



## Community Development Studio, Spring 2007

*Gentrification and Affordable Housing*

*Subsidizing Development in New York City*

970:511 CSQ 243, 1:10 – 3:50

*Kathe Newman*

732-932-3822 x556

[knewman@rci.rutgers.edu](mailto:knewman@rci.rutgers.edu)

<http://www.rci.rutgers.edu/~knewman>

Office CSQ 358. Hours Wed 1:30-4:30

Andrew Szwak, Teaching Assistant

[aszwak@eden.rutgers.edu](mailto:aszwak@eden.rutgers.edu)

### Purposes of Course

- (1) Learn about community development
- (2) Provide applied research assistance to a community organization
- (3) Develop a report on affordable housing and development subsidies in New York City

## **Project Description**

The Spring Community Development Studio will be working with the New York Community Council, a coalition of advocacy organizations that is concerned about the rapid pace of gentrification. The coalition asked for our assistance to develop a report about development subsidies, affordable housing, and displacement in New York City. They are concerned that development subsidies are subsidizing market rate and luxury housing facilitating gentrification while simultaneously reducing the subsidies available for affordable housing.

We will 1) examine housing development subsidy programs 2) explore how much select developments receive in subsidies and how much affordable housing is produced and for what income groups 3) compare the affordable housing developed with the average income of the community in which it is built 4) examine the extent to which local residents are displaced from these neighborhoods. We will examine city policies and explore development in four case study neighborhoods: Williamsburg, Downtown Brooklyn (Atlantic Yards), Central Harlem, and the Lower East Side.

## **Course Materials, Resources, and Information**

### *Server*

Common/511CDS\_07

### *Course Website*

Sakai under the course number

### *Course Blog*

<http://nycgentrification.blogspot.com>

## **Grading**

20% Class Participation, Leadership, Citizenship

20% Draft Work Products

50% Final Work Products

10% Presentation

**January 16. Studio 101: Introduction to Project and Client**

Introductions and interests – yours, mine

Expectations – yours, mine

Project overview

Studio overview

Guie, Phil. 2006. "New Group, Bigger Audience, Same Agenda." <http://www.brooklyndowntownstar.com/StoryDisplay.asp?NewsStoryID=4970&PID=4&Headline>New%20Group,%20Bigger%20Audience,%20Same%20Agenda>

Newman, Kathe and Elvin Wyly 2006 "The Right to Stay Put, Revisited: Gentrification and Resistance to Displacement in New York City." *Urban Studies* 43 1:1-35.

Carlson, Neil. 2005. "The Making of a Movement: How Organizing is Transforming Housing in New York City." <http://www.anhd.org/resources/the%20making%20of%20a%20movement%20report.pdf>

Coalition for the Homeless. "The Affordable Housing Crisis and Homelessness in New York City." <http://www.coalitionforthehomeless.com>

**January 23. Client Meeting \*\*\*\*NEW YORK CITY\*\*\*\***

2:00pm Tour of the Lower East Side - 445 Lafayette Street at the "Green Monster"

6:00pm Client Meeting - New York Community Council - Cooper Square Committee 59 East 4th Street between 2nd and 3rd Avenues

NJTransit 12:26 from New Brunswick arrives at Penn Station at 1:27 (FREE STUDENT TRAVEL on NJTRANSIT this week - be sure to print and bring coupon)

Gentrification Web by Tom Slater <http://www.members.lycos.co.uk/gentrification/>

Smith, Neil. 2002. "New Globalism, New Urbanism: Gentrification as Global Urban Strategy." *Antipode* 34 3:427-450.

\_\_\_\_\_. 1996. *The New Urban Frontier: Gentrification and the Revanchist City*. Routledge. Chapters 1 and 2.

Lees, Loretta. 2003. "Super-gentrification: The Case of Brooklyn Heights, New York City." *Urban Studies* 40 12:2487-2509.

Hackworth, Jason. 2002. "Postrecession Gentrification in New York City." *Urban Affairs Review* 37 6:815-843.

January 25 TENTATIVE (Thursday). Williamsburg Tour  
10:30am. Meeting Location TBA

### **January 30. Affordable Housing Crisis**

Coalition for the Homeless. "The Affordable Housing Crisis and Homelessness in New York City." <http://www.coalitionforthehomeless>

Community Service Society. *Policy Brief: Closing the Door: Accelerating Losses of New York City Subsidized Housing*. May 2006. [http://www.cssny.org/pdfs/ClosingTheDoor\\_Brief.pdf](http://www.cssny.org/pdfs/ClosingTheDoor_Brief.pdf)

Housing First! "A Home for All New Yorkers: Housing First! 2005 Policy Update." August 2005. [http://www.housingfirst.net/pdfs/HF\\_Policy\\_Update0805.pdf](http://www.housingfirst.net/pdfs/HF_Policy_Update0805.pdf)

Scott, Janny. 2006. "Lower-Priced Housing is Vanishing at a Faster Pace." *New York Times* B3 May 27. <http://www.nytimes.com/2006/05/27/nyregion/27housing.html?ex=1169010000&en=c9dfce516857527a&ei=5070>

*Form Research Teams*

*Invited Speakers: Benjamin Dulchin, The Association for Neighborhood and Housing Development (ANHD) New York City ([www.anhd.org](http://www.anhd.org))*

February 1 TENTATIVE (Thursday). Trip to Atlantic Yards Development  
10:30am. Meeting Location TBA

### **February 6. Development Subsidies I**

Gould Ellen, Ingrid, Michael Schill, Amy Ellen Schwartz, and Ioan Voicu. Housing Production Subsidies and Neighborhood Revitalization: New York City's Ten-Year

Capital Plan for Housing. Federal Reserve Board of New York Economic Policy Review  
June 2003 [http://furmancenter.nyu.edu/CREUP\\_Papers/0306elle.pdf](http://furmancenter.nyu.edu/CREUP_Papers/0306elle.pdf)

Schwartz, Alex. 1999. "New York City and Subsidized Housing: Impacts and Lessons of the City's \$5 Billion Capital Budget Housing Plan." *Housing Policy Debate* 10 4:839-877.  
[http://www.fanniemaefoundation.org/programs/hpd/pdf/hpd\\_1004\\_schwartz.pdf](http://www.fanniemaefoundation.org/programs/hpd/pdf/hpd_1004_schwartz.pdf)

**February 13. Development Subsidies II**

**February 20. Project Work**

*February 22 TENTATIVE (Thursday). Harlem*  
10:30am. Meeting Location TBA

**February 27. Project Work**

**March 6. Mid-semester meeting with Client**

**March 13. SPRING BREAK**

**March 20. Project Work**

**March 27. Project Work**

**April 3. Project Work**

**April 10. Complete Reports and Draft Presentation**

**April 17. Polish Presentation**

**April 24. Presentation to EJB Community**

**May 1. Final Presentation**

Cooper Union

## Gentrification Bibliography

Atkinson, Roland. 2000 Measuring Gentrification and Displacement in Greater London, *Urban Studies* 37 1:149-165.

Beauregard, Robert. 1986. "The Chaos and Complexity of Gentrification." In *Gentrification of the City*. Ed. N. Smith and P. Williams. London: Unwin Hyman.

Curran, Winifred. 2007. "From the Frying Pan to the Oven": Gentrification and the Experience of Industrial Displacement in Williamsburg, Brooklyn." *Urban Studies*. Forthcoming.

Curran, Winifred and Susan Hanson. 2005. "Getting Globalized: City Policy and Industrial Displacement in Williamsburg, Brooklyn." *Urban Geography*.

Curran, Winifred. 2004. Gentrification and the Changing Nature of Work: Exploring the Links in Williamsburg, Brooklyn. *Environment and Planning A*. 36 (7): 1243-1260.

Freeman, Lance. 2005 "Displacement or Succession? Residential Mobility in Gentrifying Neighborhoods." *Urban Affairs Review* 40 4:463-491.

Freeman, Lance and Braconi, Frank. 2002 "Gentrification and Displacement" *The Urban Prospect*. 8 1:1-4.

\_\_\_\_\_. 2004 "Gentrification and Displacement: New York City in the 1990s" *Journal of the American Planning Association* 70 1: 39-52.

Hackworth, Jason. 2002. "Postrecession Gentrification in New York City." *Urban Affairs Review* 37 6:815-843.

Hackworth, J. and Smith, N. (2001) The Changing State of Gentrification, *Tijdschrift voor Economische en Sociale Geografie* 92(4), pp, 464-477.

Hackworth, Jason. 2002. "Post Recession Gentrification in New York City." *Urban Affairs Review*. 37 6: 815-843.

\_\_\_\_\_. 2001. "Inner city real estate investment, gentrification, and economic recession in New York City." *Environment and Planning A: Urban and Regional Research*. 33 5: 863-880.

\_\_\_\_\_. 2000. "State devolution, urban regimes, and the production of geographic scale: The case of New Brunswick, NJ." *Urban Geography*. 21 5: 450-458.

Hartman, C and Robinson, D. 2003 "Evictions: The Hidden Housing Problem" *Housing Policy Debate* 14 4: 461-501.

Lees, Loretta. 2003. "Super-gentrification: The Case of Brooklyn Heights, New York City." *Urban Studies* 40 12:2487-2509.

Lees, L. 2000 "A Reappraisal of Gentrification: Towards a 'Geography of Gentrification.'" *Progress in Human Geography* 24 3: 389-408.

Marcuse, Peter 1986 "Abandonment, Gentrification, and Displacement: The Linkages in New York City." In Smith and Williams (Eds). *Gentrification and the City*. London: Unwin Hyman, pp. 153-177.

Newman, Kathe and Elvin Wly 2006 "The Right to Stay Put, Revisited: Gentrification and Resistance to Displacement in New York City." *Urban Studies* 43 1:1-35.

Slater, Tom. 2006. "The Eviction of Critical Perspectives from Gentrification Research." *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*. 30 4: 737-.

\_\_\_\_\_. 2004. "North American gentrification? Revanchist and emancipatory perspectives explored." *Environment and Planning A* 36 7: 1191-1213.

\_\_\_\_\_. 2002. "Looking at the 'North American City' through the lens of gentrification discourse." *Urban Geography* 23 2:131-153.

Smith, Neil. 2002. "New Globalism, New Urbanism: Gentrification as Global Urban Strategy." *Antipode* 34 3:427-450.

\_\_\_\_\_. 1996. *The New Urban Frontier: Gentrification and the Revanchist City*. Routledge.

\_\_\_\_\_. 1989. "Tompkins Square: Riots, Rents, and Redskins." *Portable Lower East Side*. 6.

\_\_\_\_\_. 1987. "Of Yuppies and Housing: Gentrification, Social Restructuring, and the Urban Dream." *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 5:151-172.

\_\_\_\_\_. 1982. "Gentrification and Uneven Development." *Economic Geography*. 58:139-155.

\_\_\_\_\_. 1979. "Toward a Theory of Gentrification: A Back to the City Movement by Capital not people." *Journal of the American Planning Association*. 45:538-548.

\_\_\_\_\_. 1979. "Gentrification and Capital: Practice and Ideology in Society Hill." *Antipode*. 11:24-35.

Wyly, E and Hammel D. (1999) "Islands of Decay in Seas of Renewal: Housing Policy and the Resurgence of Gentrification" *Housing Policy Debate* 10 4: 711-781.

## **New York Housing Bibliography and Resources**

### Community and Advocacy Organizations

ANHD <http://www.anhd.org/>

Council of Brooklyn Neighborhoods <http://www.cbrooklynneighborhoods.homestead.com>

Develop Don't Destroy Brooklyn [http://dddb.net/php/latestnews\\_ArchiveDate.php](http://dddb.net/php/latestnews_ArchiveDate.php)

Housing First <http://www.housingfirst.net/help.html>

Housing Here and Now <http://www.housinghereandnow.org/>

Met Council on Housing <http://www.metcouncil.net/>

New York State Association for Affordable Housing <http://www.nysafah.org/index.shtml>

### NYC Housing Affordability

ANHD. 2004. Affordable Housing at a Crossroads: Not-For-Profit Housing Production in the New Marketplace. <http://www.anhd.org/resources/Affordable%20Housing%20At%20A%20Crossroads.pdf>

Beveridge, Andrew. 2003. "Who Can Afford to Live in New York City." *Gotham Gazette*. October. <http://www.gothamgazette.com/article//20051004/5/1608>

Carlson, Neil. 2005. "The Making of a Movement: How Organizing is Transforming Housing in New York City." <http://www.anhd.org/resources/the%20making%20of%20a%20movement%20report.pdf>

Chen, David. November 19, 2003. "Bit by Bit, Government Eases its Grip on Rents in New York." *New York Times*.

Coalition for the Homeless. "The Affordable Housing Crisis and Homelessness in New York City." <http://www.coalitionforthehomeless>

Community Service Society. *Policy Brief: Closing the Door: Accelerating Losses of New York City Subsidized Housing*. May 2006. [http://www.cssny.org/pdfs/ClosingTheDoor\\_Brief.pdf](http://www.cssny.org/pdfs/ClosingTheDoor_Brief.pdf)

DeFilippis, James. 2003 *Keeping the Doors Open: HUD-subsidized Housing in New York City, Community Service Society Policy Brief*. Accessed at <http://www.cssny.org/pubs/policybrief/policybrief13.pdf>, last accessed on January 21.

Housing First! "A Home for All New Yorkers: Housing First! 2005 Policy Update." August 2005. [http://www.housingfirst.net/pdfs/HF\\_Policy\\_Update0805.pdf](http://www.housingfirst.net/pdfs/HF_Policy_Update0805.pdf)

Scott, Janny. 2006. "Lower-Priced Housing is Vanishing at a Faster Pace." *New York Times* B3 May 27.

### NYC Housing Data

Department of Planning, New York City. New York: A City of Neighborhoods. <http://www.nyc.gov/html/dcp/html/neighbor/neigh.shtml>

Furman Center for Real Estate and Urban Policy. 2005. *State of New York City's Housing and Neighborhoods*. New York University. <http://furmancenter.nyu.edu/publications/SOC2005.htm>

Infoshare Online. <http://www.infoshare.org>

New York City Housing and Neighborhood Information System (NYCHANIS). Furman Center. NYU. <http://furmancenter.nyu.edu/nychanis/index.html>

New York City Rent Guidelines Board. 2005. 2005 *Housing Supply Report*. [http://www.housingnyc.com/downloads/research/pdf\\_reports/05HSR.pdf](http://www.housingnyc.com/downloads/research/pdf_reports/05HSR.pdf)

Wha Lee, Moon. 2006. "Selected Findings of the 2005 New York City Housing and Vacancy Survey." <http://www.metcouncil.net/factsheets/2005-Housing-and-vacancy-survey-initial-findings.pdf>

### NYC Housing Development Subsidy Programs

Gould Ellen, Ingrid, Michael Schill, Amy Ellen Schwartz, and Ioan Voicu. Housing Production Subsidies and Neighborhood Revitalization: New York City's Ten-Year Capital Plan for Housing. Federal Reserve Board of New York Economic Policy Review June 2003 [http://furmancenter.nyu.edu/CREUP\\_Papers/0306elle.pdf](http://furmancenter.nyu.edu/CREUP_Papers/0306elle.pdf)

NYU Furman Center for Real Estate and Urban Policy. *Housing Policy in New York City: A Brief History*. <http://www.law.nyu.edu/realestatecenter/publications/documents/NYChousingpolicybrief1.pdf>

Schwartz, Alex. 1999. "New York City and Subsidized Housing: Impacts and Lessons of the City's \$5 Billion Capital Budget Housing Plan." *Housing Policy Debate* 20 4: 839-877.

VanRyzin, Gregg and Thomas Kamber. 2002. "Housing and Workforce Development Policy in New York City: Subtenures and Housing Outcomes for Low Income Renters in New York City." *Journal of Urban Affairs* 24 2: 197-

Schwartz, Amy Ellen, Ingrid Gould Ellen, Ioan Voicu, and Michael Schill. "The External Effects of Place-Based Subsidized Housing." [http://www.law.nyu.edu/realestatecenter/publications/hsg\\_extern\\_paper\\_ssrrn\\_rv7.pdf](http://www.law.nyu.edu/realestatecenter/publications/hsg_extern_paper_ssrrn_rv7.pdf)

Schill, Michael. "Removing Regulatory Barriers: One City's Experience." <http://www.law.nyu.edu/realestatecenter/publications/documents/removingbarriers.pdf>

Acitelli, Tom. 2006. "Murky Future for 421a Tax Incentives Worries Developers, Marketers." *The Real Deal. New York Real Estate.* 4 4 [http://www.therealdeal.net/issues/APRIL\\_2006/1143753174.php](http://www.therealdeal.net/issues/APRIL_2006/1143753174.php)

Burd, Josh and Gail Robinson. 2006. "Tax Breaks for Affordable Housing." *Gotham Gazette.* <http://www.gothamgazette.com/article/communitydevelopment/20061221/20/2067>

Department of Housing Preservation and Development, City of New York. Developers, Tax Incentives 421-a. <http://www.nyc.gov/html/hpd/html/developers/421a.shtml>

"Ending a Housing Giveaway." Editorial. *New York Times.* October 15, 2006. <http://www.nytimes.com/2006/10/15/opinion/nyregionopinions/421a.html/partner/nytrss?ex=1167368400&en=e590edb0ad31dff&ei=5070>

Gramlich, Edward 1976. "New York: Ripple or Tidal Wave. The New York City Fiscal Crisis: What Happened and What is to be Done?" *American Economic Review.* 66 2:415-429.

New York City Department of Housing Preservation and Development. 2006. *Recommendations of the 421-a Task Force.* October. <http://www.prattcenter.net/nyc421a-2.php>

Pratt Center for Community Development & Habitat for Humanity. 2006. *Reforming New York City's 421-a Property Tax Exemption Program: Subsidize Affordable Homes, Not Luxury Development.* April  
<http://www.prattcenter.net/pubs/PrattCenter-NY421-aReport.pdf>

Thompson, William. 2006. "An Overview of Section 421-a Housing Subsidy Distribution." Policy Brief. [http://www.comptroller.nyc.gov/press/pdfs/05-23-06\\_policy\\_brief\\_421a.pdf](http://www.comptroller.nyc.gov/press/pdfs/05-23-06_policy_brief_421a.pdf)

Varady, David. 1994. "Middle-Income Housing Programmes in American Cities." *Urban Studies* 31 8:1345-1366

### *Liberty Bond*

Introducing the New York Liberty Bond Program. <http://www.empire.state.ny.us/wtc/LibertyBonds/WTC-LibertyBondBrochure.pdf>

### *Inclusionary Zoning*

[http://www.nyc.gov/html/dcp/html/zone/zh\\_inclu\\_housing.shtml](http://www.nyc.gov/html/dcp/html/zone/zh_inclu_housing.shtml)

<http://www.nyc.gov/html/hpd/html/developers/inclusionary.shtml>

PolicyLink and Pratt Institute Center for Community and Environmental Development. 2004. Increasing Housing Opportunities in New York City: The Case for Inclusionary Zoning. <http://www.prattcenter.net/pubs/izreport.pdf>

80/20

### **NYC Housing Policy**

Department of Housing Preservation and Development, City of New York. *Progress Report 2005*. New York City. <http://www.nyc.gov/html/hpd/downloads/pdf/2005-annual-report.pdf>

### **National Housing**

Joint Center for Housing Studies of Harvard University. 2005. "The State of the Nation's Housing." <http://www.jchs.harvard.edu/publications/markets/son2005/>

### **Study Neighborhoods**

#### Downtown Brooklyn/Atlantic Yards

<http://www.atlanticyards.com/>

<http://atlanticyardsreport.blogspot.com/>

<http://brooklynviews.blogspot.com/>

[http://www.dddb.net/php/latestnews\\_ArchiveDate.php](http://www.dddb.net/php/latestnews_ArchiveDate.php) - Develop Don't Destroy site – great site

<http://www.fansforfairplay.com/>

<http://www.newyorkgames.org/news/>

<http://www.nolandgrab.org/>

[http://www.onnyturf.com/gmap/?gmap\\_id=2](http://www.onnyturf.com/gmap/?gmap_id=2) -- really cool gis maps

<http://www.plannyc.org/>

## Harlem

AKRF, Inc. 1982. *Harlem Area Redevelopment Study: Gentrification in Harlem*. 2 parts.  
Report prepared for Harlem Urban Development Corporation.

Brodhead, Frank. 1999, "Harlem's Gentrification and Its Discontents." <http://www.tenant.net/Tengroup/Metcounc/Apr99/harlem.html>

Downer, L. 1999. "Melting the Ghetto: METROPOLIS: in Hard-Core Harlem." *The Financial Times*. 26 June.

Grunwald, Michael. 1996. "Harlem Finally Rides the Economy's 'A' Train: As Crime Falls, A Retail Boom Arrives." *Washington Post*. May 5, PA01.

Little, Rivka Gewirtz. 2002. "The New Harlem: Who's Behind the Real Estate Gold Rush and Who's Fighting It?" *The Village Voice*. September 18-24. Accessed online <http://villagevoice.com>

Rhodes, Anthony Love. No date. "Town Meeting Demands Action." Online: <http://www.harlemlive.org/community/harlemNtrans/gentrification>

Schaffer, R. and Neil Smith. 1986. "The Gentrification of Harlem?" *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*. 76.

Taylor, Monique. 2002. (Nov). *Harlem between Heaven and Hell*. University of Minnesota Press.

Thomas, Greg. 2003. "Pataki's Man in Harlem: How Randy Daniels Helped Put Chain Stores and Market Prices Uptown." *The Village Voice*. January 29-February 4. accessed online.

### Lower East Side

Janet Abu-Lughod and others. 1994. *From Urban Village to East Village: The Battle for New York's Lower East Side*. Blackwell Publishers.

DeGiovanni, Frank. 1987. *Displacement Pressures in the Lower East Side*. New York: Community Services Society.

Grebler, Leo. 1952. *Housing Market Behavior in a Declining Area: Long-term Changes in Inventory and Utilization of Housing on New York's Lower East Side*. Columbia University Press.

Ewen, Elizabeth. 1985. "Immigrant Women in the Land of Dollars: Life and Culture on the Lower East Side." *Monthly Review Press*.

Hevesi, Dennis. 2003. "Chinatown Journey: From Protesters to Developers." *New York Times*. Real Estate Section January 12 Section II, p1,6.

Maffi, Mario. 1994. *Gateway to the Promised Land: Ethnic Cultures on New York's Lower East Side*. New York University Press.

Mele, Christopher. 2000. *Selling the Lower East Side: Culture, Real Estate, and Resistance in New York, 1880-2000*. University of Minnesota Press.

\_\_\_\_\_. 1996. "Globalization, Culture and Neighborhood Change: Reinventing the Lower East Side of New York." *Urban Affairs Review*. 32(1):3-22.

\_\_\_\_\_. 1994a. "The Process of Gentrification in Alphabet City." In *From Urban Village to East Village: The Battle for New York's Lower East Side*. Abu-Lughod. 169-88. New York: Basil Blackwell.

\_\_\_\_\_. 1994.b "Neighborhood Burnout: Puerto Ricans at the End of the Queue." In *From Urban Village to East Village: The Battle for New York's Lower East Side*. Abu-Lughod. 125-40. New York: Basil Blackwell.

\_\_\_\_\_. 1995. "Changing Forms of Displacement in the East Village of New York." *Comparative Urban and Community Research*. 5:69-94.

Muniz, Vicky. 1998. *Resisting Gentrification and Displacement: Voices of Puerto Rican Women of the Barrio (Latino Communities: Emerging Voices in Political, Social, Cultural, and Legal Issues)*. New York: Garland.

Schwartz, Harry and Peter Ables. 1973. *Planning for the Lower East Side*. Praeger Publishers.

Sharff, Jagna. 1998. *King Kong on 4th Street: Families and the Violence of Poverty on the Lower East Side*. Westview Press.

Smith, Neil. 1996. *The New Urban Frontier: Gentrification and the Revanchist City*. New York: Routledge.

Smith, Neil and James De Filippis. 1999. "The Reassertion of Economics: 1990s Gentrification in the Lower East Side." *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*. 23:638-53.

Smith, Neil. 1986. "Gentrification, the Frontier, and the Restructuring of Urban Space." In Neil Smith and P. Williams ed. *Gentrification of the City*. Boston: Allen and Unwin. 15-34.

Smith, Neil. 1992. "New City, New Frontier: The Lower East Side as Wild, Wild West." In Variations on a Theme Park. Ed. M. Sorkin. 61-93. New York: Noonday.

Smith, N. and M. LeFaivre. 1984. "A Class Analysis of Gentrification. In *Gentrification, Displacement and Neighborhood Revitalization*. Ed. J.J. Palen and B. London. 43-63. Albany: State University of New York Press.

Trav, S.D. 2003. "Exit, Stage Lower East Side: The Closing of Surf Reality and the Theatorium Signals the End of a Theatrical Era." *The Village Voice*. March 5-11. Accessed on-line.

Turner, Joan. 1984. Building Boundaries: The Politics of Urban Renewal in Manhattan's Lower East Side. PhD dissertation, City University of New York.

Zukin, Sharon. 1995. *The Culture of Cities*. Blackwell Publishers.

Williamsburg/Greenpoint

Curran, W. 2004 "Gentrification and the Nature of Work: Exploring Links in Williamsburg, Brooklyn" *Environment and Planning A*, 36 7: 1141-1330.

Widman, Amy. 2003. "Replacing Politics with Democracy: A Proposal for Community Planning in New York City and Beyond." *Brooklyn Law School Journal*. [http://www.brooklaw.edu/students/journals/bjlp/jlp11i\\_widman.pdf](http://www.brooklaw.edu/students/journals/bjlp/jlp11i_widman.pdf)