Building Bridges between an African-American Community and Japanese People:  
A Longitudinal Interview Survey of Harlem in New York City  

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Abstract

This paper is intended to introduce the results of a longitudinal survey of Harlem in New York, from which it aims to build psychological “bridges” between African-Americans and Japanese people. Harlem, a well-known African-American community located in the northern part of Manhattan Island in New York City, has long been stereotypically stigmatized as a dangerous slum which outsiders, foreign tourists in particular, should never enter. Despite its dramatic clean-up success in the 1990s, which was carried out under the supervision of ex-mayor of New York, Harlem’s stigma has not been corrected or improved, at least in Japan. In fact, tour guidebooks published in Japan have issued stern warnings to those who plan to visit New York, cautioning that a visit to Harlem can be a very risky tour. In addition, some people in the United States believe that Harlem is a dangerous area to stay away from. In order to investigate the truthfulness of the negative information about Harlem, the researcher set up and carried out a longitudinal research project, which is now approximately ten years old, in the community.

Introduction

Harlem is an area located in the northern part of Manhattan in New York City in the United States. Around the 1920s, during the Great Migration that pulled more than one million African-Americans across the country to the community, the area once acquired fame thanks to a literary movement called the Harlem Renaissance. Later, unfortunately, the massive impacts of the Great Depression, the World War II, and racial conflicts disempowered the community. Consequently, in the 1950s, “high unemployment, poverty, hunger, and a hemorrhaging population made it America’s most famous (and seemingly most hopeless) slum” (Pope, 1997, p. 57). Since then, Harlem had long
been left in an economic vacuum. Racism, and fear of crime prevented outsiders from coming into
the area.

However, since the late 1990s, the area has begun to thrive again. Smith (1997) reported on this
point as follows: “Over the last two years, no fewer than a dozen large businesses, including Walt
Disney Co., Rite Aid Corp., Viacom Inc., and Gap Inc., have announced they’re opening major retail
outlets in this neighborhood (Harlem)” (p. 23). Grunwald (1999) reported on this situation as follows:
“It may be too soon to call this a second Harlem Renaissance…. Officials say Harlem has even
surpassed the Empire State Building as New York’s No.1 destination for foreign tourists” (p. A i). In
fact, Bill Clinton opened his office in Harlem in 2001, which exerted positive impact on the
community as one of the sightseeing spots in the area. Cultural tourism, which puts emphasis on
the importance of cultural heritage, also pulls tourists including scholars and researchers who
specialize in cultural studies to the community. As Hoffman (2003) pointed out, ”As tourism officials
and organizations in the city and the state began to position themselves competitively by promoting
cultural sites and buildings on the theme of diversity, Harlem took on special importance” (p. 291).
In addition, thanks to the anti-crime campaign successfully carried out by ex-mayor of New York,
the crime rate of the city including Harlem has been going down. It is obvious that the community
has been going through dramatic changes.

Despite these positive changes in Harlem, however, the area still retains an air of mystery for
Japanese people including Japanese scholars and communication scientists who study American
culture. It is partially due to the fact that most of tour guidebooks published in Japan have issued
stern warnings to those who plan to visit New York, cautioning that a visit to Harlem can be a risky
tour.

Russell (1990), an African-American professor who works for a Japan-based university comments
on this point as follows:

It is quite possible that Japanese themselves do not realize that their image of blacks is
distorted, that they have mistaken illusion for reality. Japanese guidebooks to American
major cities, often warn their readers to avoid black areas, recommending them only to the
adventurous, as if a trek to, say, Harlem were a safari to the heart of “darkest Africa,” an
attitude sadly indicative of Japan’s stereotyped image of both African American
communities and the African continent. (pp. 4-5)

It is probable that the pieces of information frequently appear in Japanese guidebooks and related
articles may have exerted psychological impact on the Japanese readers in a negative way, which
contributed to create stereotyped images of Harlem and African-Americans in the minds of Japanese people. In addition, it cannot be denied that few attempts have been made by Japanese researchers to describe Harlem and its culture accurately. Frankly speaking, few efforts have been made by Japanese scholars to uncover the real status quo of Harlem, to verify whether or not the information about Harlem in Japanese guidebooks is actually correct.

Therefore, to explore the real status quo of Harlem, the researcher set up a research project in 1999, which has been carried out for ten years. The purpose of this paper is to verify whether or not the information about Harlem described in Japanese guidebooks is actually correct. This paper also aims to report how people in Harlem, especially African Americans, view Japanese people. The analysis in this paper will contribute to disclose a real aspect of Harlem, which has long been unknown to the people outside of the community. The analysis will also contribute to build a psychological bridge between African-Americans and Japanese people, between the African-American community and Japanese culture.

Method

Procedures and participants

The research method employed in the present study was an interview survey method. The participants were selected by nonrandom sampling (convenience sampling). The location the researcher selected for this survey ranged from 96th Street to 160th Street in the northern part of Manhattan Island. A structured interview schedule was designed to collect data, for the researcher could not find any appropriate interview schedule format regarding this survey. The interview schedule contained 4 items of questions as follows:

Q1. Tour guidebooks published in Japan say that it is dangerous for tourists to visit Harlem. Is it correct or not?
Q2. In your opinion, who says Harlem is a dangerous place?
Q3. Do you welcome Japanese people who visit Harlem?
Q4. Do you have anything to say to Japanese people who hesitate to visit Harlem?

The researcher adopted both probing questions (Q1, Q2) and funnel questions (Q3, Q4). In addition to these, mirror questions were used when the researcher could not understand the particular meaning of a word or phrases the respondents used. The first and second questions were designed to understand the current situation of Harlem and to comprehend the respondents’ opinions regarding the information (Harlem is a dangerous place). The third and forth questions
were designed to elicit the way people in Harlem view Japanese people, and to obtain their suggestions for Japanese people who hesitate to visit Harlem.

Using these question items, the researcher carried out the interview survey with the following procedures. First, the interviewer (the researcher) provided necessary instructions for the respondents, namely, identifying himself, stating the purpose of the interview, and assuring them of confidentiality. Second, a face-to-face interview was conducted in the order listed before (from Question 1 through Question 4). Answers of the participants were tape-recorded (some interviews were video-recorded), if the respondents gave permission to the interviewer. In case the researcher failed to obtain permission for tape-recording, answers were recorded on a field note. Third, the information the researcher acquired through tape-recording was transcribed and quoted partially in this paper. This longitudinal interview survey was carried out in northern part of Manhattan in 1999, 2000, 2001, 2003, 2004, 2007, and 2009.

In the present survey, the researcher followed the ethical guidelines officially announced by The Japanese Society of Ethnology in 1992. In quoting the respondents’ comments in this paper, some corrections were made on the original data (e.g., changing discriminative words the respondents used into neutral words), when necessary.

Results and Discussion

The results of the survey can be summarized as follows. The response rate was approximately 38.8%. Four hundred and ninety eight of 1282 people agreed to participate in a face-to-face interview. Two hundred and ninety eight of 498 respondents (59.8%) gave the interviewer permission to tape-record the whole interview. Seventy five of 498 respondents (15%) gave the interviewer permission to video-record the whole interview. Among these, one respondent agreed to specify her real name when the researcher quotes her comments in publications or in academic presentations. Respondents were composed of individuals who live or work in Harlem: African-Americans (n=465), Hispanics (n=24), Caucasians (n=6), Chinese (n=2), and a Namibian (n=1).

The following sections will display the respondents’ comments on each question.

Response to Question 1

The first question asked “Tour guidebooks published in Japan say that it is dangerous for tourists to visit Harlem. Is it correct or not?” All the respondents answered “It is not correct.” The contents of their response can be roughly classified into three categories. The interviewees in the first category indicated that the information (i.e., Harlem is a dangerous place) is a myth or
propaganda, while the respondents in the second category claimed that Harlem is not a special area. People in the third category maintained that it depends on an individual’s perception (i.e., what kind of attitudes of mind or stereotypes he or she has). Let us begin with the first category.

**Myth or propaganda.**

The interviewees in the first category, consisted of more than half of all the respondents (319 of 498, 64%) pointed out that the information that tells Harlem is a dangerous area is a myth or a sort of propaganda. A gentleman reacted to the first question as follows:

> It’s not correct. There’s been false advertising about Afro-Americans here in Harlem. We welcome people of all nations, of all cultures. Because we are of all cultures, you know. um... Basically, that’s... when the... uh... late 60s when black and white issues going on, it was rough, then. But now it’s safe to come in! It’s safe to come here in the daytime. Sure.... You don’t need to be afraid of us. You know, that’s all propaganda. As you know, in all races there are some bad ones. But majority folks are good, you know. Majority folks are good.

The interviewees including this gentleman insisted that once Harlem was a dangerous area in the late 1960s because of conflicts between different racial groups, which was a story of more than forty years ago. The data also implies that stereotyped images of Harlem established and shared in the 1960s and the 1970s still remain as a myth even now, which is actually incorrect.

Also, an old gentleman reacted to the first question as follows:

> It’s not correct. That’s propaganda, man. The white society is gonna white color, you know, they’re saying it. It is not dangerous... no more a dangerous area. Nobody’s gonna bother you. You can go anywhere you want to. Nobody bothers you. You don’t have to worry about it seriously.... You can go through main street and you can go through side streets. Today there’s more police present, but there’s always a lot of police. But today a lot more. We have the Million Youth March. You heard of it? You’ve heard of the Million Youth March today, the demonstration today? It’s, ah... black people show their solidarity to each other. We are going to have a rally down from 160th to 124th Street. So there’s more police today than normally. It’s unfounded fear. The police, you know, whole these police present is not necessary. It’s not necessary.
On this day (September 4th, 1999), ex-mayor of New York City brought approximately three thousand police officers into Harlem in order to police the demonstration (the Million Youth March) carried out by African-Americans in Harlem. The old gentleman above pointed out that such an attitude of mayor encouraged an image about Harlem as a dangerous area.

*Harlem is not a special area.*

Among the participants who responded to the first question, 139 of 498 (28%) people insisted that it is wrong to see Harlem as a special area. The comments of the participants imply that there is no area that is completely problem-free. A young man commented on this point as follows:

This is not a dangerous area for tourists any more than midtown Manhattan, any more than Oklahoma City, any more than any place in any other country in the world. Basically, it’s just a stigmatic put-on. Harlem is very culturally-rich part of the country. But this part of the country’s culture is really suppressed. So, to tell people not to come here, they say this is a dangerous area. That’s not necessarily true, in fact. We welcome visitors here. Because we’d like visitors to know what we are about. Not to hear what other people say about, but (see) what we are actually about. Because there are a lot of struggle... uh... people don’t know about this. So, we welcome people. We share our culture with people and hopefully our culture has to enrich the world.... We are not in a dangerous area. Because if we’re in a dangerous area, you wouldn’t be able to stand here. There’re so many people here walking back and forth, you would have already been attacked by now. But you haven’t!

An old man (see Appendix 1) illustrated this point from a different angle as follows:

Well, every area got, you know, problems. But if you look around people around here, common sense will tell you that most people here are honest. People are very credible and very helpful. Most people honest. Most people honest.... But you should keep in mind that in any area, it’s different at night. I just came from New Orleans, Louisiana. I only go out in the day, I don’t go out at night. I don’t go out at night, even in Louisiana. So you go out in the day, you walk around yourself, and learn your neighborhood yourself. Sure.

A gentleman who has been to Japan remarked on this point from a different viewpoint as the following:
I've been to three different countries in my life. OK? There're bad people everywhere you go. I've been to Okinawa during the Vietnam War. There're bad people even in Japan! Right? In Mecca, you got bad people. You got people that always bring knives with them. In Spain, you got bad people, too. But here in Harlem, few people step out of line. It’s not dangerous here.

All these examples show that citizens of Harlem are critical of those who consider the black community as an extremely special area, looking at the people in the community with negative stereotypes. In fact, great majority of the interviewees suggested that tourists and visitors see the area as an ordinary sight-seeing spot, as well as any other major city in the United States. Now let us move on to the third category.

_A matter of perception._

Among all the respondents, 39 of 498 (8%) explained that whether or not a particular area becomes dangerous depends on a viewer's perception (i.e., what kinds of attitudes of mind or stereotypes he or she has), referring to the psychological effects on human perception. Dorothy Pitman Hughes², one of the emergent opinion leaders and community organizers in Harlem, commented on this point as follows:

If you look up and down on the streets in Harlem, you will see that there are a lot of Asian people. And wherever, Japan, Vietnam, all of these people are coming from somewhere. Chinese. So, if there’s danger... of... of... the people that we are speaking about, you would not see them on the streets in Harlem. The danger has to do with whether or not anybody comes here expecting African Americans to be so different. Because they are taught from wherever they are. um.. African Americans are dossals, and lazy and are not about anything except killing and stuff. So, we are not... there is no danger in coming into Harlem. There’s danger in misunderstanding us as people.

As clearly manifested in this comment, she criticized those who see Harlem and its citizens with negative stereotypes for not seeing the truth, but accepting stereotyped (and negative) images of the black community uncritically.

We can now summarize the reaction of the respondents to Question 1. First, all the respondents intensively pointed out the discrepancy between the information about Harlem described in Japanese tour guidebooks and the real situation of the area. Second, many respondents insisted
that the stereotypical information explicit in Japanese guidebooks was provoked by propaganda, which is untrue. Third, some respondents indicated that whether or not Harlem becomes a dangerous area depends on how people view the area.

Response to Question 2.

The second question in the interview schedule says “In your opinion, who says Harlem is a dangerous place?” Summarizing the answers of the respondents in the interview survey enabled the researcher to classify the data into the following four categories: (1) people of a particular racial group (2) politicians (3) Japanese people including office workers in America and tourists (4) others.

People of a particular racial group

First, we would like to focus on the comments of the respondents that fall into the first category (269 of 498, 54%) who insisted that people of a particular racial group provoked rumors about Harlem as a dangerous slum. A gentleman stated his opinion on this point as follows:

White man is saying it. Well, um... what the white man has done... ah... in different places all over the world... he’s tried to divide (people). And so, he knows that the Japanese and other people from other countries may come in and make friends with black Americans and therefore they mean to set up the businesses and prosper together. So they [Caucasians] want to keep them [Japanese] away (from African Americans). So they are saying that this area is dangerous so that you [Japanese] don’t make friends with those who need Japanese people. If people don’t come in, they don’t make any friends.... When you come into this area, you can look at people and tell people that are mild-milk prominent people that are not gonna bother nobody, like that person and that gentleman coming across that street. He’s not gonna bother nobody. And that lady in the passage, she’s not trying to trap nobody. You can look at and talk to people that are not going to bother anyone. Those are the kind of people that you wanna talk to. Those are the kind of people you wanna associate with. In those other people you don’t wanna associate with, I don’t wanna associate with. So... ah... it’s about, just being selective. No one is gonna... you know... No one bother you. But white man do try, as I said before, he wants to... ah... keep the Japanese away from black Americans so that they don’t do... ah... economic... ah... business.

The following comment given by Dorothy Hughes, one of the opinion leaders in Harlem, also shares
the same perspective with the gentleman who provided the comment quoted above:

What they [Caucasians] are going to do... the only reason... they want to indoctrinate your people. Because you [Japanese] have spread out to buy America. You... There are so many Asians who own so much of America. And they know they got to contend with you as “owners.” So they are trying to get you against some other folks so that they can survive.... And now you own most of the corporations here, you own most of the big buildings here. You own all of that stuff. They got to work for you. So what they are trying to do is find (a way) to put you in the position so that you can be against us [African Americans]. And, so, they would just perpetuate the lie.... And so, if they got you and me fighting, they got you scared at me, and me scared at you, then they are controlling our minds. But they can’t do that with some of us!

As indicated in these two examples, a lot of African-Americans in Harlem believe that Caucasians provoked negative rumors about Harlem in order to prevent Japanese people from coming into the area, and to make friends with African-Americans. More than half of all the respondents supported the viewpoint manifested in these two quotations.

**Politicians.**

About one third of all the respondents (174 of 498, 35%) pointed out that politicians contributed as a major source to create unfavorable images of Harlem. A gentleman commented on this point as follows:

Who started it? It’s basically, politicians. Right. So political. Anytime the discrepancy of anybody’s neighborhood is always made by politicians that are doing that. They try to get whole Japanese people down the midtown. It is supposed to... uh... (interrupted). It’s all politics.

Add to this comment, another gentleman stated as follows:

Who probably says is... ah... politicians or people that don’t want two people [Japanese and African Americans] to be friends, and make economic gains. The Japanese understand that they bought a lot of buildings and things and businesses in Manhattan area, all like 42nd street, 50th street, down that area. But they [politicians] don’t want them [the
Japanese) to come into this area and possibly do business here. Because it makes this area more prosperous. So they told them, “Don’t come here. Don’t be friends. It’s dangerous. Stay away!”

As exemplified in these comments, it seems clear that many people in Harlem regard politicians as a major source of the distorted information about Harlem. The comments also show that many respondents share the view that politicians intend to keep the Japanese away from African Americans in the community. If this is correct, there is a possibility that the information in Japanese guidebooks might have been controlled or distorted on account of some political reasons.

Japanese.

Let us now examine the comments of the respondents (40 of 498, 0.8%) who blamed the Japanese including business persons living and working in America for having spread a myth about Harlem as a dangerous place to stay away from. A young man commented on this point as follows:

It’s very simple. The Japanese are saying it. The Japanese provide great business for this country. Now, Harlem is not necessarily the business epicenter of the city. So, you don’t want people go into where there’s no business instead of where there’s business. Everybody comes to midtown. They [Japanese] consider midtown as New York City. And Harlem is just Harlem. Bronx is Bronx. That’s what it is.

This is a typical example of comments given by the interviewees in the third category. Through the comment indicated above, the respondent accused Japanese people coming into New York City of visiting only midtown Manhattan and ignoring Harlem. The comment also implies that such an attitude of Japanese people contributed to encourage stereotyped, distorted, and negative images of Harlem.

Let us now summarize the answers of the respondents regarding Question 2. First, more than half of the respondents asserted that negative images of the area were provoked by Caucasians to keep the Japanese away from African-Americans. Second, many respondents suggested that politicians played a role to prevent Japanese people from coming into Harlem6 Third, some respondents indicated that Japanese people contributed to advertise negative images of the area. Now let us turn to the final section of this chapter.
Response to Questions 3 and 4

This section presents the results of the third and forth questions in the interview schedule simultaneously, for the two questions are closely interrelated. The third question asked, “Do you welcome Japanese people who visit Harlem?” And the forth question asked, “Do you have anything to say to Japanese people who hesitate to visit Harlem?” These questions enabled the researcher to know how people in Harlem regard Japanese people as a whole.

To put the conclusion first, it became apparent that almost all the respondents answered that they welcome Japanese people. A gentleman responded to the third question as follows:

Yes. Sure. We welcome Japanese and other ethnic groups. If you walk down to the street, you got Korean stores, you got Chinese stores, you got a lot of Asians here. Harlem is multicultural. They are down there. You can see that. You can see that for yourself.

He went on to say, responding to the forth question:

Someone must correct the wrong information spreading in Japan, you know. The electronic age should do something over the Internet, or to do something in writing, you know. They got to change whole books, 1970s periodicals, 1980s periodicals. They got to change. This is the 90s. OK?

Two gentlemen (Person A and Person B, see Appendix 2) also expressed their welcome to Japanese people as follows:

A: Japanese guys! Come to Harlem! When they come to me, I would welcome. I would welcome them to Harlem, man. Understand I’m saying? Understand I’m saying? ... Tourists.. tourists.. They cannot.. They cannot listen to what people say. You got to come and experience Harlem for yourself.

B: Right. Right.

A: Come and experience Harlem for yourself.

B: Then you can form on your opinion. Then you can form on your opinion, man. You know what I mean?
These comments presented above are good illustrations of majority of the respondents’ answers. In any case, no respondents answered “No” when they were asked the third question. However, Japanese people should pay their attention to the following comment given by a respondent:

Yes. Actually, on 125th Street, a lot of Japanese people visit Apollo Theater. They come in bus roads. They come to Apollo Theater, and Cotton Club so often. And they watch artists and stars. They do it all the time, almost every weekend. But I’ve never talked with them personally. They always flock together, do not speak English and never talk to us. Never.

The respondent apparently suggested that Japanese tourists coming into New York City change their attitude toward local people, while they actually answered “Yes” for the third question.

Let us provide the final example given by a young man. He also answered the questions in a friendly, and a suggestive manner:


He went on to say, responding to the forth question:

If you’ve got to come, see for yourself, and say like, “How are you doing?” If you don’t come, see for yourself, you just listen to what other people say… other people. I think when you tell something, by the time you got to tell back… by the time you got to tell to the next person, they listen to your story. They already got the story twisted. They are not listening to a real story. That’s right here.

In this comment, he declared that no one can get the true story, unless he or she sees the truth through his or her own eyes.

Let us now summarize the answers of the respondents regarding Questions 3 and 4. First, all the respondents answered “Yes” when they were asked “Do you welcome Japanese people who visit Harlem?” Second, some respondents reacted to the questions in a critical or in a suggestive manner, although they expressed their welcome to Japanese people. Based on the results displayed in this chapter, we can now proceed to the conclusion.
Conclusion

This final part of this paper draws a conclusion based on the analyses of collected data and the interviewer’s experiences in the target field.

First, it is clear that there is a discrepancy between the information about Harlem described in Japanese guidebooks and the real situation of the community, as the respondents explained to the researcher. Tour guidebooks published in Japan have warned their readers to avoid Harlem, constantly saying that it is risky for outsiders to sightsee the spot. However, the fact is that, the interviewer could carry out his longitudinal survey in Harlem quite safely, in the day time, and even in the night time. As many respondents repeatedly pointed out, nobody in Harlem has bothered the researcher in the last ten years. As one of the interviewees asserted, if Harlem was actually a dangerous area, the researcher could not have carried out his longitudinal survey safely in the field. We can, therefore, reasonably conclude that the pieces of information about Harlem described in Japanese guidebooks are not necessarily true.

Second, if the information described in Japanese guidebooks is not true, which seems to be the case in fact, we should specify the sources of the information, in order to correct and eliminate the wrong information widely accepted in Japan. As discussed in the previous chapter, there is a possibility that stereotypical and negative information about Harlem described in Japanese guidebooks have been provoked by myths or a sort of propaganda. As many respondents asserted, politicians or a particular group of people might have controlled or distorted the information about Harlem on account of political or economic reasons. One of the intentions of those people who advertized negative images of Harlem, the researcher supposes, is that, as many respondents explained, they might have intended to prevent Japanese people and Japanese money from coming into Harlem, to leave the black community as economic vacuum, isolated from business cycle of U.S. mainstream society. In fact, no Japanese big company has extended its business into Harlem. It seems curious especially when we see the fact that Starbucks Coffee Co., one of the major U.S. companies has extended its business in Harlem (see Appendix 3). Judging from this, we may say that there is a possibility that the Japanese are exposed to the distorted and biased information about Harlem intended to make them hesitate to go to the area.

Third, judging from the collected data concerning Questions 3 and 4, it is reasonable to say that citizens in Harlem share a positive impression of Japanese people as a whole. It is apparent that no media agencies (both U.S. media agencies and Japanese counterparts) have made intensive efforts to communicate positive images of Harlem to Japanese people living in Japan. It seems obvious that
one of the reasons the Japanese hesitate to pay a visit to Harlem is that, they rely on second hand experiences and still have negative images about Harlem based on out-of-date information or an established myth. Lack of true information, communication, and interaction between Japanese people and citizens in Harlem have contributed for Japanese people to maintain negative images of Harlem and local people. If this situation does not change, there is a possibility that further misunderstandings may arise between the two cultural groups.

From these remarks one general point becomes clear, that is, as one of the respondents pointed out, someone must correct the wrong information about Harlem at any cost by constantly providing true information about the area for the public. The Japanese will not be able to shake off negative and stereotyped images of Harlem and the people who live there, unless they are provided with the true information that tells the current status of the community. It seems reasonable to say that, when people believe literally what others say or what is written in books without healthy skepticism, regardless of topics, misunderstandings can arise. As Dorothy Hughes explained to the researcher in the survey, “there is no danger in coming into Harlem, there is a danger in misunderstanding citizens in Harlem as people.” In other words, if one sees Harlem and its residents in the area as extremely special or odd, in a negative sense, the area turns out to be dangerous. Whether or not Harlem becomes a dangerous area depends on how one sees the community and its residents. In any case, someone must correct the wrong information about Harlem to break negative myths regarding Harlem by constantly providing true information about the area for the public through printed media, periodicals, etc, from which new bridges will be forged. The researcher believes that communication scientists can, and will be able to play a significant role to accomplish this goal.

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Notes
2. Dorothy Pittman Hughes is president and C.E.O. of Harlem Business Development Corporation (formerly Harlem Office Supply, Inc.). She is the first African-American woman to own an office supply / copy center and to become a member of the Stationers’ Association of New York. She is also a member of The National Black Women’s Political Congress, The National Council of Negro Women, etc. Also, she is a well-known community organizer and regarded as one of the emergent opinion leaders in Harlem.
References
Appendixes

Appendix 1 : A respondent welcomes the researcher in East Harlem

Appendix 2 : Respondents and the researcher on 125th Street at midnight

Appendix 3 : Stores of Starbucks Coffee and McDonalds on 125th Street
(Bill Clinton’s office is in the building on the extreme right.)