CIAO

Congress of Italian-American Organizations, Inc.

THE POVERTY STATUS
OF ITALIAN AMERICANS
IN THE CITY OF NEW YORK

New York
1989
THE POVERTY STATUS
OF ITALIAN AMERICANS
IN THE CITY OF NEW YORK

by
Graziano Battistella
The Center for Migration Studies of New York, Inc.

A Report Prepared for the
Congress of Italian-American Organizations, Inc.

New York
1989
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This report updates the data published in the 1975 CIAO Volume, A Portrait of the Italian-American Community in New York City.

The report is based on the 1980 U.S. Census of Population data and describes the general characteristics of the Italian American population in the five boroughs of the City of New York. In particular, the report focuses on the poverty status of Italian Americans of single and multiple ancestry by community district and census tract, comparing them with the white non-Hispanic population of the same areas.

The data presented in the report confirm the fact too often forgotten by policy makers and hidden by Italian Americans that there are almost 100 thousand Italian Americans in the City of New York who are below poverty level. And their number is increasing. Being in the forefront and on the cutting edge in providing social services to the needy in our complex City, CIAO, we are certain, will find the faces, the hearts and the needs behind the data presented in this report.

We are grateful to the author of this report, Graziano Battistella, C.S., of CMS, for collecting, analyzing and presenting the data. We are also grateful to Ezio Marchetto, C.S., of CMS, for assisting in the computer production of the 45 figures. Finally, many thanks are due to the American Committee on Italian Migration for a grant to acquire the computer software to generate the maps and figures included in this report; and to Joseph Salvo and Evelyn Mann of New York City Planning Commission for their technical assistance.

Lydio F. Tomasi
Executive Director
Center for Migration Studies
June 21, 1989
When the study by the House Committee on Ways and Means was released, it originated comments and editorials in all newspapers. Formally entitled "Programs Within the Jurisdiction of the Committee on Ways and Means", the 1,318-page study compares the family income of 1979 with the one of 1987. The results of the comparison indicate that the average family income of the poorest fifth of the population declined by 6 percent; by contrast the family income of the richest portion of the nation increased by 11 percent. Changes in personal income in the same period were even greater. The income of the poorest one-fifth of the population decreased by almost 10 percent; for the richest one-fifth of the population instead it increased by over 15 percent. Considered in 1987 dollars, 20 percent of the households earned $5,107 while the rich 20 percent earned $68,775.

To most commentators those figures indicated the end of the idea that economic prosperity would benefit everyone and the distribution of riches would take care of itself. Without government intervention, the inequality in income distributions is even more pronounced. Some have concluded that "a class system is the natural condition of humanity" (The New York Times, April 19, 1989).

Similar type of conclusions could hastily lead policy makers to desist from establishing programs aimed at decreasing poverty in the U.S. An earlier study by the Census Bureau tried to measure the impact of the Federal Government programs in redistributing income. The concept of income was revised, subtracting taxes and adding capital gains, employer-provided health insurance, and government payments like Social Security, Medicare, Medicaid, food stamps and housing subsidies. The results were somehow surprising. The impact of the widely acclaimed progressive tax system on income distribution was minimum. Also of little effect were the welfare programs. What lifted people from the poverty level were instead Social Security and Medicare. The largest beneficiaries were the elderly. The poverty rate for the elderly decreased from 47.5 percent to 14 percent when Social Security was taken into account.

Indications from this study could provide additional ammunitions to the enemies of the welfare and similar programs for the needy. However, further reflection is needed before decision is taken. It is quite possible, for instance, that the effect of Social Security and Medicare on poverty depends on the size of the programs rather than on the scheme on which they are based.
Purpose and limits of this study

The present report focuses on the poverty status of Italian Americans in the city of New York. It intends to provide a graphic representation of the situation, particularly of the spatial distribution of the population below poverty level. The narrative part is limited to some considerations useful to grasp the impression produced by the maps.

The 1980 census of the population was the source for this study. Annual reports on poverty, in fact, do not provide breakdowns of data by ethnic group. It could appear a futile exercise to analyze 1980 data. However, the exercise maintains some validity for the following reasons. First of all, based on the pattern of the poverty status of the entire population, some inference can be made as to the evolution of poverty among Italian Americans. Italian Americans, in fact, are a sizable portion of the population of the City of New York, and a significant change of their economic characteristics affects the characteristics of the entire population as well. Secondly, this type of presentation will constitute a point of reference for comparisons when the 1990 census data will be released. The next year census, in fact, will have the same methodology and allow comparability of the population by ancestry. Thirdly, and mostly, the 1980 data are the only figures available for this endeavour.

Definition of Poverty

The definition of poverty on which statistics are based was developed by the Social Security Administration in 1964 and revised in 1969 and 1981. "The original poverty index provided a range of income cutoffs adjusted by such factors as family size, sex of the family head, number of children under 18 years old, and farm-nonfarm residence. At the core of this definition of poverty was the economy food plan, the least costly of four nutritionally adequate food plans designed by the Department of Agriculture. It was determined from the Department of Agriculture's 1955 Survey of Food Consumption that families of three or more persons spent approximately one-third of their income on food; the poverty level for these families was, therefore, set at three times the cost of the economy food plan." (U.S. Department of Commerce, Poverty in the United States. 1987, p. 156).

In 1969 it was decided to base the annual adjustment not on price changes of the items in the economy food budget but on changes in the Consumer Price Index (CPI). Consequently now the poverty thresholds rise each year by the same percentage as the annual average CPI.

The data of the 1980 census, reflecting the income of 1979, based the poverty status on the 1979 threshold, which, for a family of four, was determined at $7,412. In 1987 the same threshold has been established at $11,611.
The National Scenario

The 1980 census has allowed for the first time to identify the social and economic characteristics of specific ethnic groups. The general agreement among those who studied the census data is that socioeconomic inequalities among white ethnic groups are minor (Lieberson, S. and M.C. Waters, From Many Strands, 1988, p. 155). The major differentiation lies between whites and the population of other races. For instance, the median household income in 1980 for whites ($17,680) and Asians ($19,966) was above the national level ($16,841); for blacks ($10,943), American Indians ($12,256) and populaton of Spanish origin ($13,502) instead it was below the national level. Consequently, the poverty rate followed a similar pattern (see, Table 1).

Table 1: Poverty Rate of the U.S. Population by Race: 1980.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Race</th>
<th>Poverty Rate</th>
<th>Children Under 18</th>
<th>65 Years Old and Over</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>All Persons</td>
<td>12.4</td>
<td>16.0</td>
<td>14.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>9.4</td>
<td>11.0</td>
<td>12.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black</td>
<td>29.9</td>
<td>37.8</td>
<td>35.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>American Indian</td>
<td>27.5</td>
<td>32.5</td>
<td>32.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian</td>
<td>13.1</td>
<td>14.9</td>
<td>14.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spanish Origin</td>
<td>23.5</td>
<td>29.1</td>
<td>25.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The two categories of people encompassing usually half of the population below poverty are the persons with children below 18 years of age and the elderly (65 years old and over). The first group is particularly subject to falling below the poverty threshold and in some racial groups more than others. In 1980, almost 38 percent of the blacks with young children, 32 percent of the American Indians and 29 percent for persons of Spanish origin were below the poverty level. In comparison, only 11 percent of the whites and 15 percent of the Asians were in the same situation (see, Table 1).

The 1987 report indicated that the poverty rate has increased since 1979. The increase has been particularly significant for the blacks and the population of Spanish origin. Also, poverty affects more than ever persons with children under 18 years of age. The elderly instead appear to be better off, with the exception of those of Spanish origin.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Poverty Rate</th>
<th>With Children Under 18</th>
<th>65 Years Old and Over</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>All Persons</td>
<td>13.5</td>
<td>20.0</td>
<td>12.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>10.5</td>
<td>15.0</td>
<td>10.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black</td>
<td>33.1</td>
<td>45.1</td>
<td>33.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spanish Origin</td>
<td>28.2</td>
<td>39.3</td>
<td>27.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Source: see, Table 1)

Selected European Ethnic Groups

The generally higher economic achievements of the whites do not exclude that there are no differences among them. A specific comparison of the ancestry groups of European origin indicated that people of Polish ancestry had the highest income and the lowest poverty rate in 1980. Italians ranked second (see, Table 3).

Table 3 - Poverty Status of Selected European Ancestry Groups: 1980

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Poverty Rate</th>
<th>With Children Under 18</th>
<th>65 Years Old and Over</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>11.3</td>
<td>14.7</td>
<td>15.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>French</td>
<td>10.7</td>
<td>13.6</td>
<td>15.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>German</td>
<td>8.1</td>
<td>9.9</td>
<td>11.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Irish</td>
<td>9.6</td>
<td>11.6</td>
<td>14.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italian</td>
<td>7.3</td>
<td>9.4</td>
<td>9.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polish</td>
<td>7.0</td>
<td>8.5</td>
<td>10.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Source: Battistella, G. (ed.), Italian Americans in the 80s, 1989, p. 140)

Particularly significant was the relative low level of elderly population of Italian origin below poverty level. Instead, "female householders with no husband present were the primary candidates for falling below the poverty level. Seventeen percent of Italian families headed by females had incomes falling below the poverty level in 1980, 94 percent of those women did not have a husband and 81 percent supported children under eighteen years of age. Comparatively, less than four percent of families headed by men in 1980 fell below the poverty level." (Bonutti, K., Economic Characteristics of Italian Americans, in G. Battistella: 1989, 77).
The State of New York

The poverty rate of the population resident in the state of New York was higher than the national rate in 1980. Solely responsible for this difference, however, was the population of Spanish origin (see, Table 4).

Table 4 - Poverty Status by Race in the State of New York. 1980

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Race</th>
<th>Poverty Rate</th>
<th>With Children Under 18</th>
<th>65 Years Old and Over</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>All Persons</td>
<td>13.4</td>
<td>19.0</td>
<td>11.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>9.4</td>
<td>12.3</td>
<td>10.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black</td>
<td>28.3</td>
<td>37.4</td>
<td>25.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>American Indian</td>
<td>24.6</td>
<td>32.4</td>
<td>23.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian</td>
<td>13.3</td>
<td>14.2</td>
<td>20.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spanish Origin</td>
<td>33.1</td>
<td>44.5</td>
<td>25.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The incidence on poverty of the segments of population with children below 18 years of age and that of persons 65 years old and over was the same as in the national context.

Table 5 - Poverty of Selected Single Ancestry Groups in the State of New York. 1980.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ancestry Group</th>
<th>Poverty Rate</th>
<th>With Children Under 18</th>
<th>65 Years Old and Over</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>11.4</td>
<td>18.9</td>
<td>10.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>French</td>
<td>13.3</td>
<td>18.6</td>
<td>13.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>German</td>
<td>7.8</td>
<td>10.9</td>
<td>9.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Irish</td>
<td>7.5</td>
<td>8.8</td>
<td>9.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italian</td>
<td>7.5</td>
<td>9.9</td>
<td>10.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polish</td>
<td>7.5</td>
<td>9.7</td>
<td>10.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Source: see, Table 3)

Almost all the European groups in the state of New York have a poverty rate lower than the rate of the State, with the exception of the English and French. Italians, once again, are among the groups with fewer poor persons.
New York City

The poverty rate of the City of New York (20.0) was obviously much higher than the rate of the state (13.4). In today's increasingly urbanized society poverty affects the urban population at a higher degree than the rural population. Furthermore, it is typical of the megalopolis to marginalize segments of the population, unable to enter or remain in the labor market. Of the five boroughs, the Bronx had the highest poverty rate (27.6) (see Table 6).

Table 6 - Poverty Status in the City of New York. 1980

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Poverty Rate</th>
<th>With Children Under 18</th>
<th>65 Years Old and Over</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>New York City</td>
<td>20.0</td>
<td>31.8</td>
<td>14.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bronx</td>
<td>27.6</td>
<td>42.6</td>
<td>15.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brooklyn</td>
<td>24.0</td>
<td>37.1</td>
<td>15.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manhattan</td>
<td>21.8</td>
<td>36.8</td>
<td>17.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Queens</td>
<td>11.4</td>
<td>17.6</td>
<td>10.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Staten Island</td>
<td>8.2</td>
<td>11.0</td>
<td>10.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(Source: see, Table 4)

Table 7 - Poverty Status of the White Population in the City of New York. 1980

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Poverty Rate</th>
<th>With Children Under 18</th>
<th>65 Years Old and Over</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>New York City</td>
<td>12.9</td>
<td>20.9</td>
<td>11.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bronx</td>
<td>17.5</td>
<td>31.4</td>
<td>12.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brooklyn</td>
<td>16.2</td>
<td>26.9</td>
<td>13.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manhattan</td>
<td>14.0</td>
<td>24.4</td>
<td>12.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Queens</td>
<td>8.7</td>
<td>12.9</td>
<td>9.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Staten Island</td>
<td>6.2</td>
<td>7.6</td>
<td>9.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(Source: Idem)

Table 8 - Poverty Status of the Black Population in the City of New York. 1980

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Poverty Rate</th>
<th>With Children Under 18</th>
<th>65 Years Old and Over</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>New York City</td>
<td>29.5</td>
<td>39.5</td>
<td>25.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bronx</td>
<td>32.1</td>
<td>43.4</td>
<td>24.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brooklyn</td>
<td>31.8</td>
<td>42.2</td>
<td>25.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manhattan</td>
<td>33.7</td>
<td>44.5</td>
<td>32.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Queens</td>
<td>18.7</td>
<td>26.1</td>
<td>18.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Staten Island</td>
<td>29.2</td>
<td>36.5</td>
<td>19.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(Source: Idem)
Table 9 - Poverty Status of the Population of Spanish Origin in the City of New York. 1980

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Poverty Rate</th>
<th>With Children Under 18</th>
<th>65 Years Old and Over</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>New York City</td>
<td>35.7</td>
<td>48.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bronx</td>
<td>41.3</td>
<td>54.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brooklyn</td>
<td>42.2</td>
<td>55.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manhattan</td>
<td>36.1</td>
<td>49.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Queens</td>
<td>18.5</td>
<td>25.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Staten Island</td>
<td>18.4</td>
<td>23.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Source: Idem)

An analysis of data disaggregated by race indicates that the ranking of the boroughs as to the poverty rate changes according to the racial group examines. Thus, white Americans are poorest in the Bronx, black Americans are poorest in Manhattan and the population of Spanish origin is in the highest need in Brooklyn. Generally speaking, people in Queens and Staten Island have the best poverty rate. Worthy to be mentioned, however, is the anomalous behavior of the blacks, who are better off in Queens (18.7) than in Staten Island (29.2).

The 1987 data set at 23.2 the percentage of poor people in New York; that is, almost one every four New Yorkers is below the poverty level. More in detail, the report "found a 37.5 percent poverty rate for those under 18 years of age; a 33.8 percent rate for non-Hispanic blacks, and a 41.6 percent rate for Hispanic New Yorkers." (The New York Times, Feb. 28, 1989).

The Italian Americans

The Italian Americans in 1980 constituted a sizable portion of the population of the city of New York. One in seven New Yorkers was Italian American (see, Table 10).

Table 10 - Total Population and Population of Italian Ancestry in the City of New York. 1980

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Total Population</th>
<th>Total Italian</th>
<th>Single Italian</th>
<th>Multiple Italian</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>City of N.Y.</td>
<td>7,071,639</td>
<td>1,005,304</td>
<td>802,729</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bronx</td>
<td>1,168,972</td>
<td>131,758</td>
<td>110,884</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brooklyn</td>
<td>2,230,936</td>
<td>361,460</td>
<td>307,044</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manhattan</td>
<td>1,428,285</td>
<td>72,441</td>
<td>50,716</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Queens</td>
<td>1,891,325</td>
<td>304,904</td>
<td>235,081</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Staten Island</td>
<td>352,121</td>
<td>134,741</td>
<td>99,004</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Source: Idem)
The proportion of Italian Americans of Single Ancestry was much higher than the national and state proportion. The city has traditionally been the place of first arrival and the probability of marriage within the group is much higher than in other places.

Proportionally, there are more poor Italian Americans in the city (9.7) than in the state (7.4), but, as noted before, the poverty rate of Italian Americans is lower than the rate of the white population.

Table 11 - Poverty Status of Italian Americans in the City of New York. 1980

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Poverty Rate</th>
<th>With Children Under 18</th>
<th>65 Years Old and Over</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>New York City</td>
<td>9.7</td>
<td>14.8</td>
<td>12.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bronx</td>
<td>10.6</td>
<td>19.1</td>
<td>12.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brooklyn</td>
<td>11.1</td>
<td>16.2</td>
<td>13.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manhattan</td>
<td>12.9</td>
<td>15.8</td>
<td>16.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Queens</td>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>14.3</td>
<td>10.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Staten Island</td>
<td>6.0</td>
<td>8.0</td>
<td>11.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Source: Idem)

The same patterns replicate in all boroughs. It is only interesting to note that while in all borough the poverty rate of Italian Americans is lower than the rate of the white population, in the boroughs of Queens and Staten Island the rates simply match. However, since Queens and Staten Island have a relative low poverty rate, it appears that the rate cannot be further lowered, if one maintains that a portion of the population will always be in a status of poverty.

Approximately 20 percent of the poor Italian Americans were 65 years old or over. Previous tabulations have shown that elderly people, that is, persons with a fixed income, relying mainly or solely on pension and social security money, are not the primary section of the population below the poverty level, even though elderly in a status of poverty tend to exceed percentage quota of elderly in the total population. If we singled them out, however, it was because poverty, added to age, increases the needs for care and social services.

Concluding Remarks

In this report, that relied mostly on 1980 data and intended to sketch more than analyze the issue of poverty among Italian Americans, we often indicated that Italian Americans fared better than the population in general and even better than some European ethnic groups. It would be misleading, however, to conclude that poverty among Italian Americans is not an issue. Behind percentages lie real people with real needs. For this reason, the following table on Italian Americans by Census District reveals where the problem is. The maps
that accompany this report try to go even further and indicate the situation by census tract.

Aside from maps and tables, the poor are there, almost 100 thousand among the Italian Americans in the city of New York in 1980. If the poverty rate trend for the population in general did not change considerably from 1980 to 1987 - however, instead of declining it actually increased by three points, the same can be expected for the Italian Americans. However, new data are needed for an updated report.

In the meantime, some concerns are common among analysts and policy makers. If the poverty rate did not drop in the 80s, a period of economic growth, what will happen during a recession? Apparently, we find additional evidence of what was anticipated years ago: economic growth in our society does not benefit everyone in the same measure. It actually widens the gap between rich and poor people. If no equalizing factor is set in force, everyone will suffer. This report took an ethnic approach to the issue of poverty, but provided the necessary context to realize that it is not possible to discriminate among poor; color or ancestry do not alleviate any need.
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BROOKLYN - 1

Population of Italian Ancestry

Legend

0 to 0
0 to 500
500 to 1500
1500 to 3000
3000 to 8000
STATEN ISLAND - 1

Population of Italian Ancestry

Legend

- 0 to 0
- 0 to 500
- 500 to 1500
- 1500 to 3000
- 3000 to 8000
BRONX - 2

Population of Italian Ancestry
(Percentage of Total Population)

Legend

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<td>Dark</td>
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BROOKLYN - 2

Population of Italian Ancestry (Percentage of Total Population)
MANHATTAN - 2

Population of Italian Ancestry
(Percentage of Total Population)

Legend

- 0 to 20
- 20 to 40
- 40 to 60
- 60 to 80
- 80 to 100
QUEENS - 2

Population of Italian Ancestry (Percentage of Total Population)

Legend

0 to 20
20 to 40
40 to 60
60 to 80
80 to 100
STATEN ISLAND - 2

Population of Italian Ancestry (Percentage of Total Population)

Legend
- 7 to 20
- 20 to 40
- 40 to 60
- 60 to 80
- 80 to 100
BRONX - 3

White Population Below Poverty Level

Legend

- 0 to 0
- 0 to 250
- 250 to 500
- 500 to 1000
- 1000 to 3500
MANHATTAN - 3
White Population Below Poverty Level

Legend
- 0 to 0
- 0 to 250
- 250 to 500
- 500 to 1000
- 1000 to 3500
BRONX - 4

Population of Italian Ancestry Below Poverty Level

Legend
- 0 to 0
- 0 to 100
- 100 to 200
- 200 to 300
- 300 to 500
QUEENS - 4

Population of Italian Ancestry Below Poverty Level

Legend:
- 0 to 0
- 0 to 100
- 100 to 200
- 200 to 300
- 300 to 500
BRONX - 5

Population of Italian Ancestry Below Poverty Level
(Percentage of Total Italian Population)

Legend
- 0 to 20
- 20 to 40
- 40 to 60
- 60 to 80
- 80 to 100
BROOKLYN - 5

Population of Italian Ancestry Below Poverty Level
(Percentage of Total Italian Population)

Legend

- 0 to 20
- 20 to 40
- 40 to 60
- 60 to 80
- 80 to 100
Population of Italian Ancestry Below Poverty Level (Percentage of Total Italian Population)
QUEENS - 5

Population of Italian Ancestry Below Poverty Level
(Percentage of Total Italian Population)

Legend
- 0 to 20
- 20 to 40
- 40 to 60
- 60 to 80
- 80 to 100
STATEN ISLAND - 5

Population of Italian Ancestry Below Poverty Level
(Percentage of Total Italian Population)

Legend
- 0 to 20
- 20 to 40
- 40 to 60
- 60 to 80
- 80 to 100
BROOKLYN - 6

Population of Italian Ancestry, 65 Years Old and Over

Legend

- 0 to 0
- 0 to 100
- 100 to 200
- 200 to 300
- 300 to 650
MANHATTAN - 6

Population of Italian Ancestry, 65 Years Old and Over

Legend

- 0 to 0
- 0 to 100
- 100 to 200
- 200 to 300
- 300 to 650
STATEN ISLAND - 6

Population of Italian Ancestry, 65 Years Old and Over

Legend

- 0 to 0
- 0 to 100
- 100 to 200
- 200 to 300
- 300 to 650
Population of Italian Ancestry, 65 Years Old and Over (Percentage of Total Italian Population)
BROOKLYN - 7

Population of Italian Ancestry, 65 Years Old and Over (Percentage of Total Italian Population)
MANHATTAN - 7

Population of Italian Ancestry, 65 Years Old and Over
(Percentage of Total Italian Population)

Legend
- 0 to 20
- 20 to 40
- 40 to 60
- 60 to 80
- 80 to 100
QUEENS - 7

Population of Italian Ancestry, 65 Years Old and Over (Percentage of Total Italian Population)

Legend
- 0 to 20
- 20 to 40
- 40 to 60
- 60 to 80
- 80 to 100
STATEN ISLAND - 7

Population of Italian Ancestry, 65 Years Old and Over (Percentage of Total Italian Population)
BRONX - 8
Population of Italian Ancestry, 65 Years Old and Over Below Poverty Level

Legend
- 0 to 0
- 0 to 15
- 15 to 30
- 30 to 60
- 60 to 110
MANHATTAN - 8

Population of Italian Ancestry, 65 Years Old and Over Below Poverty Level

Legend

- 0 to 0
- 0 to 15
- 15 to 30
- 30 to 60
- 60 to 110
QUEENS - 8

Population of Italian Ancestry, 65 Years Old and Over Below Poverty Level

Legend
- 0 to 0
- 0 to 15
- 15 to 30
- 30 to 60
- 60 to 110
MAP: STATEN ISLAND - 8
Population of Italian Ancestry, 65 Years Old and Over Below Poverty Level
Legend

0 to 0
0 to 15
15 to 30
30 to 60
60 to 110
BRONX - 9

Population of Italian Ancestry, 65 Years Old and Over Below Poverty Level
(Percentage of Italian Population 65 Years Old and Over)

Legend

- 0 to 20
- 20 to 40
- 40 to 60
- 60 to 80
- 80 to 100
BROOKLYN - 9

Population of Italian Ancestry, 65 Years Old and Over Below Poverty Level
(Percentage of Italian Population 65 Years Old and Over)

Legend

- 0 to 20
- 20 to 40
- 40 to 60
- 60 to 80
- 80 to 100
MANHATTAN - 9

Population of Italian Ancestry, 65 Years Old and Over Below Poverty Level
(Percentage of Italian Population 65 Years Old and Over)

Legend

- 0 to 20
- 20 to 40
- 40 to 60
- 60 to 80
- 80 to 100
STATEN ISLAND - 9

Population of Italian Ancestry, 65 Years Old and Over Below Poverty Level (Percentage of Italian Population 65 Years Old and Over)

Legend

- 0 to 20
- 20 to 40
- 40 to 60
- 60 to 80
- 80 to 100
CIAO REPORTS

   By Josephine Casalena

   By Mary Catherine DiFilippo

3. The Poverty Status of Italian Americans in the City of New York. 1989
   By Graziano Battistella

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