

★ **CROSS BRONX** ★ **EXPRESSWAY**

A Historical Record

Design by Non-Breaking Space
Developed by Joe Dewhurst



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“A city that was accustomed to viewing poverty as a phase in assimilation to the larger society, now sees a seemingly rigid cycle of poverty and a permanent underclass divorced from the rest of society.”

Commission on the Year 2000, report to the Mayor of New York (1987)

Introduction

Looking back is not an easy thing. You can never see things as they were, only as they appear now. Yet, with hindsight, things can appear clearer than they ever were at the time. Individual perspectives collected, piecing together a context that shapes a history.

Growing up in the Bronx, the history I learned was in the oral tradition of “what had happened was”. Comparison studies done on corners, revealing that while the details may vary, there could be no mistaking the similarities. We call them anecdotes as a way of downplaying each of them individually, but together they become a history. In many ways, without knowing it, I began collecting the stories for this project the day I moved to the borough I still think of as home.

As a kid these stories were myth building. Everyone told them, and retold them, over and over again. You would hear the same person tell the same story, three or four times in different company. Sometimes even with the same company, slight differences in the story. Then you hear the same story with big differences, from a different person that never met the first. Then a third person tells a variation that starts resembling a story you’ve told yourself.

My cousin was real pretty. He could fight don't get me wrong, but he was pretty, you know? That's how we got into all those fancy clubs downtown. His pretty ass would always know someone. Then that one time, we was on the block, and this big limousine pulls up. Window rolls down and Madonna sticks her head out and tells his pretty ass to get in. Didn't see him for like three days after that.

It's a story that's been told down on 132nd, up Jerome, off of the Concourse. A friend, a cousin, an uncle, a tia, sometimes the storytellers themselves. If we believe them all, one night in the 80s, Madonna collected all of the pretty people in the Bronx and took them back to her midtown hotel.

What's interesting is that Madonna was actually late on the trend. The Bronx was the spot in New York for slumming it. Poverty porn tours lured everyone from the Pope to Presidents to come and smell that authentic ghetto air. If you were smart, there were lots of lucrative side hustles at that time, short term gains like a cousin getting chosen by Madonna.

My family moved to the Bronx in the eighties. A working middle class family that had moved from the south to Harlem at the beginning of the decade. By the mid to late eighties the employment situation made a move necessary.

To uphold lifestyle expectations within budget constraints, the most viable option proved to be in the Bronx. My parents did not know it at the time, but they were following an intra-city migration pattern that goes back to the early days of Tammany Hall. New York's migrant and immigrant populations, upon finding upward mobility, quickly realize the ceilings of their status when they navigate the housing market.

Coming out of World War II, these housing patterns got an overhaul with the passage of the Title I Slum Clearance Act. This act gave New York and other cities around the country the means to uproot whole neighborhoods by condemning them as blighted and targeting them for slum clearance on the promise of future urban renewal.

Among the papers of Robert Moses, the New York power broker who fought to see Title I passed, is an itinerary for a group Moses would lead on an early poverty tour, showing investors locations to be targeted for the urban renewal program. The majority of the targeted areas were in the other boroughs, like San Juan Hill, the black community in Manhattan that was destroyed to make room for Lincoln Center. No Bronx sites on the tour ended up being targeted, but many who would be displaced would find themselves moving to the Bronx.

Over this period, the racial demographics of the area would shift significantly. Nostalgia often uses this shift to draw the line separating the “good ol' days” from “what's become of the Bronx.” It is an easy story to tell, and so it is the one that has been told. On the news. In the movies. By research institutes. By Mayors before congress. And by Presidents of the United States.

The racial dynamics of poverty in urban environments are not the cause of what would happen in the South Bronx, though they would definitely play a part. A greater role was played by the modernization of New York as a model city for the world. From the planning to the execution and through to its aftermath, this birth of the new New York City has always treated the South Bronx as acceptable collateral damage.

My family moved a bit too far north of the Cross Bronx Expressway to be considered the South Bronx. It was still the Bronx though, and the media had taught me what that meant. Imagine being of fighting age watching the late night TV version of *Fort Apache* only to learn your parents were planning to move the family there. For the most part the cameras had stopped coming to the borough by then. There was a new poverty porn for the media to obsess over - South Central Los Angeles gang culture.

The cameras moved on, but the issues did not, they just compounded and festered. What became clear when we moved, even to my young and naive eyes, was that the media chose to focus on one aspect of life in the Bronx, because exploitative violence sells poverty porn, while selling short the humanity beneath it.

To be clear, there was crime and violence. From the outside these are catchy headlines, the grim details of a news story, incredibly challenging to rationalize when re-contextualized to fit the narrative poverty pornographers wanted to portray. They shape the language learned from city officials that dehumanize the population to make their treatment palpable. The media paints this picture of hopelessness as a means of absolving its creation. The scary thing, is that it works.

What happened to the South Bronx is a complex set of waxing and waning factors, with actors coming in and out of focus. My desire to bring these dynamics to a board game revealed just how much of what happened is a matter of record, despite the fact that public memory of it is so short. I visited libraries, research centers, historical societies, telling archivists the nature of my research. They would always say “start with general books on the subject then backtrack to their primary sources”. Then they would search for a general book on the subject and find none.

Of course they all knew of the one book. That is the nature of the query - Cross Bronx Expressway, Robert Moses, *Power Broker* by Robert Caro. I first read it maybe twenty years after it was published and then picked it up again at the start of this project. It is easy to understand why the book is so lauded. It was a herculean task that explored its subject in a way no biographer previously had. It deserves its praise and stature in the world of American literature.

The Cross Bronx Expressway is the subject of the famous “One Mile” chapter in Caro’s book. Everything in the book is quite deliberate in its desire to portray the power wielded by Moses. “One Mile” is Caro providing an on the ground perspective to illuminate just how those powerful choices impacted the individual lives of those in the South Bronx. From this, readers are meant to project the impacts of that power across the multitude of projects Moses had a hand in.

“One Mile” is focused on a one mile stretch of the expressway that passed through an immigrant Jewish neighborhood. Caro interviewed these residents and tells the story of their fight to resist displacement. When they lose to Moses, they fight for the right to have

new housing found for them. They were not necessarily successful in that either.

One of the things the narrative of this chapter brings to light is the contrast in importance of the issue to these residents, relative to the nuisance it becomes to Moses. The residents are humanized while Moses’ indifference comes off as self-interested inhumanity. It is a powerful and moving account. Especially if you’ve never visited or lived in the area. To those of us who have however, there becomes a slight frustration as the focus never turns to another side of the story.

“The people moving into the vacated apartments were mostly...impoverished Negroes – many on welfare, many newly fled to New York from the rural slums of the Deep South – to whom the Jews found it impossible to relate, even had they wanted to.”

An undertone of the chapter is this immigrant community’s fight for affordable housing, when what they could afford put them in other company. In one passage a housewife expresses her love for her apartment, “whose \$56 rent she could afford on the \$75 per week (her husband) Sam brought home from his job.” In another passage, Caro notes that “families whose income was low enough to qualify” for public housing would not apply because of “the stigma involved in having everyone know you qualified.” The context of this stigma is made clear later when he explains: “The apartments generally available in New York for the \$75 or \$80 per month they could afford, were apartments in black or Puerto Rican slums - or back on the Lower East Side” where the generation before came to the Bronx from.

Caro notes the “urbanizing” role the neighborhood had played for European immigrants going back over a hundred years. Wave after wave would make their way, learn what it meant to live in a city, providing the services that kept the city running, until they had the means. Second generations might find the upward mobility to move out. Those who remained became a part of the character of the neighborhood. This urbanization cycle was mostly reserved for European immigrants as a matter of national policy until the Immigration Reform Act of 1965. As early as the 1920s however, African American and Puerto Rican residents began moving near these neighborhoods as well.

Caro’s focus on one neighborhood was intended to be representative of neighborhoods all over the South Bronx. It served a function for the city, maintaining

a solid working class while nurturing the next local middle class. This urbanization process helped define what it meant to be a New Yorker. It provided the life blood of the city, powering political and economic machines. But by the time the families in Caro's chapter received notice that their building was to be demolished for the Cross Bronx Expressway, it was apparent that the process was at its end.

The reason Robert Moses is considered such a central figure in this history is that it is hard to imagine things playing out as they did without someone like him in place. He foresaw how the role of the city would change with the growth of the automobile and the infrastructure needed to support that growth. Industries would shift around these new means and cities would have to adapt. Where Moses was short sighted, or perhaps too apathetic, was in how these adaptations would impact the ones that called the city home. Moses was able to architect the changes to the city over three decades, navigating the politics and economics of the city through multiple changes in leadership, yet his momentum would end up stalled by a movement of housewives.

By the time Jane Jacobs was organizing this movement, which put an end to Moses' expansionism, the Cross Bronx Expressway had already displaced the housewives Caro spotlighted. The last major roadway project in the Bronx was completed the year before *The Power Broker* was released. Jane Jacobs lived in Toronto by then. Yet those who came and remained in the Bronx were left to experience the actual impacts.

Cross Bronx Expressway takes the long view of history precisely because it is most interested in those impacts. It puts players into positions where they are removed yet able to affect through their decisions. Players are not asked to play individuals, but socio-economic ideals that were used by historical actors to rationalize their decisions. The shortsightedness of those ideals is what is designed to emerge from the game state on any given turn, as a reflection of the contextual concerns of the historical actors.

These actors, however, did not act in unison as projected by the player agency presented in the game. Actions the players take can involve thousands of individuals over more than a year's time.

However, the effects of those actions are measurable, and the way those effects are implemented is aligned with the socio-economic patterns for the period.

Take the exhausting of infrastructure as an example. There is only one player action which can actively exhaust existing infrastructure on the map, otherwise exhausting only happens through the event system. This makes them mandatory actions that are merely carried out by the players. Most of these events represent the physical impacts involved with building roadways through neighborhoods. It is not a game where players can choose not to build the roadways, rather they get to choose to have a say in where, but not if, the exhaustion will happen.

When these events happen on a turn it is not the end of an action but the start of one. The player flips the infrastructure to its exhausted side, unhousing all of its organizations and population. This begins a year where all of the economic support for that infrastructure is being withdrawn. Filings and injunctions are made. Budgets are rebalanced. The decline is slow at first.

Over the subsequent turns this process continues, as some of the population find other housing or move out of the borough all together. Perhaps before the Census another faction sees the potential and decides to reinvest in that infrastructure at a discount. If not, when the census comes around it will become clear that there is no longer support for that infrastructure and it is removed all together. This abstracted multi-year process means the players, with their agency, must be accountable for what happens before, during and after the Census.

Designing a historical game is about the interactiveness of the medium. By definition this leads to degrees of ahistoricity, but in service of the player focus and decision space. History can be used to anchor that decision space. The deeper I delved into modeling the mechanics of the game and aligning them with the history, the deeper I became engulfed in the research.

This writing comes from that research as a presentation of the history behind the game. From reading these pages, the board state will take new meaning. As one contextualizes the history, events will become more than the situational significance presented by game play, and abstracted actions which players execute in their full agency will echo historical actors, showing how each game tells a unique story, but they all speak directly to this history of the South Bronx.

“This Committee is authorized to confer with City Officials in an effort to affect development of a network of highways connecting the Triborough Bridge, Ferry Point Bridge, and the Henry Hudson Memorial Bridge and Parkway.”

**William Matthews, Chairman of
the Bronx Board of Trade (1937)
Message to Robert Moses**

“Such structure, even if seeming an immediate need, will in the end prove detrimental to the City in that it will depress assessed valuation of real property in its course and will create an area of unsightly and undesirable residential homes.”

**Van Nest Association (1939)
Resolution condemning the plans for
the Bronx River Parkway Extension**

“The way it has been done, it drives away tenants and brings in rats.”

**James A Deering, City Council
representative from the Bronx (1939)
On garbage dumping in Soundview**

Prelude

Many of the historical arcs that are covered in *Cross Bronx Expressway* can trace their origins to before the beginning of the game. Robert Moses, by example, was already front page news for his reputation by the 1930s. One of the early developments for the whole endeavor was the Hudson River crossing (George Washington Bridge) which opened in 1931.

The Hudson River crossing was quite an important one for the City. Before it was constructed, traffic had to go further north to cross the river, then make their way south to get into the city. It was not an ideal traffic pattern and did not scale with the city's ambition. There needed to be a means of getting people and goods into and out of the city with ease. Where the Bronx of old was an offshoot of the city, through the roadway projects, its role in the new city would be far more integrated.

This was understood even by residents in the 1930s. A clipping from the Home News in 1932, acknowledging the impact traffic from the Hudson crossing will have on the Bronx, suggests a solution to the problem – traffic signs.

“But what of the multitude of drivers who cross the Hudson and Harlem Rivers, bound for Queens, and flounder around hopelessly in the maze of Bronx streets, begging directions here and there until time, grim determination and possibly chance bring them to our ferry slips on the East River?”

These passers through our community surely deserve a far better “break” at our hands. Some of the more callous among us may say that since they are only using the Bronx as a shortcut and have no intention of tarrying here, these motorists need not be given attention.

But surely this is an extremely short-sighted view. If they learn to regard Bronxites as kindly and helpful people generally, they may do business with us eventually and perhaps our fame will spread. Surely we are anxious to be acclaimed rather than reviled in the hinterland.”

Planners like Robert Moses and his predecessors were thinking about these challenges years in advance. They understood the speed of municipal power, and thus put the wheels in motion early. It was not about one bridge or one road, but a full network of them, turning the whole city into an interchange that would connect the tristate area.

It was a big project that required large amounts of funding. The type of funding that is not withdrawn from a bank teller, but rather allocated with paper trails of budgets signed and approved through federal, state and/or municipal governments.

To accomplish this work, tools were needed, entities. Moses helped to establish the Triborough Bridge Authority as the modern blueprint. It straddled the line between public and private, eligible for government funding from institutions like the Public Works Administration, but able to operate independently like a private corporation. From the chairman's position on authorities such as these, Moses was able to wield the greatest power.

As the commissioner of the Parks Department, Moses was responsible for more parks across the city than any other individual. Yet, for all that they mean to the generations of families that reaped the benefit of their use, they were but a tool for Moses. He used his role in the parks department to entrench his control over the development plans for the city.

In his role at the Triborough Bridge Authority, Moses proclaimed a jurisdiction that included not just the bridge that would connect the Bronx to Queens and Manhattan, but also all of the approaches to that bridge, which would extend into the boroughs from multiple directions. The bridges, the roads, the parks, the housing, all would fall under Moses' domain. He was a visionary who envisioned power and attained it.

From a position as high as Moses had achieved, direct impacts were limited to the things he experienced. World wars that freeze budgets. Frustrating politicians requiring exhaustive letter writing. Silly laws that might reduce authority. Annoying housewives that just need something to complain about. People that do not understand what it takes to make a city work.

Moses was an “ends justify his means” type. If a building had to be torn down, it had to be torn down. The people living in the building do not even factor into the consideration. Or rather, mind them with a shell authority that receives funds under the auspices of finding those people new homes. When you multiply those effects, and account for the fact that their impacts ripple out and last generations, it becomes clear how a small bill in the 1930s is tied to the fires of the 1970s.

While these may not have been the immediate concerns of Moses, those on the ground could see the implications. The annual report for the Hunts Point branch of the New York Public Library in 1938 notes the uptick in German immigrants to the immediate area the branch serves. They note how these newcomers assimilate well into the predominantly Jewish community. By 1940 there is a new demographic discussed in the report:

“The immediate neighborhood that Hunts Point serves has altered very little. A large number of both Negroes and Porto Ricans are moving in south of us. These folk make up comparatively light use of the branch as yet. Their presence is felt more in connection with the children than with adults. Spanish books are called for occasionally, but not to the extent of being a big need. It is likely, however, that we will become more aware of this group as time goes on.”

There are many points of reference found within my research that did not make it into the final version of the game. The topic is far more detailed and intricate than any single game could capture. The scope of the period covered is so broad it just was not feasible to put all of the events I would have wanted to include. Nevertheless, what has been collected in the fifteen cards for each decade ensures that each play will provide an authentic portrait of the challenges and decisions faced during the period, with enough variety to give each play its own character.

In these pages you can get a broader context for those events as they occurred chronologically. It is not meant to be a complete history, but as a companion to the game it provides enough background to anchor the narrative of your games in the history being modeled. To learn even more, consider some of the works cited in the references section at the end.

1940

Total Population of New York

7,454,995

Total Population of the Bronx

1,394,711

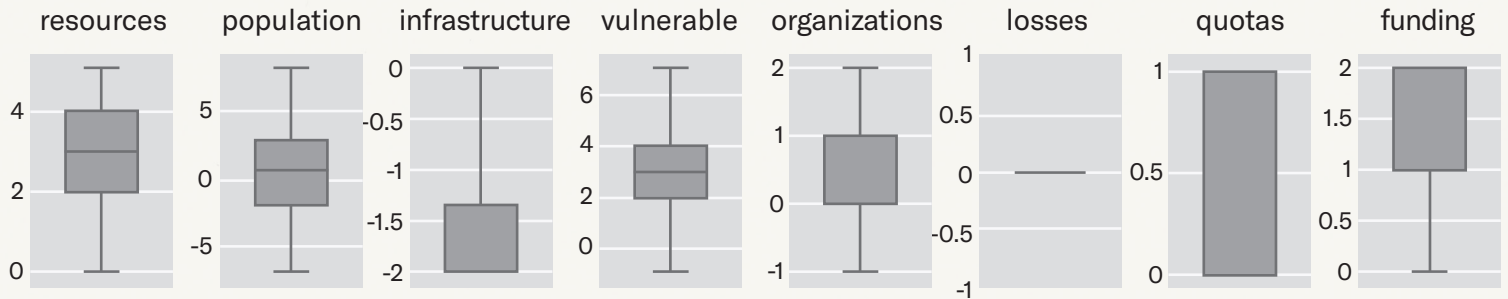
Estimated Population of Districts 1-6 & 9

881,457

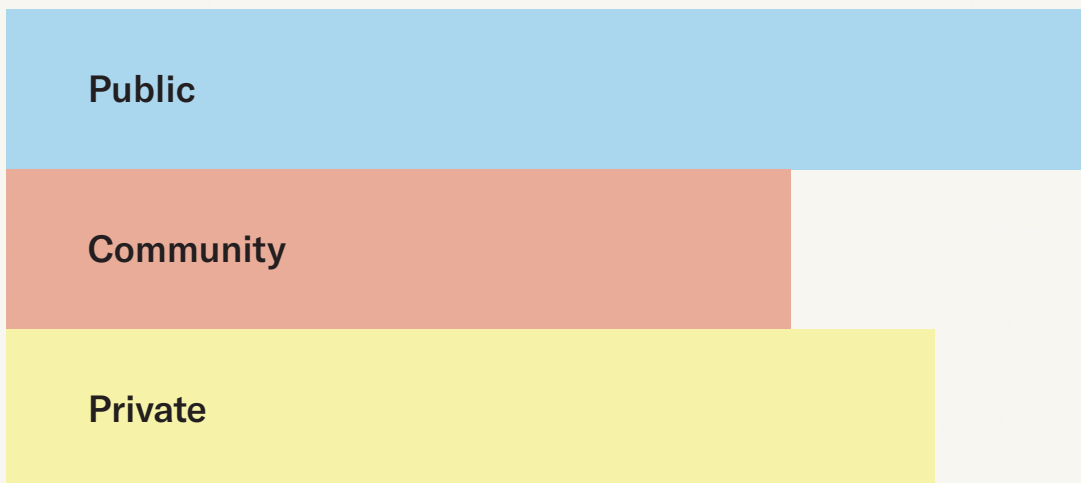
Demographics of the Bronx

White	1,370,319
Black	23,529
Hispanic	-
Indigenous	62
Asian	801
Other	-

Range of Change from Events



Proportion of First Position in Initiative Order



1940 Setup

Public Resources: 7
 Community Resources: 5
 Private Resources: 9
 Losses: 0 / Tax Rate: 1/2
 Corrections: 6 Vulnerabilities

District #1

- Private Infrastructure (2 Population, 1 Vulnerability)
- 1 unhoused Vulnerability

District #2

- Public Infrastructure (5 Population, 1 Vulnerability)
- 1 unhoused Vulnerability

District #3

- Public Infrastructure (5 Population, 1 Vulnerability, Public Organization)
- Community Infrastructure (4 Population, 1 Vulnerability)
- 1 unhoused Vulnerability

District #4

- Community Infrastructure (5 Population, 1 Vulnerability, Public Organization with Loan, Community Organization, Social Coalition)
- Public Infrastructure (3 Population, 1 Vulnerability)
- 1 unhoused Vulnerability

District #5

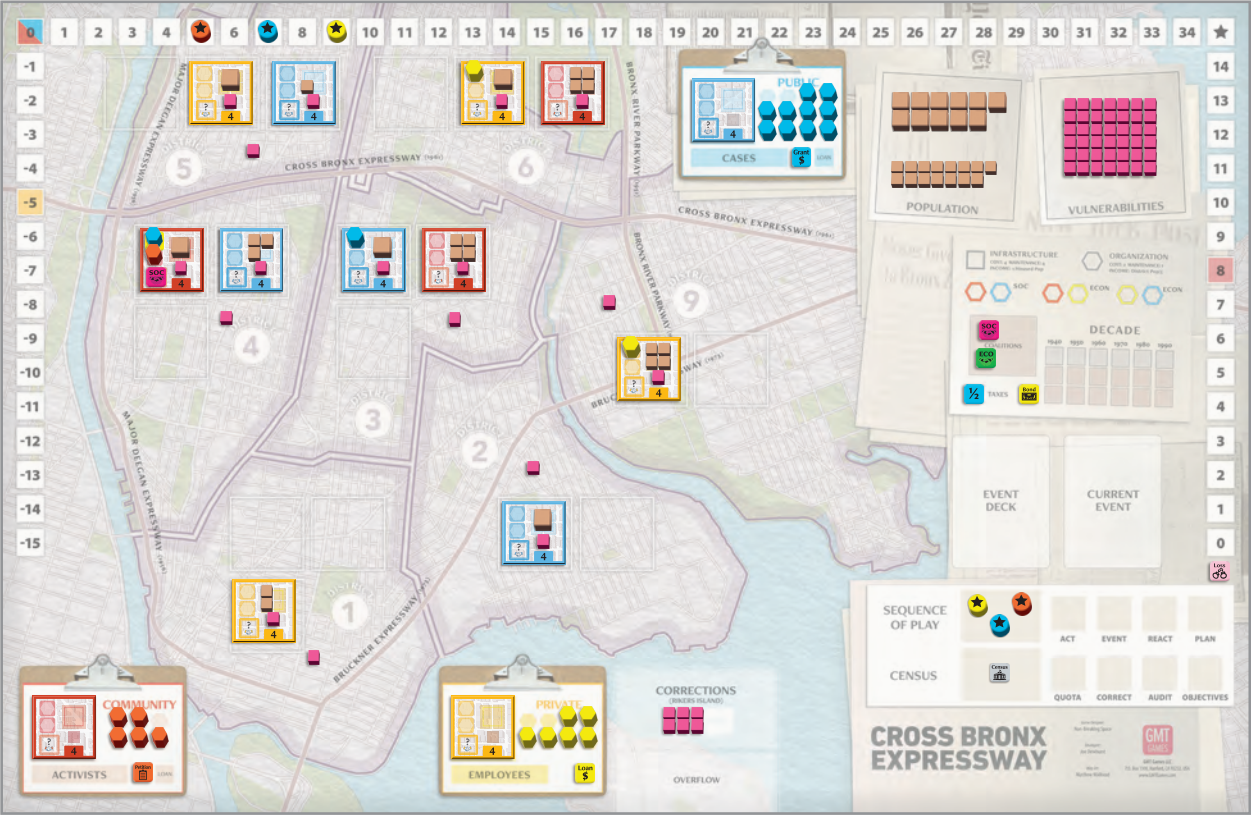
- Private Infrastructure (5 Population, 1 Vulnerability)
- Public Infrastructure (1 Population, 1 Vulnerability)
- 1 unhoused Vulnerability

District #6

- Private Infrastructure (5 Population, 1 Vulnerability, Private Organization)
- Community Infrastructure (4 Population, 1 Vulnerability)

District #9

- Private Infrastructure (4 Population, 1 Vulnerability, Private Organization)
- 1 unhoused Vulnerability



“By augmenting or reducing the model of Bronx County, and with due allowance for variations in state laws, one can get a picture of party workings in almost any part of the United States, for political divisions are substantially the same in fundamentals all over the country.”

**Edward J. Flynn, Chairman of the Executive Committee
of the Democratic Party of Bronx County (1947)**

“Many of New York’s present difficulties sprang from the expectation of an ever expanding city. The 1940 census completely demolishes this assumption.”

**Third Annual Report of the
City Planning Commission (1941)**

“While the Bronx Board of Trade recognizes the objectives of City Planning, nevertheless, we wish to express general disapproval of the proposed first and second stages of the Master Plan of Land Use, as we believe the present method of zoning is more satisfactory for the Bronx, and that the proposed first and second stages of the City Planning Commission’s proposal would tend to destroy the borough’s existing industrial centers, and also tend to retard progress in certain residential areas”

**Bronx Board of Trade (1941)
Resolution to reject the city’s Master Plan**

“To my knowledge no analysis has ever been made of the Negro housing market in New York City. Specific areas have been surveyed from time to time in connection with slum clearance and subsidized housing development, but such studies concentrated on describing existing conditions and on inference touched on the problem of demand.”

**James Felt, Chairman, Housing Committee
Urban League of Greater New York (1948)**

“If we brought Negroes into these developments, it would be to the detriment of the city, because it would depress all the surrounding property.”

**Frederick Ecker, Chairman
Metropolitan Life Insurance (1943)**

“The planner who professes to be able to see clearly a hundred or more years ahead is an egotist or a visionary who cannot safely be entrusted with immediate decisions in public office”

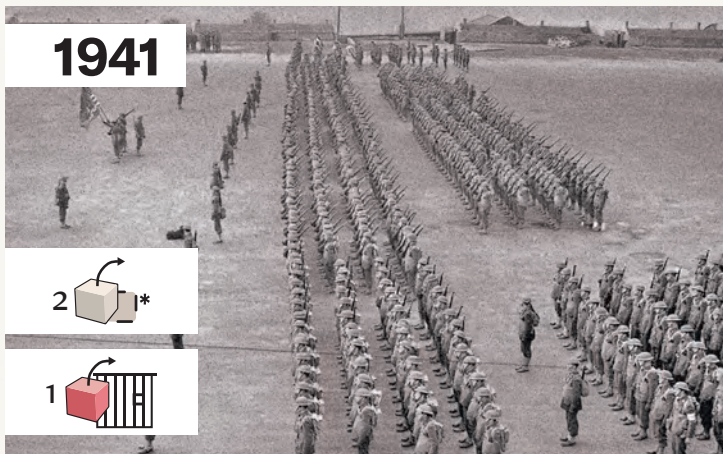
Robert Moses (1941)

1940s Events



BRIDGE OPENING CHARTS PATH FORWARD

The opening of the Bronx-Whitestone bridge coincided with the 1939 World's Fair. Motorists crossed the bridge from the Bronx to the "Dawn of a New Day" exposition in Flushing, Queens. The rush to get the bridge built in under two years, ushered a far more textured future than the sheen presented at the fair. Families were displaced on either side of the crossing to make room for the bridge and its connecting roadways.



U.S. ENTERS THE WAR

From 1941 through the end of the war, over 800,000 New Yorkers would enlist or be drafted to serve in the armed forces, many from the Bronx. Industrialized areas of the Bronx would shift to war production, while the economy kept those at home pinching pennies to support the effort. European immigrants stayed attentive to the news on the war front, for the ties they still had to the lands being fought over.



MOSES JOINS CITY PLANNING COMMISSION

Parks Commissioner and member of the Triborough Bridge Authority, Robert Moses was well positioned as the city's proverbial Master Builder. He turned down the Chairman's seat of the City Planning Commission when it was formed in 1936 because he did not see its practical purpose. He would join later to gain oversight on future projects and further his plans for the city.

ROOSEVELT FIXES PRICES

The economic impact of the war was being felt in the States. In 1941 Roosevelt established the Office of Price Administration within the Office of Emergency Management. The Emergency Price Control Act made the OPA an independent agency tasked with fixing prices and subsidizing the production of essential goods to reduce the national impacts of inflation. The agency and price controls themselves would see some reversal in the post war period, as the manufacturing and production lobby pushed back.



BRONX GETS NEW SEGREGATED HOUSING

Public housing initiatives of the 1930s led Metropolitan Life Insurance, the second richest company in America, to get into housing development. Using public subsidies, including tax exemptions, they purchase land from the Catholic Church to build Parkchester Houses, a complex that could house up to 40,000 people. MetLife designated this housing for whites only, led by the ideas of its president, Frederick Ecker, who felt the races should not mix.



ROOSEVELT SIGNS BILL TO HELP VETERANS

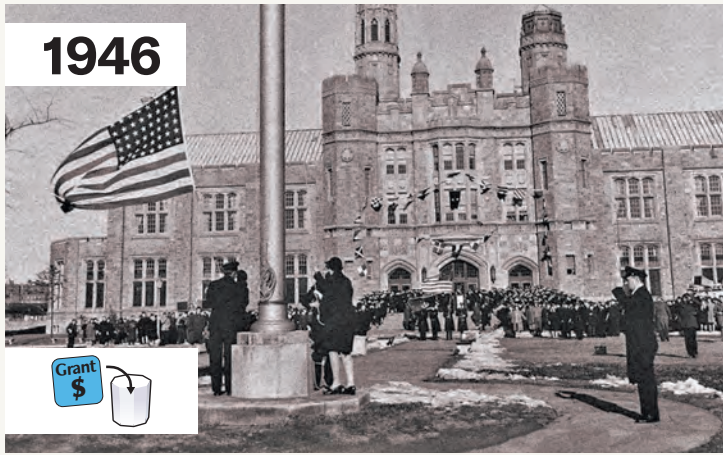
The Servicemen's Readjustment Act provided soldiers returning from World War II benefits including home loans, business loans, employment, and higher education opportunities. However, these benefits were distributed disproportionately to white veterans. In the New York area less than 0.2% of the mortgages issued through the Act went to non-white veterans.



THEY'RE COMING HOME

In addition to the return of American soldiers, the end of the war also triggered the end of the wartime economy. For the years that the United States was in the war, most of the large scale federal and state projects saw their funding frozen. As the end of the war came within sight, the clever were preparing for new budget approvals. Coming out of the war, New York would see increased funding for infrastructure projects both old and new.

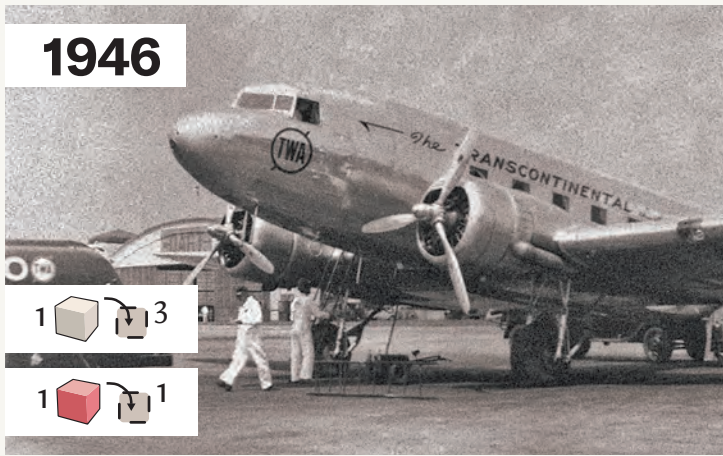




1946

FRANCO UNDER FIRE IN THE BRONX

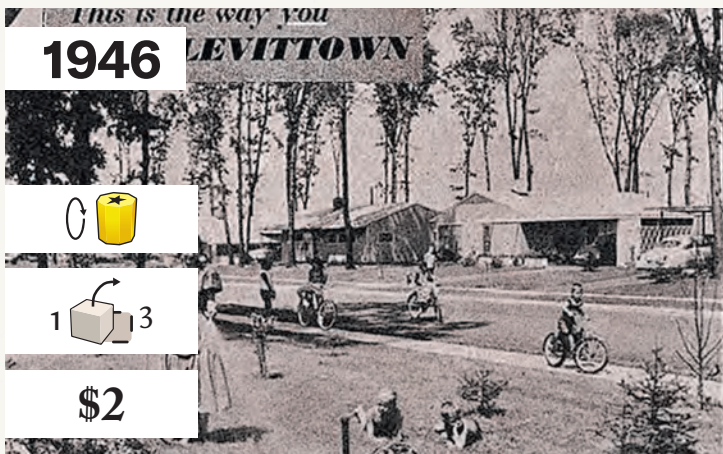
Among the many items on the agenda for the United Nations Security Council meetings, held in their temporary home on the Hunter College campus in the Bronx, was “The Spanish Question.” It revolved around Spain’s admittance into the UN, questionable because of the support Franco gave and received from Nazi Germany during the war. In these same Bronx halls where international leaders publicly condemned fascism, Eleanor Roosevelt was elected to chair the Human Rights Commission which would draft the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.



1946

COMMERCIAL FLIGHTS BRING NEW FACES

The aviation industry saw a huge boon in the post-war era as the planes used for wartime cargo shipments were transformed for passengers. International flights grew after the Chicago Convention established the International Civil Aviation Organization out of the United Nations to govern international air travel. This increased both tourism and immigration patterns, with New York remaining a key destination for both.



1946

BUILDING AMERICA’S SUBURBAN DREAM

As new visions of the urban centers were taking shape, many ideas conflicted with the needs of the middle class that lived in the cities. For those with the means, new options were popping up to escape the city for the American dream in the suburbs. Developers were building towns around housing plans that fed into the lifestyle ambitions of the upwardly mobile. Second generation families would leave their New York apartments for green pastures outside the city.



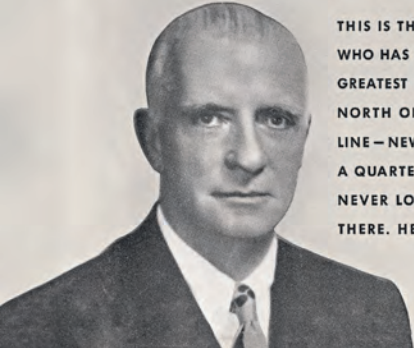
1947

LOCAL IMPACTS FOR OPERATION BOOTSTRAP

The initiative to shift the Puerto Rican economy from agrarian to industrial included lots of incentives for private US businesses to invest in the island, including cheap labor, tax exemptions and no import costs as a part of the commonwealth. While in many ways the effort could be considered a success, it also caused a significant reduction in employment opportunities on the island, causing many to migrate to the mainland for work.

IN LIKE FLYNN

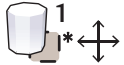
A lifetime politician, a beneficiary of the democratic machine, Edward J. Flynn would go from the sheriff's office in the Bronx where he was born, to the White House, a right he earned by being critical in the election of two U.S. Presidents. Flynn used the machine's pull with African American voters across New York state to get Truman's Vice Presidential nomination, and used that support to help again during Truman's Presidential bid.



1947

THIS IS THE STORY OF THE MAN WHO HAS RULED POLITICS IN THE GREATEST DEMOCRATIC COUNTY NORTH OF THE MASON-DIXON LINE — NEW YORK'S BRONX — FOR A QUARTER-CENTURY AND NEVER LOST A LOCAL ELECTION THERE. HE LEARNED THE GAME.

\$2



PUERTO RICANS FIGHT FOR RIGHTS

Puerto Rican veterans came home from the war to a country still entrenched in its own bigotry. Seeing this reality first hand, Gilberto Gerena Valentin began his fight for justice at home in New York. His activism would lead to many civil rights and cultural initiatives in and around the city. He would go on to serve as city councilman for the Bronx and also on the City Commission on Human Rights.



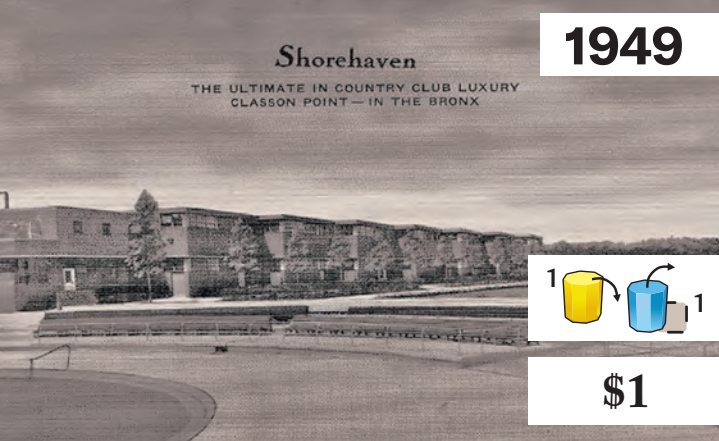
1947

Grant \$





BRONX BEACHES GO PRIVATE

The Shorehaven Beach Club primarily served the surrounding Jewish community. Seasonal membership provided families access to pools and other activities including various forms of entertainment. Representative of the demographic dynamic, its eventual closure is often attributed to the decline in memberships from the older families moving out of the Bronx while newer residents did not choose to join.



Shorehaven
THE ULTIMATE IN COUNTRY CLUB LUXURY
CLASSON POINT — IN THE BRONX

1949



\$1

EMINENT DOMAIN

It would take a few years post-World War II to get Title I of the 1949 Housing Act passed. It provided the legal precedent required to execute the large-scale infrastructure and redevelopment "Master Plan". With it came the legal grounds to declare urban areas blighted, opening the door for them to be seized through eminent domain.



1949





1950

Total Population of New York

7,891,957

Total Population of the Bronx

1,451,277

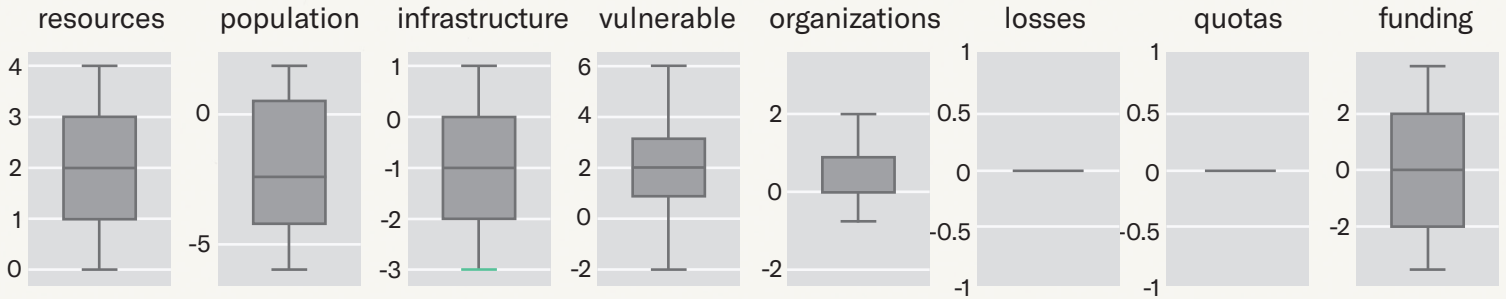
Estimated Population of Districts 1-6 & 9

912,207

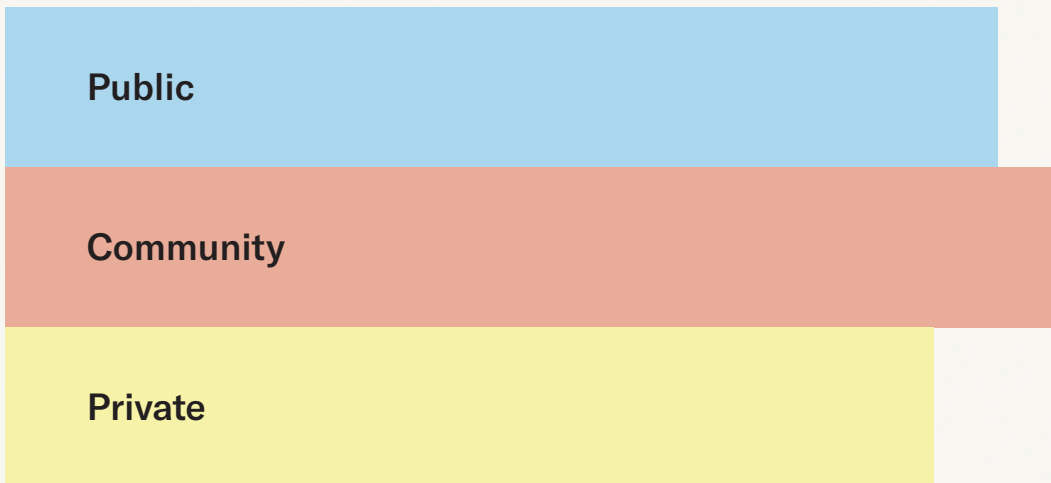
Demographics of the Bronx

White	1,351,662
Black	97,752
Hispanic	-
Indigenous	180
Asian	1,249
Other	-

Range of Change from Events



Proportion of First Position in Initiative Order



1950 Setup

Public Resources: 5 (1 Loan in Faction area)

Community Resources: 3

Private Resources: 4

Losses: 0 / Tax Rate: 1/2

Corrections: 8 Vulnerabilities

District #1

- Private Infrastructure (4 Population, 1 Vulnerability, Private Organization)
- 1 unhoused Vulnerability

District #2

- Public Infrastructure (2 Population, 1 Vulnerability, Public Organization)
- 1 unhoused Vulnerability

District #3

- Community Infrastructure (5 Population, 1 Vulnerability, Public Organization, Private Organization, Economic Coalition)
- Private Infrastructure (3 Population, 1 Vulnerability, Community Organization, Private Organization, Economic Coalition)
- 1 unhoused Vulnerability

District #4

- Community Infrastructure (5 Population, 1 Vulnerability, Public Organization, Community Organization, Social Coalition)
- Public Infrastructure (4 Population, 1 Vulnerability)
- 1 unhoused Vulnerability

District #5

- Private Infrastructure (5 Population, 1 Vulnerability, Private Organization)
- Community Infrastructure (3 Population, 1 Vulnerability)
- 1 unhoused Vulnerability

District #6

- Private Infrastructure (5 Population, 1 Vulnerability, Public Organization, Community Organization, Social Coalition)
- Community Infrastructure (2 Population, 1 Vulnerability)

District #9

- Private Infrastructure (5 Population, 1 Vulnerability, Private Organization)
- Public Infrastructure (2 Population, 1 Vulnerability)



“With the enactment of the \$33,000,000,000 Federal Aid Highway Act of 1956 we now have an opportunity to embark upon a vastly accelerated highway construction program which will make possible the completion within the next few years of a reasonably comprehensive arterial network in the City of New York.”

**Robert Moses, Deputy Co-Coordinator,
Office of City Construction (1956)**

“So thoroughly has the problem preoccupied the public in general and the press in particular that terms such as slum clearance, regional planning, urban renewal and redevelopment, blight, and sprawl have virtually become household words. Against this background of activity and concern the discouraging and unblinkable fact remains: our slums are still with us, nearly as extensive and every bit as unwholesome as ever.”

Arthur D Sporn, Professor (1959)

“Metropolitan’s whole history in the housing business has been a sorry one. Its dead-end fight to uphold discrimination in the Stuyvesant Town, Peter Cooper and Parkchester projects is an enduring mockery of New York’s claim to be a city ‘where eight million people of all races, creeds and religions live together in harmony.’”

New York Post (1954)

“If special interests groups are allowed to take over control of the housing market without any commitment from builders and communities and other interested parties to respect the provisions of the 14th Amendment and the statutes of the U.S., the President’s clearly stated objectives will have been disregarded, and the civil rights gains achieved by the Administration in other field of endeavor will be largely nullified.”

Ted Poston, New York Post (1954)

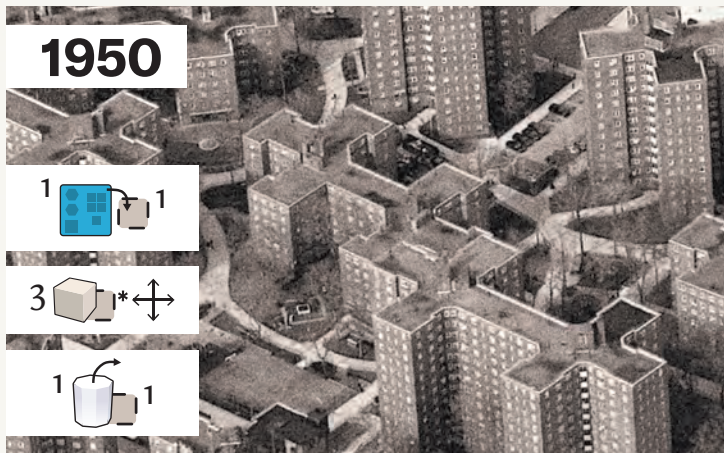
“We must find ways of assuring to every American that in his search for employment he will be judged on the basis of his character and ability and not on the basis of his race, his religious faith, or land from which he or his forebears came to America.”

**Dwight Eisenhower,
President of the United States (1955)**

“My father would laughingly point out these undercover agents who were attempting to blend into the scene by dressing as bums. They stuck out like sore thumbs. The neighborhood indulged them as they played out their fantasies.”

**Clara Rodriguez (1954)
Discussing life after the
Oscar Collazo arrest**

1950s Events



1950



NEW PUBLIC HOUSING IN THE BRONX

The end of the war had an immediate effect back home. Soldiers that returned often married and had the children that would kick off the baby boom. This increased demand for housing in a somewhat shrinking market. The New York City Housing Authority, whose provision of public housing went all the way back to the 30s, ramped up its efforts. Over time the volume of residents in New York public housing would eclipse the population of some cities.



1950

\$1

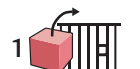


ECONOMY PUSHES DOMESTIC WORK UNDER THE TABLE

Articles about the “Bronx Slave Markets” date back to the 1930s when journalists Ella Baker and Marvel Cooke wrote an exposé for *The Crisis*. This spawned discussion around the rights of domestic workers, with politicians making commitments to address mistreatment. Yet, two decades later Cooke found not much had changed. Low and unpaid wages, exploitative conditions and risk of violence including sexual assault were all still prevalent. Desperation made the work a necessity for day workers lined up outside of department stores hoping to be selected.



1951

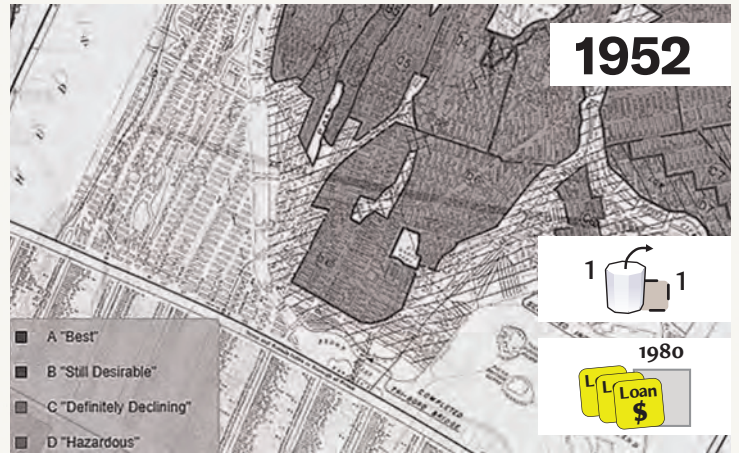


INTEGRATION ARRIVES TO FIGHT IN KOREA

While Harry Truman, via Executive Order #9981, desegregated the armed forces in 1948, when fighting broke out in Korea many simply chose to ignore it, upholding their personal beliefs in racial inferiority, including General Douglas MacArthur, commander of the United Nations forces in the area. It was not until after he was fired in 1951 and General Matthew Ridgeway took command that integration plans went into effect in earnest.

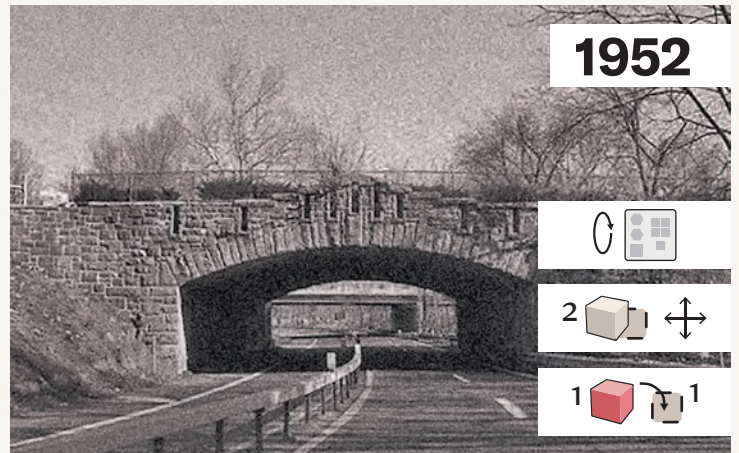
PROPERTY VALUES DECREASE AS LENDERS STOP LENDING

While the term “Redlining” would not be born until the 1960s, the discriminatory practices date back to the 1920s. Early in the century, the multi-ethnic composition of the Bronx shaped an economic outlook that aligned with investors. The roadway projects reset those economic expectations. Concurrently, as the racial composition of those demographics changed, so too did the level of investment.



EXTENSION CONNECTS WESTCHESTER TO THE CITY

The original construction of the Bronx River Parkway helped set the standard for building major roadways through park lands. It terminated just north of the city however. Plans for an extension that would go through the Bronx were in discussion before the outbreak of World War II. Even after the war the project faced delays.



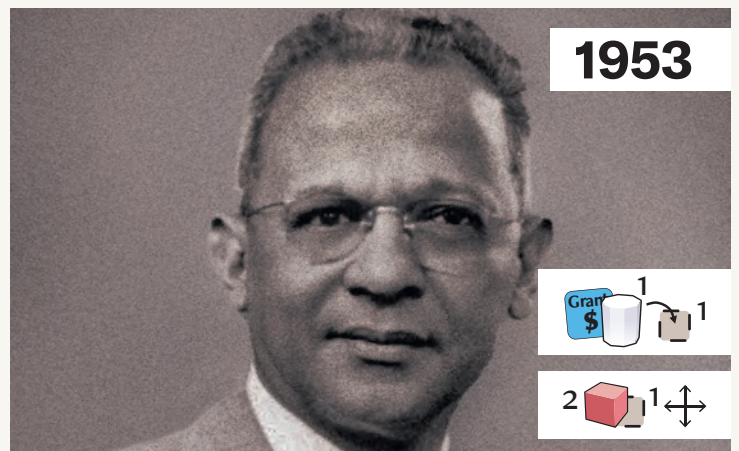
BIG “BOSS” BUCKLEY BACK IN THE BRONX

The successor to Edward Flynn, Charles Buckley’s tenure as the Bronx Democratic Party Chairman in many ways marked the beginning of the end of “boss” power politics. He still wielded influence from the Bronx to Kennedy’s White House, but the reformers were starting to resonate with a public looking to turn away from its Tammany days. Some would say boss and patronage politics never left the city, but few would argue that the hey days were in the past, even if the worst offenses were yet to come.



BRONX ATTORNEY ELECTED TO STATE ASSEMBLY

Puerto Rico would come under the rule of the United States during Felipe Torres’ youth, enabling him to serve in the Army during World War I and be amongst the first from the island to migrate to New York. He would study and practice law in the city before being elected to the State Assembly. As a politician and a judge he advocated for the rights of the underrepresented. His work against housing discrimination would lead to the founding of the Ponce de Leon Federal Savings Bank in the Bronx, which did what it could to offset the biased practices other banks followed.





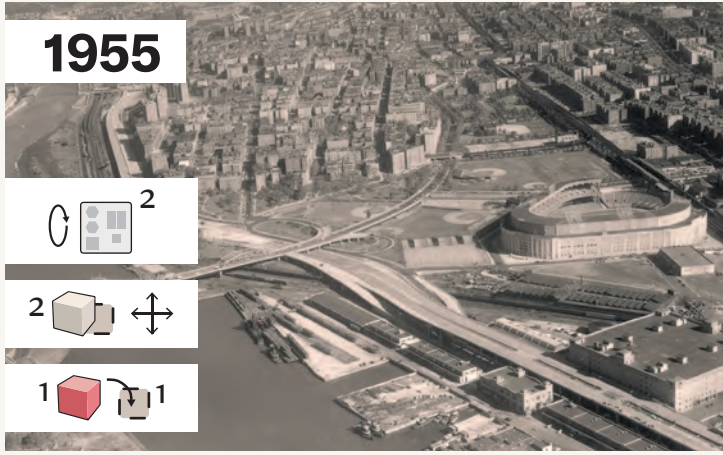
MIGRANTS FROM PUERTO RICO LOVE THE BRONX

Puerto Ricans began migrating to the mainland United States as soon as the Jones Act granted them citizenship in 1917. The rate was initially small, but by the 1950s many on the island were making the trip. Over 80% of those that did headed to New York, where early arrivals established a community and culture that would be called Nuyorican. The growth of these communities in the Bronx were reshaping the demographics of the area.



LITTLE WAGNER TAKES MAYORAL SEAT

The former senator from New York, Robert F. Wagner, would die months before his son Robert Wagner Jr. won his own election. Nevertheless, Wagner Jr. carried his father's spirit with him to the mayor's office. Like his father, Wagner strongly believed in the politician's duty of service to their constituents, which would shape his time in office and eventually lead to a break with Tammany, though his ties to Carmine DeSapio contributed to his getting into office in the first place.



MAJOR DEEGAN HONORED IN EXPRESSWAY OPENING

The expressway that runs down the western edge of the Bronx was named for William Francis Deegan, major of the United States Army Corps of Engineers. His political career led him to the Bronx Chamber of Commerce and later an appointment as the Tenement House Commissioner of New York by Mayor Jimmy Walker. Robert Moses would continue his mentor's tactic of using unelected political appointments to shape the future development of the city.

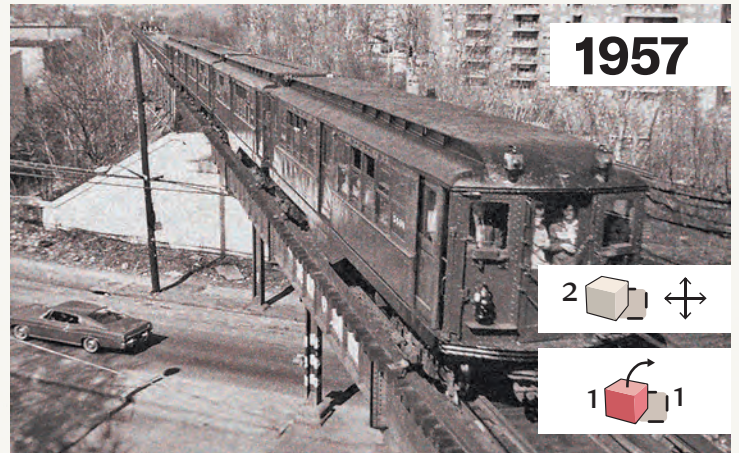


GANGS OF THE BRONX



Historically gangs in New York tended to split along ethnic lines, as most of the communities where they emerged were segregated by ethnicity. As the demographics shifted, racial lines emerged, with minority gangs often forming as means of protection from the older gangs in the area. As the proportions shifted, so too did the gangs themselves, with many integrating along class lines.



BRONX LINE CONNECTS WITH THE REST OF THE SUBWAY

The Dyre Avenue train line became a part of the New York Subway system after the private New York, Westchester & Boston railroad went bankrupt in 1937. After years of shuttle based service, the line was finally connected to the rest of the Subway network, providing reliable transportation for Bronx workers to job opportunities across the city.



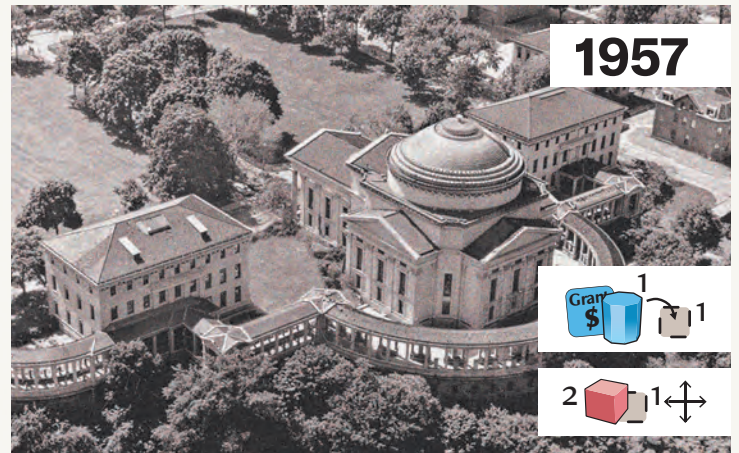
1957

2  



1  1 



COMMUNITY COLLEGE COMES TO THE BRONX

Community colleges were a means for the municipal system that would become the City University of New York to expand and meet the post war demands for higher education. Bronx Community College opened through this effort, which included state funding. A condition of that funding, however, was that one third of the tuition costs be paid by students, making BCC the first in the system to charge students tuition.



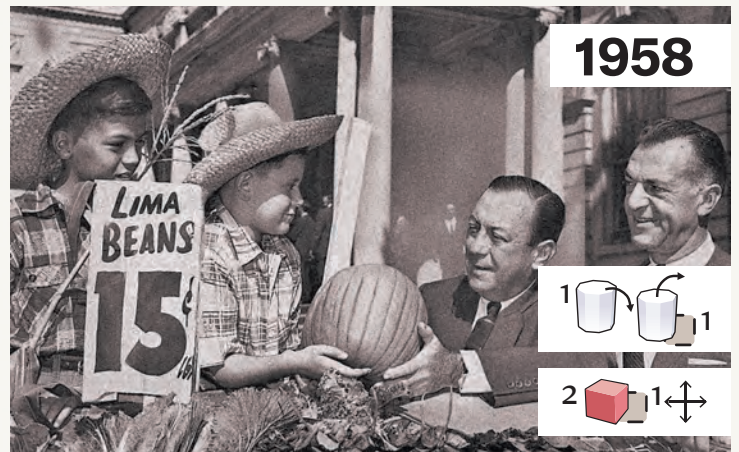
1957

1  1 

2  1 

**LIKE FATHER LIKE SON:
WAGNER FIGHTS FOR WORKING CLASS NEW YORKERS**

As Wagner Jr. split from his Tammany roots, being able to rally the labor vote was essential. As such, he passed Executive Order #49, which gave city workers the right to form unions, making them the exclusive arbiters for any bargaining, centralizing and facilitating a political means of negotiating with all city workers. This was seen as an extension of the National Labor Relations Act his father had helped pass in 1935 as part of the New Deal.



1958

1  1 



2  1 


AS THE CITY GROWS, SOME NEW YORKERS LEAVE

The demographic turnover of the area continued in earnest throughout the 1950s. A high influx of Puerto Ricans and African Americans from the south was in part due to the relatively low cost of rent in pre-war buildings that were not being well maintained, let alone updated to modern standards. These declining conditions made suburban opportunities attractive for those who could afford to leave.



1959

4  3 

1 

\$2

1960

Total Population of New York

7,781,984

Total Population of the Bronx

1,424,815

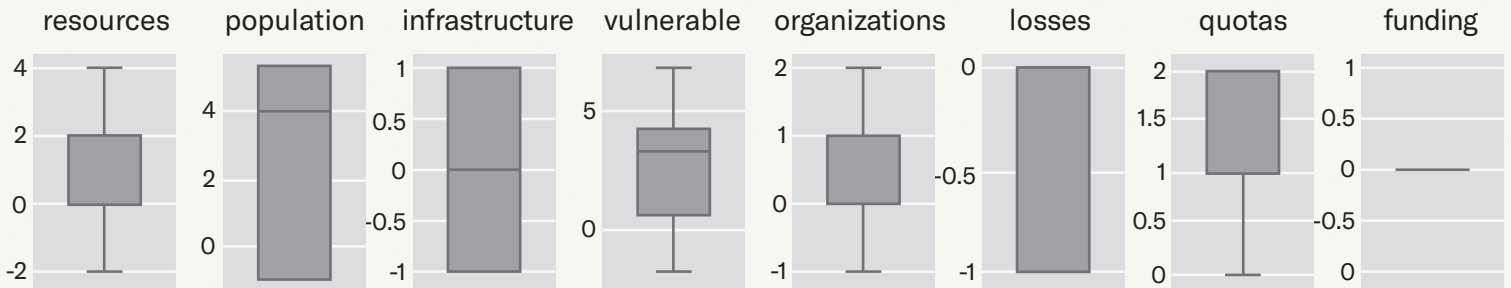
Estimated Population of Districts 1-6 & 9

900,483

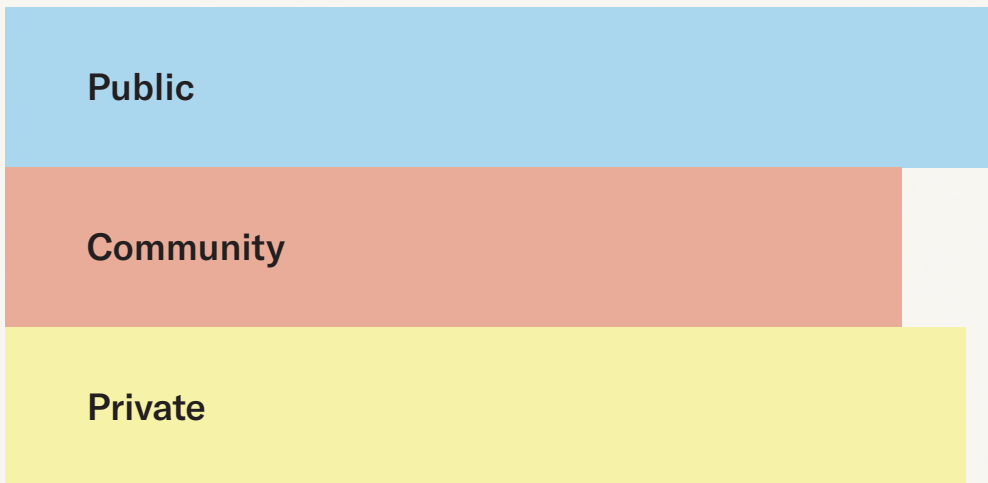
Demographics of the Bronx

White	1,256,284
Black	163,896
Hispanic	-
Indigenous	380
Asian	3,584
Other	711

Range of Change from Events



Proportion of First Position in Initiative Order



1960 Setup

Public Resources: 3 (1 Loan in Faction area)

Community Resources: 2

Private Resources: 2

Losses: 0 / Tax Rate: 1/2

Corrections: 9 Vulnerabilities

District #1

- Private Infrastructure (5 Population, 1 Vulnerability, Public Organization, Private Organization, Economic Coalition)
- Public Infrastructure (2 Population, 1 Vulnerability)
- 1 unhoused Vulnerability

District #2

- Public Infrastructure (3 Population, 1 Vulnerability, Public Organization, Private Organization, Economic Coalition)
- 1 unhoused Vulnerability

District #3

- Community Infrastructure (5 Population, 1 Vulnerability, Public Organization, Private Organization, Economic Coalition)
- Public Infrastructure (2 Population, 1 Vulnerability, Public Organization, Community Organization, Social Coalition)
- 1 unhoused Vulnerability

District #4

- Community Infrastructure (5 Population, 1 Vulnerability, Public Organization, Private Organization, Economic Coalition)
- Public Infrastructure (3 Population, 1 Vulnerability, Community Organization)
- 1 unhoused Vulnerability

District #5

- Private Infrastructure (5 Population, 1 Vulnerability, Public Organization, Community Organization, Social Coalition)
- Community Infrastructure (3 Population, 1 Vulnerability)
- 1 unhoused Vulnerability

District #6

- Community Infrastructure (4 Population, 1 Vulnerability, Public Organization, Community Organization, Social Coalition)
- 1 unhoused Vulnerability

District #9

- Private Infrastructure (5 Population, 1 Vulnerability, Private Organization)
- Public Infrastructure (3 Population, 1 Vulnerability)



“To secure equal rights to our citizens and effective equal protection of our laws in the last third of the twentieth century will require affirmative measures as well as mere avoidance of violations of civil rights by private or governmental agencies. It is in this spirit that we have concluded that the need for equal opportunity to obtain property insurance without regard to hazards created by the location of the property is a civil rights problem with which this Committee must be concerned.”

**Association of the Bar of the City of New York,
Committee on Civil Rights (1968)**

“From a cottonfield in the South, big cities look like the only chance left to the rural poor, but city slums become prisons for the disinherited when they arrive. Our big cities are hard up, costs of local government are skyrocketing, and representation for the poor in slums is almost nonexistent.”

Building American Cities (1968)

“By any housing standard these buildings should be razed and their inhabitants, which number approximately 2,500, relocated to public housing units as they become available. Such demolition would make available fairly substantial parcels of property which should then be re-zoned for industrial use.”

**Institute for Urban Studies,
Fordham University (1967)**

“While public officials may examine the needs of an area, I believe the people who live and work in the neighborhood are the true experts on what improvements and additions are needed to make a wholesome community. That is why I come to the community to ask what is needed.”

Herman Badillo, Bronx Borough President (1969)

“South Bronx Action Group is a grass-root organization that has been in existence since 1966. It was organized by Neighborhood Service Center #1 located at 349 East 138th Street. Originally, it consisted of welfare recipients who were interested in learning their rights under the Welfare Laws. Later we became involved and concerned with issues such as Medicaid, obtaining better services from other agencies and others.”

**Carmen Arroyo, Chairman,
South Bronx Action Group (1968)**

“We, the playstreet workers of Weiher Court, did not get permission to play on Weiher Court until rather late this summer, because there is a factory on that street and we could not use our horses to block the street. That did not stop us. Between dodging cars and dodging balls, we made out alright.”

**Florence Jones, 163rd Street
Improvement Council Inc (1968)**

1960s Events



KENNEDY RALLIES FOR SUPPORT IN THE BRONX

Three days before the 1960 election, John F. Kennedy tells a crowd gathered on Fordham Road and Grand Concourse, he has “come to the Bronx as an old Bronx boy.” He calls back to Franklin Roosevelt as a time for moral leadership, “in providing opportunity for all men and women of talent to build their freedom.” He is able to convey a common man’s perspective despite coming from great means. Bronx boy was technically true, but his time in the borough was limited to when his family lived in Riverdale.



THE MILLION DOLLAR MILE OPENS

The Cross Bronx Expressway, when proposed before World War II, was to move traffic west to east from the Hudson River crossing (that would become the George Washington Bridge), all the way to the river crossings in the east Bronx. Its construction would mark the first major roadway developed through an urban environment. While the majority of the expressway would open to traffic by the early sixties, the project was not fully completed until 1972, giving residents 25 years of living under its construction.



FEELING THE EFFECTS OF THE FLASH CRASH

The crash of 1929 reshaped how the markets operate, leading to more volatility that for decades trended towards an expanding economy. By 1961 this trend had pushed well beyond expectations, leaving the market in need of a reset. Investors, in efforts to pre-empt the backlash, precipitated it. When prices were low enough, and after President Kennedy announced new tax cuts, the larger financial institutions went bullish, rallying the market to get things back in order.

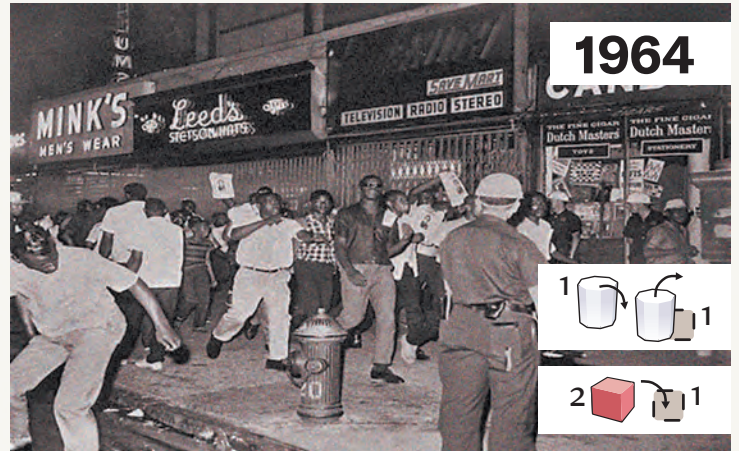
HE IS FRESH AND EVERYONE ELSE IS TIRED

John Lindsay represented a challenge to the Republican Party from the moment he stepped into office as the Congressman for Manhattan's 17th District. He needed to appeal to an urban demographic and wished that his party would do so as well. While he won the Republican nomination for Mayor of New York, he only won the general election with the endorsement of the Liberal Party. Once in office his liberal politics took precedent to the point where his former party would challenge him in his second term.



COP SHOTS BRONX TEEN SPARKING RIOTS

Bronx teen James Powell was attending summer school at the Robert F. Wagner Sr. Junior High School in Manhattan's Upper East Side the morning he was killed by Lieutenant Thomas Gilligan. The incident began with a disgruntled superintendent spraying youth with a hose to disperse their loitering, ended with gunshots after Powell confronted him. The aftermath would spark protests against police violence that became riots in Harlem and Bedford-Stuyvesant, Brooklyn. The police would insist this was a crime issue not a social one, painting a picture of Powell as an armed criminal who attacked a police officer.



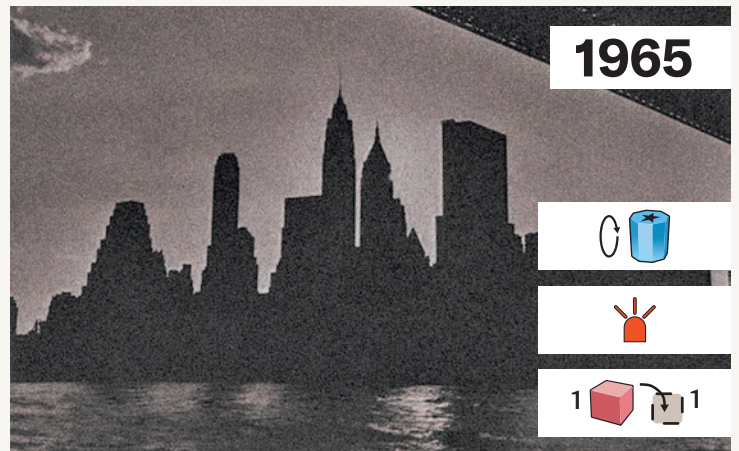
THE WAR IN VIETNAM

The Vietnam war would have a profound effect on the next decade as the full cycle of draft to touring to veteran began and ended for many in impoverished areas like the South Bronx. Indirectly influencing life in the Bronx, was how the war was being quantified. Research institutes were capturing and processing data to solve war like a math problem. Those same researchers would come to New York with their equations to solve its financial crisis. The results of these equations saw the reduction of many public services including hospitals, police and fire stations.



THE CITY THAT NEVER SLEEPS GOES DARK

The city was not prepared for a blackout. It shut down the subway system stranding over 800,000 New Yorkers. Tensions were already high across the city raising fears that things might spark into greater unrest. While there were isolated events, for the most part the city came together to help one another through the twelve hours of darkness.

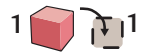


1965



LADY LIBERTY NOW OPEN FOR ALL

Overturing a law that only provided naturalized citizenship to whites, the Hart-Cellar Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965 paved the way for a broader mix into New York's melting pot. Immigrants from the Caribbean and Latin America landed in the Bronx, continuing to reshape the demographics in the area.



1965



BADILLO WINS BIG FOR THE BRONX

Herman Badillo became a primary figure of Puerto Rican political power in New York. From the Caribe Democratic Club to the election campaign's of President John F. Kennedy and Mayor Robert Wagner, Jr., Badillo networked his way into elected office and political appointments, including as commissioner of the Department of Housing and Relocation under Wagner. He would go up against the Democratic machine to become the Borough President of the Bronx, the first Puerto Rican to hold that role in any borough.



1967



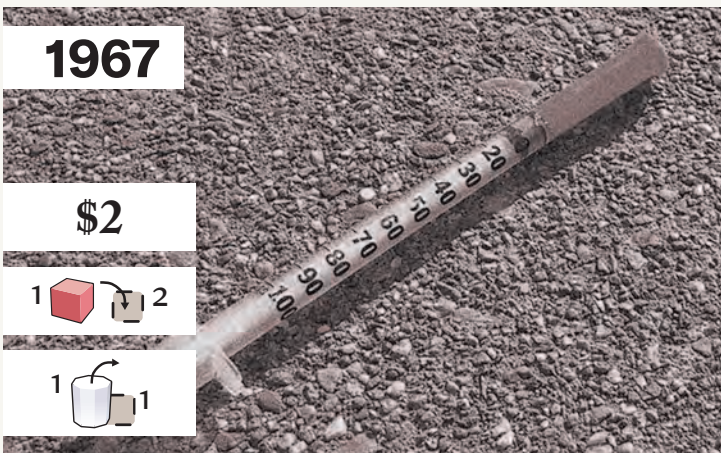
HUNTS POINT TERMINAL MARKET OPENS

With the new traffic patterns created by the Major Deegan and Cross Bronx Expressways, the Bronx Terminal Market was identified as the perfect location for a central hub to route produce throughout the city. The goods that would pass through made it the largest fresh fruit and vegetable wholesale distribution center in the country. Close to 60% of the daily stock for produce for the city travels through Hunts Point.

\$2



1967



HEROIN TAKES ITS TOLL ON THE CITY

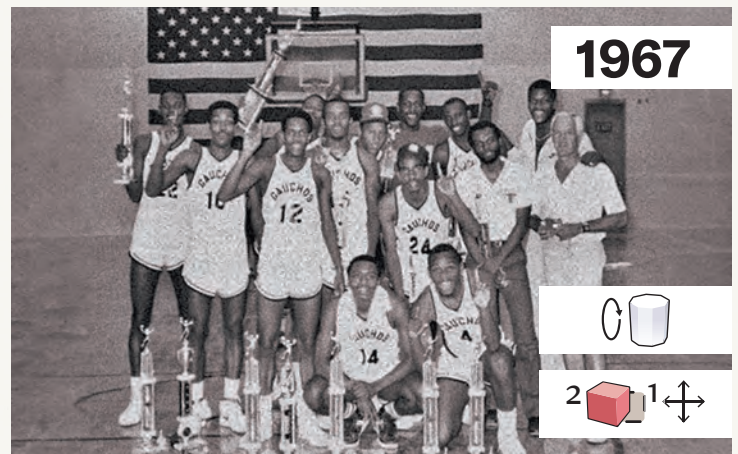
Heroin found its way to American culture after World War II. As recreation turned to addiction, however, the impact it had on communities grew more devastating, particularly in impoverished areas like the Bronx. By the late sixties, when soldiers serving tours in Vietnam were coming home, the streets were littered with needles. A seedy drug culture emerged that affected the lives of everyone around it.

\$2



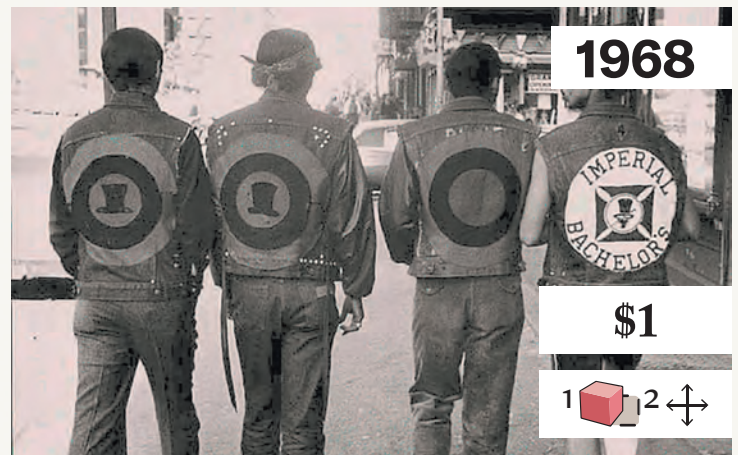
BRONX GYM OPENS TO FULFILL HOOP DREAMS

Talent in the Bronx could be found everywhere, but the opportunities to nurture it were few. The Gauchos opened as an opportunity for the area's young basketball players to nurture the skills that could lead to college recruitment and for some eventually the pros. The gym provided a safe place where players not only gained hoop skills, but educational and social services as well. Players from Kareem Abdul Jabaar to Jamal Mashburn came out of the program.



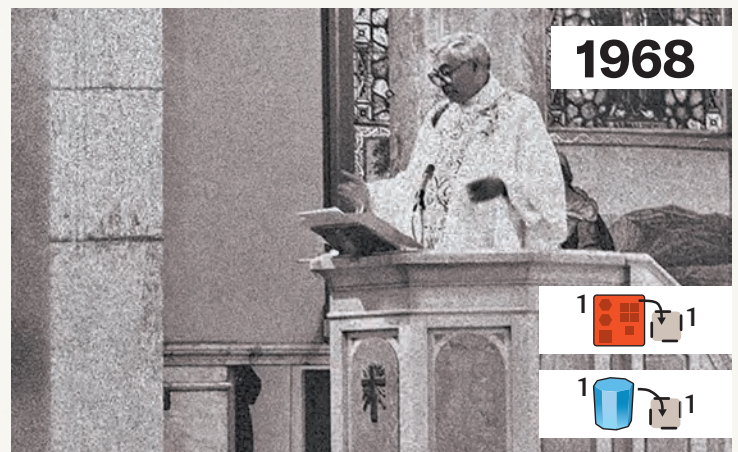
GANGS BECOME TERRITORIAL

As middle-class residents leave the area, banks stop investing and city funding outside of the roadway projects decreases, conditions begin to decline, leaving Bronx youth to fend for themselves. Gang structures are defined around survival and protection. Vietnam veterans return to take places in new gang hierarchies, where territorial lines shape urban battlefields, until violence becomes a means to make ends meet.



CATHOLIC PRIEST STARTS HOUSING INITIATIVE IN THE BRONX

Louis Gigante took a different path from his two brothers who would run the Genovese crime family in New York. Louis was ordained as a Catholic priest in 1959, taking up residence at St. Athanasius Church in the South Bronx. There his outreach with the community turned Father Gigante into an advocate for tenant rights. He would found the South East Bronx Community Organization which led an effort that used federal funds to create and rehabilitate housing in the area.



OLD BRONX BOROUGH HALL DEMOLISHED

The Old Bronx Borough Hall had fallen out of use by the 1960s, but some fought for it to be declared a historic landmark. Residents felt that the building should be demolished to restore some of the open space that had been lost during the construction of the Cross Bronx Expressway. In 1965 there was a 90-day review period for its landmark status, when Herman Badillo became Borough President. The Board of Estimate deferred to Badillo who supported the community and overturned the designation. A major fire struck the building two years later and the following year it was demolished.



1970

Total Population of New York

7,894,862

Total Population of the Bronx

1,471,701

Estimated Population of Districts 1-6 & 9

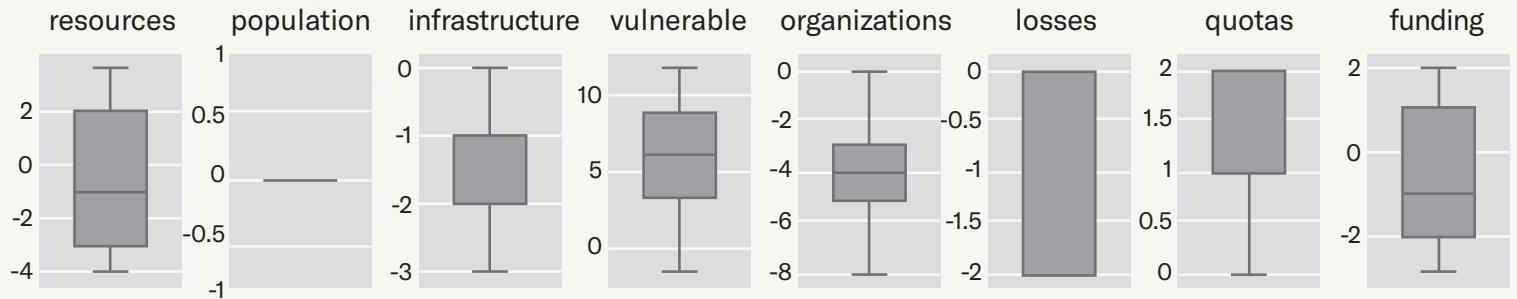
935,279

Demographics of the Bronx

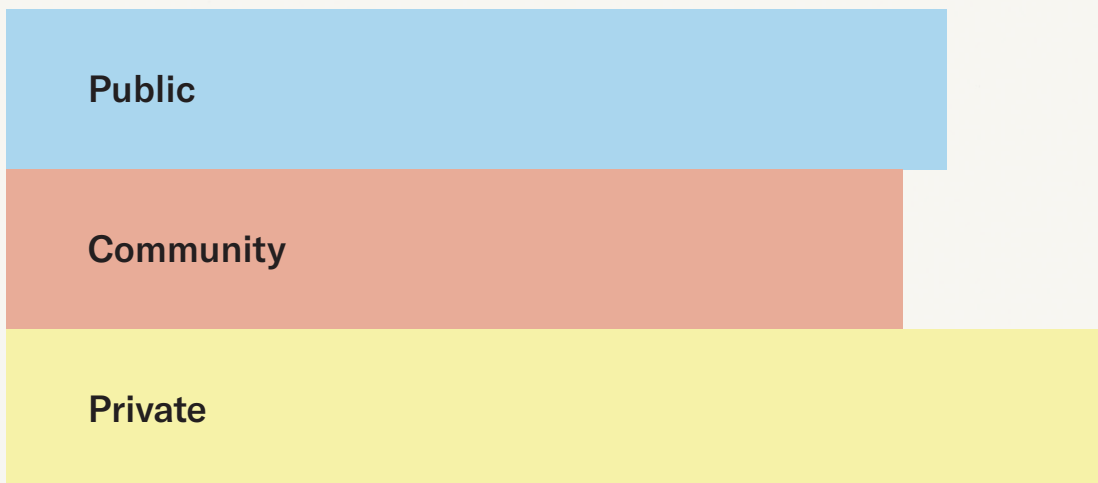
White	1,080,859
Black	357,681
Hispanic	407,322*
Indigenous	1,759
Asian	7,792
Other	23,610

**From a separate 15% sampling*

Range of Change from Events



Proportion of First Position in Initiative Order



1970 Setup

Public Resources: 2

Community Resources: 1

Private Resources: 4

Losses: 0 / Tax Rate: 1/2

Corrections: 10 Vulnerabilities

District #1

- **Public Infrastructure** (5 Population, 1 Vulnerability, Public Organization, Private Organization, Economic Coalition)
- **Private Infrastructure** (2 Population, 1 Vulnerability)

District #2

- **Public Infrastructure** (5 Population, 1 Vulnerability, Public Organization, Private Organization, Economic Coalition)
- 1 unhoused Vulnerability

District #3

- **Public Infrastructure** (5 Population, 1 Vulnerability, Public Organization, Private Organization, Economic Coalition)
- **Community Infrastructure** (3 Population, 1 Vulnerability, Public Organization, Community Organization, Social Coalition)
- 1 unhoused Vulnerability

District #4

- **Community Infrastructure** (5 Population, 1 Vulnerability, Public Organization, Private Organization, Economic Coalition)
- **Public Infrastructure** (2 Population, 1 Vulnerability)
- 1 unhoused Vulnerability

District #5

- **Private Infrastructure** (5 Population, 1 Vulnerability, Public Organization, Private Organization, Economic Coalition)
- **Community Infrastructure** (1 Population, 1 Vulnerability)
- 1 unhoused Vulnerability

District #6

- **Community Infrastructure** (5 Population, 1 Vulnerability, Public Organization, Community Organization, Social Coalition)
- 1 unhoused Vulnerability

District #9

- **Private Infrastructure** (5 Population, 1 Vulnerability, Public Organization, Private Organization, Economic Coalition)
- **Public Infrastructure** (4 Population, 1 Vulnerability)



“Please God, that the house building project and other necessary projects may soon become a beautiful reality, so that each person, each family may find suitable housing in which to live in peace.”

Pope John Paul II in the South Bronx (1979)

“You get a mother in an apartment in the South Bronx who is on A.F.D.C. and has a lot of children, and those children are likely to be out of control. These tenants probably have a mental capacity that is low, either for genetic reasons or because they have no occasion to exercise. There is no way housing can last in the South Bronx. We will just have to wait until they burn themselves out, before anything can be done to the area.”

Roger Starr, former head of the city’s Housing and Development Administration (1977)

“The South Bronx is certain to be one of the areas hit hardest by the President’s (Richard Nixon’s) decision to impose austerity on domestic programs, presumably to pay the brutal costs of a senseless war.”

John Lindsay, Mayor of New York City (1973)

“There is a feeling that if we voted against it, this would give Washington an excuse to say the city doesn’t care about the South Bronx.”

**Robert Wagner Jr., Chairman,
City Planning Commission (1978)**

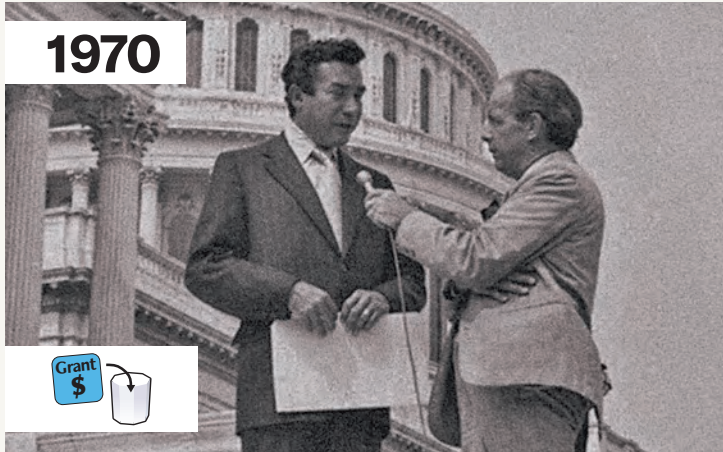
“Some say the problems are insoluble, even if the government had the resources. They say the South Bronx should be leveled and its residents relocated and that never again should a city allow such concentration of poverty and need.”

Martin Tolchin, reporter (1973)

“We don’t need a ‘new town.’ We have the schools, the parks, the sewers - what we want is to replace the housing and the commercial facilities that are gone.”

Herman Badillo (1978)

1970s Events



MR. BADILLO HEADS TO WASHINGTON

After serving his tenure as Borough President of the Bronx, Herman Badillo heads to congress after winning the election with democratic and liberal support. The first Puerto Rican to serve, Badillo fights for the rights of urban minorities at the national level. He would serve on multiple congressional committees with an eye towards building economic support systems for his constituents.



MILITANTS OCCUPY HOSPITAL BUILDING DEMANDING PATIENT RIGHTS

At the turn of the decade, Lincoln Hospital in the South Bronx was being called a “butcher shop”. Funding for public services were on the decline and areas like the South Bronx were feeling the pinch. The Young Lords garnered national attention after the 1968 Democratic Convention in its hometown of Chicago. One of their first actions of the New York chapter was the occupation of Lincoln Hospital in the Bronx, where the group presented demands including one of the first Patient’s Bill of Rights. After the occupation, the hospital and the organization came to terms, which allowed the Young Lords to run community programs out of the hospital.

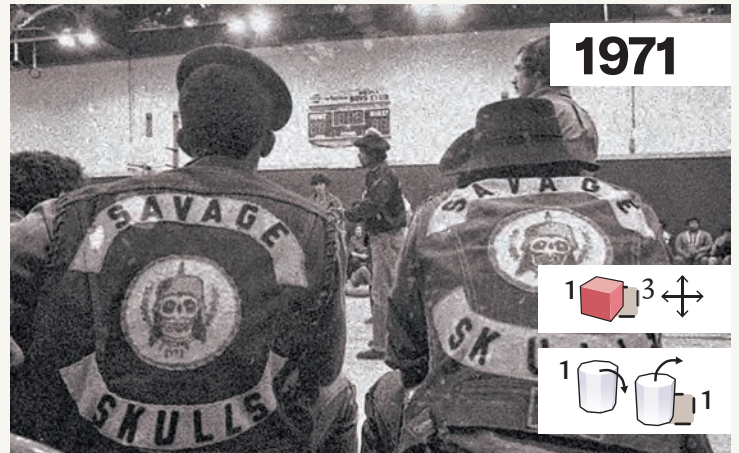


DIRTY COPS EXPOSED

After years of complaints about abuse of power in the police department, Mayor John Lindsay orders the investigation that would be named the Knapp Commission after its chairman, judge Whitman Knapp. It painted a grim picture of a police department entrenched in corruption. The most famous testimony came from Frank Serpico whose story would be featured in the Hollywood movie named for him. While there were changes that came out of the commission, it is debatable how effective they were at routing out the corruption.

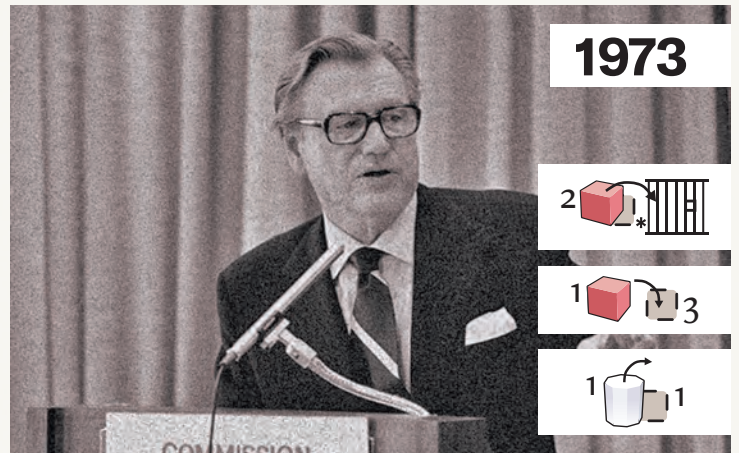
BRONX GANGS MEET TO MAKE PEACE

After losing one of their founding members, the Ghetto Brothers organize a meeting to discuss a peace treaty with the major Bronx gangs. After heated discussion where members aired their grievances, an agreement was reached which changed the landscape of gang culture significantly. Critically they loosened territorial restraints which previously would trigger violence just by stepping into another gang's territory. This freedom of movement enabled the next wave of culture to emerge from the area, hip-hop. The meeting itself would inspire the opening scene of the Hollywood cult classic *The Warriors*.



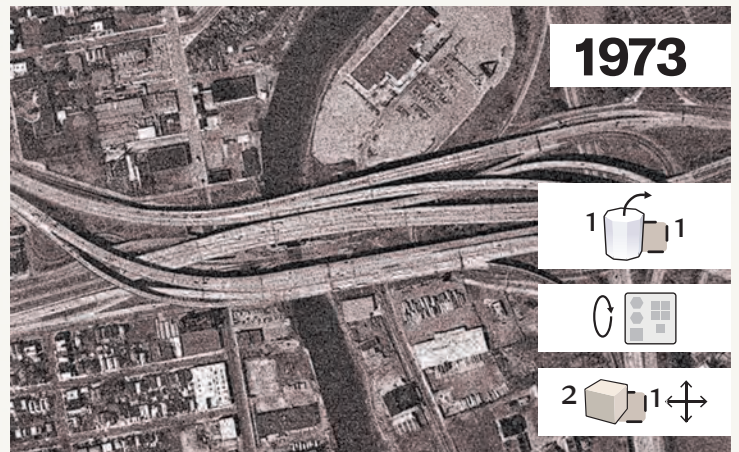
ROCKEFELLER GETS TOUGH ON DRUGS

Drugs and crime were a hot topic nationwide with New York City exemplifying epidemics that had spun out of control. While some saw drugs as a social issue that needed to be addressed with social solutions, others put criminality at the center of it all. Nelson Rockefeller, the Republican Governor of New York State, had previously held the social view. When doubts were raised about how tough he was on crime in the eyes of those that might nominate him for President, he reversed his position and signed the most severe punishment for drug convictions in the nation, criminalizing users and sellers alike.



EXPRESSWAY NAMED FOR EX-BOROUGH PRESIDENT

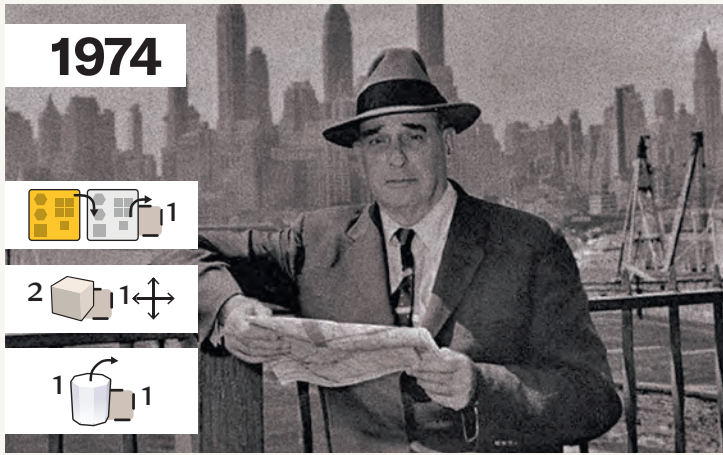
Named after former Congressman and Bronx Borough President Henry Bruckner, the Bruckner Expressway was one of the last of the roadway projects completed. The Bruckner Interchange in the southeast connects the Cross Bronx Expressway and the Hutchinson River Parkway. The Bruckner is also connected to the Major Deegan Expressway and the Bronx River Parkway, making all routes through the Bronx accessible via these series of roadways.



BEAME PUTS A WIN IN THE BOOKS

Abraham Beame was a product of New York City's political machine and a glimpse into its reach. Before holding elected office he was the director of the city's budget, as a member of the Brooklyn based Madison Democratic Club with the likes of Fred Trump. Beame served as city Comptroller under Robert F. Wagner, Jr. and John Lindsay, the Republican turned Liberal to whom he lost his first mayoral race. Slow and steady with the party line would eventually land Beame the Mayor's office, just as it approached bankruptcy.





1974



MOSES MAKES MORE MOVES ON HOUSING

Robert Moses kept out of the limelight after clashing and losing in court to Jane Jacobs. But while Moses' plans for the Lower Manhattan Expressway had been killed, his other projects, including those in the Bronx, continued. Hugh Carey appointed Moses the Special Advisor to the Governor of the State of New York on Housing, the same year that Robert Caro's seminal work *The Power Broker* was released. Moses would only hold the appointment long enough for Caro to win a Pulitzer.



1975



PRESIDENT WON'T BAIL OUT THE CITY

Coming off the economic impacts of the OPEC crisis earlier in the decade, a crashing market drove investors to sell off municipal bonds, depleting value until they were worthless. The city's debt had come to a head and they could not pay. So it was that Mayor Abraham Beame was tasked with requesting a federal bailout from President Harold Ford. The President declined.

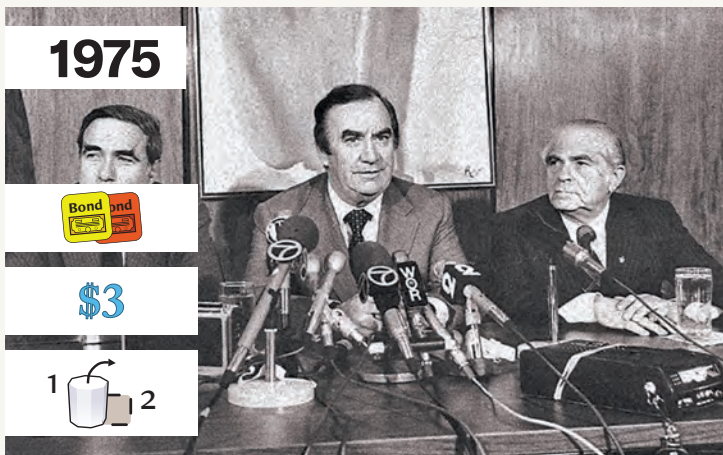


1975



RIKERS RIOT EXPOSES STRESSES ON THE SYSTEM

Rikers Island had a history of overcrowding before the Tombs closed and increased the population by 50%. The majority of its inmates existed at the bottleneck of the penal system, awaiting trial. As the population approached twice its capacity in 1975, tensions erupted with inmates seizing two cell blocks and taking hostages to protest the inhumane conditions and demand their rights be upheld. The same month corrections officers would protest budget cuts that laid off over 500 of the city's corrections workers.



1975



BIG MAC IS READY TO SERVE NEW YORK

When Abraham Beame came to Governor Hugh Carey about the financial crisis a plan was created. Carey tapped investment banker Felix Rohatyn to lead a committee to find a long-term solution to the city's financial problems. This led to the creation of the Municipal Assistance Corporation that was given the authority to manage the city's bonds. Converting the city debt into MAC bonds, Rohatyn gave the larger financial community the confidence needed to reinvest in the city.

LOOTERS TAKE TO THE DARK STREETS

In the middle of the city’s biggest financial crisis, during a summer heatwave, the power goes off and the city gets mad. People take to the street, with looting and vandalism being reported in all boroughs. The police respond in force, arresting in mass. Fires raged across the city, in the buildings and in the people.



CARTER WITNESSES URBAN DECAY FIRST HAND

While in New York at the United Nations, President Jimmy Carter makes an impromptu visit to the South Bronx to see the urban reality first hand. While he found a truly devastated area that he credited to Nixon’s urban renewal cuts, he also saw hope in the community efforts being done to rebuild. He would acknowledge that what the area needed was federal support, but he was unable to make any commitments.



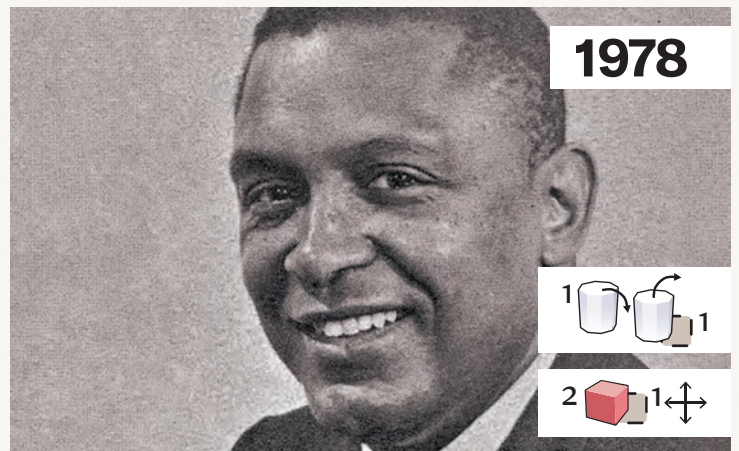
SECOND TIME’S A CHARM FOR KOCH

In contrast to Abraham Beame, Edward Koch was rather bombastic. He took his congressional district from the Republican incumbent with his eyes set on the Mayor’s office. His first attempt in 1973 ended before the votes were cast that eventually put Abraham Beame into office. He returned to congress for Beame’s first term before challenging him again. This time he also faced Mario Cuomo. Playing the democratic centrist on a platform of “Law and Order” Koch finally got the votes needed to become Mayor.



FOSTER TO REPRESENT BRONX ON CITY COUNCIL

Reverend Wendell Foster came from Alabama to New York as a child on his own, where he would grow up to become an ordained minister. He moved to the Bronx in the 1970s building community at the Christ Church where he served as pastor. Realizing there were no politicians representing the black population in the area, Foster took it upon himself to be that change. He would run three times before successfully winning his seat as the first African American to sit on the New York City Council.



1980

Total Population of New York

7,071,639

Total Population of the Bronx

1,170,349

Estimated Population of Districts 1-6 & 9

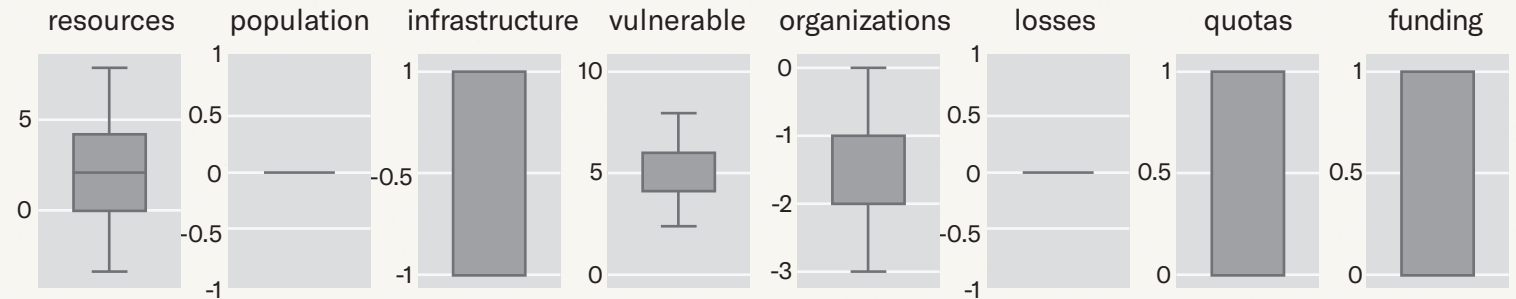
621,425

Demographics of the Bronx

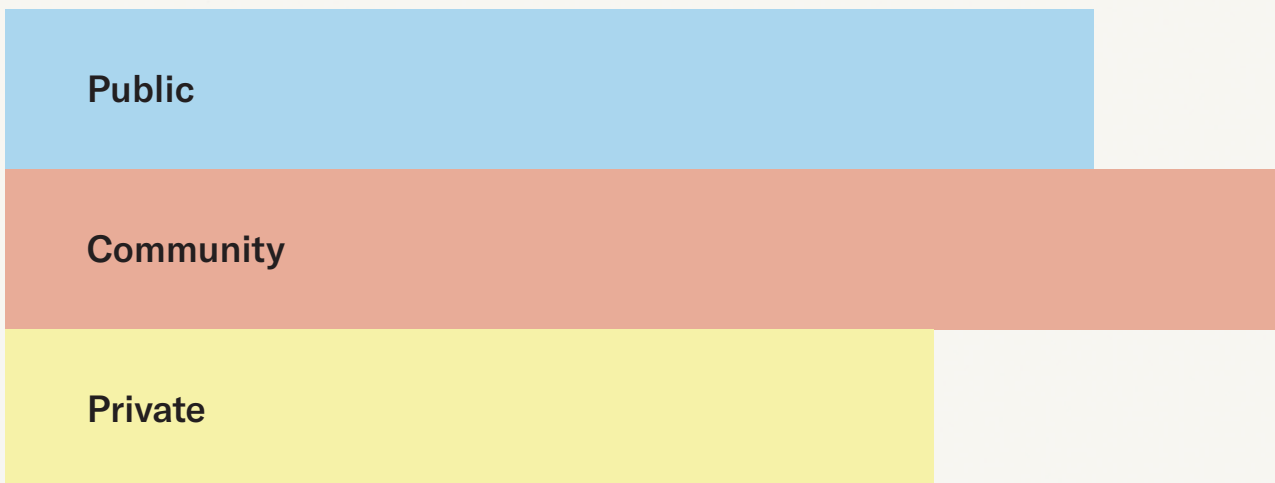
White	554,046
Black	371,926
Hispanic	396,353*
Indigenous	2,409
Asian	15,163
Other	225,428

**From a separate 15% sampling*

Range of Change from Events



Proportion of First Position in Initiative Order



1980 Setup

Public Resources: 4 (1 Loan in Faction area)
 Community Resources: 1
 Private Resources: 3
 Losses: 0 / Tax Rate: 1/2
 Corrections: 10 Vulnerabilities

District #1

- Public Infrastructure (4 Population, 1 Vulnerability, Private Organization)

District #2

- Public Infrastructure (2 Population, 1 Vulnerability, Public Organization, Community Organization, Social Coalition)
- 1 unhoused Vulnerability

District #3

- Public Infrastructure (3 Population, 1 Vulnerability, Public Organization)
- 1 unhoused Vulnerability

District #4

- Community Infrastructure (4 Population, 1 Vulnerability, Public Organization, Private Organization, Economic Coalition)

- Public Infrastructure (1 Population, 1 Vulnerability, Community Organization)
- 1 unhoused Vulnerability

District #5

- Community Infrastructure (5 Population, 1 Vulnerability, Community Organization)
- Public Infrastructure (1 Population, 1 Vulnerability)
- 1 unhoused Vulnerability

District #6

- Community Infrastructure (3 Population, 1 Vulnerability, Public Organization, Community Organization, Social Coalition)
- 1 unhoused Vulnerability

District #9

- Private Infrastructure (5 Population, 1 Vulnerability, Public Organization, Private Organization, Economic Coalition)
- Public Infrastructure (3 Population, 1 Vulnerability)



“We resent being told that we don’t have the right to reside in a place that the City could make more liveable. We are not Squatters! We are tenants who did for ourselves while the city turned its back on us as City Tenants.”

Union of City Tenants (1980)

“There is no heat and hot water and a recent inspection revealed cracks in the exterior walls and leaks throughout the public hallways. Clearly, conditions had deteriorated to such an extent by the time the vacate order was placed so as to preclude any further investment of funds in the building. Since then conditions have only deteriorated further. Given the scarcity of funds available for rehabilitation, it has been determined that it would be far too costly to restore this building, especially since all the major systems require replacement or major upgrading.”

Bureau of Emergency Housing Services (1983)

“For all of the years that I have been a city councilman, I have asked that these buildings be rehabilitated. It is an insult and an embarrassment to me as a city councilman that I have not been able to get these buildings rehabbed that are in front of my house.”

Wendell Foster, City Councilman (1987)

“Bronx Health Planning District A is a designated poverty area with high rates of overcrowding and substandard housing, a deteriorating housing stock (which correlates with declining population), high Public Assistance rates, high unemployment -- factors that present health and environmental hazards and identify a high-risk area. Low economic status is a major barrier to adequate health care and, to a large degree, parallels health status.”

Bronx Health Planning Report (1981)

“I estimate that 30 to 40 percent of our board’s population has left the area because of the combination of arson and demolition. This is low cost urban renewal, because you don’t have to pay the people to relocate. They’re tearing the community down around us.”

**Dana Driskell, District Manager
for Community Board 3 (1980)**

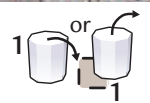
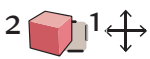
“The formula: in order to restore the community, private and public resources must work together to stimulate the economic development, which would create the jobs, which would increase private income, which would recreate a middle class, which would transform the neighborhoods, which would restore the South Bronx to its historic position of co-prosperity with the rest of Metropolitan New York and the tri-state region.”

**J. Bruce Llewellyn, Chairman of the Board of Directors,
South Bronx Overall Economic Development Corporation (1984)**

1980s Events



1980

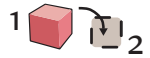


REAGAN FOLLOWS CARTER'S FOOTSTEPS IN THE BRONX

On the campaign trail against the incumbent Jimmy Carter, Ronald Reagan takes a tour of the South Bronx. Residents, having seen presidents walk their streets before, wanted to know what Reagan would do to help them. He claimed if elected he would give incentives for private companies to move into the area and provide jobs. The residents did not hold their breath. Soon after being elected Reagan began cuts to the federal housing programs across the country.



1980

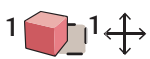


LAW AND ORDER COMES TO CITY

Having put himself forward as the sane liberal, much of Ed Koch's early commitments were to uphold his promises. Fiscal responsibilities meant there continued to be a need to cut social services, increasing the need for police to have the authority to maintain the order. Being tough on crime had been institutionalized in New York policy going back to the habitual felon statute that set precedence for mandatory sentences for repeat offenders. All of the mechanisms were in place, and Koch was willing to implement them.



1981



BRONX RESIDENTS PROTEST HOLLYWOOD

When Paul Newman and the crew for the movie *Fort Apache* came to do location shoots in the South Bronx, they were met with protest. Activists in the area had acquired a copy of the script before shooting started. Feeling the portrayal of Black and Latinx characters in the movie were not representative of the community it was meant to depict, they demanded changes for better representation. Despite this, filming continued on schedule and the movie was eventually released without the community's input.

MAYOR SILENT AS HEALTH CRISIS STRIKES THE GAY COMMUNITY

Before it had a proper diagnosis, AIDS was having a damaging effect on New York life. While much was not known, who was affected was clear. Referred to as the “gay cancer”, homosexual men across the city were contracting the disease, many fatally. It was a health crisis, and yet the city, specifically Mayor Ed Koch, chose not to speak on it. Sexual orientation was still a taboo subject for some in politics, even if silence put the lives of others at risk.



UNITED BRONX PARENTS CONTINUE LOCAL CLEAN UP EFFORTS

The United Bronx Parents was founded by Evelina Lopez Antonetty as an organizing body to advocate for their own and their children’s rights. They fought to desegregate the school system, provide free lunch programs and introduce bilingual programming. They ran education programs in the community for children and their parents. Like so many organizations at the time they were the unsung heroes that brought the care to maintain the communities.



RAP GROUP PAINTS A PICTURE OF BRONX LIFE ON THE EDGE

Rap music’s popularity was on the rise in the early eighties. It was generally considered party music, until the release of “The Message” by Grandmaster Flash and the Furious Five. On the song the lead rapper Grandmaster Melle Mel paints a vivid picture of life in the Bronx that can be heard on airwaves around the globe. The song itself plays like a therapy session on the mental state of the youth in the Bronx.



IS GRAFFITI VANDALISM OR ART?

Art programs were victims to budget cuts for the New York Public School System. Yet the creative talent of the youth in the city knew no bounds. Graffiti became a means of expression for many, starting from simple tags to see your name, to end with burners that reflected the realities around them. A language was born from spray cans, whose artistic expressions were carried across the city as statements of being.





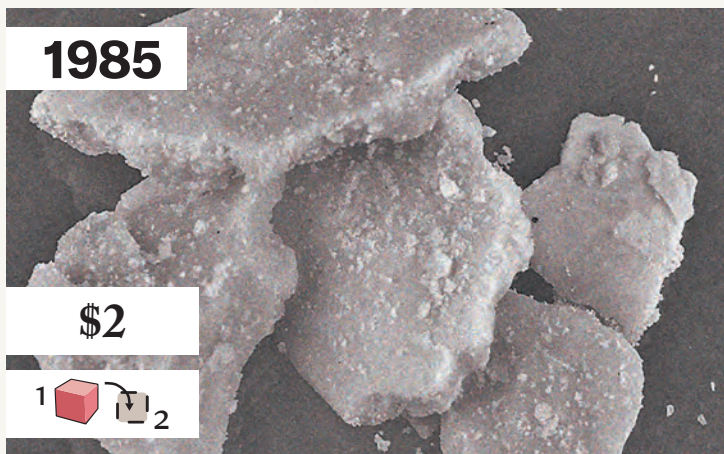
PRISONS ARE BECOMING BIG BUSINESS

The Corrections Corporation of America, having won its first contract with the United States Department of Justice, opens the first private prison in an old motel birthing a new industry. The CCA would go on to purchase, build and administer corrections facilities all across the country. As a corporation where inmates were the product, these facilities alleviated some of the responsibilities from federal, state and city organizations.



COPS SHOOT WOMAN IN THE BRONX

Days before the incident would occur a city psychiatrist had determined that Elanor Bumpurs was unable to manage her affairs due to mental health issues. Social Services chose to proceed with an eviction and then hospitalize Bumpurs. When they came to evict her she was in the middle of a psychotic episode, holding a knife. Police officers knocked down the door and rushed in to restrain her. When she resisted Officer Stephen Sullivan fired a 12-gauge shotgun at her twice, killing her.



THE NEW DRUG ON THE STREETS

Cocaine had a long history of use in the United States including as an ingredient in the original Coca-Cola formula. Freebasing cocaine, which used a chemical reaction to produce a smokable purer form of the drug, was a practice that recreational users were doing in the 1970s. When it became industrialized by cocaine dealers however, the potency of the new product became a chief selling point. It soon became a drug of choice in urban streets, including the Bronx.




HOMELESSNESS RUNNING RAMPANT IN THE BRONX

A housing crisis grips the country in the early 1980s after Reagan's cuts to federal housing funds. By mid-decade the tone has changed. Families are finding themselves in the streets from evictions, and on wait lists for public housing in slim supply. The system prioritizes victims of arson which cynically provides an incentive for arson. People that were once hopeful that a job or opportunity would turn their situation around, two years later become helpless. Then heroin met crack for the convergence of junkie and fiend in the streets of the city.

BRONX BIZ AT CENTER OF POLITICAL CORRUPTION

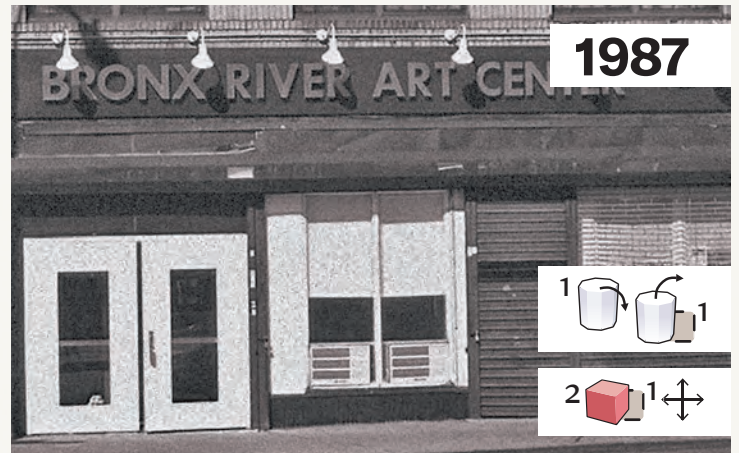
The story of Wedtech would bring down the borough president, members of congress, state senators, national guardsman and more. It went from manufacturing baby carriages to using White House connections to earn defense contracts, and tying up the attorney general in its scandalous activities. All from the Bronx, through programs earmarked for minority businesses when its majority owner, Fred Neuberger, was not a minority.







1 
-\$2

NEW ART CENTER OPENS IN THE BRONX

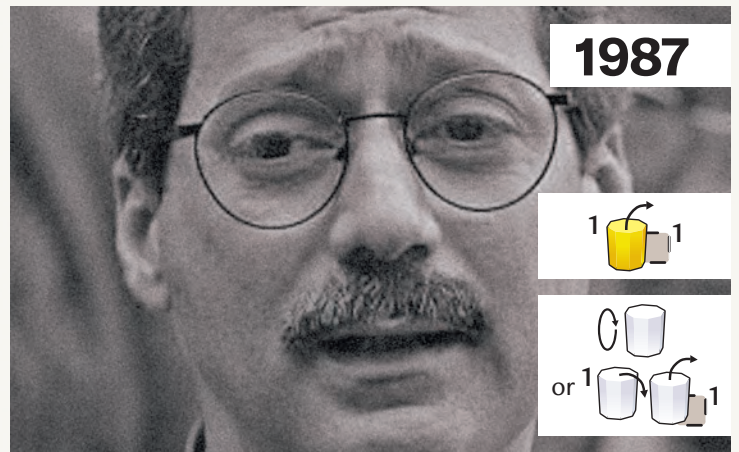
The Bronx River Art Center was founded as a non-profit to build out professional arts programming in the heart of the South Bronx. Since that time it has continued to capture the heart and spirit of the community with studio and exhibition space where artists and admirers can find themselves in the work.






1  1 
2  1 

FERRER RISES AFTER SIMON RESIGNATION

Fernando Ferrer was representing the Bronx on the City Council when Stanley Simon turned in his resignation. Ferrer was appointed Bronx Borough President, inheriting the borough at a low point. While his ambitions to become Mayor of the city never came to fruition, the work he did in the Bronx was critical in reversing the trend that had kept the borough on the decline for decades.




1  1
or 1  1 

AS WALL STREET TUMBLES THE WORLD AWAITS THE AFTERSHOCKS

Another mass sell off, this time on the heels of a failed buyout from United Airlines' parent company, collapsing the junk bond market. A domino effect caused all the markets to see declines, exposing the volatility of the financial institutions as a whole. This crash would trigger a new recession, with uncertainty around the corner for the 1990s.



-\$2
1  1

1990

Total Population of New York

7,322,654

Total Population of the Bronx

1,197,420

Estimated Population of Districts 1-6 & 9

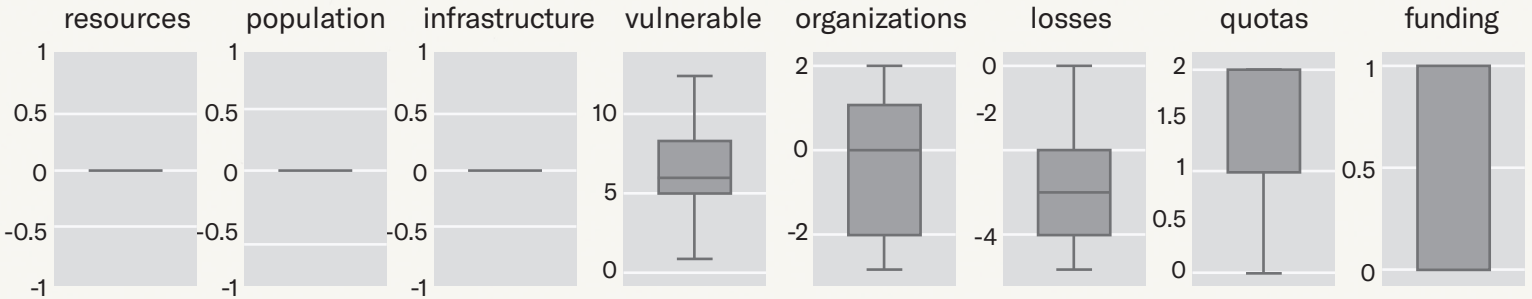
636,247

Demographics of the Bronx

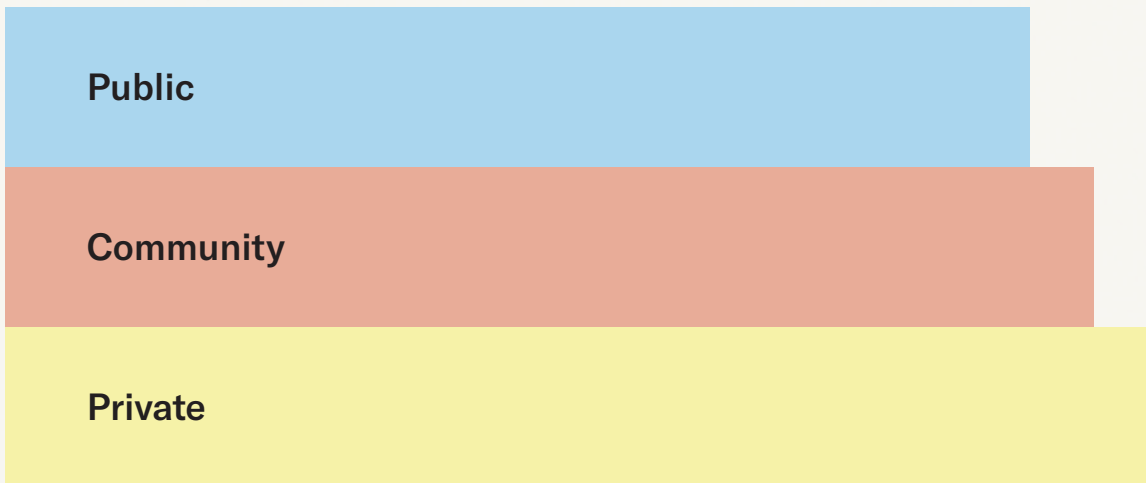
White	430,077
Black	449,399
Hispanic	523,111*
Indigenous	6,069
Asian	35,562
Other	282,682

**From a separate 15% sampling*

Range of Change from Events



Proportion of First Position in Initiative Order



1990 Setup

Public Resources: 7
 Community Resources: 5
 Private Resources: 9
 Losses: 4 / Tax Rate: 1/2
 Corrections: 9 Vulnerabilities

District #1

- Public Infrastructure (2 Population, 1 Vulnerability)

District #2

- Public Infrastructure (3 Population, 1 Vulnerability, Public Organization, Community Organization, Social Coalition)
- 1 unhoused Vulnerability

District #3

- Public Infrastructure (4 Population, 1 Vulnerability, Public Organization, Private Organization, Economic Coalition)
- 1 unhoused Vulnerability

District #4

- Public Infrastructure (5 Population, 1 Vulnerability, Public Organization, Private Organization, Economic Coalition)

- Private Infrastructure (3 Population, 1 Vulnerability, Community Organization)
- 1 unhoused Vulnerability

District #5

- Private Infrastructure (5 Population, 1 Vulnerability, Community Organization, Private Organization, Economic Coalition)
- Public Infrastructure (2 Population, 1 Vulnerability)
- 1 unhoused Vulnerability

District #6

- Community Infrastructure (3 Population, 1 Vulnerability, Public Organization)
- 1 unhoused Vulnerability

District #9

- Private Infrastructure (5 Population, 1 Vulnerability, Public Organization, Community Organization, Social Coalition)
- Public Infrastructure (2 Population, 1 Vulnerability, Private Organization)



“The objective of the program is to make rehabilitated apartments available to low income families and families on public assistance who are currently living in doubled-up and overcrowded conditions. In this way, families in such circumstances will not be required to enter the City’s emergency housing system in order to qualify for permanent housing.”

**William E. Spiller, Deputy Commissioner,
Department of Housing Preservation and Development (1990)**

“In the five years leading up to the battle over rent controls, New York City landlords and developers mounted a quiet concerted effort to build their influence in state government through a large increase in campaign contributions, with one of the stated aims being to do away with the rent laws.”

Richard Perez-Pena (1997)

“Since the inception of Bronx TNT (Tactical Narcotics Team), 226 Search Warrants have been executed by narcotics personnel in Bronx County. The initial information leading to these warrants can, in the overwhelming majority of cases, be traced to information generated by street level arrests.”

John J. Hill, Assistant Chief Commanding Officer, Narcotics Division (1990)

“I also must stress the need for anonymity. I wonder seriously about corruption of police in the 44th. Drugs have been sold for years on these two corners in an open and brazen manner. Police are seen at both locations from time to time talking to people who sell drugs and even entering locations where drugs are being sold, but no arrests are made.”

**Letter to Captain John Reagan,
Commanding Officer Bronx Narcotics (1990)**

“It is strange that what is now my most vivid experience of mob hatred came not in the South but in New York — and was directed against me, not because I was defending the rights of African Americans but of gay and lesbian Americans. Yet, the hostility I saw was not unfamiliar. It was the same anger that led a bus driver to tell me back in 1945, when I was en route to North Carolina in Marine uniform, that there was no place for me: ‘Two more white seats,’ he said. It was the same anger that I am sure Montgomery marchers and Birmingham demonstrators experienced when they fought for racial tolerance. It is the fury of people who want the right to deny another’s identity.”

David Dinkins, Mayor of New York City (1991)

“We have been saying for years that the police department is comprised of racist Long Islanders who come into the city by day and leave at night with their arrogant attitudes and believing they are above the law. Well, finally, the entire city was able to see what we’ve been talking about... A drunk, racist lynch mob storming City Hall and coming in here to get themselves a n-----.”

Eric Adams, Transit Police Officer (1992)

1990s Events



1990

FIRE IN THE BRONX KILLS 87

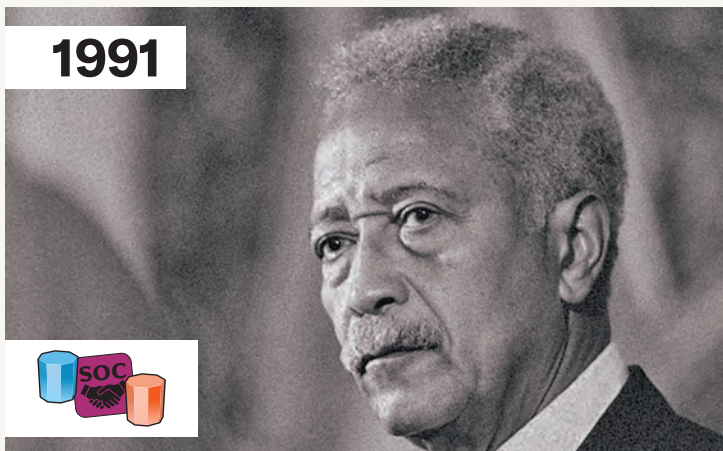
The Happy Land social club was hosting a carnival party for Honduran Garifuna the evening arsonist Julio González trapped 87 people inside. Parties such as these, for occasions like these, in places such as these, while in violation of building codes, were not uncommon. Social clubs were created as spaces for immigrants to be with community. This tragedy, brought on by emotional desperation, destroyed the dreams and lives of those trying to find their home away from home.



1991

THE SHIELD BECOMES A STORM

Bronx-born General Colin Powell served two tours of duty in Vietnam, before moving up in command all the way to the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff under President George H.W. Bush. In this role he would command Operation Desert Storm which successfully reclaimed Kuwait from Iraqi forces. Notably this offensive was the proving ground for the modernization of the military forces, triggering reinvestment in the defense budget around key technologies deployed in this campaign.



1991

DINKINS LAUNCHES SAFE STREETS, SAFE CITY

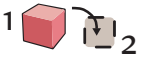
Former Manhattan Borough President David Dinkins defeats Ed Koch to become the first African-American Mayor of New York. Corruption throughout the party tarnished Koch, who had secured his tenure by appealing to the old patronage system. Dinkins brought a reformist approach to a city in economic and social decline. He founded the Economic Development Corporation to help keep big businesses in the city. His “Safe Streets, Safe City” program redefined the role of the police in the city and tied their efforts to social initiatives.

NEW YORK UNEMPLOYMENT RATE HITS 14%

While the recession at the start of the decade was relatively mild, it hit the employment market incredibly hard. In New York where the rate nearly doubled the national average, the recovery proved to be slow, putting greater strain on the social services in the city.



1992

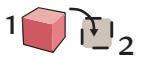


GIULIANI APPEALS TO RIOTOUS POLICE

The police union organized a protest soon after Mayor David Dinkins announced his support for an independent Civilian Complaint Review Board. It gave more civilian oversight into the complaints about misconduct in the Police Department. Thousands of off-duty police officers showed up outside of City Hall to express their grievances using colorful language about the Mayor. Rudy Giuliani, who had lost the mayoral election to Dinkins, took to the stage to blame the low morale of police on the Mayor, inciting the protestors into a riotous mob threatening to storm City Hall and terrorizing the streets.



1992

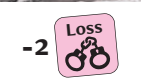


COMMUNITY CENTER OPENS ITS DOORS IN HUNTS POINT

The building on Garrison Avenue in Hunts Point was critical in the founding and survival of The Point. As owners of the building, the community center that was established there was able to persevere, through many economic challenges. When Maria Torres, Paul Lipson, Mildred Ruiz and Stephen Sapp opened its doors to the surrounding community, it became an anchor, a safe space for the youth to learn and find the support needed to pursue their dreams, no matter the surrounding circumstances.



1994

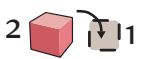


HOOP LEGEND "DUNKIN" HINES KILLED IN SOUNDVIEW

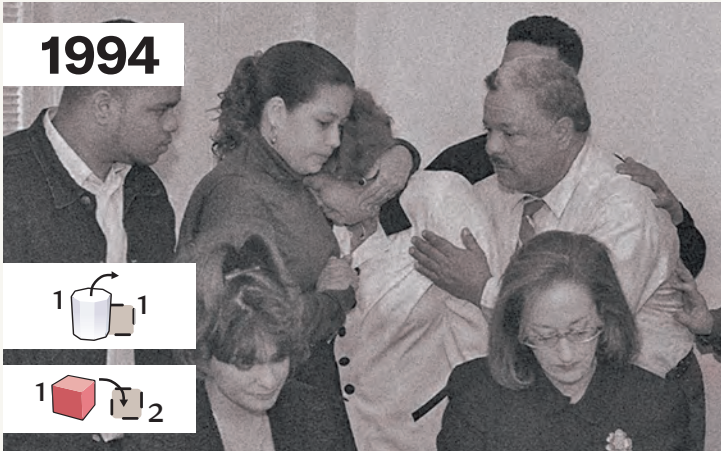
Everyone had big dreams for Karlton "Dunkin" Hines. He was a star basketball player in high school, playing for the Gauchos, before following the opportunity to go to a prep school in Maine for his junior year. The prep school life didn't really suit him, so he returned home to the Bronx. Because of his residency status however, he was ineligible to play, so he dropped out of high school. He would always stay on top of his game, and was planning to try-out for a minor team days prior to being shot in an altercation tied to his activities in the streets.



1994

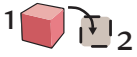


1994



BRONX MAN DIES FROM POLICE CHOKEHOLD

After hitting a police car with a football, David Baez was arrested for disorderly conduct by Officer Francis Livoti. When he goes to arrest brother Anthony Baez for interfering, Anthony resists. Other officers arrive on the scene to support Livoti in his arrest, managing to subdue Anthony. In the process Anthony loses consciousness from an apparent chokehold. He is later pronounced dead from asphyxiation.

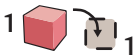


1995



BROKEN WINDOWS POLICY INCREASES SELECTIVE POLICING

George Kelling, the author of "Broken Windows" which named the theory, consulted for New York City in the years that followed. Kelling's lessons would inform the Transit Authority's approach, that would crack down on fare evasion, processing perpetrators into the system. This would lead to bench warrants from fare evasion charges that could eventually lead to jail time. When Rudy Giuliani becomes mayor he hires William Bratton from the Transit Police to be his commissioner, bringing broken windows policing to the whole city.



1996



GULF WAR VETERAN SHOT BY COP IN THE BRONX

Nathaniel Gaines was shot on a subway platform in the Bronx by police officer Paolo Colecchia. It is hard to know exactly what happened on that platform. From the testimony of the officer, there was a struggle in which Gaines tried to grab his gun. Colecchia's history of civilian complaints and evidence that Gaines was shot in the back led to the third successful homicide prosecution of a police officer in the city since the aftermath of the Knapp Commission.



1997



SIGNS OF A REBOUND?

Shortly after World War II, the National Civic League began giving out its "All-American City Award" to celebrate civic innovation. The Bronx's award signified what was considered a turnaround from the harsher times of decades prior. The signs went up on Bronx streets thankful to be out of the worst, yet still hopeful for a better future.



COURT IS IN SESSION WITH THE BRONX DEFENDERS

The Bronx Defenders was born when eight advocates with experience in the New York judicial process, recognized a need for public defenders that would contextualize all of their clients' needs when preparing a defense. Understanding what's at stake when people appear in court, The Bronx Defenders developed a holistic model that continues to help present the best defense to many that otherwise would not have access.



THE MIDDLE ROAD OF RENT REGULATION REFORM

Price protections in the city date back to the fixed pricing of World War II, laws New York landlords had been trying to loosen ever since. While lobbying had its advances many protections still stood. The Rent Regulation Reform Act managed to extend the Rent Stabilization laws but with new formulas for rent increases. Succession rights which would prevent rents from being increased if passed between family members, became limited to just one generation. All to support increasing prices that would send many out of the city.



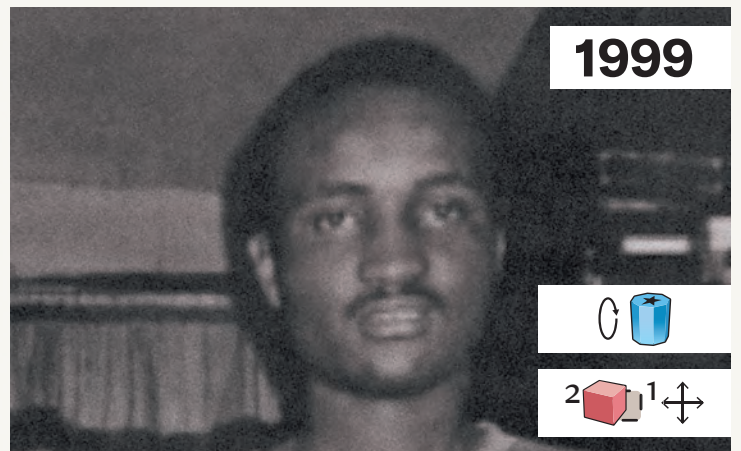
GIULIANI NAMES NEW CORRECTIONS COMMISSIONER

Under Mayor Rudy Giuliani the police were a machine of the city. Quotas churned out by Copstat quantified arrests across the city, creating a corrections pipeline that required critical competence in management. Giuliani hires former police officer Bernard Kerik to be the commissioner of the Department of Corrections, the beginning of a relationship that would last for decades.



POLICE FIRE 41 SHOTS AT MAN ARMED WITH WALLET

Amadou Diallo was standing outside of the apartment building where he lived in the Soundview section of the Bronx. Four plainclothes officers searching for a suspect stop their unmarked vehicle in front of Diallo, startling him as they shout for him to show his hands. Diallo turns, reaching in his pocket when he is shot fatally 19 times. The police took 41 shots total, thinking he was reaching for a gun; instead they discovered him holding a wallet.



Epilogue

By many accounts, the game ends in the midst of a Bronx resurgence. Yet, nearly 25 years after the end of the game, the borough still faces a multitude of challenges that stem from the events covered in the game. Indeed, if progress is to be attributed to the intervening period, full credit should go to the community efforts to maintain and uplift the area through periods often as tumultuous as their historical predecessors.

Some of those efforts have led to a public acceptance of the mistakes that were made by constructing the Cross Bronx Expressway and today there are efforts to rectify those mistakes. One of the biggest issues, which the game only alludes to, is the health problems that stem from decades of traffic moving through the area. Calls to cap the Cross Bronx Expressway seek to address this issue, which was largely ignored during its construction.

Another persistent issue is the neglect of landlords. While new development projects litter the area as invitations for gentrification, much of the housing still exists in conditions that parallel those at the end of the game. New waves of immigrants taking up residence in the area find themselves in living situations where basic utilities are not guaranteed. It pains me to hear of buildings on fire in 2024, because residents were using space heaters to warm apartments that otherwise had no heat.

Where there is hope, it is with the people. The hard working residents who, through their own persistence and determination, uphold the motto “Bronx Strong”.

Acknowledgements

The list of references provided here is far from exhaustive, representing mostly the more immediately accessible works that were used in my research for this game. Critical to the historical groundwork laid in this game is the countless work of the wonderful archivists and librarians that assisted me through the many collections I would become familiar with. From the Bronx County Historical Society, to the New York Public Library, to the National Archives, the people of these institutions are the key to ensuring that there are historical records available to us to better understand how the past informs our present.

I would like to give a special thanks to the Post-Woke Militia for helping me to become the designer I am growing to be. You all have been there throughout this journey, accepting of my idiosyncrasies and even more reaffirming that there is a place for the games that I want to design in this little niche. To the Acceptables for whom the love of games is enough, but the critical analysis of them is the source.

I want to thank the entire GMT Staff, from Elizabeth in the front office to Gene in the back – the whole company has been so supportive of my work from day one. To Jason Carr for being willing to take that first risk with me. Kai Jensen for her constant encouragement. I especially want to thank Joe Dewhurst for putting up with my nonsense for all of these years, but also trusting the vision and helping to shape it into reality.

A special thanks to my accountability partner Stephen Rangazas. More than anyone else perhaps you are the one that kept me at it. A kindred spirit working to connect real world dynamics with gaming mechanics to build fidelity models of historical agency. This is only the beginning.

I owe all of this to my family. To my parents who first brought me to the Bronx and from whom I first learned to love history. My sister whose door was always open whenever this tackhead needed a couch to crash on. My partner who has stood beside me throughout as I walk this path of game design. And to my wonderful kids, the OG playtesters of my games.

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