

DEFUND THE NYPD & FUND NYCHA

The Contours of Hyper-policing in the Projects

Last summer, #DefundNYPD and “defund police” more generally became a rallying cry for activists - so loud that it became a serious policy question that cities across the country had to reckon with during budget negotiations. And now it is a central question during our city elections this year. Through our work as the Justice For All Coalition, we learned that some residents are weary of this movement, worried that it could put themselves, their families, and their neighbors at greater risk, so we undertook a closer examination of the relationship between policing and the experiences of residents living in public housing. This report summarizes what we learned through that inquiry and concludes that police are not the answer to the problems plaguing public housing residents, but instead are a key part of the problem.

The first part of this report highlights discrepancies in the city budget, between spending on police, and spending on everything else.

The second part of this report summarizes research that highlights the many ways that policing imposes and enhances risk for residents in public housing communities.

The third part highlights the broader consequences of policing - including making it harder to access housing, jobs, and higher education, while jeopardizing one’s right to participate in our formal political system.

The fourth part examines what the research highlighted in part two looks like for residents in real time in western Queens.

The fifth part focuses on how policing overlaps with other forms of structural oppression, such as access to income, food, and well-being. It also highlights the role public housing residents play in caring for society writ large.

The sixth part brings us back to thinking about budget allocations, leading us to the seventh part where we discuss where we need to go based on this assessment and how we get there, and are already getting there.

In short, rather than continuing or expanding policing, this analysis finds that reallocating the NYPD’s budget is the only fair and just response, and suggests investing public money in alternative, community-based models of safety, security, and well-being.

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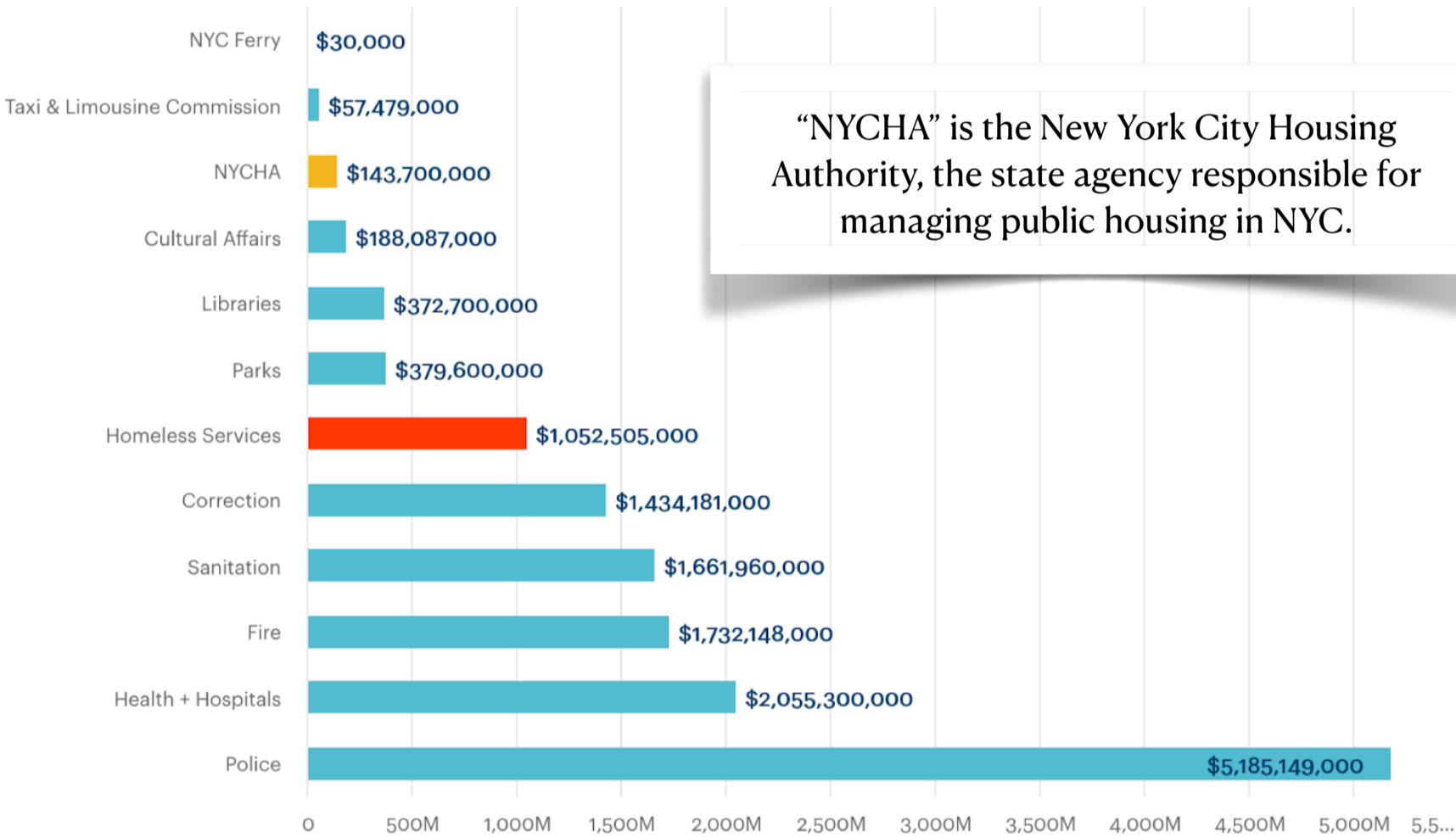
I. Beginning with Budgets

Let’s begin with a bird’s eye view of New York City’s budget. The chart below highlights how our city split a pot of our money in 2018. The contrasts are stark. While 36% of the dollars shown go to the NYPD, only 1% goes to public housing. In fact, this budget allocation for public housing is a mere 2.8% of the NYPD’s budget.

Not only does the NYPD’s budget eclipse the allocations for public housing, but it also outshines allocations for other services like libraries, parks, sanitation, health and hospitals - by at least 2.5 times.

In sum, an immense amount of our public money is invested in policing. This report begins with the question: is this a good use of our money? In the coming sections we highlight how this investment lands in our communities, specifically public housing communities, which are some of the long-standing hyper-policed communities in NYC (and across the country).

New York City operating subsidy per agency, FY 2018



Source: NYC Department of Finance Reports to New York City Council, 2018. NYC Ferry from 2017 Borough Budget Consultation Notes

For more on the NYPD’s budget, see Citizens Budget Committee, 2020.

AUTHOR INFORMATION

JFAC is a volunteer-led, community-based organization rooted in Queensbridge, Ravenswood, Astoria and Woodside Houses. Since 2016, we have worked to educate and organize ourselves and our neighbors toward just futures for all.

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II. Policing the Projects

Public Housing developments are some of New York City's hyper-policed communities.

Hyper-policing describes the excessiveness of policing, both in terms of resources (money, officers, etc.) and intensity (high levels of criminalization and police violence, for example). The prefix "hyper" also contrasts with the more commonly, albeit misleading, prefix 'mass'. As originally argued by Lois Wacquant (2010), "hyper" speaks to the targeted ways policing and carceral activities more generally operate, calling out the way risk is racialized and classed.

Below I highlight what this looks like in NYC and for residents living in NYCHA in six ways.

1. A History of Hyper-Policing in NYCHA
2. The Racist Foundation of Policing
3. Unconstitutional Stop & Frisk Continues
4. Policing Gentrification
5. Policing & Perpetuating Poverty
6. Policing Public Housing

1. A History of Hyper-Policing in NYCHA

Public housing has always been subject to distinct and dedicated policing operations.

When public housing was first created in NYC in 1934, a security guard corps was created, with individual guards being assigned to specific developments.

In 1952, the New York City Housing Authority Police Department (NYCHA PD) was created as a separate police force for public housing. During the 43 years this separate entity existed, it grew from 47 sworn officers in December 1952, to 2,700 sworn personnel in 1995.

In 1978, nine police service areas (PSAs) were created. These were precinct-style operations where officers reported to one of nine locations across the city. Together these covered all public housing developments in NYC.

In 1995, former mayor Rudy Giuliani merged the NYCHA PD with the NYPD, while also continuing to distinguish them as the Housing Bureau.

Today, the housing bureau and police service areas are still in effect, and in 2016, this meant that 2,000 officers and supervisors of the NYPD's 34,000 personnel were specifically assigned to policing public housing. What this means for residents is that more cops are *loitering* in and around their homes. This level of policing presents both legitimate endangerment and undue mental taxation (Belli, 2020; Johnson, 2020).

This is especially true given that, on average, cops are at least twice as likely to use force against Black and Brown and Indigenous persons. This reality holds true whether the victim is armed or not, young or old, doing something "suspicious" or mundane - and regardless of whether the police officer is being observed or recorded by onlookers, colleagues and supervisors, or body cams (Goff, Lloyd, Geller, Raphael, & Glaser, 2016).

**In 2016,
1 in every 17
NYPD officers
were specifically assigned
to policing communities
living in public housing.**



Worse still, NYCHA residents literally pay for this overt level of policing. Every year, NYCHA forks over about \$70 million to the NYPD. This is in addition to the \$28 million NYCHA pays the city in lieu of property taxes, which goes towards funding shared city services, like policing.

At least once, City Comptroller and mayoral candidate Scott Stringer put it this way:

“[public housing] residents are essentially charged twice for policing services — once through local taxes like all other New Yorkers and once through the reimbursement required of their landlord”.

- Quoted in Navarro & Goldstein, 2013

To say this another way, about \$100 million a year that could go towards making living conditions healthy and safe for tenants living in public housing instead goes to the NYPD who use the money to harass and endanger the lives of these same residents.

2. The Racist Foundations of Policing

Another part of this equation is related to “who” finds themselves living in public housing today, and how this intersects with the legacy of policing and what it was designed to do.

Of the half-million or more residents living in public housing today, 90% are Black and/or Latino. These racial realities are critical when we consider the hyper-policing of public housing, and policing more generally.

90% of NYCHA residents are Black or Latinx



As Pulitzer-prize winning journalist Nikole Hannah-Jones put it in an interview with *CBS*: “there is a deeply embedded problem with racism in the police department, and in fact the role police departments have played has been to enforce racial laws and racial policies against Black Americans and we still see that in how policing happens.” Through the interview, Hannah-Jones discusses the consistencies of policing throughout history, while also noting that the tactics and training and bureaucracy have evolved and changed.

Slave patrols were the first instance of policing in the US.

The Black codes maintained racial order after emancipation. These laws specifically targeted now-free African Americans and were intended to continue to supply free labor through an expanding prison system.

Policing was used to uphold the separate and unequal laws of Jim Crow, which was especially apparent throughout the civil rights movement.

More in Resources: Hasset-Walker, 2020.

Today we see policing continue as a racialized practice of social control that targets Black and Brown residents.

The use of lethal force against Black and Brown persons is emblematic of this.

The continued practice of stop-and-frisk, deemed unconstitutional on the basis of radicalization in 2013, is another.

3. Unconstitutional Stop & Frisk Continues

At its height in 2011, 685,724 NYPD stops were recorded - 53% of those stopped were Black and 34% were Latinx while only 9% were white. Moreover, 88% of those stopped were deemed innocent (Dunn, Shames, and Lee, 2019).

In 2013, this practice was deemed unconstitutional on the basis that it violated the rights of Black and Brown residents (Goldstein, 2013). Specifically, the judge found that the policy relied on "indirect racial profiling" and led to officers' routinely stopping "Blacks and Hispanics who would not have been stopped if they were white."

Despite this, the practice continues, as do the racial disparities in terms of who is stopped, and while the official numbers are significantly lower (13,459 in 2019), NYPD audits found that officers fail to record them up to 73% of the time - or most of the time (Stolper and Jones, 2018; Rolnick Borchetta, Charney and Harris, 2018).

Stop-and-frisk: The NYPD's practice of profiling, stopping, searching, questioning, and harassing people of color, typically Black and Latinx people, who are doing nothing wrong.

4. Policing Gentrification

Today, gentrification is taking place in neighborhoods that were previously disinvested in through racialized practices like redlining, racial steering, urban renewal and planned shrinkage. This neglect depreciated property values while essentially ghettoizing Black and Brown and working-class residents to these specific geographies. Today these neighborhoods are the sites of intense private investment, provoking gentrification and displacement for these same residents and their descendants.

Research shows that increased policing accompanies these changes. Specifically, a study looking at NYC from 2009 to 2015 found that neighborhoods experiencing increased real estate reinvestment were more likely to see intensified misdemeanor policing (ex. loitering, disorderly conduct) than neighborhoods that were not. This looks like more needless stops, arrests, and deaths, like Breonna Taylor's (Derysh, 2020).

5. Policing & Perpetuating Poverty

The criminalization of poverty is not a new reality, and it's very clear when we think about who is harassed for "loitering" on sidewalks or sleeping in the park, and who is considered to be lost, in need of help, or just taking a load off or a nap. Policing of activities like turnstile jumping and other low-level offenses - often referred to as broken-windows policing - has also been discussed in this context.

New investigations emerging since Michael Brown's murder by police in Ferguson, Missouri also reveal new complexities of what this means. Specifically, new reports highlight a cycle of policing and poverty whereby impoverished communities and individuals are hyper-policed, charged with high fines and fees that produce further impoverishment and/or prolong unnecessary imprisonment, and in turn make them more susceptible to policing in the future (Dolan and Carr, 2015; Human Rights Watch, 2017).

The Broken-windows theory of policing argues that targeting minor crimes such as vandalism, loitering, public drinking, jaywalking, and fare evasion help create an atmosphere of order and lawfulness, thereby preventing more serious crimes. Empirical research has debunked this theory. In practice, this approach operates as a crackdown on impoverished communities and individuals (Harcourt and Ludwig, 2006).

6. Policing Public Housing

The Fourth Amendment is supposed to protect residents and their homes against unreasonable searches and seizures, however, for public housing residents it works quite the opposite.

Alexis Karteron (2019) critically examines policing in public housing to find that because areas around public housing developments are often considered "high crime areas", police are given carte blanche to stop, arrest, and search everyone they encounter, even for the most minor misbehavior. In some cases, she argues, these locations are "effectively rendered occupied territories" (p671).

This reality is fueled by and fuels the other realities of policing previously described, which taken together ensure that neighborhoods in and around public housing are labeled "high crime areas".

As another legal scholar puts it:

"What constitutes a "high crime area"...is self-fulfilling. Crime data does not necessarily reflect the accurate rate of crime, but how police respond to crime and enforce criminal laws. ... This means that when police choose to surveil public housing - a decision correlated with perceptions of race and class and its connection to criminality - and therefore inevitably arrest people in that area, it may now be properly categorized as a "high crime area" justifying virtually unfettered stops under the Fourth Amendment" (Miller, 2020).

HUD banishment policies worsen this situation further by directly linking police interactions to tenants' right to housing. More specifically, these policies allow public housing authorities to evict and ban residents for any criminal activity connected with the apartment and arrest banned individuals for trespassing. These policies vary by city as PHAs are given discretion to specify the criteria for banning residents.

NYCHA's version of a banishment policy is called the permanent exclusion policy. This policy gives NYCHA the power to evict any resident deemed to be "dangerous" or "undesirable". While NYCHA lists major crimes including murder, sex offenses, robbery, assault, drug dealing, and guns, they also leave it open-ended and vague, which leaves them with a dangerous amount of discretion that can and has been used opportunistically to keep tenants in line. We highlight one specific case later in this report (see p13).

In Summary

It is this confluence of overlapping realities that reposition policing as the crime being perpetrated here, and as a 'high risk' societal practice with dire consequences for public housing residents. To summarize, a large amount of public money is used to police public housing residents rather than invest in improving the quality of their housing and lives. Continued poor housing quality has direct consequences for the health and well-being of residents. And this summary of research suggests that funding police instead compounds these stressors while jeopardizing tenants' right to housing directly, which could in turn destabilize a tenant's life more generally.

These realities are worsened further by the broader consequences of policing highlighted on the next page. Specifically, interactions with law enforcement can jeopardize one's access to housing, jobs, and higher education. In addition, it can directly and automatically limit or eliminate one's right to participate in our formal political process.

The Criminalization of Public Housing Residents

MARCH 29, 2020 | by Benjamin Kamelbar



by Sarah Miller

Mass incarceration in the United States has been driven by the surveillance and policing of low-income communities of color.^[1] A critical site of police intrusion takes place in the context of public housing. Weak Fourth Amendment protections for public housing residents, combined with draconian Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) policies, fuels the criminalization of low-income individuals and communities and imposes barriers to re-entry for those with criminal records.

III. The Broader Consequences of Policing

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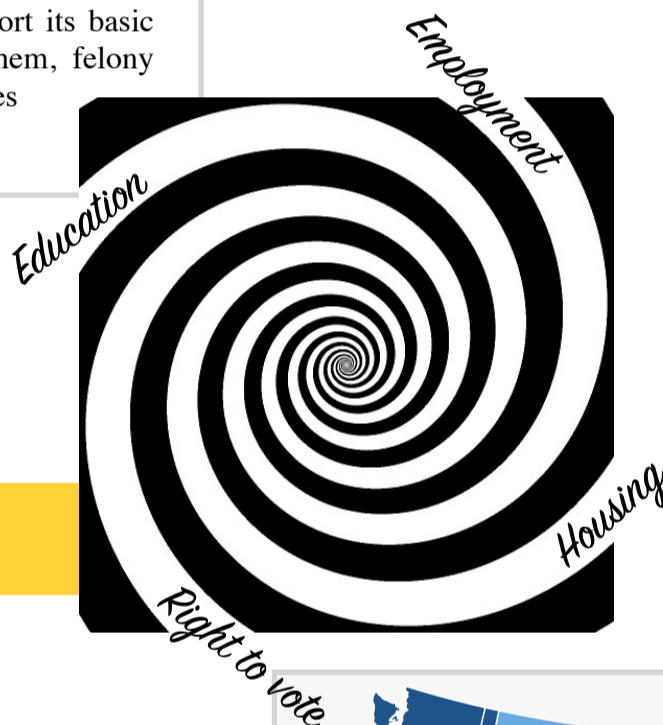
THE EFFECT OF CRIMINAL RECORDS ON ACCESS TO EMPLOYMENT

This study offers the largest-to-date field experiment testing the effect of criminal records on employment access. It confirms that even fairly minor felony records have large negative effects on employer callbacks across a variety of subsamples defined by applicant and job characteristics. The effect on labor market access may ultimately be limited by employers' voluntary or mandatory elimination of the criminal record box on job applications. Although the policy concerns associated with Ban-the-Box are complicated (Agan and Starr 2016 and Doleac and Hansen 2016 explore unintended racial consequences), our results here support its basic premise: when employers inquire about them, felony convictions reduce access to job opportunities

Read full study, Agan, and Starr, 2017.

THE USE OF CRIMINAL
HISTORY RECORDS IN
COLLEGE ADMISSIONS

RECONSIDERED



JOB APPLICATION

☐ Have you ever been convicted of a criminal offense?

Ban the BOX



Melvin Lofton, who lives with his mother, says landlords have turned him away in the past because of his record.

Cheryl Corley/NPR

For full story, see Domonoske, 2016.

Key Findings

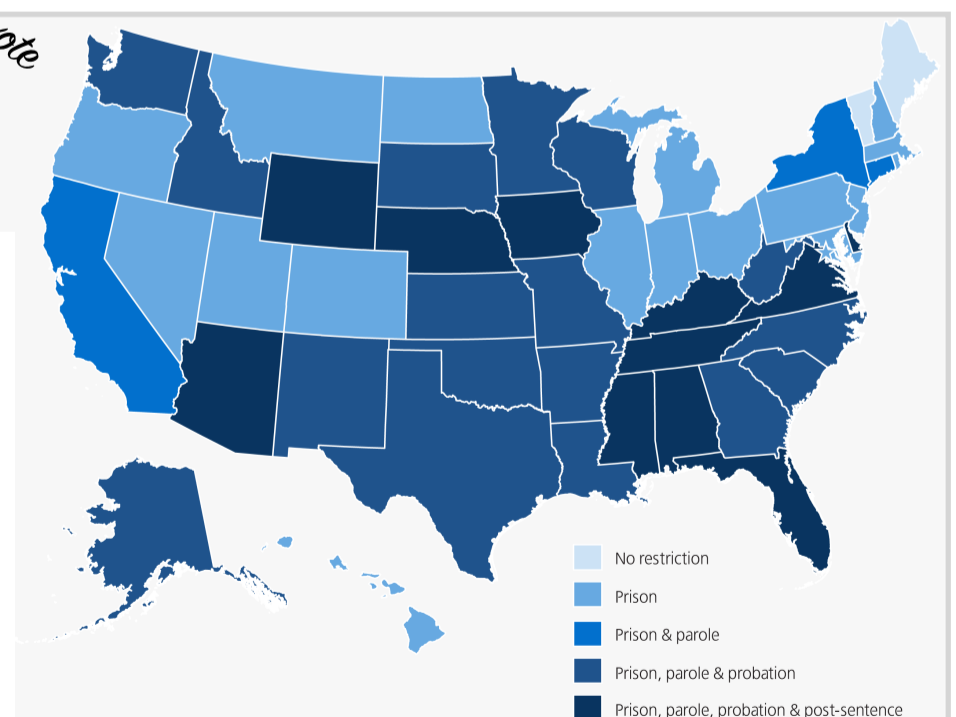
A majority (66%) of the responding colleges collect criminal justice information, although not all of them consider it in their admissions process. Private schools and four-year schools are more likely to collect and use such information than their public and two-year counterparts.

Most schools that collect and use criminal justice information have adopted additional steps in their admissions decision process, the most common of which is consulting with academic deans and campus security personnel. Special requirements such as submitting a letter of explanation or a letter from a corrections official and completing probation or parole are common.

Less than half of the schools that collect and use criminal justice information have written policies in place, and only 40 percent train staff on how to interpret such information.

A broad array of convictions are viewed as negative factors in the context of admissions decision-making, including drug and alcohol convictions, misdemeanor convictions, and youthful offender adjudications.

If it is discovered that an applicant has failed to disclose a criminal record there is an increased likelihood that the applicant will be denied admission or have their admission offer rescinded.



As of 2016, 6.1 million Americans were prohibited from voting due to laws that disenfranchise citizens convicted of felony offenses. Felony disenfranchisement rates vary by state, as states institute a wide range of disenfranchisement policies.

IV. A Closer Look at The Nature of Policing in Western Queens

Bird's Eye Views

The map to the right shows the NYPD's arrest data for 2020. If you're looking at the map in color, dark purple and light purple dots identify the arrestee as Black and/or Latinx.

Purple is the only color I really see.

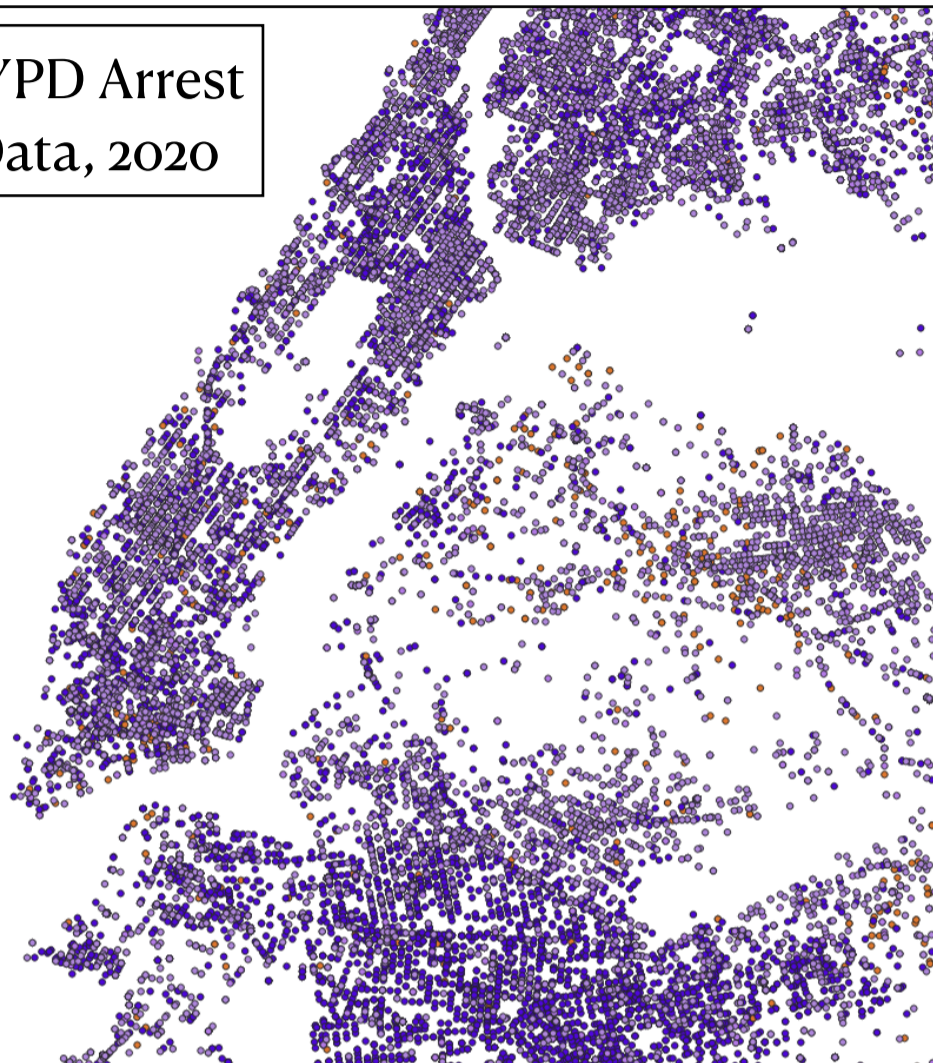
Color or not - I can also clearly see where Queensbridge and Astoria Houses are located.

Can you?

Look for the density of dots that looks more like Harlem, the Bronx, and North-central Brooklyn than its surrounding neighborhood of Astoria and LIC.

The map below shows a top-down view of carceral geographies in NYC - including precincts and police service areas specifically maintained for public housing communities. Queensbridge and Astoria Houses, along with Ravenswood and Woodside Houses are all located in the 114th Precinct, and associated with the distinct police force of PSA 9.

NYPD Arrest Data, 2020

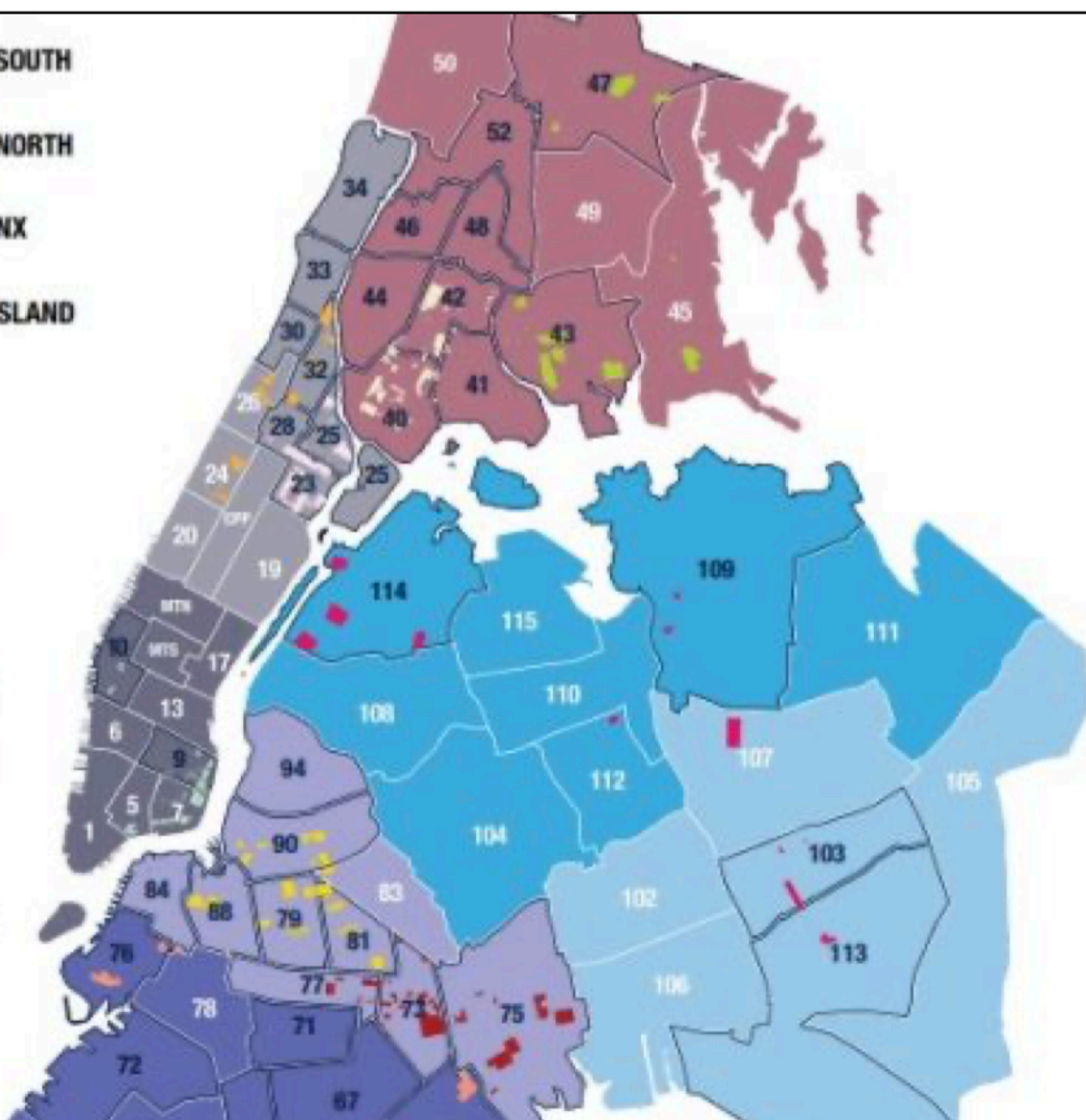


MANHATTAN SOUTH	QUEENS SOUTH
MANHATTAN NORTH	QUEENS NORTH
BROOKLYN SOUTH	THE BRONX
BROOKLYN NORTH	STATEN ISLAND

NEIGHBORHOOD POLICING
HOUSING BUREAU POLICE SERVICE AREAS

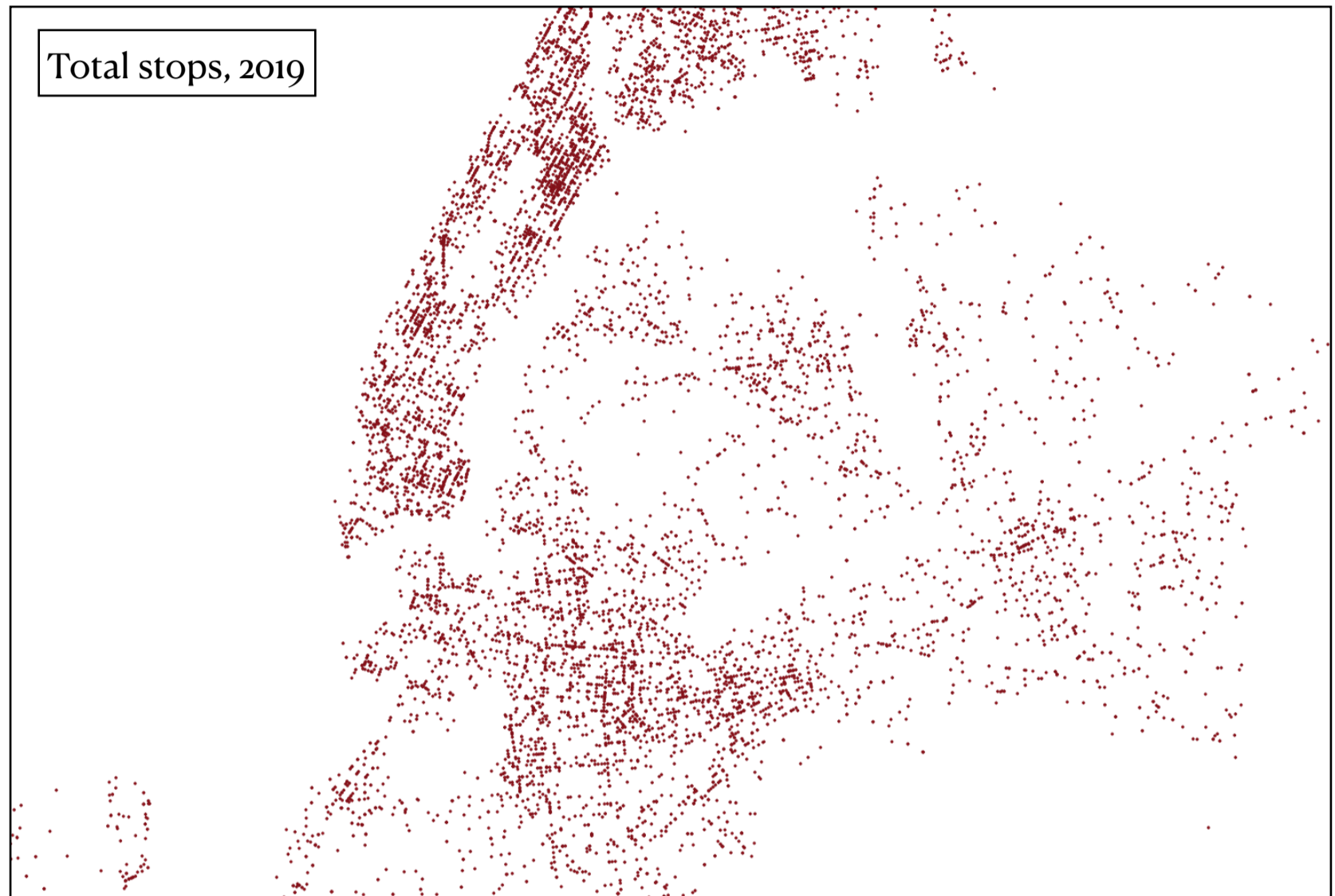
PSA 1	PSA 2	PSA 3
PSA 4	PSA 5	PSA 6
PSA 7	PSA 8	PSA 9

Carcereal
Geographies,
NYC

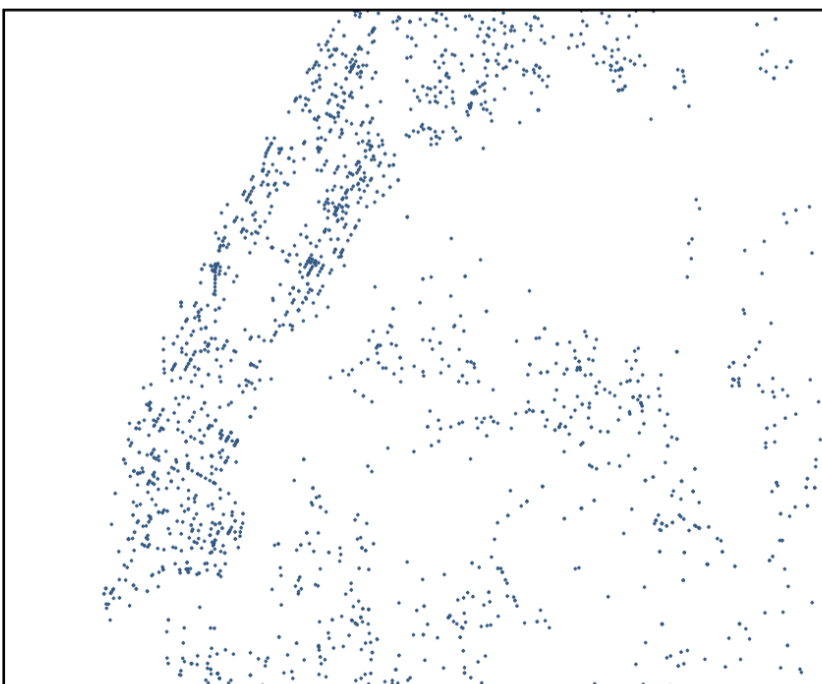


According to official statistics*, Precinct 114 had the greatest number of stops of residents by police of any of the 16 precincts in Queens in 2019. In most cases, no arrest was made or summons given.

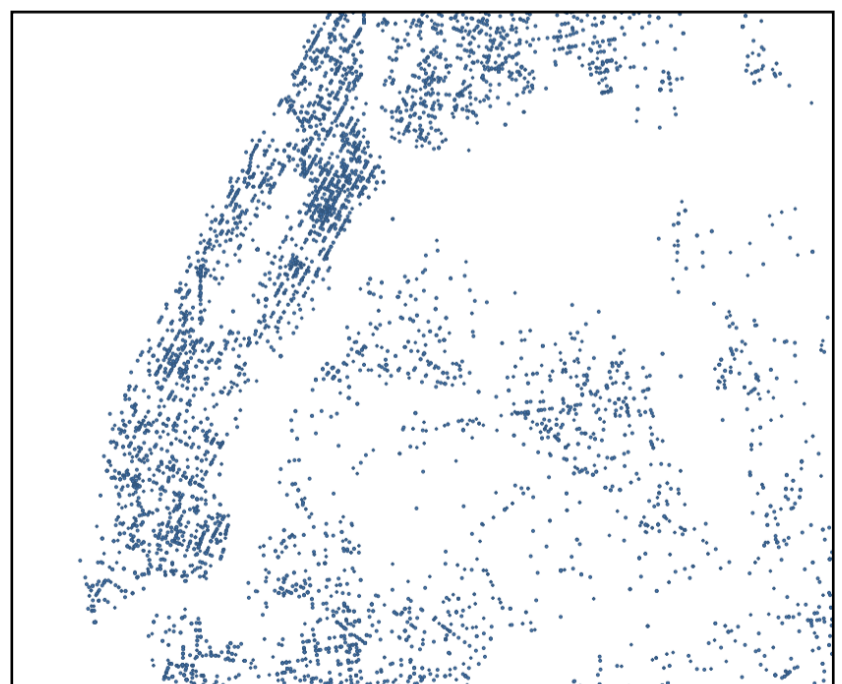
*It's worth restating that in 2018 department audits revealed that officers failed to record stops up to 73% of the time (Rolnick Borchetta, Charney, and Harris, 2018).



Arrest made or summons issued

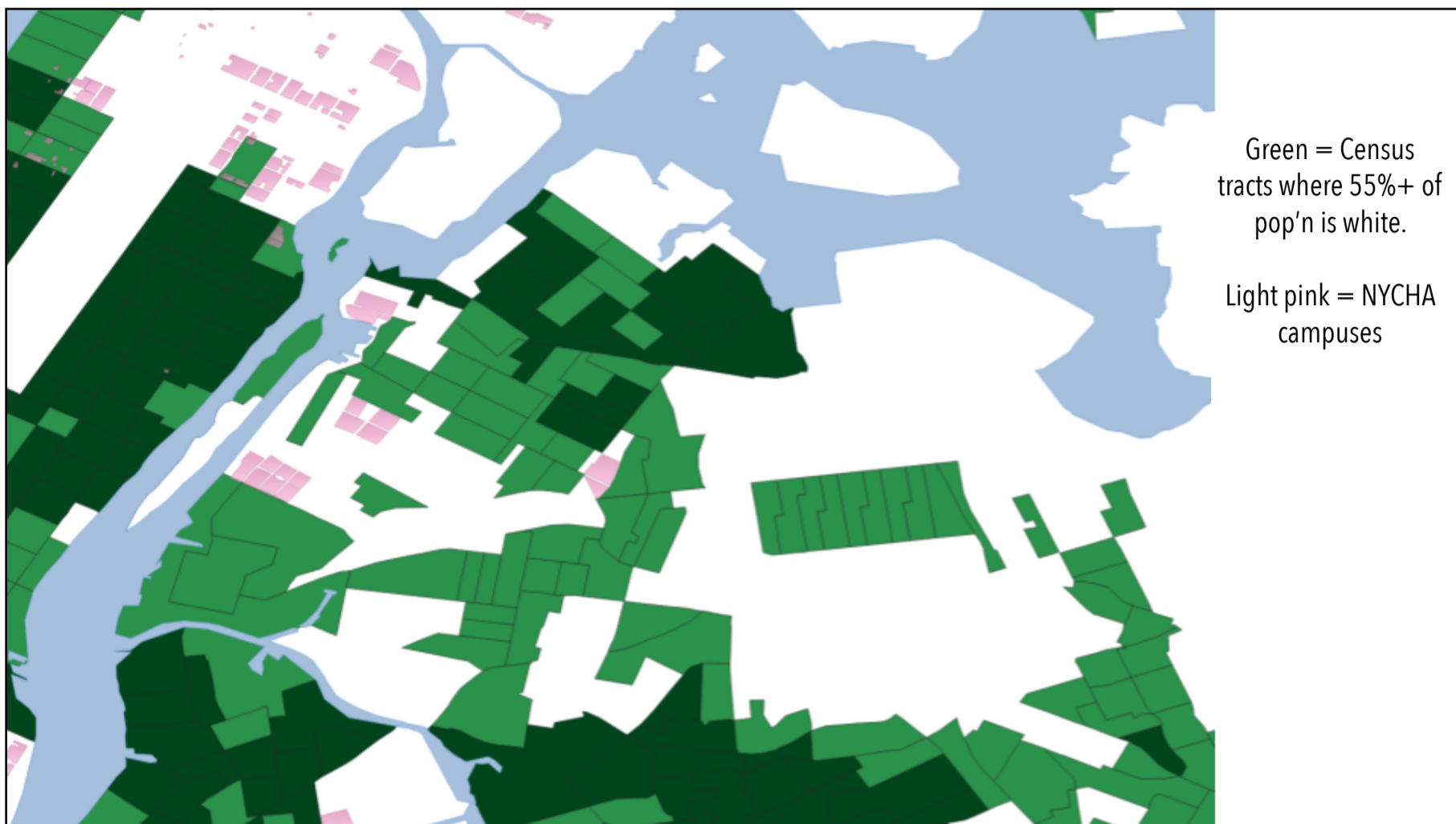


No further action.

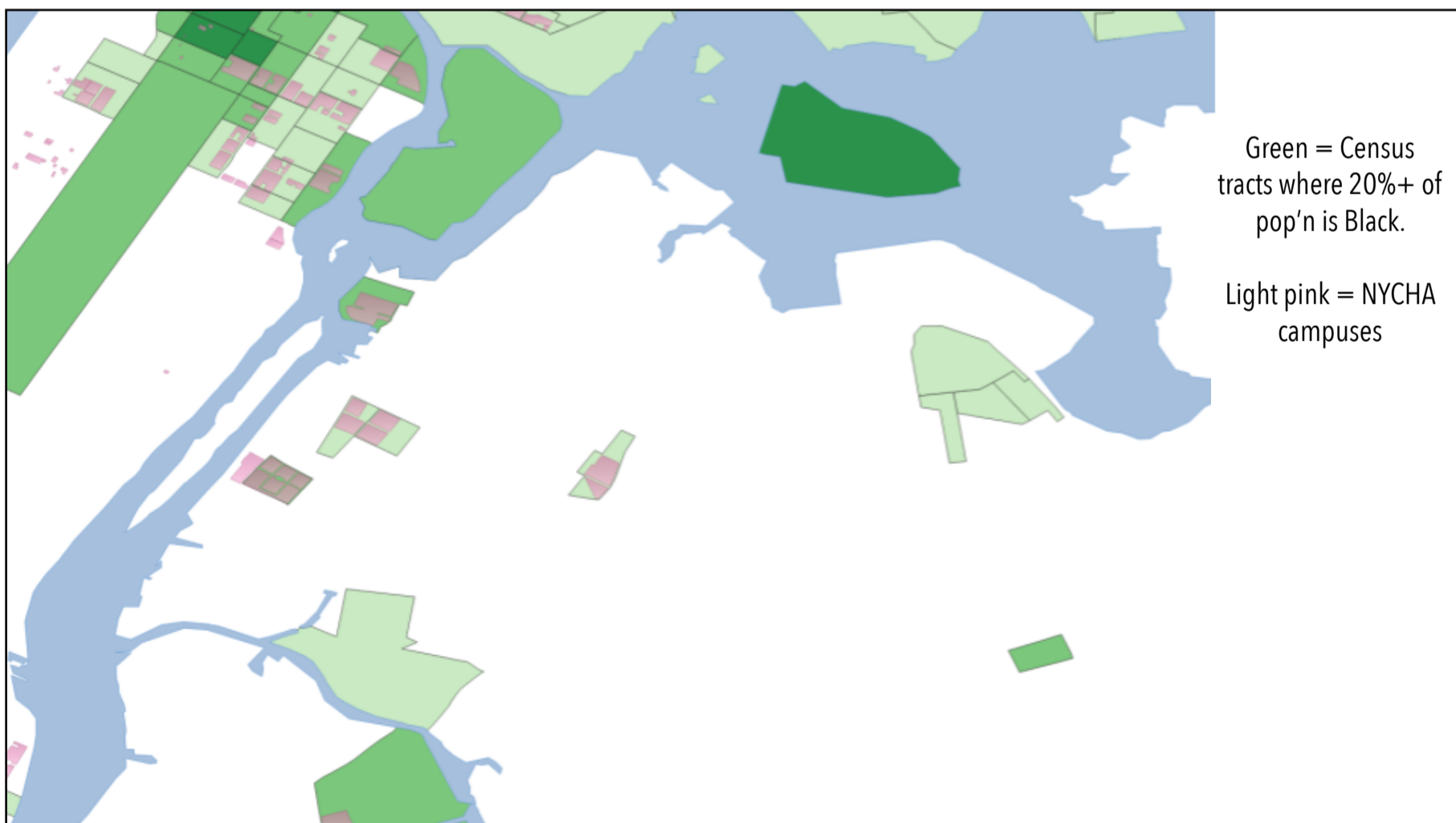


Stop, Question, and Frisk Data provided by the NYPD: <https://www1.nyc.gov/site/nypd/stats/reports-analysis/stopfrisk.page>

Precinct 114 is a predominantly white neighborhood.



And where Black residents are concentrated, is largely restricted to the local public housing developments.



Report Card on Stop & Frisk in Precinct 114

Of those stopped:

Ages: 14-73
 Average age: 28
 16% under 18
 93% identified as 'male'

47% Black**
 29% Latinx**
 19% white

***Those identifying as Black Latinx were included with Black Residents.*

Total # of stops: 242*

66% of stops involved the individual being frisked.
 37% of these stop involved the individual being searched.

Sixteen individuals were found to be carrying a weapon (gun, knife, etc), amounting to 7% of the total.

A total of 3, or 1% of individuals stopped received a summons. They were listed as littering, admin, and other.

99% were completely innocent.

BUT

But only 8% of residents in Precinct 114 are Black, and only 14% are Latinx.

Grade:

F

&

24% of these stops were made by officers specifically assigned to patrol the housing projects.

BUT



12% of residents living in Precinct 114 live in public housing.

Comments:

- Unnecessary stopping and harassing of boys and young men
- Hyper-impact on public housing residents
- Racist and classist in nature
- Incredible waste of time, money, and resources

Stop, Question and Frisk Data provided by the NYPD: <https://www1.nyc.gov/site/nypd/stats/reports-analysis/stopfrisk.page>

*It's worth restating that in 2018 department audits revealed that officers failed to record stops up to 73% of the time (Rolnick Borchetta, Charney, and Harris, 2018).

High Rates of Policing Accompany Uneven Development in Western Queens

Uneven development defines western Queens. Uneven development speaks to investment streams that favor new development and construction for new, wealthier communities while ignoring and neglecting the needs and geographies of existing working-class and poor communities.

Western Queens includes one of the fastest growing neighborhoods in the country, and the largest public housing development in the country (Balint, 2017). In the last few years, the region has been bombarded by a series of mega project proposals as well - including the BQX, Sunnyside Yards, and Amazon HQ2 - which have threatened more new growth. Meanwhile, residents living just next door in public housing frequently have gas or electrical or heat or hot water outages, and/or high levels of mold and mildew, and/or infestations, and/or broken appliances, pipes, and windows and/or more. It was this clear contrast that prompted residents to start the Justice For All Coalition in 2016, and has undergirded our work ever since.

Below are parts of a handout we used help educate our neighbors about this issue in the Summer of 2020.

Where is the money for NYCHA?

Time and again, we are told by public officials that there is no public money to fix NYCHA. Private investment is the only option. But that's a lie. We know because the City has invested time, money, and resources on project's just next door. →

have required the efforts of the employees of entire city agencies, including the Department of City Planning (DCP) and the NYC Economic Development Corporation (EDC), as well as our Council Members, Borough President, and Mayor, often for multiple years. We pay their salaries.

2 - Sunnyside Yards \$14.4B

Just before the outbreak of COVID-19, the City released their master plan for development over Sunnyside Yards. The process of decking over the yards and building a new neighborhood will cost taxpayers at least \$14.4B.

The City says they need to do this because we are running out of public land to build affordable housing. However, since De Blasio took office in 2014, NYC has sold more than 202 city-owned lots for \$1.

Also, they say this will bring 12,000 units of affordable housing, but only 25% of these new units would be affordable to households earning less than \$30,000 per year. Meanwhile, this new enclave will drive up land values and rents for the surrounding communities.

5 - Hallet's Cove \$11M

Hallet's Cove is getting a publicly-funded makeover: \$11M has been allocated for playgrounds, security, and community facilities.

These contributions by Melinda Katz, Costa Constantinides and Mayor De Blasio coincide with the Durst Organization's decision to build 7 buildings and 2,400 housing units on the peninsula.

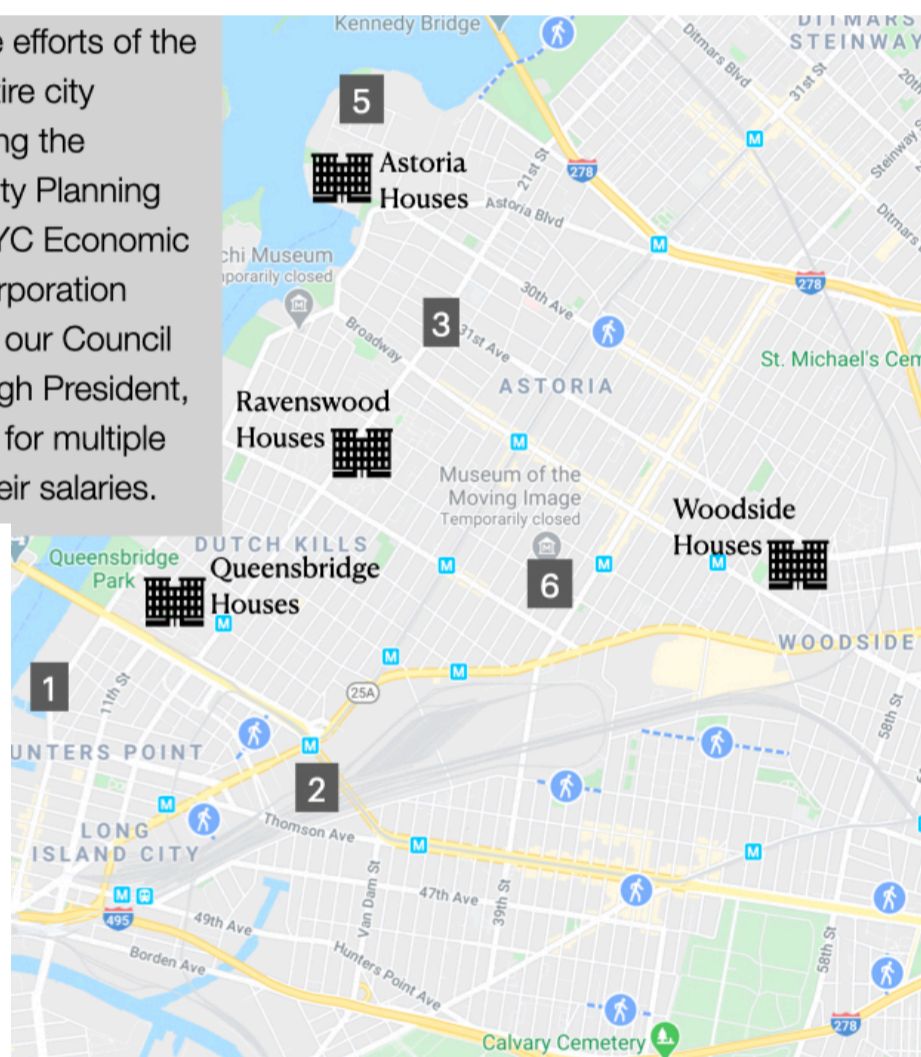
This \$11M is the same amount needed to replace the boilers in Astoria Houses, and provide reliable heat and hot water to tenants. Instead it is being used to increase land values and prop up the profits of private developers. Durst also refused to move forward without 421-a tax breaks.

3 - BQX \$1-2B+

The "BQX" is a slow-moving trolley that the City wants spend \$1-2B to build along the Brooklyn-Queens coast, from Astoria Houses to Red Hook.

They say this trolley will provide vital transit needs to public housing tenants along the route, yet it was the brainchild of billionaire-developer Jed Walentas, who owns property along the route.

To put in the tracks, the road needs to be ripped up, and when completed, the privately-operated trolley will be accompanied by a higher fare than MTA transit, just like the Ferry they put in Hallet's Cove. Moreover, other forms of transit along the route, and parking spaces, will be eliminated.



Uneven Development, cont'd

Since January of 2020, the Justice For All Coalition has been working with tenants directly to get repair needs addressed. We meet with them, support them in submitting formal letters of complaint using a tool created by JustFix.nyc, we stand with them at the management office to witness and support during conversations with their housing managers, we hold press conferences and rallies, we are mounting collective lawsuits, and we advise on other strategies tenants can employ, like withholding rent.

It should not be this hard to have safe and habitable living conditions, especially when you pay rent, and especially when there is public money being invested all around you. From policing to subsidizing private investments in land and housing, there is a lot of public money flowing into western Queens. We can even say that a sizable chunk of this public money is being invested specifically with public housing residents in mind, but it is invested in harassing and surveilling them under the guise of policing, rather than in ensuring their health and well-being through addressing the quality of their homes.

In this context, policing and publicly-subsidized development are rendered as a complete misuse, and frankly, abuse of public money.

A Push to Permanently Exclude

Meanwhile, public housing residents are further threatened by the Permanent Exclusion Policy. Kim Marston's experience highlights how this policy is selectively used, solely based on NYCHA's discretion. Here it was used by NYCHA after Ms. Marston pursued legally available channels to get repairs made in her apartment.

See her prior living conditions here:

<https://twitter.com/VoteAshcraft/status/1275479056725635077>

The letter, dated July 8, accused Marston of breaching the New York City Housing Authority's rules and regulations and of "non-desirability," meaning someone in her household "displayed behaviors that have disturbed or endangered other NYCHA residents," the letter reads.

"I just laughed," Marston, who has lived in Queensbridge since the 1980s, told Patch. "Why, after 34 years, am I undesirable?"

To Marston, her family, her neighbors and tenants' rights activists, the letter had a clear message, though it wasn't actually spelled out on the piece of paper slipped under her front door.

"They're doing it for retaliation, because I was not supposed to open my mouth," Marston said.

But Marston's letter mentions nothing about her son's arrest, which happened in November 2019, according to criminal court records. He was arrested on a charge of first-degree robbery and is being detained on Rikers Island. He has not been convicted.

Asked how Marston's son's arrest last year relates to the eviction letter she received this month, Goldblatt, the NYCHA spokesperson, responded, "This is all we have to say on the matter."

Lashawn Marston, who goes by Suga Ray and is Marston's son and the brother of the man who was arrested in November, cast doubt on NYCHA's reasoning: "They had plenty of time to address it if that was the real issue," he wrote in a message to a Patch reporter.

After Demanding Repairs, Queensbridge Tenant Gets Eviction Notice

As one of their own faces eviction, Queensbridge residents and activists are stepping up the fight to get NYCHA to make much-needed repairs.

Maya Kaufman, Patch Staff
Posted Fri, Jul 17, 2020 at 5:41 pm ET | Updated Fri, Jul 17, 2020 at 5:52 pm ET



Dear Tenant(s):

C. This letter is to inform you that NYCHA is considering terminating your lease because you have not complied with your obligations as a tenant, specifically:

- ☐ **CHRONIC RENT DELINQUENCY (CRD):** You have failed to pay rent on time. This is different from any non-payment of rent case that may be pending in Housing Court for failure to pay current rent.
- ☐ **NON-VERIFIABLE INCOME (NVI):** You failed to submit the Affidavit of Income or other documents needed to complete your annual recertification.
If you already provided the required documentation, please contact your Property Management Office
- ☐ **MISREPRESENTATION:** You have committed fraud by failing to report income and/or the presence of a household member(s).
- ☐ **VIOLATION OF** _____: You have violated a condition of a legal agreement you signed, or a condition set forth by a Hearing Officer's decision.
- ☒ **BREACH OF RULES AND REGULATIONS (BRR)/BREACH OF LEASE:** You or someone in your household has violated part of your lease and/or broken an agreement with NYCHA.
- ☐ **CHRONIC BREACH OF RULES AND REGULATIONS (BRR)/BREACH OF LEASE:** You or someone in your household has repeatedly broken or violated a rule(s) in your lease and/or an agreement with NYCHA.
- ☒ **NON-DESIRABILITY:** You or someone in your household has displayed behaviors that have disturbed or endangered other NYCHA residents.
- ☐ **ASSIGNMENT OR TRANSFER OF POSSESSION:** You are subletting your apartment or have sublet it.

D. Before NYCHA takes further action, we want to offer you the opportunity to discuss this important matter with Management. Please contact the Management Office on or before 07/10/2020 to arrange a meeting with the Property Manager.

IMPORTANT: If NYCHA requests that you provide documents, you can bring them to the Property Management office. You may also upload your document(s) on the Self-Service Portal, where you will receive instant confirmation that your documents have been received. Visit NYCHA's website at www.nyc.gov/nycha to access the Self-Service Portal. Finally, you can submit copies of your supporting documents by mailing them to the address below:

New York City Housing Authority
P.O. Box 19202
Long Island City, NY 11101

A translation of this document is available in your management office.
La traducción de este documento está disponible en la Oficina de Administración.
文件譯本可到房屋管理辦事處或上網址。
Перевод этого документа находится в Вашем домоуправлении.

The translation is provided to you as a convenience to assist you to understand your rights and obligations. The English language version of this document is the official, legal, controlling document. The translation is not an official document.

For full story, Kaufman, 2020.

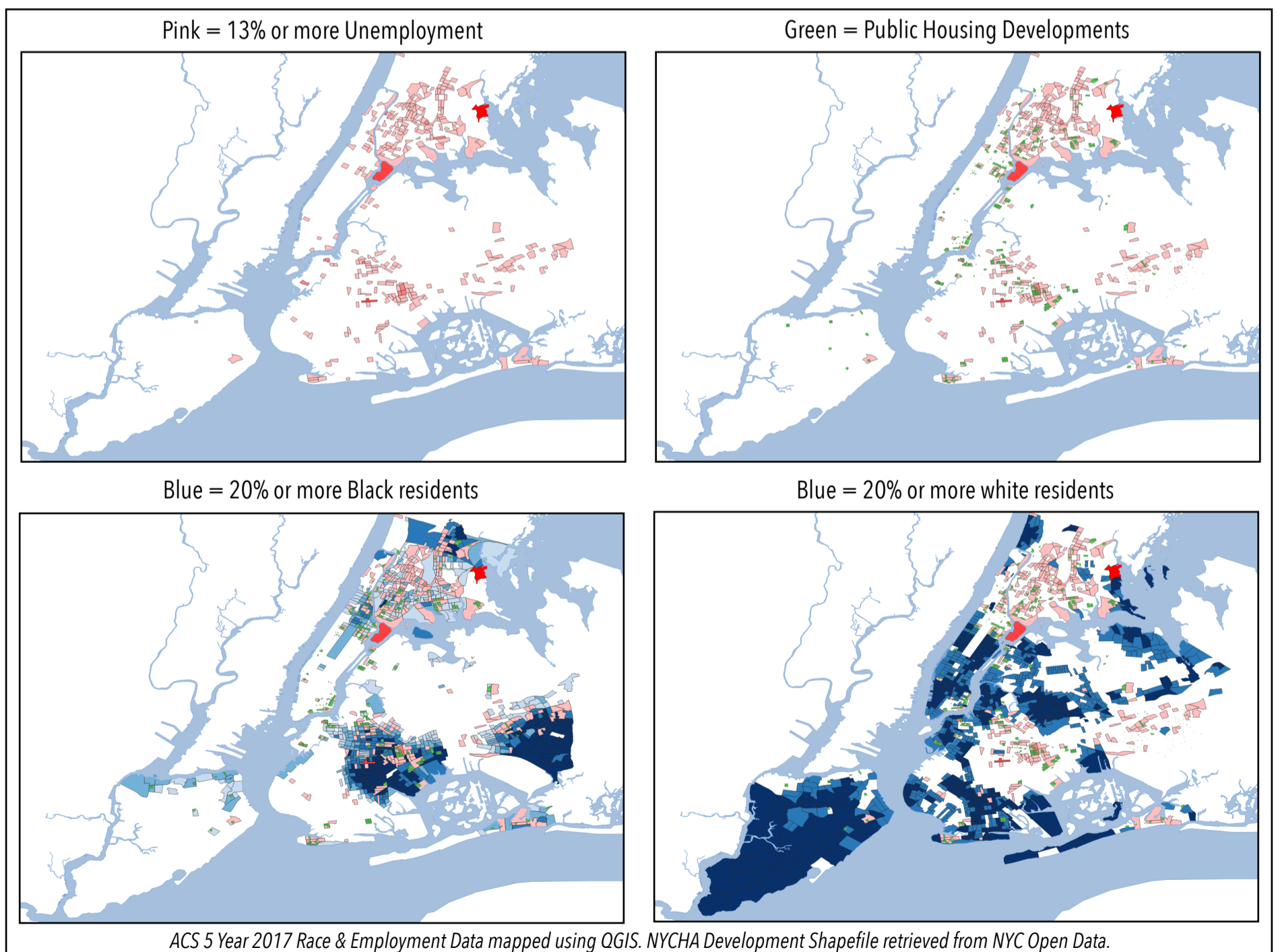
V. Overlapping Oppressions

Looking at policing alongside uneven development in western Queens highlights the compounding nature of inequality and oppression that communities of color experience more broadly. Other geographies of racialized disinvestment also intersect here, highlighting the ways various disinvestment weighs on the same communities.

For example, the same Black and Brown community members targeted by the police also face persisting discrimination in job markets (BLS, 2019). This includes difficulties in getting hired in the first place, difficulties in securing higher-paying jobs, and being paid less for the same position as a peer who happens to be white (Quillian, Pager, Midtbøen and Hexel, 2017).

The maps below highlight this spatially by showing how geographies of unemployment overlap with where Black residents are concentrated, including public housing. When compared with the partial map of arrests in NYC in 2019 on p8, we see that policing also overlaps with these geographies. There is one other region that is hyper-policed, and that is mid- and southern-Manhattan, home to some of the wealthiest residents in NYC, corporate headquarters and their law firms and flagship stores, and Wall Street.

Economic opportunity affects everything else in one's life - educational opportunities, food security, housing, health, general well-being, life expectancy, and more. In general, one's economic foundation has severe consequences for one's ability to care for themselves and others over the course of their lifetime and intergenerationally.



Focus on Western Queens

Another way of looking at overlapping oppressions is to look at economic indicators more closely. Below are some summations of census data which, together, say more about what differences in access to income and economic opportunities looks like for neighbors living in public housing - and tells us more about the same residents we spend a lot of public money policing here in western Queens.

High Rates of Poverty

- At 38%, QB has highest rate of poverty among all families.
- At 41%, QB has the highest rate of poverty among all residents.
- At 39%, QB has the highest rate of poverty among people 18-64 years.
- At 52%, RH has the highest rate of poverty among seniors 65+ years.

Low Incomes

- Residents living in NYCHA make up 9% of the total households in Precinct 114, but 24% of households earning less than \$50,000.
- Public housing residents also make up one-third of households in the precinct who earn less than \$25,000/year.

Low Labor Market Inclusion

- Residents living in public housing are nearly twice as likely to be unemployed (7% in NYCHA , 4% overall).
- The employment rate among residents living in NYCHA is 47%; about 20 percentage points lower than the overall average of 66%.

Large Portion on Fixed Income

- 20% of those living on Social Security in Precinct 114, live in public housing (but public housing residents only makeup 9% of the population).
- 48% of residents in WH and 33% in QB live on Social Security.
- 27% of residents in WH live on retirement income.

Low Earnings for Workers

- The average earnings for a working household living in NYCHA is \$48,575, or nearly half the overall average of \$88,980.
- The median earnings for a worker living in NYCHA is \$24,411, or nearly half the overall average of \$43,267.
- Public housing developments are top 5 lowest median incomes.
- Workers in QB have the lowest median earnings at \$18,819. AH and RH are under \$23,000. WH is \$27,500.

High Rates of Food Insecurity

- NYCHA makes up 45% of the local population using food stamps
 - 56% of residents at QB, 53% at RH, and 52% at AH

METHODOLOGICAL NOTE

- The following data set was pulled from the Census’ Fact Finder databank: ACSDP5Y2018.DPo3_data_with_overlays_2020-09-05T110205
- The contents include data about the economic characteristics for 2018.
- The data was limited to census tracts within Precinct 114.
- The tracks that included NYCHA campuses were highlighted and comparatively examined with other tracts.

Housing Care

It is worth noting that the residents living in public housing are vital to our economy, and play a central role in many of our lives. Many are the essential workers who have been held responsible for keeping our city running during the pandemic and who were expected to risk their lives to do it, and more generally, who care for and maintain our city and its populace every - damn - day.

Service Occupations

46.8% in QB | 35% in RH | 41.2% in AH

Educational Services and Healthcare and Social Assistance

32.4% in QB | 21% in RH,
22.6% in AH | 23.4% in WH

Arts, Entertainment, Recreation and Accommodation and Food Services

18% in RH | 19.8% in AH | 20.8% in WH

Retail

14.3% in QB | 17.3% in WH

Production, Transportation and Material Moving Occupations

13.9% of AH | 14.6% in WH

Transportation and Warehousing and Utilities

15.3% of AH

VI. Back to Budgets

The funding discrepancies highlighted at the start of this report are worth returning to - only this time, let's expand the scope.

In a recent report titled *Carceral Cash*, the Center for Community Alternatives examined funding at the city, county, and state level in New York to draw comparisons between spending on carceral activities (including policing, prisons and jails, parole and probation, and prosecutors, lawsuits and youth criminalization) and spending on community-based services (including youth services, public health, mental health, recreation, and elder services).



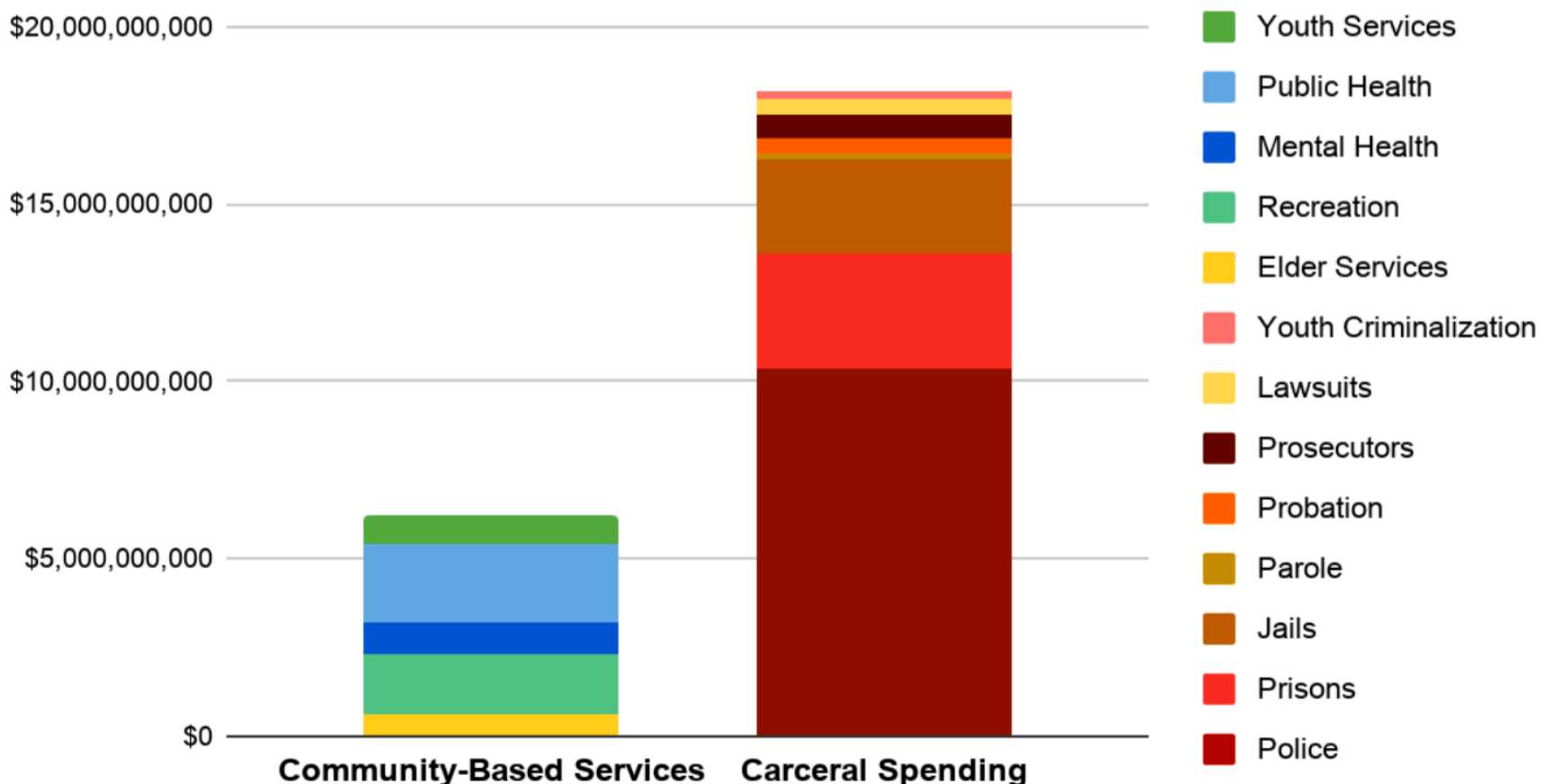
One of the key charts from their report is shared below, and it highlights a concerning discrepancy in these allocations. With a ratio of \$18.2 billion to \$6.2 billion, New York State spends nearly three times as much on carceral activities as it does on services for our communities. It also shows that we spend more on policing alone than we do on community-based services combined.

As their report states, budget allocations have real consequences for everyday New Yorkers: "Funding allocated to the carceral system expands the state violence of criminalization and incarceration that targets Black and Latinx communities. It is also money that is consequently unavailable for housing, healthcare, education, youth programs, and mental health services" (p3-4).

And, we would emphasize, public housing.

This is a choice we make every year. Every year, we as a society choose to fund activities that harass, endanger, imprison, and kill people, rather than funding services that contribute to and maintain people's health and well-being.

Carceral Spending vs. Community-Based Services in 2019



See full study, Schaffer and Callahan, 2021.

VII. Where Do We Go From Here?

In this context, the calls to Defund the NYPD and reallocate funding to public housing and other community needs is a moral imperative and humanitarian emergency. Continuing to allocate increasing levels of taxpayer money for police ignores and furthers the long-standing and violent harm imposed on Black and Brown communities - realities that are acute for residents living in public housing - and drains public funding that could otherwise be used to care for our communities and repair past harm.

Towards this end, below we have outlined a set of recommended policy directions. The goal of these is not only about budget justice, but is also about realizing the general human right to self-determination and autonomy. Investment in policing is undertaken with the intent of restricting certain communities. Reallocating that funding for community-based services and housing and human well-being overall is about providing everyone with the right to live freely.

Critically, and to the concerns of some members of the inflicted communities, defunding the police can't happen overnight, nor can concerns about community safety and security be ignored. However, serious steps can and must be taken in that direction. Some examples of alternative, localized, and democratic models of community safety that center conflict mediation and collective healing are shared on the next page. Let them be a source of inspiration and investment. These efforts and others like them can and must be developed - and pursued and funded; and those most impacted by this long-standing state violence should be at the forefront of discussions and actions toward this direction.

Recommended Policy Directions

Shift away from policing and other forms of social control:

- * End the permanent exclusion policy.
- * Defund, disarm and disband the NYPD.
 - * Begin by removing police from "high crime areas".
 - * Disarmament can also happen tomorrow. In many other countries including the UK, police do not carry firearms.
- * Close Rikers
- * Rescind \$11 billion allocated for four new jails.

Shift towards mechanisms of community control and safety, self-determination and autonomy:

- * Reallocate funding for public resources like public housing, public health, public transit, and public education.
- * Invest public money into solutions initiated by community members who are going through and growing through structural and state violence and are supporting others doing the same. For examples, see Transform America and Fathers Alive in the Hood on the next page.
- * Invest public money into localized conflict management and community safety programs. For examples, see the Red Hook Justice Center and their Peacemaking Program and Queensbridge 696 on the next page.
- * Realize resident management within NYCHA and its campuses - through resident management corporations and by putting residents at the head of the housing authority in general.

Alternatives-in-Action

Even though change is often framed as the only constant in life, changing course when things seem so established can be unnerving; and often, our knee-jerk reaction is to reject the very possibility of it. But in this case, we must fight for change because lives quite literally depend on it.

Luckily, we are not starting from scratch. Instead we have examples of alternative models that already exist - some right here in western Queens. The examples below are rooted in public housing communities, and are spear-headed by those who have been most affected by structural and state violence. And they seek to address that violence through community building and community healing. These four examples are not the entirety of the universe of what's possible, but they offer concrete examples of communities and people who are already building the bridge to a world without policing, to a world that invests in all people, to a caring and humane society.

More information about each initiative can be found on the final page of this report, under the heading, "Alternatives".

Father's Alive in the Hood aims to promote manhood by developing brotherhood and taking back our communities with love. Statistics show that youth, who grow up without a father figure, tend to be more at risk for dropping out of school, drug use, gang involvement, early pregnancy and incarceration. It is their mission to turn the tide of these maladies, and stand in the gap for our communities. To this end, they have support groups which help build community, and The Jenga program, a 3-month, 'rite of passage' program for boys/young males that helps cultivate a sense of leadership.

Red Hook House Community Justice Center is both a community center and a court and grew out of nearly two decades of work to reduce crime and incarceration by addressing community needs. The center was founded by the Center for Court Innovation in 2000 to serve as a joint family, housing, and criminal court. It was designed to promote procedural justice, but today the center operates many programs, which include social services like job training and GED classes, a Housing Resource Center for tenants of the nearby Red Hook Houses, and youth activities. They also operate a **Peacemaking program**, a community-led restorative justice program based on traditional Navajo teachings. RHCJC staff train residents and police officers to hold circles that engage people in conflict and devise productive steps to repair relationships and build trust. The circles also cast neighborhood officers in a new role.

696 Build Queensbridge is a city-funded cure violence program launched in 2016 at Queensbridge Houses. The organization takes a public health approach to addressing gun violence, aiming to preemptively intervene and eliminate patterns of violence while addressing the generational trauma of oppression. The organization hires community members as Violence Interrupters, who conduct outreach in the community, to build relationships with high risk individuals, and provide conflict mediation services towards the goal of preventing neighborhood shootings and killings. In the first year after being created, there were no shootings at Queensbridge Houses.

Transform America is a community-based brand rooted in the idea that together we achieve more, and any systems that are not conducive to the livelihood, liberties and personal and collective pursuits of happiness, must be transformed and built better by the people who have the most at stake. Currently, they have five initiatives, all funded by people-power and community investment.

- The Freedom Tour, an education and travel experience that serves as a means to get youth and adults alike from inner city NY to learn the true history of their country and the role their ancestors played in not only building it physically through forced labor, "aka" slavery, but also how they designed many cities and structures that folks marvel over today.
- The Queensbridge Sacred Garden Project, an essential piece to the revitalization of the Queensbridge Community, is a Sacred Healing Space for Queensbridge residents to reflect on and honor those lost to homicide from the community.
- The Star Quality Youth Talent & Modeling Agency is designed to give youth and young adults a platform to cultivate their talents and beauty in a way that promotes individualism while also encouraging teamwork. We will also work to find exposure and income generating opportunities for participants that want to take their beauty, greatness and talents further.
- Community Building Fridays is geared to enhance the quality of life in the Queensbridge Community. This initiative is a partnership between Transform America, The Astoria Mutual Aid Network, The Justice For All Coalition and Frontline Foods Queens. Many other groups and individuals show up week to week to help out.
- The Healthier Hood initiative was inspired by investor, music producer and community builder Miles "Hollyhood" Casso's personal ambition to attain optimal health and it's geared to bring information regarding all aspects of health to the various "Hoods" of America and then to find practical ways to implement the aforementioned information.

Resources & Further Reading

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