GENTRIFICATION IN BROOKLYN
PRIMARY SOURCE PACKET

Disinvestment, redlining, renewal, and inequality through the lens of the neighborhood of Bedford-Stuyvesant

Student Name
INTRODUCTORY READING

How can we understand the process of gentrification? By examining a single neighborhood – Bedford-Stuyvesant, Brooklyn – we can learn about factors that make a place vulnerable for gentrification. These factors include disinvestment, redlining, and renewal.

Disinvestment is a key factor in preparing a neighborhood for gentrification. Disinvestment happens when a place is no longer maintained: residents or landlords cannot afford to take care of their properties or choose not to spend money on property that they do not think is valuable; and the city does not take care of infrastructure such as roads, parks, and public transit.

One cause of disinvestment is redlining. Redlining resulted after the federal government made maps in the 1930s that designated certain parts of major cities to be a poor investment for banks, and so residents in these areas could not obtain bank mortgages or loans to purchase or repair homes. As a result, these neighborhoods fell into disrepair.

Neighborhoods that have faced disinvestment become opportunities for renewal. Governments, companies, or private individuals see cheap, run-down property that they can buy and fix up. Renewal usually results in increased property value and new business opportunities in the neighborhood, but this can also mean increased rent and taxes for existing residents. This type of neighborhood renewal, which increases the value of a neighborhood, is known as gentrification. Increased value and benefits of renewal are not necessarily shared equally by all neighborhood residents.

According to the Center for Disease Control:

Gentrification is often defined as the transformation of neighborhoods from low value to high value. This change has the potential to cause displacement of long-time residents and businesses. Displacement happens when long-time or original neighborhood residents move from a gentrified area because of higher rents, mortgages, and property taxes.

Gentrification is a housing, economic, and health issue that affects a community’s history and culture and reduces social capital. It often shifts a neighborhood’s characteristics (e.g., racial/ethnic composition and household income) by adding new stores and resources in previously run-down neighborhoods.¹


1. **Document 1** is an atlas page showing part of Bedford-Stuyvesant, What year is this atlas page from?


2. List four streets that you see on the atlas page in **Document 1**:

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3. The pink and yellow squares on **Document 1** are buildings. Look closely to find the names written on some of these buildings. List four building names here:

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4. If you lived in this neighborhood, where do you imagine that you would go to have fun with your friends outdoors?
Document 2a (above):
*Tompkins Park.* 191?. Brooklyn Public Library, Brooklyn Collection.

Summary: Image is one of a set: interior views of people, including library patrons and employees, in reading room at the Tompkins Park Branch of Brooklyn Public Library located in Tompkins Park.

1. **Document 2a** shows a library that used to exist in Tompkins Park. Place an X on Document 1, where you think this was located.

2. Describe the people you see in **Document 2a**. What are they wearing? What are they doing?

3. Examine **Document 2b**. What is the name of this building?

4. Place an X on Document 1, to mark the location of the building shown in **Document 2b**.

5. Describe the neighborhood you see in **Document 2b**: the people, the streets, and the environment.
Documents 3a and 3b: Jaffe, Bernard M. *Story Hour in Tompkins Park*, [195-?] Brooklyn Public Library, Brooklyn Collection. Two photos from a set of five.
1. Look at Documents 3a and 3b. Where were these photographs taken?

2. According to the caption for Documents 3a and 3b, what are the people in these photographs doing?

3. Describe the people that you see in Documents 3a and 3b. List four observations:
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4. Compare the people in Documents 3a and 3b with the people enjoying the library at the same location in Document 2a. How are they the same? How are they different?

**Area Description – Security Map of New York City**

1. **Area Characteristics:**
   - **a. Description of Terrain:** Substantial row brick construction – Many brownstone front old singles.
   - **b. Favorable Influences:** Obsolescence and poor upkeep. Infiltration of Negroes.
   - **c. Detrimental Influences:** Elevated structures on Lexington Ave., Fulton St. and Atlantic Avenue and Broadway.
   - **d. Percentage of public employment:** static
   - **e. Trend of desirability next 10-15 yrs.:** static

2. **Inhabitants:**
   - **a. Occupation:** Home Owners' Loan Corporation, 1937.
   - **b. Estimated annual family income:** $1800-3500
   - **c. Foreign-born families (%) :** 50
   - **d. Irish predominating; d. Negro (%) :** 25
   - **e. Infiltration of Negroes (steady):** Many
   - **f. Relief families:** Yes
   - **g. Population is increasing:** decreasing

3. **Buildings:**
   - **Predominating Type:**
     - *3-4 family 4-5 res.:
     - *Brick
     - *35 Years
     - * Poor - fair
     - *100%
   - **Other Type:**
     - *Type:
     - *Brick-framed
     - *35 Years
     - * Poor - fair
     - *50%
   - **Other Type:**
     - *Type:
     - *Brick-framed
     - *35 Years
     - * Poor - fair
     - *50%

4. **Availability of Mortgage Funds:**
   - **a. Home purchase:** Limited
   - **b. Home building:** None

5. **Clarifying Remarks:**
   - 30% brick 6-8 family tenements 4-8 rooms none with stores renting $8-85 per room. Suggest modest units at $30-45 per room. Colored infiltration a definitely adverse influence on neighborhood desirability although Negroes will buy properties at fair prices and usually rent rooms. There is a proposal to remove the elevated structure on Fulton Street.

6. **Name and Location:** Bedford-Stuyvesant Brooklyn

**Assessed Values:** 150% of market value
1. **Document 4a** is a map. What year was it created?

2. According to the legend on **Document 4a**, what does the color red mean?

3. This map in **Document 4a** was created to tell banks which neighborhoods were good to **invest** money in, and which ones were bad. Based on this, which color from the legend do you think shows “good” neighborhoods? Which color represents “bad” neighborhoods?

4. The map in **Document 4a** is often known as a “redlining map”. Why do you think it is called this?

5. **Document 4b** is a description of area D8 on the map. Place an X on area D8 on the map. (Hint: it is the neighborhood we call Bedford-Stuyvesant.)

6. “Detrimental influences” means bad characteristics of the neighborhood. On **Document 4b**, what detrimental influences are listed for this neighborhood?

Bedford-Stuyvesant is the heart of the largest ghetto in the nation. It is dilapidated housing, shabbily maintained parks, dingy streets, widespread unemployment and high crime rates are an indictment of the past and a challenge for today.

Though severely troubled, it is not simply a vast, oppressive slum. There are many streets with well-maintained architecturally distinguished houses. A growing number of resident black professionals, businessmen and concerned citizens want to help their community, not leave it. The community is well organized and politically sophisticated.

Population
According to the 1960 Census, the population of Bedford-Stuyvesant in 1960 was 72 percent black, 12 percent Puerto Rican and 16 percent white.

Since then the black component has increased to 76 percent and the Puerto Rican to 15 percent. Whites now constitute only 10 percent of the population. Most of the whites in the area are old; the largest segment of the black population is under 30.

Housing within the district provides a sharp contrast: some is among the worst in the City; but in the historic district north and west it is good to excellent.

Education
In the last two decades 20 new schools have been constructed in this district. Yet there is extensive overcrowding, particularly in the intermediate level, and there are more than 1,000 children who do not receive a full day's instruction.

Shopping
The historical center of the community is the intersection of Nostrand and Fulton Street. Most residents, however, do their major shopping in downtown Brooklyn, only a few minutes away by subway or bus.

The main problem in the district is the lack of convenient clusters of retail shops. There are several commercial strips in very poor condition, with a substantial number of vacancies.

Residents have complained about relatively high prices charged for low-quality food. There are also complaints that stores raise their prices the day welfare checks are issued.

Recreation
Open space is at a premium and recreation facilities are poor.

Health
Health facilities are inadequate to serve this heavily populated district.
1. Read the first paragraph of Document 5. What words are used to describe Bedford-Stuyvesant?

2. Compare the words used to describe Bedford-Stuyvesant in Document 5 with your observations of the neighborhood from Documents 2a, 2b, 3a, and 3b. What similarities or differences do you find?

3. Read the Population section of Document 5. According to this text, who lives in Bedford-Stuyvesant? How does this compare to your observations of people in the neighborhood in Documents 2a, 2b, 3a, and 3b?

4. What year was Document 5 written?

5. What do you think happened between the time that Documents 2a, 2b, 3a, and 3b were created, and Document 5 was written, to cause the changes you have observed?
Residents Make A Clean Sweep Of Nine Blocks

By DENIS McKEOWN

Porch railings, tires, old TVs, stoves, bedsprings, sofas and the proverbial kitchen sink lined Kosciusko St. from Marcy Ave. to Broadway yesterday morning as part of a Bedford-Stuyvesant self-help sanitation effort.

One sanitation man shook his head as he watched his men struggle with the mounds of refuse and said “It’s always a surprise.”

“We estimated 60 loads to be picked up today, but it’ll end up being 70 to 80 loads.”

The one-day service was sponsored by the Bedford-Stuyvesant Chamber of Commerce, Neighborhood Council, Restoration Corp., Youth In Action, the Central Brooklyn Coordinating Council and the area’s Model Cities Sanitation Committee.

School Kids Help

Even schoolchildren helped the city sanitation men during their lunch break.

The Sanitation Department’s District Superintendent, Bill Bianchetta, took the day in stride and called the strip of Kosciusko St. between Sumner and Lewis Aves “the largest trash cache” of the day.

The mountainous furniture and bulky-item collection is part of a self-help series sponsored by the department’s Self-Help Office. Leaflets preceded the collection date allowing residents time to prepare their garbage for pick-up.
1. Examine the photograph in Document 6b. Describe what you see on the street.

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2. Read Document 6a. According to this newspaper article, what did people in the neighborhood do?

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3. What streets are named in Document 6a? Look back at Document 1, and circle any of these streets that you find on the atlas page.

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4. Describe the changes that you see from Documents 2a, 2b, 3a, and 3c to Document 6b.

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5. Think about the changes that you have observed in this neighborhood. Why do you think they happened?

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1. **Document 7** is a map showing which neighborhoods in Brooklyn were given the most mortgages by Brooklyn banks. Bedford-Stuyvesant is numbered 33 on this map; find it and place an X on the neighborhood.

2. According to the legend on **Document 7**, how many mortgages were issues in Bedford-Stuyvesant in the year 1975?

3. Use the legend on **Document 7**. Which neighborhood received the most mortgages? Which neighborhoods received the least?

4. A **mortgage** is a bank loan of money to help someone buy a home. Banks used the map in **Document 4a** to decide which neighborhoods were good to invest mortgages into. If the bank will not give very many mortgages to people, what impact do you infer this would have on the neighborhood?

5. The map in **Document 7** was created by a group of student researchers, in 1976. Why do you think these students wanted to do research on banks and mortgages in Brooklyn?
Dear Homeowner:

Your house is preliminarily eligible to receive work on its facade for only $125. It may be patched and painted. Your sidewalks may be repaired, missing trees replaced and much more.

How Did This Program Come About?

All of this is made possible with Federal funds that came to New York City and is administered by the Department of Housing Preservation and Development (“HPD”). Bedford Stuyvesant Restoration Corporation negotiated with HPD for the funds.

How Can The Homeowner Benefit from it?

The value of your house will increase and the neighborhood may be a better place to live.

Tell all the homeowners on your block about it. We would like 100% participation by all homeowners.

What Should I Do To Take Advantage of the Program?

Call us at 836-7869 or 7870 and say you want to participate in the HPD program and we will take care of the rest.

Very truly yours,

Collin V. Artis
Director, Contract Services

McDONOUGH STREET (BETWEEN TOMPKINS & THROOP)
1. Examine Document 8a. What is the name of the organization listed at the top of the document?

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2. According to Document 8a, what assistance is being provided to homeowners? What benefits will they receive?

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3. Examine Document 8b. What year is this article from?

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4. According to Document 8b, how many homes in Bedford-Stuyvesant have been restored?

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5. According to Document 8b, what organization has made this restoration work possible?

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1. Examine **Document 9a**. What building on Kosciusko Street is being sold?

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2. Look back at **Document 1** and find the building on Kosciuzko Street that is being sold. Circle it on the atlas page.

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3. According to **Document 9b**, someone has purchased this building on Kosciuzko Street. What was this building originally created for? What is it going to be used for now?

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4. Documents 9a and 9b show us how Bedford Stuyvesant is changing. According to the headline of **Document 9c**, what other big change is coming to the neighborhood?

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By M.P. McQueen

Marching and chanting through rubble-strewn streets lined with ramshackle and abandoned apartment buildings, about 50 protesters demonstrated yesterday against a massive new city housing program planned for Bedford-Stuyvesant.

The protesters, led by organizers from the Association of Community Organizations for Reform Now (ACORN), said they were concerned that new housing planned for the Brooklyn neighborhood will be too expensive for the majority of area residents and may even displace them.

"We will not be pushed out of Bedford-Stuyvesant!" said Gwendolyn Jacobs, a 20-year resident of the area and a leader of the march. "The city is going to spend $51 million on housing but we can't afford any of it. We want to have input on any plan regarding the community."

Nearly 1,300 units of new and rehabilitated housing are slated for the area under the Saratoga Square housing plan, announced last spring by Mayor Edward I. Koch. The development, extending approximately from Ralph Avenue to Saratoga Avenue and from Bainbridge Street to Atlantic Avenue, would consist of two-family homes built under a partnership of the city Department of Housing Preservation and Development, Brooklyn Borough President Howard Golden's office and the New York City Partnership.

City Council Members Enoch Williams and Mary Pinkett, who represent the area, support the plan which calls for building 858 homes and renovating 428 existing homes. The development would receive city, state and borough subsidies of as much as $40,000 per unit to enable families earning a minimum of $30,000 a year to buy new homes. Rental units would be affordable to families making $20,000 a year, said Catie Marshall, assistant commissioner.
1. **Document 10** tells us about the reaction to a new project in Bedford-Stuyvesant. Read paragraphs one and two: what is being planned for the neighborhood?

2. According to paragraphs one and two of **Document 10**, why are people in Bedford-Stuyvesant protesting this plan?

3. Read paragraph three of **Document 10**. What is Gwendolyn Jacobs worried will happen to people who currently live in Bedford-Stuyvesant?

4. Do you think that the plan described in **Document 10** is good for the neighborhood? Why or why not? Explain your answer.
New money

Locals feeling the squeeze

By Joyce Shelby

When Sharonie Perry was growing up on Macon St. in Bedford-Stuyvesant, everyone knew everyone else's name, and a visit to Grandma's house meant going upstairs — or to the brownstone next door.

Perry was born and raised in the landmarked section of Bedford-Stuyvesant known as Stuyvesant Heights. The residential area is one of Brooklyn's oldest communities.

Now the long-time African-American neighborhood that Perry grew up in is changing in a way that worries some local people. With demand on the rise for classic brownstones and new houses in stable neighborhoods, a new generation of buyers is discovering Stuyvesant Heights.

Offers of up to $600,000 for their homes are too much for some old-timers to resist, and the result is a steady rise in the neighborhood's gentrification.

"We have people coming from out of state, from Port Greene, Clinton Hill, Park Slope and Manhattan to buy homes here," said Tohima Faulkner, president of the Brownstoneers of Bedford-Stuyvesant.

The neighborhood has been predominately African-American since World War II; the new arrivals are from other racial and ethnic groups as well.

"We are concerned that minorities will be pushed out," Faulkner said. "That would be wrong. We've been in this area since the 1700s."

Growing demand

The city's Landmarks Commission designated Stuyvesant Heights a historic district in 1971 because of its classic two-story, three-story and four-story brownstones and limestones.

The houses are in high demand — with prices to match. They go for anywhere from $350,000 to $600,000.

"I have a waiting list," said Charles Alwell of Stuyvesant Heights Real Estate.

Meleah Magner, president of the Brooklyn Corcoran Group added, "Compared to Brooklyn Heights, where there may be one or two brownstones available, Stuyvesant Heights you have a few more that we have waiting lists — and we've sold with overbids."

Perry's family moved into the neighborhood from North Carolina.
1. **Document 11** is a newspaper article. What year is it from?

2. Read the first paragraph of **Document 11**. Where did Sharonnie Perry grow up?

3. Paragraphs 3 and 4 of **Document 11** say:
   Now the long-time African-American neighborhood that Perry, 47, has always called home is changing in a way that worries some local people. With demand on the rise for classic brownstones and rowhouses in stable neighborhoods, a new generation of buyers is discovering Stuyvesant Heights. Offers of up to $600,000 for their homes are too much for some old-timers to resist, and the result is a steady rise in the neighborhood’s gentrification.
   According to this text, what change is happening in the neighborhood?

4. Why do you think that people are interested in moving to Bedford-Stuyvesant? Think about the material you examined in Documents 8 and 9, and how this may contribute to people moving to Bedford-Stuyvesant.
1. Examine **Document 12a**. What warning is it giving to residents of Bedford-Stuyvesant?

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2. **Document 12b** is an example of *satire*, which uses humor, exaggeration, and *irony* to expose an issue. A *deed* is a document that gives ownership of a house. What does this satirical poster say you could receive for selling the deed of a family member?

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3. Reflect on **Document 12a** and **Document 12b**. How does the creator of these posters feel about selling property in Bedford-Stuyvesant? Why do you think they feel that way?

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An Economic Snapshot of the Bedford-Stuyvesant Neighborhood

Major Findings

- The population in Bedford-Stuyvesant grew by 34 percent between 1980 and 2015, faster than the citywide rate of growth.
- The immigrant population has grown by one-third since 2000, far faster than in Brooklyn or in the City as a whole.
- The number of businesses has increased by 73 percent since 2000, the fourth-fastest rate of growth among New York City’s 55 Census-defined neighborhoods.
- Private sector employment has increased by 45 percent since the end of the recession, exceeding 17,000 jobs in 2016.
- The retail trade and the leisure and hospitality sectors had the largest job gains between 2009 and 2016.
- In 2015, there was a wide disparity in median household incomes between new residents ($50,200) and long-term residents ($28,000).
- The number of households with incomes below the federal poverty level has increased by 13 percent since the end of the recession.
- The share of households that devoted more than 30 percent of their incomes to rent increased from 47 percent to 55 percent between 2005 and 2015.
- Residents suffer from above-average incidences of chronic health problems.
- Violent crime fell by 44 percent between 2000 and 2016, but crime remains a concern.

Bedford-Stuyvesant is one of the many neighborhoods in Brooklyn to experience a resurgence. In the past 15 years, the population has grown by one-quarter and now exceeds 150,000 people. Most of the growth has been driven by an influx of new residents, which has changed the neighborhood’s composition.

New residents are attracted to the neighborhood’s brownstones, relatively low housing costs and close proximity to Manhattan. With a sharp decrease in crime and an increase in restaurants, cafes, bars, retail shops and live entertainment, Bedford-Stuyvesant is becoming a popular place to live and work.

Many of the new residents are immigrants, white, or young, and are likely to have higher incomes than long-term residents. Their arrival has put pressure on housing costs, making it increasingly less affordable for long-term residents, especially seniors, to remain in the neighborhood.

In the past 15 years, Bedford-Stuyvesant’s economy has grown much faster than the City’s economy as a whole. The neighborhood now has more than 1,900 businesses, and its employment has reached a record level. The retail trade and the leisure and hospitality sectors have registered the largest job gains.

Gentrification has brought economic growth and new opportunities to Bedford-Stuyvesant, but the benefits have not been shared by all residents. Many long-term residents still face challenges. New York State and New York City have announced initiatives to address poverty, housing affordability and healthcare, which will improve conditions for all Bedford-Stuyvesant residents.
1. **Document 13** is a city document summarizing issues in Bedford-Stuyvesant in 2017. According to the list of Major Findings, how much did the neighborhood population grow between 1980 and 2015?


2. The word **disparity** means “difference.” According to the list of major findings, what is the disparity of income between new residents and long-term residents of Bedford-Stuyvesant?


3. According to the second paragraph in the right-hand column of **Document 13**, why do people want to move to Bedford-Stuyvesant?


4. Read the last paragraph of the right-hand column in **Document 13**. What has gentrification brought to Bedford-Stuyvesant? What impact has this had on long-term residents?
GLOSSARY

Deed: a legal document that is signed and delivered, especially one regarding the ownership of property or legal rights.

Disinvestment: the withdrawal or reduction of an investment.

Disparity: a great difference.

Invest: spend money with the expectation of receiving a profit by putting it into financial projects, shares, or property, or by using it to develop a commercial business.

Irony: to express something by using language that normally signifies the opposite, usually for humorous effect.

Mortgage: a legal agreement by which a bank lends money at interest in exchange for taking title (deed) of the debtor's property, with the condition that debtor receives the title back upon the payment of the debt.

Redlining: to refuse a loan or insurance to someone because they live in an area that is considered a poor financial investment.

Renewal: replacing or repairing something that is worn out, run-down, or broken.

Restore: to bring something back to its original condition.

Satire: the use of humor, irony, exaggeration, or ridicule to expose and criticize people's stupidity or vices, particularly in the context of contemporary politics and other current issues.