproportionate incomes in ethnic groups we have fig 9[California]. What is interesting is that mixed households would also be a high earning ethnic group. Stegner, and other board of directors of a cooperative refuted the demand of the Administration become an “all-white organization” and a narrow vote of 78-75 lead to a compromise with the government in 1948 to reduce conglomeration of African-Americans in an area of California. The state of Blacks in California are better than on the East and South coasts.

According to a 2015 Census Bureau report, the average non-Hispanic black household median income was $36,515 in comparison to $61,394 for non-Hispanic white households. In 2015, the U.S. Census Bureau reported that 25.4 percent of non-Hispanic blacks in comparison to 10.4 percent of non-Hispanic whites were living at the poverty level. For 2015, the unemployment rate for blacks was twice that for non-Hispanic whites (11.4 percent and 5.0 percent, respectively).(8) Done through a systematic and forceful public policy that explicitly chose to segregate every metropolitan area within the United States through physical characteristics. An example of this occurring within the United States was when Twenty projects with 24,000 units (for both races) was built in Richmond during 1940-1945, and was for white workers, and the federal government created a “war guest” program to provide for white families. Subsequently referred to as tenants, largely impart to government decision to provide low- interest loans for white homeowners to frequently subdivide and remodel their neighborhood or residence. (18) Keywords such that remodelling the neighborhood would have a
positive and long standing impact on white workers and not for blacks employed or not. The perception the housing authority was quoted as saying “negroes from the South would rather be by themselves.”

Less options were provided to blacks than to whites and that’s not all. By early 1950s and estimated 4,000 were still living in the makeshift houses during the War. Black citizens homes were also ridiculed with a stigma that their property was worth less than a white citizen’s. Government issued appraisers chose and believed this perception. Black homes were valued less than white homes. In comparing the appreciation rates of homes owned by blacks to whites from 1967-1988 mean value of the average white home increased by $53,000 as to the $31,100 for the black homes. This was the first mortgage of the home to use as a marker, and the $21,900 would be indicative of a housing bias that would affect the mobility of a Black family. Even half of that $10,950 would still raise an eyebrow, I believe the housing appreciation which can be determined through the purchasing price and the purchasing date are major factors to concern oneself with. The housing investments made by whites and blacks will lead to different returns and doesn’t benefit black citizens. A further regression of the study showed from 1978-1988 homes valued at $52,000 for the first month mortgage. So with that in mind we look at the appreciation rate or in other words the white homeownership equity significantly increased by $40,700 growing 122% and the average black home equity was valued $27,500 only growing 79%. Among residents who would purchase a more expensive home the appreciation for black homeowners increased to $34,900 or 44 percent while the the average white homeowner saw an appreciation of $47,800 or 56 percent in their home so even amongst more affluent households
or social standings it didn’t exclude you from the housing prejudice stigma of your property.

Looking at the homeownership rates by rates/ethnicity in a span stretching over a decade 2004-2016 then we see the effects still persist today. Figure 2 breaks down the homeownership rate by race and ethnicity. From 2004 to 2016 (3rd quarter 2004 to 3rd quarter 2016), all groups experienced rate declines, but the drop was largest among black households, which experienced a 7.1 percentage point decline to 41.9 percent. During the same period, the white homeownership rate declined by 4.1 percentage points, while the “other” households (includes Asian, Hawaiian, Pacific Islander, American Indian, and Alaska Native households) rate declined by 3.5 percentage points, and the Hispanic homeownership rate by 1.7 percentage points. Homeownership rates by race and ethnicity are clear, with many socio-economic and demographic factors driving them.

Some further idea of the racial housing gap, Forty-three percent of black citizens own homes, a rate 65 percent lower than that of white citizens. Housing equity constitutes the most substantial portion of all wealth assets by far. The SIPP (Survey of Income and Program Participation) which is a sample of the U.S. population that interviews adults in households periodically over a two and a half year span. The purpose of mention of the SIPP survey allows us to combine data to capture both social and economic profile of an individual, family, or household over an extended period of time. With that said in 1988, the housing equity represented 43 percent of median household assets, in addition to that finding was the breakdown of wealth portfolios by race. The wealth portfolio of black citizens have taken a bigger hit as accounting for 43.3 percent of a white citizen’s wealth and 62.5 percent of a black citizens
wealth assets. The 1980s was the time period ushering wealth inequality that if you didn’t already possess a strong financial capital asset you were at a major setback and most likely to fail. The homes of black citizens in Atlanta were estimated in one study to be 28 percent less valuable compared to the homes owned by whites. Supporting the study found that homes owned by black couples were valued substantially lower than those owned by whites in 1980s the housing value differential didn’t shrink significantly during the 1970s.

The Impact of the Great Depression for African Americans regardless of mobility within the country had a sense of misery continued according to W.E.B. DuBois. 1944, was the controversial time of GI Bill, which was also intended to provide aid for veterans returning home to purchase homes through mortgage-loan guarantees. Controversial to the extent that when war veterans returned home from duty primarily white veterans were taken care of, depicting the racial social climate at the time even within the US military. Raymond Franklin reported in Shadows of Race and Class with results concluding that blacks making middle and high incomes “live in lower-quality housing relative to their white counterparts because of the shortage of better housing in black neighborhoods”. Racial housing gap is in part of a bigger issue, a racial wealth gap issue within institutions controlled by one group.

Between 1983 and 2016, the median Black family saw their wealth drop by more than half after adjusting for inflation, compared to a 33 percent increase for the median White household. While over that same period, the number of households with $10 million or more rocketed out of the hemisphere by 856 percent. In addition the median Black family today owns $3600 which merely 2 percent of the $147,000 of wealth the median White family owns. The median White family has 41x more wealth than the median Black family. With the trendline
standing from the past 3 decades persisted, 2050 the median White family will have a projected $174,000 of wealth, and Black wealth will be left in the dust at a measly $600. The median Black family will reach zero wealth by 2082. With some believing that 2050 will be the year the Black family wealth will reach zero. A serious problem.

Discussion

The redlining effect on homeownership is an important concept when examining housing for Blacks in Westchester County and other states. To emphasize this point of racial housing disparities, higher population dense cities such as Yonkers, Mount Vernon, and New Rochelle have statistically low household incomes and statistically higher concentrations of Blacks that reside in these communities. The gap between the rich and poor continues to widen dramatically as does the gap between the rich and middle class of Westchester County, New York.

The top fifth of New York State households earns 8.1 times more than the bottom fifth. Income inequality in Westchester is even more pronounced: the top fifth earns 20 times what the fifth bottom earns. To put it in perspective, the wealthiest 5 percent earned an average $666,222 in 2006, which ranks third in the nation, following only Fairfield, Connecticut and Manhattan. This is one of the widest income gaps in the nation. However, at this present time, it is not due to housing. It is due to an overall better financial wealth, generational wealth, of the wealthiest in the county. This problem is not unique to Westchester County.

Robert Weaver in 1948, wrote in his book, The Negro Ghetto, about not forgetting how the government segregated the nation. The lack of opportunity within New York City’s Harlem for the residents of this community was also expressed in ‘65 by Kenneth B. Clark, a social
psychologist. His research was used for the case Brown vs Board of Education where a reference was made to the Dark Ghetto. Harlem presently offers prime real-estate for many individuals who can afford the brownstone units regardless of race. The only problem is that the factors discussed earlier still plague a large portion of the African American community so much so that they are unable to buy the property and increase wealth in their community. The wealth gap by race is a problem that should improve with more financial education of the African American community. After all, there are upwardly mobile, prominent people from these communities. Because the purpose of this analysis is to compare the wealth gap by race, it is vital to not look at a few successful people who have means through entertainment, or who are professional athletes because their journey is not the norm. Even though their success is through hard work, they are the 1 percent of the people. The masses continue to suffer. How do the lower class move up to the middle class and the middle class move up to the upper class? The racial wealth gap is not likely to be solved by government policies or by buying homes, but more likely by a combination of changes in the society and within the race itself. There will always be a lower class; however, the gap between them and the higher class should probably not be as comprehensive as it is. The wealth gap is more likely to decrease with the time, which should decrease the presence of racism. If accomplishments become the important thing rather than race, and the opportunity to accomplish is available, then we may see a decrease in the wealth and housing gap. Although racism has hampered accumulation of wealth for African Americans, it has not stopped it.

Historical perspective and overview of racial housing policies can be used to address racial justice as a national priority, and by addressing the lack of assets available for individuals
and families, steps can be made towards appropriate financial education. Sharing of information is often not the first step, but the individual drive to obtain information, from wherever it is available, may also be helpful. The mechanisms established to increase a portfolio through investment opportunities are essential to the accumulation of wealth. Housing assets should not be a significant part of wealth, but it should be a part of it because it provides the basis for accumulation. Education for the youths not only in reading and writing, which are essential skills but also in the financial well being and how to seek appropriate employment opportunities that can lead to mobility upward is essential. Self-employment or private enterprise in business are all areas that could use improvement in African Americans. The group has been industrious always, and resilient, and have been faced with challenges such as was discussed about the Black Wall Street of America, however African American that push forward to earn on their own, rather than to work for someone else, are usually better off in the long run. Their children are better off. Their children can see the perseverance and the hard work that it takes. Understanding the importance of inheritance no matter how small, and how to use the inheritance to increase wealth is very important. Capital gains do not mean buying a new car, which depreciates immediately, but investment in an upwardly mobile stock can dramatically change wealth in a family. Anti-discrimination laws have been established throughout time, but as pointed out in the earlier discussion about the perception of African Americans and the prejudice attitudes that they were subjected to, it is the society itself that has to stop discrimination, and that will take the evolution of time for individuals to realize the similarities and differences between races. In the infamous tragedy of the Scottsboro case where the NAACP approached young men accused of something they did not do, which caused outrage
outside of the Black community, the NAACP suggested that representation of the boys should be by them rather than the Communist Party (CP) of the International Labor Defense. Ultimately the Scottsboro boys and their family chose to fight the war with the ILD. They stopped their execution from their earlier conviction, and through continued representation over many years until all the charges of the wrongfully accused Scottsboro boys were dropped. An appropriate quote here is “the politics of the nation had shifted to the left; the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People had not.”- The historian Dan T. Carter. The case of the Scottsboro boys was an example of people who saw an injustice working together to correct it. It was not about race, it was about right and wrong. Many White individuals have worked with Black and Brown people to improve the quality of life and stop oppression otherwise the small progress that has been made in the economy of the African American families would not have happened. It takes a nation.

**Conclusion: Solving the Problem**

Productive actions that may decrease of the RHG that is primarily represented through disparities in the African American households, should be both an increase of financial literacy, which is a prerequisite to increasing capital, purchasing larger homes and building equity. The idea of financial literacy is, crucial and underutilized in black communities. This point is suggested because understanding the financial consequences of the choice to stay in public/communal housing or the private home can make a big difference in wealth. Compounding effects, such as prejudice employment practices may lead to instability, especially with African Americans high lay-off rate. Prejudice bank lending tendencies, more extended
layoff periods, higher costs of living, may explain the wealth disparities and the racial housing disparity in the past. Improving school district in areas such as Westchester with largely minority students may improve the chances and options for future minority children. Increased integrated education both formally and socially may also be helpful in race relations for the future. We see that separation has not done anything for relationships between races.

Another factor that can be improved upon is self-employment by Black citizens as it can insure a better culture of economic standings. The lack of a father figure may be detrimental to establishing generational wealth, however there are many strong households that are matriarchal and those women are able to insure the success of their children if given the appropriate opportunities. High incarceration percentages of Black citizens, slow processing judicial system, needs an immediate solution from multiple minds in the communities that are plagued by high crime; law enforcement and community need to cooperate. Communities that are straddling the poverty line, or below it should receive specialized services that include education. Not just monetary programs that do not advance the community. To make sure the household is leveled. Another way to enrich the community is to have neighborhood meetings to teach all levels of the community on specialized skills such as online marketing, as that is the way the nation’s economy has shifted. In addition to the low cost associated with the internet, I believe specialized tutor session on finances and reinvesting within the community would see improvements for generations to come.
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