What’s the Matter With Park Slope?

The Geography of Interests, Issues, and Identities in 2013 NY Mayoral Election
The Politics of Diversity

• Political order in rapidly changing places in “Blue” America
  – Gentrification
  – Immigration

• Potential for intergroup conflict
  – Incommensurable preferences
  – Competition over resources
  – General downward pressure on state action

• Countervailing forces/spatial processes
  – Cross-group organization
  – Sorted Places?
  – Luxurious exceptionalism?

• Chicago 2015...
Today

• Election Narrative
• Analysis of “Interests” on “Key” Issue: SQF
• Organizational Account: WFP turnout analysis
• Park Slope Paradox
• Institutional Caveat
• Implications and Theoretical connections
  – Prospects for durability/generalizability
Change, General elections 2009-2013

Bloomberg v. Thompson, 2009

BLOOM09G
- 0.16 - 0.30
- 0.31 - 0.40
- 0.41 - 0.50
- 0.51 - 0.60
- 0.61 - 0.70
- 0.71 - 0.84

DeBlasio v. Lhota, 2013

DBT13G
- 0.29 - 0.30
- 0.31 - 0.40
- 0.41 - 0.50
- 0.51 - 0.60
- 0.61 - 0.70
- 0.71 - 0.97
“The Migrating Median”: Continuity and Change
“The Migrating Median”

1989  DD  RG
1993  DD  RG
1997  RM  RG
2001  MG  FF  MB  RG
2005  FF  MB
2009  WT  MB
2013  JLi  BDB  WT  CQ  AW  JLh

L  C
Major campaign dynamics

• Increasing negatives for Quinn
  – Linked to Bloomberg’s 3rd term
  – Early “Big money” candidate
Major campaign dynamics

• Increasing negatives for Quinn
• 7/23: Weiner’s 2\textsuperscript{nd}…implosion
  – Frees up front-runner’s constituency
Late July

2009
JLi BDB WT MB

2013
JLi BDB WT CQ AW JLh

New York City Mayor - Democratic Primary

Real Clear Politics

RCP Poll Average

FROM: 06/15/2013 TO: 09/27/2014

MAX
Major campaign dynamics

• Increasing negatives for Quinn
• 7/23: Weiner’s 2\textsuperscript{nd}...implosion
  – Frees up front-runner’s constituency
• 8/12: SQF Court ruling
  – (re)Raises salience of issue; stalled in courts
  – DeBlasio and Liu strongest against SQF
  – Provides liberal orthodox position
August-Sept

2009

2013

JLi  BDB  WT  CQ  AW  JLh

New York City Mayor - Democratic Primary

REAL CLEAR POLITICS

RCP POLL AVERAGE

FROM: 06/15/2013  TO: 09/27/2014  APPLY  RESET

37.7  de Blasio  +16.4
21.3  Thompson
17.0  Quinn
7.3  Weiner
4.7  Liu
# The Mayoral Primaries

## Democrats

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CANDIDATE</th>
<th>VOTES</th>
<th>PCT</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bill de Blasio</td>
<td>260,473</td>
<td>40.3%</td>
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<tr>
<td>William C. Thompson Jr.</td>
<td>169,451</td>
<td>26.2%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Christine C. Quinn</td>
<td>100,020</td>
<td>15.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John C. Liu</td>
<td>44,972</td>
<td>7.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anthony D. Weiner</td>
<td>31,874</td>
<td>4.9%</td>
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## Republicans

SHOW ALL

99% reporting
“Suspects”

• Issues given narrative salience
  – *Stop, Question, Frisk: Did it matter?*
  – Central Park Horses?
  – “Bloomberg”
  – Inequality: Paid Leave, Affordable Housing, Univ. Pre-K

• Interests
  – Public Safety/Civil Rights
  – Distributional and material goods
  – Property values

• Organization
  – *Working Families Party*
SQF as a decider?

• “...the issue that most contributed to De Blasio’s victory was stop and frisk.”

Michael Greenberg, NYRoB

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>De Blasio</th>
<th>Liu</th>
<th>Quinn</th>
<th>Thompson</th>
<th>Weiner</th>
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<tr>
<td>Excessive and results</td>
<td>52%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>5%</td>
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<td>in innocent people</td>
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<tr>
<td>An acceptable way to</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>7%</td>
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<tr>
<td>make New York City</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>safer</td>
<td>37%</td>
<td></td>
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NYTimes
SQF as a decider?

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<td>36</td>
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<td>White</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>56</td>
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<td>75</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>60</td>
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<td>43</td>
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<td>1/13</td>
<td>4/11</td>
<td>1/17</td>
<td>4/11</td>
<td>1/17</td>
<td>4/11</td>
<td>8/19</td>
<td>7/9</td>
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</table>
SQF as a decider?

• “...the issue that most contributed to De Blasio’s victory was stop and frisk.”

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• Should see some relationship between SQF policy and results
  – Support for DB where SQF most intense?
  – Support for Quinn, Lhota, Weiner where crime drops biggest?
  – Higher turnout where SQF most intense
SQF

- One of suite of police innovations used by NYPD
- Large intensification during Bloomberg
- “Developmental” public safety
- ~500,000/year
- ~10% white, 50% black
- Court injunction 2013, overturned
Crime continued to decrease in NYC

7 Major Felonies

- Manhattan
- Bronx
- Brooklyn
- Queens
- Staten Island
SQF Targets the Young, 2012

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Obs</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>Std. Dev.</th>
<th>Min</th>
<th>Max</th>
<th>Med</th>
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<td>agen</td>
<td>531479</td>
<td>28.06883</td>
<td>11.74634</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>24</td>
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</table>
SQF implemented unevenly

Cumulative Stops Per Resident, 2003-2012

PrecinctData2012B
custcab

- 0.00 - 0.25
- 0.26 - 0.50
- 0.51 - 1.00
- 1.01 - 2.00
- 2.01 - 4.42
SQF implemented unevenly

SQF: Stops per Felony
PrecinctData2012B

<table>
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<th>Description</th>
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<td>0.00 - 2.00</td>
<td>Light pink</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.01 - 3.50</td>
<td>Light red</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.51 - 5.00</td>
<td>Medium red</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.01 - 7.00</td>
<td>Dark red</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.01 - 9.60</td>
<td>Dark red</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
SQF implemented unevenly (AD, 2012)
No relationship between SQF and election results: primary turnout
No relationship between SQF and election results: general turnout
No relationship between SQF and election results: primary turnout “boost”
No relationship between SQF and election results: general turnout “boost”
Maybe weak relationship between SQF and election results: primary vote choice
SQF Platform: Signal to Jump center?

New commissioner, Police IG, eliminated racial profile and reduce minor drug arrests

Strengthen NYPD, no oversight
Organizational Alternative: Working Families Party

- Fusion-driven party, since mid-1990s
- Grassroots
- City Council-oriented
- Class-based platform
  - Paid Sick Leave
  - Affordable Housing
  - Education: Free Pre-K and Higher Ed, School equity
Working Families Party in ‘13 Mayoral Race

• All Dem Candidates had been nominated by WFP; none formally until after primary
• De Blasio adopts full platform in primary
• Persuade? Signal liberal pole, articulate agenda
De Blasio Support and WFP
Working Families Party

• All Dem Candidates had been nominated by WFP; none formally until after primary
• De Blasio adopts full platform in primary
• Persuade? Signal liberal pole, provide platform
• Mobilize? Especially in local race (low turnout)
Mobilization and WFP

• **City Council**: Seek a majority with Democratic caucus
• Smaller constituencies help
• Groom and develop candidates
WFP Mobilization:
Turnout in ’13 Higher where WFP active in ‘09
WHERE is WFP?

WFP Share for
For De Blasio, '13g

TEDDemogVoteHousing
DBWF_ED

- 0.00 - 0.05
- 0.06 - 0.10
- 0.11 - 0.15
- 0.16 - 0.36
Boost in Turnout, 09-13

Turnout Change: Primary
pTOboost
-2499 - -2000
-1999 - 0
1 - 2000
2001 - 6000
6001 - 9000
9001 - 12018

Turnout Change: General
TDG
-10658 - -1500
-1499 - 0
1 - 1500
1501 - 4920
Mobilization and WFP

• **City Council**: Seek a majority with Democratic caucus (Achieved)
• Smaller constituencies help
• Groom and develop candidates
Mobilization and WFP

• **City Council:** Seek a majority with Democratic caucus (Achieved)
• Smaller constituencies help
• Groom and develop candidates
• **Turnout boost (vs. no WFP Nom), in general:**
  – 4-5%, Where WFP nominates candidate
  – 13%, When challenge Democratic nominee
WFP Mobilization Test: CD/AD Fragments
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• Compare turnout in adjacent fragments
• Where WFP nominates councilmember:
  – Average increase of 2% in primary (p<.1)
  – Average increase of 3% in general (p<.05)
Working Families Boost

• City Council
  – Turnout: 5-12% association
  – Turnout: 3% “Treatment” in WFP CDADs
  – Mayoral: Clearing the bar?

• DB choice: Primary and General
• WFP support and activity citywide, but strongest in affluent Brooklyn
• Increasing over time
WFP Increases
WHERE is WFP?
What’s the Matter with Park Slope?
But WFP-areas HAVE seen very high rent increases
New Salient Identities?
Variant changes, ‘09–’13

Change in Turnout, 2009g-2013g

De Blasio13%-Thompson09%

BOOSTG

-0.07 - 0.10
-0.11 - 0.20
-0.21 - 0.30
-0.31 - 0.39
Valence, or Shift?

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Race and vote choice: the gentry-cloud
Summing up

• Little “interest-based” effect of SQF
• Redistributive shift driven by affluent liberal constituency
• Evidence for WFP turnout boost
  – Indirect ideological effect of SQF?
• “Amateur” Democrats?
Methodological caveat: aggregation

• It could be that the least affluent 20% of Park Slope are “over-participating”
Institutional Caveat: Partisan Primary
WFP, Park Slope, and the Future of Big-City Politics

“Democratic Tension” of Big-city politics
- Inequality → Pressure for Redistribution (Meltzer-Richards)
- Intercity competition → Pro-development policy (Peterson)
- Diversity as basis of rivalry

New Realities
- Political sorting and ideological polarization
  - Diversity as basis of coalition
- Global city exceptionalism?
Thank you
Valence, or Shift?

Bloomerg% = %Black* + %Hisp*

R² = .85
Valence, or Shift?

De Blasio\%=\%Black + \%Hisp

R²= .67