

**Discursive construction of neighborhood across Brooklyn:
A corpus-ethnographic approach**

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Table of Contents

1. Introduction	1
2. The neighborhood as object and category of analysis	15
2.1 Neighborhood at the nexus of spatial and social	15
2.2 Theoretical background: Exploring interdisciplinary avenues	17
2.3 Methodology: From data to discourse	22
3. Putting Brooklyn on the map	35
3.1 A sketch of the borough's recent history	35
3.2 A new Brooklyn – post-industrial neighborhood trajectories	41
3.3 Bedford avenue – an autoethnographic perspective	49
4. Zooming in: Discursive construction of neighborhood, one neighbor at a time	53
4.1 Williamsburg	56
4.2 Bedford-Stuyvesant	69
4.3 Crown Heights/Prospect Lefferts Gardens	85
4.4 Flatbush	97
4.5 Midwood	110
4.6 Sheepshead Bay	121
4.7 Concluding thoughts: Negotiations of community, diversity, and trust in a changing Brooklyn	136
5. Stakeholder perspectives: In-depth interviews in North and Central Brooklyn	144
5.1 Doing neighboring: Urban forms of participation and community	147
5.2 Transforming who cares – Garden spaces as fertile soil for community?	152
5.3 Navigating stigma and inequality in the housing and real estate market	158
5.4 Of native people and new people – the role of person and group denominators in constructing neighborhoods	164
5.5 Concluding thoughts: Is there unity in the community?	173
6. Advocates' perspectives: The politics of neighborhood association websites	176
6.1 Neighborhoods as spatial projects	178
6.2 Neighborhoods as social projects	188
6.3 Concluding thoughts: The trust-facilitating function of neighborhood organizations	206
7. Official perspectives: Discursive place-making from Brooklyn Borough Hall	208
7.1 Transportation: Of transit deserts and transit equity	213
7.2 Education: Upgrading schools across the borough	221
7.3 Housing: The slow grind of affordable housing construction	226
7.4 Safety: Smart guns for a safer future	236
7.5 Groups: Homeless, homeowners, and neighbors in Brooklyn	243
7.6 Concluding thoughts: A borough of neighbors	248

8. Consumer perspectives: Tasting the neighborhood in restaurant reviews	252
8.1 Williamsburg	256
8.2 Clinton Hill	264
8.3 Bedford-Stuyvesant	267
8.4 Crown Heights	274
8.5 Flatbush	279
8.6 Midwood	286
8.7 Sheepshead Bay	290
8.8 Concluding thoughts: A taste of New, Hybrid, and Old Brooklyn	296
9. Zooming out: The discursive field of the neighborhood	301
References	322
Appendix	i

List of Tables and Figures

List of tables

4.1: Top 30 keywords in 1_11211	57
4.2: Groups referred to in 1_11211	61
4.3: Top 30 keywords in 2-3_11205-16	70
4.4: Top 30 keywords in 4_11225	85
4.5: Top 30 keywords in 5_11226	97
4.6: Top 30 keywords for 6_11210	111
4.7: Key adjectives in 6_11210	113
4.8: Top 30 keywords in 7-8_11229-35	123
5.1: Top 30 keywords in BK_SpokenID	146
5.2: Clusters of V + [+ O] + PREP + DET + <i>neighborhood</i>	147
5.3: Housing keywords in BK_SpokenID	158
5.4: Person keywords in the BK_SpokenID corpus	164
5.5: Premodification of <i>people</i> in BK_SpokenID	164
6.1: Top 20 collocates of <i>neighborhood</i> and <i>neighborhoods</i>	179
6.2: Top 20 verb collocates of <i>neighbors</i> and <i>residents</i> in the BK_OrgaWeb corpus	198
6.3: Top 10 adj. collocates of <i>neighbors</i> and <i>residents</i> in the BK_OrgaWeb corpus	203
7.1: Press release counts	209
7.2: Top 15 keywords from the BK_BBHPR corpus	211
7.3: Toponyms in the BK_BBHPR corpus	212
7.4: Transportation keywords in the BK_BBHPR corpus	213
7.5: Education keywords in the BK_BBHPR corpus	221
7.6: Collocates describing funding and upgrades in the BK_BBHPR corpus	222
7.7: Housing keywords in the BK_BBHPR corpus	226
7.8: Keywords in the BK_BBHPR corpus relating to safety	236
7.9: Group keywords in the BK_BBHPR corpus	243
8.1: Complete list of toponyms in the BK_Yelp corpus	255
8.2: Top 30 keywords in Williamsburg sub-corpus of Yelp_BK	257
8.3: Top 30 keywords in Clinton Hill sub-corpus of Yelp_BK	264
8.4: Top 30 keywords in Bed-Stuy sub-corpus of Yelp_BK	268
8.5: Top 30 keywords in Crown Heights sub-corpus of Yelp_BK	275
8.6: Top 30 keywords in Flatbush/PLG sub-corpus of Yelp_BK	279
8.7: Top 30 keywords in Midwood sub-corpus of Yelp_BK	286
8.8: Top 30 keywords in Sheepshead Bay sub-corpus of Yelp_BK	291
9.1: Overview of research questions	301

List of concordances

4.1: Concordances of <i>SoHo</i> in 1_11211	60
4.2: Concordances of <i>cool</i> in 2-3_11205-16	70
4.3: Concordances of <i>safe</i> in in 2-3_11205-16	71
4.4: Concordances of <i>nice</i> in 2-3_11205-16	76
4.5: Concordances of <i>vibe</i> in 2-3_11205-16	78
4.6: Concordances of <i>Manhattan</i> in 2-3_11205-16	78
4.7: Concordances of <i>community</i> in 4_11225	87
4.8: Concordances of <i>Flatbush</i> in 5_11226	99
4.9: Concordances of <i>Jamaica</i> in 5_11226	101
4.10: Concordances of <i>bad</i> in 6_11210	113
4.11: Concordances of <i>different</i> in 6_11210	115
4.12: Concordances of <i>Brooklyn</i> in 7-8_112229-35	122

4.13: Concordances of <i>clean</i> in 7-8_11229-35	124
4.14: Concordances of <i>quiet</i> in 7-8_11229-35	125
4.15: Concordances of <i>safe</i> and <i>safety</i> in 7-8_11229-35	128
4.16: Concordances of <i>change</i> in 7-8_11229-35	131
4.17: Concordances of <i>community</i> in 7-8_11229-35	133
4.18: Concordances of <i>diverse</i> in 7-8_11229-35	134
5.1: Concordances of <i>people</i> + <i>to</i> in BK_SpokenID	166
5.2: Concordances of <i>Hasidic</i> and <i>Jews</i> and BK_SpokenID	170
6.1: Preservationist stance in concordances of <i>our neighborhood(s)</i>	180
6.2: Transformative material clauses in concordances of <i>your</i> + <i>neighborhood</i> (1)	186
6.3: Transformative material clauses in concordances of <i>your</i> + <i>neighborhood</i> (2)	186
6.4: Excerpt of neighborhood contribution concordances in <i>their</i> + <i>neighborhood</i>	187
6.5: Concordances of <i>vibrant</i> + <i>neighborhood(s)</i> in the BK_OrgaWeb corpus	190
6.6: Concordances of <i>diverse</i> + <i>neighborhood(s)</i> in the BK_OrgaWeb corpus	192
6.7: Concordances of <i>safe</i> + <i>neighborhood(s)</i> in the BK_OrgaWeb corpus	193
6.8: Concordances of <i>affordable</i> + <i>neighborhood(s)</i> in the BK_OrgaWeb corpus	194
6.9: Concordances of <i>local</i> + <i>neighborhood(s)</i> in the BK_OrgaWeb corpus	197
6.10: Concordance excerpts of <i>local residents</i> in the BK_OrgaWeb corpus	203
6.11: Concordances of <i>new residents</i> +water metaphors in the BK_OrgaWeb corpus	204
7.1: Concordances of <i>bike share</i> in the BK_BBHPR corpus	213
7.2: Concordances of <i>transit</i> + <i>needs</i> in the BK_BBHPR corpus	216
7.3: Collocates of <i>transit</i> + <i>community</i> in the BK_BBHPR corpus	220
7.4: Concordances of <i>more/new</i> + <i>affordable</i> + NP in the BK_BBHPR corpus	226
7.5: Concordances of verb collocates of <i>NYCHA</i> in the BK_BBHPR corpus	232
7.6: Concordances of <i>NYCHA</i> + <i>residents/tenants</i> in the BK_BBHPR corpus	234
7.7: Concordances of <i>safety and security</i> in the BK_BBHPR corpus	237
7.8: Concordances of <i>safer</i> + <i>our</i> in the BK_BBHPR corpus	239
7.9: Concordances of <i>COMBAT</i> + <i>gun violence</i> in the BK_BBHPR corpus	240
7.10: Concordances of <i>police</i> + <i>community</i> in the BK_BBHPR corpus	242
7.11: Concordances of <i>Brooklynites</i> + <i>URGE</i> in the BK_BBHPR corpus	244
7.12: Concordances of <i>our neighbors</i> in the BK_BBHPR corpus	247
8.1: Concordances of toponyms in the BK_Yelp corpus	258
8.2: Concordances of superlative + toponym in the BK_Yelp corpus	259
8.3: Concordances of <i>gem</i> in the Clinton Hill sub-corpus of BK_Yelp	265

List of figures

1: Population development	36
2: 1938 Red line map	39
3: "THE RICH KILLD NYC." Main Street, DUMBO	44
4: Collection brackets along Bedford Avenue	50
5: Bedford and Emmons Avenues, Sheepshead Bay	52
6: Occupation titles from informants interviewed for BK_SpokenRA	54
7: Zip-Code map of Brooklyn with collection areas	55
8: Perceptions of crime in the linguistic landscape, Bed-Stuy	72
9: Visual exclusion throughout Brooklyn, Crown Heights	104
10: Interview locations in north/central Brooklyn	145
11: Semiotic landscape artefacts, Bed-Stuy	153
12: Real estate purchase offers in the mail, Clinton Hill/Bed-Stuy	161

13: Urban Pioneering, Gates Avenue, Clinton Hill	168
14: Tenant problems in the linguistic landscape, Bed-Stuy/Crown Heights	172
15: Unity in the community, Clinton Hill/Bed-Stuy	175
16: Neighborhood organizations in BK_OrgaWeb	177
17: Collocate adjectives of <i>neighborhood</i> and <i>neighborhoods</i>	189
18: Neighborhoods that collocate with items from the discourse topic education	223
19: Regulation of public space at NYCHA Louis Armstrong Houses, Bed-Stuy	235
20: Map of police precincts	238
21: Key toponym areas in the BK_BBHPR corpus	249
22: Restaurants in BK_Yelp corpus	254
23: Evidence for the strong sense of identification with the neighborhood, Flatbush	282
24: Top ten key food items per neighborhood	298
25: The discursive field of the neighborhood	303

Spelling/notation conventions

Direct quotes: “double quotation marks”

Concepts: ‘single quotation marks’

Lexemes or corpus examples: *italics*

Lemmas: SMALL CAPS

Emphases: **bold**

1. Introduction

Neighborhood is a pervasive and socially meaningful, yet somewhat monolithic, concept. Canadian-American writer Saul Bellow, reflecting on the determinism of being defined by one's childhood neighborhood, in his case, the West Side of Chicago, states that "[t]he commonest teaching of the civilized world in our time can be stated simply: 'Tell me where you come from and I'll tell you what you are.'" (Bellow 1987: 13, in foreword to Bloom 1987) While Bellow goes on to say that he would not succumb to this kind of determinism, the impact of the area one lives or grows up in cannot be underestimated. Indeed, neighborhoods are so taken for granted in everyday life that the real effects of living in one neighborhood as opposed to another seem not to be evoked when the word is used. While there can be crass social differences within one and the same American city neighborhood, where social housing and multi-million-dollar homes can be found on the same block, these residents do not necessarily share the same idea of their neighborhood, and what 'neighborhood' means to them more generally. This divide is also reflected in discourse produced by residents living in a neighborhood that is exposed to persistent but varying forms of "concentrated, cumulative, and compounded disadvantage" (Sampson 2018: 6),¹ most notably along the lines of race and class.

In the borough of Brooklyn, as in many American cities, living just one neighborhood over can mean significantly better education (due to access to a less segregated school), health outcomes and a higher life expectancy (due to access to fresh and affordable foods, less pollution), a lower likelihood to become a victim of traffic or violence (and receiving proper care and emergency relief afterwards),² or an increased access to jobs because of the transport options available (cf. Minor 2018), to name just some of the manifestations of neighborhood inequality.³ Similarly, living in a previously redlined area can affect business outcomes long after redlining has been identified as a discriminatory practice: Some ride share and food delivery services do not serve particular neighborhoods (cf.

¹ Social scientist Robert Sampson discusses various studies across the United States in which the longevity of neighborhood effects, that is those structured inequalities that causally affect the lives of neighbors, are only exacerbated over the course of time "without effective policy intervention" (2018: 7).

² The neighborhood and the discourses attached to it can also determine the amount of care and trauma support that residents receive after fatal incidents. In a mass shooting in the Brownsville neighborhood of Brooklyn in July 2019, 11 people were injured, one person died. Subsequently, and somewhat counter-intuitively, the event received little national media coverage, and more crucially, Mayor Bill DeBlasio declined to call the incident a 'mass shooting' in the first days after the tragedy, despite far exceeding the definition whereby any shooting that involves three or more people is considered as such if not "identifiably gang, drug or organized crime" (Stanford Mass Shootings in America, courtesy of the Stanford Geospatial Center and Stanford Libraries 2020). A shooting in a white neighborhood in California on the same weekend that killed three people was declared a mass shooting in the media, while Brownsville was overwhelmingly framed as gang activity in an area prone to violence (cf. Goldberg 2019). As this shows, the declaration of the event as a mass shooting affects the entire crisis response efforts, from emergency relief to trauma assistance for the victims and residents.

³ See Galster (2019) for an insight into how individuals affect and are at the same time also affected by neighborhoods.

Maxwell/Immergluck 1997), retailers do not open brick and mortars in these areas (cf. D’Rozario/Williams 2005), residents make less revenue in online transactions (cf. Besbris et al. 2019; Meltzer/Capperis 2016) or do not have access to credit cards (cf. Taylor/Sadowski 2015) or loans because their zip-code is associated with low-income, non-white residents (cf. Gilliard/Culik 2016). This can go on to whole neighborhoods being deprived of basic rights, for instance, through becoming targets of voter suppression (cf. Graham 2016).⁴

What affects neighborhoods just as much as decades of neglect is stigma that is circulated and reified in discourse. Talking about neighborhoods is not only an expression of social identity in late modern times, but can function as a kind of “singularization work” (Reckwitz 2017: 68, my transl.) that valorizes the self while devalorizing another. In the neighborhood context, this kind of identity performance contributes to the ascription and maintenance of the “penalty of place” (Besbris et al. 2018). Indeed, something seemingly trivial, like the distinction between polar opposites in terms of ‘good’ and ‘bad’ neighborhoods in everyday conversation or on the web can add to the marginalization of areas and residents in the “hierarchy of places that characterizes the city” (Blokland 2017: 14). In this sense,

the stigmatized neighbourhood symbolically degrades those who live in it and they degrade it symbolically in return, since, being deprived of all the assets necessary to participate in the various social games, their common lot consists only of their common excommunication. (Bourdieu [1993] 1999: 129, cited in Wacquant 2007: 69, his translation)

The distinction between the “attractive academic middle-class neighborhood and the ‘precarious’ neighborhood of the underclass” (Reckwitz 2017: 358, my transl.)⁵ upheld in discourse drives urban inequality further by providing authorities with a legitimization for drastic reurbanization efforts based on publicly circulating discourse (cf. Ellen 2000; Woodsworth 2016). The impacts of discourses connected to neighborhoods do not only, as is the case for sought-after areas,⁶ boost their popularity. More problematically, these effects can contribute to “destabilizing and further marginalizing [the] occupants” (Wacquant 2007: 69) of already disadvantaged neighborhoods.

This is not to say that neighborhoods are entirely determined by the discourses connected to them, and are purely deterministic in the sense that they

⁴ For a discussion and criticism of neighborhood effects see Sampson (2013, 2018), and Slater (2013).

⁵ The social production of distinction, or singularization (cf. Reckwitz 2017), is inherent in discursive constructions of neighborhood. A careful examination of the ways of talking about neighborhoods, and indeed an exploration of what the concept of ‘neighborhood’ means to and how it is constructed by a range of social actors provides insight into how different aspects contribute to neighborhood effects and polarization. It can also bring to the fore empirical evidence for valorization practices employed by social actors in their performances in pursuit of singularization. Because the existence of valorization practices that ascribe a particular status to one neighborhood also entails devalorization, and therefore desingularization, of another (Reckwitz 2017: 67), these processes contribute to the polarization and stratification of the urban.

⁶ In the following, I use the terms ‘neighborhood’ and ‘area’ interchangeably when referring to the different geographical foci of the investigation.

leave the individual stuck in place with their fate already mapped out for them, as Saul Bellow feared in his 1987 essay. But talk about neighborhoods matters, and who talks about them matters even more. The prerogative of interpretation of the social meanings attached to an area is fiercely contested. Neighborhood discourses can foster attachment to a place of residence, creating a sense of place and pride (cf. D. Smith 2000; Kyle/Chick 2007). In this vein, a positive image of an area spurred by “toponymic reinscription” (Madden 2018: 1600, cf. also Tuan 1991) can attract new investment and residents (cf. Hwang 2015).

The “intertwining of cultural symbols and entrepreneurial capital” (Zukin 1995: 3) makes neighborhoods part of the symbolic economy of the city. It is not just the individual social actor who draws on neighborhoods as part of their identity performances but also (supra-)local authorities whose actions have the potential to fuel public debate over neighborhoods, influence planning processes, and stir public or private investments to adapt the reality on the ground to the expectations of “cultural consumers” (Zukin 1995: 10). Thus, the “production of symbols” in the form of discursive construction and valorization foregoes the “production of space” (ibid.: 23) and in many cases also the generation of economic profit that comes from developing and (re-)branding an area (cf. Sevin 2014; Madden 2018; Gonçalves 2019). If these symbols and stereotypes are circulated in everyday discourses in and about a neighborhood, they can contribute to (dis-)investment in the area which, in turn, can induce social and structural changes that may upend its current socio-demographic composition. Neighborhood discourses and their outcomes are therefore closely intertwined with the question of the “right to one’s neighbourhood” (Sampson 2018: 23, referring to Harvey 2008). Consequently, the “politics of belonging” (Yuval-Davis 2006; cf. also Antonsich 2010; Cornips/de Rooij 2018) are played out with the help of discursive resources.

On a more abstract scale, the very foundations of society are discursively negotiated on the neighborhood level. The neighborhood thus becomes an arena in which the polarization, fragmentation, and hyper-individualism that characterize late-modern cities (cf. Gerhard 2017) are played out in a local setting. Tensions between closeness and distance, anonymity and intimacy, and trust and distrust govern everyday life in the neighborhood. Even in dense residential settings, physical and moral proximity must not coincide (cf. Bauman 2019 [1990]: 38). Whether individuals have trusting relationships with their neighbors (cf. Ellen 2000; Gundelach 2017), “live side by side” while actually living apart (Ignatieff 2017: 44), or whether they consider themselves part of a neighborhood *Gemeinschaft* in a pre-modern collectivist sense defined by spatial proximity (Tönnies 1887), is strongly affected by their definition of and relations within the neighborhood. All of

these variables play into how the concept of 'neighborhood' is discursively constructed by residents of an area.

Already a hot topic in sociology in the early 20th century – when Roderick McKenzie, a member of the Chicago School (e.g., Park 1915; Burgess 1925; Perry 1929) stated that “[p]robably no other term is used so loosely or with such changing content as the term neighborhood, and very few concepts are more difficult to define” (1923: 334f.) – neighborhoods have come into the focus of 21st century urban theorists again. Much thought has been given to “neighborhood effects” (Sampson 2013, 2018), looking at how neighborhoods affect the behaviors and lives of residents. In the discipline of American Studies, Looker (2015) explored the concept in the four decades between WWII and the Reagan era, but little research has explored how present-day neighborhoods are actually conceptualized and what dynamics they follow,⁷ a conclusion also made in a survey study by Schnur et al. (2017). Moreover, due to a frequent conflation of neighborhood with community, the concept has lost much of its analytical rigor (cf. Sampson 2013; Schnur 2012). Indeed, the blurring of the concept “has done the field a disservice, for with this equation neighborhoods seem to have declined by definition.” (Sampson 2013: 45) For this reason, it was replaced as analytical concept in favor of other frameworks that sought to avoid the romantic and normative tint of community, some of which even go as far as defining the neighborhood as an aggregated quantifiable variable (cf. Galster 2019).

As an expression of what has been called 'new localism' (Brenner/Theodore 2002), “the present period is characterized by a renewed emphasis on neighborhood and decentralization” (Madden 2014: 472). While a global city such as New York consists of parts that are important for the global finance and economy, sociologist Manuel Castells stresses that a large part, if not most of the city, “is very local, not global” (2000: 697). Smaller units of urban morphology – rather than the superordinate category of the city – give shape to the lives of urbanites (cf. Mehaffy et al. 2015).⁸ It is this local level of the neighborhood that needs to be theorized as “contested, fluid and politically charged with histories and trajectories” (Madden 2014: 472) that goes beyond a strict, spatially-confined area within the city. Therefore, this study aims to investigate the discursive construction and negotiation of the concept of 'neighborhood' in a range of areas across Brooklyn, New York. In doing so, this projects taps right into the nexus of

⁷ See Suttles (1972) and Hwang (2016) for a sociological study of cognitive neighborhood boundaries.

⁸ Historian William Helmreich describes that what makes Brooklyn and its neighborhoods so unique is exactly this “dual identity of cosmopolitanism and localism, a big city and small town mentality, each influencing the other and resulting in a hybrid strain.” (2016: xvi)

local and supra-local meaning making-processes embedded in (sub-)urban spaces.⁹

Perspectives on neighborhood vary depending on the social actor, their experiences and life worlds, all of which are structured to an extent by the places these individuals frequent and engage with. As a central characteristic of recent urban developments (Gerhard/Basten 2015, cf. also Reckwitz 2017), polarization – both along vertical (class-based) and horizontal dimensions (across a variety of intersectional variables) – creates drastically different experiences of urban life and likely also perspectives on neighborhood. Thus, rather than being a mere “container or a mental construct” (Knox/Pinch 2010: 194f.), place provides structure to the lives of social actors and shapes their experiences of navigating the social world: Through engagement with space, social actors turn ‘space’ into ‘place’ (cf. Cresswell 2004). At the same time, place functions as “an arena for contesting social norms” (ibid.: 7) where citizens negotiate their lives based on a particular geographical scale of reference: from an immediate, micro-level, to the wider, macro-level neighborhood or beyond. Therefore, perspectives on neighborhoods depend on the insideness or outsideness of a social actor and the desire to display their position relative to the neighborhood by means of territoriality (cf. Sack 1986).

What this neighborhood is, or how far it stretches, how it is construed in relation to other, surrounding neighborhoods, and crucially, who belongs there, is subject of discursive negotiation (cf. Small 2004). Indeed, “[t]he very idea of ‘neighborhood’ is not inherent in any arrangement of streets and houses, but is rather an ongoing practical and discursive production/imagining of a people.” (Gieryn 2000: 472) The premise for this is that language is a constitutive force that stands in reciprocal relation with space (cf. Busse/Warnke 2014a, b; Löw 2018). Neighborhoods are affected by linguistic and other types of semiotic practice because language is a “part of the social semiotic: the concept of the culture as a system of meaning, with language as one of its realizations.” (Halliday 1978: 55) An emphasis on the linguistic layer of this meaning-making system provides insight into how social meaning is conveyed in language. Thus, a linguistic analysis can shed light on the link between language and society, and on the ways in which

⁹ Cities are perceived not only as “material spaces, but also as economic, social, political or cultural spaces” (Gerhard/Basten 2015: 116, my transl.) that are in reciprocal relation with the spaces around them. Like the neighborhood, the city necessarily brings with it many different interpretations and evaluations. Indeed, the classification of an area as ‘urban’ depends on a “normative evaluation” of a space (ibid.: 117). In like manner, urban linguists Busse and Warnke (2014b) draw on Lefebvre (1996: 72) in their characterization of urbanity as a set of values. Such being the case, the original senses of the words *urban* and *suburban* (lat. *urbis*, ‘city’, and lat. *sub-*, ‘under’) already encode a particular value in the two types of spaces by construing one as subordinate to the other, which neglects the different nuances and types of spaces that exist. Even those areas considered suburban take on a variety of forms. For a discussion of the multimodal and fragmented nature of contemporary cities, see Knox/Pinch (2010: 93, 191, 299).

language and discourses are used to construct the notion of neighborhood in particular.

In doing so, social actors engage in performances of identity to structure their experience of their social and physical environment¹⁰ by endowing the latter with values through social action (cf. Busse 2019; Johnstone 2004; Smakman/Heinrich 2018).¹¹ Neighborhoods are made up of practices and beliefs, norms and values, and are constructed by social actors whose epistemic knowledge thereof is developed in the socialization process in engagement with others and their geographical surroundings (cf. Zagzebski 2012). Normative assumptions concerning our peers and the spaces around us come to the fore in the (linguistic) construction of place, for instance in the form of culturally marketable place images (cf. Basset et al. 2005; Paganoni 2012a, b, 2014). In these inherently moral undertakings, social beings deploy identities as a means of in- or exclusion, while others aim at staking claims about belonging in a neighborhood by different means of evaluation (cf. Hummon 1990; Taylor 2002; Modan 2007; Brown-Saracino 2009, 2015; Martinez 2010) – all of which are at least in part expressed and negotiated linguistically.

Cities or boroughs are undoubtedly defined by the different neighborhoods comprised in them, which are, in turn, co-created by their cultural representations. Historical views of Brooklyn neighborhood life like Betty Smith's (1943) novel *A Tree Grows in Brooklyn*, Alfred Kazin's (1951) *A Walker in the City*, an ode to his Brownsville neighborhood, the sanitizing perspective of John Crowley's (2016) post-WWII movie *Brooklyn*, or Hugh Ryan's (2018) chronicle of queer life along Brooklyn's waterfront have provided glances at the borough's industrial past, while Kaplan and Sacks' (1975-1979) *Welcome Back, Kotter* and Spike Lee's (1989) *Do The Right Thing* have given a glimpse of multi-ethnic neighborhood life in South and Central Brooklyn. Today, somewhat to the contrary, the borough of Brooklyn is ostensibly defined by representations of its super-gentrified neighborhoods like Brooklyn Heights, Park Slope (e.g., in Paul Auster's (2006) *The Brooklyn Follies*), and Williamsburg (cf. Lees 2003; Zukin 2010) situated close to or along the 'innovation coastline' facing Manhattan (cf. Zukin 2020).

As templates for place-making strategies in their own right, current media representations focusing largely on the gentrified or gentrifying areas create a particular image of Brooklyn and its neighborhoods (cf. Butler/Gurr 2014). A recent example is Lena Dunham's (2012) *Girls*, a show about a group of relatively privileged millennials living and playing in Greenpoint, Williamsburg, and Bushwick

¹⁰ This can, for instance, be helpful in reducing the complexities of everyday life in the city (cf. Luhmann 1968).

¹¹ According to Weber (1980: 1), an action is social if it is oriented towards the actions and aware of the reactions of others.

while also trying to make a living in the creative sector. While *Girls* offers a unique window into the perceptions, lifestyles, and tastes in a – surprisingly whitewashed – world of gentrification and privilege, Spike Lee’s *She’s Gotta Have it* series (2018) or Anna Winger’s (2020) *Unorthodox* present drastically different perspectives of what life in Brooklyn neighborhoods (here: Fort Greene, South Williamsburg) can be like today. Despite offering the possibility to alter the public perception of the Brooklyn neighborhoods, these shows are still largely set in the northern part of the borough. Independent film productions like Eliza Hittman’s *Beach Rats* (2017) about a group of teenagers in suburban South Brooklyn spending the summer between internet-induced sex, drugs, and Coney Island night life, are more an exception to the rule than anything else. But what would residents further south think of this representation?

This project shifts the focus away from the famous waterfront and concentrates on one major artery of urban life that dissects the entire borough, Bedford Avenue, which starts in the northern Williamsburg neighborhood and runs all the way to the south in Sheepshead Bay. At first glance, it might be an odd choice to look at an aerial unit with fuzzy boundaries via a linear one. However, I draw on Bedford Avenue especially because, as a street, it “is central to the life of an area, but it also extends past the area, linking places and people.” (Hall 2012: 6) While having important social and spatio-structural functions, I use Bedford Avenue as a guide in my quest to analyze the concept of neighborhood across the borough of Brooklyn. Following urban design scholar Mehta, I am convinced that “[l]ooking at the street [...] is also looking at the city” (2013: 1), or in this case, at the neighborhoods that it connects across the borough of Brooklyn.¹²

Along 16.4 km (or 10.2 mi), Bedford Avenue traverses 132 blocks along eight larger neighborhoods and connects the more urbanized with a range of more suburban areas¹³ that are home to a large number of residents from different socio-economic and ethnic backgrounds, like African-American, Caribbean, Hasidic, Latinx, Italian, Russian, and Polish communities. The areas along Bedford Avenue

¹² The street is a prominent unit of analysis in urban studies. See, for instance, Whyte’s (1943) *Street Corner Society*; Anderson’s *Code of the Street* (1999), in which he looks at communities along Germantown Avenue, Philadelphia; Hall’s (2012) ethnography of a South London high street, and Mehta’s (2013) work on the street as “the quintessential social public space” (2013: 2).

¹³ More suburban spaces in North-American cities like Midwood and Sheepshead Bay in South Brooklyn are primarily low-density residential areas with single-family homes, large thoroughfares geared to automobile mobility rather than quick access to public transportation, and amenities concentrated in malls or one larger commercial sector that usually cannot be reached on foot. In contrast, the availability and close proximity of amenities and public transportation are some of the reasons for the recent popularity of re-urbanized inner-city neighborhoods that are characterized as spaces for a so-called “creative class” (Florida 2004, 2014) of young, and relatively affluent urban professionals. As these phenomena are far from absolute, and even a rural or suburban area may exhibit aspects that are considered urban, it is more useful to view these denominators as positions on a cline rather than as polar opposites. This also means that some neighborhoods in global cities such as London, Beijing or New York have more in common with one another than do individual neighborhoods within those cities, which is why an urban comparative perspective on the scale of the neighborhood like the one adopted here can be useful (cf. Gerhard/Basten 2015; Gerhard 2019).

also differ strongly in terms of structural properties. Some of them have already undergone gentrification to some degree, while others have not. Like many waterfront neighborhoods close to Manhattan, Williamsburg at the northern end of Brooklyn has been rapidly gentrified in the previous years and has experienced a growth in residential density through the erection of large, tower-like buildings along its waterfront. Further south along Bedford Avenue, existing zoning laws still preserve the low-rise character of areas like Bedford-Stuyvesant and Crown Heights, which have also seen the first signs of gentrification. Next along the borough's longest street are the macro-neighborhoods Flatbush, Midwood and Sheepshead Bay near the more suburban southernmost tip of Brooklyn, where large-scale concerted reurbanization efforts were less pronounced at the time of writing.

In the exploration of the discursive construction of neighborhood along these areas, I pose a set of overarching research questions (RQs) that determine not only the data collection and corpus compilation, but also the methodology. The main RQs for this project are:

- How is the concept of neighborhood discursively constructed in areas along Bedford Avenue, Brooklyn?
- How do prominent discourses contribute to the construction of neighborhood, and how are they connected to particular neighborhoods across Brooklyn?
- Is there intra- and inter-spatial variation in how neighborhood is discursively constructed, and if so, how does it show linguistically?

The analysis of these questions follows in the footsteps of a long tradition of work on place in sociolinguistics and discourse studies. Sociolinguistic research has focused on linguistic variation in urban and other contexts (Labov 1966, 1972; Milroy 1980; Eckert 1989),¹⁴ on space/place (Auer et al. 2013; Cornips/de Rooij 2018; Johnstone 2010, 2011, 2014, 2017, 2018; Britain 2010; Modan 2007), and urban place-making (Busse 2019; Busse/Warnke 2014a, b; Busse et al. 2020; Trinch/Snajdr 2020), illustrating how people engage with space and linguistically construct place, both in more central and more peripheral areas.¹⁵ Indeed, in times of a global urban society, "urban settings need to be theorized in new ways in order

¹⁴ In their edited volume on a global urban sociolinguistics, Smakman/Heinrich (2018: 25) state that sociolinguistic theory "would certainly look different" if it had not been developed in megacities in the global north, for instance in the form of studies such as Labov's (1966) *The Social Stratification of English in New York City*, one of the discipline's landmark studies of sociolinguistic variation conducted in the Lower East Side of New York City. For a stimulating discussion of a globalized urban sociolinguistics and its ramifications for theorizing, see the volume edited by Smakman/Heinreich (2018) that contains work on, for instance, Dubai, São Paulo, Moscow, and Kohima.

¹⁵ The term 'peripheral' carries strong ideological baggage, which is why I intend to use it in quotation marks, and want it to be understood as being more peripheral than areas widely perceived to be the 'center stage' of life in Brooklyn.

to do justice to the fluidity and versatility of speakers, their repertoires and everyday language use.” (Smakman/Heinrich 2018: 5) This understanding has led sociolinguistics to develop theories that move away from viewing language as a static entity towards a recognition of the ‘superdiversity’ of (language) life in cities (Vertovec 2007; Blommaert/Rampton 2011).

The fluidity and hybridity of linguistic meaning-making processes in diverse urban settings has been recognized across sociolinguistics, most notably in work on ‘metrolingualism’ (Pennycook/Otsuji 2015), which concentrates on language practices in urban contexts. More specifically, it looks at the linguistic (Landry/Bourhis 1997; Backhaus 2007; Shohamy/Gorter 2009; Leeman/Modan 2010; Blommaert 2013b; Blommaert/Maly 2014; Rubdy/Ben Said 2015; Blackwood et al. 2016; Fuller 2019; Özcan 2019) an more broadly defined semiotic landscape, that is, any kinds of signs in public spaces produced “through deliberate human intervention and meaning making” (Jaworski/Thurlow 2010: 7; cf. also Lee/Lou 2019; Eckert 2019; Gonçalves 2019; Modan 2018; Trinch/Snajdr 2020). These approaches investigate how linguistic or other types of signs in the semiotic landscape around us create social meaning in space. In like manner, the geosemiotic (2003) and later nexus analysis approach (2004) by Scollon and Wong Scollon stresses the need to take seriously the situational, historical, and geographical dimensions of public systems of semiotic signs. In order to “capture this ‘in place’ aspect of the meanings of discourses in our day-to-day lives” (Scollon/Wong Scollon 2003: 2), they couple ethnographic fieldwork methods such as interviews and participant observation with work in archives, thereby embedding the data in the spatial and historical contexts they were produced in.

These lines of work have inspired a range of sociolinguists to look into variation in place, including cities, from different perspectives. In their volume on the sociolinguistic economy of Berlin, Heyd et al. (2019) adopt approaches from related disciplines which, taken together, represent a type of “methodological cosmopolitanism” (Beck/Sznaider 2006: 3 quoted in Schneider et al. 2019: 8) that can facilitate understanding of the “multiple experiences and perspectives of speakers and communities affiliated by language in a social space” (ibid.: 11). Methodologically and theoretically open-minded, or cosmopolitan, approaches like these have produced fruitful insights into language and “its broad relation with urban ecology” (Smakman/Heinrich 2018: 11).

With its origins so deeply rooted in the social sciences of anthropology, ethnography (Hymes 1964, 1974; Gumperz/Hymes 1986), and sociology (Gumperz 1974, 1982), the interdisciplinary core of sociolinguistics (cf. Coupland et al. 2001; Coupland 2016) allows researchers to adapt and expand their methods

to do justice to their objects of study. In doing so, the discipline has – justifiably and necessarily – diversified data types for and methods of analysis. Likewise, sociolinguistic research has taken to including data from a range of domains of social actors’ lives (e.g., Johnstone 2017; Remlinger 2018; Busse 2019; Heyd 2014; Heyd et al. 2019; Trinch/Snajdr 2020) and drawn on multimodal data types to better understand the dynamics of variation both in local, global, and in glocalized settings where this distinction collapses. It is the inherent versatility of the discipline that makes it so well-equipped to handle the diverse range of meaning-making processes found in the urban sphere.

The ascription of social values to linguistic features in varying contexts has been one very prominent branch of sociolinguistic research. Studies address this process in particular languages (see Heyd et al. (2019) and Schneider (2020) for the role English plays in Berlin) or social and regional dialects (Johnstone et al. 2006, 2016; Johnstone 2009a, 2009b, 2014, 2016, 2017; Beal 2009a, b; Britain 2009; Managan 2011; Eberhardt 2012; Remlinger 2018) and how these are represented in the semiotic landscapes of a city, in popular culture, or in commodified form as souvenirs. Explorations of processes of enregisterment, that is of the way in which linguistic signs become linked to a particular population of speakers, address how identity positions and related social practices are indexically evoked in this process (cf. Silverstein 2003; Agha 2003, 2005, 2007; Jaffe 2016) through “particular words, ways of pronouncing words, grammatical patterns, and patterns” (Johnstone 2016: 632).

In their research on linguistic place-making, amongst others, in Brooklyn, New York, linguists Busse and Warnke (2014a, b) and Busse (2019) have built on these understandings and expanded the scope of analysis of language and place beyond the level of “grammatical patterns” and “patterns of intonation” previously addressed by Johnstone (2016: 632). In a corpus linguistic analysis across different semiotic modes, Busse (2019) identifies the process of enregisterment of social values to linguistic features, and lexical patterns in particular, as a distinct form of discursive urban place-making. These are “understood as the ways in which all human beings transform the places in which they live through diverse creative processes” (Schneekloth/ Shibley 1995: 1; cf. also Paulsen 2010). Thus, acts of place-making encompass all meaning-making practices, the everyday and the creative, that are deployed to assign “social meanings to (physical) space(s), thereby creating places” (Cornips/de Rooij 2018: 7).¹⁶ One of these is the writing

¹⁶ The focus on discursive place-making practices, and on discursive neighborhood construction in particular, “encourages us to ‘think relationally’ (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992: 228), that is, to look away from problematized groups to the social work that constructs them as peripheral vis-à-vis a normative center.” (Jaspers 2018: 19) This is also transferrable to the neighborhood level.

and display of public texts in an area's semiotic landscape. In their recent sociolinguistic/anthropological study, Trinch and Snajdr (2020) discuss how place registers that can be found in the Brooklyn's storefront signs effectively structure and transform the neighborhoods they are located in.

While there are studies in urban sociolinguistics that specifically deal with and scrutinize neighborhoods on various analytical levels (e.g., Frekko (2009) on protest banners by neighborhood associations, Blommaert (2013b) on a superdiverse neighborhood, Quist (2018) on alternative place naming and the construction of localness), the conceptualization of neighborhood needs to be explored in more detail. Modan's (2007) investigation of the Mt. Pleasant neighborhood of Washington, D.C., is a detailed sociolinguistic study of residents' local identities that contribute to the construction of the neighborhood in local texts and public discourses. In her study, she stresses "the way that people define, negotiate, and redefine the places they live in as particular kinds of communities populated by particular kinds of people." (Modan 2007: 5) However, the relational embedding of neighborhoods also significantly affects processes of discursive neighborhood construction. This is why it is necessary to look at a variety of neighborhoods to acknowledge the uniqueness of neighborhoods as particular places while keeping in mind their relatedness to other nearby places instead of looking at them in isolation.

Previous urban linguistic research explores a variety of local place-making strategies in "now-gentrified neighbourhoods of Brooklyn" (Busse 2019: 15). While this research presents a novel and exciting angle on the developments in these areas and an innovative way of approaching the urban space with regard to data and method, it only allows for a partial picture which "obscures the harsh realities of life for thousands of people" (Krase/DeSena 2016: 137). What is missing is, first, a comparative perspective (cf. Gerhard 2019) on neighborhoods that allows for a cross-section of the local population, meaning a sample that includes informants both from across the entire borough and across age groups and socio-demographic backgrounds. And second, since enregisterment is just one of many strategies used to construct place, additional research that sheds light on the role played by other linguistic strategies and larger discourses in the discursive construction of neighborhoods is needed.¹⁷ It is impossible to learn about all facets of discursive neighborhood construction if only one area or a particular type of

¹⁷ Thus far, I have attempted to use the concept of 'place-making' (cf. e.g., Friedmann 2010; Project for Public Spaces 2018) only to introduce research on the matter that specifically uses the term. In this project, I refer to the 'discursive construction' of particular concepts like place to highlight the democratic, social constructionist nature of the process and avoid what landscape scholar Walter Hood has criticized in an interview in the *Architectural Record* as the "colonial attitude" that comes with the use of "place-making." According to Hood (2020), "going into a place and trying to cultivate what's there" is preferable assuming that there was nothing there in that place to start with, which is what the term insinuates.

central neighborhoods, implicitly opposed to more peripheral ones, is examined (cf. Cornips/de Rooij 2018).

As I have hinted at before, people across the world are likely to have a particular perception of Brooklyn that is very much shaped by the gentrified neighborhoods that have contributed to the formation of Brooklyn as a brand “with a particular character and style that has a global impact” (Busse 2019: 15). One of the most prolific voices on the topic, sociologist Sharon Zukin (1995, 2010, 2014, 2020), describes the transformation of Brooklyn, or in her words, “[h]ow Brooklyn became cool” (2010: 35), with special attention to the consumption landscape (2010, 2014) and the tech sector (2020) in gentrified and gentrifying neighborhoods, showing how Brooklyn shifted from “a marginal space to a central place” (Trinch/Snajdr 2020: 226). Nevertheless, I argue that these neighborhoods, albeit dominant in the current perception of the borough, do not fully capture the “specific urban Brooklynite [...] identity” (Busse 2019:15) but merely “the aura of an internationally shared urban fantasy.” (Hymowitz 2017: 2; cf. also Krase/DeSena 2016) This is because the socio-demographic makeup of these neighborhoods does not reflect the heterogeneity of the borough. Although processes of gentrification have affected large parts of Brooklyn, the semiotic practices employed to construct place and identity across Brooklyn are only affected by gentrified neighborhoods to a certain degree. Beyond that, these ‘other’ neighborhoods constitute their own discursive fields (cf. Spillman 1995; King 2007) that are interconnected with yet others, amalgamating contradictory perceptions and diverging senses of place and belonging. What is more, residents in non-gentrified or early-gentrifying neighborhoods also engage in such social semiotic practice, for instance in a discursive struggle for the identity of ‘their’ neighborhood (cf. Zukin et al. 2015) precisely because it is not (yet) one of the well-known, destination neighborhoods. Thus, a strong emphasis on what are perceived to be central areas serves to “devalue the historical and cultural heritage on which the residents of the periphery build their regional identities.” (Cornips/de Rooij 2018: 5)

Therefore, a relational, comparative perspective on neighborhoods is mandatory for an investigation of how social actors across Brooklyn perceive of and discursively construct the neighborhoods that they frequent and live in. This project does not focus on one particular linguistic strategy à priori, but draws on corpus linguistic tools to investigate a variety of discursive strategies used to construct neighborhoods. To achieve this, it builds on Modan’s (2007), Busse’s (2019), and Trinch and Snajdr’s (2020) work and approaches neighborhood discourses in the context of lexical patterns across different text types

characterized by differing contexts of production and reception, substantiating the analysis with in-depth ethnographic study of the context where these texts were produced. Therefore, insights from the fields of sociolinguistics, urban studies, sociology, ethnography, and urban geography undergird the analysis of my data.

Because of the different historic, demographic, and structural properties of the individual neighborhoods across Brooklyn, extra-linguistic information that affects the contexts of data production are a crucial component that must inform the analysis of the data at every step of the way. As “neighborhoods need to be understood in their historical, political and economic contexts” (Madden 2014: 492), this approach also draws on qualitative and ethnographic data which, paired with quantitative corpus-based analyses, add more nuance to the investigation of contextually-sensitive meaning-making practices. This emphasis will become visible, first, in my description of the context and history of the areas investigated (chapter 3), and in my discussion of neighborhood as a spatial and social category of analysis (chapter 2), as well as in the individual analysis chapters.

Based on these theoretical considerations, I gathered the data for this project with three underpinning rationales. First, since the “heterogeneity of contexts, conditions, and dynamics is almost too complex to grasp” (Gerhard 2019: 190) from one data type only, analyses of urban and suburban areas must attempt to employ a comparative perspective on several data sets and contextualization practices. Second, I put an emphasis on a large number of grassroots viewpoints or voices that are not often considered in the analysis of discourse because they are not as easy to collect as other types of data, such as readily available written texts like newspapers. For this reason, I draw on a variety of partly understudied data types gathered across a larger geographical space to arrive at a more comprehensive understanding of discursive neighborhood construction. In order to highlight the importance of the individual social actor on locally circulating discourses, I conducted 200 rapid-anonymous interviews in eight collection areas across Brooklyn (BK_SpokenRA corpus, chapter 4). This angle is particularly valuable because it is underrepresented in decision-making processes in rapidly changing urban spaces where local voices have to compete with those of developers and capital flows seeking to (re-)construct neighborhoods, in discourse, concrete, and stone.

In addition, I gathered 10 in-depth interviews with local stakeholders (BK_SpokenID corpus, chapter 5) that will be the basis for the largest part of the empirical analysis. This variety of individual perspectives captured in the data provide a solid foundation for a more holistic understanding of the concept of neighborhood. To represent the complexities and interweaving of discourses in

and across space(s), I also compiled three corpora of computer-mediated texts, such as neighborhood association websites (BK_OrgaWeb corpus, chapter 6), online press releases from Brooklyn Borough Hall (BK_BBHPR corpus, chapter 7), and online restaurant review data (BK_Yelp corpus, chapter 8). Third, the data collection was complemented with ethnographic observations, both on the ground and from a distance (cf. Varis 2016; Postill 2017), to make sense of the situated meanings in the data.¹⁸ In the analyses, I combine quantitative and qualitative methods from corpus linguistics and discourse studies to explore the meaning of the concept of neighborhood and to gain a deeper understanding of the linguistic strategies used in its discursive construction.

Although the underlying research questions are not necessarily language-based only, the tools used for analysis necessarily prioritize text over other layers of discourse (cf. Baker 2019). The qualitative treatment and explanation of the textual phenomena enables the researcher to view the text as embedded in social practice observed during fieldwork periods (cf. Meyerhoff et al. 2012; Schilling 2013). While there are corpus linguistic approaches that draw on larger corpora or a greater variety of existing tools to manipulate the data, my aim in this project is to achieve a fruitful synthesis of quantitative methods used in corpus linguistics and qualitative methods used in discourse analyses in sociolinguistics, urban ethnography, human geography, and urban studies more generally. This is to show the analytical merit of quantitative perspectives that provide a robust empirical scaffolding on the interpretation of the data when complemented with a close eye on the context that the data were produced in. In doing so, I hope to broaden the assumption of what can be considered useful data in sociolinguistics, and likewise to show the potential of quantitative approaches that focus on the micro-level of the text applied to what is traditionally considered qualitative data in the urban studies context.

In this vein, the analysis of discursive neighborhood construction in Brooklyn can bring to light new insights on present-day neighborhoods that go beyond normative and capital-driven perspectives expressed in top-down planning approaches. While it is important to draw on an array of “guiding, normative images” (Friedmann 2000: 464) in order to imagine alternate urban futures, it is even more crucial to learn how these images are perceived, interpreted, and discursively constructed by individual social actors and local stakeholders. Exploring how such discourses are formulated and maintained in neighborhoods throughout Brooklyn takes urban scholars one step closer towards bringing about

¹⁸ The emphasis on situatedness in spatial and historical context follows in the line of earlier geosemiotic approaches to semiotic meaning-making processes in place (cf. Scollon/Wong Scollon 2003) as well as with nexus analysis as proposed by Scollon/Wong Scollon (2004).

these utopian visions of the good neighborhood, and one step “closer to a world we would consider ‘just’.” (Ibid.: 463)

2. The neighborhood as object and category of analysis

Shifting the analytical focus from the city to the neighborhood level renders visible how social practices performed in urban spaces contribute to the formation of discourses which, although circulated far beyond the neighborhood, have a significant impact on the lives of local residents. Introducing the neighborhood as an “identifiable section of a city whose members are organised into a general interaction network of formal and informal ties and express their common identification with the area in public symbols” (Schwirian 1989: 84, cited in Franz 2015: 56) highlights two dimensions of this object of analysis – the spatial and the social – which can be used as a springboard for further investigation into discursive neighborhood construction. Building on this definition, I offer a brief intellectual and conceptual history of the neighborhood. In the second part of this chapter, I outline why a practice-based, socio-spatial definition of neighborhoods is more fruitful for empirical research than a neighborhood-as-container or a place-based community definition (cf. Smith 2000). Finally, I discuss why the understanding of neighborhoods as the result of discursive and social practice serves as a useful point of departure for an empirical discourse analysis of the concept.

2.1 Neighborhood at the nexus of spatial and social

Where “social and physical space” (DeSena 2009: 45) come together, the affiliation with an area is shared and declared, thus giving shape to a neighborhood. However, the emphasis on the exact correspondence between social and physical space runs the risk of essentializing the neighborhood as a category of analysis. In large urban metropolises like New York City, where single neighborhoods can be larger than entire cities elsewhere, neighborhoods may foster an imagined connection between residents who do not personally know each other (cf. Hunter 1974, 1979). No matter how much residents share and proclaim the attachment to a neighborhood, its residents will only ever belong to an imagined community (B. Anderson 1991: 6), not one in which they know every single one of its members.¹⁹

In her 2007 work on the Mt. Pleasant neighborhood of Washington, D.C., sociolinguist Gabriella Modan employs a discourse analytic approach to examine neighborhood and several groups of residents therein. In her study, Modan

¹⁹ When I refer to community here, I want to make clear that this is not a community in an overly romantic sense, but an imbrication of Tönnies's (1887) notion of the traditional, rural *Gemeinschaft* and his more cosmopolitan idea of *Gesellschaft* (society).

identifies the local “spatialized community” (Modan 2007: 326) and the entire neighborhood as the variables relevant to her investigation. These correspond to what I would argue to be the social and spatial dimensions of neighborhood according to Schwirian’s (1989) above definition. Tracing a connection between people and place is of course a necessary endeavor in this type of setting. However, despite introducing a distinction between “*residence* and the *participation* in a place” (Modan 2007: 326, italics in original), Modan aligns neighborhoods with communities. This understanding comes closer to an ideal-type of the community that is, from the perspective of urban sociology, difficult if not impossible to find in contemporary urban spaces (cf. Blokland 2017). Although I concur with the argument that participation results in “circulating discourses” (Modan 2007: 327), I want to emphasize that it is just as much non-participation that shapes the discourses which serve to construct a given neighborhood.

Neighborhoods are not “communities of place” (D. Smith 2000: 95) that arise from the act of living and sharing a space. It may happen just as often that people do not interact with one another, which is why a definition of neighborhood as a traditional place-based community is problematic (cf. Blokland 2017). Rather, a variety of “communities of choice” (D. Smith 2000: 95) may arise from living in the same neighborhood. Consequently, neighborhoods may – but do not have to – have a social dimension which is expressed with the help of semiotic signs, or symbols in Schwirian’s (1989) definition, that is, in the way residents discursively construct their neighborhood.

In order to use neighborhood productively as a concept, it is neither helpful to understand it as a given nor to assume that it corresponds with community and therefore to automatically assume its decline, bemoaning its disappearance from an almost nostalgic perspective (cf. Putnam 2000). Instead, both concepts can be used more productively by viewing “community as a set of public doings” (Blokland 2017: 11).²⁰ This way, community is not tied to a spatially defined neighborhood concept but to a space in which it may or may not arise from joint social practice.

Viewing the concept neighborhood as a product of discursive practice allows for a close look at its linguistic and social construction rather than presupposing its existence as a community *eo ipso*. An analysis of the acts of “[d]oing neighbouring” (Blokland 2017: 72) in the form of talking about

²⁰ Consequently, every practice is a meaningful act in a neighborhood. Since my focus is on the linguistic practices that people use to discursively construct particular versions of neighborhoods, and at the same time to construct themselves as neighbors, I am hesitant to simply call a neighborhood a community of place or a place-based community. Although the Chicago School rightly stressed the spatial aspects of social interaction, community must not necessarily “find its anchoring” (Blokland 2017: 12) at the neighborhood level because a community is unlikely to be inclusive to or sought by all neighbors to the same extent, and if it is, it is difficult to determine from the perspective of the researcher.

neighborhoods enables the researcher to demonstrate which strategies are employed by social actors to discursively construct the concept.

2.2 Theoretical background: Exploring interdisciplinary avenues

The linguistic and discursive construction of neighborhood starts with individuals who make use of linguistic and semiotic practices to shape (cf. Flowerdew 2004), for instance, the semiotic landscape of the neighborhood through the types of signage used on storefronts (cf. Trinch/Snajdr 2020). These and other practices become meaningful resources for expressions of social differentiation within the urban environment (cf. Eckert 2012). The “cumulative effect” (Fairclough 1989: 54) of these meaning-making practices evokes and gives shape to discourses connected to a particular area. In this vein, discourses provide social actors with anchor points for the orientation in the social world. Discourse thus enables us to “orient ourselves to the spatial, temporal, linguistic, intertextual, social and political dimensions of contextual reality.” (Zienkowski 2017: 9)

The complexity of contextual realities has not always had a firm place in linguistic research conducted in urban settings. In first- and second-wave sociolinguistic approaches (cf. Eckert 2012) starting with Labov in New York City (1966), the focus has been on phonological variation in cities, for instance in the study of urban vernaculars,²¹ rather than individual linguistic choices that contribute to discourses connected to these environments. In these studies, variation was explained through correlation of variant occurrence with broad social categories, often portraying a simplified version of language use in diverse urban contexts. Present day urban sociolinguistics has shifted from delineating “the long-term trajectory of language change” (Montgomery/Moore 2017: 5) to the analysis of the creation of social meaning in and of place. Second- and third-wave variationist sociolinguist approaches have indeed strongly highlighted the speaker’s active role in meaning-making processes, with a new emphasis on gaining “a more nuanced understanding of the relationship between language and place” (ibid.) while also paying attention to the social and cultural contexts of meaning. The shifting understanding of variation in the sociolinguistic study of language in the urban area is crucial in outlining the methodological foundations of the discursive construction of neighborhoods as places that are “intersubjectively produced but also subjectively and bodily experienced” (Cornips/de Rooij 2018: 8). Thus, present-day sociolinguistic analyses of urban places and associated semiotic practices are not only concerned with how these places are linguistically represented, but also

²¹ Other pioneering studies include Wolfram (1969) in Detroit, Trudgill (1974) in Norwich, Macaulay (1977) in Glasgow, Cheshire (1982) in Reading, Milroy (1980) in Belfast, and Eckert (1989) in Detroit.

how social, structural and spatial factors “dialectically contribute to linguistic and discursive constructions” (Paganoni 2014: 5) of neighborhoods.

In the field of linguistics, a widening of scope both in terms of data and methods can pinpoint “semiotic ways of construing aspects of the world (physical, social or mental) that can generally be identified with different positions or perspectives of different groups or social actors” (Fairclough 2016: 164). As social actors produce semiotic meaning in and with their surroundings through creative and often mobile semiotic practice (cf. Büscher/Urry 2009; Busse 2019; Trinch/Snajdr 2020), they draw on a variety of means of semiotic modes. In her work, Busse (2019) illustrates enregisterment as one way of constructing an urban place in Brooklyn and emphasizes the contribution of a variety of linguistic strategies to discursive place-making. As Busse (ibid.) convincingly shows, it is the triangulation of different types of data, of quantitative and qualitative methods and the systematic comparison of different areas of investigation that is particularly fruitful in this particular context, and thus has to be at the heart of every urban linguistic analysis. In the present project, I show how social and cultural value is linked to particular places and consequently contributes to the formation of discourses on the scale of the neighborhood. Building on work by Busse and Warnke (2014, 2015) and Busse (2019), I argue that the variety of linguistic and extra-linguistic practices used to construct the neighborhood requires a broad base of empirical data that can only be made sense of against the background of their context of production. Therefore, it is necessary to draw on urban ethnographic methodology (cf. Ocejo 2019) to accompany data collection and interpretation.

Neighborhoods as social and spatial objects of analysis demand an expansion of existing linguistic methodology to adequately capture variation in such urban spaces across several semiotic modes (cf. Smakman/Heinrich 2018; Trinch/Snajdr 2020). Scrutinizing a broader scope of data is but one aspect that can promote a better understanding of discursive place-making practices (cf. Busse 2019). Some categories of analysis can only be researched from up close, for instance by conducting extensive ethnographic fieldwork. The observations gained in this type of engagement with the space help the researcher to interpret the data not only in their co-text but also their extra-linguistic context.

To do justice to the complexity of (sub)urban contexts, a cross-fertilization of methodologies from neighboring academic disciplines is necessary. Scholars from multiple disciplines have explored “linguistic patterns to help them gain greater social understandings” (Schilling 2013: 19). Indeed, research from outside linguistics regularly makes use of language as point of entry into the social realm.

Lefebvre's category²² of language of the city (1996: 115) explores place names and highlights that naming a place involves the ascription of a certain quality. This renders place names powerful tools in the making of place (cf. Tuan 1991; Quist 2018), especially in the case of neighborhoods being re-developed and re-named. This is an act of meaning-making "through semiotic intervention" (Busse 2017: 8). Social actors in the urban space play a formative role, not only in the creation of physical and social, but also of the discursive structures of a given place. In using place as "the raw material for the creative production of identity" (Cresswell 2004: 39), social actors draw on places and utilize these "conditions of possibility for creative social practice" (ibid.). These practices, in turn, include the social and linguistic demarcation of places via individuals' place-identities (cf. Proshansky 1978; Proshansky et al. 1983), such as, for example, relations of inclusion and exclusion (cf. Dixon/Durrheim 2000, 2004; Knox/Pinch 2010; Di Masso 2012) or negotiations of belonging and attachment²³ (cf. Stedman 2003; Scanell/Gifford 2010). This research, albeit having kept a somewhat narrow focus on identity, is an important stepping stone for further analysis of quotidian meaning-making practices in spaces like neighborhoods. To complement these perspectives, an analysis that accounts for the breadth of discourses linked to a particular locale would be useful.

Qualitative social science-approaches commonly investigate occurrences of language, and some even make use of similar types of data and methods as linguists. Human geographic and in part also sociological approaches²⁴ collect and probe varied data sets, many of which include interviews and questionnaires to collect linguistic data that is then analyzed through the respective social scientific disciplinary lense (e.g., Brown-Saracino 2009, 2015; Brown-Saracino/Rumpf 2011; Zukin et al. 2015). Research in discursive psychology draws on studies of identities established through analyses of language data, using for instance conversation-analytic or content-analytic methods (e.g., McCabe/Stokoe 2004; Stokoe/Wallwork 2003; Wallwork/Dixon 2004).

Nevertheless, many social science approaches draw a clear boundary between their work and that of linguists. Despite recognizing that "[l]anguage is so

²² Lefebvre explains that "semiological analysis must distinguish between multiple levels and dimensions. There is the *utterance* of the city: what happens and takes place in the street, in the squares, in the voids, what is said there. There is the *language* of the city: particularities specific to each city which are expressed in discourses, gestures, clothing, in the words and use of words by the inhabitants. There is *urban language*, which one can consider as language of connotations, a secondary system and derived within the denotative system (to use here Hjemslev and Greimas's terminology). Finally, there is the *writing* of the city: what is inscribed and prescribed on its walls, in the layout of places and their linkages, in brief, the *use of time* in the city by its inhabitants." (Lefebvre 1996: 115, his emphasis)

²³ See Hay (1998) for a discussion of *place-attachment* vs *sense of place*.

²⁴ See for examples from sociology or ethnography E. Anderson (1999); Beilenson and McGuire (2012); Freeman (2006); Hwang (2016a, 2016b); Hyra (2017); Martinez (2010); Moss (2017); Suleiman (2011); Zukin (1995, 2008, 2011, 2014, 2020); from (human) geography Cresswell (1997); Dzudzek et al. (2009); Mattissek/Glasze (2014).

central to all social activities it is easy to take for granted” (Potter/Wetherell 1987: 7), scholars in discursive psychology,²⁵ for instance, maintain that they “are not linguists attempting to add social awareness through the addition of the study of pragmatics” (ibid.). Indeed, it seems that social science scholars “find it easier to take language and speech for granted rather than venture into the mysterious world of linguistics.” (Schwalbe 1983: 291) Viewing language as “the stuff of linguistics” (ibid.) while also scrutinizing language for social analyses seems somewhat contradictory, and more importantly, hinders social scientists from getting a much more profound insight into their objects of analysis. It is this mysterious world of linguistics offers the possibility to lead to a deeper understanding of the social and spatial.

Although social scientific studies are very attentive to how their data are produced and co-constructed through these contexts of production, they often do not get the most out of their linguistic data. There are three social-science approaches that venture into this mysterious world of language that I briefly want to discuss here. The first is that of sociologists Brown-Saracino and Rumpf (2011), who analyze 4,518 newspaper articles collected with the seed word ‘gentrification’ between 1986 and 2006. Their computer-assisted frame analysis coupled with manual coding looks at the use of the term ‘gentrification’ and its framing over time. Despite examining various examples and variables such as socio-demographic information indicated in the articles in detail, the analysis is restricted to content-level of the text and leaves room for further, more sophisticated analysis of the linguistic specificities of these texts.

The second approach is that of sociologist Jens Zinn, who has used corpus linguistic methods to illustrate the close connection between social and linguistic change in perceptions of risk (e.g., Zinn/McDonald 2018; Zinn 2019). In his work, he also draws on newspaper coverage to explore a social phenomenon. More precisely, he employs corpus linguistic techniques to illuminate how risk has been understood in the *The New York Times* from 1987-2014 and in *The Times* between 1785 and 2009, moving beyond the level of the content by focusing on linguistic functions, their patterns, and how they change over time. The somewhat narrow focus on one data type to illuminate such a far-reaching social phenomenon could be widened by including additional types of data, for instance from corpora that contain historical novels or letter exchanges.

The third non-linguistic case that draws on language in a more systematic manner is the work of human geographers Mattissek and Glasze, who employ

²⁵ For examples from discursive psychology, see Dixon and Durrheim (2000, 2004); Dixon and McAuley (2006); Edwards and Potter (1992); McCabe and Stokoe (2004); Potter and Wetherell (1987); Stokoe and Wallwork (2003); Wallwork and Dixon (2004).

“lexicometric methods” (2014: 7) to introduce corpus-linguistic methods to their discipline.²⁶ In their work, they claim that this approach “build[s] on and refine[s] linguistic methods, especially those based on the so-called French School of Discourse Analysis.” (ibid.: 46) This human geographic approach includes “enunciative analysis, argumentation analysis, frame analysis, etc.” (ibid. 47) on the micro-level and analyzes “patterns [which] are interpreted as indicators for dominant structures of meaning construction” (ibid.) on the macro-level, which closely mirrors the concepts of collocation and semantic prosody²⁷ in corpus linguistics. Both are useful tools in the analysis of discourses and widely used in interdisciplinary approaches to discourse in German- and English-speaking corpus linguistic analyses that focus on a range of topics from different discourse analytical angles (e.g., Baker et al. 2008; Baker et al. 2013; Mahlberg 2014; Ziem 2013), many of which are critical or interdisciplinary approaches (cf. Ancarno 2018; Baker 2018).

To be sure, in their strict focus on keeping with a poststructuralist perspective (cf. also Angermuller 2014, 2018), lexicometric approaches are supposedly employed against a different theoretical background than linguistic discourse analyses.²⁸ The restriction to this small sub-set of the multi-faceted corpus linguistic toolkit, however, unnecessarily limits the potential of the analysis of such a multi-dimensional concept as discourse. Nevertheless, this line of work presents a laudable attempt to give substance to the analyses of discourses, and ultimately to make them “more systematic and rigorous” (Marchi et al. 2017: 174). Still, it leaves ample scope for a deeper exploration of discourses in the human geography context, and in urban studies more broadly.²⁹

The fact that scholars from the social science disciplines make use of such corpus linguistic techniques to analyze discourses and their workings only highlights the issue’s relevance and the method’s utility. However, I want to argue that these approaches can benefit from a linguistic perspective to make full use of the analytical potential presented by the tools at hand. The application of corpus

²⁶ Interestingly, earlier works in this tradition (e.g., Dzudzek et al. 2009) contain references to standard corpus linguistic literature, while Mattissek and Glasze (2014) do not make visible the origin of these methods anymore.

²⁷ According to Hunston and Francis (2000: 137), “a word may be said to have a particular semantic prosody if it can be shown to co-occur typically with other words that belong to a particular semantic set.” This means that a word may come to carry an additional positive or negative association through frequent co-occurrence with other words (cf. Stubbs 2001).

²⁸ See Mills (2006) for an overview of traditions in discourse analysis across disciplines, Sealey and Carter (2004) for a discussion of applied linguistics as a social science, and Rheindorf (2019) for an overview of the tools and methodologies in Discourse Studies.

²⁹ The artificial disciplinary boundary that is drawn here between lexicometric methods, which are rooted in the French tradition, and corpus linguistic methods does their endeavor a disservice first, through their insistence on the method as unique to the German-speaking human geographic context, and second, by limiting the reach of this promising and innovative way of approaching questions of language and space by not making explicit the transdisciplinary potential and applicability of the corpus linguistic toolkit, not least by calling it something else. Why not call a spade a spade if there is a set of methods that can be used to provide insight into social questions that can be and are addressed more adequately from an interdisciplinary perspective? It seems unreasonable not to make use of all the expertise, data, and tools at hand to arrive at the most detailed examination possible.

methods with social scientific categories and concepts is a starting point, but cannot fully penetrate discourses and their intertextual complexities. However, I strongly believe that a use of discourse analysis grounded in linguistics can offer not only “perspectives for interdisciplinary dialogue” but, more crucially, answers to “non-disciplinary” and “social-scientific questions.” (Blommaert 2005: 237) Consequently, in order to analyze the discursive construction of the neighborhood, I deploy discourse analytic methods to

transcend the division between work inspired by social theory which tends not to analyse texts, and work which focuses upon the language of texts but tends not to engage with social theoretical issues. (Fairclough 2003: 2f.)

This can only be achieved through mutual information of the disciplines in terms of concepts and methodology, and with a close focus on the intricacies of the texts under scrutiny and their contexts of production. How these can be used to learn about neighborhood discourses will be subject of discussion in the next section.

2.3 Methodology: From data to discourse

As Modan’s (2007) sociolinguistic study of a Washington neighborhood convincingly shows, investigating written and spoken communication from an urban area with methods from both discourse analysis and sociolinguistics is a fruitful methodological combination. In her study of identity and positioning on the neighborhood level, Modan stresses the collective’s power in the linguistic creation of neighborhood discourses. This goes in line with Fairclough (1989: 54) who states that

[a] single text on its own is quite insignificant. [...] It is this incremental or cumulative effect of discourse which corpus approaches are especially able to pinpoint, by showing that words or phrases occur in particular contexts, repeatedly, priming text recipients so that certain representations or ways of looking at the world are not only automatically triggered but gradually appear to be common-sense ways of thinking (see Stubbs, 1996: 195; Hoey, 2005).

These common-sense ways of thinking evolve from the repeated uptake of certain linguistic expressions by social actors, be it in the medium of speech or any other semiotic mode. Over time, the repetition of such textual patterns in a given context creates a connection to “wider social discourses and ideologies” (Coupland/ Coupland 2009: 228). This means that the linguistic representation enters a repertoire of potentially performable signs. Locally meaningful identity performances in individual utterances thus cumulate into larger networks of social meaning (cf. Moore and Podesva 2009: 479; Snell 2010: 650).

In each utterance, social beings “assign value to objects of interest” and “invoke presupposed systems of sociocultural value” (Du Bois 2007: 1). These

“presuppositions become naturalized” and are “seen as taken-for-granted information” (Modan 2007: 151) in a given social context. More commonly-recognized, widely accepted ideological assumptions, or default presuppositions in a discourse, thus become encoded into language while remaining largely unnoticed while still structuring the repository of social meaning (cf. Agha 2007; Blommaert/Verschueren 1991; Verschueren 2012). Presuppositions³⁰ about the norms of a particular place formulate the pre-requisites for belonging to and being in that particular place. However, as taken-for-granted information, the expression of such behavioral norms is only empirically observable when deviances from default norms are addressed.

Thus, the analysis of such neighborhood discourses requires a balancing of qualitative and quantitative methods. However, as Busse (2019: 18) concludes in her work on discursive urban place-making, not all “salient repetitive linguistic structures” are equally suited for corpus analysis. This means that qualitative analysis is needed because not every socially meaningful linguistic strategy can be brought to light in the exact same manner. Indeed, some of the phenomena that contribute to neighborhood construction and perception might not be “quantifiable” at all (Taylor/Marchi 2018: 2). Some discourse traces come in more explicit form, for instance as part of an overt evaluative structure, and are thus more suitable for quantitative analyses based on the retrieval of textual patterns than others whose meaning is merely implied and has to be detected in close analysis of the textual environment. As discourses extend over wider stretches of text, textual patterns, for instance in the negotiations and struggles that individual neighbors are engaged in (cf. Modan 2007), can reveal implicit ideas about places and contribute to the formation of neighborhood discourses.

An analysis of discursive neighborhood construction that is inclusive of range of different perspectives on the matter necessitates a large and multi-perspectival data set, especially in urban spaces (cf. Busse 2019; Busse/Warnke 2014a, 2014b). Indeed, it seems almost imperative that bigger corpora yield better results because more “discourse positions around a particular subject” (Baker 2014: 214) may be found in them. However, it is not just the size but the variety of text types that is crucial to highlight how discourses are utilized to construct neighborhoods, both those that are readily evoked and regularly circulated, and those that are not that easily retrieved because they might be less dominant or under-represented. With the help varied data sets, it is possible to gain a more holistic understanding of the object of investigation that can be corroborated by others (cf. Jaworska/Kinloch 2018). While corpus linguists conducting discourse

³⁰ See Archer et al. (2012: 31f.) for a discussion of presuppositions in the linguistic pragmatic sense.

analysis “have a tendency to privilege certain text types or registers, at the expense of others” (Baker 2018: 283),³¹ drawing on text types that might not be as readily available can lead to a more accurate representation of the phenomenon under study. In the analysis of neighborhoods, it is particularly important to move away from these dominant and well-researched text types that further amplify the voices of prominent social actors in more powerful positions in society, such as politicians, local decision-makers or journalists. To “incorporate the non-dominant voices” in discourse analyses, it is paramount to probe into the “dusty corners” of research (Taylor/Marchi 2018: 9), that is, to shift the focus to more under-researched text types in corpus linguistic analyses, and to include voices of residents in the neighborhoods investigated.

In a corpus-assisted discourse analysis (Partington et al. 2013) across several text types, it is possible to identify traces of discourses in various contexts, and thus to identify (in)congruities of discourses in several different textual environments. This leads to a better understanding of the cumulative and intertextual nature of discursive neighborhood construction. This is important because powerful discourses are likely to extend over several domains of life, meaning that even publicly circulating discourses may affect private conversations (cf. Baker 2006; Holzschreiter 2011). Thus, a recent statement by the Brooklyn Borough President or another local representative may be discussed among social actors in the neighborhood who position themselves vis-à-vis the utterance of the more prominent voice in local discourse (cf. Macgilchrist 2007), taking up these official perspectives and contributing to their circulation. A corpus linguistic approach that can identify and explain such patterns in large electronically-stored collections of texts produced by a variety of different speakers can enrich the understanding of discursive events (cf. Stubbs 2007), and repeated occurrences of salient discourses in particular.

Studies of discursive urban place-making (Busse/Warnke 2014a, b; Busse 2019; Busse et al. 2020) draw on various types of multimodal data in their analysis of multi-semiotic urban landscapes. In line with this strand of research, the study at hand proceeds from a data set of spoken interview data (BK_SpokenRA) conducted and recorded in the streets of Brooklyn during ethnographic fieldwork periods in 2018 and 2019. Based on the question pools used in work on urban neighborhoods by Brown-Saracino (2009) and Busse (2019), I asked 200 Brooklynites how they describe and evaluate the area that they lived in; which parts of it they appreciate the most/least; what their initial reaction to the neighborhood

³¹ A frequent criticism levelled at discourse analyses working with corpus methods is that they have researched texts that are easy to access and turn into corpora, such as for instance newspaper texts (cf. Baker 2018).

was; and which aspects of the neighborhood they would like to see change, if any (see Appendix A for question pool).³² This set of semi-structured, rapid-anonymous interviews (cf. Holmes/Hazen 2014; Copland et al. 2015) was gathered in eight zip code-delineated collection brackets³³ along the whole of the North-South traverse of Bedford Avenue. These short interviews constitute the core of the subsequent analysis. To complement this, I compiled a second corpus of 10 in-depth interviews with local stakeholders (BK_SpokenID). These conversations give insight into the processes and practices of the neighborhood that are impossible to grasp without in-depth ethnographic observation. Moreover, spoken data gathered from fieldwork enable us to “see the ways in which similar discourses circulate through disparate settings and among speakers who may have little interaction with each other” (Modan 2007: 10).

In addition to the two spoken corpora, I compiled three corpora of written and computer-mediated texts. Websites of select Brooklyn neighborhood organizations (BK_OrgaWeb) can provide a more comprehensive understanding of neighborhoods as perceived by local organizers at the grassroots level. The fourth corpus offers an insight into neighborhood discourses on an official level. It contains five years of press releases from the Brooklyn Borough President’s office (BK_BBHPR). The fifth and final corpus contains online restaurant reviews from Yelp.com (BK_Yelp). These allow for an understanding of discursive neighborhood construction from the angle of consumption. Text types produced by different social actors on different positions in the socio-political hierarchy represent a variety of complementary and potentially contrary perspectives, which are crucial for the analysis of the complexities of discursive urban place-making practices on the neighborhood level. Discursive representations of such practices

can be detected because of the systematicity of the ideas, opinions, concepts, ways of thinking and behaving which are formed within a particular context, and because of the effects of those ways of thinking and behaving. (Mills 2006: 17)

Discursive effects are thus “incremental” (Baker 2006: 13) and come about through repeated occurrence “in particular contexts, repeatedly, priming text recipients so

³² I asked these questions without explicitly referring to the concept of neighborhood. However, respondents readily elicited the concept without being prompted to it which is why I then also used the term in the subsequent questions. Indeed, it is difficult to approach or analyze that which is absent in corpus analyses (cf. Taylor/Marchi 2018), which is why it is important to weigh the advantages and drawbacks of prompting interviewees in certain directions during an interview. Certainly, the set of questions I chose and then refined in their phrasing during the interview collection process were informed by research in urban ethnography and aimed at eliciting different facets of the concept of neighborhood, as any social scientific interview would to some extent.

³³ Census tracts ideally consist of only about 4,000 people per tract and may be the most accurate unit from a human geographic viewpoint. For linguistic ethnographic fieldwork, however, they are much too small to yield enough informants per bracket for rapid-anonymous interviews in the street. I thus chose collection areas by zip-code over census tracts, because information on an area can still be considered in a second step to provide additional contextual information. The collection brackets per zip-code were large enough to ensure that there would be enough possible informants in an area at the time of data collection, and small enough to retain a manageable amount of sub-sections along the 16.2 km of street that were covered.

that certain representations or ways of looking at the world are not only automatically triggered but gradually appear to be common-sense ways of thinking” (Baker 2014: 213; cf. also Stubbs 1996; Hoey 2005). Collecting additional information on the text producers and context of production, such as socio-demographic information in the case of semi-structured interviews, or meta-information on media texts under scrutiny, allows the researcher to analyze such discourses with more depth.

A triangulation of corpus and ethnographic methods is fruitful for recognizing and illuminating the complexities inherent in the urban context. A variety of sociolinguists and discourse analysts have in the past adopted ethnographic methods in order to gather and better understand their data and its contexts of production. To name only a few, Modan (2007) engaged in extensive ethnographic fieldwork in a Washington, D.C., neighborhood; Oberhuber and Krzyżanowski (2008) conducted ethnographic fieldwork in the institutional context of the European Union; Paltridge et al. (2016) take an “ethnographically oriented” perspective on research into academic writing; Harrington (2018) paired corpus linguistics with ethnography in the analysis of the interactions of immigrants in an Irish reception center for asylum seekers; and finally, Trinch and Snajdr (2020) make use of ethnographic methods to understand the role of different storefront signs in a gentrifying Brooklyn. In critical discourse studies, and within the Discourse-Ethnographic Approach in particular (Krzyżanowski 2011, 2018), ethnography has “ceased to be associated with its objects of study (that is, with ‘who’ or ‘what’ is studied) and has become a designate of a certain research perspective (thus, related to a certain ‘how’)” (Oberhuber/Krzyżanowski 2008: 182).³⁴ Thus, in conducting ethnographic fieldwork in the form of a “reflexive ethnography” (C. Davies 1999), it is possible to make visible the “parallels and interplays of context-specific dynamics.” (Krzyżanowski 2018: 180) Consequently, I concur with Krzyżanowski (2011, 2018) and Brewer who view ethnography as “a style of research that is distinguished by its objectives, which are to understand the social meanings and activities of people in a given ‘field’ or setting” (2000: 11) rather than a mere style of data collection.

³⁴ Ethnography is “body work” (Ocejo 2019: 7). In my fieldwork, this became apparent in a number of ways. Similar to Marwell (2007), my being a woman of a relatively young age benefitted me greatly. People did not perceive me as a threat; older informants were glad to help with my “school project,” and there was not a large age-barrier between me and younger informants. Conversely, my being a non-orthodox woman posed a difficulty in conducting interviews with Hasidic informants. Likewise, I was told that my whiteness led some Black research participants perceive me as a threat, a potential gentrifier scoping the block for real estate. Similarly, the fact that I was not speaking the same variety of English as informants caused some confusion. At the beginning of my fieldwork, informants frequently did not understand what some thought to be an “Australian or whatever dialect” on my part – so I tried to adapt, first by using rhotic variants over non-rhotic ones, which significantly improved the flow of the conversations because the interviewees did not have to ask for clarification.

Indeed, in urban ethnography, participant observation by means of “slowing down the hustle and bustle and rapid change of the modern metropolis to a crawl is still a favored way of making sense of why urbanites are as they are and do as they do” (Ocejo 2019: 2), and with regard to the present study, why social actors discursively construct neighborhoods in the way they do. This also entails focusing on how discourses are created and shaped across time and across several different spaces, in this case, neighborhoods. In exploring both data collected and the “details of everyday life” observed in the areas investigated (Blokland 2017: 2, cf. also Busse 2019), it is possible to do justice not only to the immediate local context, but also to relate findings to the macro-context that consists of wider global social and economic processes (cf. Ocejo 2014; Krzyżanowski 2018).

In triangulating corpus linguistics and ethnography, a critical vantage point serves as a basis for the interpretation of macro-context (cf. Breeze 2011). This includes making use of a range of “eclectic” (Wodak 2011: 54) theories and methods³⁵ that are supported by explanations on the basis of fieldwork insights on the various levels of analysis. Consequently, the analysis of online and interview data will be paired with fieldnotes, observations from the field or the linguistic landscape, and several other types of extra-linguistic data which provide the context required for the textual analysis. In doing so, this study aims to take the “dimension of contextualisation seriously”, which means to adopt an understanding of linguistics that moves towards becoming a “social science of language-in-society” (Blommaert 2005: 235).

In line with this necessary eclecticism of methods and theories borrowed from other fields, most prominently the social sciences, is a strong tradition of social activism inherent in critical approaches to discourse analysis. Keeping the context of data production and reception in mind, it is necessary to adopt a critically-informed approach. This is because “‘critique’ is essentially making visible the interconnectedness of things” (Fairclough 1995: 747), thus shedding light on the

³⁵ One point of criticism brought forth against CDA is this “eclectic” choice of methods and data that may result in a lack of systematicity in research design. However vast the possibility of methodological triangulation, a researcher’s choices must be carefully explained and justified. Widdowson (1998), for instance, argues that early CDA approaches focused on a small variety of categories of analysis to ensure a particular kind of result in analysis. Furthermore, Stubbs (1997) criticizes the unsystematic choice and sampling of data in CDA and pleads for more thorough analyses and cautious claims about representativeness. Much of the criticism faced by CDA boils down to the following:

“[T]he only real requirement for explanation is a good social theory. Nothing is said about the empirical dimension that is required to link data and theory. The theory being preconceived, it is not surprising, therefore, that ‘findings’ tend to be predictable and that a gap emerges between textual analysis and conclusions – even for many of those who, like myself, share large portions of the theory – as soon as the question of evidence is asked. Texts are simply made into carriers, as it were, of what one already assumes to be the case. Rather than proceeding from description via explanation to positioning, with interpretation at the core of all stages of the investigation, positioning comes first and interpretation is marginalized.” (Verschuereen 2001: 69)

It follows from this that any critical analysis must, first, make sure to stick close to the textual evidence, and second, be cautious with claims of representativeness.

intersections between power and discursive or social practice in the analysis.³⁶ The distinction between three dimensions of discourse analysis (cf. Fairclough 1992) – a focus on text, social practice, and discursive practice – serves as my point of departure for the analysis of the social workings of my data.³⁷ Corpus linguistic methods are a helpful supplement to this type of critical, or indeed any critically-informed, discourse analysis because it forces the analyst to close the gap between data and conclusion by introducing a quantitative perspective on the data (cf. Baker et al. 2008). Ideally, this results in providing more reproducible analyses that allow for more than one reading of a particular dataset and minimize the role of the researcher and their interpretative power (cf. Breeze 2011; Verschueren 2001; Widdowson 1998).

While a critical perspective on the data and object of investigation at each level of the analysis is paramount, this study steers clear of the limitations that subscribing to a particular discourse analytical paradigm like CDA (Critical Discourse Analysis) and many of its related approaches³⁸ entails. Although my analysis shares many fundamental principles and methods with critical discourse analysts, such as the focus on “social phenomena which are necessarily complex and thus require a multidisciplinary and multi-methodical approach” (Wodak 2016: 2), and gathering “naturally occurring language” data which is then analyzed for “larger units than isolated words and sentences” with a special emphasis on “contexts of language use” (ibid.), my understanding of discourse analysis draws on several related traditions, but perhaps comes closest to Partington et al.’s (2013) corpus assisted discourse studies (CADS), which “aims to conduct research from a more ideologically objective stance” (Baker 2014: 213). In other words,

CADS is not tied to any particular school of discourse analysis, certainly not, for instance to critical discourse analysis (CDA). Unlike CDA, it has no overarching political agenda and has very different attitudes to and traditions of how language data should be managed. (Partington et al. 2013: 10, their emphasis)

Rather, CADS aims to unveil “non-obvious meaning” that is not “readily available to naked-eye perusal” (ibid.: 11) and makes use of “corpus-external data” (ibid.:

³⁶ Any analysis that reflects on the contexts of production and reception of a particular text type as well as its social effects is automatically critical to some degree. As Breeze puts it, “critique is not something that may or may not emerge from the analysis of text: Critique is the *raison d’être* for analysis in the first place.” (Breeze 2011: 519) In this vein, a shift in perspective towards “positively valuing some aspect of social change” (Martin 2004: 188) may also be useful because it shifts the perspective to sites of meaning-making that have escaped our notice.

³⁷ For more insights the social workings of texts, see for example Baker (2006), Baker/McEnery (2015), Chouliaraki/Fairclough (1999), Fairclough (1992, 1995, 2003, 2016), Fowler et al. (1979), Rheindorf (2019), van Dijk (2008, 2014), Wodak/Meyer (2016).

³⁸ For an overview of linguistic approaches to discourse analysis see Wodak (2011, 2013), for a discussion of Foucauldian approaches to discourse see McHoul/Grace (2015), and for a discussion of the value of ‘critical’ social theory see Roberts (2001).

10) in combinations of qualitative and quantitative methods.³⁹ The ultimate aim is to get to know the corpus, which often has been compiled specifically for a study, as thoroughly as possible. In order to do this, I make use of a variety of tools from corpus linguistics, at times adapting the “analytic recipe” (Blommaert 2005: 235) depending on the data type and social context analyzed.

The mix of quantitative and qualitative methods in corpus linguistic research looks at and connects several levels of the text in the analysis of meaning-making practice. The most basic idea underlying corpus linguistics is the quantification of individual or several co-occurring lexical items or clusters thereof. However, raw token counts produced by the corpus tool do not lead very far. The number and distribution of lexical items in a corpus only becomes a meaningful unit of analysis when the findings from one corpus are compared to a reference corpus that is similar with regard to register, genre, and variety of the language under scrutiny (cf. Baker 2006). Given that most corpora used in CADS research are specifically compiled to answer a specific research question, the problem of representativeness of a discursive phenomenon arises. If the corpus or indeed corpora compiled were to be sampled to ensure more comparable corpus sizes, potentially important findings could be lost. What is more, corpus sizes tend to affect the output of the statistical measures employed. Thus, it is more desirable to ensure comparison of frequencies across different sizes by normalizing frequency counts (cf. Jaworska/Kinloch 2018) to the basis of one million or even normalization per 10,000 or even smaller word bases if required (cf. Brezina 2018a).⁴⁰ In the subsequent analysis chapter, I draw mostly on percentages, which means that the normalized frequency has a base of 100, and only draw on raw frequencies where necessary.⁴¹

Keywords, as a result of frequency comparison between corpora, are often used by researchers as a “way in to texts” (Gabrielatos 2018: 227). This more corpus-driven procedure reveals that

[w]hat the text ‘boils down to’ is its keyness, once we have steamed off the verbiage, the adornment, the blah blah blah.” (Scott/Tribble 2006: 60)

³⁹ Ancarno (2018: 133) criticizes CADS for its proclaimed interdisciplinary outlook based on its “explorative nature and omnivorous interests” that have, however, resulted in “very few examples of actual interdisciplinary research to date.” I would argue that CADS is not per se more interdisciplinary, nor does it claim to be. But the fact remains that an application of corpus linguistic tools in related disciplines, such as the social sciences, can benefit the latter. As can be seen in the flourishing field of digital humanities (e.g., Schreibman et al. 2016), the application of quantitative and computational methods is steadily gaining ground.

⁴⁰ The formula for normalized frequency is $(nf) = (\text{number of examples of the word in the whole corpus} \div \text{size of corpus}) \times (\text{base of normalization})$.

⁴¹ McEnery and Hardie (2012: 51) argue that it is best to indicate both raw and normalised frequencies when comparing the use of a particular lexical item across several corpora. This is because “normalised frequencies abstract from, and simplify, the reality of ‘what’s there’ in the corpus.” I will not list both counts, for a corpus of spoken interviews collected in different areas does not assume a normal distribution of variation within the corpus. Neither the raw nor the normalized frequency are indicators of general validity. Indeed, they can only be indicative and are highly dependent on the context of data collection.

Keyness thus provides insight into the main topics or concepts dealt with in a corpus. Corpus-comparative statistical keywords are more often than not generated “behind the scenes” (McEnery/Hardie 2012: 51) by a particular corpus software, and thus create an air of objectivity in the selection of keywords. But the generation of keywords or collocates, words that co-occur together at a more than random frequency, is far from objective. Statistical significance metrics, such as the log-likelihood measure (LL), only provide information on whether there is “enough evidence” (Brezina 2018a: 84) for a frequency difference between two corpora, meaning that the occurrence of the item in the corpus under scrutiny is not merely coincidental. They do not give any information on the effect size of this difference in occurrences in the two corpora.⁴² What is more, research has shown that corpus comparison with the LL measure has the tendency to produce large numbers of keywords, which entails that there are false hits among the keywords produced (Brezina 2018a; Brezina/Meyerhoff 2014). This can lead to the researcher overestimating the significance of these ‘key’ items or overlooking potentially significant items if the analysis is only conducted along the lines of keyness score and frequency.⁴³

In the analysis, I draw on statistical significance, or keyness, measures and work with log likelihood scores. Even if these are “a fairly blunt instrument” (Gabrielatos/Baker 2008: 28) that is unable to deal with linguistic features such as “notably homography, polysemy, part of speech, multi-word units and syntactic relations” (Gabrielatos 2018: 226), the results produced in a keyword analysis⁴⁴ provide plenty of avenues into the corpora that I analyze. While arriving at the ‘right’ amount of keywords is not the sole point of this analysis, and indeed, there is no such thing as the one keyword list, keyness measures can be refined in a number of ways, for instance, by setting cut-off points, selecting groups of keywords for further analysis, generating so-called “candidate key items” (McEnery 2006: 148), and looking at “co-keyness” or “key-keywords” to introduce a focus on similarity

⁴² Another caveat of keyness measures is that they are not comparable across different data sets because keyness is affected by corpus frequency and size. As opposed to metrics that provide information on effect sizes, similar frequency counts do not shed any light on similarities across corpora. This also means that, “the larger the corpora compared, the higher the number of frequency differences that will be statistically significant.” (Gabrielatos 2018: 233) The analysis of concepts across different corpora require the researcher to normalize frequency counts to ensure comparability.

⁴³ Statistical significance tests are far from undebated. Recently, researchers have developed a variety of additional statistical measures that can replace the LL measure that are less affected by the properties of the corpora compared and provide information on the effect size of an observed difference, such as Kilgariff’s (2009) ratio, Gabrielatos and Marchi’s (2011) %DIFF metric or Hardie’s (2014) LogRatio score. For a discussion of the keyness metrics and techniques, see Gabrielatos (2018).

⁴⁴ A further means of corroboration of keywords is distribution of the words across the texts in a corpus. If a keyword is only produced in one text or by one speaker, it is “virtually meaningless” (Egbert/Schnur 2018: 160) because it does not provide any information about the whole corpus. However, if the research question is based on identifying inter- and intra-spatial variation in a corpus, the equal dispersion of keywords is unlikely to be the most crucial of considerations in the analysis. For a more nuanced discussion of statistics in corpus linguistics, see Brezina (2018a, 2018b). For a novel way of producing keywords for discourse analysis, see Anthony and Baker (2015).

(Scott/Tribble 2006; cf. also Egbert/Biber 2019) so as not to rule out items that might be key. Nevertheless, any amount of refining a list of key items may result in “cherry-picking” (Baker/Levon 2015: 222), that is, introducing an element of subjectivity into the process.

With regard to keyness, I focus on scores that only allow for a probability of inaccuracy of 0.01%, i.e. $p < 0.0001$. If not indicated otherwise, the critical value is $LL=15.13$, which will be used as the cut-off point in frequency-driven parts of the analysis. For the measure of association strength in the determination of collocates, I draw on the t-test which is a confidence measure for association strength that, as opposed to the MI score, can account for corpus size, but shows only those items that are important to the node word, hence suggesting a one-way relation between the two words. If not otherwise explained, the significance limit is ≥ 2.0 for this measure (cf. Hunston 2002).

If taken with a grain of salt, keyness metrics can be serviceable in the analysis of discursive neighborhood construction. Their strength lies in providing a macroscopic overview of “linguistic features worthy of microscopic analysis” (Rayson 2008: 525). This allows the researcher to, for example, zoom in on a particular set of keywords or co-occurring clusters in order to arrive at a more accurate picture of how they function in their co-textual environment, rather than relying on a set of previously established parameters or criteria. Thus, keyword lists do not do the work for the analyst in that they produce ready-to-use results, but form the point of departure for further qualitative analyses.

Coupling the quantitative with the qualitative enables linguists to shed light on “typical/unusual patterns of language use, which need to be interpreted linguistically” (Brezina 2018a: 266). Keywords signal that there is something unusual about them, but not what exactly is going, that is, what the effect size of or the explanation behind that significance is. The degree of unexpectedness or significance always has to be determined in an additional analytical step, just like the reason why they might be flagged as significant has to be investigated more qualitatively. Consequently, I draw on keyness metrics to kick-start the process of “steady and repeated observation of data” (Partington et al. 2013: 9) that allows me to observe linguistic phenomena which, by themselves, do not appear to be meaningful, do not appear in close proximity, or only become “observable after some kind of numerical or statistical process.” (Sinclair 2004: 189) This way, a given data set’s “underlying regularities have a better chance of showing through the superficial variations” (ibid.).

In addition to looking at the words which stand out in a given corpus, it can be informative to look at words from a broader perspective that, in contrast to

keyness analysis, leans more towards the corpus-based end of the continuum. The level of the concordance, “a collection of the occurrences of a wordform, each in its own textual environment” (Sinclair 1991: 32), facilitates viewing the node word in its co-text. The concordance usually contains a selected range of characters or words to the left and to the right of the node word which is represented in the center (cf. Baker et al. 2013). This analytical step is a more qualitative one, as it very much resembles the act of close reading and facilitates the spotting of patterns across a range of occurrences of a particular lexical item. Corpus tools, such as Scott’s (2012-) WordSmith Tools that I use for generating concordance lines, keywords, and collocates, allow to sort concordance lines according to different criteria. For example, a concordance list can sort the words to the left or right of the node word alphabetically. This can facilitate the discovery of repeated textual patterns and items that stand in a meaningful relation to one another.

Collocates are words that co-occur with one another at a more than random basis. This can be two or more words that occur in sequence which affect the meaning of the node word. Firth (1957:11) famously stated, “[y]ou shall know a lot about a word from the company it keeps”. Thus, because the meaning of one word may rub off on the meaning of another, a look at the collocates of a lexical item can yield novel insights on the “meanings and associations between words” (Baker 2006: 96). The collocation span, which is the number to the left and to the right of the node word, affects which words occur in the collocate list. A standard span includes five words to the left and five words to the right of the node word (cf. Baker et al. 2013). A narrower span can result in the exclusion of crucial lexical items that significantly contribute to the node word’s meaning. Therefore, the collocation span ideally “operates as a zoom helping us focus the analysis on the most relevant set of collocates as defined by the research question.” (Brezina 2018b: 273)

However, there is not ever one set of collocates, just like there is not ever only one set of keywords. Collocation measures, like the MI, the z-Score, or the t-Score, “calculate the strength of association between words” (Brezina 2018a: 67) and produce different collocate lists because they favor other kinds of words based on the assumptions that the individual tests make about the data. The MI-score gives higher scores to lower-frequency items, while the t-score, the measure that I draw on in the analysis of collocates, tends to favor higher-frequency words (cf. Baker 2014). Collocate analysis is a useful tool for discourse analyses, for instance, when the number of occurrences of a particular lexical item is too large for the researcher to survey all concordance lines and manually search for patterns that the node word occurs in. This can help researchers gain a deeper

understanding of more implicit means of evaluation, as in cases of semantic or discourse prosodies (cf. Stubbs 2001; Partington 2004, 2007, 2015)

Keyword, concordance, and collocation analysis are but three simple tools in the corpus linguistic toolkit that can facilitate the analysis of textual traces of discourses. While there is not one single, right way of conducting a corpus analysis on a set of corpus data, there should be an “internal consistency” (Baker 2006: 179) with regard to the techniques and statistics chosen to scrutinize a corpus. In the analysis of discursive neighborhood construction, I focus mainly on those keywords that denote toponyms, people, actions, and evaluations thereof, as well as salient discourse topics. Because every corpus provides a slightly different perspective on the discursive construction of neighborhoods and because every data set was collected in different areas of Brooklyn or different sites on the internet, the emphasis on these measures will vary slightly depending on the data set.

As this is not a purely frequency-driven analysis but one that aims at unearthing discursive strategies used to construct neighborhoods, some parts of the analysis will be more corpus-driven while others will follow a more corpus-based approach.⁴⁵ In the process, the observations and findings “will inevitably dictate to a considerable degree which next steps are taken.” (Partington et al. 2013: 9) Consequently, in the analysis, I will shift from co-text to (extra-linguistic) context as necessary.⁴⁶ This can also require a longer, “more detailed analysis of particular stretches of discourse” (ibid.: 11). An in-depth qualitative engagement with lower-frequency items is not at odds with the identification of salient items.

Depending on the corpus, I will necessarily move beyond concordances or keywords altogether, focusing on recurring discourse topics that are not as reliably identified by the corpus tools based on lexical patterns on the surface.⁴⁷ It is implausible to operate within the tight corset of keywords, collocates, and concordance tables to establish lexical patterns therein at all costs, even if these end up being minimally informative with regard to the research question. In these cases, these meaning-making patterns must be identified over the course of the interview or with regard to the spatial or social context of the interview.

⁴⁵ I regard the two analytical strategies as “positioned along a continuum” (Taylor/Marchi 2018: 6). For the original discussion of the corpus-based vs corpus-driven, see Tognini-Bonelli (2001).

⁴⁶ Wiegand and Mahlberg rightly stress that a neat distinction between co-text, a word’s immediate lexical environment, and context, which refers to extra-linguistic facets, is difficult, for “[s]ituational and cultural parameters in which a text is produced are not fully reproducible from a text, but are reflected in its lexicogrammatical patterns. Information about the source of the patterns such as the venue and time of publication is part of the text-external context that also contributes to the meaning-making.” (Wiegand/Mahlberg 2019: 4)

⁴⁷ While incredibly rewarding, spontaneous spoken data can be tricky to analyze because conceptualizations or lines of argumentation are developed by informants as they speak. This results in utterances filled with discourse markers, pauses, self-corrections, and often vague meanings across an entire interview or utterance, which is not uncommon in spontaneous spoken language (cf. Carter/McCarthy 1995, 2004). This also means that the creation of meaning stretches beyond the immediate co-text and beyond what is usually regarded as the five-word scope of collocation in corpus linguistics (cf. Baker et al. 2013).

The identification of discursive strategies on the neighborhood level is a cumulative endeavor that is not confined to one text type. In this vein, Partington, Duguid, and Taylor “emphasise the need to look for patterns beyond word repetition.” (Partington et al. 2013: 319) That is, even low frequency items can be informative when they are “regarded as a set” (ibid.). Rather than exclusively relying on the identification of frequent patterns in a single corpus, it can also be important to focus on a range of lower-frequency items that occur in a corpus, or alternatively to trace seemingly low-frequency patterns across several corpora. Such being the case, I consider keywords, collocates, and concordances as valuable starting points for a deeper qualitative engagement with the larger co- and context of the linguistic items analyzed across all corpora.

Although corpus linguistics and discourse analysis have been called a “useful methodological synergy” (Baker et al. 2008), they are not a panacea to the introduction of bias on part of the researcher. However, drawing on corpus linguistic tools enables the researcher to both find a balance between qualitative and quantitative analysis and to move between different levels of co(n)text.⁴⁸ This synergy ensures replicability of analysis and findings (cf. Partington/Taylor 2013) and helps to avoid the criticism directed at quantitative studies said to be “counting only what is easy to count” (Stubbs/Gerbig 1993: 78), and of qualitative approaches which are supposedly only “find[ing] what they expect to find” (Stubbs 1997: 2).

While triangulation does not constitute “an anchor that guarantees validity” (Taylor/Marchi 2018: 6), I triangulate different sources of data and different analytical tools and methods to receive a maximally-broad perspective on the data.⁴⁹ This will entail both complementary and contradictory findings, which will ensure a “thicker description of the problem matter” (ibid: 7) of discursive neighborhood construction. Through a process of “continuous shunting between quantitative and qualitative approaches which interact and inform each other in a recursive process” (Marchi 2010: 164), the analysis aims to support the notion that the cumulative effect of discursive patterns can be uncovered with the help of corpora in urban sociolinguistic research (cf. Busse 2019). The effects of the use of such patterned linguistic signs are connected to the extra-linguistic reality by discourses that are evoked when signs are produced by social actors. Ethnographic fieldwork forms the foundation upon which the corpora are analysed.

⁴⁸ In Koller’s (2014: 153) distinction, I will scrutinize different aspects on the micro-level of the text, in this case the individual lexical item and its co-text, while keeping in mind the meso-level of discourse practice context, i.e. “production, distribution, reception, appropriation” (ibid.), and the macro-level of the social and spatial context.

⁴⁹ Yet, this perspective can be tainted by a hasty decision on methods or statistics to match the data. In the analysis, the researcher must carefully weigh up what exactly is triangulated, be it different data sets, tools or methods. Taking together two methods that are ill-suited for combination only highlights their weaknesses, neither will two data sets unsuitable for triangulation serve the researcher’s interests (Taylor/Marchi 2018: 7).

The incorporation of a variety of text types and speakers into the data set and a critical awareness of their extra-linguistic context of production can shed light on the overarching effects of discursive structures. For the analysis of the conceptualization of the neighborhood, the discourse analyst, then, must look at how these contextual aspects are implicitly entrenched and explicitly expressed in the data. Detecting different strategies of discursive place-making on the neighborhood level can bring to light the complexities of being in and navigating the neighborhood.

3. Putting Brooklyn on the map

In this chapter, I lay the conceptual foundations for my analysis of discursive neighborhood construction by looking back at periods in the borough's history that have had an especially formative influence on Brooklyn and its neighborhoods today. The focus will be on how Brooklyn evolved from a rural hamlet to an industrial powerhouse before being fashioned into a global brand. In this overview, I will touch on topics that are extremely prominent in the analysis of my spoken corpora, the most salient being recent processes of urban revitalization and gentrification. These require a more substantial discussion than I could provide here, but they will be taken up again where possible in the analysis. In the following, I highlight how the materiality and history of the 'lived space' (Lefebvre 1991: 38f.) have affected and ultimately shaped this research project, my categories of analysis and understanding of Brooklyn and the neighborhoods discussed in a hermeneutic fashion.

3.1 A sketch of the borough's recent history

Brooklyn is a prototypical case of an urban area in the U.S. whose economy transitioned in the post-industrial age. Today, Brooklyn resembles a complex tapestry: a wild and turbulent mix of old and new, of fast and slow, of steel and glass next to brownstone or wood-paneling. From the 2000s onwards, Brooklyn and what has been perceived as its specific style became a globally-recognized brand (cf. Parkerson 2007; Zukin 2010; Krase/DeSena 2016; Moss 2017; Moskowitz 2017; Busse 2019). As New York City's most populous borough, and indeed the United States' fourth largest city, it is impossible to "give a comprehensive picture of the New Brooklyn, with its 2.6 million people", which, Hymowitz adds, is "more than Boston, San Francisco, and Detroit combined." (2017: 10) Indeed, it seems debatable to even speak of Brooklyn as one borough

(cf. Helmreich 2016) instead of a collection of shifting socio-geographical spheres abutting one another.

New York sociologist Zukin warns us that “[s]ince Brooklyn is huge, any attempt to characterize its neighborhoods would be exhaustive” (1995: 214). Indeed, Brooklyn is a borough defined by its many distinct neighborhoods. Depending on the statistics considered, it contains more than forty of them. These differ drastically from one another, with extreme wealth or poverty adjacent to some of the hippest or run-down residential areas. But how did these neighborhoods come about? The Dutch areas of settlement on Canarsee Indian territory, both of which are reflected in the present-day “toponymy of the city” (Shepard/Noonan 2018: 38), were turned over to the British in the 1660s and finally to the American colonists in the course of the American Revolution in the late 18th century. The rural Dutch townlet evolved into five villages named Breuckelen, Boswijck, Midwout, New Utrecht, and Flatlands, all built by enslaved workers from the African continent (cf. Hymowitz 2017). The Dutch influence catches one’s eye when looking at today’s landmark or neighborhood names – the Dutch town Breuckelen gave its name to the borough, while toponymic references such as Bojswick (Bushwick) or Midwout (Midwood) evolved into neighborhood names we know today.

Even before the onset of industrialization, Brooklyn was far from being one uniform borough. Next to and in-between those farms lay residential areas: 19th century Brooklyn was America’s first “commuter suburb” (Woodsworth 2016: 50) that housed “affluent Manhattan workers” (Hymowitz 2017: 24), particularly in Brooklyn Heights and Central Brooklyn.

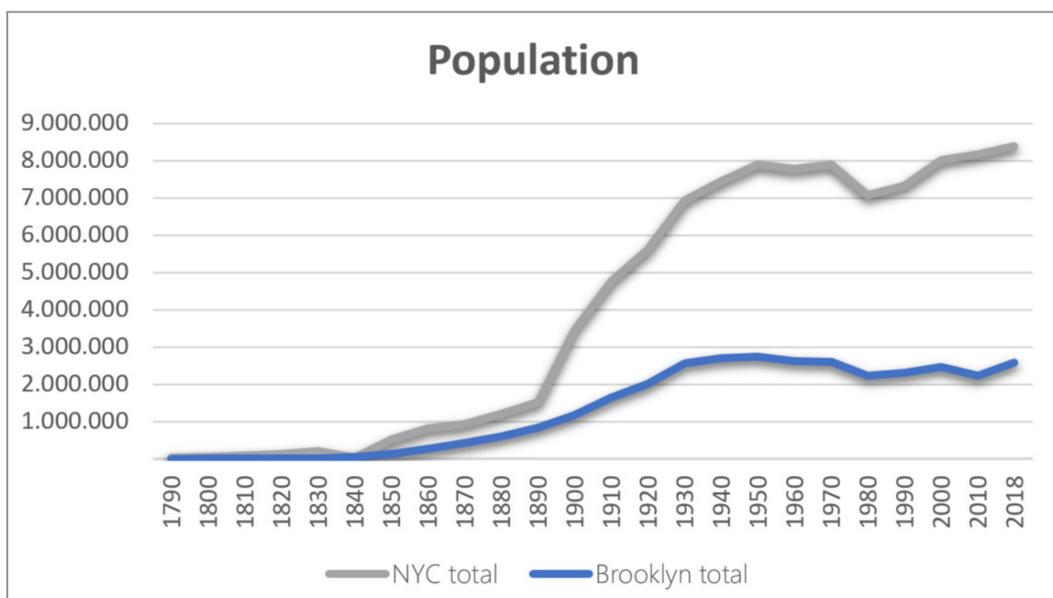


Fig. 1: Population development. Source: U.S. Census Bureau 2019.

Before Brooklyn became part of New York City in 1898, it had grown to a large city that was well-connected to adjacent areas, enabling its erstwhile rural areas to

become bedroom communities for workers in Manhattan and Central Brooklyn. Some of the borough's notable architecture stems from this time, now still visible along an area close to Prospect Park called the 'Gold Coast', or in wealthier neighborhoods like Clinton Hill. In addition to farm lands and citizen farmers in the South, the areas along the East River were already a bustling "industrial and port corridor to the west" (Hymowitz 2017: 23) until large-scale industrialization turned the borough into New York City's factory. Before the turn of the century, Brooklyn had become an "industrial power house" (Woodsworth 2016: 50) that attracted workers to the city.

The rapid growth and industrialization processes changed the face of the borough for decades to come. Brooklyn's vast waterfront allowed for docklands and storage spaces nearby which enabled its port to flourish in the ongoing competition with Manhattan.⁵⁰ The fierce economic competition with the borough across the East River spurred residential development and Brooklyn officials soon created a "grid pattern for developing future Brooklyn streets" (Krase/DeSena 2016: 22) and new residential areas housing on former farm land. It was the opening of the Brooklyn Bridge in 1883 and the borough's becoming a part of New York City that consolidated Brooklyn's suburban character.

In the twentieth century, Brooklyn's streets had been filled with living quarters for migrants from the Europe, Puerto Rico, the West Indies and, prominently, the Great Migration from the American South whose work helped satisfy the demand for Brooklyn goods. However, after WWII, factories in Brooklyn's Navy Yard shut down production or moved out of state (cf. Depaolo/Morse 2017). By the 1950s, innumerable white residents moved to the suburbs, leaving the center of the borough to poorer Black residents. Central Brooklyn in particular "followed a familiar pattern of white resistance and white flight" (Freeman 2006: 39), increasing segregation and vacancies in Brooklyn's central neighborhoods.

Shifts in the economic sphere have upended New York City's "social hierarchy" (Greenberg 2008: 238) from the second half of the 20th century. After the fiscal crisis in the 1970s, ownership turnover was high and landlords subdivided brownstones to house ever more tenants in often poor conditions. Newly created housing projects by the New York City Housing Authority (NYCHA) promised better living conditions to many of the urban poor. Arson, crime and urban decay further altered the face of many of the poorer neighborhoods in Brooklyn in the 1970s. Since then, the adoption of policies like planned shrinkage and rebranding

⁵⁰ This constant comparison to Manhattan still plays a role in Brooklyn today, especially in the neighborhoods at the East River facing Manhattan's southern tip, where comparative linguistic strategies are prevalent in utterances about place (cf. Busse 2019).

measures has also had long-lasting effects on the city-sphere, such as increasing privatization of public space and gentrification that have been characteristic of the urban revitalization efforts in Brooklyn. As I will show in my analysis chapters, these developments are still reflected in present-day discourses about former 'blight neighborhoods'.

As the "crisis discourse was increasingly couched in racial terms" (Greenberg 2008: 25), drastic measures were taken by city officials regarding Black and Latinx neighborhoods. NYC housing commissioner Roger Starr proposed the adoption of so-called measures of 'planned shrinkage' in the city in 1976 (cf. Zukin 2010). As a strategy against decline, services were withdrawn from disadvantaged neighborhoods and the remaining funds were diverted to areas with a stronger tax base (cf. Greenberg 2008) that were considered worth preserving on the city's limited budget. This way, NYC authorities put all their bets on one horse: transformation of the city's image by elimination of blight. The attempt to effectively drive the poorer population out of the city caused many neighborhoods to debilitate even further. Municipal offices turned a blind eye to those areas of the city that were not considered useful in the transformation of NYC's Fear City image (cf. *ibid.*). What is more, investments were primarily made in sectors and areas that curated a positive image of the city, leaving little money for housing, infrastructure and education in blighted areas.

With a shrinking population came a lower tax base that led to a spread of poverty and concomitant urban decline (cf. Kruse/DeSena 2016) mainly in the northern and central Brooklyn neighborhoods. The fiscal crisis in the 1970s cast a fatal blow to the remaining industries, driving more (white) workers out of the borough. As a consequence, lower-income workers, many of whom were Black, migrated to Central Brooklyn. To this day, the central and eastern parts of Brooklyn – parts of which fall into my data collection areas – are still largely populated by Black residents whose communities have been disproportionately affected by the effects of industrialization and post-industrial economy that have ravaged all industrial urban centers from the late 20th century onward. Disinvestment plagued many Brooklyn residents, especially in such red-lined Black neighborhoods⁵¹, who had difficulties to access mortgages or were subject to predatory lending practices (cf. Woodsworth 2016: 3). In late 20th century Brooklyn, living in or being surrounded by so-called "[b]light designations" (Greenberg 2008: 142) such as Bedford-Stuyvesant posed an additional difficulty for the local population. Redlining

⁵¹ Redlining is a practice employed by institutions such as banks and mortgage lenders to bar residents from particular neighborhoods from accessing loans. Bankers differentiated between best and worst areas for investments, thereby keeping Black residents from becoming homeowners and ultimately contributing to the decay of said neighborhoods while residents in white neighborhoods received public funding and loans (cf. Schlichtman et al. 2017).

prevented Black neighbors to access loans to invest in their neighborhoods as they could not access suburban housing markets due to their race (cf. Angotti/Morse 2017), leaving them to deal with decay and fend for themselves.

The dramatic impact of the fiscal crisis was “socially and spatially planned” (Greenberg 2008: 9) so that Manhattan and central business districts would not be affected as severely as areas outside the city center like Brooklyn or Harlem, where decaying urban structures were eventually abandoned by landlords, subsequently auctioned off or left vacant by the city (cf. Angotti/Morse 2017). One of these was a large area with a majority of Black residents in Northwest/Central Brooklyn whose name was coined in the 1930s when African Americans moved into the area of the former towns Bedford Corners and Stuyvesant Heights. Up until the 1950s, Bedford-Stuyvesant’s population had grown by 200,000 to nearly half a million people, making Bed-Stuy a “sprawling tapestry of micro-neighborhoods in which a diverse and rapidly changing population lived, worked, and defined common goals” (Woodsworth 2016: 45). This diversity made it notoriously difficult to organize for associations working to improve their neighborhoods. While the expanding area was also referred to as ‘Little Harlem’ in the local media, many social programs during the War on Poverty defined Bed-Stuy as one neighborhood with clear-cut boundaries corresponding to the Black settlement, “tacitly acknowledging that racism set the parameters for their efforts” (Woodsworth 2016: 13).

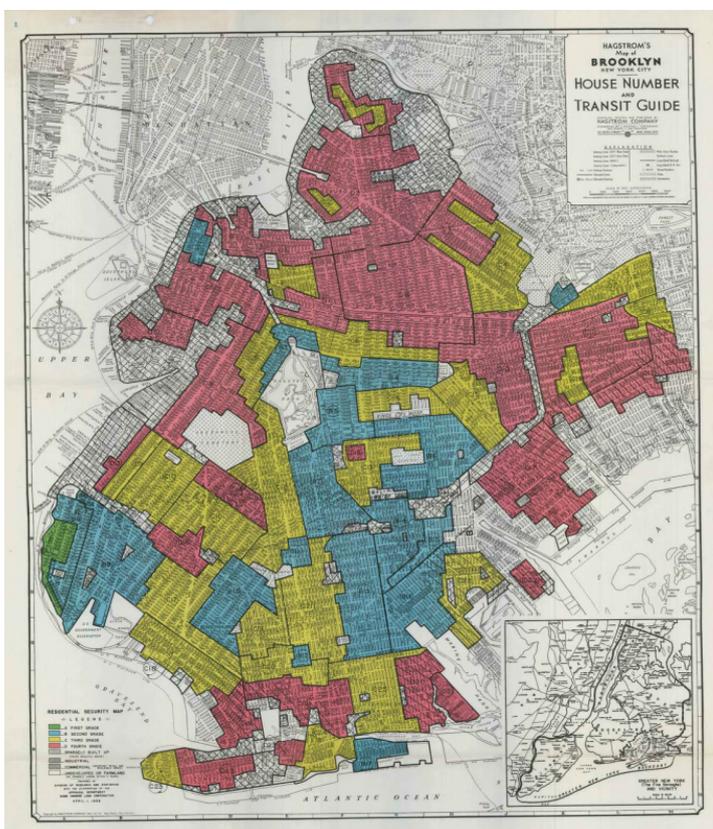


Fig. 2: 1938 Red line map (red areas: risky loans, yellow and green: considered less risky). The Red Line Archive.

Spreading poverty and crime deeply affected many neighborhoods, to the point where some neighborhood names became “synonymous with danger” (Moss 2017: 211), like Williamsburg’s South Side (cf. Krase/DeSena 2016; Zukin 2010) or Bed-Stuy, which, despite its ethnic and economic diversity and high level of social organization, became notorious for crime following the riots in 1964. Its unofficial slogan, “Bed-Stuy Do or Die” echoes problems with gang violence and drugs which Bed-Stuy was heavily afflicted with until the late 1990s.⁵² In response to a proliferation of drug abuse and trafficking, aggressive policing strategies and racial profiling were an integral part of new policing styles like the “broken windows” approach (Kelling/Coles 1997), which resulted in the rigorous pursuit of minor infractions “to control public incivilities” (Sampson 2013: 125; cf. also Francis 1989; Vitale 2008). Over the past decades, increased police presence has also contributed to paving the way for gentrification processes in low-income areas of Brooklyn.

The city’s image, meanwhile, was boosted by marketing measures whose aim was to present a safe and positive image that would help to foster the “real and symbolic commodification of the city, and of the simultaneous production and marketing of a hegemonic, consumer- and investor-oriented vision of New York [...] [that appealed to the] ‘average’ white, middle-class consumer.” (Greenberg 2008: 11) This presents an important change in the city’s agenda and in place-marketing more generally: rather than focusing on products, city destinations began to be marketed for tourism purposes in a similar fashion to commodities.

New York, or parts of Manhattan, were framed as a particular version of a city that had little in common with the “messy, everyday reality that New Yorkers lived through at this time.” (Greenberg 2008: 206) The case of New York provides crucial insights into how influential neighborhood discourses came about and eventually gained currency,⁵³ highlighting how discourses affect the social sphere at a more general level. The creation of one powerful city image left little room for social, ethnic and economic diversity in the five boroughs. As one peripheral part of New York City that was particularly affected by these processes, Brooklyn experienced massive disinvestments next to growing prosperity in neighborhoods nearby.

⁵² Heroin and cocaine hit parts of Brooklyn in the 1970s and 80s, followed by crack in the late 80s up until the early 90s (cf. Curtis 2003).

⁵³ Greenberg provides a summary of how, from a place-marketing perspective, the current New York ‘state of mind’ has come about, which is worth quoting at some length: “[T]he official embrace of ‘image crisis’ discourse was and remains, problematic on numerous levels. First, by foregrounding image, such discourse deflects attention from the political and economic roots of crisis – whether, in this case, the mismanaged budget of the World’s Fair, the uneven development of the city, or the anti-urban policies of the federal government. Second, such discourse tends to accept and reify dominant notions of ‘negative’ versus ‘positive’ urban imagery that are laden with cultural, racial, and class bias. And third, under cover of this discourse, powerful groups may denigrate, exclude, and even criminalize forms of cultural and political expression that are not deemed marketable, or that complicate their marketing efforts.” (Greenberg 2008: 69)

3.2 A new Brooklyn – post-industrial neighborhood trajectories

The Brooklyn neighborhoods that had become so-called blight destinations have, broadly speaking, taken two paths in the aftermath of these late 20th-century urban crises. Both of these play a crucial role in the corpus analysis, but also on the ground in the areas investigated. Understanding these two distinct neighborhood trajectories across time is crucial in order to grasp how particular neighborhood discourses that figure prominently in the corpus data have come about and have shaped the areas in question.

What is often left out of discussions of decaying urban neighborhoods is that many areas that were known as crime hotspots were also hotspots of community-based organizing. Realizing that local authorities had failed them, residents in Brooklyn neighborhoods that were left to fend for themselves well before the War on Poverty in 1964 formed organizations to regain a sense of control over their living spaces, renovating and revitalizing their neighborhoods one house at a time (cf. Woodsworth 2016). Over the decades, people joined forces to counter gang activity with neighborhood patrols, to provide job training to unemployed youth, to turn empty lots into gardens that would provide access to fresh produce (cf. Martinez 2010), to raise money to invest in the deteriorating local infrastructure or to “build support for broader causes: political reform, school desegregation, and civil rights.” (Woodsworth 2016: 65). Community organizers focused on safety on the street level, residents becoming home owners, as well as on the involvement of neighbors in planning processes in order to create a more stable community. Block by block, home owners fought against decreasing property values and slum-like conditions, working hard to restore and “beautify their blocks” (ibid.: 59) by way of maintaining yards and establishing what is now known as sidewalk culture. Following Jane Jacobs’s ideal, homeowners and tenants alike used different means to “abet sidewalk safety” (Jacobs 1961: 36) and thus reclaimed the streets as “a place to be honored, nurtured, and celebrated.” (Woodsworth 2016: 59)

By and by, smaller block associations were represented by larger, neighborhood-wide institutions such as neighborhood councils that had more leverage to get government to support their fight against service cuts and poverty. What is more, rather than building new housing, neighborhood associations secured funds for the renovation of existing housing. Bed-Stuy’s Restoration Corporation, for instance, had managed to fund the renovation of nearly 4,000 homes throughout the neighborhood, and also provided residents with training in construction work (cf. Woodsworth 2016). Thus, two essential parts of Bed-Stuy were preserved despite vanishing traditional institutional support, namely the

historical housing stock and the fabric of the community as it stands today, both of which have as of late become pull-factor for investors and new residents alike.

Many of the larger neighborhood-wide organizations that exist today were founded in a grassroots-fashion in response to the city's neglect during and after the fiscal crisis. Although not able "to stem the tides of deindustrialization" (ibid. 320) and the resulting poverty and decay by themselves, neighborhood organizations in north and central Brooklyn were able to cushion some of the blows and have since been crucial voices on the local level. This is why two of five sub-corpora were collected with a special emphasis on community organizers and neighborhood stakeholders. In the ensuing corpus analysis, I draw on these data sets to demonstrate how social actors residing in neighborhoods such as Bed-Stuy or Williamsburg re-negotiate how their neighborhoods are publicly perceived and how they position themselves in historically-rooted discourses of safety and community. In opposition to this bottom-up form of neighborhood revitalization, the real estate industry represents a second powerful actor that has affected the post-industrial metropolis.

Gentrification has become the go-to explanation for neighborhood change in Brooklyn. Without doubt, gentrification and community organizing can go hand in hand, as can be illustrated with the help of Fort Greene and Clinton Hill in central Brooklyn. Here, Black middle-class residents had managed to prevent some areas from social disintegration and urban decay in the late 20th-century (cf. Freeman 2006). Even before the fiscal crisis in the 1970s, some of the abandoned blocks had attracted people's attention. In these brownstone neighborhoods, the first of many more waves of in-movers came to live and rebuild areas like Park Slope (cf. Hymowitz 2017: 55) even before the term 'gentrification' had been coined by Ruth Glass in 1964. In the United States, the term was

loosely adopted [...] at the end of the seventies to describe a growing back-to-the-city movement and beginnings of downtown revival in many American cities. Newspapers soon used the term in quotation marks to describe optimistically what seemed to be a surprising reversal of decades of white flight and economic decline for American cities. (Osman 2011: 270)

This first wave of gentrification in the 1970s was "sporadic" (Hackworth/Smith 2001: 466) in nature and often supported by policies encouraging urban revitalization efforts in times of economic recession, especially in the inner city. Here, developers bought properties in "devalORIZED neighborhoods" (Lees et al. 2008: 174) to capitalize on dwindling property values. In the second wave that can be loosely dated to the late 1970s until the late 1980s, more people returned to formerly deserted inner-city areas, causing resistance by residents who had stayed for instance in New York City's Lower East Side. By way of investments in art

spaces and museums which served as pull-factors for in-movers (cf. Florida 2004), creative consumption practices became intertwined with back-to-the-city movements (cf. Zukin 2010; Hyra 2014). In turn, public-private partnerships were established between cities and investors from the FIRE sector (Finance, Insurance, Real Estate; cf. Sassen 2009). As the economic recession in the 1990s brought a prospering real estate market to a halt, the state began to cooperate more openly with private investors to keep gentrification going. As a consequence, the connection between “large-scale capital” (K. Shaw 2005: 183, cited in Lees et al. 2008: 178) and urban revitalization gradually grew stronger.

Perhaps the most prominent example for gentrification and neighborhood re-branding in Brooklyn is Williamsburg which, prior to becoming a poster child for urban revitalization, had acquired and retained “gritty, decaying, and dangerous reputations” (Krase/DeSena 2016: 7) throughout the 20th century. Williamsburg’s notoriety was also fueled at least to some extent by “tensions between the Hasidic and Latino communities” (Franz 2015: 115; cf. also Marwell 2007) and the presence of Italian “crime families” (Hymowitz 2017: 2). Gradually, however, artists and people who had been priced out of Manhattan’s gentrifying Lower East Side moved across the East River to the empty warehouses and factories in Williamsburg (cf. Curran 2007). Drugs prevailed in the neighborhood throughout the late 1990s. And while “the early 1990s Williamsburg’s warehouse scene was too drugged-out and anarchic to have mass appeal, twenty-first-century Williamsburg was producing a more accessible artist-model” (Hymowitz 2017: 67) that caused growth in the neighborhood’s popularity and population. This also made Williamsburg a prime candidate for revitalization by large-scale real estate investments: the area’s low property values and rents and held the potential for a high profit margin,⁵⁴ leading to large-scale third-wave gentrification of the North-Brooklyn neighborhood from the early 2000s.

Little of the optimism about gentrification and the back-to-the-city movement has prevailed as changes in the social fabric of gentrified neighborhoods have become more visible. Indeed, gentrification has since “become a dirty word” (Freeman 2006: 59, cf. also Franz 2015: 41)⁵⁵ associated

⁵⁴ See Smith’s (1979) rent gap theory in which he proposes that gentrification can be predicted when looking at the interface of capital and return.

⁵⁵ The term(s) ‘gentrification’, ‘urban renewal’, ‘reurbanization’ are often used somewhat interchangeably by different authors. ‘Urban renewal’ goes back to a particular program in the U.S. after WWII, the 1949 Housing Act, which was supposed to support the clearance of blighted inner-city areas and erection of new low-income housing. However, many of the cleared areas never were developed into new housing and thus exacerbated the precarious living conditions of the urban poor. The term ‘urban renewal’ still retains many negative connotations as it largely fueled segregation, racial tensions, and the formation of ghetto areas (cf. Judd 2003) as well as suburban migration, effectively destroying communities and the historic core areas of cities throughout the U.S. As for ‘gentrification’,

Franz reminds us that over the past decades, [u]pgrading processes within inner-city neighbourhoods easily ran the risk of being branded as gentrification, which became a “dirty word” in political and public discourse but a popular instrument within public policies.” (Franz 2015: 41, cf. also Freeman 2006: 59) I use this ubiquitous and

mainly with negative consequences, which, as many gentrification studies show, is too simple a picture (see for instance, Rose 1984, Freeman 2006; Brown-Saracino 2009; Osman 2011; Schlichtman et al. 2017). The motivations for people to move into or out of particular areas cannot be subsumed under one header. Instead, a more nuanced understanding of these processes is required. In Brooklyn especially, every neighborhood tells a different story of decline and renewal processes, their benefits and drawbacks. This becomes particularly apparent in the spoken interview corpus, where gentrification discourses – in their various forms – are extremely prominent. In my data, it also becomes clear that these processes affect how neighborhoods are evaluated, and which of their features are conceptualized as assets. Before turning to the analysis in the next chapter, I want to draw attention to two sides of gentrification here that are addressed in my data, the production and the consumption-side arguments of gentrification. In order to understand how residents evaluate certain developments and how they position themselves in the interview data, I want to highlight in this section how both larger capital flows and individual consumption choices work together in re-shaping neighborhoods.



Fig. 3: "THE RICH KILLD NYC." Main Street, DUMBO. Photo: KB, June 2019.

What exactly triggers gentrification in particular neighborhoods is subject of many heated debates among urbanists. In its most general sense, it can be linked to "a back-to-the-city move by capital." (Knox/Pinch 2010: 141) Scholars like Neil Smith (1996) have argued that it is doubtful that gentrification is due to a change in consumption patterns among new groups of professionals (consumption-side argument). Instead, larger capital flows and economic developments are more likely to be responsible for such changes (production-side argument). The increase

ideologically loaded term, specifically pointing out its consequences where necessary. Reurbanization, finally, refers to the revalorization of inner-city areas that lead to both structural and social changes (cf. Gerhard 2012).

of capital of investors and developers is paramount in many, if not most, cases, even in community-based planning processes.

In short, gentrification is the outcome of a larger shift in the socio-economic sphere whereby the “widespread aversion and fear of cities in American culture” (Martinez 2010: 7) has been turned into a desire by young middle-class with high incomes to live in “‘funky’ refurbished neighborhood[s] close to where they work” (ibid.; cf. also Lange/Meier 2009). Gentrification commonly involves the displacement of working-class residents by members of the middle-class; Harvey calls this a “class conquest of city” (Harvey 1996: 26) in which the urban space is reclaimed and re-modeled according to the needs and tastes of new and prospective residents. As we can see, there are at least two sides of the gentrification coin.

Gentrification is thus considered to be both the result of structural, or supra-individual, forces and “individual agency” (Schlichtman et al. 2017: 14). The structural side follows the production argument according to capitalist developments form fixed patterns of action, or structures in Giddens’ (1984) sense, that go beyond the power of the individual. The consumption side argues that the sum of individual consumer choices leads to gentrification (cf. Hwang/Sampson 2014; Zukin 1987). Among the many scholarly publications on the subject, some have criticized that analyses of gentrification “merely lurch uncertainly between the twin poles of ‘structure’ and ‘agency.’” (Rose 1984: 62) However, the two sides cannot be neatly separated from one another. Rather, urbanites’ identity formation processes (cf. Lalli 1992) rely on environments that cater to the fulfillment of consumption preferences (cf. Davidson 2007). In this line of argumentation, forces of globalization are connected to and “integrated into local landscapes and experience” (Martinez 2010: 23) that permeate social actors’ lives. Butler even goes so far as to classify gentrification as a “‘coping’ strategy” (Butler 2002: 4) against the impact of the complexities of late-modern civilization. However, gentrification is not merely a means to get by: often, it is the exercise of an option (cf. Redfern 2016: 2352) that another person does not have at their disposal. Since globalization and gentrification affect individuals to varying degrees, questions of whose experiences and tastes are considered are crucial in this context. What is common to many gentrified neighborhoods is the presence of a certain type of “attractive amenities” (Florida 2017: 61) such as green spaces, access to particular types of goods or cultural events. These represent luxury tastes in Bourdieusian terms (cf. Bourdieu 1984) and are opposed to “working class streetscapes” (Krase/DeSena 2016: 103), which can be linked to Bourdieu’s ‘necessity’ tastes. What is viewed as authentic local culture by a middle-class consumer might be

nothing out of the ordinary for a long-time resident of a Puerto Rican neighborhood and member of the local community of neighbors.

A neighborhood's perceived uniqueness and diversity often fall prey to its success (cf. Jacobs 1961). As these neighborhood assets are often marketed by cities and real estate developers alike in their pursuit of revenue, the "diverse communities that revalorized their neighborhoods in the first place" (Greenberg 2008: 250) struggle to stay in their homes. Secondly, neighborhoods lose some of their appeal as they become flushed with capital and chain stores. In Williamsburg, for example, rezoning practices and investment in transport spurred the complete transformation of this formerly industrial area of Brooklyn "into a Miami Beachesque bonanza of consumerism" (Moskowitz 2017: 178), which would not have proceeded at such a speed, or not at all, without the help of municipal actors. This process is so ubiquitous that it is not confined to the inner city anymore but has also been observed in suburban or rural areas (cf. Lees 2003: 2490, referring to N. Smith 2002, Hackworth/Smith 2001, D. Smith 2002); as I will show in my discussion of the spoken interview data.

Through habitual performances in space, residents lay claim to legitimacy and authentic belonging, thereby asserting their right to the city. In doing so, they also become "discursive investors in gentrification" (Zukin et al. 2015: 459). Speaking with the consumption side of the gentrification debate, an individual's consumption choices do ultimately affect gentrification processes, but not on their own (cf. Lees et al. 2008). However, individual choices and discursive investments into neighborhoods are powerful contributions to the shaping of neighborhoods and should not be underestimated (cf. Greenberg 2008; Zukin 2010). The power of capital and also the success of selling visions of places have increased drastically over the past decades. Neoliberal policies exacerbate economic polarization in so far as "[c]onsumer sovereignty has become urban policy" (Lees et al. 2008: 76). In highly developed neighborhoods, the majority of available activities are based on consumption. Instead of having places to go and just meet without engaging in consumption practices, such as in a public park or basketball court, residents of affluent neighborhoods meet in cafés, get their nails done, pay for a pilates class, participate in a mid-afternoon wine-tasting, and the like. Some places perceived as public may also be public-private partnerships that unknowingly regulate behaviors through design, thereby "reinforce[ing] existing power relationships." (Horan 2010: 623)

The situation is further complicated by establishing neighborhoods as destination for visitors, for instance as a consequence of investment in the art and culture sectors. New York City, like many "entrepreneurial cities" (Harvey 1989b:

3), has been prioritizing exchange- over use-values of land and has thus been gradually erasing meaningful non-consumption oriented spaces for residents in favor of corporate-owned spaces that can pay the rents and respective taxes. While these urban revitalization measures might be beneficial for all social actors alike, their results must be weighed up carefully. The creation of jobs that may come with the provision of cultural consumption amenities might benefit residents, while a growing tax base is certainly advantageous for the maintenance of public spaces, infrastructure and public services. As rent-stabilization cannot be implemented in every apartment and sub-market housing is not widely available, these instances of “urban commodification” (Greenberg 2008: 250) more often than not have shown to bring negative consequences for the existing population.

With growing privatization and policing, the question of who is allowed and accepted in what kinds of spaces lingers when we look at newly created public spaces that, even structurally, do not allow everyone to participate in this public sphere (cf. Mandanipour 2003; Mautner 2014).⁵⁶ Another extreme is more extensive surveillance and policing which in effect penalize and criminalize behaviors that are not in accordance with the (new) norms of a space (cf. Dinzey-Flores/Demshock 2020). Privatized spaces also curtail individuals’ “right to the city” (Lefebvre 1996). The latter points to possibilities to contest these developments in the urban space through concrete social action that contributes to the production of space. In essence, this view redirects power from traditional authorities such as the state, and increasingly global capital, to the individual social actor (cf. Purcell 2002) who must “necessarily struggle with one another over the shape of the city, the terms of access to the public realm, and even the rights of citizenship.” (Mitchell 2003: 18) These rights include but are not limited to “affordable housing; new approaches to labor organizing; worker- and resident-centered tourism strategies; and equitable forms of arts and cultural development.” (Greenberg 2008: 249) This also entails that citizens have the “right to use value, the right to have a city that sustains our aspirations and ideals, rather than sapping us with uncertain struggles to find work, housing, and community.” (Martinez 2010: 129).

Many spaces remain to be consumed by their users rather than providing a base for personal identification (cf. Wiegandt 2017). In this vein, residents are conceptualized by officials as consumers.⁵⁷ The “discursive battle” (Moss 2017: 32) evident in the struggle with hyper-gentrification in Brooklyn has followed a branding logic in which Brooklyn “crystallized into an identifiable local product for

⁵⁶ Individuals whose behaviors deviate from the norms of a public space have been characterized “undesirables” (Belina 2011: 19, cf. also Smith 2000). Their presence in a public space often raises issues of who the public is for as their being in a particular space is frequently linked to the decline of said space, causing authorities to prohibit and criminalize their presence.

⁵⁷ See also Benwell and Stokoe (2006) on commodified identities.

global cultural consumption: authentic Brooklyn cool.” (Zukin 2010: 28, cf. also Krase/DeSena 2016) The relation between consumers and producers and how the actions of individuals are affected by this “economy of singularity” (Reckwitz 2017: 15, my transl.) in urban spaces will be discussed in more detail in the analysis chapters.

The problem in global cities like New York and its many gentrified neighborhoods, then, is that they have been turned into areas where claiming the right to the city is often impossible. Even local elected bodies such as community boards lack real executive power. Most often, inhabitants are deprived of “the freedom to make and remake” (Harvey 2008: 4) their cities, again leaving certain groups with more power than others. As a whole, “urbanization is not a class phenomenon” (Moss 2017: 410), but an intersectional one that allows for many different interpretations – if only the right to the city could truly be embraced, and the voices of the many who are essentially disenfranchised regarding the discursive negotiation of the neighborhoods they live in could be equally prominent as those of neighborhood-external actors and commercial real estate developers.

The individual histories of Brooklyn neighborhoods have affected my data collection in so much as they pointed out particular hotspots of community organizing that are clustered in areas that were most severely affected by disinvestment measures. The material conditions in neighborhoods have exerted a strong influence on social processes and developments. Many of the institutions or associations I talked to or visited or observed from an ethnographic perspective evolved because of the specific historical conditions in the respective neighborhoods in the transition to a post-industrial city, for instance, community gardens (cf. Martinez 2010; Werner 2011), which strongly informed the type of data collected for this project. In order to analyze the discursive construction of neighborhood, my data collection is an attempt to give prominence to the voices that shape neighborhoods from the bottom up. The focus on individual social actors residing in the spaces I investigated also stems from conversations I had with Brooklynites who claimed that, “nobody does any research on what people in the neighborhood actually want.” (Crown Heights/Prospect Lefferts Gardens). The corpora that contain spoken and written data from interviews with community gardeners, neighborhood organizers, and stakeholders in Williamsburg, Crown Heights, and Bedford-Stuyvesant are supposed to represent the level of local authority, while the corpus of press releases from Brooklyn Borough Hall, which give a voice to the highest elected official in the borough, presents an important complementary angle positioned at the intersection of local and city politics. Finally, since consumption is argued to be critical in processes of gentrification, the

viewpoints of consumers frequenting the many restaurants and cafés in Brooklyn cannot be left out of the empirical analysis of the neighborhood that I turn to in the following chapter.

3.3 Bedford avenue – an autoethnographic perspective

Walking along Bedford Avenue in the north-south direction is a journey in itself. Along the way, the types of buildings present, the people encountered, the forms of mobility that are used, and even the pace of life seem to change drastically. When I walked the full length of the street for the first time on a blistering spring day in May of 2018, I packed a few water bottles, equipped myself with a backpack and comfortable shoes and set off. The first part of what would be a brisk three-and-a-half hour-walk leads from 1 Bedford Avenue in Greenpoint over McCarren Park before entering the section of Bedford Avenue that Moss (2017: 207) calls the “fountainhead of hipsterism (and now one of the most expensive retail corridors in America).” There are countless restaurants, bars, boutique and chain stores. People walk their dogs, coffee in hand, head to the L train stop, or bathe in the atmosphere of this part of Williamsburg, whose south-eastern end is separated from the Hasidic and Hispanic Southside by the on-ramp to the Williamsburg Bridge, the Brooklyn-Queens Expressway, and Grand Street. Here, I have to zigzag along the sidewalks that are almost impossible to navigate because they are always full of strollers, kids on bi- and tricycles and other, wheeled forms of mobility, and garbage that seems to not have been collected for a while. Kids spill out of yellow school buses with Hebrew lettering, shops sell furniture and children’s clothing. The sound- and landscape is dominated by cars and busses racing north. A few blocks down, the first brownstone houses and community gardens begin to line the streets. The sidewalks are less busy here than the street that is filled by trucks, cars, and more and more cyclists. Again and again, there are pedestrian detours due to construction work on new buildings that will surpass what seems to be the usual building height in this area. Sometimes, a rat darts across the sidewalk to a garbage can. I pass by some bars, cafés, larger grocery stores, the local YMCA, real estate agencies, school playgrounds, churches and the odd art shop in-between before reaching busy Fulton Street, walking by the men who have assembled before the Masjid-At-Taqwa mosque. All of a sudden, the sidewalks are packed with people again. The noise from the cars and trucks crossing Bedford on the nearby Atlantic Avenue is already audible from a few blocks away.

Passing by the many police cars outside the Bedford Armory Men’s Shelter, I notice that the buildings grow taller from the fork at Grant Gore in Crown Heights/Prospect Lefferts Gardens. The brownstones have given way to stately

apartment buildings that at times yield some space to a community garden, corner store or pharmacy. The pace picks up again towards Eastern Parkway, the large boulevard leading past Prospect Park to Grand Army Plaza and into Downtown Brooklyn. The construction around the Bedford-Union Armory has already begun, and the street turns into a downhill slope towards Medgar Evers College and the housing projects that were built on the former site of Ebbets Field, where Jackie Robinson made baseball history as the first player to break the color line in 1947 (cf. Shepard/Noonan 2018). Although the people here are mostly young, a white person like me clearly stands out on the sidewalk. The next big and deafeningly loud crossing is Empire Boulevard, where the stench of exhaust fumes and fuel from the nearby gas station mix with the smell from the fast food chain across the road while I wait my turn for the green light.

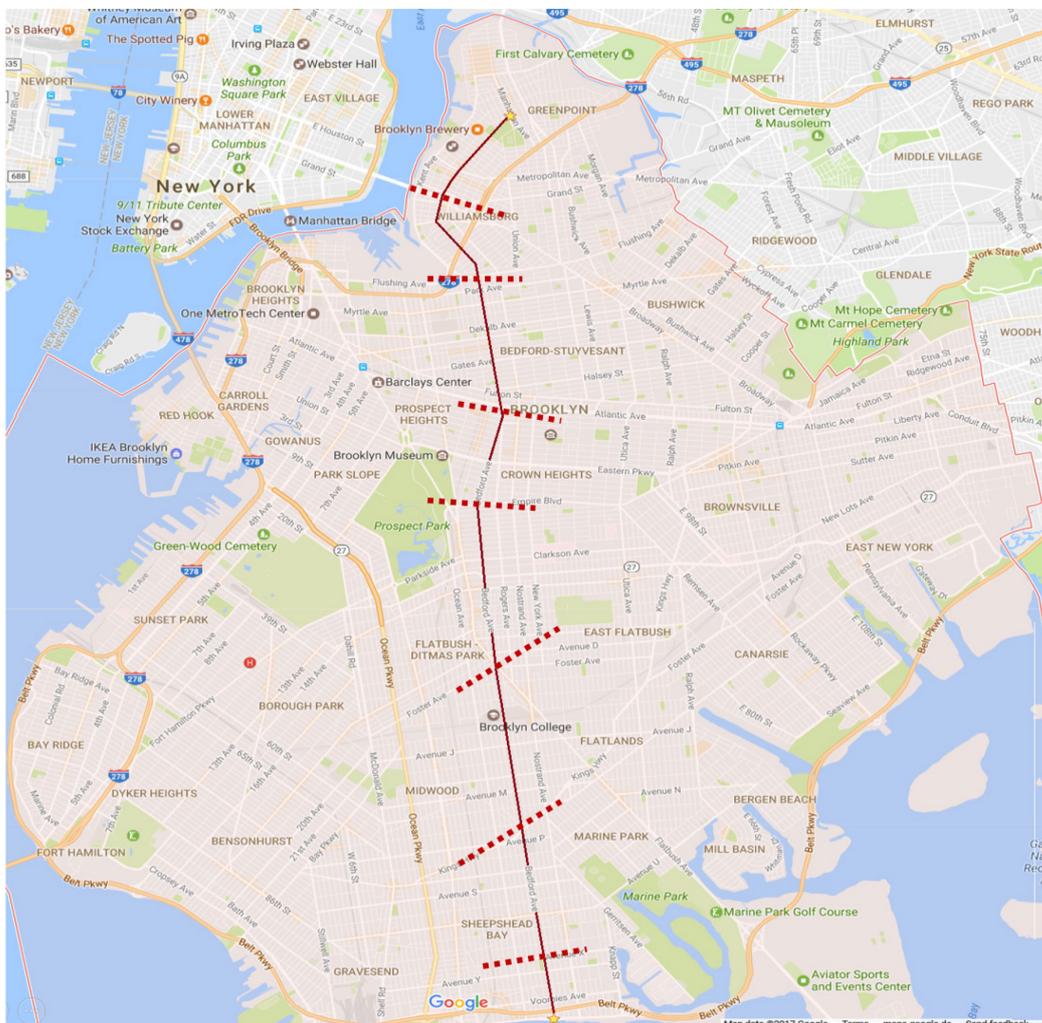


Fig. 4: Collection brackets along Bedford Avenue. Source: Adapted from Google Maps (2017).

The pace slows down again in the Prospect Lefferts Gardens area, where Bedford Avenue is lined by single-family homes that take turns with blocks dominated by larger apartment buildings. There are maybe two pedestrians on a ten-block stretch, but twice as many churches and medical centers. Crossing Linden

Boulevard and Church Avenue, the bustle of the nearby Carribean shopping street Flatbush Avenue can be felt, even one block to the East. After several large parking lots and auto mechanics, I reach the iconic art deco tower of the Sears, Roebuck & Co. retail store on Bedford Avenue and Beverley Road in Flatbush, which has attracted customers from all over the city since 1932 (cf. Spellen 2019). Hardly anyone walks or bikes along Bedford Avenue on this stretch. Some people are waiting for the bus as I pass by, but most of the faces I see are behind shop or car windows. It seems that Bedford Avenue, one of the first paved roads that connected the southern and eastern suburbs with the former city of Brooklyn, still fulfills the same function as it did back then – connecting the suburbs with the center of the borough.

From the busy crossing of Bedford, Flatbush and Foster Avenues, the noise starts to die down, and with it the pace of the street. Strangely, despite the reduction of traffic, there are a lot less cyclists here. Before walking across the campus of Brooklyn College, I pass by small brick houses that eventually give way to larger mansions with verandas and well-manicured front yards with enough space to park the owners' expensive-looking cars. From the south end of Brooklyn College in Midwood, I move towards Avenue I, the start of the seemingly never-ending stretch of Bedford Avenue that consists of the lettered Brooklyn avenues right up to the point where the street hits the sea in Sheepshead Bay. Traffic has calmed down considerably here and the trees provide enough shade to make the long trek ahead seem doable. A handful of American flags blow in front of the meticulously-kept suburban houses. Several orthodox synagogues on Bedford Avenue give an indication that this area is home to large Ashkenazic and Sephardic populations. This, again, is a lonely section where I do not encounter anyone on the sidewalk for blocks on end.

Kings Highway is a brief interception to the peace and quiet that has accompanied me for the past 10 blocks. A lot of elderly Russian speakers stand chatting while they wait to cross the street, scrambling to get across hectically once the light turns green. Once I leave behind Kings Highway, the tree-lined street quietly awaits, as if nothing had happened. After crossing Avenue U, a commercial street with chain stores, delis, and local produce markets that advertise their goods on handwritten signs, the houses grow smaller and move closer together, with little or no space between the houses. Instead of front yards, the majority of houses here have concrete ramps leading to ground-level garages and parking spots in front of their houses. The excitement at Avenue Z is somewhat dampened when I realize that I have yet to pass Voorhies Avenue and Shore Parkway before I reach the Applebee's Bar & Grill at the corner of Bedford and Emmons Avenue. At the

end of this 16.2km walk across the borough, I sit down on a bench next to fishermen waiting for their boats to depart from Sheepshead Bay Piers, and take in the smell of the sea and the sounds of the seagulls circling over us, squawking.



Fig. 5: Bedford and Emmons Avenues. Photo: KB, June 2019.

Walking can be both a spatial practice for social actors and a method for researchers. This first walk along Bedford Avenue, and the ones that followed in subsequent fieldtrips where I observed the pace of the change in some and a seemingly defiant continuity in other areas, served as an initial “investigative method” that laid the foundation for the subsequent interview collection, precisely because “walking encourages us to think with all our senses, to notice more, and to ask different questions of the world.” (Bates/Rhys-Taylor 2017: 5)⁵⁸ Indeed, even when gathering spoken interview data in the street, walking with participants is insightful. While some of the interviews were conducted in one place, for instance, while waiting for a respondent’s bus or stopping for a moment on the sidewalk, a quarter of the interviews followed the principle of “talking while walking” (J. Anderson 2004), which means that I noted the starting point of the interview as the location but walked with the participants in the directions they needed to go while I interviewed them.

Going beyond the method of walking, social actors’ walks constitute spatial practices in which pedestrians claim the city as their own (cf. de Certeau 1984), moving along a street grid, coexisting with others on the sidewalk, and taking

⁵⁸ In the same section, Bates and Rhys-Taylor argue that “walking, as a method, succeeds where traditional methods with their emphasis on the discursive have left much to be desired.” (2017: 5) While I agree with the fact that the discursive layer may be but one meaning-making practice, I see walking as a useful method that informs the analysis of the discursive and gives rise to a fuller understanding of the context that the data and analyses are embedded in.

shortcuts that defy the structural makeup of the space they move around in, creating meaning in and making sense of space. In order to learn about how respondents did this in their daily lives, I walked around with some of the respondents of the BK_SpokenID corpus to learn about their neighborhoods off the record at various times of the day before or after we sat down for our longer conversations. The walks and conversations support sociologist Clark (2017: 98), who emphasizes “[w]alking is another way in which neighbourhoods vary for different individuals.” Depending on the area, however, the type of mobility that one engages in, be it driving, biking, using a scooter, or running through a neighborhood, adds an additional layer of variation to the perception of an area.

The perspective on neighborhoods via Bedford Avenue allowed me not only to introduce a cross-spatial comparison of discursive neighborhood construction in different areas. Its wide extension enabled – and forced – me to gather data in drastically different areas, both structurally and socio-demographically-speaking, that I might have otherwise not considered. The neighborhoods along Bedford Avenue reflect Brooklyn’s diversity, while the various neighborhood types and trajectories have resulted in areas from all along the urban spectrum that allowed for a maximally wide range of data for the analysis of discursive construction of neighborhood.

4. Zooming in: Discursive construction of neighborhood, one neighbor at a time

In collecting the data for the five corpora to be analyzed in this project, I oriented myself on Bedford Avenue, which is one of the main thoroughfares for north- and southbound automobile and bicycle traffic⁵⁹ in Brooklyn. Its northern end is Manhattan Avenue at the edge of Greenpoint, its southern end is on Emmons Avenue in Sheepshead Bay. Along its 16.2km extension from Greenpoint to Sheepshead Bay, it crosses eight neighborhoods⁶⁰ This “landmark” in the history of Brooklyn (Nevius 2014) was established in the late 17th century and named after the neighborhood of Bedford Corners (cf. Benardo/Weiss 2006). The oldest section of Bedford Avenue was called Cripplebush Road, which connected then-separate towns Bushwick near the East River and the rural village of Flatbush.⁶¹ Thus,

⁵⁹ It allows for north- and southbound traffic south of Grant Square in Crown Heights. North of Grant Square, the traffic flows northbound only. The B44 bus service connects Williamsburg and Sheepshead Bay and operates along most of Bedford and nearby Nostrand Avenues.

⁶⁰ If smaller, micro-neighborhoods were considered, the number would increase to 10, or 12, depending on the scale considered.

⁶¹ Bedford Avenue replaced Cripplebush Road from 1839 onwards (NYC Landmarks Preservation Commission 2015: 9). Its now-famous Williamsburg section was not built until the turn of the 19th century, when army colonel Williams designed a street grid with numbered streets for the village. At the end of the 19th century, Williamsburg’s 4th Street was linked to Bedford Avenue and Cripplebush Road (cf. Nevius 2014), forming one of the first paved roads in the eastern section of Brooklyn, while areas east of Bedford Avenue still consisted primarily of farmland

collection bracket as separated by zip-code in a radius of up to ten blocks to the east and west to be able to reach a wider range of potential informants.⁶⁴

Once the interviews were gathered, they were transcribed manually, adding time-stamps in the process.⁶⁵ Files were numbered according to the following scheme: the first digit is the number of the interview bracket from north to south (1-8). The second is a five-digit zip code of the area, and the third is the interview number in the respective collection bracket (1-25 each).

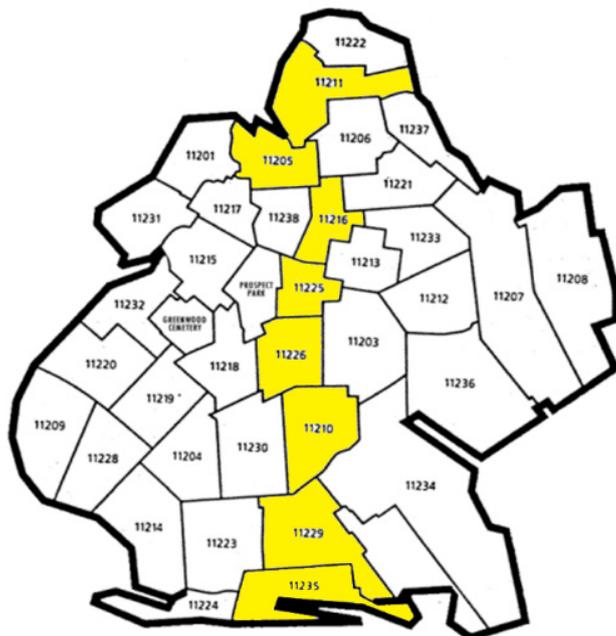


Fig. 7: Zip-Code map of Brooklyn with collection areas highlighted.

Afterwards, they were compiled into a corpus, cleaned, and provided with additional mark-up with interview location, date.⁶⁶ With the interviewer data excluded, the corpus consists of 55,127 tokens. The interviews have a mean length of 01:57min, while the mean age of participants is 35.25 years. As a reference corpus, I draw on a spoken sample of the Corpus of Contemporary American English (henceforth: COCA), which contains data from 1990-2012 and consists of

⁶⁴ In some areas, even a five-block radius would have been too small because of the lack of pedestrian traffic or because people seemed more suspicious of the white woman that approached them in the street. The areas that I conducted interviews in also differed regarding the ease in which I could collect interviews as a young white woman. Looking back, it was relatively easy to find people who wanted to talk about their neighborhood in Williamsburg and other, seemingly affluent areas where people had time on their hands. However, not all areas where a majority of the people shared several identity categories with me proved to be easy in terms of access to interviews. Those areas where people were having coffee or were out walking their dogs when I tried to approach them proved fruitful (cf. Tissot 2011 on gentrification and dogs). In areas such as Midwood or Flatbush, in which many people had to rush to/back from work or catch their bus, were already at work or on their break, the likelihood that they could spare a minute or two for a conversation with a stranger decreased significantly. Indeed, some areas proved so difficult in terms of interview collection that I had to return on different times of the day over a span of several weeks so I could get the number of interviews required for the area. Although the willingness to talk to a stranger and be recorded for research depends very much on the individual, differences in age, nationality, and skin color may significantly affect ease of access to informants. However, areas like Flatbush, where greetings and smiles are offered and returned by passers-by, interview collection was not hindered by my being one of the very few white people in the street at that particular moment.

⁶⁵ The aims of this research project did not require a phonetic transcription.

⁶⁶ For anonymization reasons, speaker age and occupation were noted in an additional file that can be obtained from the author for variationist analyses that may require such information.

376,552 tokens.⁶⁷ In this section and throughout the analysis chapters, I use the WordSmith Tools (Scott 2012-) software for keyword, collocation, and concordance analyses, if not otherwise mentioned.

In the following, I discuss these zip-code delineated sub-corpora according to neighborhoods⁶⁸ from north to south, starting with Williamsburg and ending with the Sheepshead Bay area in South Brooklyn. These are vast neighborhoods, and a ten-block radius from Bedford Avenue does not cover all of the ground in these large, macro-neighborhoods like Flatbush, with its many different micro-neighborhoods. However, Bedford Avenue gave me a line of orientation along which to structure data collection in a meaningful way.

In the individual sections of this chapter, I first give a brief overview of the sociodemographic makeup of the areas that are covered by the zip-code delineations. These overviews, and the analytical parts of the chapter more generally, will also be complemented with ethnographic observations. In the corpus-assisted discourse analysis, I focus on keywords that denote places (toponyms), people (nouns), and processes (verbs) and their respective collocates. In doing so, I move from the highly frequent to the particular, from the keyword list to the concordance, and from there on to the wider co-text of the interview itself and, where relevant, the location it was conducted in to account for inter- or intra-spatial variation. I also draw on census, crime, or other types of openly available data to link findings on the linguistic level to the extra-linguistic context.

4.1 Williamsburg

“There’s nothing wrong with having like a Whole Foods or something there.”

The first collection bracket spans from Bedford Avenue and Manhattan Avenue to Bedford Avenue and Flushing Avenue. It covers part of the northernmost neighborhood that is traversed by Bedford Avenue, *Williamsburg*. In the 2010 census, it had a population of 32,926, with a density of 79,200/sq mi (U.S. Census Bureau 2019).⁶⁹ The largest population groups were 86.2% white residents, 10.5% Latin or Hispanic, and 2.4% black (ibid.). In addition to the northern part of the

⁶⁷ A reference corpus is at best similar to the focus corpus in variety and time of data production, and at the least general enough to function as a lens on the focus corpus that highlights its specificities. COCA is, at the time of writing, one of the largest and most diverse reference corpora of spoken American English with its mixture of scripted and unscripted conversation (cf. Davies 2008-).

⁶⁸ Sometimes, these zip-code delineated areas are also on what respondents perceive as borders to other neighborhoods, or considered part of larger macro-neighborhoods. For instance, the fourth collection bracket covered an area that was part of Crown Heights, Prospect Lefferts Gardens, and considered to be Flatbush by yet others. This is evidence for the fluid and sometimes contested nature of neighborhood borders (Woodsworth 2016).

⁶⁹ The rapid change in the neighborhoods is, unfortunately, not expressed in the 2010 census data. However, more recent estimates from the American Community Survey (ACS), these are not as reliable because of their sample size and the resulting margin for error. This is why, in addition to the census data, I draw on local policy and government data such as Community District Profiles, Community Health Reports or Community Fact Sheets provided by the City of New York where possible. Although some also draw on the 2010 census, they also use estimates and additional data and provide a range of reliable resources on the general area of investigation.

neighborhood that has been rapidly gentrified since the early 2000s, the southern part of the neighborhood is home to a large Hasidic population, whose founders emigrated from Hungary and Romania (Jackson 2004: 209) and moved to Williamsburg’s Southside, an area that is also populated by a large Puerto Rican and Dominican population, which is why the area is also called “Los Sures” (cf. Marwell 2007; Helmreich 2016). While it was relatively easy to find people to talk to in the northern section of Williamsburg, it was almost impossible to find people who were willing to talk to me in the street in the Southside, and in the areas that are dominated by the Satmar Hasids in particular.

A look at the top adjectives, nouns and verbs in the Williamsburg sub-corpus (1_11211, 9,588 tokens, mean age of respondents: 31 years) reveals that the neighborhood name is used throughout the corpus. As opposed to most of the other areas investigated – Flatbush being the exception – the neighborhood name *Williamsburg* (0.30%, LL=174.93) is a top keyword which follows after the high-frequency noun *neighborhood* (0.89%, LL=626.81). Further, generic references to *Brooklyn* (0.16%, LL=88.39) are also frequent in the Williamsburg sub-corpus. Areas that are adjacent, like Greenpoint (0.08%, LL=47.70) or that respondents might consider to be similar, such as *SoHo* (0.10%, LL=55.65) or *Manhattan* (0.11%, LL=44.70), also show up in the keyword list.

N	Keyword	Freq.	%	Keyness
1	LIKE	176	2.41	1,403.14
2	UM	140	2.14	1,140.24
3	UH	110	1.50	797.99
4	THINK	60	0.82	477.40
5	KNOW	55	0.75	437.58
6	I	390	5.33	341.66
7	LIVE	26	0.36	206.75
8	YEAH	77	1.05	191.66
9	PLACE	24	0.33	190.84
10	GUESS	23	0.31	182.89
11	WILLIAMSBURG	22	0.30	174.93
12	MEAN	21	0.29	166.98
13	WORK	19	0.26	151.07
14	NICE	19	0.26	151.07
15	KIND	19	0.26	151.07

N	Keyword	Freq.	%	Keyness
16	IT	248	3.39	143.38
17	NEIGHBORHOOD	22	0.30	131.24
18	SEE	16	0.22	127.21
19	HERE	82	1.12	118.60
20	FEEL	14	0.19	111.31
21	GO	12	0.16	95.40
22	BROOKLYN	12	0.16	88.39
23	LOT	47	0.64	88.18
24	SAY	11	0.15	87.45
25	COME	10	0.14	79.50
26	GONNA	10	0.14	79.50
27	BACK	9	0.12	71.55
28	LOVE	9	0.12	71.55
29	S	212	2.90	66.73
30	PARK	8	0.11	63.60

Table 4.1: Top 30 keywords in 1_11211.

Moreover, the process of *gentrification* (0.05%, LL=42.80) that affects people in the area is named explicitly in this sub-corpus. Key adjectives such as *nice* (0.20%, LL=56.03) and *cool* (0.1%, LL=40.35) provide a first impression of the overall perception of the area or aspects that are associated with it. In the following, I look at the most prominent toponym keywords before moving on to analyzing referents of the high-frequency noun *people* (0.72%, LL=31.08). In analyzing these keywords, I draw on the concept of semantic prosodies (cf. Stubbs 2001), that is, I look at words that these various toponyms and group-denomination terms are

frequently associated with in the COCA corpus to shine a light on additional, covert evaluation of the words in question. I examine people and places named in those interviews to explore how Williamsburg is perceived by respondents and how these perceptions give rise to the discursive construction of neighborhood.

In concordances of *neighborhood* and the toponym *Williamsburg* (concordances of both see appendix C1.1 and C1.2), the scalability of the concept of neighborhood becomes apparent. This means that the ascription of 'neighborhood' is perceived as a quality of a particular place that can be more or less of a neighborhood.

Yeah. I think I had lived in Manhattan for a long time, and I was looking for sort of an escape from the intensity, and I felt like it was more of more of a **neighborhood**, but just, uh, more of a **neighborhood**, not in the sense of community, but, um, less retail, less commercial, more of a place to live, and I think that's I mean, look around you. Totally changed. (1_11211_24)

In this excerpt, the quality is described in spatial comparison with other areas nearby and with other eras in temporal comparison. With regard to the latter, an 'expiration date' of a specific neighborhood quality becomes apparent in several concordances of *Williamsburg*. One respondent argues that *it won't last long* due to *so much development* and *so many people moving in* (1_11211_7). This also entails a somewhat essentialist perspective, in which the neighborhood quality can be lost due to a change in population or structural characteristics:

Um, yeah. I mean, it's hard, just because with the influx of people who are not from here, you know, a lot of spaces are being claimed by people who don't necessarily have a right to them, changing how things feel, because my girlfriend was born and raised in **Williamsburg**. She's lived here, you know, her whole life, and so that's her biggest complaint is just, you know, the fact that it doesn't really feel like **Williamsburg** so much anymore. It feels kind of just like a bunch of yuppies doing stuff. (1_11211_18)

This excerpt evokes the debate about the 'right to the city' (Lefebvre 1996; cf. also Purcell 2003). From this point of view, long time residents have been taken away the right to the places they have grown up in, as these have perceptibly changed through an increased number of new residents. This can lead to a loss of identity of the area:

Mh mh. Yeah. I mean, I think, you know, **Williamsburg** is on the cusp of kind of losing a lot of its identify, uh, both in terms of physical landmarks, you know, lots of old buildings being torn down, lots of houses that have been there since, you know, the early 19 hundreds. Um, and, just, you know, the very, sort of, I don't know, geographically defined neighborhoods in terms of, like, minorities that used to populate these areas and are kind of being forced out because they can't afford to live here anymore. So. (1_11211_18)

The identity of a neighborhood, or the degree to which it is considered to be a neighborhood, is linked to the existence of physical landmarks and the area's history and long-time population, a kind of authenticity based on tradition,

uniqueness, and degree of differentiation. Indeed, sociologist Sharon Zukin argues in her (2010) book *Naked City* that the negotiation of authenticity in urban areas is also a struggle over “moral superiority” (2010: xii). In other words, the fight over the right to a space and the prerogative of interpretation is a crucial arena in which the right to the city is contested. Although the informant seemingly recurs to the spatial dimension of neighborhood as something that is *geographically defined*, they highlight the area’s historical demographic composition as that which is crucial for the definition of the neighborhood’s identity. This identity functions long-time residents’ *raison d’être* and legitimizes their “right to urban life” (Lefebvre 1996: 158) that is threatened by new residents staking a claim to the neighborhood.

Uh, I think just loss of authenticity. Um ... I think it's great to have tourism as a source of revenue, but when it's at the expense of being able to have an authentic local community where people can just live without the constant influx of like, I think when you have when a when a **neighborhood** becomes touristy, it's because people expect it to be a certain thing, and then the place has to live up to that thing, and so if **Williamsburg** becomes a **neighborhood** that's, um, hip or, you know, just whatever it is, fill in the blank, that people sort of come to expect it to be, that's all the **neighborhood** can be. (1_11211_24)

The contestation of neighborhood and the discourses associated with it becomes apparent in this excerpt. Here, Williamsburg is scaled as less of a neighborhood in the social sense because outside expectations dictate what the neighborhood and people should be like. This highlights the impact of expectations and of branding (cf. Greenberg 2008; Paganoni 2014) on neighborhoods and residents. In New York City, the urban branding strategy “entailed a dual strategy that was at once visual and material, combining intensive marketing-in this case place marketing-with neoliberal political and economic restructuring.” (Greenberg 2008: 10) As part of these strategies, the city aimed at cleaning up so-called ‘blighted areas’ across the five boroughs in a process of “real and symbolic commodification of the city” (ibid.) that resulted in the creation of a palatable image for tourists and other consumers. The downside of this is the amount to which a place is then defined by this dominant place image, and the expectations that come with it. In this case, the perception of Williamsburg as a place of global consumption (cf. Urry 1995, 2005) seriously affects the livelihoods of those who want to just live in, not constantly consume the place or work towards keeping up this vision.

The borough across the East River, Manhattan, has perhaps been most prominently embroiled in this conflict. Based on a number of similarities in the trajectories Manhattan neighborhoods have taken, these are frequently compared to Williamsburg in the BK_SpokenRA corpus. This chimes in with previous research which has already established that Manhattan is frequently used as a frame of reference in waterfront neighborhoods like Williamsburg (cf. Busse 2019).

In the following I look at those keywords that refer to areas in Manhattan to see whether this is also the case in this sub-corpus.

The toponym keywords show that comparison with other areas is characteristic of the Williamsburg sub-corpus. As we will see, when Williamsburg is referred to in interviews conducted in other neighborhoods, it figures mainly as a “frame of reference” (Halliday/Matthiessen 2014: 632) within Brooklyn. In contrast, and in line with Busse’s (2019) findings, the main frame of reference for interviews conducted in Williamsburg is the keyword *Manhattan* (0.11%, LL=44.70), or more specifically, parts of it, such as *SoHo* (0.10%, LL=55.65).

N	Concordance	SoHo	Interview
1	s in the Wall Street, or they live in	SoHo	, they find it very comfortable to get 1_11211_1
2	fortable to get from here towards the	SoHo	or the Wall Street. This is I do n't 1_11211_1
3	e years ago, and I probably stayed in	SoHo	five years too long and heard that li 1_11211_5
4	already had happened when I lived in	SoHo	in Nolita, which is there 's been a s 1_11211_5
5	to be very interesting, much like the	SoHo	in the 60s. Very interesting. I was h 1_11211_7
6	a status symbol as just like it is in	SoHo	, to have like a brick and mortar in W 1_11211_12
7	ook around and feel like this is what	SoHo	must have looked like before all of t 1_11211_24

Concordance 4.1: Concordances of *SoHo* in 1_11211.

Two references to the Lower Manhattan neighborhood SoHo in the co-text of the node Williamsburg highlight the prestigious character that the neighborhood has taken on over the years.

Williamsburg. Williamsburg, wow. Found it to be very interesting, much like the **SoHo** in the 60s. Very interesting. I was here in the 60s. (line 5, 1_11211_7)

It's like almost like a status symbol as just like it is in **SoHo**, to have like a brick and mortar in Williamsburg at this point, so it definitely brings like a lot more economic opportunity to the area. (line 6, 1_11211_12)

Having a business branch in Williamsburg, a *brick and mortar* as the respondent puts it, is an essential status symbol for companies. It becomes apparent that Williamsburg has a strong appeal for businesses, a trend which is evaluated rather critically by respondents, especially in spatio-temporal comparisons with SoHo:

It's just I see what's happening here already had happened when I lived in **SoHo** in Nolita, which is there's been a slow infiltration of, uh, chain stores, [01:30] um, and com- and and more big, big box retailers, which is kind of pushing out and making it more expensive for the, um, individual boutiques and cafes to exist and pay their rents. (1_11211_5, line 4)

The comparison between the two neighborhoods is used to both evaluate the area negatively and positively, depending on the evaluative focus of the respondent, one being a similar history of a derelict industrial area reclaimed by artists, and another a similarity in the trajectory of a neighborhood that is attracting global business and commerce. A look at the COCA suggests that the verb *infiltrate* has a negative semantic prosody, that is, it is frequently associated with negative terms such as *inflammatory*, *agents*, *FBI*, *terrorist(s)*, *undercover*, *enemy*, *cell*, and *drugs*. The force with which chain stores act upon individually-owned stores in the area is evaluated negatively through the conceptualization of the process of in-moval as

infiltration which signifies a movement that is executed “with force” and “steady pressure” (Merriam-Webster 2019: “push,” v.). Moreover, the infiltration with a disease that the collocates *inflammatory* and *cell* suggest, is an alternative but just as negative conceptualization of the process. The presence of big box retailers in SoHo and Williamsburg is thus causally linked to smaller stores' demise (cf. Zukin 2010). The struggle over the neighborhood can thus end in the displacement of one group, as the effect of global forces on the local space can lead to a social polarization of this space (cf. Martinez 2010) that shapes the way the neighborhood is constructed discursively.

This apparent polarization is also reflected in collocates of the keyword *people*. In particular, it seems that there is a strong opposition between long-time residents and those who stake a claim on the neighborhood through their being or moving there. The key collocate *young* (t=2.618) already points to a certain demographic that is associated with Williamsburg, while the key verb *come* (t=2.618) and the more loosely associated collocate nouns *shopping* (t=1.409), *business* (t=1.399) indicate possible actions that people referents engage in. What is more, the adjectives *new* (t=1.312) and *more* (t=1.209), although weakly associated with *people* due to their low frequency of co-occurrence, hint at further descriptions of the node word as it is used in the Williamsburg sub-corpus.

The concordances of *people* (0.72%, LL=31.08, full list of concordances in appendix C1.3) reveal that people who are talked about in this corpus are depicted by respondents in several ways. A large majority of respondents describe the area as being full of young, energetic people. At first, the vague, generic group denominator *people* does not provide much information. However, it receives further specification through pre- and postmodification.

Person/ group denominator	Interview
modern families	1_11211_1
families	1_11211_23
tourists	1_11211_16, 1_11211_18
a bunch of yuppies	1_11211_18
new people	1_11211_3
young people	1_11211_1, 1_11211_7, 1_11211_8, 1_11211_10, 1_11211_12, 1_11211_13, 1_11211_14
hippie people	1_11211_21
people from somewhere far away in Brooklyn	1_11211_1
people from Wall Street or SoHo	1_11211_1, 1_11211_23, 1_11211_24
people who are shopping	1_11211_8
people who can afford to live there	1_11211_1, 1_11211_10

Table 4.2: Groups referred to in 1_11211.

In the following, I look more closely and qualitatively at specifications of people living and frequenting Williamsburg, showing that respondents covertly evaluate

the latter implicitly through semantic prosodies of specific lexical items. In doing so, I draw on the COCA to shine a light on evaluation through semantic prosody.

What most of the groups mentioned in the corpus have in common is that they are not simply called neighbors or residents or people of Williamsburg. While some of the out-group members referred to are of a more transient nature, such as tourists or people who go there for shopping or for work⁷⁰, others seem to be more permanent fixtures in the neighborhood that have recently established themselves there. These seem to present a contrast to the former population:

Way back when, it would've been that there was a lot of, I guess, livelihood. Definitely exciting. Yes. It has become watered down and gentrified, I would say. Yeah. Um, bland. I would say, definitely very bland. Um, less exciting. I feel like the [00:30] art scene has probably cooled off a bit as well. Um, yeah, a lot more money coming into the neighborhood and less of a, um, yeah, unique background of **families** and whatnot. (1_11211_19)

The contrast between the moneyed new residents and the uniqueness of the former or longtime resident in-group is also linked to a lack of excitement that came with the onset of gentrification. The perception of a homogenization through gentrification and the concomitant influx of capital into the neighborhood that is contrasted here to the livelihood of the area pre-gentrification serves as a means of negative evaluation. The process of watering down, of becoming bland indicate an act that takes away from and decreases the value the neighborhood had pre-gentrification. The *unique background of families*, whose decline is one symptom of the changing neighborhood and its culture and people, seem to have been caught by “the overwhelming force of homogenization in cities today.” (Zukin 2010: 232)⁷¹ Thus, the respondent connects the inflow of capital into the area and the decrease of unique family backgrounds.

Another type of families that stand in contrast with the aforementioned unique families are *modern families* (1_11211_1). A look at its collocates in the COCA suggests that the adjective *modern* carries a positive semantic prosody (Stubbs 2001). It collocates strongly with terms from the arts and cultural sphere.

Uh, bring something new for the and increase the price of the rents as well, so it's gonna be a great opportunities [01:30] for modern **families** to live here and, uh, raise the kids. Um, yeah.(1_11211_1)

The link between opportunities for a particular type of demographic, that of *modern families*, and the rise in rents signals a certain degree of exclusivity that serves to underline their special status as new and legitimate members of the neighborhood. Those who can afford rising rents may benefit from great opportunities, but not

⁷⁰ This, in itself, highlights the state of development in Williamsburg and the overwhelmingly commercial and business orientation of the neighborhood.

⁷¹ Relating this comment to Relph's (1976: 143) idea of placelessness, it seems that uniformity and standardization as well as impermanence and instability contribute to Williamsburg becoming shifting toward placelessness for this respondent.

others. This exemplifies the power difference between *modern* and traditional families in the neighborhood, who, through lack of capital, cannot pay skyrocketing rents or participate in many of the *great opportunities* that the neighborhood has to offer. The exclusionary power of rising rents drives residential segregation between new and long-standing residents and contributes to the “monopolization of spaces” (Knox/Pinch 2010: 48) by the more affluent in the neighborhood, constructing Williamsburg as a neighborhood for the moneyed in discourse and practice.

This is a recurring theme in the Williamsburg sub-corpus, for the people who frequent or live in Williamsburg are also called *a bunch of yuppies* (1_11211_18). The latter are “young college-educated adult[s] who [are] employed in a well-paying profession and who [live and work] in or near a large city” (Merriam-Webster 2019: “yuppie,” n.) Indeed, the mean age of the respondents in this area was 31, which corresponds with the age distribution in the Williamsburg area which has the largest number of residents between the ages of 25 and 39, with the median age being 32.4 (cf. NYC PFF 2020). The rise in the number of businesses that are part of the new economy (cf. Krueger 2017), such as the media and tech companies in the Williamsburg area, have clearly contributed to an increase in young urban professionals in the area, for they are more likely to be able to *afford to live there* (1_11211_1, 1_11211_10). In the COCA, the noun phrase *a bunch of* usually collocates with neutral terms denoting groups like *guys*, *kids* and *stuff*, denoting a large amount of people with professional backgrounds, but just as frequently with *crap*, *idiots*, *thugs*, *baloney*, *nonsense*, *losers*, which all suggest a negative evaluation. Thus, the respondent in this case employs a negative semantic prosody that is evoked by the premodifying noun phrase *a bunch of* to evaluate them negatively. Moreover, the unspecific reference to this underspecified group adds to the aforementioned contrast between uniqueness of the previous residents and affluent newcomers. In doing so, the respondent, despite having moved to Williamsburg from a smaller town, aligns with the long-term residents and takes a stance against these sociodemographic changes, thus positioning themselves (cf. Davies/Harré 1990; Harré/van Langenhove 1991)⁷² in opposition to new residents of Williamsburg.

Long-term residents are hardly mentioned overtly in the interviews. In those interviews in which respondents voice concerns about contributing to the process of gentrification that is well under way (cf. Franz 2015), they focus on the

⁷² When I talk about stance here, I refer to acts of positioning. I use the term following Du Bois' definition that states that a stance is “a public act by a social actor, achieved dialogically through overt communicative means (language, gesture, and other symbolic forms), through which social actors simultaneously evaluate objects, position subjects (themselves and others), and align with other subjects, with respect to any salient dimension of the sociocultural field” (2007: 163). The relevant stance object, in this case, lies within the realm of the neighborhood: the objects of alignment are people, places, or values that become salient in the course of the interview as sites of struggle over the identity of and belonging to a particular place (cf. Modan 2007).

commercial side of gentrification rather than on the social effects on the existing population. One respondent admits that they are agents in the process:

It's like the general thing of like, uh, gentrification, but I'm fully aware that I am that **person** who's doing it. So, it's like I am you have to kind of own the responsibility of that, but, um, yeah, there's nothing wrong with having like a Whole Foods or something there. I'm not mad about it. It's fine. (1_11211_17)

While there is a vague sense of responsibility that comes with being a gentrifier, the respondent neither specifies what that means, nor do they mention those who get the short end of the stick in dealing with the effects of gentrification on their lives. In an act of defense, the resident refers to Whole Foods, a specialty grocery store often seen as a harbinger of gentrification in “underserved neighborhoods” for its potential to “increase the desirability of an area.” (Bendix 2016) This is a widely employed strategy in the Williamsburg interviews. When gentrification is mentioned by respondents who consider themselves as actors in the overall process, potential economic impacts are highlighted over social ones. Gentrification makes it harder for smaller stores to persist, but it seems that informants refer to changes in the commercial structure of the neighborhood as a diversion tactic or justification.⁷³ Here, individual social actors shift a potential responsibility to larger corporate actors whose customer base they belong to as more affluent residents of the area. Thus, consumption preferences (cf. Ley 1996; Brown-Saracino 2009; Zukin 2010) are used by respondents as defense mechanisms in the blame game of the gentrification debate. In this vein, such defense strategies serve to express territoriality, that is, the pursuit of a space that is consistent with the needs of a group of social actors (cf. Knox/Pinch 2010). The acceptance and justification of the existence of a particular kind of store hinges on the expression of the respondent’s identity as a particular kind of consumer and person, that ultimately leads to the legitimization of their own role in the process of gentrification and the personalization of the space according to the needs of this new group of residents.

The creation of a separate, parallel culture that is focused on consumption and stands in opposition to the existing culture and people in the neighborhood is a prominent discursive pattern in the Williamsburg sub-corpus which is evoked by criticism of these ongoing processes:

Um, and I think that's a lack of effort more than anything else. I don't think it's that **people** are incapable of interacting with the culture that has been and still is here, but it's that they kind of don't want to make that effort.

⁷³ When Whole Foods opened its doors on Bedford Avenue in summer of 2016, it certainly did not serve as a precursor of gentrification. Rather, it tapped into an already large base of potential customers living in the area. Without doubt, it may also have served as a pull-factor for others who have, since its opening, decided to relocate to Williamsburg.

They'd rather just go and do the trendy stuff or make their own culture.
(1_11211_18)

The out-group of new(er) residents referred to here by the demonstrative pronoun *they* is cast in a negative light. The respondent claims that new neighbors are not willing to integrate and interact with the neighborhood as it is or used to be. This ties in with Helmreich's claim that there is indeed a "lack of real meaningful contact between these disparate groups" (2016: 21) as gentrifiers do not engage or mix with previous and less affluent residents, perhaps also because of the novel and exclusionary focus on creative and cultural consumption (cf. Zukin 2010).⁷⁴ This *trendy stuff* is thus implicitly contrasted with the pre-existing local culture which is not in line with what is regarded as *trendy* by new residents to the area, and thus does not lend itself for the performance of the identity of a new Williamsburg resident and the neighborhood itself.

Long-term residents, in contrast, seemingly do not have the choice to join the struggle over the local identity because they are busy fending off the effects of gentrification. In the corpus, the ordinariness of the existing population is contrasted with the trendiness and modernity of the new arrivals who work in modern, technologically-oriented sectors of the economy.

I can see a lot of the **folks** who have lived here for a long time getting priced out eventually, especially with the tech companies moving in. It's gonna drive rent up. (1_11211_23)

Folks is used in the COCA with words such as *ordinary*, *plain*, *working-class*, *colored*, *middle-class*, *hard-working*, *middle-income* and *lower-income*. Based on this, it seems that the term *folks* carries a strong working and service class connotation that serves to juxtapose existing residents, a majority of which traditionally belong to the industrial sector, with those working for the firms that are setting up business in the area. While this is not an overt evaluation of the status quo per se, it seems that discourses of social change and gentrification are evaluated negatively based on their introduction of difference and opposition to what is perceived as the local norm in Williamsburg, either an industrial, working-class background or a trendy, tech background. In gentrifying neighborhoods, neighborhoods norms and expectations for behaviors can become contested (Freeman 2006; Vitale 2008). In the collective struggle over the norms which govern neighborhood life, respondents take a critical stance towards these developments by discursively reflecting, or perhaps even consolidating, an opposition that has been established on the ground.

⁷⁴ The collocates of the adjective *trendy* in the COCA are also mainly items from the domain of consumption: *restaurant*, *neighborhood(s)*, *shop(s)*, *bar(s)*, *clothes*, *boutique(s)*, *downtown*, *coffee*, and, intriguingly, *Manhattan* (and various of its neighborhoods, like SoHo or Tribeca).

The stark disparity between perceptions of old and new residents is reinforced by the circulation of a pioneering discourse in connection to neighborhoods, although the current pioneer discourses are not rooted in “sweat equity or renovation” (Davidson 2007: 504) like those of previous pioneers who came to the neighborhood, but in terms of seizing place as an “avenue of identity construction” (Taylor 2002: 68). In both instances of pioneering discourse, the act of moving to an area is cast in terms of colonial discovery and landgrabbing: territory is (re-)claimed and by pioneers who venture into areas previously unknown to them, such as Williamsburg or Greenpoint. One example from the BK_SpokenRA corpus underlines the neglect of previous residents and the focus on discovery and exploitation of local culture:

I moved out of Manhattan in 2012 and and relocated here three years ago, and I probably stayed in Soho five years too long and heard that like 2010, around there, was when things were really starting to happen, but no one really discovered it yet, and it was just happening for **people** that already existed here. (1_11211_5)

The verb phrase *already existed* likens these people with observable phenomena or criteria of a place, giving rise to a pioneer discourse. Indeed, *exist* tends not to collocate with animate objects such as *people* in COCA, but rather inanimate items from the realm of philosophy or science, such as *differences*, *conditions*, *opportunities* or *relationships*. The more graspable objects among its collocates are *planets*, *mechanisms*, *galaxies* and *monsters*. This leaves a previously undiscovered neighborhood and its species as something to be explored by the pioneers watching from the outside and eventually approaching the object of study. On a more general level, the pioneering discourse construes Williamsburg as a place for people to come to, not to be from – it is a neighborhood (to be) discovered by people from outside the neighborhood (cf. Zukin 2010). In the quest for urban space in Williamsburg, gentrifiers draw on pioneering discourses to “rationalize and legitimize a process of conquest” (Smith 1996: xv) of an area populated by other, ‘indigenous’ residents. Indeed, the population statistics show that this quest was successful: between 2000 and 2015, those pioneers people were mainly white middle-class residents who whose number increased from 73.515 to 103.667 in that time, mainly at the expense of the Hispanic group of residents whose numbers decreased significantly (NYC Open Data 2019). Some of the new residents are aware that they are a reason for concern to the existing population because they themselves are gentrifiers (1_11211_17, 1_11211_20) who enjoy the accessibility and the variety of consumption spaces available. To these respondents, the neighborhood is not too busy or commercial, because their base of comparison is

not a temporal one, as in the state of Williamsburg ten years ago, but a spatial one, Manhattan.

Consequently, the construction of neighborhood in Williamsburg foregrounds a particular clientele of place-consumers and residents. A majority of young, well-educated respondents has a strong hold on prevalent neighborhood discourse in which change brought about by gentrification is embraced or at least regarded as inevitable:

Um, I mean, I guess you can't really go back with the whole gentrification of things, but, um, it's hard to pinpoint exactly. Um, yeah. I guess more caring between **people**. That would be good. (1_11211_19)

This excerpt suggests a lack of connection and genuine concern for the well-being of others between residents, and also a paucity of interaction and emotional involvement between various groups present in the area. This is related to the onset of gentrification and the decrease of social relations and concerns or compassion for one's neighbors. Previous residents, such as 'ordinary' *families* (1_11211_19) or *artists* (1_11211_1) are not the focus in the Williamsburg sub-corpus. Instead, a group of affluent people from outside of Williamsburg seem to be most prominently represented in this sub-corpus. This process of replacement of a former in-group of residents by a new, more affluent clientele is evaluated negatively by respondents who employ group denomination terms with negative discourse prosodies to signal their disalignment with this group. By evoking the conflict between old and new, and by construing the new, affluent residents as the dominant group, respondents construct the neighborhood as a place for young and affluent people.

In summary, the toponym keywords and group denominators scrutinized in this section suggest that gentrification and its ramifications deeply pervade this sub-corpus. The main aspect that is criticized is the opening of new, corporate-owned stores which replace smaller, individual shops. In the interviews, respondents negotiate their own role and possible contribution to gentrification and displacement by shifting the responsibility to corporate actors, relegating gentrification to the economic sphere only. In doing so, they – purposely or not – neglect the social displacement that comes with gentrification aspect (cf. Brown-Saracino 2009). Contrary to geographer Yvonne Franz's prediction for the future of Williamsburg whose affluent, upper-middle class residents "appreciate the edgy history and vibrant character" (Franz 2015: 164), it seems that the sub-section of the population that was interviewed in this sub-corpus displays a certain ignorance regarding the area's history prior to gentrification and their arrival, which is in line with research on gentrification that conceptualizes such gentrifiers as conquerors who "imagin[e] a future community, ignoring the present" (Schlichtman et al. 2017:

134). However, this does not seem surprising given that an estimated 61.7% of all Williamsburg residents, that is, more than 15,000 people, moved to the area in 2010 or later (NYC PFF 2020). In this vein, the new in-group of residents constructs Williamsburg as a neighborhood to come to, discover, take in, and, as criticized by some respondents, eventually take over.

References to the existence of ‘new areas’ such as Greenpoint or sections of Williamsburg that are off Bedford Avenue, Williamsburg’s main street, are indicative of the way the neighborhood is perceived by these respondents: as land to be pioneered. Although Brown-Saracino (2009: 19) suggests that the pioneering discourse is not as widespread among people who move to gentrifying areas as is often argued, there is evidence of the use of pioneering discourses as a way of legitimizing their being in place (cf. Smith 1996). The pioneering discourse also re-frames new residents’ lack of integration and interaction with previous residents and the local neighborhood culture as the legitimate norm, not a deviant colonizing practice. As norms are generally established on a collective basis in the neighborhood context, the actions of larger groups of “individuals acting in concert” (Freeman 2006: 14f.), for instance in the form of new residents with new habits and norms, slowly take hold and are accepted as appropriate norms for the neighborhood.⁷⁵ Consequently, respondents’ own sense of legitimacy of being in the neighborhood is not questioned by, but taken for granted. Those respondents who fled the commercialization and crowds of Manhattan, on the contrary, evaluate the transformation of Williamsburg rather positively, as their ground for comparison is of spatial, not temporal nature – they have little first-hand knowledge of how Williamsburg used to be, and even so, the only facet of the neighborhood that is criticized is the appearance of larger stores. As Busse (2019) also highlights, compared to Manhattan, Williamsburg is constructed as a hip, fun area that is attracting a diverse crowd of visitors from all over the world. This Williamsburg is now reaching beyond Bedford Avenue, moving into areas that are populated by local Puerto Rican and Latinx communities⁷⁶, none of which were ever directly referred to in this sub-corpus.

⁷⁵ Neighborhood norms are those behaviors, features, and values that are predominantly perceived as the default for the neighborhood by a wide array of respondents, if not all residents of the area. Although I am aware of the fuzziness of the term ‘norms’, but use it to denote what Freeman (2006: 16) describes as the product of collective social achievements through shared and repeated practice in the neighborhood. This way, neighborhood norms specify the parameters for collective being in place along the lines of acceptability and appropriateness.

⁷⁶ According to the five-year estimates of the ACS (2014-2018), white residents now make up for 62.6% of Williamsburg’s population, the percentage of residents who identify as Hispanic has dropped to 23.0% (NYC PFF 2020).

4.2 Bedford-Stuyvesant

“People do show empathy in this neighborhood.”

The second collection area roughly corresponds with the collection brackets Northwest Brooklyn (11205) and Central Brooklyn (11216). Data collection boundaries were Bedford Avenue/Flushing Avenue and Bedford Avenue/Clifton Place and from there to Bedford Avenue/Eastern Parkway. The official Community District 3 ends a few blocks before Broadway Junction to the east. Historically speaking, the entire area that we know today as the neighborhoods of Bed-Stuy and Crown Heights, as well as areas to its south, was home to the first free black settlements in the United States, Carrville and Weeksville, from the 1830s on (cf. Jackson 2004). By the 1970s, it became the area with the largest Black settlement in the U.S. known by the name Bedford-Stuyvesant (cf. Shepard/Noonan 2018). Today, the area of Bed-Stuy and Crown Heights is split up into more and more micro-neighborhoods that are coined by residents and real estate agents in an attempt to dissociate the property location from the area name of name Bedford-Stuyvesant.

In the 2010 census, the area had a population of 153,000, with a density of 52.753 persons/sq mi. The estimates for population change between 2006-2010 and 2014-2018 show an increase of 124.7% in the white and of 14.6% in the Hispanic/Latinx population, and a decrease of about 12% in the Black population in the area (NYC PFF 2020). Both collection areas, Northwest Brooklyn (2_11205, 9,328 tokens, mean age of 34.30 years) and Central Brooklyn (3_11216, 11,544 tokens, mean age of 35.56) are identified by respondents as Bed-Stuy (0.08%, LL=68.35),⁷⁷ which is why it is reasonable to analyze the two sub-corpora together. The keyword list for the Bed-Stuy sub-corpus looks similar to the Williamsburg sub-corpus as it includes keywords like *neighborhood* (0.63%, LL=489.94) or some of the key adjectives, but also features unique keywords such as the verb *love* (0.32%, LL=280.35) that signals affection and *community* (0.15%, LL=51.26) which might indicate a certain amount of social cohesion in the area, which is a first difference from the previous collection area (Williamsburg).

N	Keyword	Freq.	%	Keyness
1	LIKE	417	3.22	2,863.19
2	UM	259	2.01	1,766.36
3	KNOW	186	1.44	1,273.84
4	I	840	6.49	943.80
5	UH	132	1.02	821.66
6	THINK	89	0.69	608.88
7	NEIGHBORHOOD	82	0.63	489.94
8	YEAH	169	1.31	461.65

N	Keyword	Freq.	%	Keyness
16	S	438	3.38	201.50
17	SO	176	1.36	191.94
18	GET	28	0.22	191.43
19	NICE	28	0.22	191.43
20	SAY	26	0.20	177.75
21	BROOKLYN	26	0.20	169.26
22	PARK	24	0.19	164.07
23	FEEL	23	0.18	157.24

⁷⁷ Contrary to the Bed-Stuy sub-corpora, the abbreviated toponym itself has a slightly more negative semantic prosody in the COCA, where it collocates strongly with *Brooklyn*, *ambulance(s)*, *do-or-die*, *barbershop*, *streets*, *lived*, and *moved*, thus providing a somewhat different discourse prosody for the toponym.

9	MEAN	44	0.34	300.87
10	IT	459	3.55	283.49
11	LOVE	41	0.32	280.35
12	LIVE	40	0.31	273.51
13	KIND	38	0.29	259.82
14	VE	33	0.26	225.06
15	SEE	31	0.24	211.95

24	HERE	127	0.98	154.78
25	STUFF	22	0.17	150.40
26	GO	22	0.17	150.40
27	M	116	0.90	139.17
28	LOT	79	0.61	137.70
29	GUESS	20	0.15	136.72
30	BACK	20	0.15	136.72

Table 4.3: Top 30 keywords in 2-3_11205-16.

Key adjectives in this sub-corpus are *nice* (0.22%, LL=191.43), *close* (0.08%, LL=75.19), *cool* (0.12%, LL=57.14), and *safe* (0.05%, LL=47.85), suggesting an overall positive evaluation of features in the area or the area itself. The adjective *close* functions as spatial deixis marker that describes the location of residence or certain amenities, as in living *close to Halsey* (2_11205_16). A brief look at *cool* shows that respondents refer this to the neighborhood itself (line 1, 5, 7, 8, 13, 14, 15,), a particular community garden (line 8), and a variety of independently-owned local consumption spaces.

N	Concordance		Interview
1	the corner. They 're really	cool	there. In the summer, it 's 2_11205_1
2	spread the spread the word.	Cool	. Yeah, um, uh, I 'm 25 year 2_11205_1
3	aurants and cafes are really	cool	, the little lounges. There 2_11205_5
4	ike pork is cheap, which is	cool	, but I've been, I was, I wo 2_11205_13
5	Yes. Um, it was a	cool	neighborhood. Um, interestin 2_11205_14
6	Alright. Yes.	Cool	, family oriented. I was born 3_11216_1
7	s like safe and it feels so	cool	. I ride to Target and back. 3_11216_1
8	like the vibe. It 's pretty	cool	. Um, the cafes and the stor 3_11216_2
9	more community art would be	cool	. I 'd love to see that. Yea 3_11216_11
10	e either, there 's a really	cool	, like, um, kind of café on 3_11216_12
11	opping up, which I think is	cool	, but you still see a lot of 3_11216_17
12	t it 's pretty it 's pretty	cool	. I think I 'm much more lik 3_11216_22
13	re 's a lot of brick. It 's	cool	. Yeah. Yeah. Um, I 'd say y 3_11216_22
14	ot of people here, which is	cool	. But, I do n't know. I I I 3_11216_22
15	um, but there 's something	cool	about this aesthetic as wel 3_11216_22

Concordance 4.2: Concordances of *cool* in 2-3_11205-16.

Similarly, the targets of evaluative structures using the adjective *nice* are the neighborhood itself, as in *basically nice neighborhood* (2_11205_5) and some of its visual features, like gardens and *flowers* (2_11205_18), and *open streets* (2_11205_18) that are named as characteristic for the area.⁷⁸

Based on this overview of the keywords, I discuss key adjectives and how they are used to evaluate the neighborhood and aspects therein overtly, before going on to discuss neighborhood change based on concordances of these adjectives. From there, I move on to discourses of change which contain intricate acts of social positioning by old and new residents, who shed light on how changes are perceived. Finally, I discuss the social and sensory dimensions of

⁷⁸ The verbs on the keyword list also suggest that there are indicators of neighborhood change. Of the seven occurrences of the key item *change* (0.05%, LL=47.85), five are used in verbal constructions. For instance, a large number of respondents did not grow up in but came to the area at some point in their lives, as the keywords MOVE (0.28%, LL=154.02) and COME (0.07%, LL=61.52) indicate.

neighborhood as it is discursively constructed in this sub-corpus and relate it to the historical context of the area.

The occurrence of the adjective *safe* (0.05%, LL=47.85) among the keywords indicates that the presence of crime is important in neighborhood discourse about Bed-Stuy. Notably, the key adjective *safe* does not appear in the Williamsburg sub-corpus.⁷⁹ This is because what respondents consider a given, or the default case, is usually not explicitly referenced, but silently accepted as the norm (cf. Blommaert/Verschueren 1991). In the case of safety, respondents in hyper-gentrified Williamsburg did not highlight it as something particular about their neighborhood, thereby collectively construing it as the neighborhood norm. In Bed-Stuy, references to the adjective *safe* indicate that safety and crime are considered an issue and are still open to discursive negotiation. Upon closer inspection, though, it becomes apparent in concordances of *safe* that the adjective is either used in a negated form or as a comparative, which complicates this assumption.

N	Concordance	Interview
1	neighborhood really was n't very safe	, so you wo n't want to be here, 2_11205_9
2	ecause it was n't, it was n't as safe	it is as, I feel like, as now, but um 2_11205_14
3	hike there, and it 's relatively safe	, too, so. Um, what do they 2_11205_14
4	do n't really make you feel more safe	. Then, I move close to Halsey 2_11205_16
5	Like, I would n't say it 's not safe	, but you just have to be more awar 2_11205_19
6	e was nowhere to walk that was safe .	It 's still, uh the it 2_11205_24
7	an where I work, but this is like safe	and it feels so cool. I ride to Target 3_11216_1

Concordance 4.3: Concordances of *safe* in in 2-3_11205-16.

In these concordance lines, negation markers and past-tense forms co-occur with the node-word to talk about a past state 15 years ago where there were indeed issues with crime in the neighborhood (line 1). This underpins that it was impossible to just walk around the neighborhood at some point in time (line 6) which indicates that moving around in the general area once involved putting oneself at risk. At the same time, a stronger police presence in the area is also not considered conducive to the feeling of safety (line 4). Two years before the interviews were conducted, the area was considered less *safe* than it was wn 2018 (line 3). These concordances show that Northwest Brooklyn is considered on a path towards safety in the interviews, which is reflected in the NYPD's statistics for the 88th precinct over the last twenty years (cf. NYPD 2020).

Indeed, respondents use the past tense to talk about safety issues. The fact that they still talk about it in the present, however, suggests that it is still a prominent topic in the area. Accordingly, this path is not necessarily a straightforward one: the picture from Bed-Stuy's linguistic landscape taken during a fieldtrip in June 2019 (fig.

⁷⁹ Indeed, the 88th precinct which covers Brooklyn 11205 has had 1.549 crimes from 1.1.2018 to 30.09.2019 (NYC Crime Map 2019). In the same time period, the 90th precinct, which covers Williamsburg and Bushwick, recorded an even higher number of 2.454 crimes, although key adjectives do not refer to safety. However, the heatmap and crime location map show that crimes that receive a lot of public attention, such as murders or armed robberies occur closer or in the area of investigation in the 88th precinct, but not in the 90th precinct that covers Williamsburg.

8) shows, there are still some safety issues and local hotspots that are discussed in community meetings, such as the spike in felony crimes in early 2019.⁸⁰

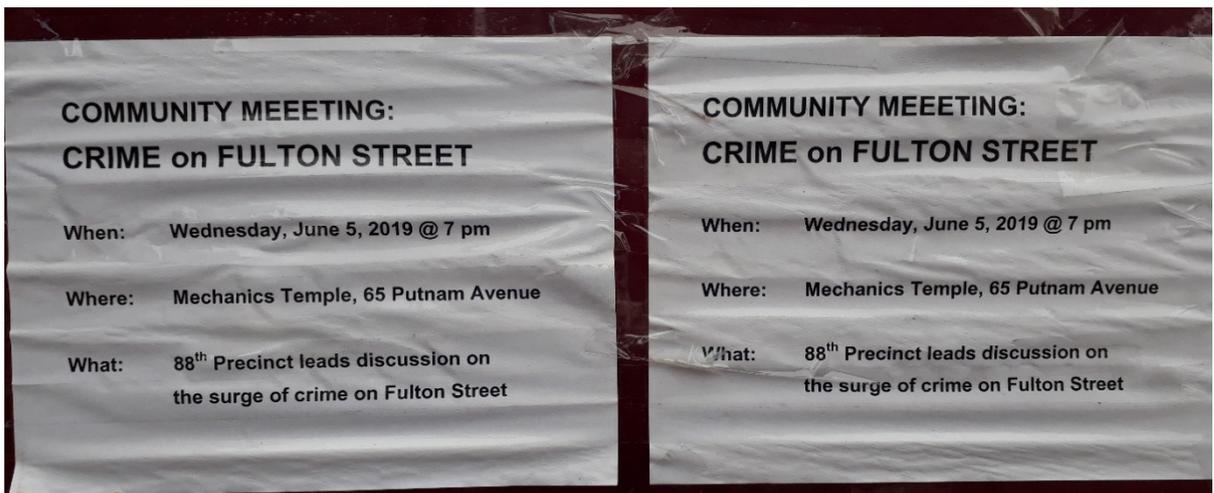


Fig. 8: Perceptions of crime in the linguistic landscape. 22 Putnam Ave, Brooklyn. Photo: KB, June 2019.

The emphasis on safety and its connection to a slower pace of life stands in contrast with Manhattan that, by implication, is constructed as the opposite of Bed-Stuy. Present tense declarations about cycling safety, which has been a hot topic in the borough in 2018 and 2019,⁸¹ construct the area as safe and laid-back in contrast to the congested and hectic neighboring borough where everyone is always on the clock. With the arrival of Citi Bike, a commercial bike share service, in Bed-Stuy, the possibility to ride a bike in the neighborhood contributes to the overall perception of safety:

Everybody's just chilling, like going about their day, helping people out. Like, you know? Riding a bike. I enjoy Citi Bike. I live like five blocks and I still take the bike. I love it, because it's easy going. I would never ride a bike in Manhattan, where I work, but this is like **safe** and it feels so cool. I ride to Target and back. Everybody's just chilling. Like, you know? Living life. (3_11216_1)

Here, Manhattan is used as the negative end of a continuum of positive and negative: Manhattan is not explicitly evaluated as unsafe, instead, riding a bike there is. The act of riding a bike in Bed-Stuy, which has had numerous new sharing service stations added to the area over the past years and whose local organizations like Bedford-Stuyvesant Restoration Corporation actively promote the use of bicycles and offer community bike rides across the area to encourage residents to take up this healthy form of transportation, is perceived as *safe*, *cool*, and *easy going*.

⁸⁰ Since the interviews were conducted, NYPD reports have again registered a slight uptick in crime at the time of writing in 2019, which is not yet represented in this sub-corpus from 2018. The fieldtrip in June 2019 followed a period in late spring of 2019 where the number of assault and felonies surged in the area, with a murder on Bedford Avenue and several felonies on nearby Fulton Street committed in a few weeks, which was also represented in the linguistic landscape in the area. (NYC Crime Map 2019)

⁸¹ For a discussion of cycling safety, bike sharing and infrastructure in Brooklyn, see Berberich (2019a).

Safety, then, is not only regarded as absence of crime, but also as absence of unsafe roads and forms of mobility, which was also found in a Boston study conducted by Lusk et al. (2019).⁸² Consequently, perceptions of safety can depend the ability to engage in preferred activities, such as riding a bike, regardless of violent crime or criminal activity that might be an issue in the larger area. Although crime is considered to be decreasing, as the comparisons and negated constructions and the local crime statistics show, there is still room for improvement. It seems from these answers that, in accordance with the gentrification frontier discourse (cf. N. Smith 1996; Mele 2000; D. Smith 2000), Bed-Stuy, is becoming a more tamed neighborhood, one that is safer for practices like riding a bike, but also for new middle-class residents and investors (cf. Keatinge/Martin 2016).

Looking beyond the individual keywords, assessments of safety indicate that change is indeed ongoing, also with regard to the numbers of crimes registered by the police. In a similar vein, the infrastructural and other changes that shine through in the interview also contribute to a change discourse in the area that construes Bed-Stuy as an area in flux. This discourse is shaped by contrasts between past and present that are introduced in the interviews. Looking at the answers to the first interview question about (first) impressions of the area, a relatively consistent evaluation pattern emerges that I will discuss qualitatively in this section. Here, a contrast is established that negatively evaluates a previous stage of the neighborhood in relation to a more positive the situation in the present. This evaluation strategy within neighborhood change discourse pervades all sub-corpora, as the following chapters will show.

In Bed-Stuy, visible changes in the built environment are, overall, evaluated positively,⁸³ especially regarding the renovation of old buildings or vacant lots:

It didn't look nothing like this. It was a lot of build up now. Before, it was more, I want to say ghetto. It was a lot of poverty, a lot of [inaudible]. But, they really turned it around. (3_11216_7)

This respondent addresses a transformation of the neighborhood at the visual level, which has contributed to an improvement and attraction of further investment in the area over time (cf. Hwang/Sampson 2014).⁸⁴ The verb phrase *turned it*

⁸² Indeed, the respondent above reported on a subsequent meeting that they use an app that reports on local criminal incidents or police action to determine their cycling path at night time.

⁸³ One exception to this is the negative evaluation of an increase in population density through condo development (2_11205_1).

⁸⁴ In line with their analysis of the "visual cues of neighborhood change" (Hwang/Sampson 2014: 726), Bed-Stuy's semiotic landscape showed such cues that, besides ongoing construction and renovation works, pointed to a current shift in the neighborhood. There were, on the one hand, a plethora of spaces that were determined by regulatory signs with regard to accepted behaviors in public spaces, stating explicitly what was not allowed as opposed to what was allowed, especially in public spaces surrounding public housing. On the other, the semiotic landscape also showed what the authors call "visible beautification efforts" (ibid.: 732) in the form of flower-beds along the sidewalks, and signs that informed social actors of these efforts, at the same time inviting local neighbors

around implies not only drastic change but it also carries an implicit positive evaluation of these changes. Turning around denotes the process of “becom[ing] changed for the better” (Merriam-Webster 2019: “turn around,” v.), emphasizing that the previous state of the area was classified as negative. The collocates of *turn around* in the COCA, *troubled*, *struggling*, *stab*, *shoot*, and *bother*, and *nigga* point to “stereotypical connotations of the iconic Black ghetto” (Hyra 2017: 78), thus contributing to the neighborhood’s ongoing stigmatization. In the interview excerpt above, these linguistic choices serve as a way of emphasizing the positive nature of the changes.

The impression of a turnaround of the area is supported by other informants who stress that the renovation of built structures is a priority to them:

Um, I mean, there's still a bunch of like buildings that are abandoned and like, uh, you know, from what I've heard it's like the la- landlords holding on to them until prices rise un- until they sell them. Uh, I think it would, you know, be a little more attractive if that was the case, but, I mean, I mean, there's a few drunks and drug dealers and stuff, but most neighborhoods of Brooklyn have something like that, so it's not, you know. Mostly right now the priority is the abandoned buildings, I think. And then go from there. (3_11216_19)

The change desired the most is one in the built environment, and particular in the renovation of old, vacant buildings that would change the appearance of the area. This environment, complete with its abandoned buildings, “provides durable evidence to people of the kind of place they are in” (Molotch 2002: 681), giving testimony to local neighborhood norms and history. This is not to say that respondents appreciate the vacant buildings, but that rising real estate prices make the renovation of vacant structures more profitable. In the list of priorities of this respondent, the visual improvement of the area is more important than decreasing the presence of “undesirables” (Belina 2011: 19, cf. also Cresswell 1997). Social actors whose practices and/or lifestyles deviate from societal norms, such as for instance homeless or alcoholics, are construed as a feature that is common in Brooklyn and are thus part of a borough-wide norm,⁸⁵ which is why the respondent does not object to them being in the neighborhood. Thus, the neighborhood seems to be in an in-between stage where old and new norms for public spaces and behaviors therein overlap.

However, once the visual improvements in the area are achieved, the next step in increasing the attractiveness of the neighborhood can be ‘sanitizing’ public

to join in the beautification effort, mainly in areas with brownstone or lower-height buildings. According to Woodsworth (2016), these were already visible in the Bed-Stuy of the 1950s.

⁸⁵ Their presence in the neighborhood has become normalized as part of the neighborhood to such an extent that a resident who grew up in the area views the presence of ‘undesirables’ as a spectacle, *as fun stuff that [they] like to watch* (3_11216_1), thus denying the potential for negative evaluation that is commonly linked to their presence.

spaces from undesirable figures that have become part of the neighborhood, catering to new residents' expectations of safety and norms of public behaviors (cf. Dixon/McAuley 2006; Brown-Saracino 2009). Ultimately, this has the potential to lead to the dissolution of the areas current from its "historical identities and cultivates a new palatably middle class brand in its place" (Keatinge/Martin 2016: 869). The "physical erasure" of social actors perceived as 'other' is part and parcel of the process of the "sanitisation of the gentrifying 'urban frontier'" (ibid.: 870, referring to N. Smith 1996). In this vein, Bed-Stuy is, again, discursively constructed as the frontier, and the renovation of vacant lots and houses is one way of cultivating what is left of the area's 'wilderness'.

The improvement of the local infrastructure, then, is likely to be appreciated by old and new residents alike (cf. Freeman/Braconi 2004). A further improvement to the area mentioned by respondents is the increased availability of fresh meats, organic and healthy food (2_11205_25). The additional grocery stores (2_11205_15) in the area that used to be a food desert (Martinez 2010; Zukin 2014) and whose residents still experience food insecurity at higher-than average levels⁸⁶ serve the needs of the local population in that they provide access to healthy foods. They do not, however, cater to the premium grocery sector, since *certain premium things* like *artichokes* (2_11205_13) are not easily available, which is also an indicator that businesses in the area do not cater to more luxurious needs of customers. The gentrification of the commercial landscape thus seems to have "revitalising' effects", but nevertheless "reflects power struggles over space and neighbourhood character and is prone to displacing effects." (Keatinge/Martin 2016: 869). The interviews in the Bed-Stuy area suggest that new grocery stores and new consumption spaces (2_11205_5) or buildings are evaluated positively because they present a welcome addition to what had previously been offered or had indeed been absent, which is evidence that the commercial revitalization is viewed as more prevalent than commercial displacement at the time of investigation.

Well, I notice that, um, a lot of changes are being made, um, positive ones. Um, I actually like the neighborhood now better than I did before. Um, there's a lot of buildings coming up. There is a lot of gentrification going on, and I think that it's necessary. I'm glad that it is. (2_11205_20)

In this excerpt, the use of temporal comparison, introduced through the temporal adverbials *now* and *before*, evaluates current changes through gentrification positively, which contrasts strongly with the majority of the discursive positions in

⁸⁶ In the 2017 New York City and State Hunger Report, 1 in 7 Brooklynites experienced food insecurity between 2014 and 2016, with the highest levels concentrating in Central and East Brooklyn (Food Bank for New York City 2018). This is also supported by one respondent from Prospect Lefferts Gardens, who states that *Bed-Stuy has the highest hunger rate in all of New York* (4_11225_18).

the Bed-Stuy sub-corpora that seem to follow a “social preservationist” ideology (Brown-Saracino 2009). The epistemic stance expressions like *I think that*, *I like* and *I’m glad that* further accentuate the positive evaluation of the changes described by the respondent for they boost the evaluative content of the utterance (cf. Aijmer 1997).

The majority of the respondents advise caution in their discussions of neighborhood change, for these developments could eventually alter the culture of the neighborhood. This is brought into focus by the key adjective *nice* which is used to describe the area’s *vibe* (line 3 and 4) and sociability, emphasizing the social dimension of neighborhoods through the experience of interpersonal relationships between neighbors. A look at the co-text of *nice* reveals that Bed-Stuy residents evaluate the lack of *chain stuff* (line 19) and relative affordability of the area (line 1) positively.

N	Concordance	Interview
1	happening, because it 's a basically	nice neighborhood. I love my block. I love
2	e move-in motivation. I think it 's a	nice like, it 's not too expensive, um, so
3	to, especially with, I run, so. It 's	nice to. Yeah. I think live. It 's really
4	t 's more a matter of like that was a	nice vibe. It 's still a nice vibe, do n't
5	e that was a nice vibe. It 's still a	nice vibe, do n't get me wrong, but it 's
6	ened to you. It 's a very human, very	nice environment. A lot. It 's, uh, um, ma
7	flowers and stuff like that, which is	nice . Around here, my favorite place, I gu
8	it was really cold. But it was still	nice because I guess I liked the open stre
9	al Garden. Um, Fort Greene is really	nice as well. Um, directly around here, Vi
10	here. Good luck with your project.	Nice to meet you.
11	t there, you know. Yes. Good place,	nice , beautiful place. My age is, um, 54
12	et. I guess that 's all I know. I see	nice and quiet, you know. That 's, that 's
13	it 's too nice, you know? It 's super	nice . It 's exhausting, so yeah. I think m
14	it 's like really it 's too it 's too	nice , you know? It 's super nice. It 's ex
15	has n't really hit here yet, which is	nice still. Yeah. Yeah, I 'm 34, and I 'm
16	o meet up with people. That 's like a	nice thing about the gardens and the par
17	llo and it 's all the friendly. It 's	nice . Yeah. I 'd like a big supermarket. U
18	neighbor. You know, like, it 's it 's	nice . That 's, you know. It 's the it 's s
19	e desk, so, like, it 's it was really	nice , and, you know, like the local store,
20	ear this park. So, this park 's kinda	nice . Um, I also like the HVK Park a few
21	ity to Fort Greene Park. It 's pretty	nice . Um ... I do n't know. I do n't know.
22	I am a frame designer. No. It 's very	nice . It 's unique. Uh, no, I want to move
23	red to other places I've lived. It 's	nice . Uh, the neighborhood feeling and, y
24	also very diverse which is one of the	nice things to say about a neighborhood,
25	re neighborhood. Very friendly, very	nice . And, um, it 's it 's also very diver
26	, kind of. Uh, I guess, trees. It was	nice , like family neighborhood. I used to
27	also like- like the trees are really	nice , but not just there 's like, I feel I
28	abel why, but I also think it 's, um,	nice to be around so many people all the

Concordance 4.4: Concordances of *nice* in 2-3_11205-16.

As the concordances of *nice* show, the social dimension of the neighborhood is a frequent target of evaluation. Respondents appreciate that people greet and speak to one another (3_11216_15), the area’s (ethnic) diversity (line 21 and 25, 2_11205_5, 3_11216_20) and the overall human environment (2_11205_16).

As a type of social surrounding beside the home, sociologist Ray Oldenburg introduced the “third place” (1989) as essential for flourishing civil societies. In Bed-

Stuy, the availability of such third places gives rise to a sense of place.⁸⁷ These places are mentioned repeatedly throughout this sub-corpus, suggesting that there is indeed a focus on community in the discourses surrounding Bed-Stuy. Third places like Herbert Von King Park and outdoor spaces like gardens which do not involve *spending money* (3_11216_12) are paramount for Bed-Stuy residents to maintain relations with their neighbors through casual encounter on neutral ground, in Oldenburg's sense. There are plenty of parks and community gardens (2_11205_12, 3_11216_1, 3_11216_16, 3_11216_17) or communal spaces like the local YMCA (3_11216_1, 3_11216_8, 3_11216_15). These represent specific sites where local practices can converge and community may be formed.⁸⁸

Similarly, the practice of sitting and talking on the stoops of their buildings (2_11205_1, 2_11205_15) is emphasized as an important contribution to the neighborhood's vibe. This "stoop culture" (Hymowitz 2017: 103; cf. also Woodsworth 2016), as Brooklyn author and activist Freudenheim argues, is indicative of the "degree to which a neighborhood remains 'old Brooklyn'" (2016: 19). The practice that revolves around encounter and conversation with passersby benefits from a physical environment that allows for and invites joint social interaction of this kind. The practices enabled by the spatial characteristics of the area create a distinct *neighborhood feel* (3_11216_19, 4) and a sense of community (cf. Gieryn 2000; Blokland 2009, 2017).

[I]t's kind of one of those places where it was the first it was the first like spot in the neighborhood where I where I feel like people from all over and like people who were from here, people who just moved here, students from Pratt, like whoever was coming, they were coming to, and they were actually able to, you know, form a **community**. I think it's like one of the first communities here that was sort of like a response to gentrification, but and that was positive. (3_11216_23)

In this neighborhood bar described here, a broad range of different people come together around a common cause, forming a community of practice (cf. Lave/Wenger 1991) in a space that is accessible to all neighbors. As the Bed-Stuy sub-corpora show, it is the availability of and engagement with such spaces by a broad variety of people that contributes to the construction of community in Bed-Stuy.⁸⁹

⁸⁷ I deliberately avoid concepts such as place-identity or sense of place (Proshansky et al. 1983; Dixon/Durrheim 2004) because they are rooted in the individual, not the place. Although a property of place itself, "place-character" (Paulsen 2004) is too homogeneous a concept to do justice to the contradictory nature of discursively constructed concepts such as neighborhood as it does not seem to allow for a malleability or variability of the place it describes.

⁸⁸ However, consumption spaces as places for the formation of community also beg the question which kinds of commercial third places are regarded as 'good' and which as 'bad', and what the criteria are for making such judgments. In this vein, Schlichtman et al. (2017) ask whether "the 'real' neighbourhood had 'x' type of consumption spaces (e.g., a bodega), which are being pushed out by these 'fake' types of consumption spaces (e.g., a Starbucks)." While the data from the BK_Yelp corpus (chapter 8) suggest that there are indeed norms according to which this decision is made, it seems that the respondents in the BK_SpokenRA Bed-Stuy sub-corpus put an emphasis on non-commercial, communal spaces of encounter.

⁸⁹ These spaces certainly also have the potential to bring conflict between neighbors (cf. Martinez 2010), such as in the case of changes in work culture in community gardens or racist slurs in the gym that one informant

Concordances of *vibe* (0.08%, LL=68.35) show that the social can extend into the sensory realm of neighborhood. In this vein, the sense of community is described as being felt and experienced by respondents. However, concordances also suggest that a loss of the neighborhood's *vibe* and a possible future like Williamsburg's or Manhattan's, what Zukin calls "Manhattanization" (2010: 2), are sources of concern in the Bed-Stuy sub-corpora. Indeed, the part north of Flushing Avenue that is closest to Williamsburg is described as becoming more like the adjacent Williamsburg (line 3).

N	Concordance	Interview
1	, I think there is like a really good	vibe here. It is kind of sad that it 's changing
2	, and I miss that kind of like family	vibe that was around. I mean, it 's not a matte
3	re like Williamsburg-oriented kind of	vibe , and that 's something that I kind of do
4	t was a nice <i>vibe</i> . It 's still a nice	vibe , do n't get me wrong, but it 's more
5	nore a matter of like that was a nice	vibe . It 's still a nice <i>vibe</i> , do n't get me wro
6	but you still get that kind of homey	vibe , and it 's still a little bit quiet and there
7	h. Yes, the <i>vibe</i> . It 's all about the	vibe . Yes, for sure. I think that I mean, I 've
8	sy. It 's a busy area. Yeah. Yes, the	vibe . It 's all about the <i>vibe</i> . Yes, for sure.
9	here, I felt like I mean, I like the	vibe . It 's pretty cool. Um, the cafes and th
10	think it has sort of a community-like	vibe . Uh, it 's not. Like, it has a little bit of

Concordance 4.5: Concordances of *vibe* in 2-3_11205-16.

The local *vibe* and *culture* are at risk of falling prey to the grip of corporations, just like in *Manhattan* (0.08%, LL=53.52):

If more, uh, businesses comes in and make it too much like **Manhattan** base- then you do lose the culture of the neighborhood. It becomes just way too commercialized. (3_11216_20)

In these excerpts, references to Manhattan and Williamsburg are construed as negative trajectories that Bed-Stuy could be taking, or has already taken. The commercialization of public spaces (cf. Knox/Pinch 2010; Zukin 2010; Krinsky/Simonet 2011) that was already evaluated critically by respondents in the Williamsburg sub-corpus is a development that respondents in Bed-Stuy fear the area could be facing in the near future. The neighborhood culture is further described in concordances of *Manhattan* as being quieter (line 2), having smaller buildings (line 5), and, as a former mid-town Manhattan resident claims, a *greater sense of community* and *true diversity* (line 11).

N	Concordance	Interview
1	g area here. It 's not like, uh, in	Manhattan or something . Yeah. Uh, 19 years
2	think it 's much more quiet than in	Manhattan . It 's not that much. Uh, yeah, li
3	small, not these big houses like in	Manhattan . Um, for me not, because it 's not
4	it 's really busy. Uh, the people.	Manhattan . [name] Allah. Um, it depends on
5	people in Brooklyn. I mean, we 're	Manhattan now. You know? On the weekend
6	going. I would never ride a bike in	Manhattan , where I work, but this is like sa
7	, I like Manhattan. Yeah. I live in	Manhattan . I live in, uh, um, 31 and Fifth A
8	t know. As you know, I like, I like	Manhattan . Yeah. I live in Manhattan. I live
9	, well, I 'm coming from mid-town	Manhattan , so I I appreciate the contrast, b

mentioned after an interview. In communal spaces, such actions are then evaluated against a local norm and breaches may be sanctioned (cf. Brennan et al. 2013). In Bed-Stuy, this can lead to an expulsion from an inclusive communal space such as the gym, as the respondent explained, because the neighborhood norm does not rely on racial discord, but getting together and working things out.

10 comes in and make it too much like **Manhattan** base, then you do lose the culture 3_11216_20
11 the location. So, I'm not far from **Manhattan**, I'm not far from a lot of great 3_11216_20
Concordance 4.6: Concordances of *Manhattan* in 2-3_11205-16.

Other long-time residents of the area describe a shift in the area that was introduced at a particular point in time which they identify as the onset of gentrification:

To be honest with you, I wasn't ready for the gentrifica- I wasn't ready. I got overwhelmed. I felt like not a part of, because more educated people came into the neighborhood and, just listening to them, and then then the new buildings and stuff like that, then rent going up, and seeing people leave. It was like ugh, but the freeze is right now.⁹⁰ It's too many people in Brooklyn. I mean, we're **Manhattan** now. You know? On the weekend, it's just even worse. You know? So I I have to work out at four o'clock in the morning to get a a peace of mind instead of mh mh. (line 10, 2_11205_25)

The toponym *Manhattan* signals the negative end-point on a scale and is used as a base of comparison that serves to express negative evaluation of the current neighborhood trajectory. Like in Busse's (2019) study, references to Manhattan are used to signal negative polarity and evoke what she calls a "discourse of counterurbanisation" (ibid.: 30), that is, they signal that Brooklyn is less urban than Manhattan. In the interview, this is expressed in references to a population increase which corresponds with the estimated increase of residents by 13.5% between the periods 2006-2010 and 2014-2018 and the estimated increase of housing units by 7.6% and the median rent that is estimated to have increased by 23.8% in those years (NYC PFF 2020).⁹¹ What is more, the population became significantly younger and, as the respondent states, more educated, contributing to the feeling of exclusion that the respondent, who is a cleaner at a hospital in Manhattan, addresses. The estimated increase of 90.8% for people with a BA degree and 121.9% with a graduate or professional degree highlight the contrast in professional backgrounds between new and long-time residents that, as one in a series of shifts in the neighborhood, have come to the neighborhood in the past decade. The perceived similarity to Manhattan in these aspects is used to signal the trajectory that the neighborhood is taking as the negative end of a polarity scale, and construes Bed-Stuy, and Brooklyn more generally, as a place that has become overwhelmed by these interrelated seismic shifts.

The demographic changes and their consequences for the community are something that several respondents are aware of. The ambivalence and moral dilemma inherent in gentrification processes (cf. Lee/Smith 2004) becomes palpable where interviewees adopt a critical stance while at the same time

⁹⁰ This is direct response to the question whether there was a time period during which they wanted to preserve or 'freeze' the neighborhood.

⁹¹ The percentages are calculated thus: the 2010 number minus the 2000 number, divided by the 2000 number. The quotient is then multiplied by 100 (NYC PFF 2020).

positioning themselves as part of the process. The critique usually involves an expression of regret, such as the constative *[i]t is kind of sad that it's changing* (2_11205_8). Taking a stance (cf. Jaffe 2009; Modan 2007) against neighborhood change, and ultimately gentrification, is an intricate way of evaluating events negatively by self-positioning and aligning with the neighborhood and long-time residents. Stance-moves are established by way of comparison with previous areas of residence or in direct evaluation of one or more of their qualities. Hereby, residents position themselves as in-group members of the neighborhood while also evaluating developments positively. These apparent contrasts are an integral part of Bed-Stuy's neighborhood discourse for they signal alignment with the neighborhood despite a positive evaluation of aspects that could potentially threaten current neighborhood norms. Recognizing this as a dominant theme in their research, Schlichtman et al. highlight that a display of "newcomer's allegiance to a place" is an attempt to "exonerate a resident from being a gentrifier" (2017:18) themselves.

In the Bed-Stuy sub-corpus in particular, one discursive strategy that respondents deploy is to construct their legitimacy and alignment with a historically Black neighborhood that is facing drastic change⁹² by overtly discussing their own otherness based on a difference in ethnic or social background, and their skin color specifically.⁹³ Several new(er) residents refer to their own being white as a way of signaling an out-group status in the neighborhood, and negotiate their "elective belonging" in place (Blokland 2017: 94) by aligning with neighbors who have less privilege. One respondent argues that they would love to return the neighborhood to five years ago,

[y]ou know, just because it's gotten to be unlivable even for **people** who, like me, who, like have a lot of privilege. I'm like a white male, so forth, and, um, and I've been like being priced out. Our building actually was just sold, and so like the guy upstairs had to leave, and they're renovating, and I think we're gonna have to leave soon, too, so, it's kind of like, yeah. And, also, some of the commerce. Like, I love some of it, you know, but a lot of it, I think, is not very, like, inclusive. (3_11216_12)

According to this respondent's account, white male privilege, does not keep someone from losing one's apartment in Bed-Stuy anymore. By positioning himself as part of a highly privileged subsection of the local population, the respondent highlights the exclusionary effects of the changes that affect both him and the

⁹² There was an increase of white residents by 1,235% between 2000 and 2015 in the area (U.S. Census Bureau 2018). In concrete terms, this means that around 38,000 white residents moved to the area, while 15,000 Black residents moved out.

⁹³ However, it is crucial to keep in mind that the "power of race", as Moss (2017: 198) calls it, is not all there is. There are also Black gentrifiers whose social power lies in their class-membership and their affluence that distinguishes them from low-income people of color. But even cultural capital of less affluent groups can become powerful in gentrification processes when it is "converted into economic capital" (ibid.) for instance in the process of branding a particular area as artistic, student-like or queer.

population group that is less privileged⁹⁴ than he is. Ultimately, the shared experience of being priced out by a post-renovation rent-raise puts the person with privilege in a similar position than people without such privilege.⁹⁵ This respondent's reference to the exclusionary nature of parts of the commercial landscape lets a nostalgic, social preservationist stance shine through. Far from being a homogeneous group that acts upon the same ideological principles, parts of the gentrifying population are "particularly cognizant of their participation in gentrification and seek to orient their action in opposition to that of the ruthless invader" (Brown-Saracino 2009: 19). However, their presence is also signal for further gentrifiers, investors, and businesses that the area is desirable and safe for additional development.

This shift in racial composition is further emphasized in descriptions of the ongoing transformation of the neighborhood. Creating a careful web of stances (cf. Jaffe 2009) over the course of the interview through evaluation of these developments with the help of temporal anchoring, one respondent legitimizes while at the same time problematizing their "personal narrative of being in place" (Blokland 2017: 94; cf. also Brown-Saracino 2009):

For here, I mean, the one thing that I miss, and I was here in 2008 the first time around, and at that time, I was I felt like I was a guest, and I could be a respectful guest in somebody else's neighborhood, and I enjoyed that, and now, all these years later, having lived elsewhere and moved back, and there are a lot more people like me, white **people** and elsewhere in the neighborhood, who didn't grow up here living on blocks where a lot of people did grow up there, and that balance has shifted, and I feel differently now about being that white guy on the block than I did the last time around. [KB: And why's that?] Because, I'm no longer a sort of lone, respectful guest. I'm part of a big movement that's changing the character of the neighborhood, and I'm aware of that. So, that makes me feel differently about it. (3_11205_14)

At first, they position themselves as being one of the first, early-stage gentrifiers who moved to Bed-Stuy ten years ago.⁹⁶ The changed perception of their own role constitutes an act of aligning with the local Black and brown majority population that covertly evaluates the demographic shift in a negative manner.⁹⁷ The

⁹⁴ For a more detailed discussion of the interplay of race and class in gentrification processes in Brooklyn neighborhoods, see Freeman (2006).

⁹⁵ The vice-president of a community garden in the area, a Black woman in her 50s who was born in the neighborhood and lived there her entire life, related to me that today, struggles in Bed-Stuy are less about race anymore, but more about money and patriarchy.

⁹⁶ See Hackworth/Smith (2001) for a classification of different waves of gentrification, Lees et al. (2008, 2016), and Aalbers (2019) for a wider discussion and extension of their classifications.

⁹⁷ This was also one of the most striking development during my fieldtrips. On my first stay in April 2018, I was usually one the few white people walking the streets of Bed-Stuy. Just months later, all I could see was people who looked like me, even towards the east of Bedford Avenue closer to Broadway Junction. For instance, over the course of a Sunday morning in Herbert Van King Park, most of the people of color I saw were nannies with white children, a picture that, to me, was more reminiscent of Carroll Gardens or Brooklyn Heights than of Bed-Stuy. In my fieldnotes, I wondered whether the reason for this was that a larger share of Black neighbors went to church at that time of the day, or whether they had indeed been displaced. Judging from the demographic trajectory, it seemed likely.

neighborhood as it was one decade ago is classified as something desirable that has been lost. The acceleration of these changes and the increase of new residents who, like the respondent, are white, continue to tip the scale in the historically Black neighborhood towards the whiter end. The power that white residents accumulate in monopolizing the space, willingly or not, turns them into agents of exclusion themselves (cf. Sibley 1995; Knox/Pinch 2010). This carefully constructed stance as a Bed-Stuy resident whose status changes from being a member of a small group with low visibility to being a member of a steadily-increasing group that is not native to the neighborhood is a strong image of the ongoing population shift. In the latter two examples, then, respondents create evaluative stances through acts of positioning and aligning by juxtaposing prototypical features of gentrification with implicit neighborhood norms. (cf. Modan 2007; Jaffe 2009).

As the previous keywords have already shown, one of these norms is that the neighborhood is perceived in terms of a community of neighbors (cf. Meegan/Mitchell 2016) that engage with one another. In a majority of the interviews, residents emphasize the social dimension of the neighborhood: it is not just a *collection of people who happen to be thrown together* (3_11216_14), but a place that has its distinct culture and practices which create a sense of communality among its members. The repeated use of the key nouns *neighborhood* (0.63%, LL=489.94), *people* (0.83%, LL=79.81), and *community* (0.15%, LL=51.26) in the Bed-Stuy sub-corpus gives shape to this dominant discourse.

In concordances of the keyword *neighborhood* (full list of concordances see appendix C1.4), several respondents use the term in an emphatic sense of the word: *[i]t's really a neighborhood* (2_11205_12), *it feels like a neighborhood compared to other places* (3_11216_19), and respondents are *living in a neighborhood* (3_11216_14). The 'neighborhood as community' discourse contains a variety of definitions of what residents perceive as 'real' neighborhoods, all of which foreground the social dimension of neighborhood – *it's not just everybody, you know, going from the subway straight to their houses.* (2_11205_1) The underlying assumption of this usage is that there are two kinds of neighborhoods, those that are defined by social interaction, and are thus classified as 'real', and those without, which are, in this logic, not considered neighborhoods.

It's a real **neighborhood**. Like the, you know, I I speak to my neighbor. You know, like, it's it's nice. (3_11216_15)

Uh, I like it. It feels like a **neighborhood** compared to other places I've lived. (3_12216_19)

But, it will go back again to the people, so I just like, you know, always go back to the people. That's what makes the **neighborhood**. (3_11216_20)

I like the people. [...] Uh, they're pretty friendly. Uh, you know, the, I I don't know. I haven't lived here that long, and this is like the first **neighborhood** I've lived in other than Williamsburg for a bit. A lot of assholes up there. No, I don't know. I just, there's something about them. They're just like a bit chiller. (2_11205_13).

In these excerpts, respondents use positive feelings and emotions to describe Bed-Stuy and its residents. In one interview, the friendliness of Bed-Stuy residents is contrasted with the lack thereof in Williamsburg. In addition to the verb of affection *like*, respondents also use the key verb *love* (0.32%, LL=280.35, full list of concordances see appendix C1.6) to express their affection for the area or entities connected to it. Concordances of *love* suggest that the goal of the action of loving can be their block, apartment, community, or other aspects that are connected to the neighborhood. The affection expressed towards the neighborhood seems to be intricately connected to the presence and quality of the local community. This is highlighted by the way people talk about their neighbors and their friendliness, a quality that is seen as specific to the area.

The people. They know you, they take care of you. On the street, if you don't say hi to someone, or if they don't see you, they will ask you where have you been, or they question if something happened to you. It's a very human, very nice environment. (2_11205_16)

I love the community. I love the feel. I love I love Bed-Stuy. I love this neighborhood, yeah. I love um, days like this, everybody outside sitting on their stoop, the liveliness. I like it. (2_11205_17)

You know what I do really love about this new era of Bed-Stuy, Brooklyn? I do love that, uh, any empty lot is turned into a garden, and my niece and nephew- [...] we'll be walking to the park, and we, oh, a new garden, and then we go in there and meet so many other kids and like, you know, parents and other aunties like me, and we're just all hanging out and contributing there. (3_11216_1)

Moreover, a distinct neighborhood 'feel' is referenced several times here. The experience of living and being in an area where the norm is to engage in an existing community are mentioned as key facets of this neighborhood. Aspects that are highlighted in addition to community, the experiential quality, the neighborhood itself are the people who *show empathy* (3_11216_20) and *know you, take care of you* (2_11205_16). The *camaraderie of the people* (3_11216_3) is based on stoop culture:

[P]eople sit outside in the stoops and there's kind of this street culture that are, like, it's not just everybody, you know, going from the subway straight to their houses. (2_11205_1)

The area is defined by the existence of interpersonal relationships and rapport among residents who greet and look out for each other. This does not necessarily imply that these need to be strong ties – weak ties in Granovetter's (1973) understanding suffice. The built environment "permit[s] seamless moves from home to a pedestrian-friendly street" (Gieryn 2000: 477) and allows for meeting in

an unplanned, ad-hoc fashion. In the sense of Jane Jacob's (1961) 'eyes on the street', where residents are out on the stoop and the sidewalks (cf. E. Anderson 1999; Redfern 2016; Moss 2017), the emphasis on the social dimension of the neighborhood also entails a sense of "collective efficacy" (Sampson 2013) which brings together "social cohesion" and "shared expectations for social control" (ibid.). Being able to contribute to and to shape the space that people live in is implied in the 'neighborhood as community' discourse. This also entails that there are expected behaviors and practices, for instance greeting and helping one's neighbors, connected to it. In these excerpts from Bed-Stuy, a fundamentally social dimension of the concept 'neighborhood' comes to light. The extremely positive discourse prosody of the nouns *neighborhood*,⁹⁸ *people* and *community* in the two sub-corpora show the importance of these nouns and indeed the values that respondents attach to them.

In this sub-corpus, the neighborhood is constructed as a shifting place whose main asset is the sense of community among a diverse group of residents. Like the interview excerpt above, residents distinguish between real neighborhoods like theirs and others that are not as strongly defined by the sociality aspect of sharing space without interacting with one another. The neighborhood is conceptualized as a community, underscoring the importance of Bed-Stuy residents' social ties, communal spaces as that which makes it unique. The social is also intertwined with a sensory dimension of neighborhoods which plays into its perception, for the diversity and positivity are something respondents experience firsthand in their day-to-day routines. The perception of social cohesion and community is also connected to decades of local neighborhood organizing (cf. Woodsworth 2016) which has contributed to the creation and maintenance of community.

Overall, the positive features of the neighborhood, the decrease in crime, a variety of consumption spaces, green space and open streets, are also some of the reasons why the area has attracted new residents and businesses. Discourses of change, here, revolve around the fear of a loss of community, which shows most prominently in the negotiations of white residents about their role in neighborhood change. The desire to maintain the community and the neighborhood as it is results in the creation of a preservationist stance (cf. Brown-Saracino 2009) shapes

⁹⁸ I use the term 'discourse prosody' instead of 'semantic prosody' here because the evaluative prosody that is attached to the meaning of these words in this sub-corpus is relegated to this area, and not a general and "essential component" (Partington 2015: 287) of this unit of meaning that can be identified in occurrences and collocates in a larger, general corpus. However, these items do "regularly co-occur with other items belonging to particular semantic sets" (Stubbs 2001: 65) in this sub-corpus. More specifically, the above keywords regularly co-occur with items from the semantic domain of affection and sociality. Historically speaking, this is nothing new: the social dimension of neighborhoods has always been part of the core meaning of the term, if only to varying degrees (see chapter 2.1), which could contribute to the "evaluative function" (ibid., referring to Sinclair 2004) that it has acquired in Bed-Stuy neighborhood discourses.

respondents' perceptions of these changes and their own agency. Ultimately, the fact that even early gentrifiers with resources and privilege are at risk of being displaced begs the question if the fear of being priced out by global capital (cf. Woodsworth 2016) could be the new do-or-die in Bed-Stuy.

4.3 Crown Heights/Prospect Lefferts Gardens

"They don't show you no bad face, so it it's nice."

The next collection bracket to the south covers part of an area that includes both Crown Heights South (CH) and Prospect Lefferts Gardens (PLG) (4_11225, 10,510 tokens, mean age 37.46). The northernmost crossing is Bedford Avenue/Eastern Parkway, the southernmost Bedford Avenue/Winthrop Street, which is the zip code border for 11225. The total population of the area is 111,448 (U.S. Census Bureau 2018), with a density of 65,242/sq mi. According to the ACS, the area's biggest population groups by race are 64.3% Black or African American, 22.8% white, 8.4% Hispanic/Latinx, and 1.9% Asian (NYC PFF 2020).⁹⁹ The estimated change in the population between 2006-2010 and 2014-2018 predicts an increase of white residents by 57.4%, a decrease in Black or African American residents by 11.4%, with the other groups remaining roughly at the same number. These numbers are in line with what sociologists Jerome Kruse and Judith DeSena argue in their 2016 work on gentrification in Brooklyn, namely that the area "has become one of 'Brooklyn's New Gentrification Frontiers' because buyers and renters have been priced out of Brooklyn Heights, Williamsburg and Park Slope." (Kruse/DeSena 2016: 102).

N	Keyword	Freq.	%	Keyness
1	LIKE	153	1.83	1,172.17
2	UM	117	1.40	896.36
3	KNOW	89	1.07	681.85
4	UH	79	0.95	534.80
5	NEIGHBORHOOD	56	0.67	366.18
6	THINK	35	0.42	268.14
7	PARK	24	0.29	183.87
8	NICE	23	0.28	176.21
9	I	337	4.04	168.84
10	MEAN	18	0.22	137.90
11	YEAH	67	0.80	134.55
12	LIVE	16	0.19	122.58
13	VE	16	0.19	122.58
14	KIND	16	0.19	122.58
15	DO	138	1.65	97.82

N	Keyword	Freq.	%	Keyness
16	FEEL	12	0.14	91.93
17	CLOSE	11	0.13	84.27
18	GO	11	0.13	84.27
19	PLACE	10	0.12	76.61
20	SAY	10	0.12	76.61
21	LOVE	10	0.12	76.61
22	GET	9	0.11	68.95
23	PART	8	0.10	61.29
24	BROOKLYN	8	0.10	55.05
25	RESTAURANTS	11	0.13	54.26
26	SEE	7	0.08	53.63
27	GENTRIFICATION	7	0.08	53.63
28	WANNA	7	0.08	53.63
29	IT	207	2.48	50.48
30	M	58	0.69	49.55

Table 4.4: Top 30 keywords in 4_11225.

⁹⁹ This statistics for the area cover the PUMA that corresponds largely with Community District 9, which covers Crown Heights South and Prospect Lefferts Garden. PUMAs are statistical geographic areas with "a minimum population of 100,000, are aggregated from census tracts, and approximate Community Districts (CDs), or combinations of CDs (There are 59 CDs and only 55 NYC PUMAs because of such combinations). This geography is also used for disseminating American Community Survey (ACS) estimates." (NYC Open Data 2020)

The keywords in this sub-corpus give insight into whether this apparent population shift is already reflected in the data. Both of the neighborhood names, Prospect Lefferts Gardens and Crown Heights (South) are not keywords in the BK_Spoken_RA corpus. Rather, respondents refer to the area as ‘the neighborhood’, indicating a stronger overall affiliation with the idea of the neighborhood as a concept than with the toponyms themselves. The spatial proximity to Prospect Park and the Botanical Gardens, however, is reflected in the keywords. *Park* (0.29%, LL=183.87) is the second-most frequent noun among the lexical items after *neighborhood* (0.67%, LL=366.18). In the sub-corpus, respondents also emphasize the convenience of the area based on easy access to public transportation and stores. However, the biggest asset for respondents in the area is Prospect Park (4_11225_1, 4_11225_5, 4_11225_7, 4_11225_13, 4_11225_14, 4_11225_15, 4_11225_23, 4_11225_24, 4_11225_25).

At first glance, the keyword lists suggests similarities with Williamsburg and Bed-Stuy: the top keywords of PLG/CHs also contain references to *change* (0.07%, LL=45.97%) and *gentrification* (0.08%, LL=53.63). The remainder of the keywords are general nouns denoting spatial entities such as *place* (0.12%, LL=76.61), *Brooklyn* (0.10%, LL=55.05), *restaurants* (0.13%, LL=54.26), *gardens* (0.06%, LL=38.31), *block* (0.06%, LL=38.31), and *café* (0.06%, LL=38.31). These provide an insight into both the structural makeup of and the points of focus within the area that contains many ethnic consumption spaces. With regard to the structure, the area largely consists of wide streets with single family houses and a low population density, large lawns and gardens that are taken care of by block associations, while upzoning along Flatbush Avenue (cf. NYC PFF 2020) has allowed for higher apartment buildings along the commercial corridor.

In this section, I discuss the social positioning by residents and the main discourses evoked in concordances of the keywords *community* and *neighborhood*, before going on to discuss different construals of community with the help of concordances of the key adjectives *nice* and *close*. Looking at the features that are evaluated by them, I explain how community and urbanity are regarded as mutually exclusive, but that structural characteristics of the area are argued to be conducive to the formation of a local community. These discussions also highlight the importance of third places and ethnic consumption as facilitators of community in a diverse neighborhood.

The key noun *community* (0.18%, LL=42.89) is used very specifically in compounds denoting various programs and spaces rather than the generic reference to the people who relate to one another on a regular basis.

N	Concordance	Interview
1	there 's like a lot of sort of like community building, which is nice. So, peopl	4_11225_5
2	een area, so there 's a lot of like community gardens you can volunteer and so	4_11225_5
3	in that way, they give back to the community in that they 're friendly and kind	4_11225_8
4	Yeah. And it was s- super, like, a community . Like the older the kids coming in	4_11225_9
5	ad to a very, um, like a close-knit community , even though we 're in the middle	4_11225_11
6	ah. I would say probably also the community . Um, I think that 's the sense I g	4_11225_12
7	lovely. Um, there 's a strong community here. What qualities of the, the pl	4_11225_12
8	like, uh, very holistic and healthy community building way, so maybe through fo	4_11225_13
9	e to thrive. Um, whether it be like community events or through community outre	4_11225_13
10	ke community events or through community outreach with resources, uh, but i	4_11225_13
11	rtation. It 's like a nice, diverse community . It 's seems to be changing in a go	4_11225_14
12	e of like who 's, um, giving to the community , who 's not, what city agencies ar	4_11225_23
13	have to, uh, get in touch with the Community Board to understand, you know, the	4_11225_23
14	's it 's also good, like, that the community has nicer places to go to and stuf	4_11225_25

Concordance 4.7: Concordances of *community* in 4_11225.

The first characteristics of the area that can be derived from concordances of *community* are the diversity and its status as an area in transition. Respondents positively evaluate the status quo and ongoing changes at the social and the commercial levels:

It's good transportation. It's like a nice, diverse **community**. It's seems to be changing in a good way. Like more stores are opening. (line 11, 4_11225_14)

This implies two things: one, the neighborhood, here represented by the third person singular pronoun *it*, was previously in a state that was lacking certain amenities, and two, positive evaluation of the neighborhood is tied to their availability. The full extent of the process cannot, as of yet, be gauged, which is indexed by the low-modality verb *seems*. As can be seen from the propositional content of this series of declarations, there is a lot of overlap with previous collection brackets in the keywords with regard to the aspects that are evaluated positively, especially with the emphasis on community and diversity.

The compounds are *community board* (line 13), *community outreach* (line 10, $t=1.412$), *community building* (line 8, $t=1.408$), and *community events* (line 9, $t=1.413$)¹⁰⁰, many of which are used by one respondent only, who emphasizes the necessity of local community building measures and thereby implies that there has been a certain erosion thereof:

Um, I think the neighborhood is amazing. Um, it was incredibly rich in culture and diversity, and now it's not as much whatsoever. Yeah. A lot of money came in. Um, a lot less working families and immigrants able to make it, um, and more hedge fund and Wall Street buying everything up. [...]
[KB: If there was anything that could be added to the neighborhood, in your opinion, still, what would it be?]
Um, more opportunities for the diversity and the culture to thrive. Um, whether it be like **community** events or through **community** outreach with

¹⁰⁰ T-scores below 2.0 indicate a weak collocation likelihood, and indeed the small number of co-occurrences does not lend weight to an interpretation of these items being strong collocates. This could be explained by the low number of occurrences of the node word. I will continue to list such examples with low t-scores as example collocates for low-frequency keywords, assessing their collocation strength and value for the research question in each case.

resources, uh, but in, like, uh, very holistic and healthy **community** building way, so maybe through food- more foods options, you know. Um, there's a lot of foods, but it's all kinda starting to turn into the same, like American cuisine. (4_11225_13)

The loss of culture and diversity because of the acquisition of local real estate by outside actors is underlined in the temporal contrast right at the beginning of the excerpt. The influx of capital might have a “homogenising” effect on the local commercial landscape (Franz 2015: 89, cf. also Mitchell 2003), thus presenting a difference to rapidly-gentrifying neighborhoods like Williamsburg. The commercial, and to some extent also the social fabric, of the local neighborhood has been impacted by the “homogenized cultural mainstream” (Knox/Pinch 2010: 16) of economic globalization. This excerpt furthermore echoes previous neighborhood discourses that fell victim to their convenient location, access to transportation, and green spaces. The neighborhood is pictured as having lost its diversity and culture, and indeed, working class families and immigrants who had to give way to more affluent residents or the finance industry who invest because the area could be a future source of revenue based on land values and rent gaps (N. Smith 1979).

The area has attracted large-scale real-estate investment because of its well-kept houses and the location close to the park, whose presence is a factor that drives up real estate prices (cf. Krinsky/Simonet 2011). In addition, its convenient access to subways and low-density housing might be another reason why the area was sought out by neighborhood-external developers from Manhattan’s Wall Street or international hedge funds to capitalize on exactly those assets that respondents in this corpus highlight as desirable features of their neighborhood. Ultimately, this influx of capital affects the social dimension of a neighborhood that, according to this respondent, has to be rebuilt by community organizing.¹⁰¹

From this perspective, diversity is regarded as a key factor in positive neighborhood evaluation, and a key aspect of what makes the area what it is. This might be because “[t]he area was also one of the first truly integrated communities” (Helmreich 2016: 161), where white, Asian, and African American residents lived together and became engaged in homeowners’ associations from the early 20th century when construction began on the homes in the area east of Prospect Park. The aspects that are highlighted in the above excerpt as being conducive to the

¹⁰¹ This development also affects the food landscape of the area, with ethnic foods starting to turn into the same, like American cuisine. (4_11225_13) The supposed Americanization of the commercial landscape, or perhaps a homogenization of the consumption landscape in the area, seems to run almost parallel to the change in population that is documented in the census data from the last years, in which the percentage of the White population is gaining ground in the area. The Furman Center demographic data, however, shows a sharp decrease in Black and increase in White residents over the last ten years, with percentages changing in the following way from 2010 to 2017 75.2% to 60.2% (Black); 14.9% to 25.5% (White) and 6.5% to 9.8% (Hispanic) specifically. The role of food in the area will be discussed in more detail in chapter 8.

formation or maintenance of community, like events, outreach or (ethnic) food places – as represented in the keyword *restaurants* (0.13%, LL=54.26) – all revolve around shared spaces and practices in the neighborhood (van Eijk 2012; Blokland 2017). Such visible acts of “[d]oing neighbouring” (Blokland 2017: 72) all involve social interaction or mutual supportive action, which is also how community building and trust facilitation is approached by neighborhood organizations in chapter 5. The role of food in community building highlights the communal aspect of consuming food in spaces that are shared with other residents of the area. In this vein, spaces like restaurants or other establishments that serve food can facilitate the involvement in and engagement with a diverse local community. These ‘food places’ contribute to the formation of communal ties rather than serving the purpose of “cultural consumption” (Zukin 2010: 37).¹⁰²

Food as a facilitator of community is also a theme in concordances of *neighborhood* (0.67%, LL=366.18, see full concordance list in appendix C1.7). These suggest that this area is characterized by its emphasis on sociality. The availability of local restaurants – there are currently 140 restaurants registered in the zip code area (cf. NYC Dept of Health 2020) – as spaces that can facilitate acquaintances between neighbors and the recognition of neighbors’ faces and thus contribute to an area being a neighborhood in the social sense is highlighted here:

I mean, it's now turned into a **neighborhood**. It means everybody, you know, you walk into a restaurant, and everybody knows everybody. We have restaurants, which we didn't have, and everybody knows everybody, and people smile at each other on the street. [...] Just feeling like a **neighborhood**. (lines 4 and 5, 4_11225_10)

This resident defines *neighborhood* as the result of an intersubjective social process whereby people get to know other residents and gradually form a neighborhood. The processual nature is highlighted by the transitive verb *turn into* that denotes a transformation from the past to a present state. Over time, seemingly small daily practices of recognizing and being recognized, of greeting and being greeted have become part of the neighborhood norm (cf. Nieuwenhuis et al. 2013). This evokes a feeling of neighborhood in the respondents, that is, a shared sense of belonging to a local community. This is construed as the result of the availability of third places where people can encounter and engage with other residents.

The shared practice and sociability aspect and its contributions to neighborhood as a social relationship is underlined in several other interviews.

It's neighborhoodie. I don't know how to better say that. People talk to each other. It's nice. Friendly. (4_11225_22)

¹⁰² These “consumption places rooted in community” (Schlichtman et al. 2017: 158) are particularly appreciated by those gentrifiers who are “community-minded” (ibid.).

Again, neighborhood is construed as a quality of place. By adding the noun suffix *-ie*, which denotes “one of (such) a kind or quality” (Merriam-Webster 2019: “-ie,” 3.), to the noun *neighborhood* in the first declarative clause (Halliday/Matthiessen 2014: 24), the respondent describes the area as characterized by friendly social interaction, thus construing *neighborhood* as something inherently social. The repeated use of declarative clauses thus construes the sociability as the neighborhood norm for CH/PLG. In line with the previous excerpt, the social dimension entails friendliness and neighborly chit-chat and knowing faces in the crowd.

Complementary perspectives are revealed in further occurrences of the keyword *neighborhood* which describe respondents’ fears of a decline in community that comes with more affluent new residents. In these concordances, two types of strategies are used to conceptualize this: in the first, respondents consider themselves part of the community that they fear is being lost while also being part of the change contributes to the erosion of community. In the second strategy, respondents locate the causes of neighborhood change elsewhere.

Uh, probably about like two years ago, before it got really gentrified, I think. Yeah. It was like, uh, it's a little less friendly because a lot of rich white people moved in. So, less of that, uh, considering I'm part of that, but like, yeah. I think a little bit more, uh it's like a super diverse **neighborhood**, so like keeping it like that as much as we can, like in the last couple of years, I think (line 11, 4_11225_22)

As an example of the first strategy, this respondent positions themselves as part of an earlier wave of gentrification, while again aligning with the neighborhood by negatively evaluating the process that they have contributed to. At the same time, they take on a preservationist stance vis-à-vis their own role in the gentrification of the neighborhood that is expressed in the concern about waning diversity. The use of the verb phrase *got gentrified* here does not entirely obfuscate the agency; the neighborhood did not simply undergo gentrification, but it *got gentrified* by an unnamed actor that is later specified as a large number of white affluent people. A query for the construction *got + _v?d** in the COCA reveals a negative semantic prosody based on the collocates of the past participle form. These largely stem from the semantic domain of beating: *was, were, started, beat, asked, teased, busted, smacked, punched, yelled, slammed, knocked*. Although these beating verbs occur less frequently than the copular verb forms (*was, were*), the semantic prosody of this construction affects how the agents in gentrification are conceptualized. In the course of the interview, the respondent both distances themselves from the large homogeneous group of affluent residents which are juxtaposed with the diversity of the neighborhood, before re-positioning themselves as part of this group in the next clause. This, again, ties in with a more widely-used

position in the BK_SpokenRA corpora and studies from other cities (cf. Brown-Saracino 2009), namely that social preservationists are aware of and concerned about the fragility of those aspects of the neighborhood that they appreciated in the first place. In this line of argumentation, their own role in the gentrification of the area is recognized but deemed less ‘harmful’ than that of newer residents.

A second positioning as being part of the group that induced the change is found in an excerpt by a resident of eight years:

I think we were like some of the only white people other than the Hasidic Jews that live in this neighborhood, um, so we've seen it change a lot. Yeah, but we liked the neighborhood, but we part of that, the beginning wave. (line 57, 4_11225_5)

Although the classification of different stages of gentrification as waves is very common in this discourse,¹⁰³ it carries a connotation of strong movement that washes or even pushes away those affected. The COCA corroborates this impression: Here, the top noun collocates of *wave* are *heat, hand, shock, crime, violence, attacks, immigrants, and nausea*, hinting at an overall negative semantic prosody of the term. Thus, the use of the term *wave* to describe gentrification suggests that its effect of on the neighborhood is not controllable or foreseeable. The two conventional implicatures (Grice 1989) introduced by the contrastive conjunction *but* at the end of the excerpt suggest, first, that gentrification is linked to their own position as members of a particular group of residents of the neighborhood, that of *white people*. Again, the complexities of being a white neighbor in a majority Black neighborhood are evoked here. Second, the awareness and the double bind of being a minority in the neighborhood that could alter it in the long run did not take away from the attraction of the area for this respondent. Thus, it is possible to be aware of (one’s own role in) neighborhood change and appreciate the neighborhood despite being part of the movement that ultimately introduced change to it. This shows that in neighborhood discourse, there are few straightforward positionings, but a weighing of interests and preferences and repeated modification of social positioning (cf. Modan 2007) in light of these developments.

To the contrary, the second strategy used to conceptualize neighborhood change constitutes an attempt at shifting perspectives away from personal responsibility:

As someone who 's only lived in New York for five years, and this **neighborhood** for for three, I think that it's [neighborhood change, KB] not always appreciated, because, um, change is difficult, and American society and New York have fallen behind in getting people the education that they need to to have to continue to raise their income and stay in neighborhoods

¹⁰³ See Hackworth/Smith (2001) for a classification of different waves of gentrification, Lees et al. (2008) and Aalbers (2019) for a wider discussion and extension of their classifications.

that they have grown up in, and that is, of course, a huge problem that is easier to blame on new people than it is to blame on the root source, so I think there are there's definitely some resentment and, you know, I just try to do my best to not contribute to it, since I am an outsider. (line 49, 4_11225_1)

The excerpt begins with the respondent's spatio-temporal positioning as a new resident of the neighborhood. Rather than employing the same social preservationist position that is used in previous interviews, which shift responsibility to larger corporate actors or take a self-reflective stance, this interviewee introduces a stronger neoliberal dimension to the gentrification discourse (cf. Purcell 2002; Sassen 2013; Kemp et al. 2015) that presupposes a necessary increase in income in order for long-time residents to stay. The respondent sees the *root source* not in the *new people* but in social inequality more generally, and the failure of the city and the nation to reduce inequality, which has resulted in residents' inability to cope with rent pressures. From a census statistical point of view, however, the overall argumentation cannot be corroborated, neither with data on secondary and tertiary education nor from the overall average income of the neighborhood.¹⁰⁴

Further, the agentless comparative construction carries a negative semantic prosody that adds to the value judgement that is made in the verb phrase *it is easier to do x than to do y*. The repeated use of the verb *blame*, which, in the COCA, collocates with items such as *unfair*, *tempting*, *sluggish*, *faulty*, *misplaced* and *simplistic*, reinforces the proposition that putting responsibility on individual actors is a way of evading systemic and structural inequality by simplifying this discussion. It also suggests that the act of placing blame on this group is not justified, which is another attempt at downplaying the role that new residents play in neighborhood change, ultimately pointing the finger at the larger effects of structural inequality and with that at an abstract entity that is hard to grasp and tackle.¹⁰⁵

Lastly, the subordinate conjunction *since* creates a causal connection between being an *outsider* and not getting involved in problematic issues in the

¹⁰⁴ Taking into account the fact that the neighborhood scores just as high as the rest of New York City regarding the percentage of high school graduates or higher (87.9%) and holders of a bachelor's degree or postgraduate education (36.4%), this meritocratic argument is baffling. The cumulative growth in rent prices between January 2010 and January 2018 in Crown Heights South and Prospect Lefferts Gardens figures at about 40% (39% for CH, 45% for PLG), making CH the third-fastest and PLG the neighborhood with the fastest rent growth in Brooklyn (StreetEasy Rent Affordability Report 2018). Plus, at 15.3%, the number of persons below the poverty line in the area is about 10% higher than in all of New York as the employment rate in the city "remains at an all-time low" (ibid.). The real estate market in traditional low-rise low-density residential neighborhood zoned for single-family detached houses and medium-density multi-family buildings (NYC Dept of Planning 2019) has recently experienced a growth in building heights and faces a potential upzoning along Ocean Avenue near Prospect Park. Thus, it is fair to say that there is a lot of pressure on residents on the rental market of the area that does not necessarily stem from their lack of education.

¹⁰⁵ Similar conceptualizations of poverty and agency have been observed in previous research on poverty and place in the UK (cf. Paterson/Gregory 2018), which has shown that low-income populations are routinely blamed for their own problems. This has also been discussed for New York City (cf. Greenberg 2008; Zukin 2010) and Brooklyn in particular (cf. Woodsworth 2016).

neighborhood, a position which deviates strongly from those perspectives in previous references to neighborhood change in the CH/PLG sub-corpus by respondents who seem to accept that they, too, are contributing to gentrification. The outsider position taken here vis-a-vis a neighborhood in-group of local long-time residents underscores that some social actors merely live in neighborhoods without necessarily being part of locally established communities of practice or interacting with anyone in the area. Despite adopting a “strategy of non-belonging” (Pinkster 2013: 825), urban geographer Pinkster shows in her Amsterdam study (ibid.) that such residents still appreciate the area and draw on the symbolic value dimension of the neighborhood for the formation of their own personal identities.

The key adjectives, *nice* (0.28%, LL=176.21) and *close* (0.13%, LL=84.27; see concordances in appendix C1.9 and C1.10) confirm the importance of the social dimension neighborhoods for respondents in CH/PLG. One interviewee uses the key adjective *nice* four times, each time to describe a different facet of this social dimension:

Well, coming to a strange country, it was very it was **nice**. A **nice** experience. Well, everybody have respect for each other, everybody **nice**. When I greet them, they greet you back. They don't show you no bad face, so it it's **nice**. (lines 1, 4, 19, 23, 4_11225_3)

The overall positive evaluation of the neighborhood is rooted in a self-positioning as yet another kind of outsider in the neighborhood based on their immigrant status. The indirect construction of the neighborhood as welcoming of immigrants matches the overall demographic makeup of the area: 90% of residents were born outside of North America, which is more than 1.5 times the average rate in New York City (U.S. Census Bureau 2018). Further, the propositional content of the negative concord *don't show you no bad face* ties in with a larger discourse that becomes apparent in the neighborhood sub-corpus that highlights the friendliness and communal spirit within the neighborhood, and, indeed, the understanding that neighborhood involves a diverse community and sociability between all different groups. Thus, the neighborhood is not seen as a locus of a particular community, but as based on a shared sense of belonging in place with others who reciprocate in small daily encounters (cf. Putnam 2000; Rosenblum 2016, Ignatieff 2017). This reflects what Blokland (2017) observed in her work in a working-class neighborhood in the Dutch city of Rotterdam, where new residents from different ethnic groups are “welcomed in” (ibid.: 153) once they adjusted to local norms, despite potential differences and discursive othering.

Finally, concordances of the key adjective *close* suggest that there is an apparent incongruity between the area's central location in Brooklyn and the

development of community. However, the structural conditions of the area can facilitate community in the city:

[P]articularly because of the makeup of the neighborhood, the way there's all- you know, you go down here, the park, there's a lot of one-way streets. Um, I mean, sorry, dead end streets, that this is sort of the beginning of the neighborhood, and it it has natural boundaries, which lead to a very, [03:00] um, like a **close**-knit community, even though we're in the middle of Brooklyn. (line 1, 4_11225_11)

Similar to the Bed-Stuy data, where stoop culture and local community gardens fostered “public familiarity” (Blokland 2017: 126) and social interaction, community is construed here as something that is affected by the spatial environment of the neighborhood, in this case the existence of *natural boundaries* that can enhance the possibilities of ties between neighbors in spite of unlikely circumstances such as new developments¹⁰⁶ or population changes. What the excerpt also shows is that the respondent seems to view community and being located in a central urban location as mutually exclusive – the intensive adverb *even* coupled with the conjunction *though* serves to emphasize the improbability of the existence of a community. The central geographical location and the easy access to other nearby areas and the rest of Brooklyn through the 2, 3, 4, 5, B, Q, and S trains which serve the area may give rise to the impression of being in the middle of the borough. Yet, the area’s structural characteristics allow for the formation of community¹⁰⁷ despite the centrality and interconnectedness with other areas.

The seeming incompatibility of urbanity and community that is so widely discussed in urban scholarship is also evoked in a second example from concordances of *close*. What becomes clear in the repeated use of the contraction *wanna* in this excerpt is that a neighborhood should, ideally, provide the opportunities of the city, while also allowing for a close-knit community that includes connections of the more rural *Gemeinschaft* type, with close-knit relations based on personal attachment rather than rationality, as would be typical for an urban *Gesellschaft* (Tönnies 1887). The following excerpt thus provides another counterpoint to the Simmelian (2006 [1903]) understanding of the negative effects of life in the metropolis on the individual’s mind, and the ensuing inability to form lasting ties and engage in community.

Um, everybody in the neighborhood knows each other. Uh, you know, people recognize my dog, like, even when I have a dog walker out, people will send me a text message like, “hey, I saw your dog in the neighborhood. Is everything okay?” Really. And, that’s a **nice** feeling, because also coming

¹⁰⁶ Rising popularity has led to the construction of apartment towers in upzoned areas dominated by the glass-and-steel aesthetics of Downtown Brooklyn, or indeed, any downtown of any American city. At the time of writing in 2019, neighbors were rallying against a change of zoning laws that prohibit building apartment complexes above a certain height. The reason for this is a recent proposal for two 39-story towers at 960 Franklin Avenue close to the gardens submitted by real estate developers. The new towers would block much of Brooklyn Botanic Garden’s access to sunlight (cf. Brooklyn Botanic Garden.org)

¹⁰⁷ This is reminiscent of Jacobs’ (1961) claim that mixed-use areas are beneficial for residential diversity.

from a very **close**-knit culture, you you know, you wanna have the opportunities that New York, um, provides, but you also wanna feel like [03:30] people know you, like they know your name, and your name being your culture or the things that you're interested in. You know, your traditions. (line 9, 4_11225_11)

Indeed, Gans (1982) proposed that the city had not created anonymous and rational beings, as the works of pessimist urbanists like Tönnies and Simmel would have us believe. Yet, the continued existence of such 'urban villages' is highly debated. Blokland (2017), Knox/Pinch (2010), and Zukin (2010) all state that these urban village experiences in the 1960s existed primarily in migrant and working-class neighborhoods "with a specific culture and shared ethnicity." (Blokland 2017: 43) Both are referred to in the excerpt above, pointing to an urban-village scenario in CH/PLG, if only on a micro-neighborhood level.¹⁰⁸ However, drawing on Wirth (1938), Sampson (2013: 152) calls such scenarios in the present-day American city a "myth", whose existence is already ruled out by the "mathematical impossibility" (ibid.) of knowing everybody. In addition, "cross-neighborhood spatial ties" (ibid.: 238), which are also facilitated by the area's access to public transportation, make it harder to maintain close-knit communities in the city. Yet, it seems that respondents argue that they have found just that – an urban village based on a shared cultural background in the middle of Brooklyn.

The sense of familiarity and close association with one's neighbors in this sub-corpus can be traced back to the cultural background of many of its residents. Respondents whose families or who themselves migrated to the area from less individualist cultures, where close relations with neighbors are considered the norm, emphasize that community and culture are important facets of CH/PLG. Shared cultural backgrounds and traditions provide residents in this area of Brooklyn with a sense of home and belonging. In representing some of the characteristics of this shared culture, the neighborhood takes on a symbolic, identity-affirming function. This becomes evident not only in the existence of weak social ties in the area, as is suggested in the anecdote about the respondent's dog in the above excerpt, but also, as other respondents confirm, in the neighborhood's commercial and semiotic landscape. The Caribbean culture specifically is not only represented in certain restaurants, but also in particular stores that serve to a largely Caribbean customer base, and therefore offer *exotic things like dragon fruit or bread fruit* (4_11225_11). As this informant revealed, grocers in the neighborhood, which was 71.4% Black/African American in the 2010 census (NYC

¹⁰⁸ Looking at informants' race and positioning, it seems that residents of color are more likely to evoke the community discourse rather than bemoaning its imminent disappearance, as white residents did in the interviews conducted in this area. This might be because many of them either grew up in the area or because they already associate with an existing ethnic community, rather than having moved there and thus having to build or integrate with existing communities of practice in the neighborhood.

PFF 2020), have the specialty knowledge not to throw out overripe plantains because they are a staple in Caribbean kitchens and thus exactly what a large portion of residents in the area are looking for. Indeed, Helmreich (2016: 216) notes that “[t]hese places are much more than supermarkets”, because they offer such a broad variety of products than can be found in residents’ countries of origin. Customers hailing from Jamaica, Haiti, and a range of African countries come from all over the metropolitan area to do their “ethnic shopping” (ibid.) in the neighborhood. Thus, despite being far away from home, being able to *find things that remind [residents] of being at home* such as *food, culture, music, activities* (line 3, 4_11225_11) creates “ties to other locations” (Modan 2007: 93) and a sense of belonging for neighbors from diverse cultural backgrounds that is consolidated through representation in the semiotic and commercial landscape.

In summary, then, data from Crown Heights South and Prospect Lefferts Gardens points to a variety of discourses that are connected to the neighborhood. These are, first, gentrification discourses that are intertwined with and contested by community discourses. Neighborhood, here, has a strong social dimension, but is also considered a shifting neighborhood that is destabilized and devitalized by external capital flows (cf. Redfern 2016). Although respondents claim that gentrification is progressing at a slower rate than further north along Bedford Avenue, it is becoming more wide-spread. In this vein, white respondents who are adopting a social preservationist position with regard to their own being in the neighborhood fear that the local community and working-class immigrant culture succumb to these pressures. The keyword analysis has shown that residents who actively embrace their position as contributors to neighborhood change align themselves with the neighborhood, while those who seek to deflect attention from their contribution shift the blame to higher level actors like authorities and society writ large and openly position themselves as outsiders. Furthermore, residents are acutely “aware of how the outside world views their residential situation and that it may erode their social status” (Pinkster 2013: 824). The influx of economic capital is particularly detrimental with regard to the cultural capital that white residents derive from living in the area (cf. Zukin 1995; Bourdieu 2012; Hristova et al. 2018).

Those who construe themselves as members of the resident in-group by constructing their connection to the area through shared cultural heritage, on the other hand, put strong emphasis on community and sociability and describe the neighborhood as a community of foreign-born residents. These residents make meaningful connections within the neighborhood because it represents their culture and, in its diversity, provides an opportunity to develop a sense of identity and belonging in the midst of the city. In this vein, the CH/PLG area is construed

as open and welcoming space where community is facilitated through sharing space, heritage, and ethnic consumption. These respondents, most of whom are part of the Black majority population in the neighborhood, stress the neighborhood’s social and identity-establishing dimension.

4.4 Flatbush

“People cohabit, you know, peacefully, but it’s- everybody’s in own little turf.”

The fifth collection bracket (5_11226, 10,371 tokens, mean age 38.08) is separated by Bedford Avenue and Winthrop Street in the north and Bedford Avenue and Foster Avenue in the south and covers parts of Flatbush (Community District 14) and East Flatbush (CD 17). In the 2010 census, Flatbush had a population of 160,664 people and a density of 55,401/sq mi (U.S. Census Bureau 2010). Census data shows that 51% of residents of CD 14 and 92% of residents in CD 17 were born in Latin America, while 33% and 86% respectively identify as Black (U.S. Census Bureau 2019). The five-year estimates of the ACS for CD 14, where most interviews were conducted, expect the distribution of origins to be 40.3% of residents white, 30.7% Black, 15.7% Hispanic, and 10.7% Asian (NYC PFF 2020).¹⁰⁹ The ACS estimates also predict a growth in population of about 4,000 residents (ibid.).

The official neighborhood borders of the two districts extend much further east and west than the already generous 10 block radius around Bedford Avenue that I surveyed for interviews. Indeed, Bedford Avenue presents “the border between East Flatbush and Flatbush” (Helmreich 2016: 217), although all respondents referred to the entire area as Flatbush proper. With exception from the commercial corridors along Flatbush Avenue and the manufacturing use permitted along Foster Avenue, the area is largely designated as residential (NYC CDP 2020), with Victorian, Queen Anne and colonial housing styles and boasts with “strong neighborhood associations that fought hard to preserve and enhance their communities” (ibid.: 223).¹¹⁰

N	Keyword	Freq.	%	Keyness
1	LIKE	187	1.81	1,354.43
2	UM	125	1.21	1,312.51
3	KNOW	138	1.33	999.52
4	THINK	55	0.53	398.36

N	Keyword	Freq.	%	Keyness
16	WANT	18	0.17	130.37
17	WORK	14	0.14	101.40
18	STUFF	14	0.14	101.40
19	SO	112	1.08	87.23

¹⁰⁹ In comparison, the area covered by CD 17, East Flatbush, is expected to be 87.1% Black, 7.4% Hispanic, 2.7% white, and 1.4% Asian (NYC PFF 2020).

¹¹⁰ The availability of such strong community resources suggests that there are cohesive neighborhood ties, and thus made these neighborhood associations desirable for me as a researcher to learn more about the area. Unfortunately, I could not get through via email or telephone. Further, despite returning on several different days of the week at different times of the day, it was extremely difficult to gather interviews here – there was just no one around, although I tried to cover the many different subdivisions of Flatbush like Ditmas Park or Prospect Park South that were not too far from Bedford Avenue. Ultimately, the interviews in this sub-corpus were collected in parks and along commercial thoroughfares such as Flatbush Avenue, thus affecting what kinds of neighborhood descriptions could be collected at the various interview locations.

5	UH	54	0.52	329.18
6	NEIGHBORHOOD	46	0.44	274.69
7	MEAN	30	0.29	217.29
8	YEAH	94	0.91	204.76
9	I	396	3.83	175.08
10	GO	23	0.22	174.30
11	LIVE	24	0.23	173.83
12	PARK	27	0.26	166.59
13	GET	20	0.19	144.86
14	SAY	19	0.18	137.62
15	SEE	19	0.18	137.62

20	FLATBUSH	12	0.12	86.92
21	CHANGE	12	0.12	86.92
22	LOT	54	0.52	81.36
23	M	81	0.78	81.31
24	KIND	11	0.11	79.67
25	FEEL	10	0.10	72.43
26	AREA	24	0.23	70.29
27	BAD	9	0.09	65.19
28	NICE	8	0.07	62.45
29	AROUND	35	0.34	60.27
30	BROOKLYN	9	0.09	58.74

Table 4.5: Top 30 keywords in 5_11226.

Key nouns in this corpus show that respondents explicitly name the area that they are in, as indicated by the key noun *Flatbush* (0.12%, LL=86.92), while also frequently using the higher-level toponym *Brooklyn* (0.09%, LL=58.74). 45.45% of the occurrences of *Flatbush* refer to Flatbush Avenue, the major commercial thoroughfare that runs all the way from Manhattan Bridge through the neighborhood to Jamaica Bay in the south. These key nouns reflect how the built environment pre-structures the answers given by respondents. By drawing on landmarks and spatial points of reference, they discursively anchor themselves in space and foreground aspects of the area that are represented on their own mental map of the area. Again, respondents give insight into their personal social geographies by utilizing linguistic items that denote structural features of the neighborhood, like *park* (0.26%, LL=166.59), *place* (0.07%, LL=50.70), *area* (0.23%, LL=70.29), *train* (0.05%, LL=43.46), and *house* (0.06%, LL=43.46). Of these, the proximity to the park and the train are once more considered the most essential aspects for neighbors. Although the keyword *Starbucks* (0.05%, LL=30.86)¹¹¹ is relatively infrequent at five occurrences, its presence in the keyword list presents a striking difference to previous sub-corpora. Its representation on the textual level is surprising because it is not represented on the neighborhood level – there is no branch of the coffee chain in the neighborhood at the time of writing in fall of 2019, not even along the bustling commercial corridor on Flatbush Avenue. Upon closer inspection of its concordances, it can be seen that respondents construe the coffee chain as an index of gentrification (Hwang/Sampson 2014).¹¹² When using the brand name, they either ironically construe the fact of having a Starbucks in the neighborhood as a desirable addition, or openly evaluate its absence positively.

¹¹¹ In the present sub-corpus, all occurrences of *Starbucks* are negated because the chain has not opened a store there yet. The next branches of the coffee company are located at considerable distances, to the north in Crown Heights and further south along Flatbush Avenue, located near Brooklyn College, and along the business district at Kings Highway in Midwood. The presence of the coffee chain is often linked to the existence of a white customer base, suggesting that a particular population distribution has not been reached yet.

¹¹² The presence of such coffee stores, especially Starbucks, can predict gentrification. Once a coffee shop opens up in a zip code area, it functions as a “predictor of housing price growth.” (Glaeser et al. 2018: 3) Furthermore, their study on New York shows that housing prices grow by an additional 0.5% for every Starbucks location in a zip code area, but are also affected by additional businesses and amenities such as grocery stores.

In this section, I discuss the toponym keywords *Flatbush* and *Jamaica* that serve to highlight the respondents' rootedness in the Caribbean culture and the growing diversity of this neighborhood as well as tensions that arise with the increase of new residents. The keyword *people*, then, reveals perhaps the most prevalent theme in Flatbush neighborhood discourses, namely the opposition between neighborhood-internal and neighborhood-external actors, that is only exacerbated by the segregation and lack of social trust between the different groups of residents who reside in distinct micro-neighborhoods within the area (cf. Bakker/Dekker 2012). The references to real estate investors, the city, and police who make decisions for the neighborhood without consulting neighbors will be discussed in some detail before relating the interviews to more recent encounters between police and population in Flatbush, suggesting that the tensions between inside and outside forces can be seen as prototypical of an early-stage gentrifying neighborhood.

N	Concordance	Interview
1	it's all the way, the last stop to	Flatbush Avenue, Brooklyn College. All the
2	erapist. My pleasure. Do I live in	Flatbush ? No, I do n't. Would I move to Fla
3	sh? No, I do n't. Would I move to	Flatbush ? Maybe, possibly, yeah. I mean,
4	s. There 's more buildings here in	Flatbush . Uh, the diversity, you know, diffe
5	ntributing to the economy, uh, for	Flatbush , in this area. Yes. I 'm I 'm I 'm
6	h, actually no. I live over in East	Flatbush , just on my way to work. Yes, it 's
7	the smells, the music, the noise of	Flatbush . I loved it. I thought it was aweso
8	ve off I live off Albemarle. And	Flatbush . Well, you know, my first time co
9	uy, everything, and it 's and it on	Flatbush . Just on it, you know? Well, when
10	uld be between the East 18th and	Flatbush and Church Avenue and maybe co
11	locks down, between Church and	Flatbush and, like, south, on Flatbush. Oh,
12	h and Flatbush and, like, south, on	Flatbush . Oh, I, I do n't work. I do n't do

Concordance 4.8: Concordances of *Flatbush* in 5_11226.

A closer look at concordances of the keyword *Flatbush* (0.12%, LL=86.92) leads to construals of Flatbush Avenue as a space that brings people together in their pursuit of (ethnic) shopping (cf. Helmreich 2016):

Well, you know, my first time coming from Jamaica, 1996, I loved this area because you get everything you want to buy, everything, and it's and it on **Flatbush**. (line 9)

Similar to respondents in Prospect Lefferts Gardens, which is also one of the many micro-neighborhoods that the larger Flatbush area covers, the respondent refers to the area's main commercial corridor, Flatbush Avenue, which traverses the area almost parallel to Bedford Avenue.¹¹³ Residents' spatial anchoring along a temporal dimension serves as an act of positioning as an immigrant member of the neighborhood and a performance of rootedness in place through the designation of the year of arrival. As Blokland notes, this act of "[t]alking about the past

¹¹³ Historical census data show that Flatbush Avenue has served as a line that seemed to separate Black from white residents for decades. Judging from the data for the blocks immediately east of this street, white residents only moved into areas east of Flatbush Avenue from the 2000s onwards (U.S. Census Bureau 2019).

contribute[s] above all a narrative construction of community in a quickly transforming local area.” (Blokland 2017: 78) This is done repeatedly by respondents in this sub-corpus, either by introducing places of origin (5_11226_14) and the date of coming to the neighborhood or by adding the country of origin in addition to the sociodemographic information on age and occupation that respondents were asked to provide at the end of each interview. Indeed, the census data and interviews suggest that Flatbush is very much a destination neighborhood. Several respondents bring up their arrival in the area, be it *right out of college* (5_11226_21) or from a different country. The occurrence of the low-frequency items *Jamaica* (0.05%, LL=26.21) and *Caribbean* (0.07%, LL=44.73) among the keywords emphasizes the importance of residents’ origins in this sub-corpus. As can be seen from the census data, this is very much in line with the population distribution of the area as a large number of residents have their cultural background in Central America, the Caribbean, and Jamaica in particular.

The interviews conducted in this area vividly exemplify how important the cultural and social background of respondents is for their perception and construction of the neighborhood. If ethnicity is not mentioned overtly, as in the postmodifying adjective phrase *like myself* below, respondents in this sub-corpus signal their immigrant background by including themselves in declarations with the subject in the first-person *we*:

You know, there's a lot of immigrants here, like myself. We're hard-working, and we're contributing to the economy, uh, for **Flatbush**, in this area. (line 5)

The positioning as an in-group member in a diverse neighborhood where many people have a migration background serves as alignment with the neighborhood (cf. Modan 2007) that has since the 1980s been inhabited mainly by immigrants from the Caribbean, Haiti, and African countries. Indeed, Flatbush is classic example of an area whose white immigrants fled farther out to the suburbs (cf. Hymowitz 2017): from the 1960s, white Irish, Italian and Jewish population was drawn to the suburbs that offered larger houses and more space once new infrastructure improved the connection between the suburbs and the city. Following the white exodus, immigrants, mainly from the Caribbean, seized the opportunity to buy and renovate affordable houses that had fallen into disrepair after the neighborhood was abandoned (cf. Helmreich 2016). During this time, neighborhood organizations like the long-standing Flatbush Development Corporation were formed to address poverty and ongoing decay of the neighborhood’s infrastructure, a pattern that is visible in many previously redlined areas.

The five occurrences of *Jamaica* are not well-dispersed across this sub-corpus, but all refer to respondents' origins. However, the occurrences underline the salience of the place of origin as a basis for comparison with the current area of residence. Interestingly, all of these comparisons highlight negative aspects within Flatbush, namely lack of integration, congestion, and lack of cleanliness, before listing a number of positive aspects, such as transportation, access to jobs, and diversity.

N	Concordance	Interview
1	e bit crowded, um, because I 'm from Jamaica . So, it 's not as crowded as here.	5_11226_5
2	untry that says out of many one people, Jamaica . And, you know, when I was going	5_11226_5
3	Uh, well, I came from Jamaica , so it was a big difference compared	5_11226_16
4	ca, so it was a big difference compared Jamaica to here. Yeah. So it was just a lot of t	5_11226_16
5	, you know, my first time coming from Jamaica , 1996, I loved this area because you	5_11226_23

Concordance 4.9: Concordances of *Jamaica* in 5_11226.

The concordances highlight the importance of the cultural background and its influence on how respondents view the situation in the area. Lines 1 and 4, for instance, highlight the areas density and traffic that stand out to respondents because they were not used to it in Jamaica. In line 2, the area's diversity and the absence of inter-ethnic contact are evoked:

Uh, the diversity, you know, different nationalities here, a lot of Jamaicans, Haitians, Dominicans, um, Trinidadians and, of course, Americans. [laughter] [...]

I'm I'm I'm still not seeing the kind of integration, in terms of the schooling. Um, it's very marked. You see the Caucasians attending schools that mostly have Caucasians. You see the Black people attending schools that mostly have Black people. The Jews attend schools that. So, you know, that integration, I'm from a country that says out of many one people, **Jamaica**. And, you know, when I was going to school, there's a mix. Everybody goes to the same schools. Um, we don't zone people to go to the school in that area. Um, you can go to the school, whichever school you you prefer. So, that, I think, you know, should be changed. Um, so, that's one of the things, and the housing, um, there appears to be, uh, some level of, uh, separation where some people live versus the others. So, I think that's still, you know, some way off, in terms of the integration. (lines 1 and 2, 5_11226_5)

The lack of integration between different grounds in the neighborhood is the most prominent theme in this sub-corpus which pervades all levels of the neighborhood, extending into the realm of education where every ethnic group has their own schools, be it *Caucasians*, *Black people* or *Jews* (5_11226_21). Thus, while there is an understanding of the area's diversity, it is one that is not based on interconnectedness but on "segregated ethnic diversity" (DeSena 2009: 10, cf. also Hyra 2017). Based on this, the respondent emphasizes school and housing segregation as something that stands out in the area compared to their country of origin. Indeed, the local Brooklyn school district 22 is "the district whose primary school boundaries encourage school segregation the most" (Monarrez 2018), putting at risk educational outcomes for Black and Latinx students in the area.

The situation in schools is but one factor of social segregation that is represented in the neighborhood sub-corpus. Several residents suggest that even though there are a variety of different cultures living in the neighborhood, there is a *big divide in the cultures and in the new, um, gentrification* (5_11226_21) that could be bridged by more communication between residents, old and new. Although *gentrification* (0.02%) is not among the keywords here, processes of gentrification in this suburban area (cf. Hackworth/Smith 2001; Keil 2018; Markley 2018) have brought more non-Caribbean neighbors to the area. As one 24-year-old respondent explains, Flatbush has come considerably more diverse over the last two decades:

It wasn't diverse before, but now I enjoy the diversity. Well, at the time that I was here when I was a child, well, when I used to visit, there were more mainly, um, African American people living here. But now I see more colors. I see more ethnicities coming in. That's fine. (5_11226_15)

The area's affordability and housing stock have attracted more and more white residents who bought the Victorian mansions from the 1990s onwards (cf. Suarez 1999). However, it seems from the longer excerpt above, that segregation between the different ethnic and social groups in the area has developed contemporaneously with the increase in diversity, a processes that Hyra (2017: 9) calls "diversity segregation".¹¹⁴ In contrast to areas further north like Bed-Stuy, where respondents talk about the neighborhood as community, the different ethnic groups in Flatbush seem not to have formed an integrated neighborhood but one that is delineated along racial, ethnic, and class lines that make up different micro-neighborhood "subdivisions whose members strongly identify with" (Helmreich 2016).

Concordances of the keyword *people* (0.62%, LL=26.31, full list of concordances see appendix C1.11) contribute to the impression of an area segregated into different micro-neighborhoods based on income, ethnic origin, and religion.

It's very well, that's very based on the US, I feel that it's a a a very, it's very tight in terms of community here. We are like a very African American or African neighborhood, I should say, and two blocks from here, it's very white, and another one is Jewish. Uh it's interesting. **People** cohabit, you know, peacefully, but it's- everybody's in own little turf. (5_11226_10)

The COCA reveals that the semantic prosody surrounding *turf* is very much defined by items like *home*, *artificial*, *battle(s) war(s)*, *field*, *drug*, *protect(ed)*, *gang(s)* surround the domain of combative behavior. This indicates the possibility of friction

¹¹⁴ In their analysis of nearby Prospect Lefferts Gardens, Krase/DeSena (2016: 29) refer to the "ethnic segmentation" that began to materialize in the 1980s.

that may arise from the cohabitation of different closed communities in the area.¹¹⁵ Indeed, while it is argued in a chronicle of neighborhoods in Brooklyn that over time, a certain “peaceful coexistence was achieved” (Jackson 2004: 119) in Flatbush,¹¹⁶ the interviews, the area’s linguistic landscape, and recent media reports on incidents in the area suggest that social segregation is more deeply rooted in the local politics of cohabitation.

The semiotic and built landscape in the area also play a significant part in the segregation discourse. By displaying construction plans that do not represent the entire population, official signs visually exclude the majority of Black neighbors. The respondent who brought this up in the interview argues that this denies even the idea that everyone could live in the new housing. Indeed, the agency in the passage emphasizes a divide between a local in-group of neighbors and an out-group of decision-makers:

I want the people who were here and who were invested in this neighborhood to be a part of that change or to be able to access what that change brings. You know, it shouldn't be a matter of, "Oh, Brooklyn is changing. Let's get rid of these **people** so we can bring in the the the change-makers that we want or that we wanna see in the change. You know what I mean?

You know, I mean, even when you see those apartment buildings going up and they have the big facade outside showing you what the building is gonna look like, when you look, all the **people** in the pictures are white. [laughter] I'm like it's like it's like, there's no, you know there's no, like, faking who they want to see there. You know, that's a simple thing. You could, like, make **people** see, "Oh yeah, we could go there," even if it's not true. (5_11226_14)

The first-person plural pronoun *we* and the repeated use of the distancing second-person plural pronoun *they* serve to create distance between the group of neighborhood-external decision-makers and the in-group of Black neighbors. The agency lies in the hands of the latter group of neighborhood-external actors who decide who they plan the new buildings for.¹¹⁷ The modality on the conjunctive verb phrase *we could go there* is lower than that of the verb phrase *want to see*, which underlines the lack of agency on behalf of the Black in-group, and the accessibility of these new living spaces for them. Thus, the verb tense and modality choices conceptualize the apartment buildings as out of reach for Black residents and highlights the impossibility of Black residents becoming renters in newly built

¹¹⁵ An earlier sociolinguistic work on neighborhoods, Modan's (2007) book on the Mt. Pleasant neighborhood of Washington, D.C., is aptly titled *Turf Wars*.

¹¹⁶ This was not always the case. In 1991, a two-day race riot ensued between Jewish and Black residents in Crown Heights after the motorcade of a Jewish religious leader struck to children, one of whom died (cf. Shapiro 2006 for a book-length discussion of the Crown Heights riot). Consequently, the “peaceful coexistence” that Jackson refers to is not necessarily always a given. However, in June of 2020, Hasidic residents of Crown Heights marched in support of the Black Lives Matter movement (Bradley-Smith 2020).

¹¹⁷ In their discussion of the Atlantic Yards Project in Prospect Heights, Brooklyn, Trinch and Snajdr (2020) confirm that the plans of developers often have little to do with the needs and life worlds of the current population on the ground.

residential buildings, despite them being the majority demographic in the area. Thus, distance between various groups within the neighborhoods is not only represented in space, but also maintained in neighborhood discourse.



Fig. 9: Visual exclusion throughout Brooklyn: Transgressive layer on official sign stating that new residential construction is for Caucasian people only. Bedford Ave/Pacific St, Crown Heights. Photo: KB, June 2019.

As “social inequalities have notably no room in these glittering representations” (Busà 2017: 174f.), people of color are marginalized and excluded visually to create “destinations that may appeal to the favored class of city consumers” (ibid.). As the previous interview indicated, a further salient element in the Flatbush sub-corpus is the discrepancy between neighborhood-external decision-makers and neighbors. This critique, particularly with regard to the changes in the local real estate sector is also frequently taken up by critics of globalized capitalism that enters the local stage on the neighborhood level, working to “disenfranchise” local residents and to “decrease the control urban residents have over the decisions that shape their city.” (Purcell 2002: 99).

One of these neighborhood-external agents that makes decisions for the neighborhood is identified as the city. In one interview, the respondent creates a contrast between local authorities and neighbors. The pronouns *we* and *they* here refer to several different groups of actors that suggest that the city perceives neighborhoods in Brooklyn as hierarchically structured:

[T]hey're not, like, giving, um, the residents a chance to be economically friendly. And **they're** just assuming **they're** not going to engage in that, and, like, I truly believe that **they**, like [02:00] all my neighbors would, if **they** were just educated about composting and recycling, and **they** just, it's ridiculous. **They** didn't know how to compost before someone came and told **them** how to compost. It's not inherent in anyone. It's just who the city decides to put trust into, to be ecologically responsible, and **we're** all capable of that. (5_11226_6)

The first two instances of *they* refer to the department of sanitation which does not supply composting bins to the neighborhood based on the socio-economic background of the residents, thus indicating a lack of trust in the neighborhood and its residents. The third, fourth, and fifth uses of *they* here refer to the neighbors, while the following three instances refer to residents from the nearby Park Slope area that already have composting. The differentiation between groups with the help of pronouns here suggests that there is also a distance between the respondent (*I*) and the neighbors (*they, my neighbors*), likely on grounds of the respondent being a white woman who did not grow up in the area.

Further, the verb phrases indicate that the agency of neighbors is undermined. Neighbors are *given a chance*, *they would be educated*, somebody *told them how to compost*, while the city is *giving out chances*, it would *educate and tell neighbors* how to compost, it *decides* and *puts* trust in someone. The passive voice takes away the possibility for agency from the neighbors, which is only regained once the respondent includes themselves in the group of all Brooklyn neighbors, no matter which neighborhood they are from. The pronoun use in the final verb phrase constructs all Brooklyn neighbors, those from neighborhoods that are considered higher up to those who seem to rank lower in the urban hierarchy, as equally capable and equally deserving of services that are provided in other nearby areas. The fact that the provision of services such as garbage pickup declined in areas with the onset of white flight (cf. Woodsworth 2016; Moss 2017; Schlichtman et al. 2017), and have not fully been reinstated since,¹¹⁸ points to a perceived stratification of neighborhoods in the eye of the city according to income and tax-base. Urban design scholar L'Hereux (2012: 102) confirms that “[p]eople and city neighbourhoods are never equally or even equitably served”, highlighting that such decisions are made “under evolving economic and varying ideological conditions” (ibid., referring to Castells 2000; Harvey 1973) The positioning of the city and local authorities as agentive neighborhood-external forces and neighbors as patients thus seems to be indicative of the way respondents perceive structuring of power in urban policy making and allocation of services.

Concordances of *people* reveal that the juxtaposition of inside and outside forces also appears in discourses of safety which are, again, intricately linked to perceptions of neighborhood change across time. Another set of outside actors are identified as the police and people who have vested interests regarding the local property market. In place of a collection of several excerpts to highlight several facets of this, I include one longer interview excerpt in this section that elaborates

¹¹⁸ Indeed, occurrences of the keyword *clean* (0.04%, LL=29.04) emphasize that there is a certain lack of cleanliness in the street, and the department of sanitation seems to still be slow in servicing the area.

on the connection between crime, police presence, and real estate values, many of which are also evoked by other residents talking about safety in the area:

And it was completely Jamaican, where we're walking around, and Caribbean. There would be all these shops outside, in the streets, burning incense. And it would be music always playing, especially on this particular stretch. It was very busy, and just the remnants of that, you can see there, past the Church Avenue, and it's just and this whole stretch is changing. Businesses are going out of business, and you can see it's completely transforming right now.

But I think there's obviously, this is not a spontaneous transformation. There is interests in play and property values. And the way that it's done, usually, in New York, is is you have these areas first. There is no police control. You have drug dealers. You have, uh, areas being completely wiped out, regardless of who lives there, but usually Puerto Ricans and dark-skinned **people**. And that is kinda intentional because nobody cares. Nobody ever stops all the stuff that happens and the shoot, we can clearly see now they wanna clean the area. They have a police car on every corner. I'm turning around the corner. I know there is a car, cop somewhere around there. [...] New New York changes a lot. And and again, I think it's more of, um I don't know. But I guess it's the same thing that happened to Williamsburg, back in the days, even though Williamsburg was more abandoned warehouses, but it's the same story happening. It is a great area, around the park and generally. But **people** somehow never saw the value in it. (5_11226_24)

When intertwined with discourses of neighborhood change, safety discourses are usually structured in a similar way. At a stage in the past, crime is seen as part of the neighborhood. Over time, as crime goes down, safety and rent prices increase. This also varies across space, as some parts of the neighborhood are considered safer than others. Some are considered *a little sketchy at first*, but things may be different *if you go up a different block, it's a different kind of crowd*. (5_11226_3) The initial impression that parts of the area used to be *rough, but it's pretty good now* (5_11226_17) seems to be shared among residents. However, such perceptions also depend on micro-areas which contribute to evoking different perceptions of safety, for instance due to increased numbers of people who are around (5_11226_6). The claim that *[m]ore people brings more police presence, you know* (5_11226_13) also carries implies that more people may lead to more crime and therefore an increase in police presence, or, if *more people* refers to an increase in the number of white neighbors, it might also be linked to the increase in police presence, which is commonly the case in gentrifying neighborhoods such as Flatbush (cf. Shepard/Noonan 2018).

In connection with discourses of change, the narrative of a concerted effort to change the area is one that is evoked in all areas of investigation thus far. An increased police presence leads to a decline in crime.¹¹⁹ The concomitant process

¹¹⁹ Looking at the NYPD's CompStat database, the number of the seven major felony offenses committed in the 70th precinct was cut to more than half of the rate recorded in 2000, showing a steady 66.3% decrease since 2001, and even an 89.1% decrease since the 1990s. This leaves the 70th precinct at the bottom end of the scale regarding the number of crimes per 1000 residents (cf. NYPD CompStat 2020).

of 'cleaning up' an area in terms of crime and population (cf. Mitchell 2003; Belina 2011) through excessive policing and its connection to displacement of local businesses and local population through rising rents are addressed here. The area the respondent mentions as a prototype for this kind of development is Williamsburg, which underwent such processes prior to or while it was becoming gentrified. In Flatbush in particular, there are descriptions of local criminal incidents, as in the 1990s, when *a lot of people was like hustling like, you know, dope, drugs* (5_11226_20). Today, respondents argue that they *don't think the crime rate is bad*, despite there being *ups and downs, you know, with crime* (5_11226_18). Thus, as a result of intervention from outside the neighborhood, the situation has improved:

Some stuff that the government doing I think is good what they're doing because it's too, too much like criminality in the street. And I don't think it's fair, you know. But the way they're doing it right now, it's not the way to do it, you know? Because they, um, they try to put **people** out from the neighborhood raising the rent. [...] If you have a family, you can't really live from, from one job. You gotta have like two, three job to survive. You know. But I like the changes that I don't hear too much crime. (5_11226_20)

Among these positive changes, it becomes impossible for the local population to keep up with the rent hikes, even when working several jobs. This change is causally linked to unidentified agents who, as in the longer excerpt above, are interested in property in the area and have caused local police to be interested in intervening in local criminal activity.

The references to a particular kind of demographic that is usually targeted in areas that see more police presence, namely *Puerto Rican and dark-skinned people* (5_11226_24), highlights not only racist policing practice, but also racist interventions from outside the neighborhood that aim for local minority populations to be *completely wiped out*. The description of the process as cleaning (cf. Cresswell 1997; Mitchell 2003), and indeed extinction, of unwanted social actors which are likened to weeds and dirt here, classifies them as out-of-place and legitimizes the act of policing them once there are neighborhood-external actors with interest in property. Increased police presence is thus linked to the goal of stripping the area from its working-class connotations and removing small businesses (5_11226_13) and "undesirables" (Belina 2011) in the form of drug dealers and other criminals from the area so that a more affluent clientele who might be interested in the local property market are not deterred by their presence (cf. N. Smith 1996; Brown-Saracino 2009; Knox/Pinch 2010; Di Masso 2012).

However, increased police presence can also stem from neighborhood segregation and distrust among different groups that spur tensions between neighbors who do not have the same neighborhood norms. In this vein, the

potential for the criminalization of practices that are considered as breaches of local norms, what social psychologists Stokoe and Wallwork call the “socio-moral order” (2003: 555, cf. also Rosenblum 2016), seems to have increased with the arrival of new residents in gentrifying Flatbush. Complaints about noise (cf. Cheshire et al. 2018) as part of cultural events or celebrations, most recently in the form of fireworks, have been increasingly policed as Quality-of-Life offenses in the area:

So. It it started to change back in 2002, I would say, when there was stories of Jamaicans shooting cops from the roofs. They were known to just discharge weapons because of any kind of celebration. And it started with that there. Supposably, they shot some cops, and they started parading around.¹²⁰ (5_11226_24)

This excerpt first underlines that the increase in police presence in Flatbush dates back to 2002, when an officer was shot in an alleyway in the area (Kelley 2002). Second, the reference to Jamaican residents who are discharging weapons during celebrations is very similar to recent news reports on excessive policing of so-called Quality-of-Life offenses in the form of disorderly conduct (cf. Vitale 2008), for instance disturbing peace at nighttime through setting off fireworks. Indeed, areas that are subject to socioeconomic change often see a criminalization of what have hitherto been considered mundane neighborhood practices.¹²¹ A 2017 article from *The Atlantic* (Fayyad 2017) reports on an increased police presence and number of reported “quality of life” offenses along Flatbush Avenue. As a result of demographic shifts in a neighborhood, behavioral norms are also affected, hence leading to an increase in reports of such Quality-of-Life offenses. In June of 2020, *The New York Times* (Kilgannon/Kim 2020) reported that as people in Flatbush celebrated the end of COVID-19 lockdown and showed their support for protesters during the nation-wide Black Lives Matter protests, there were 1,737 complaints about fireworks alone – with 871 complaints, Flatbush’s 11226 zip code had more than double the amount of complaints as other areas in Central Brooklyn, which highlights that the neighborhood can become a “battleground between competing moral systems” (Ignatieff 2017: 61).

Unlike laws, however, norms and values that have come to be accepted in a neighborhood are not usually legally binding, but implicit ways of structuring the social sphere, which makes them “fluid signifiers” (Modan 2002: 501, referring to

¹²⁰ More police presence and interaction with residents also heightens the risk of police misconduct during stop-and-frisk activity (cf. Fayyad 2017) and policing practices more generally. The respondent describes an increase in police presence that is immediately linked to cases of police brutality: *This area is also, maybe you heard a story of a guy getting a plunger stuck up his ass. It was a famous story. I I think that's a local precinct as well. So, it's been known. Like, this place is known.* (5_11226_24) This incident of extreme police brutality happened in 1997, when Flatbush resident Abner Louima was beaten and sodomized with a broomstick by an officer in the local 70th precinct police station (cf. the 2002 chronology of the case in the New York Times).

¹²¹ Such shifts also lead to an increase in surveillance that, again, might be linked to a decrease in crime. This is described in a similar way by one interviewee: *They have all the relatives shooting. They put a lot of a camera. So, I don't know if it's, uh, it's just quiet down. Just quiet down.* (5_11226_23)

Blommaert/Verschueren 1991) that can serve to strengthen boundaries between a neighborhood in- and out-groups. In the heated situation during the early summer of 2020, a group of white residents of the micro-neighborhood of Ditmas Park wrote a petition to the city to stop the fireworks because they saw them as a health hazard to the population and people were deprived of their sleep. This use of a “language of public morality, neighbourhood security, and ‘family values’” (Hubbard 2006: 112f.) served to justify the request to put an end to these breaches to the perceived neighborhood norm in the form of setting off fireworks during the summer months. Although the petition only existed in a Facebook group and was never submitted to local authorities, the city reacted with a show of force, truly reminiscent of N. Smith’s (1996) ‘revanchist city’ wherein undesired people and practices are brutally removed, sending heavily armed officers and police helicopters to Flatbush to deal with the firework complaints (cf. Kilgannon/Kim 2020). What was perceived as the neighborhood norm in Flatbush by the respondent above, the discharging of firearms or setting off fireworks to celebrate is regarded as “a culturally accepted norm of Brooklyn” (Equality for Flatbush, cited in Kilgannon/Kim 2020), but a deviance from local behavioral norms by other neighbors in the gentrifying Flatbush neighborhood. Dialing 311 for non-emergent government services on such behaviors, which often results in the police being sent to check on the complaint, effectively frames neighbors and their practices as a problem. As New York author Jeremiah Moss describes it, it seems that in Flatbush,

the post-white flight suburbanites come back to get revenge on the city their grandparents abandoned. In their consumer choices, in the opinions they express on blogs and websites like Yelp, they make plain their distaste for the true city and its messy, unpredictable, discomforting soul. (Moss 2017: 177)

In line with this, the interviews and recent events highlight that the different groups of residents with their different traditions and interests in this neighborhood seem to be deeply divided along race and class lines when it comes to expectations of acceptable behaviors, and especially, when to call the police at a time that relations between police and lower-income residents of color are especially fraught across the U.S. While I do not want to chime in with the pessimistic accounts of the detrimental effects of ethnic diversity on trust (Putnam 2007; Bakker/Dekker 2012; Gundelach/Freitag 2014; Tolsma/van der Meer 2018), it seems from the data in this sub-corpus that peaceful cohabitation requires the implementation of participatory local decision-making processes, robust and fair policing, and accessible public institutions and integrated schools – all things that respondents address in this sub-corpus – and a sense of “working trust and social interaction” (Sampson 2013: 153, cf. also Hardin 2006; Rosenblum 2016) with the local ‘other’

to ensure that the distinct groups of Flatbush residents can live together, even if the only way to do so is “next to one another, but not alongside one another” (Hyra 2017: 9f., cf. also Appiah 2005).

In summary, Flatbush is constructed here as a diverse but fragmented neighborhood. Some reasons may be its size and splitting up into different micro-neighborhoods by income, race, and religious affiliation; and the ensuing lack of contact between the different groups. While I would not go so far as to say that this is based on a lack of willingness to interact with other neighbors in the area, my fieldwork observations from spring and fall of 2018 in particular showed that there was a marked difference between white and Black pedestrians as they were navigating the sidewalks in Flatbush. This difference lay in the way they were involved with their surroundings as they moved through the streets. While Black residents of the area were open, returned greetings, and exchanged chit-chat about the weather or that day’s local news – even with me, the white researcher who had doubts about being able to approach people because the population was, on average, a little older than in previous collection brackets – it seemed that white residents just passed through, never swaying, stopping, not even pulling up the corners of their mouths to signal the attempt at a non-verbal interaction with their surroundings. They marched up and down the streets of Flatbush, headphones plugged in, gaze pinned on a fixed point in the distance. It seemed strange to me at the time, not having grasped where I was and how people related to one another. In the interviews in this sub-corpus, it seems that Flatbush is constructed as the suburban part of the revanchist city (cf. N. Smith 1996; Moss 2017) that the white middle-classes have come back to, contesting the “moral ownership” of the area (Zukin 2014: 145; cf. also Martín-Rojo 2015), while the real estate sector, local authorities, and police are doing their best to support this movement.

4.5 Midwood

“I don’t really have a favorite place. This whole place is my like, I love it. Like, it’s just it’s just home. Like, no matter where I am, it’s always home.”

The next sub-corpus (6_11210, 7,474 tokens, mean age 31.64) was collected in Midwood, a larger macro-neighborhood that is comprised of the micro-neighborhoods South, East, and West Midwood. The collection bracket belongs to CD 14 and is a middle-class area (cf. Helmreich 2016) with mostly single-family housing and major avenues for vehicular traffic. In the 2010 census, the population was 52,835, with 41,200 inhabitants/sq. mi (U.S. Census Bureau 2019). During white flight in the 1970s and 1980s, “Midwood became a multiethnic neighborhood” with immigrants from the “Soviet Union, Pakistan, India, Haiti, and Syria”

(Helmreich 2016: 238). The population according to the 2014-18 ACS survey is 73.6% white, 4.6% Black, 11.8% Asian and 7.6% Hispanic/Latinx (NYC PFF 2020), with a sizeable orthodox Jewish community.

Two colleges, Brooklyn and Touro Colleges, are located in Midwood. These strongly affected the demographic distribution of people interviewed in this sub-corpus, because many of the respondents came to the area to work or study. Outside of the area around the college and the nearby Flatbush Avenue subway station, the landscape was dominated by single-family homes with big front yards. However, there were no pedestrians around, which is why the data for the area, whose residential sections seem a lot more quiet than the busy commercial section near the college and subway station, is somewhat skewed towards people who regularly frequent the area but do not live there and long-time residents who were born and grew up in the area.

N	Keyword	Freq.	%	Keyness
1	LIKE	161	3.41	1,423.66
2	UM	83	1.76	732.56
3	KNOW	74	1.57	652.98
4	I	319	6.75	389.91
5	LIVE	28	0.59	246.80
6	YEAH	75	1.59	242.39
7	MEAN	25	0.53	220.34
8	THINK	25	0.53	220.34
9	IT	214	4.53	204.11
10	BROOKLYN	21	0.44	176.96
11	'S	208	4.40	163.96
12	NEIGHBORHOOD	20	0.42	134.21
13	AREA	27	0.57	124.34
14	STUFF	14	0.30	123.36
15	'M	63	1.33	116.94
16	FEEL	12	0.25	105.73
17	STORES	20	0.42	100.85
18	PLACE	11	0.23	96.92
19	SEE	9	0.19	79.29
20	SAY	9	0.19	79.29
21	GUESS	9	0.19	79.29
22	KIND	8	0.17	70.48
23	NEED	8	0.17	70.48
24	HERE	50	1.06	68.82
25	LOT	33	0.70	67.24
26	WORK	7	0.15	61.67
27	BAD	7	0.15	61.67
28	NICE	7	0.15	61.67
29	JUNCTION	7	0.15	61.67
30	SO	59	1.25	59.58

Table 4.6: Top 30 keywords for 6_11210.

Similar to the previous sub-corpora, the majority of the key nouns refer to the physical features of the area (*neighborhood* (0.42%, LL=134.21), *area* (0.57%, LL=124.34), *place* (0.23%, LL96.92), *junction* (0.15%, LL=61.67), *college* (0.19%, LL=38.93)), all of which present spatial points of reference in the interviews. The last two keywords in this group of infrastructure-related items are *college*, where most of the respondents went to or worked, and *junction*, half of the occurrences of which are used by one participant (6_11210_5) who uses the phrase *the junction* to refer to the area where Flatbush and Nostrand Avenues meet. Respondents evaluate this particular intersection very positively, for they can *go anywhere from here really easy* (6_11210_21) and *got good memories* (6_11210_11) connected to the junction area. Verbs that collocate with *junction* show that the activities connected to it are accessing transport, chilling, hanging out and shopping. Indeed, the area is a rather busy shopping district with a large number of *stores* (0.42%, LL=100.58) reminiscent of the *city*, *not like too crazy* (6_11210_11) but

nevertheless *crowded* (0.15%, LL=52.18). The junction of Flatbush and Nostrand Avenues brings many people from outside the neighborhood to the area, be it for *work* (0.15%, LL=61.67) or to do their *shopping* (0.21%, LL=45.59). The interviewees who would move to the area would do so for its convenient access to everything, from transportation to entertainment and shopping, and for its *city vibe*. (6_11210_12) Ten years prior, this had not been the case, and there were few shops where residents could acquire items for daily use. Having *more access to all of these stuff* (6_11210_3) is argued to have changed the neighborhood for the better.

In this sub-corpus, I look at a variety of salient adjectives to learn about their targets of evaluation, exploring how adjectives are used in the discursive construction of the neighborhood in spatial and temporal comparison. In the second half of the Midwood section, I go on to discuss a theme that has, thus far, not occurred in the keywords lists of the BK_SpokenRA corpora, namely the notions of home and belonging in a changing Brooklyn.

Keyword	Freq.	%	Keyness
BAD	7	0.15	61.67
NICE	7	0.15	61.67
DIFFERENT	21	0.44	58.84
MORE	39	0.83	48.88
CLOSE	5	0.11	44.05
QUIET	6	0.13	29.48

Table 4.7: Key adjectives in 6_11210.

The keyword list indicates that respondents in this sub-corpus evaluate the area overtly using a range of different adjectives. When the adjective *bad* occurs among the keywords, it is usually used with the negation marker *not* to describe the area, neighborhood or its people in a way that affirms their overall positivity.

N	Concordance	Interview
1	here, and the outsiders, they think it 's a bad neighborhood. You know, in the area that	6_11210_16
2	hey can contribute, absolutely. It 's not a bad area at all. You know, there 's still a lot of	6_11210_1
3	ir hustle and bustle and often. It 's not a bad area at all. You know, there 's still a lot of	6_11210_1
4	know man. Over here is not bad, it 's not bad . I would definitely not get... Well, when	6_11210_7
5	he J to L, you know man. Over here is not bad , it 's not bad. I would definitely not get	6_11210_7
6	has something good about it, something bad about it, you know. My mom always says,	6_11210_11
7	t 's good. Most is, uh, people are not that bad , you know? The neighborhood is good, y	6_11210_16

Concordance 4.10: Concordances of *bad* in 6_11210.

However, in addition to providing a rough evaluation of the area and its people, the wider context of these occurrences of *bad* can be informative about additional characteristics about the area that are evaluated by the respondents.

It's not a **bad** area at all. You know, there's still a lot of shopping here, people of different nationalities coming. And it's, it's still a pretty good area to come to in Brooklyn, uh uh. (line 1, 6_11210_1)

The perceived goodness of the area is highlighted by using the adverb *at all* that, by itself, expresses negative polarity in the first declarative clause

(Halliday/Matthiessen 2014). It is an area that is not bad in “in any way or respect” (Merriam-Webster 2020: “at all,” adv.). The focus on coming to this section of Midwood for the availability of retail is representative of the perspectives of many of the diverse group of respondents who, like the 54-year old person above, come to the area to work or do their shopping. Thus, in line with Lakoff’s (2004: 3) claim that negating the frame also evokes the frame, the negated key adjective *bad* is used to highlight a variety of positive aspects that contribute to the area’s positive evaluation.

Although the conclusion is the same, the reasons why a particular neighborhood is constructed *ex negativo* as ‘good neighborhood’ differ greatly among respondents. One interview suggests that there is a discrepancy between perspectives on the neighborhood from the outside and the inside:

Most is, uh, people are not that **bad**, you know? The neighborhood is good, you know, especially the white people that are moving here, and the outsiders, they think it's a **bad** neighborhood. You know, in the area that I live in on Flatbush, and they think, you know, it's a dangerous neighborhood, but it's not. So, good neighborhood. (lines 1 and 7, 6_11210_16)

The two entities that are modified here with the key adjective *bad* are the area’s residents, again evaluated as fairly good by negation of the adjective, and the neighborhood itself. However, it is not the respondent themselves who think that the neighborhood is *bad*. Rather, they claim that new white residents and outsiders tend to perceive the neighborhood negatively. This is in line with scholarship on neighborhood reputations that, which claims that residents generally evaluate their neighborhoods more positively than do non-residents because it is likely they are “positively biased towards the neighbourhood they have chosen to live in.” (Permentier et al. 2008: 851; cf. also Sampson 2013) The excerpt also shows that neighborhood-evaluation by residents works on a more fine-grained, micro-level as people familiar with the area can draw on “spatial distinctions that are invisible to most outsiders” (Pinkster 2014: 819), as in the case of the particular area on Flatbush Avenue that the respondent lives in. Moreover, the claim that *white people* in particular have a different image of the neighborhood can be explained by previous research which argues that neighborhoods are evaluated more favorably “when the social composition of the neighbourhood matche[s] the residents’ ethnic and socio-economic characteristics.” (Permentier et al. 2008: 851), which might not be the case in this multi-ethnic part of Midwood.

The polar opposite of the previous adjective is not represented among the keywords, although *good* (0.47%, 22x) is three times more frequent than *bad* in

the Midwood sub-corpus.¹²² The adjective provides a complementary perspective with regard to the evaluation distribution along the axis of positive to negative polarity, which is why I include it in this discussion. In concordances of the adjective *good* (full list see appendix C1.12), evaluation targets are the *neighborhood* or *area* itself (line 2, 3, 4, 5, 10, 13, 14, 17, 18) *transportation* (line 7, 20) *businesses* (line 3, 16), *community* (line 8), *memories of the area* (line 9), *music* (line 15), *the vibe* (line 6), and the decrease in crime and mob presence (line 21), which is a similar range of evaluation targets that the key adjective *nice* (0.15%, LL=53.02) is used for (see appendix C1.13). The keyword *neighborhood* (0.42%, LL=134.21) also collocates with the adjective *good* (t=2.194):

Oh, it's, uh it's a **good** neighborhood. It's a **good** neighborhood. I work here. Uh, it's a **good** area, **good** community. [...] I think, I mean, it's probably, like it's pretty, I know it's pretty low income. And there are probably, like, **good** changes that could be made to, like, help the community. But I also, like I don't wanna see it, like, gentrified. (6_11210_21)

The distinction that is made here between *good changes* and such ones that are not helpful to the local community is interesting because these changes are linked to a possibility of gentrification, which is construed as an undesirable outcome. Indeed, it is argued in gentrification research that for most, except for those with political or real estate interests, it has become a dirty word (Freeman 2006; Franz 2015), or in other words: it has developed a negative semantic prosody.¹²³ Good changes are those that benefit residents without triggering processes of gentrification because the area has suddenly become more attractive, also to people outside the neighborhood, because buildings and roads that are *messed up* (6_11210_23) were fixed and the crime rate has dropped, which is a common scenario in Brooklyn and all of New York City (cf. DeMause 2016). This highlights that there is the danger of neighborhoods becoming victims to their own success. In line with Jane Jacobs' argument that "[d]iversity grows in a city area because of economic opportunity and economic attraction" (1961: 251), it is also this very diversity and its success in attracting growth and what the respondent calls good changes to the neighborhood that can become fatal to the local residents' continued existence.

Further key adjectives are *crowded* (0.15%, LL=52.18), which suggests that the area is filled with too many people, *close* (0.11%, LL=44.15), which is used to talk about the convenient access to transport, and *quiet* (0.13%, LL=29.48), which

¹²² While *good* does not appear in the list of significant adjectives, the adjectives *bad* (0.07%, 45.44) and *different* (0.27%, LL=38.09), both of which have a lower raw frequency than good, do. The entire sub-corpus contains 22 raw occurrences of *good* (0.47%), 21 of *different* (0.44%) and six of *bad* (0.15%). It is likely that it is not part of the keyword list because of its high frequency in the spoken sample of the COCA that serves as reference corpus.

¹²³ A quick look at the collocate distribution in COCA supports this, as some of the most strongly associated words are all such ones that describe its negative effects: *displacement*, *wave*, *poor*, *aggressive*, *fight*, *push*, *threaten*, *eradicate*, and *complain*.

is predominantly used in spatial comparison with areas that are indeed *more quiet* than the area that the interviews were conducted in. One occurrence of *quiet* introduces a temporal comparison that serves to evoke qualitative differences in the area:

Before, when I first live in this neighborhood, it was different from like it is now. A lot of these stores weren't here. I live, um, like 10 years. But, when I first move in neighborhood, it was it was **quiet**, but like now we have more access to all of these stuff, so it's better. All different types of people, I guess. I see all different type of people. (6_11210_3)

Here, the weighing of interests between different priorities in neighborhood selection and evaluation become apparent. Contrary to most respondents in this sub-corpus who prefer to live somewhere other than in the immediate junction area, this informant stresses that better access to amenities are one benefit that ultimately outweighs the quietness that was a more prominent neighborhood characteristic ten years ago.¹²⁴ This shows that neighborhoods are evaluated in a matrix in which different values and priorities are embedded that play together in the act of neighborhood evaluation and, once enunciated by a social actor, construction of a particular neighborhood in discourse.

This excerpt also leads into the discussion of the key adjective *different* (0.44%, LL=58.84) which, in the Midwood corpus, evokes evaluation either in spatial or temporal comparison. Evaluation by means of comparison is a prominent linguistic strategy in this sub-corpus. This process can take on the form of direct evaluation by comparison, but it can also evoke implicit evaluative prosodies that are attached to the item that is used in the comparison. Implicit evaluation, here, is achieved by stressing features of a base of comparison without – at first – establishing a relation to Midwood, but by construing it as the opposite of the base of comparison. In comparative constructions with *different*, a variety of people, cultures or nationalities within the neighborhood are addressed. In 42.86% of occurrences, the adjective is premodified by the affirmative adverbs *all*, *little*, or *totally*:

N	Concordance	Interview
1	you know, just like home, just a different version. Oh. Well, it 's fine. In the	6_11210_9
2	ot of it 's it 's different. It 's a different Brooklyn than from what I grew	6_11210_10
3	< Actually, um, my friend is living in a different neighborhood, but we can take a,	6_11210_17
4	people. Like you have people from all different cultures and then like sometimes li	6_11210_24
5	rent types of people, I guess. I see all different type of people. That it 's close to	6_11210_3
6	all of these stuff, so it 's better. All different types of people, I guess. I see all d	6_11210_3
7	mean, I do n't know. I, I, I think every different era has something good about it,	6_11210_11
8	ot necessarily. No. This one is a little different . You know, something different ev	6_11210_24

¹²⁴ This was also the case in Freeman's (2006) study of gentrifying Fort Greene and Clinton Hill, where one of the few benefits that study participants saw was the "increased access to commercial activities" (ibid.: 160) as a way to improve their quality of life. However, the question remained whether the development in the commercial landscape reflected the wishes and desires of the existing population. Freeman (ibid.: 183) speculated that it might be possible that the developments would be better targeted towards residents' desires in areas with strong neighborhood organizations, but admitted that he did not have evidence to support this.

9 rget and stuff like that. It 's a little **different** . It 's a little different. I 'm over th 6_11210_7
 10 It 's a little different. It 's a little **different** . I 'm over there by Broadway Junc 6_11210_7
 11 still a lot of shopping here, people of **different** nationalities coming. And it 's, it 's 6_11210_1
 12 ry diverse area too. You know, lots of **different** kinds of people use this area. So. I 6_11210_21
 13 still a lot of shopping here, people of **different** nationalities coming. And it 's, it 's 6_11210_1
 14 tly. Yeah, uh, just a lot of it 's it 's **different** . It 's a different Brooklyn than fro 6_11210_10
 15 a little different. You know, something **different** every day. Um, I take the public tra 6_11210_25
 16 It 's it 's my home. Like, it 's totally **different** than what I grew up with. Uh, yeah 6_11210_10
 17 the same place I grew up. It 's totally **different** . Brooklyn? The diversity, mostly. D 6_11210_10
 18 compare with this is, you know, totally **different** . Yeah. My area? Convenient. Like t 6_11210_17
 19 ry, like, lively place. Yeah. It 's very **different** . it 's a lot more crowded. Crowded. 6_11210_12
 20 t of stores, you know. You know, very **different** , a little bit, you know, it has everyth 6_11210_23
 21 first live in this neighborhood, it was **different** from like it is now. A lot of these sto 6_11210_3
 Concordance 4.11: Concordances of *different* in 6_11210.

The adjective phrase *all different* is used by respondents in this corpus as an indicator for diversity, for the noun phrases it is used with are *type(s) of people* and *cultures* (lines 4-6) within the neighborhood, not in comparison with other areas outside of Midwood. By contrast, *little different* is applied to neighborhoods that are judged as similar, such as Broadway Junction or Queens (lines 10 and 8). The last of the three premodifying adverbs, *totally*, is used in temporal comparison with regard to drastic changes in the area since respondents were born (line 14), as well as in spatial comparison to Bensonhurst, a suburban area nearby which is declared as *peaceful and uh, really nice* (line 18). In this vein, the junction area close to Brooklyn College, where the interview was conducted, is construed as the exact opposite of the peaceful base of comparison.

Thus far, no other area is compared to such a wide range of different locations across Greater New York. As was already indicated, most of these refer to more quiet suburban areas close by or places of residence of people who work or study there. Areas within New York City or Brooklyn that are compared to Midwood are the Bronx (6_11210_9), Queens (6_11210_25), New Jersey (6_11210_13), Broadway Junction (6_11210_7), Flatbush (6_11210_11), Bensonhurst (6_11210_17), Brownsville, and East New York (6_11210_14).¹²⁵

Um, I mean, it's I'm from the Bronx, so this is just like another, you know, just like home, just a **different** version. Well, it's fine. In the Bronx, we just have like a mix of cultures and mix of, you know, everything, so you just have to find your own way and kind of blend into it, so. (6_11210_9)

¹²⁵ These last two are the only toponyms, except an unnamed area further south of the interview location, that are used in a comparison that serves to evaluate Midwood's junction area positively, although without using the keyword *different*, which is why they are not discussed in the main text. In one interview, the respondent claims that Midwood is *a lot better than Brownsville and East New York* (6_11210_14). This is mainly for its lack of social housing projects and because it is not as cluttered as the areas to the east. Having some knowledge about the base of comparison is essential for understanding the implicit process of evaluation here as the negative evaluation of the two areas through comparison is only effective if one is aware that the areas compared to Midwood are known to have been some of the most impoverished areas in the city for years (cf. NYC DCP 2020). Providing a complementary angle, another respondent also uses their own neighborhood to construct Midwood's junction area positively: *Ah, I think more interesting [here]. I live, like, a bit south, and it's like it's a very it's a more homogen neighborhood. There's more, like, wealthier, it's, like, almost suburban. Uh, and it's like it's very white. And so, I, like I I definitely I would rather live o- over here, where it's like, uh, you know, there's more to do. There's more business, uh, more diverse areas.* (6_11210_21)

This respondent construes Midwood as similar to the Bronx, both in terms of population and a culture that provide possibilities for belonging. The comparative construction with the adverb *just ... just* suggests that not only does the *home* that is talked about here have different characteristics for every social actor, but it is also the product of social and spatial practices (cf. Ahmed et al. 2003; C. Assmann 2018) in the form of blending in with a group of different people.

The notion of home is evoked in interviews that construct difference through temporal comparison. Particularly, the apparent conflict between home and belonging and the gentrification of an area is underlined here. While the noun *home* (0.15%, 7x) occurs relatively infrequently, the overall notions of rootedness and sense of belonging are alluded to by various residents, most of whom claim they were born in or grew up in Midwood. This life-long Brooklyn resident, who proudly positions herself as a Brooklynite by introducing their response with the phrase born and raised in Brooklyn, overtly declares the area as being a nice neighborhood but creates a more complex evaluation of it in the wider co-text:

And, I mean, it's a nice neighborhood. It's just a lot of, uh, gentrification recently. Yeah, uh, just a lot of it's it's **different**. It's a **different** Brooklyn than from what I grew up with. Uh, I feel like it's more, like, um, smaller businesses, it's harder for smaller businesses to open up now. You know, coffee shops, you used to have coffee shops, food, and everywhere, and then you got like Panda Express, T-Mobile, and then it's just a lot of, um I mean, it's nice too, because crime has been crime went down a lot, ever since I was a kid, but at the same time, I mean, it's just not the same feeling in Brooklyn. It's not the same place I grew up. It's totally **different**. (6_11210_10)

A stark contrast is established between a distinct image of Brooklyn that is contrasted with typical features of gentrification, such as difficulties for smaller businesses and proliferation of chain stores and a decrease in crime, again linking discourses of gentrification with discourses of safety.¹²⁶ The temporal comparison indexes a certain nostalgia for an Old Brooklyn (cf. Hymowitz 2017; Freudenheim 2016) that is highlighted by the use of items that emphasize their rootedness in place across a longer time-span, thus legitimizing their perspective on the present as opposed to the past state of the neighborhood. When asked about the area, the respondent does not refer to Midwood – the term occurs is only used twice by two separate interviewees – but *Brooklyn*, which is also a keyword in this sub-corpus (0.44%, LL=176.96). This is similar to other respondents in this sub-corpus who, overall, do not seem to associate with the neighborhood name per se, while at the same opposing the discursive constructions of respondents in previous collection

¹²⁶ One respondent reports that there had previously been mafia activities in the area, and that their mother is nostalgic about those times: *My mom always says, "I miss the mob," and I was like, "They were killing people, man." But she's comfortable with Italian people stuff. I am too, but I, I like all races and stuff, so it's like, I don't know.* (6_11210_11)

brackets like Williamsburg, Bed-Stuy or Flatbush, who referred more often to their neighborhood instead of the borough.¹²⁷ Thus, the overall neighborhood evaluation and construction is extended to the whole of the borough rather than confined to a micro-neighborhood, which highlights that the effects of the changes in the borough cannot be separated from developments in individual neighborhoods because they are part of relational networks across the entire borough or city (cf. Sampson 2013).

Diversity, it's very down to earth, very toward the roots over here. It's not like, uh, because over here, when I remember, it's just like, uh, everyone's just trying to make a living. Everyone's just trying to- trying to live, and then, all of a sudden, people are coming here and like for art projects, and you know just trying to make New York City, because like it's some kind of backdrop from a movie, which it's it's not. It's it's my **home**. (6_11210_10)

The spatial deixis marker *over here* is used to position the respondent close to Brooklyn. Activities that do not belong in the neighborhood, such as *art projects* as an act of luxury, are contrasted with the 'necessity' (Bourdieu 1984; cf. also Krase/DeSena 2016) that lies in the bare attempt at survival, to *make a living* in the *hustle and bustle* of the city (6_11210_1), as another respondent states. The introduction of new, previously unknown activities like the art projects or movie shoots seem to clash with the resident's norms for the space, which, in turn, highlight Brooklyn's historical outer-borough working-class background (cf. Krase/DeSena 2016; Martinez 2010).¹²⁸ This also evokes a conflict between the native working class and a new, 'creative class' (Florida 2004; cf. also Zukin 2010) who come to Brooklyn, moving as far as Flatbush and beyond because of the rents in hipper neighborhoods, and use these neighborhoods as a backdrop for their lives, feeding of the authenticity and grittiness of diverse, mostly working-class locales (cf. Greenberg 2005; Osman 2011; Schlichtman et al. 2017)¹²⁹, thereby turning them into a new cultural products rather than appreciating them for what they have always been. This is very much reminiscent of the 'New Brooklyn' (Hymowitz 2017), which Zukin (2010: 60) describes as "a place people come *to*, not a place they come *from*".

The emphasis on the appreciation of local origins, on *roots*, and on the area being *down to earth* stands in opposition to art projects and movie sets that are

¹²⁷ The reference and marketing of ever-smaller micro-neighborhoods is a common practice in the real estate sector (see chapter 5; cf. also Krase/DeSena 2016).

¹²⁸ Relatedly, Tuan (1977) distinguishes between the understandings of 'home' by different social classes, maintaining that members of the working-class have fuzzier boundaries of the home than do middle-class members. In line with the respondent's claim that every part of the neighborhood is their home (6_11210_10), Tuan (1977) argues that working-class members tend to identify a wider range of places within walking distance of their places of residence as home.

¹²⁹ Hymowitz (2017: 28) describes beautifully how, through the consolidation of Brooklyn and Manhattan in 1989, "Brooklyn became the outer-borough bumpkin, the poor cousin in grease-stained overalls, the home of greenhorns who couldn't even speak English and, even if they could, were too lazy to enunciate properly. Fuhgettaboutit, shaddup, whaddya mean: that was Brooklyn."

construed as aloof, contrived or artificial. The reference to artists and gentrification is interesting because they are usually assumed to be part of the first wave of gentrification wherein artists flock neighborhoods and ‘cultivate’ them before being priced out by a more affluent second wave of new residents themselves (cf. Hackworth/Smith 2001; Lees et al. 2008).¹³⁰ Thus, the tension lies in the dissimilarity of types of people moving to Brooklyn and the activities they engage in, which are seen as standing in opposition to an authentic Old Brooklyn. It is this authenticity that gives regular Brooklynites “the opportunity to put down roots” (Zukin 2010: 26) and, in the long run, deprives them of their right to the city (cf. Lefebvre 1996).¹³¹

Fitting in with the other residents and knowing one’s neighbors, saying hello or having a conversation with them (6_11210_24) is crucial in order to feel comfortable in the neighborhood without *being looked at a certain way* (6_11210_11). What this could mean on a more basic level is explained by another respondent who puts it more bluntly:

Um, I like the area because I've seen people that looks like me. So I feel safe. It's up and coming. It's not like many years ago. It's not as crime, full of crime and all that stuff, so yeah, I, I do like it here. It feels like **home**. It's homely. Um, I'm from the Caribbean. There's a lot of people here from the Caribbean that lives here in this area. So it feels like home. I've been here for 30, 33 years, so it's like a second home to me now. (6_11210_22)

Being and looking like an in-group member of a neighborhood can be a matter of personal safety and enhances the possibility of developing the feeling that one is at home.¹³² Daily encounters with people who are similar to us, here in terms of race and heritage, give rise to feelings of safety and belonging. The degree of “residential satisfaction” (Mahmoudi Farahani 2016: 1) is thus improved by a sense of belonging derived from ties between neighbors of the same racial and ethnic background and shared practices within the neighborhood. Similar to responses from Flatbush and Crown Heights/Prospect Lefferts (sub-corpora 4 and 5), living in an area with people who share cultures and traditions is evaluated positively. Hence, a certain representation of one’s culture and ethnic affiliation, in this case with people from the Caribbean, seems to be conducive to an area feeling like

¹³⁰ The amount and type of change in the neighborhood is not framed as drastically in terms of a pioneer discourse, where people from the outside come in and try to make or cultivate spaces to their own tastes. The gentrification discourse in this neighborhood is again accompanied by a safety discourse that is evoked through negation. The negotiation of discourses of safety in Midwood is not a prominent feature in the neighborhood sub-corpus. This reflective of the overall crime statistics which have been on a steady decline since the 1990s. Accordingly, media outlets discussing gentrification in Midwood stress that its only appeal is safety, not galleries, cafés or nightlife.

¹³¹ However, judging from the income and population composition, Midwood does not classify as gentrifying because it did not belong to the bottom 40% of the city’s average household incomes in 1990 (Furman Center 2015). In other words, although Midwood is too wealthy to be considered as gentrifying, it remains one of the real estate markets with the fastest rental turnover rates in the city and has for years been on lists for New York’s hottest neighborhoods or neighborhoods to watch by real estate websites (Wu 2019).

¹³² Sampson (2013: 314) describes that the tendency to live and associate with others who are similar “based on nonspatial social characteristics such as race, income” as ‘homophily’.

home. As sociologist Stuart Hall argues, transnational migrants may feel they belong “at the same time to several ‘homes’” (S. Hall 1993: 362). For a person from the Caribbean, the second home in Midwood or Flatbush, however, might have a different quality in that the place of origin can be argued to remain “a mythic place of desire in the diasporic imagination” (Brah 2005 [1996]: 188) which can be distinguished from the home as “a site of everyday lived experience [...] where feelings of rootedness ensue from the mundane and the unexpected of daily practice” (ibid.: 4).

A different, non-diasporic understanding of the neighborhood as home, as opposed to a place that feels like home and is homely as in the interview excerpt above, is constructed by a twenty-year-old respondent who was born and raised in Brooklyn and explains why they have no favorite place in Midwood:

This whole place is my like, I love it. Like, it's just it's just **home**. Like, no matter where I am, it's always home. To have the feeling, I love it. Just every part of it. So. (6_11210_10)

The identity as a Brooklynite, for whom every place in the neighborhood feels like home is the product of the places they have come from and places they have been, or, in Hall’s terms, where ‘roots’ and ‘routes’ converge (S. Hall 2017; also discussed by Blokland 2017: 154). This is reminiscent of the Old Brooklyn as a place to be from, whereas the New Brooklyn is a place to move to. This “tension between origins and new beginnings produces the desire to preserve the ‘authentic’ city” (Zukin 2010: xi). Following this understanding, the intimacy of the home is violated by those who view or treat Brooklyn as a backdrop from a movie, an area to derive cultural and financial capital from (cf. Zukin 1995).

To the contrary, this respondent has not moved to the area for the upkeep or performance of a particular place-related identity, but derives their identity from their rootedness in place over a longer duration of time (cf. Proshansky et al. 1983; Twigger-Ross/Uzzell 1996), so much so that they would not want to change a thing about it. The difficulty of finding and retaining a stable and affordable home, which is *almost impossible* (6_11210_10), threatens to disrupt their identity through a potential displacement because “the home that is made for the gentrifier is one that *ipso facto* excludes the potential displacee, who thereby loses not simply his or her shelter but the very world in which the displacee was at home” (Redfern 2016: 2361; cf. also Milligan 2003).

In summary, this section dealt largely with overt evaluation of different evaluative targets in the Midwood sub-corpus. I looked at the discursive construction of the neighborhood through the lens of people, places, and things that were connected to it in acts of evaluation. The analysis suggested that there may be a difference between inside and outside perceptions and constructions of

a neighborhood, with residents having a more positive perception of the neighborhood they live in, which ties in with conversations I had during fieldwork in Central Brooklyn (see chapter 5). Furthermore, respondents differentiate between good and bad changes to the neighborhood, favoring those help the local population without attracting large numbers of new residents or large amounts of neighborhood-external investment that has the power to displace the local population. The adjective *different* evoked both spatial and temporal comparisons that contributed to the discursive construction of Midwood as a neighborhood enmeshed in a relational network with areas across the New York metropolitan area. This is likely due to respondents who commuted to the area close to Brooklyn College where the majority of the interviews were conducted. Temporal comparisons with different versions of the neighborhood ten, twenty, or thirty years ago brought forth conceptualizations of the notions of home and belonging, and laid bare tensions between authenticity, individual identities, neighborhood change, and gentrification.

4.6 Sheepshead Bay

“Just quiet, nice place. I mean, not so amazing, but quiet and fine.”

The following two sub-corpora were collected in two sections of Sheepshead Bay, the first spanning from Kings Highway to Avenue X along Bedford Avenue (7_11229, 7,306 tokens, mean age 33.95), and the second from Avenue X to Emmons Avenue. (8_11235, 10,544 tokens, mean age 40.24). This southernmost stretch of Bedford Avenue ends on the pier along the Sheepshead Bay marina where many fishing boats lay at anchor.¹³³ The proximity to the *beach* (0.08%, LL=43.43) and the *ocean* (0.07%, LL=30.03) is reflected in the keywords because these are the aspects that are named by respondents upon asking what they enjoy most about the area. Sheepshead Bay is represented as part of Community District 15 and has a population of 159,700 people in the 2010 census (NYC PCDP 2020), which results in an average density of 33,968/sq mi, which is well below that of the previous collection brackets. According to the five-year estimates of the ACS 2013-2017, 49.4% of the population were foreign-born, which is 12.4% more than the average rate of NYC. Of these, 40% were born in Eastern Europe (12.6% Russia, 16.4% Ukraine), and 44.7% in Asia (17% China, 12.1% South Central Asia, 11.9% Western Asia), and 10.5% from the Americas (NYC PFF 2020). This is also supported by the large number of people whose first language is Russian (23.9%), which are twice as many speakers of Chinese (11.7%) and four times as many as

¹³³ The area was even named after a local fish (cf. Jackson 2004).

Spanish (6.9%). From the data of the foreign-born population across time (change 2006-2010 vs 2014-2018), it seems that the numbers for residents of this group have remained stable. According to the ACS estimates, the population of residents 65 and older is 18.3%, while 22.0% are 18 and younger (NYC PFF 2020). This ties in with respondents descriptions of their living situations, many of which involve younger adults taking care of or living with elderly family members, and observations in the local semiotic landscape in 2019, where there were more signs for doctors, surgeons, and senior residences through the area than in any of the other collection areas.

The toponym *Sheepshead Bay* is used rather infrequently but is still key in the two sub-corpora (0.08%, LL=64.20), most likely because it is flagged as significant in comparison with a reference corpus that does not contain the locally-specific range of proper names. Residents in the southernmost collection bracket frequently refer to places or institutions within the neighborhood, but mainly use the name of the area to refer to the local high school, the Sheepshead Bay Road and the pier with the same name. The toponyms *Brooklyn* (0.13%, LL=92.58) and *Manhattan* (0.08%, LL=44.35) are also among the toponym keywords. *Manhattan* is not equally dispersed across the corpus: 5 out of 9 occurrences are used by one resident who stresses that most of their life, from college and work to leisure activities, is indeed taking place in Manhattan (7_11229_14). In another interview, Manhattan is construed as the total opposite of Sheepshead Bay, not because of its urbanity, but because *everybody's speaking English. Or if they don't, they're tourists.* (8_11235_2)

N	Concordance	Interview
1	lot more convenient, and I went to	Brooklyn College. Yeah, it 's just down the roa 7_11229_5
2	the neighborhood? Uh, I grew up in	Brooklyn so I like it. I 'm used to it, I guess. 7_11229_6
3	ryone, no. Depends on what part of	Brooklyn you 're in. Yeah, yeah. Yeah. So whe 7_11229_6
4	w, reserved, so. I mean, this part of	Brooklyn , I actually like. Oh, sorry. That 's oka 7_11229_7
5	Uh ... I do n't know really. I just love	Brooklyn . Yeah. That 's it. Yeah. Um, do you h 7_11229_8
6	at 's the only thing, yeah. Like ... In	Brooklyn or in New York? Probably only durin 7_11229_14
7	cause I feel like I 'm over it with the	Brooklyn . I want to move somewhere. And, u 7_11229_14
8	out this neighborhood? Uh, it 's real	Brooklyn . Mh mh. It 's, uh, private homes. it 's 7_11229_19
9	beaches and, really, the best part of	Brooklyn . Favorite pla- place? Uh, sure, I like 7_11229_19
10	ounty" or whatever or, "Welcome to	Brooklyn ." Yeah, yeah. So, it 's really nice, but 7_11229_25
11	lty good food. Yeah. It still has a Old	Brooklyn feel, has n't been completely, um, I 8_11235_4
12	Uh... I've lived here eight years; in	Brooklyn my whole life. And, uh, what was you 8_11235_11
13	ny time. So this is most important to	Brooklyn and New York City. So, it 's much rar 8_11235_15
14	u can say it at like in general for the	Brooklyn or even New York, you know. A lot o 8_11235_20

Concordance 4.12: Concordances of *Brooklyn* in 7-8_112229-35.

Indeed, 22% of all respondents in the Sheepshead Bay sub-corpus refer to *Brooklyn* (0.13%, LL=92.58) when they talk about the neighborhood. Rather than identifying the area discussed as Sheepshead Bay, respondents shift their focus to the borough level and construe the neighborhood as representative of the *real Brooklyn* that is declared as *really the best part of Brooklyn* (7_11229_19).

It still has a Old **Brooklyn** feel, hasn't been completely, um, I guess, for lack of a better term, gentrified. (line 11, 8_11235_4)

Further, by claiming that the area has retained some of the *Old Brooklyn feel*, the lack of changes is evaluated positively because it creates a sense of authenticity through its rootedness and preservation of some of the qualities of Brooklyn's past (cf. Hymowitz 2017; Woodsworth 2016). The respondent connects the retention of this Old Brooklyn feel to the absence of gentrification¹³⁴ of the blue-collar neighborhood, juxtaposing the originality of an area that is seemingly untouched by the large-scale changes in the New Brooklyn further north, creating a first stark contrast to other areas investigated previously. Old Brooklyn is "a state of mind as much as a physical place" (Freudenheim 2016: 13), that is primarily defined by its distinction from Manhattan in its emphasis on neighborhood and community (ibid.: 18).

The keywords in this chapter provide further insight into how Sheepshead Bay is discursively constructed, and whether its Old Brooklyn appeal and sense of community have been retained. First, I give a brief overview of the keywords before delving deeper into the keywords *nice* and *quiet*, which appear to be a default way of talking about the neighborhood, before moving on to analyzing that could be regarded the opposite of these two, namely different renderings of discourses of safety. Lastly, I take a look at keywords that give information on the social fabric of the area, discussing extent to which an increase in diversity can be linked to growing distrust among residents over time.

N	Keyword	Freq.	%	Keyness	N	Keyword	Freq.	%	Keyness
1	LIKE	203	1.83	1,451.44	16	SEE	29	0.26	206.90
2	KNOW	185	1.67	1,322.44	17	S	396	3.57	205.79
3	UM	183	1.65	1,308.11	18	M	118	1.06	171.61
4	I	665	5.99	677.91	19	WORK	24	0.22	171.22
5	MEAN	66	0.59	471.10	20	STORES	35	0.32	148.38
6	LIVE	65	0.59	463.95	21	HERE	110	0.99	136.64
7	YEAH	146	1.31	405.52	22	QUIET	26	0.23	136.59
8	NEIGHBORHOOD	54	0.49	323.49	23	PARK	18	0.16	128.41
9	BECAUSE	68	0.62	294.26	24	RUSSIAN	23	0.21	124.17
10	GO	41	0.37	292.56	25	SO	133	1.20	123.49
11	IT	393	3.54	243.45	26	LOT	69	0.62	123.29
12	THINK	32	0.29	228.32	27	PLACE	17	0.15	121.27
13	NICE	30	0.27	214.04	28	GUESS	16	0.14	114.14
14	GET	29	0.26	206.90	29	FEEL	15	0.14	107.00
15	SAY	29	0.26	206.90	30	STUFF	15	0.14	107.00

Table 4.8: Top 30 keywords in 7-8_11229-35.

The top key adjective *nice* (0.23%, LL=136.59) collocates with *neighborhood* (t=2.389), *area* (t=2.203), and *environment* (t=1.409). *Nice* further collocates with the adjective *quiet* (t=2.205). The keywords support that Sheepshead Bay is

¹³⁴ Like many neighborhoods where rent prices have increased and new apartment towers are nearing completion, Sheepshead Bay is not statistically considered gentrifying by New York City authorities because of its high average household income in 1990 (NYC Department of Health 2018a). However, processes of gentrification are not restricted to formerly low-income, central urban areas anymore, but can also affect the suburbs or rural areas (cf. Hackworth/Smith 2001; N. Smith 2002; Lees 2003).

perceived as a predominantly *Russian* (0.21%, LL=124.17) neighborhood. The keywords also underline the age distribution, for a number of respondents stated they were *retired* (0.05%, LL=29.56).

The keywords also reflect a top priority of residents: parking, represented by the keywords *parking* (0.05%, LL=45.66) and *park* (0.16%, LL=128.41), which is a theme that stands out from the usual descriptions of the local infrastructure and neighborhood makeup. The Sheepshead Bay *subway* (0.05%, LL=35.66) station served by Q and B trains is located in the western part of the neighborhood, which is why many people take a bus to get there or use their car to get around. Especially those coming from adjacent neighboring areas such as Marine Park or Gerritsen Beach. Residents state that a *major problem* is that *there is no parking for cars* (8_11235_13) or that there is at least a *problem with parking* (7_11229_18). In fact, all occurrences of the key adjective *crazy* (0.04%, LL=28.53) refer directly to the lack of parking and the large amount of traffic in the area.

A second priority is the upkeep of the neighborhood. The current fluctuation in cleanliness is represented on the linguistic level by the use of the keyword *clean* (0.13%, LL=99.87), and a number of different items from the semantic domain of cleanliness: word forms of the verb lemma CLEAN (*clean, cleaned, cleaning*), word forms of the adjective lemma CLEAN (*cleaner*), the adjective *dirty* (0.02%), the nouns *cleanliness* (0.01%), *cleanups* (0.01%), *trash* (0.01%), *littering* (0.01%), *garbage* (0.05%), *recycling* (0.03%), and *sanitation* (0.03%). Concordances of the keyword *clean* show that cleanliness is something that is primarily linked the past, despite the efforts of individuals to keep the neighborhood clean. Temporal comparisons, for instance with the adverbial phrase *a long time ago* (line 13), imply that at some point, this was not an issue. Verb phrases that collocate with *clean* like *keep* denote a desire to retain the present state (line 11), or to prevent it from losing the state of cleanliness (8_11235_12), while the demand to *make it more clean* (line 1) already implies a certain lack of cleanliness.

N	Concordance	Interview
1	vements? Um, probably make it more clean . Uh Mh. If that 's possible. Uh Mh	7_11229_22
2	ah. And yeah, that 's about it. Just the clean thing, right? Yeah. And fix the roa	7_11229_22
3	is area. I mean, the the park, now it 's clean over here. Sometimes they just d	8_11235_2
4	hey pick and choose what they want to clean , you know? Yeah, yeah, yeah, I've	8_11235_2
5	ve this thing about, you know, coming clean or whatever. Trees. Yeah. But the	8_11235_2
6	ike they do around here. People, they clean . I mean, people are just more res	8_11235_8
7	. Neighborhood 's dirty. If it would be clean , maybe put garbage cans on the	8_11235_8
8	uil area, residential. The streets were clean . So we, we were very content. An	8_11235_12
9	borhood isn't cleaned as, isn't as clean as much, uh, as often as it used t	8_11235_12
10	e one year, or more than one year, the clean the garbages. A long time ago, th	8_11235_18
11	one. Yeah. Everybody, right? Keep it clean . Yeah. The the ... So, the clean!	8_11235_18
12	home. Yeah, yeah. I have the time to clean . Yeah, definitely. No, before that	8_11235_18
13	es. A long time ago, they all were very clean . I like this one. Yeah. Everybody,	8_11235_18
14	t it 's, um, I do n't know. It 's really clean . It 's very, people are much frien	8_11235_21

Concordance 4.13: Concordances of *clean* in 7-8_11229-35.

It seems from the concordances that, in the southern part of the neighborhood, the responsible party is the Department of Sanitation whose garbage pick-up and maintenance have become unreliable. Indeed, three people explicitly mention that they do not *take the best care of this area* (8_11235_2) anymore. An 88-year-old respondent chimes in, stressing that upon their arrival 39 years ago,

I was quite impressed. I found it was a, a tranquil area, residential. The streets were **clean**. So we, we were very content.

[...] Uh, but the, uh, the, the appearance of the neighborhood has changed too. I think, find that there's, uh, less upkeep that, uh, uh, the neighborhood isn't cleaned as, isn't as **clean** as much, uh, as often as it used to be. Uh, that's more congested. [...] I'd like to see better maintenance. Uh, I'd like to see, uh, that the sanitation removal is more effective. Uh, that the commercial areas are **cleaned** more often. (8_11235_12)

Thus, it seems that the lack of cleanliness is something that has recently become a feature that residents associate with the area, but not one that is appreciated.

The key adjective *quiet* (0.24%, LL=146.40) is used regularly in the southern part of Sheepshead Bay, but not as often in the northern section (7_11229), as these interviews were conducted around a commercial street for lack of potential participants in the remainder of the collection area – it was indeed a little too quiet for successful interview collection there.

N	Concordance		Interview
1	really residential and calm and	quiet	. Um, it is the best so far. Yeah. 7_11229_2
2	ery busy. Um, where I am is very	quiet	And here, you know, it 's very bus 7_11229_4
3	it 's just, you know, it 's just	quiet	. That 's just all. That 's all I can sa 7_11229_4
4	ll. That 's all I can say. It 's	quiet	. I 'm not going to give you 7_11229_4
5	ctually like it. It seems pretty	quiet	and, you know, reserved, so. I mea 7_11229_7
6	mpression? Uh, it 's nice. it 's	quiet	Yeah. And it 's it 's better for peopl 7_11229_10
7	ntown of the city, but it 's, it 's a	quiet	, nice neighborhood. Um, yeah. Pr 7_11229_21
8	area. I 's okay. It 's, as I say, it 's	quiet	. And yet it 's accessible. The publi 7_11229_23
9	ine. I like this area. Oh, it 's	quiet	. Yeah, that 's it. That 's it. Just qui 8_11235_3
10	ace. I mean, not so amazing, but	quiet	and fine. The people are good. 8_11235_3
11	ah, that 's it. That 's it. Just	quiet	, nice place. I mean, not so amazin 8_11235_3
12	ish man, the building. Um, it 's	quiet	. Um, there 's a park there. So, 8_11235_4
13	Uh, yeah. Uh, it was quite nice,	quiet	, friendly, catchy. Um, it 's very div 8_11235_9
14	ou know, at night. It 's kind of	quiet	, so safe, you know, for the family. 8_11235_9
15	e. I thought it was nice. It was	quiet	, but now it 's chaos. A lot of peopl 8_11235_11
16	the, the neighborhood 's really	quiet	for the most part. Yeah. I love the 8_11235_14
17	the most part. Yeah. I love the	quiet	Uh, maybe with just the water. 8_11235_14
18	's, you know, because it 's more	quiet	place. Not uh, a a lot of noise 8_11235_15
19	t 's okay. This is for long time	quiet	area, and the most important, uh y 8_11235_15
20	away from everything. But it 's	quiet	. It 's nice. Um, having access to t 8_11235_19
21	's nice neighborhood. It 's really	quiet	compared to where I used to live. 8_11235_21
22	Yeah. Uh, it was	quiet	and good. And now it 's kind of, u 8_11235_22
23	diverse. And, um ... It 's, it 's	quiet	, yeah. Um, also there 's a park ov 8_11235_23
24	specially my block, it 's pretty	quiet	. And everyone 's pretty friendly, s 8_11235_24
25	dent. Uh, yeah. Um, it was nice,	quiet	. Everybody kind of just kept their 8_11235_24

Concordance 4.14: Concordances of *quiet* in 7-8_11229-35 sorted by interview number.

The adjective phrase *just quiet* is used to describe the uneventfulness and the absence of noise and criminal incidents in the area. The adverb *just* emphasizes this quality as the primary feature connected to the area. In other words, quietness seems to be the single-most important aspect that respondents connect with

Sheepshead Bay. This goes in line with research on the noise in cities which has found that “sound has a huge influence over how we perceive places.” (Aiello et al. 2016: 1). The weighing of characteristics considered in neighborhood evaluation comes into play here. This means that quietness is such an important aspect that it can outweigh others:

Oh, it's **quiet**. That's it. Just **quiet**, nice place. I mean, not so amazing, but **quiet** and fine. (8_11235_3)

The second declarative clause, *[t]hat's it*, lends more force to the initial assessment of the neighborhood, for the respondent expresses that the quietness is all “that is needed or wanted” (Merriam-Webster 2020: “that’s it,” idiom). The modification of the overt evaluation with the exclusive adverb *just* rules out the possibility of other characteristics being important for the respondent. The quietness is prioritized at the expense of other aspects. Thus, it seems that a neighborhood does not have to score high on all parameters that are important for social actors, as long as one that is considered important enough is present. This means that the neighborhood does not have to “[cause] astonishment” or “great wonder” (Merriam-Webster 2019: “amazing,” adj.), but it is enough that it provides a calm living environment.

[I]t's just like, um, kind of suburbby a little bit. It's not so, a little bit away from everything. But it's **quiet**. It's nice. (line 20, 8_11235_19).

The potentially negative force of the latter proposition, the remoteness and suburban character of the area, is mitigated in the next sub-clause¹³⁵ in which the subordinating conjunction *but* introduces the priority that counters and outweighs the remoteness, the area’s peacefulness.

Quiet occurs 11x in the northern part of Sheepshead Bay (7_11229) and 18x in the southern part close to the bay (8_11235) – 24% and 40% of all respondents respectively make use of the adjective to describe the area. The same holds true for the key adjective *nice*, which is used 10x by 20% of respondents in the northern and 20x by 52% of the residents in the southern section respectively draw on the adjective *quiet* to describe the area that they live in, mainly in the form of the clusters *it's nice* (10x) and *it's a nice x* and *it's quiet* (7x each). These adjectives are used so frequently to describe the neighborhood that they almost seem to be void of semantic content.

However, two concordances (lines 15 and 22) suggest that the neighborhood is not peaceful and quiet anymore. In these, the contrast established by the temporal adjective *now* moves the evaluation of Sheepshead Bay’s quietude back in time and relegates the quietness to the past. The present condition is

¹³⁵ I use the term sub-clauses for they are directly related to the previous clause and were split up into separate sentences during the transcription process, which is a distinction introduced by transcribers, not necessarily one that would be reflective of the actual chunking of the spoken utterance (cf. Sinclair/Mauranen 2006; see also Halliday/Matthiessen 2014: 611).

described as *chaos* (8_11235_11) and *[a] little bit like violence* (8_11235_22). Looking at these and other evocations of safety discourses in the Sheepshead Bay sub-corpus, it seems that there are two ways to talk about perceptions of safety of the neighborhood. The first is to openly address crime, and the second is to make assertions to the safety of the area, a strategy which is commonly used in previous collection brackets. In lines 15 and 22, the first strategy is used.

Uh ... I've lived here eight years; in Brooklyn my whole life. I thought it was nice. It was **quiet**, but now it's chaos. A lot ... uh, a lot of people on drugs. They walk through here every night. They break into cars. They cause problems. They rob people. [...] They rob. If you look on the news, every morning, it's just nonsense. They rob somebody for 20 bucks, and then they kill 'em. It's sad. Yeah. There's a couple kids in Sheepshead Bay here, if you look on the news. They rob women. You know what I mean? A girl's carryin' her phone, walkin' home from work, and they run by and they take the phone, and they run back. Uh, they they can't rob a man, you know? Somebody their own size. They can't do that no more. They have no pride, and they don't work. Whole different place. You know, no one, ever would want to live here. (line 15, 8_11235_11)

From this point of view, the situation in the immediate neighborhood is deteriorating. The elaborate description of criminal activity targeted at women specifically, the drug use, and larceny seem to have transformed the immediate area into a place without order, which is a stark contrast with the perception of the neighborhood in the past as being *nice* and *quiet*. Because of these changes, there is no reason for the respondent to live there anymore except family who live nearby, as they state later on in the interview.

Although this perspective on the neighborhood stands in opposition to most neighborhood descriptions, it coincides rather closely with the crime statistics for the 61st precinct.¹³⁶ Several respondents whom I interviewed in the eastern section of the neighborhood along Nostrand Avenue argued that a rise in crime is related to drug activity and increasing number of people who use of heroin, adding that close relations died from drug abuse (8_11235_11). The influence of drugs which *hit the streets really hard*, and *crack cocaine* in particular has taken away the *sense of family* (8_11235_25) of the neighborhood.¹³⁷ Neighborhood evaluation is thus

¹³⁶ Overall, the number of crimes committed in the area in on the decline, with a drop of 88.6% since 1990. Between 2018 and 2020, however, there was an increase in robberies (+20%), felony assault (+55.1%), burglary (+13.1%), grand larceny auto (+38.5%). This makes the precinct area one of the safest areas throughout the entire city (NYPD CompStat Unit 2020).

¹³⁷ While statistics on illegal narcotics sales are difficult to obtain, there were several large drug busts in Sheepshead Bay in 2018 and 2019, one of which is detailed in a report by the NYC DOI (NYC DOI 2018). The only statistics that could attest to such activity is the amount of overdose deaths in the area, which is also referred to by several respondents. The number of overdose deaths has been on the rise in 2016 and 2017, totaling at 359 overdoses in Brooklyn in 2017; only the Bronx had more OD deaths that year. South Brooklyn, including Coney Island, Brighton Beach, Manhattan Beach, and Sheepshead Bay had a higher-than-average number of overdose deaths in 2017, with an average of 22.3 deaths per 100,000 residents (NYC Dept of Health 2018b). This is reflected in two interviews, both of which refer to friends who died (8_11235_11) or indeed state that *everybody's dying* (8_11235_25) from crack cocaine or by being involved with *bad people* (8_11235_11). The two respondents told me vivid stories of the consequences of substance abuse, especially of crack and heroin, whose users engage in prostitution to fuel their drug habit. They painted a clear picture of the social geography

strongly influenced by personal experience with and exposure to criminal behavior in the context of one's immediate neighborhood (cf. Scannell/Gifford 2010), even if the criminal activity is just reported in the news, as in the co-text of concordance line 22 above:

Uh, it was **quiet** and good. And now it's kind of, um, I don't know how to explain. A little bit like violence. Of a few [incidents] I heard, yeah. Some some shootings and stuff. Yeah. It's just what I've heard from the news and stuff. That's it. (line 22, 8_11235_22)

These excerpts suggests that discourses of change and crime and again linked, but this time to describe a different neighborhood trajectory, from a quiet and good neighborhood to one where *no one, ever would want to live* (8_11235_11). Thus, the way the neighborhood is perceived and constructed is conditioned by an immediate experience of criminal incidents, which can lead to a dissociation from the neighborhood despite social actors' rootedness in place.¹³⁸

The second strategy to talk about crime or its absence can be detected in concordances of the key adjective lemma *SAFE* (0.06%, LL=42.80) and the low-frequency noun *safety* (0.04%). When the interviews were conducted, respondents were not asked about safety or criminal activity in the area. Rather, informants brought it up as an aspect of the neighborhood that they considered worth mentioning. Like in the previous corpora, the adjective *safe* is used mainly to attest to the presumed safety of an area, instead of a lack thereof, and to highlight that it is, perhaps contrary to what others might expect, indeed safe.

N	Concordance	Interview
1	now? And for me, this is not	safe , you know, even for the kid. Yeah. 8_11235_5
2	ortation, storage. And it 's pretty	safe , and the school is nearby, and I hav 8_11235_10
3	now, at night. It 's kind of quiet, so	safe , you know, for the family. Yeah. Are 8_11235_9
4	think it 's very residential. it 's very	safe . Yeah. Um, sometimes I get to, I get, 7_11229_25
5	ment. It 's not dangerous. It 's very	safe and it 's really nice. Is there anything 7_11229_1
6	Bay Road. That 's about it. Make it	safer . Yeah, that 's about it. Um, I 'm 20 ye 8_11235_22
7	and where I live. But you talk about	safety , right? Oh, yeah, there 's a lot of thin 8_11235_5
8	cleanliness of the buildings, just the	safety . That 's about it. No, not in particular. 8_11235_17
9	o whatever they can, but as for the	safety is is number one for me, and I think t 7_11229_25
10	ood is pretty much content with the	safety . Uh, I work, uh, in a asset manageme 7_11229_25

Concordance 4.15: Concordances of *safe* and *safety* in 7-8_11229-35.

In addition to inter-personal variation, there is also inter-spatial variation with regard to perceptions of safety in the two sub-corpora. In line with field observations of police presence and additional outdoor lighting provided by the NYPD, which sought to reduce crime at night in areas with elevated crime rates (cf. Chalfin et al. 2019), it seemed that at least the police thought of parts of the southern collection bracket (8_11235) as an area where safety was at stake,

of drug abuse in the neighborhood, complete with details which parts of the neighborhood drug trade were controlled by which ethnic groups at what times of the day.

¹³⁸ On a positive note, the past situation this interviewee describes seems to slowly be improving, which the progressive tense with the comparative adjective *better* suggest: *It was just terrible, terrible, terrible, terrible. It's getting better.* (8_11235_25)

especially around the NYCHA Sheepshead Bay Houses and the pier along Emmons Avenue, which is not reflected in the NYPD crime location map of the area (NYPD 2019) at the time of writing, but was when I conducted my fieldwork.

On the contrary, the majority of interviewees in the northern part of the area attest to absolute safety in the neighborhood, also in attestations to safety that do not involve the words *SAFE* or *safety*, while only some do in the southern part (lines 2, 3). The only thing that is claimed in the above concordances to be not safe (line 1) is the lack of cleanliness and the large number of smokers in the area, as is also indicated by the key verb *smoke* (0.06%, LL=49.20). Thus, when the general topic of safety is mentioned in the above concordances, it is not to express that anyone's safety is threatened. Rather, "not being exposed to danger" (Merriam-Webster 2019: "safety," n.) is declared as one key property of the neighborhood:

[T]he **safety** is is number one for me, and I think this neighborhood is pretty much content with the **safety**. (7_11229_25)
The people, the environment. It's not dangerous. It's very **safe** and it's really nice. (7_11229_1)

This point is supported by another respondent who was born in and has lived in this part of Sheepshead Bay ever since, states that in addition to being nice and quiet, the neighborhood is *better for people, like uh especially girls, at nighttime. It's not that dangerous for them. So it's okay.* (7_11229_10) Indeed, the respondent in line 3 states that the quietness and safety of the area are particularly good for families (8_11235_9). Thus, perceptions of neighborhood safety also depend on the demographics that are considered here, which, through their links to *girls* (7_11229_10), *women* (8_11235_11), *kids* (8_11235_5), and *families* (8_11235_9) as groups that are in particular need of protection are particularly gendered.¹³⁹

The safety discourse in Sheepshead Bay, then, is made up of several discursive strategies. The first one is the overt discussion of problems in temporal comparison, embedding discourses of safety in discourses of neighborhood change. The second is the affirmation of safety through negation or boosting positive polarity through intensifying adverbs. This, again, seems to suggest that a different perception of the neighborhood in public, neighborhood-external discourse, as for instance in the local news, has to be refuted and the safety of the

¹³⁹ In addition to differing local knowledges and ways of reading a space depending on age, gender, and ethnicity, one possible reason for the emphasis on these groups, and the emphatic references to women becoming victims of robberies while walking ten or more blocks from the subway (8_11235_11), could be that the years 2018 and 2019 had seen a slight increase in rape cases, which were also related to me in the interviews. In From 2013-2017, there was about one case per month or less. From 2018-2019, the number grew to 1.42 and 1.58 reported cases per month in the 61st precinct. Looking at misdemeanor sex crimes, there were about 5.25 and 5.42 per month respectively, after a spike to 6.75/month in 2017 (cf. NYPD 2020). However, small increases seem to appear larger than they seem when crime has been as low as it has in the past decades. These can sometimes be related to social developments like the #MeToo movement which, from late 2017, is likely to have caused more victims to report sexual misconduct (Sandoval 2020).

area has to be asserted by residents. In doing so, respondents draw on the keyword *safe* but also on other related terms, for instance references to firearms items that have a negative semantic prosody, such as the verb *smoke*:

When I come to work, like, the thing I see there is a lot of people that smoke. But otherwise, it's okay because I don't see any, like any shotguns or thing like that, you know? (8_11235_5)

This excerpt suggests that there are prerequisites to feeling safe. The only issue that is perceived as standing out here is the large number of smokers. What is merely implied is a norm that the respondent sets up in the declaration *it's okay*: If *shotguns* – not firearms or guns – were visible in the area, it would represent a breach in the social order (Parsons 1968 [1937]) that depends on the social actors' normative assumption of a collective commitment to safety in the area. Indeed, this is a rather drastic formulation of neighborhood safety norms that stands out from other discursive formulations of safety in the Sheepshead Bay sub-corpora. This is likely a product of habit, which is a key factor in the neighborhood's safety discourse:

Um, sometimes it's a scary area sometimes. Well, yeah, I was a bit nervous living this, into this area. But then since I started living, ever since that day I got used to it, so it's not really more of a surprise anymore, I guess. Um, there, sometimes there are police, you know, driving around, you know. 'Cause usually there's like the projects is right next to us. So, well, for me, I've seen, um, a few accidents right on the street 'cause of a drug lady. So sometimes, yeah, it does get scary sometimes. Um, I don't think there is something particular that I like about it, but it's, it's okay. It's okay. I mean, there's nothing. (8_11235_7)

This excerpt suggests that even accidents and police presence are discursively presented as something respondents can get used to. Moreover, a particular spatial location, *the projects*, which are New York City Housing Authority (NYCHA) properties, are causally connected to the strong police presence.¹⁴⁰ While in previous interview excerpts, spatial proximity to criminal activity seemed to negatively affect neighborhood evaluation, it seems that in this excerpt, a habituation effect is contributing to a positive or at least neutral assessment of the area because the respondents has learned to assess and read the 'code of the street' (E. Anderson 1999).

Echoing previous residents whose norms of neighborhood safety differ from those of the majority of residents in the Sheepshead Bay area, the interviewee in the above excerpt also implies that the neighborhood is merely *okay* for the reason that their norms of safety for the area have not yet been breached. This leads to a lesser evaluation of the area, as the respondent plainly states that there is nothing

¹⁴⁰ The NYC Crime Map shows a larger number of felony assaults and robberies in the area between 1 January 2018 and 30 September 2019, which cluster in the area around the Sheepshead/Nostrand Houses mentioned by the participant (NPYD 2019).

worth pointing out that they like about the area, but nevertheless an acceptance of the status quo. From these examples, it seems that some social actors have different sets of norms for the area than other respondents, perhaps because they are not exposed and accustomed to crime. For these residents, a more serious breach must occur to violate the neighborhood norms. In line with Blokland's (2008) work on public housing projects, this supports the idea that in some circumstances, residents are not attached to the area that they live in, but have developed a "sense of public familiarity" (Blokland 2017: 129) which enables them to "read the space in which they found themselves, to deduct the codes, and thus, in that sense, to be 'in the know' and feel at home." (ibid.: 127). Thus, residents have to learn what Elijah Anderson (1999) calls the 'code of the street' that informs their social actions and interactions in an area and become part of how they perceive of and engage with the space that they live in.¹⁴¹

Looking at the ratio of references to stillness and change, it seems from the handful of occurrences of the linguistic item *same* (0.05%, concordances see appendix C1.15) that Sheepshead Bay has undergone some change, although some perceive it otherwise:

It's fine. Been living here for like 14 years. Nothing really bad happens here, so I like it. Everything's still the same here. I like it. (7_11229_20)

This resident claims that time has been standing still, thus construing Sheepshead Bay as a stable neighborhood,¹⁴² which the respondent evaluates positively. Despite assertions to the contrary, the keywords suggest that Sheepshead Bay is undergoing *change* (0.05%, LL=42.17) or has *changed* (0.12%, LL=31.45) already. The few occurrences of the present tense suggest that change is either difficult to achieve or not necessary. The past participle form *changed* occurs slightly more frequently and denotes that a process of change has already been completed. However, the picture is not as clear as it seems.

N	Concordance	Interview
1	e, all you hear. it 's like it 's such a change	to go into Manhattan because every 8_11235_2
2	uh, the only thing that, uh, you can change	is probably ... uh, I do n't know. it 's 7_11229_19
3	e in Manhattan. So it 's kind of a nice change	, but it 's, um, I do n't know. It 's real 8_11235_2
4	. Not because everything, you ca n't change	over there, because most of them jus 8_11235_15
5	s a lot of things I would love them to change	. For example, a lot of people that 's 8_11235_5
6	e from. You know, a lot of it it 's all changed	. [Respondent talks to passerby] 8_11235_2
7	na be nice. The neighborhood has changed	. Most neighborhoods in this area ha 8_11235_2
8	ilding and the living. I've it it it has changed	considerably. Um, the this building is, 8_11235_2

¹⁴¹ Looking at the overall crime rates in Brooklyn and New York City, it seems strange that residents in a quiet suburban area with extremely low per capita crime rates (0.6018/1,000 residents, NYPD 2019) show strong reactions to what experts would argue are small increases in the overall numbers of criminal incidents. In an article in The New York Times in January of 2020, a former crime analyst with the NYPD explained that small increases raise big concerns in the population, even if one or two year-upticks in crime do not "necessarily signal a new upward trend" (Sandoval 2020). Thus, the strong reactions of some individuals in these sub-corpora might be affected by their direct exposure to crime or because they perceive the crime as a serious breach of the neighborhood norms.

¹⁴² Rent prices, however, are not stable but increasing further (7_11229_3). Recent data consequently shows that in 2017, "31.7% of renter households in Sheepshead Bay were severely rent burdened" (NYU Furman Center 2019).

9 ppearance of the neighborhood has **changed** too. I think, find that there 's, uh, le 8_11235_12
 10 -op. Um, the neighborhood itself has **changed** considerably. The stores have chang 8_11235_2
 11 , the neighborhood, obviously, it has **changed** . The shopping there were a lot differ 8_11235_2
 12 anged considerably. The stores have **changed** . Um, the neighborhood, obviously, it 8_11235_2
 13 area have, even in other areas, have **changed** . They 're, like you got to one end, an 8_11235_2
 14 ually grew up here, and it 's, uh, it 's **changed** a lot. Um, I do n't know. I find that, u 8_11235_16
 15 igrants come in. Well, of course it 's **changed** , uh, um, great commercially. And so 8_11235_12
 16 t the card store, you know. But it it 's **changed** an awful lot, an awful lot. See, it does 8_11235_2
 17 l these years and then it it but that 's **changed** . That that 's all o- no matter where y 8_11235_2
 18 hborhood to kind of see what I want **changed** yet. So, it 's kind of, um, I do n't know 8_11235_21
 Concordance 4.16: Concordances of *change* in 7-8_11229-35.

Most of the occurrences are from one respondent, a 65-year-old lady who talked to me about how the neighborhood has changed for about 15 minutes, placing particular emphasis on the changes to the social fabric through immigration, which, according to them, has had a considerable effect on all of the neighborhood (8_11235_2). Thus, the emphasis on change, were it not for this lady, would not be as pronounced in the area. One thing that is worth highlighting from these concordances, though, is that changes in the social realm are also reflected in the commercial realm (cf. Keatinge/Martin 2016), which is similar to findings from areas further north, like Williamsburg and Bed-Stuy. Respondents argue that the commercial landscape (lines 10-12, 15-16) has become *more Russified* (8_11235_12), so much so that it is difficult to find non-Russian products (7_11229_5),¹⁴³ highlighting the role of food as an indicator of “ethnic territory” (Ignatieff 2017: 33). This change is also reflected in the keyword *stores* (0.32%, LL=148.38, concordances see appendix C1.16).

The growth in the local Russian population that is linked to many of the above changes is also discussed in the keywords *community* (0.14%, LL=35.77) and *people* (0.66%, LL=34.46, concordances see appendix C1.18) where drastic demographic and social changes are addressed.

Every, everything ... sooner or later, everything's going to go back to segregation, which which is, you know, it's not supposed to be that way. But eventually that's what's going to happen, because nobody stands up. Everybody's trying to stand up for their own **people**, and no one wants to get along. Nobody can live amongst each other anymore. (8_11235_11)

Interestingly, the features mentioned by the interviewee in the course of the interview, the uptick in crime, the areas that are controlled by Russian and Mexican gang members at different times of the day, are features that tend to be less typically associated with suburban¹⁴⁴ areas like Sheepshead Bay, but with more dense urban areas.¹⁴⁵ These developments may have given rise to the strong

¹⁴³ For concordances of Russian in 7-8_11229-35, refer to appendix C1.17.

¹⁴⁴ For a more recent large-scale study of residents' perceptions of their neighborhoods as rural, suburban, or urban, see Bucholtz et al. (2020).

¹⁴⁵ This is not to say that residential segregation is relegated to more suburban areas. Even in urban areas in which planners have attempted to tackle issues with anonymity and lack of inter-group contact using the tools promoted by 'new urbanism' "to promote neighborliness, local interaction, and common physical space in an attempt to restore elements of community" (Sampson 2013: 44), more mixed neighborhoods must not necessarily

sense of isolation from other residents of the area that the respondent describes. The ensuing lack of collective efficacy in the neighborhood that could be linked to the increase in crimes might, at least in part, be attributed to the absence of informal networks and inter-ethnic contact and concomitant low levels of generalized trust (cf. Blokland 2017). In the course of the interview, the respondent above describes a lack of policing of people who are not white, suggesting that there is a deep sense of distrust in the police, and a lack of generalized trust in the other people around them. Indeed, this perspective corroborates the claim that “[w]hen policing breaks down, when one group feels that [...] they get no police protection at all, trust collapses” (Ignatieff 2017: 62). It seems, then, that Sheepshead Bay follows the pattern in which “the cultural principle of difference is layered onto the ecological landscape” (ibid.: 54). People still “self-segregate” (Owens 2012: 360) according to race, ethnicity, and social class, which the concordances of *community* highlight.

N	Concordance	Interview
1	orhood is many communities within a community because it is an immigrant neighb	7_11229_9
2	I work with kids. No. It 's a business community . It 's pretty okay. No. It 's too busy,	7_11229_23
3	people, you know, within the Chinese community probably contribute to the Chines	7_11229_9
4	rant. Yeah. We have beach cleanups, community like, uh, like, you know, activist stuf	7_11229_13
5	. Um, you know, it 's, uh, like a close community . Yeah. Similar to, you know Seaga	8_11235_20
6	s no real, because it 's such a diverse community , you know, some people just do	8_11235_2
7	or many years, but as in case of, like, community , about, like, cleaning up the park	8_11235_2
8	rica and living in the Brighton Russian community , I mean, for some people that 's fi	8_11235_20
9	y like to hang out around the Russian community , restaurants or clubs. So for me,	7_11229_14
10	Yeah. Uh, people do contribute to the community . Yes. Um, yes. I have a favorite pa	7_11229_12
11	I I 'm not really too involved with the community . But I mean, like, I actually do go	7_11229_5
12	borhood. Uh, the convenience for the community , I can see for elder-elderly people	7_11229_18
13	uestion because I 'm not a part of the community . I feel they do. Um, it 's really nice.	7_11229_25
14	go to even, you know, to go to these community board meetings and stuff like that,	7_11229_7
15	a pretty, you know, well put together community over here, so I think it might be dif	7_11229_7

Concordance 4.17: Concordances of *community* in 7-8_11229-35.

Concordances of the key nouns *community* (0.14%, LL=35.77) and *people* (0.66%, LL=34.46, concordances see appendix C1.18) give further insight into social fabric of the neighborhood. The key adjective *diverse* (0.06%, LL=35.74) is used in this context to describe the neighborhood makeup. Again, diversity here does not mean that the various groups of diverse residents create inter-group ties. This is similar to findings from Flatbush, where the neighborhood was construed as a mosaic of ethnic micro-neighborhoods. The concordances of the keyword *community* in the Sheepshead Bay corpora indicate that there are several distinct ethnic groups that do not interact or overlap to any larger extent, in part because of language barriers:

I think this neighborhood is many communities within a **community** because it is an immigrant neighborhood. And so people, you know, within the Chinese **community** probably contribute to the Chinese. The Russians

lead to increased inter-group ties (Darden 2001; Freeman 2006; Shepard/Noonan 2018), but can cushion some of the negative effects of residential segregation on education and job accessibility.

probably contribute to that. I mean, there's language barriers, so.
(7_11229_9)

Despite attestations of diversity, for instance in claims that the area is diverse, what is useful for some, for instance that the employees in stores speak Russian (7_11229_21), is viewed as a nuisance for others (8_11235_2). Respondents stress that a co-presence of distinct ethnic groups does not necessarily mean cooperation or mixing with others. Rather, the lived reality is characterized by an “acute consciousness of the racial and ethnic geography” (Ignatieff 2017: 66) of the neighborhood.

N	Concordance	Interview
1	mother lives in this area. Yes. Um, diverse and lively and home. Much more ur	7_11229_9
2	's ... Yeah. I live nearby. Uh, pretty diverse . Then the languages spoken are Rus	7_11229_21
3	much about it. It 's it 's just really diverse . So, I think people do whatever the	7_11229_25
4	there 's no real, because it 's such a diverse community, you know, some peopl	8_11235_2
5	quiet, friendly, catchy. Um, it 's very diverse . Um, very family oriented, you kno	8_11235_9
6	aurants. Um, it 's diverse, culturally diverse . And, um ... It 's, it 's quiet, yeah. U	8_11235_23
7	, chain stores, restaurants. Um, it 's diverse , culturally diverse. And, um ... It 's, it	8_11235_23

Concordance 4.18: Concordances of *diverse* in 7-8_11229-35.

This might be because *some people just don't wanna be bothered* (8_11235_2). For members of a relatively closed community, in this case the nearby Brighton Beach Russian community, it also feels that they do not have a share in the neighborhood, let alone in the country because living in a close spatially-confined ethnic enclave has an isolating effect:

I'm from Russia, you know, and me moving, moving from Russia to America and living in the Brighton Russian **community**, I mean, for some people that's fine. For me, and you know, I don't like it, to be honest with you. I don't feel like I'm in America right now, to be honest with you. Uh, I think you can say it at like in general for the Brooklyn or even New York, you know. A lot of people don't consider this as America to be honest with you.
(8_11235_20)

The emphasis on diversity in this sub-corpus stands in stark contrast to this perception of a member of a group that makes the neighborhood supposedly diverse. Their representation of the lived reality in the area that seems so detached from its geographic location that it could be elsewhere is also taken up in another respondent's criticism of close ethnic Russian communities and the lack of reciprocity in the neighborhood context.¹⁴⁶ However, the outsiders' “practice of categorizing others by 'communities' [...] suggests that categorial ascriptions follow preestablished common standards and values and that the people placed in these categories experience some kind of togetherness.” (Blokland 2017: 101f.) This kind of togetherness, and the willing isolation from the rest of America, however, is not

¹⁴⁶ Two respondents provided negative, if not openly racist, descriptions of certain groups in their neighborhoods. These descriptions were offered in covert fashion, but clearly understandable in the interview. I will not provide any detail on the more overt forms of racism in the interview. This kind of evaluation of groups and behaviors is indicative of a discord between several groups within the neighborhood, the existence of which I acknowledge as a researcher but whose defamatory content and exact linguistic representations I refuse to give a platform in my work.

equally perceived or appreciated by all members of such 'communities'. Thus, there is a clear distinction between "diversity as a value and diversity as a fact" (Ignatieff 2017: 47) in Sheepshead Bay. New members of ethnic communities in Sheepshead Bay come to the neighborhood precisely because the storekeepers speak their language or because there are already other members of their ethnic group there. However, contrary to what is perceived by those who are not part of this group, not all members of, for instance, the local Russian 'community' want to necessarily "end up" (ibid.) there, primarily because life in these communities is very much unlike the America that they came for. This is in line with Ignatieff's study on the borough of Queens, where members of diverse neighborhoods regard these as "starting points, not final destinations" (2017: 47).

In this sub-corpus, then, it becomes clear that when people talk about community, there are minute differences in the way the term is used. When it is self-ascribed, it is used to describe a group that one might belong to or associate with. When it is ascribed by others, in the form of an essentializing treatment of a particular community, it can become a way of expressing resentments. This goes to show that while residential segregation can be "morally innocent, reflecting patterns of group self-selection; some of it, however, is morally problematic, reflecting fear and dislike of other groups." (Ignatieff 2017: 66) This differs strongly from neighborhoods in North and Central Brooklyn, where references to community were more frequently used to express social cohesion and interconnectedness across larger parts of the neighborhood. In Sheepshead Bay, diversity is declared as a value by respondents but not lived as a fact. The neighborhood, for some, is considered an authentic representation of Old Brooklyn. For others it is merely a bedroom community whose members do not necessarily connect to the neighborhood: if they were not born there, they would only move there for reasons of affordability, convenience, and safety. While its quietness and proximity to the ocean seem to compensate for the lack of other desirable neighborhood features, divergent neighborhood norms become apparent in assessments of neighborhood safety. The breadth of aspects that residents take issue with shows that priorities, norms and desired states of the neighborhood are not the same for all residents alike. As opposed to previous sub-corpora, there are quite a number of contrasting perspectives on the neighborhood, which could be due to stark differences between locations of data collection ranging from more commercial to more residential, or indeed, variation in perceptions of the status quo by individuals. Finally, change discourses in this area differ from those in other sub-corpora for they overwhelmingly refer to an ongoing demographic shift that

has led to a more diverse neighborhood with a range of close-knit communities.¹⁴⁷ However, it seems that the area reminiscent of Old Brooklyn remains a relatively segregated, a little mosaic of quiet micro-neighborhoods on the seaside.

4.7 Concluding thoughts: Negotiations of community, diversity, and trust in a changing Brooklyn

Beginning with a look at the social dimension of neighborhood that emerged in the BK_SpokenRA corpora, the last paragraphs have shown that social relations between different groups of residents in a neighborhood can also take on a negative quality. Indeed, the way respondents talked about the various communities residing in the Sheepshead Bay area – however homogeneous they may in fact be – at first glance seemed to provide evidence for the rather pessimistic claims about lack and decline of trust in diverse (urban) areas (cf. Putnam 2000, 2007). A range of empirical investigations that explicitly address a variety of different trust scenarios, targets, and methods all seem to support the hypothesis that ‘diversity’ is detrimental to trust, civic engagement, and social capital.¹⁴⁸ While I did not specifically ask respondents about trust, there were instances where individuals reported negative feelings toward others, particularly in situations where different groups, both ethno-racial and class-based, found themselves to share the space of a neighborhood as a random *collection of people who happen to be thrown together* (3_11216_14) rather than a *real neighborhood* (3_11216_15). While this could be argued to be anything other than trust, it does seem that the connection between trust and positionings vis-à-vis an out-group, as for instance shown by Rothwell (2012), is crucial. Do people in neighborhoods like Sheepshead Bay show stronger in-group and lower out-group trust due to residential segregation (cf. Rothwell 2012; Schmid et al. 2014), or do they indicate lower levels of trust because of the diversity they are surrounded by? Indeed, looking at all areas analyzed, it does not seem that diversity is an indicator for lower trust on the neighborhood level. Rather, diversity is regarded as an important criterion, in some areas even an asset, of the neighborhood. Even so, it does not mean that there are automatically higher levels of trust and more intimate social relations among neighbors in areas where diversity is spoken about in positive terms.

¹⁴⁷ The demographic changes are not likely to be fully represented in the census data because the census forms are not available in the languages that are spoken in the area (8_11235_2). Thus, it seems that these recent changes have not made the neighborhood more diverse on paper, but on the ground.

¹⁴⁸ For instance, Bakker and Dekker (2012) argue that trust depends on whether one’s own ethnic group is the majority. In this logic, a higher proportion of one’s own group is of course beneficial. However, this is still difficult to measure because, in Bakker and Dekker’s study, only social cohesion and neighborhood attachment were measured. Similarly, Wu et al. (2017) argue that duration of residence and time spent in the neighborhood increase social trust between neighbors. At the same time, fluctuation and income disparities seem to decrease trust, and so do lower education levels and higher population densities.

It becomes clear here that it is important to specify what is meant by 'diversity' as a variable in explorations of trust in the urban sphere and what the directions and targets of trust are exactly. A simple shift in analytical variables can lead to a rebuttal of Putnam's conclusion on the negative effect of diversity on trust, simply because the determination of trust types and measures and indeed the definition of diversity that is applied have a bearing on the results (cf. Rothwell 2012; Gundelach/Freitag 2014; Gunnarson 2018). Interestingly, analyzing the same data that Putnam used, Abascal and Baldassari (2015) observe lower levels of trust by white residents who live in diverse environments, especially when they live among out-group members like Black and Hispanic people. Moreover, they linked the differences in trust levels observed to "differences between communities and their residents in terms of race/ethnicity, residential stability, and economic conditions", noting that "classic indicators of inequality, not diversity, strongly and consistently predict self-reported trust." (Abascal/Baldassari 2015: 722) These findings prompt an important shift of perspective on diversity as an explanatory variable for the widely-proclaimed decline of traditional place-based forms of community¹⁴⁹, and could lead to the development of policies to tackle such persistent and structural inequalities that seem to be most responsible for low levels of trust among nonwhite residents in the long run.

In line with this, Schmid et al. (2014) find that increased contact between different groups in a diverse setting is beneficial to trust across the board, for in-group, out-group, and neighborhood trust (ibid.: 670). This is because contact makes the 'other' less threatening, and repeated encounters would contribute to the dismantling of out-group stereotypes, which is also corroborated by Ellen's (2000) study on neighborhood integration. Thus, it is fair to ask:

If super-diversity works – in the limited sense that the soup does not boil over and overt conflict is avoided – what actually is so good about it if we live side by side, but not together, if tolerance goes hand in hand with self-segregation and avoidance, if, moreover, people don't actually choose this pattern of life? (Ignatieff 2017: 46)

Indeed, this question is intertwined with criticism of a normative and idealist treatment of community as it is "paradoxically reinforced as an ideal, although never fully realized, condition of social life." (Pratt 2012: 178) Based on the data, the answer to the question whether community is the cure-all and whether living together is better than living side by side, is of course complicated. In the previous sections, I often argued that community discourses were rooted on the availability of third places that allowed for the formation of some kind of social ties, for instance

¹⁴⁹ For a concise discussion of traditions of theorizing community, its decline, and the role of trust in the process, see Blokland (2017: 15-41).

in Bed-Stuy, Crown Heights, or Prospect Lefferts Gardens. But it seems that in most scenarios, these ties would require more durable engagements than most of living environments and most peoples' lives allow for. Indeed, an emphasis on social networks and ties also seem to suggest that community is a stable, positivist notion, when in most cases it forms around a common interest or other shared endeavors, or through seemingly insignificant mundane practices, as urban sociologist Blokland (2017) argues. Not all residents are members of the same communities of practice or the same social networks. In Sheepshead Bay, the lack of contact between individuals from different groups, paired with feelings of neglect by the police and local authorities, could be one of the explanatory factors. In Flatbush, it was argued that higher-level authorities did not trust the local population and thus did not provide them with the same services as other, more homogeneous and affluent nearby areas.

Even in areas like Bed-Stuy and Prospect Lefferts Gardens/Crown Heights South, where the 'neighborhood as community' discourse is among the most dominant in the BK_SpokenRA corpora, it seems that this idea of 'neighborhood as community' rests on the existence not of social ties but more on a "public familiarity" (Blokland 2017: 168) that differs from what we know of as traditional and durable forms of community in that it encompasses everyday practices ranging from more fluid to more durable. Most of the ties we have in an unstable, ever-changing globalized urban society are far from static. In these circumstances, public familiarity evolves from being able to read the neighborhood – similar to what E. Anderson (1999) describes as learning the code of the street – and to recognize and be recognized without necessarily developing any form of social ties with those we see and engage with en passant on a daily basis, sometimes only in the form of a smile or a nod. In line with what I observed in Flatbush and Midwood, where some residents feel a strong sense of belonging but residential and educational segregation is persistent, public familiarity gives rise to a shared sense of belonging as it "facilitates the experience of community" (Blokland 2017: 132), and is thus key for different groups sharing heterogeneous (sub)urban environments where fluid encounters and shared practices in the realm of the public may be all that remains as performances of community among neighbors.

Moving away from the social dimension as a key factor in discursive neighborhood construction to a more general overview of the findings, the analysis of neighborhood sub-corpora of the BK_SpokenRA corpus showed that neighborhoods are conceptualized and evaluated based on different kinds of lived experience. While there are similarities across all areas of investigation, there is also significant inter- and intra-spatial variation. 22 out of 25 informants may

perceive of a neighborhood as a safe and quiet residential area, while three others disagree. The conflicting voices that contribute to discursive neighborhood construction in BK_SpokenRA suggest that neighborhoods are based on more than the physical or spatial definition as a container that many informants bring forth, but also on social and phenomenological aspects. More precisely, social actors oscillate between poles of different but often inter-related attributes, mainly location, transport, nature, consumption, business, and community. Further frequently addressed attributes revolve around changes in the commercial landscape of the neighborhood, but also touch on structural and demographic shifts.

Two of the most prominent ways in which these are construed and evaluated are through spatial and temporal comparison. Those areas that have been most gentrified, most prevalently Williamsburg, are compared to different areas of Manhattan, and SoHo and the Lower East Side in particular, both of which have been heavily affected by gentrification in the past two decades. The use of Manhattan as a means of comparison in neighborhoods along Brooklyn's waterfront was also shown by Busse (2019).¹⁵⁰ The findings of BK_SpokenRA suggest, however, that the picture is more complicated beyond already gentrified neighborhoods like Williamsburg that have already entered the fourth wave of gentrification in the early 2000s (cf. Lees et al. 2008). Comparison to Manhattan also occurs in areas that are located further south along Bedford Avenue, more precisely in Midwood which has direct subway access to the neighboring borough with the F, B and Q-lines. Through the layout of the network of routes, the bypassing of trendier neighborhoods and the direct access to Manhattan by subway seems to move areas within Brooklyn farther away in the minds of central and south Brooklyn residents. Throughout the corpus, respondents use references to Manhattan as markers of negative evaluation to signal undesired neighborhood trajectories, with two exceptions. Respondents in Sheepshead Bay refer to Manhattan as the desirable but far-away city, while respondents in Bed-Stuy and Flatbush draw on references to Williamsburg to express negative evaluation of developments in their own neighborhoods. This shows the crucial role location plays in affecting evaluation, frames of reference, and neighborhood construction more generally, and provides first evidence for the existence of inter-spatial variation in the BK_SpokenRA corpus.

Temporal bases of comparison are used for both negative and positive evaluation. There is a tendency for interviewees to evoke comparisons with earlier

¹⁵⁰ The distribution of these spatial comparison strategies corroborates Florida's (2017: 109) observation that "the creative class is confined almost completely to parts of the borough that are adjacent to Lower Manhattan, though it is beginning to stretch out from there."

times to signal negative evaluation of the current status quo in super-gentrified areas like Williamsburg. Although present, spatial comparison is less prominent in central and south Brooklyn. In those neighborhoods that are in earlier stages of gentrification, like Bed-Stuy and Flatbush, respondents tend to employ temporal comparison with the past as a means of positive evaluation. This depends both on the race, ethnicity, and length of residence and the awareness on part of the interviewees regarding their role in neighborhood change. Similar to Brown-Saracino's (2009) social preservationist gentrifiers, white informants in Bed-Stuy overwhelmingly refer to their being white to construct implicit negative evaluation of the processes of gentrification and highlight negative effects of their being in the neighborhood on long-time Black residents. In Flatbush, Black residents from the Caribbean position themselves as immigrants and long-time neighbors by referring to length of residence or year of arrival in Flatbush. Further, respondents draw on their cultural heritage to signal belonging in place. In these interviews, respondents carefully craft a stance that contributes to the legitimization of their being and belonging in place as rents and numbers of new, more affluent residents are rising fast. They thereby construct Flatbush as a diverse community that is positively evaluated despite shortcomings in the form of lacking services. In Sheepshead Bay, perhaps the most suburban of all areas investigated, a temporal dimension is introduced to express negative neighborhood evaluation and discontent with the status quo based on changes in the demographic and economic makeup of the area, and in one part of the neighborhood, based on a recent increase in crime.

Length of residence and community involvement also affect the way neighborhood change is perceived. For those who have left the neighborhood, there is a tendency to evaluate neighborhoods more negatively. For long-time residents in early-stage gentrifying neighborhoods, moderate changes in the commercial landscape, such as for instance the opening of a new supermarket or a welcome addition to the culinary landscape, are evaluated favorably. Long-time residents of early-gentrifying neighborhoods like Bed-Stuy and Flatbush approve of the existence and persistence of community in most favorable terms. On the contrary, the interviews suggest that newer residents appreciate the location, affordability, and existing commercial landscape more than they do community.

On the one hand, it seems from these interviews that the more people are involved with their neighborhood in the form of daily practices, the more favorable and more detailed the evaluations and descriptions of the neighborhood get. This underlines that community attachment and "acts of neighboring" (Mahmoudi Farahani 2016: 2) are conducive to positive neighborhood evaluation. On the other, residents who were born and raised in or have been living in an area for a long

time seem more nostalgic about recent neighborhood change due to a heightened awareness of what has been lost. The “cultural keyword” (Levisen/Waters 2017: 3) ‘Old Brooklyn’ is one of the main ideas that structure and organize change discourses in south Brooklyn.

Community discourses provide evidence for the social dimension of neighborhood. These were evoked in a large share of the interviews but not in all areas investigated. When people construct an area as a ‘real’ neighborhood, their answers indicate that there is a shared sense of sociability that evolves from people greeting, knowing one another and looking out for the people on their block. Indeed, community is not lost, as Blokland (2017) highlights, but it lives on in a variety of locally realized practices. This is especially the case in ethnically more homogeneous communities, like in smaller sub-section of Flatbush. Here, social norms and associated expected behaviors of residents in the present affect behavior towards others and future visions of the neighborhood (cf. Sampson 2013) and the manifestations in the commercial and consumption landscape that caters to the tastes and wallets of neighbors rather than offering a broad variety of premium foods.

When neighborhood-as-community discourses were evoked, it emerged from the concordances that there is also a phenomenological perspective on neighborhood: they are not just lived and practiced but also provide an experience to social actors. This can be an experience of togetherness of like-minded people in local communities of practice, be it in the form of likeminded street art enthusiasts, store owners, or of neighbors who share and celebrate a common heritage. Interviews in central Brooklyn neighborhoods like Bed-Stuy or Flatbush contained several references to the perceptible social dimension of neighborhoods that made them ‘real’ neighborhoods.

In this vein, respondents perceive qualitative differences in neighborhoods based on the degree of sociality and relations between individuals. Moreover, in neighborhoods that are described as communities, respondents refer to the existence of communal third places where neighbors can come together on equal footing (cf. Oldenburg 1989). These are meeting areas such as community gardens, parks, or neighborhood joints that respondents list as their favorite places within the neighborhoods. Community is construed as a key asset and a frequent target of positive evaluation in North/Central Brooklyn neighborhoods like Bed-Stuy and Crown Heights/Prospect Lefferts Gardens. Respondents in these areas also stress the authentic quality of the social relations in the neighborhood, which is emphasized by sociologists who underline the importance of public spaces that allow for encounter and the facilitation of trusting relations (cf. Allmendinger/Wetzel

2020). However, these public spaces can also become spaces of exclusion because of potentially conflicting norms held by the variety of people they attract (cf. Florida 2017; Wiegandt 2017).

The perception of physical order is also conducive to the perception of neighborhood as communities of residents. This is in line with the often-criticized broken windows theory by Wilson and Kelling (1982) as well as studies on neighborhoods and social trust (Bakker/Dekker 2012; Sampson 2013) which report that orderliness in the neighborhood positively affects social trust between residents. Neighborhoods in which respondents refer to features such as gardens and flowerbeds or distinct housing types that are part of the local architecture tend to contain more references to inter-group contact and collective efficacy. Interestingly, such mentions of disorder seem to increase along the North-South traverse. Issues with the cleanliness of parks and streets as well as the unreliability of the Department of Sanitation are emphasized the most in Sheepshead Bay, where the neighborhood is not regarded as one but a set of several closed communities.

In the larger Flatbush section, too, it became apparent that diversity manifests itself in residential segregation. The many micro-neighborhoods within the larger areas allow for possible overlaps with little contact along major commercial thoroughfares, resulting in community based on shared race and culture. The agency choices in this area also suggest that decisions for the neighborhood are primarily made outside the neighborhood. While there are indicators of community discourses linked to Flatbush and also to Sheepshead Bay, these refer to several, micro-communities within the neighborhood that all lay claim to be residents of Flatbush or Sheepshead Bay, but have little or no contact with one another. In these conditions, individual perceptions of residents can become exclusionary towards others who share neighborhood space and amenities. What is evaluated as an asset of a neighborhood by one interviewee serves to threaten the livelihood of another, which is similar to the situation in gentrified neighborhoods further north.

Safety discourses are typically evoked implicitly, either by stating that safety in the area has improved or by declaring that crime has been reduced. This usually includes the strategy of temporal comparison. Perceptions of danger and safety are strongly affected by what is perceived to be the image held by people outside the neighborhood. In their statements, residents mitigate public perceptions with the help of hedges and weigh up instances of criminal activity with other aspects of the neighborhood that they consider to be more important. There is extreme inter-neighborhood variation. Safety discourses in negated form are used in Bed-

Stuy, Flatbush, and Sheepshead Bay, a small section of which has seen what is perceived by respondents as drastic increases of criminal activity. These also tend to be perceived as more acute and evaluated more negatively when residents have lived there longer and can thus assess the situation in a temporal comparison, as a longer duration of residence seems to consolidate neighborhood norms held by informants which are easily affected by shifts in the neighborhood.

Perhaps the most pervasive of all discourses connected to neighborhoods are those revolving around change, and gentrification in particular. However, perceptions and construals of gentrification are far from homogeneous in the sub-corpora. In areas that are in early stages of gentrification, residents conceptualize the developments as double-edged sword, wherein decreases in undesirable elements like crime are evaluated positively, while almost everything else that is connected to this type of neighborhood change is assessed negatively, for instance rising rents or having to work several jobs to afford the rent. Moreover, gentrification is not only seen as a personal threat, but also a symbolic one. In Sheepshead Bay, respondents argue that the Old Brooklyn feel that has been retained in the area is compromised by rising rents and socio-demographic changes, while in Bed-Stuy, respondents fear that the historically Black identity of the neighborhood might be lost.

Gentrification is also used as an implicit indicator of neighborhood evaluation across time. Three patterns recur in gentrification discourses. These emphasize, first, the desire to go back in time to a pre-gentrification state and try to maintain neighborhood's socio-economic diversity, the protection of which comes close to an aestheticization thereof as a means of cultural capital deployed for identity positioning (cf. Reckwitz 2017), as done by symbolic (Schlichtman et al. 2017) or social preservationist gentrifiers (Brown-Saracino 2009). Second, change is regarded as necessary improvement and all changes are evaluated positively. Third, when gentrification is evoked, for example when an area is declared as being too gentrified, it is to evaluate the area's present state negatively because the period in which the neighborhood came close to their desired vision has passed. Informants do not solely evaluate these changes overtly, for instance through declaratives or adjectives, but covertly, by means of evoking certain discourses and positioning themselves within the range of subject positions available to them (cf. Benwell/Stokoe 2006; Oswald 2014; Reisigl 2014) while at the same time aligning with other subjects and evaluating an issue (cf. Du Bois 2007; Jaffee 2009; Jaworski/Thurlow 2009).

Moreover, respondents assess their own role in neighborhood change in various ways: they either ignore their own role in the process as drivers of

gentrification¹⁵¹ or they own their responsibility and position themselves as active allies of long-time residents and let a social preservationist perspective shine through (cf. Brown-Saracino 2009). In Bed-Stuy, for instance, the salience of respondents' own ethnicities as opposed to that of long-time residents is highlighted. While signaling awareness about their own role in the process of neighborhood change, and in the shift in racial composition of the neighborhood in particular, these respondents still align with and espouse a social preservationist ideology with regard to the neighborhood in-group. Through such acts of self-positioning, self-anchoring, and aligning, social actors at the same time deploy the neighborhoods they live in as "avenues of identity construction" (Taylor 2002: 75, cf. also Modan 2007, Brown-Saracino 2009). Alternatively, interviewees shift the responsibility to larger corporate actors, society in general or residents who have not become educated enough to earn wages that enable them to afford rising rents, thus construing gentrification in almost Darwinian terms: as a race for urban space in which, ultimately, only those with the best financial resources can compete. While the data indicate that there is a strong sense of awareness in earlier-stage gentrifying neighborhoods such as Bed-Stuy, there is very little of such awareness of the long-standing ethnic groups still fighting to stay on in Williamsburg.

5. Stakeholder perspectives: In-depth interviews in North and Central Brooklyn

The democracy of the neighborhood includes an array of different stakeholders. People who live in or engage with a neighborhood all have a certain investment in the neighborhood, that is, an idealistic, economic or other interest that drives their participation in local groups. In that sense, they are not merely social actors "involved or affected by a course of action" (Merriam-Webster 2019: "stakeholder," n.) in their area of residence. Rather, social actors become actively involved in or contribute to the neighborhood in a myriad of ways. For instance, homeowners and tenants interested in the upkeep of the area or the preservation of their home values get together informally with others to form block, homeowners or tenants associations. Others join community gardens or grassroots initiatives to engage in beautification efforts of their surroundings or to voice their concerns to local community boards (cf. Martinez 2010). While individual motivations vary, one of the driving forces for these forms of urban participation is an idealized version of the neighborhood they are working toward: a good neighborhood for themselves or, in the case of local association members, their clients to live in.

¹⁵¹ For a discussion of the consumption-side theory of gentrification, see Harvey (1989: 156).

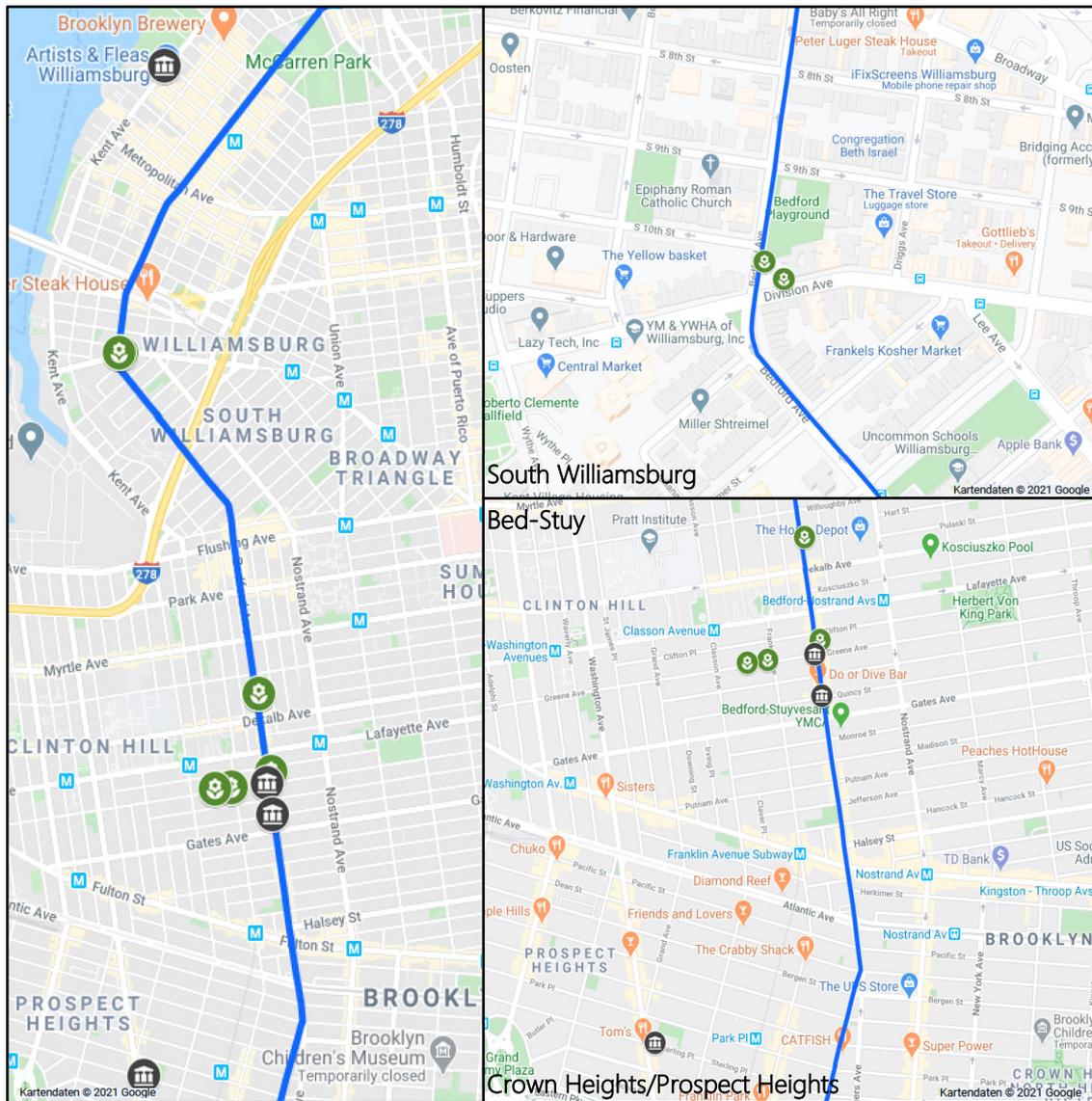


Fig. 10: Interview locations in North/Central Brooklyn: Gardeners (flower icons) and stakeholders (house icons). Adapted from Google My Maps (2021).

In this chapter, I analyze in-depth interviews with ten neighborhood stakeholders from North and Central Brooklyn. Although it covers a broad range of perspectives, this randomly sampled data set is not a complete representation of all potential public or private stakeholders.¹⁵² Six of the ten interviews were conducted while volunteering and simultaneously speaking with members in community gardens in the northern/north-western sections of Brooklyn in April and September of 2018. Two interviews with representatives of non-profit organizations in Williamsburg and Crown Heights/Prospect Heights¹⁵³ and two conversations with neighborhood stakeholders from Bed-Stuy, one a landlord and realtor and the other a long-time

¹⁵² For a stakeholder analysis that tackles the issues of gentrification and neighborhood development in New York, Berlin, and Vienna, see Franz (2015).

¹⁵³ There is, of course, a considerable amount of stakeholders, associations, and clubs that I have not had a chance to talk to. As anyone who has ever written or asked for an interview request, I too have to say that only a fraction of stakeholders reacted to my query. In order to build on this interview data set and gather a wider range of perspectives at the grassroots level, I compiled a corpus of neighborhood organization websites, which will be subject to analysis in chapter 6.

tenant complete the in-depth interview corpus. Taken together, this corpus provides valuable perspectives of how stakeholders participate in and discursively construct their neighborhood in areas along Bedford Avenue, Brooklyn. In this corpus, I put special emphasis on the way interviewees talk about neighborhood and community, about their participation in the neighborhood or the local group they are working in and to what extent their involvement is guided by an idea of good neighborhood they are working towards.

Moreover, because of the involvement of several stakeholders in the realm of housing and real estate, the ways in which these affect neighborhoods are discussed. With regard to the relatively small sample size, the analysis will be more qualitative in that it draws on small numbers of occurrences and sometimes single instances of particular concepts or ideas used by only one interviewee. In addition to quantitative keyword analysis, I also qualitatively draw on interviews that shine a light on how the various forms of participation contribute to participants' understandings and constructions of neighborhood.

The BK_SpokenID corpus consists of about two hours of spoken material, with an average length of 19:23 min per interview. This results in 29,555 tokens for the wordlist computed in WordsmithTools (Scott 2012-). The COCA spoken sample, with 376,552 tokens (Davies 2008-), serves as the reference corpus in the keyword analysis. My line of action in this chapter is to first look at the more general keywords *neighborhood* and *community*, and second, to look at those keywords that point to forms of participation of individual stakeholders and associations (*garden(s)*, *AirBnB*, *housing*, *real estate*), before closing with a discussion of group terms among the keywords to explore how stakeholders perceive of the people they live and work with, and how they engage with them.

N	Keyword	Freq.	%	Keyness
1	LIKE	628	1.95	3,216.07
2	KNOW	382	1.18	1,953.56
3	YEAH	464	1.44	1,180.49
4	NEIGHBORHOOD	172	0.53	791.79
5	THINK	115	0.36	587.23
6	SAY	99	0.31	505.48
7	KIND	91	0.28	464.62
8	COMMUNITY	119	0.37	391.08
9	GO	75	0.23	382.89
10	WANT	74	0.23	377.78
11	MEAN	69	0.21	352.25
12	COME	65	0.20	331.82
13	WILL	65	0.20	331.82
14	SO	380	1.18	317.98
15	SEE	61	0.19	311.39
16	GET	60	0.19	306.29
17	GARDEN	54	0.17	252.63
18	PLACE	47	0.15	239.91
19	BLOCK	41	0.13	209.27
20	OKAY	69	0.21	190.84
21	LIVE	36	0.11	183.75
22	WORK	35	0.11	178.64
23	AIRBNB	34	0.11	173.54
24	BED-STUY	33	0.10	168.43
25	MOVE	32	0.10	163.33
26	TAKE	32	0.10	163.33
27	BACK	31	0.10	158.22
28	I	901	2.79	153.35
29	PART	30	0.09	153.12
30	CALL	30	0.09	153.12

Table 5.1: Top 30 keywords in BK_SpokenID.

5.1 Doing neighboring: Urban forms of participation and community

Neighborhood (0.53%, LL=791.79) is the most frequent noun in the BK_SpokenID corpus. It collocates strongly with the nouns *people* (t=3.327) and *community* (t=2.278), both of which are also keywords. The function words *the* (t=9.499), *in* (t=7.639), *this* (t=6.209) and *of* (t=5.210) also collocate strongly with the node. These are represented in the clusters *in the neighborhood* (27x), *in this neighborhood* (13x), *of the neighborhood* (8x) and *into the neighborhood* (5x). Content word collocates, in comparison, show smaller but still acceptable scores¹⁵⁴ for effect size of collocation: *people* (t=3.327), *about* (t=2.680), *community* (t=2.278), *grew* (t=2.212), *just* (t=2.208), *now* (t=2.068) and *culture* (t=1.987).

The function word collocates reveal a range of locative constructions that contain actions that are connected to the neighborhood by respondents. Collocations with directional adverbs like *to* or *into* show that respondents view the neighborhood as containers (cf. Löw 2018). In particular, the cluster *v + [+ O] + PREP + DET + neighborhood* shows that neighborhoods are construed as the goal of actions, for instance in the verb phrase *get certain things into the neighborhood* (10_Orgas_3).

Verb	Object	Preposition	Determiner	Noun	Interview
come		into	the	neighborhood	10_1 ¹⁵⁵
come		to	This	neighborhood	10_2
coming		into	the	neighborhood	10_3
walk		around	my	neighborhood	10_3
stay		in	this	neighborhood	10_2
live		in	the	neighborhood	10_3
be		in	the	neighborhood	10_3
been		in	the	neighborhood	10_3
connect	people	to	the	neighborhood	10_1
connected		with	the	neighborhood	10_1
integrate		with	the	neighborhood	10_1
recognize	people	in	my	neighborhood	10_3

Table 5.2: Clusters of *v + [+ O] + PREP + DET + neighborhood*.

Moreover, the verb lemma COME co-occurs with *into the neighborhood* (4x), suggesting that neighborhoods are the target of human movement. This resonates with Zukin's (2010) claim that Brooklyn has become a place to go to, not to come from. In this line of argumentation, neighborhoods serve as destinations and status symbols alike (cf. Reckwitz 2017). In contrast, the last three occurrences in table 4.10 do not refer to actions that are connected to movement towards but to people and their integration with neighborhoods. Thus, they are not merely perceived as

¹⁵⁴ T-scores below 2.0 do not indicate a strong confidence in the association between the two linguistic items. Indeed, Gablasova et al. (2017: 163) argue that a high t-score is not always the sole indicator of a frequent combination of words. Rather, "[t]he t-score and frequency thus cannot be seen as co-extensional terms as suggested in the literature. Instead the logic of their relationship is this: While all collocations identified by the t-score are frequent, not all frequent word combinations have a high t-score."

¹⁵⁵ The data can be attributed to gardeners (9_Interview number) and stakeholders (10_Interview number).

a container which is the backdrop for activity. Rather, neighborhoods have a social dimension, or even a form of “social organization” (Stokoe/Wallwork 2003: 3). The verbs *connect* and *integrate* both indicate a unidirectional process of forming a link between the person and the neighborhood: *as a newcomer I shouldn't expect the neighborhood to integrate with me but I should integrate with the neighborhood.* (10_1) The final cluster, *recognize people in my neighborhood* (10_3) shows what integration with and connection to the neighborhood can result in. The mutual act of taking notice is construed here as conducive to a *neighborhood, like, community feeling* (10_3) that can foster a sense of belonging and a feeling of *home*. This emphasizes the importance of habitual and conscious practice on behalf of the resident in the formation of ties with a neighborhood and its residents.

Occurrences of the second general keyword in BK_SpokenID, *community* (0.37%, LL=391.08), suggest that *community* is conceptualized as something that evolves over time. It is construed as the result of a process that came about with the help of a responsible functional structure, as can be seen in the compounds *community development organization(s)* and *community development corporation(s)* (both 10_1) and in the list of verbs that collocate with *community*, such as *developed* (t=1.410) and *become*. Thus, respondents state that communities may *become more integrated* (10_1) through certain events, such as the proposed L train shutdown that would provide people with the opportunity to engage with what is already in the neighborhood, the local community. A further verb-collocate, *connected* (t=1.405), is used only in negated form, indicating a divide between certain entities in Williamsburg, where the entertainment sector is *not connected with like the existing community* (10_1), leaving a gap to be bridged through *outreach* (9_3). This shows that communities and community spaces do not appear out of thin air. Once established, conscious and joint effort to *keep the community going* (9_1) is required to generate a *community feeling* (10_3).

The keyword *community* is primarily used to signal unity in diverse settings. This is particularly evident in an interview with the executive director of the Brooklyn Neighborhood Improvement Association (BNIA) located in Crown Heights/Prospect Heights, which was founded in 1980 by residents as a neighborhood preservation organization. This interviewee produced 35.5% of all uses of *community* in the BK_SpokenID corpus. While this could be an idiolectal feature, the repeated equation of community and neighborhood is striking:

The average income **for this neighborhood, for this community**, okay let let let me give you the narrative. This community comprises of two neighborhoods.

So we have about 500 apartment units **in this neighborhood, in this community**, uh, that we developed in the 80s to the 90s.

So, now the situation we have right now is **the neighborhood or the community** is no longer affordable to low, even to the moderate income people.¹⁵⁶ (10_2)

The first of the three occurrences here is especially interesting as it teases apart the relation between neighborhood and community in the second clause. The community, which is subsumed under Brooklyn Community District 8 in its entirety, is construed as spanning two neighborhoods that are becoming less affordable. From the standpoint of the organization, however, it is viewed as one community that they are striving to improve, as the name of the association suggests.

When the keyword *community* co-occurs with possessive pronouns, an in-group of community members is constructed. In this excerpt, the first person plural possessive is used by the informant to construe two distinct groups of neighbors within the two neighborhoods:

[The authorities, KB] need to review the AMI, Average Median Income, that they're using for **our community**... it's killing us. They lump **our community** with **other rich community**, rich neighborhood, so now they're using 96,000 dollars as average AMI, Average Median Income, uh, for the, you know, so even if the majority of our people, they're not even making half of that, so if you're using 96,000 as a affordability shot, you know, you price out many, many of people in **our community**. (10_2)

The respondent juxtaposes the majority of the neighborhood's residents with those of other more affluent areas. The one defining feature of this other group, its affluence, poses a threat to the local community. In this context, the introductory remark on the effect of the average medium income on residents serves as a negative evaluation of the situation. The declaration *it's killing us* frames the threat as potentially fatal for residents of Crown/Prospect Heights. A subtle but sharp distinction is created here linguistically between locals and external authorities. In this vein, the keyword *community* is used to signal disaffiliation and opposition to the authorities whose ways of assessing community makeup by income are detrimental to a large part of the local population.

In the course of the interview, it becomes clear that *community* is a dynamic concept that is harnessed depending on the context and aim of the informant. While it signaled in-group boundaries in the previous excerpt, the keyword is used here as a unifying expression that suggests that everyone is part of the local community, no matter which income tier or duration of residence:

You know, basically, the people that are moving out to us are more yuppie type, you know. Uh, they kind of blend, you know, and I don't think the people that were here, they were, you know, against them, but they know the reason why they were here, and the majority of the landlord, the ST, the local minority people that have been here long before they came and so they knew they would probably want to purchase their building. I don't see

¹⁵⁶ One could speculate whether this excerpt also implies that it is possible to buy oneself into a community by moving to a particular neighborhood.

any friction. I go to the community board regularly, I see the mixture of the the **community** people. I don't see any friction at all. (10_2)

In this excerpt, the social actors moving to the area are specified as *more yuppie type* people interested in acquiring real estate, long-time residents, landlords, and *local minority people*, all of which are argued to blend in with the neighborhood seamlessly. The potential friction that could be caused by new residents who are primarily young, college-educated *yuppie people* (ibid.) who earn more than the majority of the neighborhood is almost downplayed.¹⁵⁷ *Community* is used as a premodifier to the head of the noun phrase, *people*, suggesting that all of these people are community members. It serves as an umbrella term to refer to any resident in the area, be it rich, poor, long-time or new residents. Moreover, the evocation of community in this diverse neighborhood where a race riot erupted in 1991 may also be a strategic move by organizers to contribute to the rapprochement of such groups.

Besides this broad understanding of community as umbrella term for all residents of the area, the interviews also foreground a narrower sense based on internal social cohesion and interaction. Just moving to a neighborhood does not seem to be enough to partake in a local community, as one gardener explains:

[T]he people who are interested in, like, living here as, like, "Oh, I want to, like, have kids and, like, live here," It's hard for to have, like, the quick, the hipster **community**, because it kind of, it makes things. One of one of my neighbors, the other day, she's, like, an old African-American lady. She was like, what was her word? It wasn't "toxic", but it was something like that. "Devilish" or something like that. [...] "Demonistic," something like that, where she was like like, it doesn't. Yeah, it was so funny. I was like, "Yeah, you're right." Like coming in and not adding anything to the **community** and leaving. Kinda sucks, like, you know? (9_6)

In this excerpt, the keyword *community* is used to both signal in-group status (*the community*) and out-group exclusion (*the hipster community*). Here, people who refrain from contributing are considered as *demonistic*, as being an "evil spirit" and "source of agent of evil, harm, distress, or ruin" (Merriam-Webster: 2019: "demon," n.). In this case, this means reaping the benefits achieved by community members, most of which are families or residents who intend to stay on this Bed-Stuy block for a longer duration of time. The use of *community* as a mass noun in combination with the determiner *the* suggests, first, a certain homogeneity and cohesion among members. Second, the specification of the type of community serves to highlight the distance between the assumed default and the other. In the above excerpt, the

¹⁵⁷ While there is no open conflict between the local population and the people moving to the area who, arguably, will have contributed to making it less affordable over time, it seems almost unlikely that there is no friction between the different *community people*. In fact, one such incident that caused enormous friction made headlines in 2017. Prior to opening a new restaurant, the owner advertised "instagrammable" fake bullet holes as authentic remnants of the neighborhood's past, spurring outrage among area residents. See Trinch and Snajdr (2020, chapter 5) for an analysis of how the events unfolded.

in-group are the *neighbors* on the one hand, while the hipsters, whose fleeting presence in and lack of engagement with the neighborhood are evaluated negatively by construing them as the *demonistic* out-group. This underlines the idea that community is not considered just “a unified body of individuals” (Merriam-Webster 2019: “community,” n.) here but as a joint urban practice (cf. Blokland 2017). To achieve this, the Bed-Stuy community gardener above demands a more durable engagement in line with the norms of the neighborhood that are implied in the verb phrase *coming in and not adding anything to the community and leaving*. This entails not only that the neighborhood norm stipulates a culture of contribution, but also that neighborhood is something that evolves through shared engagement over an extended period of time.

The practice-based aspect of community becomes especially apparent in interviews with landlords and gardeners. In these, being *part of a community* (10_4) is connected to particular actions, such as attending block association meetings (10_4). The respondent also clearly states that some people on their block prefer to *be private* instead of getting involved with an existing community, which in turn may prohibit becoming a community member. Consequently, this interviewee suggests that the existence of community is not the automatic result of living in a shared space, but that of active engagement. Thus, the community is not congruent with the neighborhood but seems to take *people working together, coming together* (9_5) around a common cause to facilitate community. In these urban settings, *community* is conceptualized in the sense of a community of practice whose members engage in the practice of sharing and contributing to space and thus form social relations.

The key noun *community* is mainly used as an unspecified mass noun that denotes an undifferentiated body of social actors connected to a particular area. As in the interview with the BNIA representative, *community* stands for the people that live in the area where the association or community garden is located. Semantically speaking, it is not immediately apparent what kind of community is referred to upon hearing the utterance. The ambiguity can only be resolved by looking at co-textual and extra-linguistic context of the interview, for instance its location and the background of the speakers. Ultimately, *community* is used with a strong ideological foundation due to the focus on grassroots organizations and associations that foster the formation of networks and relations through engaging in shared spaces of “doing neighbouring” (Blokland 2017: 72) over time. However, precisely because it is a somewhat vague and elusive but still a very dynamic concept, it is important to look at the kinds of communities addressed by informants

to learn how exactly it is used to draw lines between belonging and unbelonging in the neighborhood.

5.2 Transforming who cares – Garden spaces as fertile soil for community?

The ideological understanding of community as based on shared practices, and a joint culture of contribution becomes most visible in grassroots civic engagement such as community gardens (cf. Glover 2003). As more than half of the interviewees were members of such gardens, the key lemma GARDEN (0.21%, LL=295.92, full list of concordances see appendix C2.1) is flagged as particularly significant in the corpus. Ethnographer Miranda Martinez, who studied community gardens in Manhattan's Lower East Side, stresses that

[f]or many, when they first arrive, the garden is simply an amenity, and they don't readily perceive the social imagination behind it, nor do they know to credit the old-timers with what it took to create the space. (Martinez 2010: 58)

This opens up two possible roles that gardens play in neighborhoods: attractive amenities in the form of green spaces on the one hand and social connection on the other. In the BK_SpokenID corpus, community gardens are conceptualized in two similar ways. First, they are seen as a neighborhood improvement strategy, be it to fill a vacant lot and or to grow fresh food in an area with little access to supermarkets, and second, they can be spaces that facilitate encounter and social cohesion. Beginning with the first sense, neighborhood beautification has a long tradition in many Brooklyn neighborhoods (cf. Woodsworth 2016), particularly in Bed-Stuy where its ongoing importance is very much reflected in the semiotic landscape (see fig. 11).

There are ample signs in the streets across the neighborhood calling for block beautification drives or signaling that a particular flowerbed or tree was planted by a particular neighborhood or block association. The semiotic landscape also provides information on previous neighborhood beautification efforts that have shaped today's appearance. From the 1970s on, several associations initiated by local activist Hattie Carthan planted more than 1,500 trees in Bed-Stuy. Today, one of the gardens where I conducted ethnographic observations is named after her.



Fig. 11: Semiotic landscape artefacts from Bed-Stuy. Photos: KB, April 2018 and September 2018.

The 1970s and 1980s were also the time when several of the long-standing community gardens¹⁵⁸ in North and Central Brooklyn areas I investigated were founded on vacant lots (9_4). The conversion of such an empty lot into a garden as a means of neighborhood improvement is described in the following interview:

Um, and I think it helps people take pride in their **neighborhood**. This used to be a dump. Like a junkyard for literally 40 years, so that has to do good things for sense of pride, you know? It transformed who cares. Um, this corner gets a lot of garbage, and it's starting to go down. (9_5)

The transformative effect that gardens can have for an area is highlighted in this excerpt from a Williamsburg community garden. It becomes apparent that “collective perceptions of disorder” (Sampson 2018: 22), and conversely a lack thereof, affect the ways both neighborhoods and neighborhood-external actors perceive an area, creating a sense of pride through collective efficacy, that is, social cohesion and shared expectations regarding the control over a space (cf.

¹⁵⁸ In her study of the Lower East Side, Martinez identified two types of gardens, “the Puerto Rican controlled “casita” garden and the “formally organized” garden” (2013: 46). While the gardens I visited or volunteered in range from more to less formally organized, partly because some of them belong to the city and thus have a series of restrictions that determine how and what they can grow, or how the landscaping is to be done, the distinction between casita garden and formally organized garden is not as clear-cut. While some gardens stress the social dimension of community gardens more than other, none of the gardens are “designed to evoke traditional rural Puerto Rican life” (Martinez 2010: 46). Although the garden in Williamsburg is called “La Casita Verde” and has both Spanish-speaking and English-speaking members, it is also relatively strictly organized and members write a large number of grant applications to fund new rainwater irrigation systems. Yet, they pride themselves with not being *one of these gardens that look like a landscape architect went through and designed them* (9_4), like some of the Bed-Stuy gardens which belong to the GreenThumb NYC program or one of the fifty Bette Midler gardens in the city which are a lot more landscaped than others. Yet, there can be a garden that has *more wild space* and is *very formalized* (9_2) on the same block.

Sampson 2013, 2018). The visual improvement has a transformative effect on the population. The garden has *transformed who cares*, which suggests that the presence of visually appealing spaces can foster a concern or an interest about the state of the neighborhood. What is more, the improvement of the visual aesthetics that a garden seems to bring with it is regarded as conducive to the reduction of littering in the vicinity of the garden.

A new sense of pride might also derive from the feeling of positive contribution that neighbors get when working in a local garden. Gardeners have enduring visions of what the neighborhood should be like that motivate them to work in the gardens. As one respondent puts it, *[t]hey wanna do something that improves their neighborhood.* (9_4) Thus, gardens seem to be regarded as being beneficial to the neighborhood as a whole because they provide members not only with a valuable third place but also with an “idealized vision of community” (Martinez 2010: 55). By working in a garden, neighbors become part of a community of practice that works towards a better neighborhood.

This is corroborated by the types of activities connected to gardens as represented in the verb collocates of GARDEN, which underline the image of gardens as facilitators of social cohesion. Concordances of the collocate verbs *keep* ($t=2.222$) and *come* ($t=1.337$) suggest, first, that gardens require a lot of work to *keep the garden going*, and, perhaps more importantly, that they serve as third places where local residents can come together. Gardens donate vegetables to the community (9_1) and offer free cultural activities for everyone to participate in. In the following, I look into these aspects from a more qualitative perspective to show that “a community garden is one of the few urban spatial forms available that provides its users with a true sense of engagement with and control of a space” (Martinez 2010: 43) that can be beneficial for the individuals’ relations to their neighbors and their perception of the neighborhood.

Despite the fact that gardens have fixed opening hours for the public, they provide access to green spaces and enable people to meet their neighbors. When asked about what they appreciated about the gardens they worked in, respondents frequently referred to the social aspects. In the interviews and off-record conversations, gardeners stressed the importance of getting to know their neighbors:

I would I would say being able to, like, reach out to your neighbors. Um, you know, it's like people look out for each other. You know? Which is very important. Um, like, she's watering the plot, so that's not her plot, and she is she's she's usually, um, works from five to six in here. (9_3)

This excerpt shows that being a garden member also entails a certain amount of social responsibility, for *your plot* and *everybody's plots*. Working with one another

and taking responsibility for others and their plots can foster the capacity of a group of residents to work toward a shared goal, for instance the maintenance of a garden. The interpersonal connection and cooperation, *working together, coming together* and *[helping] out one another* (9_5) are emphasized as particularly important to gardeners themselves, but they also contribute to the wider neighborhood in the sense that they facilitate social cohesion and collective efficacy, therefore reducing the possibility for social disorder to occur (cf. Sampson et al. 1997; Sampson 2013, 2018).

In order to keep the garden in shape, the vice-president of a Bed-Stuy garden stresses that cooperation is required:

Say, for instance, like we take turns, um, overseeing opening up the garden. So, like, today is my day. I would be out here for maybe like two hours according to the weather, and, um, and, if it's- especially when it's like real hot, you'll water everybody's plots, so we don't like to tell the person you only responsible for your plot. (9_3)

A sense of shared responsibility is expressed and shared by gardeners. The use of the inclusive first person pronoun *we* in these interviews indicates that the interviewees perceive themselves as part of a community of practice. This requires the existence of a certain level of interpersonal trust between garden members which is achieved in a period where new members get acquainted with seasoned gardeners. The requirement of trust for gardens to function stands in stark contrast with the climate in gentrifying neighborhoods, where shifts in the demographic makeup of an area lead to lower levels of acquaintance and “widespread mistrust and sensitivity about differences in background” (Martinez 2010: 56; Mühlfried 2018).

Despite the fact that there is a long waiting list for a personal plot that one can only sign up for after volunteering and getting to know the other gardeners for a particular period of time, the interviews provide evidence for the assumption that gardens function as important entry points to local communities of practice. One informant invited their new downstairs neighbors to their garden in order to establish a connection over a shared interest, which she declared as being *really a good way to, like, talk to your neighbors, which people don't do anymore*. (9_6) In line with Martinez's (2010) claim about the social context of gentrification that deters social interaction, the informant argues that without third places like gardens, different people living in a neighborhood would not necessarily engage with one another. The same resident, who lives on a diverse block in Bed-Stuy, further emphasizes that a garden can be similar to a microcosm of the whole neighborhood:

There's, um, like a Hasidic lady. There's, like, an African-American family. [...] Um, and then, like, an Indian family. Like, it's very, like representative

of Bed-Stuy, which is really interesting, 'cause we're not really, like, deep in Bed-Stuy at all, but that's pretty normal for this place, yeah. (9_6)

The excerpt from this garden on Bedford Avenue close to South Williamsburg and Clinton Hill suggests that diversity, in this particular garden, is regarded as the default state. Despite its location at the edges of Bed-Stuy, the diversity of this local community of practice is highlighted. At the same time, the claim to representativeness of the garden for the neighborhood discursively constructs Bed-Stuy as a place where a range of different people come to live together.

The perception that gardens provide spaces where social actors encounter like-minded garden-enthusiasts from all walks of life is also shared in Williamsburg, where members of a multilingual, multiethnic neighborhood come together in a garden and navigate the peaks and troughs of gardening together. In a gentrifying neighborhood, the negotiation of interests between different members is one of the most difficult aspects. However, such social encounters in a garden setting can reduce the climate of distrust that can dominate neighborhood life in an area in flux. During my interview in the Williamsburg garden in April 2018, which was a go-along/work-along situation in which we dug out and renewed the bordures in the ground next to the garden's fence, several garden members reflected on their experience of being part of a diverse group of gardeners. One of the founding members of this self-administered garden stressed that

[u]m, communication has gotta be really good. And with intergenerational and different kind of technological... language. Language and experience, like you can't just rely on Google. You can't rely on technology, which is what I do in my work and lot of people do. Um, and also there's a lot of languages. Primarily English and Spanish. (9_4)

Similar to Martinez's (2010) Lower East Side study, where different communication styles are addressed as one of the main issues between gardeners, the excerpt highlights that in order for the different backgrounds of the people to come together, gardeners from different ethnic, generational, and professional backgrounds have to learn to – both literally and metaphorically – speak the same language. In this vein, community gardens provide opportunity for exchanges and conflict in a confined setting that can help a diverse population negotiate their being in place “rather than dealing with one another via stereotypes or broad social categories” (Martinez 2010: 51).

The way gardens are organized suggest that they are micro-democratic spaces which organize and regulate themselves to ensure the shared vision of the garden. As I was told in an off-record conversation with the vice-president of one of Bette Midler's gardens in Bed-Stuy in late April 2018, the garden has to be organized to prevent new people from coming in and just taking over. The level of organization and social hierarchy is rather strict, as the gardens have a *president*,

vice president, um, treasurer, secretary as well as *monthly meetings* in the garden (9_3) to ensure a regular flow of information and a democratic decision-making process:

It's like, "Okay, well, let's vote on it," but people like to talk it through and never get on the same page, and there's always one very strong voice, it's not always the same person, with a contradictory idea, and then, ultimately, we'll get to a vote, and that person will not win out because everyone else is talking over here, um, but I think people are just very aware of trying to give everyone a voice. And some **people** have more experience in gardening. Some people are, have more professional experience, too, with bureaucracy, and, um, you have different ideas of, like, timelines and so, all of that is always a song and dance. (9_4)

This gardener describes the difficulty in decision-making processes in their community of practice. The emphasis on different opinions evokes the idea that, despite gardens being a fertile soil for the achievement of community, there are also ways in which "class privilege is operating, such as where questions of deliberation, process, and moral authority are concerned." (Martinez 2010: 64) This is hinted at when the informant describes that the democracy of the garden is supposedly complicated by members who produce circumlocutory statements that lead nowhere. While the different levels of experience in a variety of fields are important for the garden to function, there is a strong emphasis on democratic decision-making by means of voting – no matter how complicated it is to arrive at that stage.

Activities besides gardening can include an educative element that reaches beyond the active members. In addition to offering *space for people to enjoy nature* (9_2), gardens can also function as educational spaces for people to learn about nutrition and health issues like obesity. Gardens provide a possibility for people to *work their bodies* and *work with soil*, to *get out from their computers* (9_4) in areas *without a lot of green space* and with *a lot of health issues* like South Williamsburg (ibid.) and Bed-Stuy. The Hattie Carthan Community Garden in Bed-Stuy, for instance, offers workshops on growing, harvesting, and preparing food from the garden to local youth and anyone interested. According to the organizers, workshop participants take home the skills they learned to look after other neighbors, especially during the fall and winter when alcohol addiction rates rise drastically in the neighborhood (Fieldnotes, 29.09.2018). In this vein, local youth are provided with a sense of appreciation for healthy foods in an area that has an obesity rate that is higher than the city-wide average in children, and a 29% obesity rate in adults, compared to an average of 27% in Brooklyn and 24% in the whole city (NYC Dept of Health 2018a). Consequently, the gardens' sphere of influence reaches beyond its wrought-iron fence into the neighborhood.

The qualitative analysis of the interviews has established that gardens can function as facilitators of social ties because they constitute spaces where people from the neighborhood can come together. But they also provide the possibility for conflict, because some people want a highly structured garden that requires a lot of work, while others want to *meet their neighbors and to hang out and be social* (9_4). Community gardens contribute to the visual aesthetics and collective efficacy in a neighborhood, where differences between gardeners may be overcome by shared goals in a local community of practice. In Martinez’s (2010: 30) words, gardens are spaces that emphasize that “local praxis in a neighborhood [...] is negotiation and the just mediation of serious social differences.”

5.3 Navigating stigma and inequality in the housing and real estate market

Community gardens and smaller beautification projects are one way in which neighbors can get actively involved in the use and transformation of spaces in their neighborhood. In the face of, in some cases rapidly, changing neighborhoods, they offer a sense of control and efficacy. As the street interviews in the previous chapter have shown, affordable housing and rising rent prices are dominant themes in neighborhood discourse that residents worry about. Consequently, homeowners, tenant organizers, and landlords are significant voices if we look at a range of neighborhood stakeholders. In interviews conducted with these, the keywords that revolve around tenants’ rights issues, such as *housing*, *property*, and *building*, evoke various diverging constructions of neighborhood.

Item	Freq.	Keyness
AirBnB	0.11%	173.54
housing	0.12%	133.10
property	0.07%	60.15
building	0.08%	42.81
estate	0.04%	29.92

Table 5.3: Housing keywords in BK_SpokenID, sorted by LL scores.

The keyword *housing* (0.12%, LL=133.10, full list of concordances see appendix C2.2) occurs most frequently in an interview with the member of the Brooklyn Neighborhood Improvement Association (BNIA) which works to prevent people from losing their properties or being evicted. As its name says, its mission is to make the neighborhood better. This does not only involve assistance for landlords, tenants, and neighbors, but also a facilitation of relations within the neighborhood. As part of their *wraparound program* (10_2), BNIA tackles crime by providing youth with summer jobs and offering assistance to those in need of shelter all-year around. The association serves to bring people within the neighborhood together,

even when there are disputes between them, for instance in conflicts between landlords and tenants or in situations where local residents are in need:

We're there there was a time when we were doing the **housing** development. We have situation where people who didn't know our intent, they're told we're building houses for poor people, for drug addict people, and stuff like that. No, uh, but if you call, because we have provided **housing** for low and moderate income, that is money we are bringing the drug uh, the drug addicts, you know. No, that's not what we do. We the we we have to bring everybody together, just like the shelter for the single mother. [...] You know. So, yeah, people will second guess you, you know, they don't trust you until when they actually come and, you know, you provide the needed services for them. (10_2)

The BNIA member presents their organization's task by introducing two perceptions of their work, one based on speculation and the other based on positive experience.

The fact that the organization's provision of housing for lower-income residents is distorted in public perception as *building houses for poor people* that will bring *drug addicts* to the neighborhood shows how warily the boundaries of community are guarded and how perceived social differences will give rise to insecurity and suspicion – regarding both high-income and low-income residents that could induce undesired changes. In this vein, people within the neighborhood are construed as social actors who fail to take a leap of faith (cf. Giddens 1990, 1991; Möllering 2006; Frederiksen 2014). Nevertheless, in providing services to individual residents and working to bring them together, the neighborhood association, once the possibility for risk is gone and the services have been provided, plays a pivotal role in creating social cohesion and trusting relationships within the neighborhood.

The lack of trust, even in local forms of authority, can be attributed to two possible sources. The first possibility is that it is based on the stigmatization of low-income people. The association is not trusted at first because it is perceived to attract undesirable groups that are not considered a legitimate part of the local community and engage in behaviors that are considered a breach to the neighborhood norm and are also associated with neighborhood decline (cf. Belina 2011; Galster 2019). Thus, not knowing the other, be it an association who wants to support lower-income residents or the residents themselves, is indicated as conducive to distrust. Second, it could be rooted in the area's history. The respondent briefly mentions the race riot between Orthodox Jewish and Black residents in 1991 (cf. Shapiro 2006), after which many landlords left the neighborhood and did not take care of their properties anymore, leaving many tenants to fend for themselves. The result of this is a certain cynicism that stems from the "historical maltreatment" (Freeman 2006: 121) especially of Black

neighborhoods that contributes to a lack of trust in (white) institutions. What the informant describes here is the process by which the BNIA, itself an association that consists mainly of local residents of color, has regained trust by proving to be trustworthy actors in the neighborhood over several decades (cf. Hardin 2006).

The key noun *property* (0.07%, LL=60.15, full list of concordances see appendix C2.3) is used by two informants, once by the interviewee who is a member of Neighborhoods Allied for Good Growth (NAG) in Williamsburg and several times by the informant who is a homeowner, block association member, landlord, and realtor in Bed-Stuy. The latter produced most of the occurrences of *property* when talking about acquiring and renovating their house, which becomes apparent in the determiner collocates *the* (t=3.324) and *my* (t=1.686). Verbs that co-occur with *property*, such as PURCHASE, BUY, OWN, CHANGE, DEVELOP, SELL, HAVE, and HOLD (ON), reflect the cycle of buying, renovating and selling houses or acquiring property to create a garden. Who engages in these actions provides insight into the different parties' stakes in the neighborhood and how these might be shifting over time:

50/50. I honestly, truth said... I don't want to sound very selfish, but I'll say I do appreciate it, maybe because I'm seeing it in a, now I'm a landlord, a new landlord, so I'm seeing it as a landlord/owner of a **property** view, to say I appreciate it, but if I was a tenant, then I understand other people's concerns, you know, and the concerns which I've heard from most, like, native Brooklyn or native New Yorkers. (10_4)

In concordances of *property* in the BK_SpokenID corpus, the acts of buying (PURCHASE, BUY) are performed by the informant in Bed-Stuy (10_4), the city, U.S.A. Waste (10_2), Bette Midler, who bought several parcels of land from the city to be used as gardens (9_3), while the act of owning (OWN, HAVE) is connected again to the Bed-Stuy informant, to Black home owners, native Brooklynites, and Jewish people, the latter of which are identified as the prototypical developers in Bed-Stuy. The act of selling (SELL) is connected to what the above informant calls their *native people*, meaning people of color, as well as neighbors who have not been seen for a while or who could not pay their property taxes anymore and were forced to give it up. The final verbs, CHANGE and HOLD (ON), are both used in relation to Black home owners more generally.

This overview of verb collocates of *property* is very indicative of the goings-on in the area whereby (Black) home owners increasingly come under pressure to sell.¹⁵⁹ Often, dubious tactics are applied to harass home owners (and tenants). One legal but still intrusive method that I have encountered during my fieldwork

¹⁵⁹ See chapter 7 for a discussion of the challenges faced by Brooklyn homeowners.

was mail advertising. Staying at a private apartment, I would find flyers in the mailbox with purchase offers for the property roughly once per week.

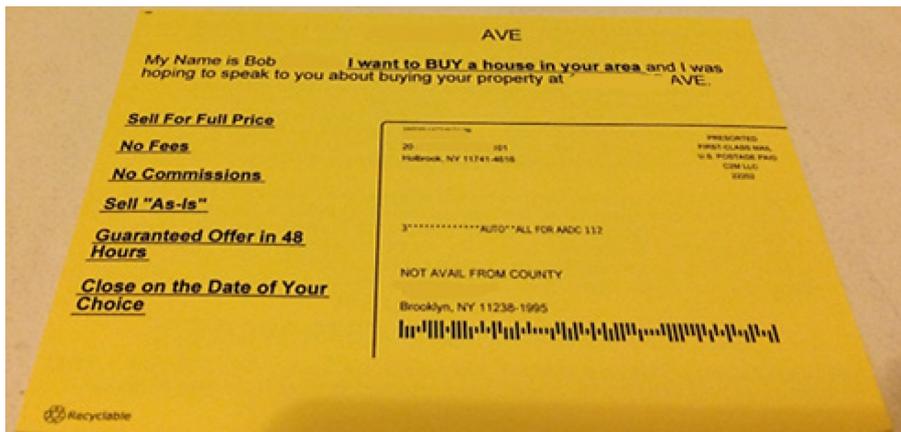


Fig. 12: Real estate purchase offers in the mail in Clinton Hill/Bed-Stuy. Photo: KB, April 2018.

The low frequency keyword *real estate* (0.04%, LL= 29.92, full list of concordances see appendix C2.4) is, with one exception, used by the informant who works in real estate. In the interview, they explain how the real estate industry manipulates neighborhood borders in order to lure potential buyers into an area that they might otherwise not consider, revealing the close connection between people's preconceived ideas about different areas and capital:

That's a **real estate**, uh, contrude, mental thing. So, when I got into this business, I would always correct my co-workers and my boss [...] and they would say, "Oh, [name], if it's Nostrand, that's Clinton Hill. From Nostrand this way, [...] it's all Clinton Hill," and I'd go, "No. Nostrand is Bed-Stuy. Clinton Hill would start on Classon." And they would go, "No, no," and I'm like, "Let me show you on Google Maps, and I'd show them and they'd go, "Shut up, [name]. We know that." "But why are you doing it?" And they'd [...] go, "It's a tactical way of tricking people to buy and and rent a place out, thinking that it it's one of the well-gentrified area than the Bed-Stuy," 'cause Bed-Stuy is not really gentrified.

When people say "Bed-Stuy" they always think, like, a place where there's no train and all this nonsense, [...] people will literally come in and go... they will mention all these prime places except for Bed-Stuy, except for Bushwick, except for Crown Heights. All this places that is rationally good place to live. They'll mention places like Greenpoint or Park Slope or Clinton Hill, [...] So, I finally understood why people just assume a lot of things. (10_4)

What the interviewee explains here is a tactic that they learned about in their work in the real estate business where neighborhood borders are strategically re-drawn to improve the chances of closing a contract with a potential buyer or renter, a tactic that contributes to place-branding (cf. Tuan 1991; Madden 2018). The allusion to neighborhood stereotypes suggests that realtors omit the exact location of a real estate object to circumvent the negative stereotypes associated with the neighborhood, choosing a nearby location with what they perceive as a better reputation. It becomes conspicuous from this interview that real estate agents

advertise neighborhoods that are relatively affluent and can be considered to be gentrified, if not super-gentrified in Lees' (2003) terms.

The interviewee argues further that the real estate business and the general public perceive areas like Bed-Stuy, Bushwick, and Crown Heights – all majority non-white areas – as sub-prime residential areas, despite each of them being a *rational good place to live*. Thus, the selection of neighborhoods for homebuyers or renters is not driven by strictly rational criteria, but by lasting stereotypes and aversions against such previously redlined Black or Latinx areas of Brooklyn that are still discursively associated with crime and danger. In doing so, clients state reasons – other than the racial makeup of the area – for the neighborhood's perceived inferiority, as in the case of the false assumption that there is no public transportation in the area. Consequently, a neighborhood that is widely perceived as being *well-gentrified* as opposed to one that is *not really gentrified* is more attractive to a realtor's clients. While the perceived lack of amenities or public transportation in the area could lower the sales price of a unit, it seems that there is a tacit agreement among real estate agents that a 'better' and whiter location will yield a higher sales price. In fact, research on neighborhood stereotypes, residential satisfaction, expected neighborhood trajectories, and property values (cf. Ellen 2000 and Galster 2019 for an overview) suggests that the "perceived racial context of the neighborhood" (Galster 2019: 13.63) affects neighborhood perceptions and, ultimately, contributes to selective segregation because it deters potential renters or buyers from moving to areas that are incoherent with their own race and class (cf. *ibid.*: 15.1). Although it is perhaps a combination of these considerations, this perspective of a realtor shows the tenacity of stereotypes about historically Black working-class neighborhoods that prevail even in the face of rapid urban transformation (cf. Wacquant 2002; Freeman 2006).

Neighborhood borders and perceptions do not only affect real estate sales, but also the short-term rental business. The keyword *AirBnB* (0.12%, LL=164.03, full list of concordances see appendix C2.5) provides information on a second interesting aspect that depends on neighborhood perceptions. The previous informant's side-business consists of renting out parts of their house for short-term guests. They explain that while they would not want to *misinform* their guests, they still benefit from the location that is close enough to an area that has had no stigma attached to it. Accordingly, mentioning the nearby Clinton Hill in the AirBnB listing has significantly improved rental rates:

I just say, "Okay, it's borderline Bed-Stuy and Clinton Hill," and nine out of ten people took it. These guests, they know what they want. "Oh, borderline? Okay. I'll take it," but if I said Bed-Stuy, which I used to say on

my **AirBnB**? It was less rental. Very less. [...] Yes, bad. Bad assumptions. (10_4)

This suggests that not only those looking to stay at a place for a longer duration of time are led by lasting stereotypes but that these are even wide-spread among tourists (cf. Edelman/Luca 2014). Consequently, discourses of 'bad' neighborhoods reach well beyond the city limits, and thus have a stigmatizing effect on residents in the area that is perpetuated in discourses about these neighborhoods that are reified in real estate or AirBnB listings.

Long neglected neighborhoods that are associated with this kind of stigma are also less likely to experience large-scale urban revitalization. Although gentrification and new residents can be viewed as a welcome element there, perhaps due to the fact that long-time residents often benefit from the improvement of amenities that are likely to follow (cf. Freeman 2006), these processes require a certain level of trust in the local population before new residents and new investments are attracted to the area. In line 177, the absence of new people moving into East New York and Brownsville is linked to the reputation of this low-income area.¹⁶⁰ In this excerpt, the interviewee describes giving advice to others who wanted to start a successful side-business hosting people via AirBnB before it became subject to restrictions by authorities:

People would call me and [...] would go, "How do you start **AirBnB**?" and I'd say, "I'm going to charge you, because what I'm going to give you will change the way you see things." [...] [If] it was, like, a bad area ... like, I wouldn't call it bad. I would call it, like, a non-gentrification area. Like, East New Yorkers in Brownsville. I have a few concerns there, and I'll tell them, "Look, I won't even charge you. I'll give you free advice, but trust me: it will be a waste for you," and 50-50 they listen, they don't listen. They'll call me, the ones that don't listen, and they'll call up and say, "Damn, you're right. I'm going to have to move out, because this area ... it it sucks that we have to suffer, and it's going to take a while for gentrification to come our way, for people to actually trust us and move in." (10_4)

The connection between a lack of trust in the population of areas that have not been gentrified thus far is rooted in the history of racial segregation and the ensuing "savage inequalities" (Galster 2019: 22.7) which still affect the way majority non-white neighborhoods are perceived: resources are diverted away from these areas and racist stereotypes abound. In this vein, "whites use the racial identity of the majority of a neighborhood's inhabitants as a signal of poor neighborhood quality" (Ellen 2000: 4). Indeed, research by urban sociologists shows that the presence of >40% Black and Hispanic residents reduces the likelihood for investment in underserved areas and thus also for gentrification to happen (cf. Hwang/Sampson

¹⁶⁰ The median household income is at 47.50% the average for NYC. This means that residents earn less than half as much as the rest of the city on average (cf. NYC PFF 2020). Likewise, although rates are declining, the area has among the highest crime and highest incarceration rates (cf. James 1993; NYC Dept of Health 2018; NYPD 2020).

2014). In the case of the areas mentioned in the interview, Brownsville and East New York, data from the 2014-2018 round of the American Community Survey shows that the population consists of 72.1% of Black or African American – a figure that has only decreased by 2% since the last ACS (2006-2010) – and 22% Hispanic/Latinx residents (NYC PFF 2020). Thus, a lack of trust in the residents of a particular area based on racial stereotypes is mentioned as one reason that hinders integration and revitalization of deprived neighborhoods (cf. Ellen 2000; Ellen/O'Regan 2010).

5.4 Of native people and new people – the role of person and group denominators in constructing neighborhoods

The keywords contain references to specific types of people present in the neighborhood. Some of these are specific role designations, but others, like the most frequent keyword in this section, *people*, remain vague. The context and collocates of occurrences of unspecific linguistic items can contribute to finding out more about how such underspecified elements are construed (cf. Cheng/O'Keefe 2015), illuminating the different roles different groups of people play for the neighborhood.

Item	Freq.	Keyness
people	0.72%	126.04
landlord	0.06%	91.86
tenants	0.04%	46.72
Jews	0.02%	30.62
Hasidic	0.02%	25.72

Table 5.4: Person keywords in the BK_SpokenID corpus, sorted by LL scores.

Undistinguished group references are sometimes used to conceal who exactly is conducting an action. Informants employ this strategy to mitigate the force when identifying a particular group of actors as the source of a problem. As I have shown in chapter 4.1, the concealment of agency in processes of gentrification is a recurring pattern in discourses of gentrification. In the in-depth interview corpus, this strategy becomes most conspicuous in occurrences of the keyword *people* (full list of concordances see appendix C2.6). However, even in these references to unspecified aggregates of social actors, their co-text reveals different degrees of specificity, for instance in the ways they are pre- or post-modified.

Undistinguished groups	certain people, core people, a certain/whole group of people, a crew of people, a convergence of people, these/those people, more people, most people, a lot of people, the same (bloody) people, some people
Distinguished groups	community people, local minority people, real estate people, garden people, drug addict people, moderate/low income people, Black people, good people, homeless people, Jewish people, native people, new people, non-transient people, our people, typical white rich people, younger people, your people

Table 5.5: Premodification of *people* in BK_SpokenID.

In the undistinguished group section in table 4.13, it becomes apparent that words that co-occur in the co-text of *people* emphasize the collective and numeric aspect of the mass noun. The keyword further co-occurs with demonstratives that indicate how close to the deictic origin of the speaker they are, as in occurrences of spatial deixis (e.g., *these/those people*), or that it is premodified by numerical terms that indicate the size or composition of the group. In one such example, one informant, discussing the need to find additional sources of income to afford the rent, explains that neighbors who rely on the income generated through renting out parts of their apartment as AirBnB are wrongfully construed as scapegoats in gentrification discourses:

AirBnB is only, what? Seven years old. Gentrification started 15 years ago. No one talks about that. The whole group of **people** pushing, a certain group of **people**, no one wants to talk about that, but when AirBnB came up for everyone, now you have this... you know, let's use them as a scapegoat, and throw them under the bus. (10_4)¹⁶¹

The indirect group denotation is only identifiable against the extra-linguistic context of the neighborhood. Bed-Stuy and Crown Heights are historically Black neighborhoods, whose residents are construed as those who are displaced by another, in accordance with the census data, most likely white group of people. The respondent argues here that in order to gloss over the fact that white affluent people are the drivers of gentrification, Black people who are trying to make ends meet by renting out rooms in their apartments tend to be foregrounded as the cause of gentrification while they are the ones *getting kicked out and pushed* (10_4).¹⁶² As the respondent states, the debate does not usually center on the identification of root causes and negative outcomes of gentrification on prior residents but seeks to shift blame to other actors instead. The identification of a white group of people as the responsible group for this process by the informant constitutes gentrification as a social, not an economic, process, and is thus in line with the consumption-side theory of gentrification (cf. Ley 1996; Lees et al. 2008),

¹⁶¹ According to research by DeMause (2016), one third of all of New York City's AirBnBs are in Brooklyn. These rooms tend to cost three times the rental price a regular renter would pay per night. Contrary to what the informant states, DeMause explains that AirBnB rentals are connected to rent spikes: "Short-term stays drive up rents in two ways. First off, they take vacant units off the rental market, driving down supply and forcing renters to pay whatever they have to in order to get one of the remaining apartments. (A 2015 study comparing Airbnb listings with Census data found that in some extra-desirable neighborhoods like Williamsburg, more than 20 percent of vacant apartments were being listed on Airbnb.) And second, Airbnb rentals enable residential buyers to underwrite higher purchase prices by converting one of their bedrooms - or for buyers of multiunit buildings, one of their apartments - into a hotel room, thus driving up the price of housing." (DeMause 2016: 147; cf. also Quattrone et al. 2018)

¹⁶² The noun phrase *certain people* most likely alludes to white people. My own being white may have affected the interviewee's linguistic construction of this group. Indeed, many of the conversations I had dealt with race and ethnicity in one way or another, both mine and that of the informants. In this sub-corpus, two out of ten interviews were conducted with white informants. Race was not as much of a topic in these conversations as it was in those with Black interviewees where the constellation was affected by their and my own skin color. In these interviews, the intersubjective dimension of meaning-making in interaction (cf. Bucholtz/Hall 2005) became most conspicuous, both in the ways of referring to groups of people, in self- and other-positionings, and in the discourse positions that were taken up by respondents. This also shows that ethnography is "body work" (Ocejo 2019: 7) because researchers' bodies have a tremendous impact on the way they can move through the field site, are perceived and accepted by participants, and ultimately on the data collection processes.

which posits that the tastes, lifestyles, and consumption habits of middle-class residents are the main drivers of gentrification.

Within the undistinguished group section, however, some references are more specific as they are postmodified by a relative clause. 13.9% of all occurrences of *people* are specified by a defining relative clause with *who* (t=5.267), 6% with the relative pronoun *that* (t=4.991, full list of concordances see appendix C2.7 and C2.8). 23% of the former occur with the verb *live*, thus denoting residents as people who live in, and a further 30% co-occur with the singular copula to describe professions of people who work in the area.

N	Concordance	Interview
165	hat's one thing that draws a lot of people to New York in general. Um but thi	10_1
166	rds that is being used just to trick people to move in. It's sad. It's really	10_4
167	ent from, you know, a few hundred people to like over a hundred-thousand in	10_1
168	vides like a unique opportunity for people to learn more about the history and	10_1
169	omething important that I would want people to know about this neighborhood,	10_3
170	ant thing, for me, that I would want people to know about this neighborhood is	10_3
171	with [name] and a couple of other people to get access to here. So, we got th	9_4
172	ens is really to, uh, have space for people to enjoy nature and, uh, you know,	9_2
173	t provides a place for all, a lot of people to come together to meet, and, um,	9_5
174	like, in this garden. We always tell people to come here. It 's really nice. Lik	9_6
175	o, "It's a tactical way of tricking people to buy and-and rent a place out, thi	10_4
176	alled 596 Acres, which is organizing people to advocate for, um, access to green	9_4
177	gentrification to come our way, for people to actually trust us and move in." S	10_4
178	enjoy nature and, uh, you know, for people to , uh, get together and have that c	9_2

Concordance 5.1: Concordances of *people* + *to* in BK_SpokenID.

The strongest collocate of *people* is the preposition *to* (t=6.985). When it co-occurs with the node word, it tends to introduce a non-finite clause (Halliday/Matthiessen 2014: 171) that, as an additional embedded clause or phrase, provides information on the head of the main clause, the key noun *people*. In lines 169 and 170 above, the interviewee alludes to desired actions coherent with the range of practices connected to the neighborhood. These verbal processes highlight the spatial and social dimension of neighborhoods, but also that being or becoming a neighbor requires active engagement with the neighborhood on part of the people who move to the area.

Among the distinguished groups of people that are listed in the second half of the table above, some are construed as part of a group with one common denominator that signals ethnic origin, job, social class, or another distinguishing feature that makes a group stand out from the default, such as *new* or *non-transient people*:

Yeah. There it's definitely like a huge part of our, at least the the **non-transient people**, because I'm sure you know this is, like, a very ge-gentrifying area, and so there's a lot of, like, hipsters who move in and then move out, and like, whatever, live here for, like, six months, and then, you know, not those **people**, but **people** who live here, like, I've lived in this neighborhood for seven years, so, like, those people that are interested in being neighbors, you know. That's important, too. (9_6)

Different groups of residents are willing to engage in the area to different degrees. The group identified by the second premodifying adjective, *non-transient*, are those who are ready to engage with the area in a meaningful way. The focus of the excerpt, however, is the opposite that is evoked through the negation of the frame (cf. Lakoff 2004), the behavior of those who are transient and move to an area for a relatively short period of time and are thus not viewed as having an interest *in being neighbors*. This particular group of potential neighbors, *hipsters*, are positioned as the opposite of non-transient people who, like the respondent, spend several years in the area. This community gardener stresses an extended duration of residence as one condition required for being a neighbor, and that transient hipsters are unlikely to become a part of the local communities of practice. This also touches upon what has been revealed in previous interviews, namely that becoming a neighbor takes time and effort.

In one occurrence of *new people* (t=3.318), another respondent puts forth their vision of a good neighborhood as one where both newcomers and longtime residents do not only share the neighborhood space but encounter one another as members of one community that is characterized by mutual respect:

It's it's such a rich history, and and I don't want that to leave the neighborhood. I'm all for inclusiveness. I don't I don't want to exclude anybody from coming into the neighborhood. But at the same time, I don't want the neighborhood to lose the identity that it's had over decades. You know what I mean? There's such a rich history of, uh, Black culture in this neighborhood. And I don't want that identity to be lost with the influx of new **people**. I want new **people**. I want the old, you know, to all be able to live in the same community and have some sort of community and harmony with with respecting the history but, at the same time, you know, accepting the new that's coming in as well. I think, if all of those things can come together, this would be probably, like, the best neighborhood in New York City, you know? (10_3)

The interviewee also acknowledges that the large number of new people who are coming into Bed-Stuy are a potential threat to the neighborhood's identity that has been cultivated over time. The repeated use of the noun phrase *rich history* and verbs that denote processes of losing (*lose, lost, leave,*) highlight the urgency of the matter. The simple present tense in the if-clause coupled with the tense of the last phrase indicates that this is not yet the case and introduces this idealized scenario as a hypothetical condition that may or may not be realized in the future.¹⁶³ These occurrences of the keyword *people* all highlight that even when the neighborhood and the population are transitioning, it seems that preserving the sociality of the neighborhood is one of the most important aspects for these

¹⁶³ Indeed, the tenses used here point to a combination of two conditional sentence types (I + II) that does not by itself allow for a clear interpretation whether the condition may come true or not. This use by the interviewee could potentially be an attribute of a southern variety of African-American Vernacular English acquired while growing up in Florida.

respondents. The use of the adjectives *transient* and *new* highlight different nuances of time as it is connected to neighborhood. While one signals the importance of continuity, the other underlines the impact of population change that has the potential to cause disruption.

Long-time residents in the BK_SpokenID corpus are also referred to as *native people* ($t=1.378$), i.e. as a group “belonging to a particular place by birth or origin” (Merriam-Webster 2019: “native,” adj., 1.). This reference is evoked in a discussion of realtors’ fraudulent sales tactics, in which the informant attempts to explain how such neighborhood stereotypes can persist through circulation of misinformation, *gossip*, on the internet:

Like, just, uh, you know, gossip. Like, "Don't go to Bed-Stuy. It's bad. It's native **people** there. They're going to be grumpy and they're mad at you. Go to this area. It's cleaned out," and it's like, all these words that is being used just to trick people to move in. It's sad. It's really sad. (10_4)

The pioneering discourse introduced here by the noun phrase *native people*, and the stereotypes it carries, is powerful in shaping conceptions about gentrification and the neighborhoods affected or not yet affected by it. By evoking this pioneering discourse of gentrification, real estate agents reinforce widely-held stereotypes about Black neighborhoods in order to overstate the differences and boundaries between areas as a way of steering the interest of potential renters or buyers. The annoyance and show of anger that residents supposedly display upon the arrival of new residents – which, according to research on residential segregation, is a product of the legacy of discrimination in urban neighborhoods across North America (cf. Ellen 2000; Galster 2019) – construes the area as an undesirable area because of its population, which is a form of discursive redlining (cf. Jones/Jackson 2012).



Fig. 13: Urban Pioneering. Gates Avenue, Clinton Hill. Photo: KB, April 2018.

Moreover, in a pioneering discourse, the neighborhood is construed as a blank spot on the map, as an area that lacks history and social structure and is yet to be civilized for further use by the settler – a conceptualization common in colonization narratives (cf. D. Smith 2000; Assmann 2018).¹⁶⁴ This discourse assigns distinct subject positions to existing neighbors who, as the mad colonial other, are not only construed as incapable of reason but also as not worth engaging with on a level of human interaction. It frames the local population as passive and powerless, incapable to react to the invader with anything other than anger. The likening of gentrifiers with pioneers who are “surrounded by hostile nonwhite natives” (Osman 2011: 194) justifies the treatment of the uncivilized other needing to be tamed (cf. D. Smith 2000). This is a common strategy in “Brooklyn’s reinvention” that allows new residents to “prov[e] themselves more worthy than those who came before.” (DeMause 2016: 167)

In the interview excerpt, the uptake of this discourse in casual conversation is framed as almost trivial – it is *just people talking* (10_4) – which underlines how deep these perceptions are entrenched in peoples’ minds. Rooted in everyday conversation, these discourses are maintained as part of commonplace assumptions that, through their unquestioned circulation in casual exchanges (cf. Blommaert/Verschueren 1991; Baker 2006), reify stigma attributed to *native people* living in the area. This discourse contributes to the discursive redlining of the area, while at the same time attracting new residents who seek to be such urban pioneers (see fig. 13).

The remaining person keywords refer to crucial groups in the neighborhood: landlords, tenants, and a group that is both a minority population and tends to be associated with real estate development: Hasidic Jews. The first two low-frequency keywords, *landlord* (0.06%, LL=91.86, full concordances see appendix C2.9) and *tenants* (0.04%, LL=46.72, full list of concordances see appendix C2.10), are not equally dispersed, but occur almost exclusively in an interview with the BNIA representative, where they give insight into problems that occur between these groups, painting a negative picture of landlords based on the mediation-function of the association. Although key because of their topical specificity, these keywords are not illuminating with regard to the issue of neighborhood construction, and will therefore not be discussed in more detail.

¹⁶⁴ An excerpt from Moskowitz’s analysis of gentrification and its detrimental effects on New York City residents is worth quoting at length here: “[G]entrification is the new colonialism. This may seem like an extreme statement, but when ads for condos and New York Times Styles section pieces use such precise language about “frontier” neighborhoods and “pioneering” residents, it’s hard not to draw parallels. Gentrification is obviously very different from colonization, but they stem from the same mentality, which tells people that one person’s space is more valuable than another’s. The origin story that we tell ourselves over and over again in this country - that good, brave men came and settled a foreign, dangerous, and wild land and made it civilized - is essentially a gentrification narrative, and American development has always hinged on the idea of a conquered frontier.” (2017: 215)

Specific references to orthodox Jewish residents make up for the last two keywords, *Hasidic* (0.02%, LL=35.72) and *Jews* (0.02%, LL=30.62). These very low-frequency keywords refer to areas of settlement or the specific Orthodox Jewish culture as well as alluding to larger discourses of neighborhood change and gentrification, and the sometimes hostile climate that may arise from it.

N	Concordance	Interview
1	ve this like ... There 's, um, like a	Hasidic lady. There 's, like, an African-Am 9_6
2	west Bed-Stuy that 's pri- primarily	Hasidic . And then you kind of get into the 10_1
3	dox Jews and, you know, before the	Hasidic Jews, Puerto-Ricans, African-Americ 10_1
4	y fascinating like cultures like the	Hasidic portion of Williamsburg. One, it 's 10_1
5	how much you 've read about the	Hasidic community in the neighborhood. Quit 10_1
6	ou kind of get into Bed-Stuy. So the	Hasidic community started out in Williamsbu 10_1
7	, over millennias, um, but Orthodox	Jews , Muslims, you know, are still pretty 9_4
8	s and, you know, before the Hasidic	Jews , Puerto-Ricans, African-Americans w 10_1
9	've got Polish, Italian, um Orthodox	Jews and, you know, before the Hasidic Je 10_1
10	go further down, there 's the Syrian	Jews as well. Yeah. Down in Crown Heights 10_1
11	ell people, "Do n't always blame the	Jews . Do n't always blame the new develo 10_4
12	u see five. It 's happening, and then	Jews are moving in; they 're also buying p 10_4

Concordance 5.2: Concordances of *Hasidic* and *Jews* and BK_SpokenID.

These concordances show, first, that particular sections of Brooklyn are labelled as belonging to this particular Jewish group. The level of specificity with which the Jewish population is referred to varies greatly. The member of a Williamsburg neighborhood association talks about the *Hasidic portion of Williamsburg* (line 4) and *North-West Bed-Stuy* (line 2). The first two collocates, *community* (t=1.717) and *Williamsburg* (t=1.410), indicate a certain degree of isolation within these micro-neighborhoods in North/Central Brooklyn that have little to no connection to the rest of the area. Their mentions in the interviews show that they play a decisive role in the perception and identity of the area; at the same time, they receive little attention otherwise, which might indicate that there is generally little engagement with these tight-knit dynasties.¹⁶⁵

The general reference to *Jews* in one interview with the home owner and real-estate agent in Bed-Stuy differs from these more nuanced group denominations in that it serves as a broad-brushed description of a very specific group that is ascribed certain – negative – characteristics and traits, which, as a strategy of placing blame on the entire group, mirrors argumentative patterns that evoke antisemitic sentiments (cf. IHRA 2018).¹⁶⁶ The informant's professional background in the real estate sector suggests that they do indeed refer to the

¹⁶⁵ The one report on engagement with members of the Hasidim was in an interview in a community garden on Williamsburg's Southside which borders a building owned by a Hasidic owner who approved of the plan to paint a mural on the side of his building as long as there would be no people on it. Consequently, the gardeners decided to paint a mural with worms and microbes. Further, the gardeners mentioned that Hasidic children sometimes come into the garden to look around, without much contact besides that.

¹⁶⁶ Since the census does not contain information on religious affiliation, exact and up-to-date numbers of the Jewish population in New York City are hard to come by. In a 2012 *New York Times* article based on survey data in a study sponsored by the United Jewish Appeal Federation states that 40% of the roughly 1.5 million Jewish people in the eight counties surveyed in Greater New York (including the five city boroughs and Nassau, Suffolk, and Westchester counties) see themselves as Orthodox, and due to the high birth rates in the Orthodox population, 74% of all Jewish children in New York are Orthodox (Berger 2012).

Orthodox Jewish developers. This is because the latter are widely known to be some of the biggest real-estate investors and brokers in Brooklyn and have functioned as accelerators of processes of gentrification, especially in Williamsburg, Bed-Stuy and Bushwick.

[F]our or five years ago, you start seeing ... we call it the sprinkles. You see the sprinkles, and the "sprinkles" is a term, terminology of saying "white person". So, you start seeing them on the train. That one, you know, four years ago, you'd only see one. Now you see five. It's happening, and then **Jews** are moving in; they're also buying properties. This neighborhood is about to get wiped out. (10_4)

The way these development processes are portrayed here shows the informant's perception of how social actors from various ethnic backgrounds work together in the process of gentrifying sections of Brooklyn. In this account, white and Jewish people are conceptualized as harbingers of gentrification, which, in turn, is described in terms of absolutes here, as a process that *wipes out* whatever was there before. The causal connection between Jewish Brooklynites moving to an area, buying up real estate there, and a neighborhood being destroyed completely is not immediately clear, but can be explained by the reputation of Jewish real estate developers in Brooklyn as drivers of gentrification:

Most of them didn't know what to do with the property, so that's when it started happening, and I tell people, "Don't always blame the **Jews**. Don't always blame the new developers; all these people who is buying shit. Don't blame them, because we allowed it," and when I say "we", I'm not talking about me. (10_4)

In the first reported clause, the object is not identified directly as Jewish developers, but as *Jews* more generally. The directive speech act (cf. Austin 1962) that attempts to stop the addressees from the act of blaming suggests that the informant considers this a common practice. This view ties in with the picture of ruthless developers capitalizing on space in Brooklyn, many of whom belong to the Brooklyn Hasidic congregation, who are steadily "expanding their real estate holdings" (Krase/DeSena 2016: 27; cf. also Gibson 2016), especially close to their main settlements in Williamsburg, Bed-Stuy, and Crown Heights. In her work on neighborhood organizations in Williamsburg's Southside, urban ethnographer Marwell argues that these practices are rooted in "Hasidic expansionism" (Marwell 2007: 57). Committed to rebuild the religious community that fell victim to Nazis in WWII, Hasidic families have an average of 10 children per family. The Hasidic population doubles every ten years and is therefore hard pressed to find new affordable housing that contains enough rooms for their average families. In Williamsburg, this has led to a conflict between Puerto Rican and Hasidic organizers fighting for the erection of public housing for their clients. In other parts of Brooklyn that are undergoing gentrification, Jewish developers have gained a

reputation for their (illegal) tenant harassment tactics. In his oral history of 21st-century gentrification, Gibson (2016) talks to a Jewish developer who explains that they pay an average of \$10,000 to evict a Black tenant in East New York and about \$30,000 in Bed-Stuy respectively because they cannot charge the new white tenants – they claim not to lease apartments to any other racial group – as much for a new apartment if there is a single Black tenant in the building. For this reason, the informant above indicates that Jews, and particularly Jewish developers, are habitually condemned by Black people who fell prey to the tactics of such developers.¹⁶⁷



Fig. 14: Tenant problems in the linguistic landscape. Bedford Ave/Atlantic Ave, Bed-Stuy/Crown Heights. Photo: KB, May 2018.

This example points to a larger pattern that informants reveal when one ethnic, religious, or racial group is quickly gaining ground across a neighborhood. In the BK_SpokenRA corpus, respondents in Sheepshead Bay harbor animosity towards the growing Russian and Middle-Eastern population that is expanding from nearby Brighton Beach. In this last excerpt, the informant suggests that the negative experiences with Hasidic developers have caused Black residents in North/North-West Brooklyn to have reservations about this group that is actively contributing to their displacement.¹⁶⁸ Because long-standing residents tend to perceive that “newcomers’ public presence endangers community” (Brown-Saracino 2009: 215), it seems that scenarios of rapid and aggressive take-over of neighborhoods, particularly when relatively closed groups suddenly share public space without

¹⁶⁷ The final reported clause shifts part of the responsibility to the Black population who permitted the acquisition of real estate by developers in the first place. The informant, despite being a Black Brooklyn resident, does not include himself in the group, because they, first, moved there from London, and second, they did not sell their property to but bought it from a Jewish owner.

¹⁶⁸ Tensions between Black and Hasidic residents also arose in the 1991 race riots in Crown Heights (Zukin 1995; Moss 2017), the memory of which could be another reason why anti-Semitic sentiments may prevail among some Black Brooklynites.

being in contact with one another, are detrimental to interaction and, ultimately, to the formation of trust in a social setting like the neighborhood.

5.5 Concluding thoughts: Is there unity in the community?

What do these keywords and their uses in BK_SpokenID tell us about the ways neighborhoods are discursively constructed by social actors? The focus on these people and the actions they engage in sheds light on how, for, and with whom such neighborhood stakeholders and organizers work, and what their motivating factors and particular interests are in the neighborhood. The interviewees in this corpus represent different groups of residents who have an interest in the neighborhood and come together around common causes in local communities of practice. Some have personal and social stakes in the neighborhood they live or work in, while for others, economic interests play into how they conceptualize the idea of neighborhood. These diverging but complementary perspectives of residents, property owners and landlords, tenant organizers, and gardeners have shown that various forms of urban participation, be it working in community gardens, getting organized in block associations made up of home owners, representing tenants' rights, or engaging with the local population in some other way, are required for community to arise.

The perspectives of tenant organizing and real estate have shown that stigma based on racial, religious, and economic difference plays a crucial role in the housing sector. The analysis of vague group denominators has proven fruitful to gain further insight into how seemingly neutral terms like *community* are used to signal unity in areas where diverse populations share a neighborhood: In Crown Heights, which has seen violent conflict between residents in the past, the strategic evocation of community by a local stakeholder association could, in practice, contribute to their rapprochement. However, even tenants' associations have to earn the trust of local residents over time to become trustworthy actors in the neighborhood sphere (cf. Freeman 2006; Hardin 2006).

The analysis revealed how real estate and marketing practices "dialectically contribute to linguistic and discursive constructions of the social world in the realm of the public sphere" (Paganoni 2014: 5). Specifically, conversations about the real estate and rental market showed that the market seems to be dominated by profit maximization efforts and persistent racial stereotypes about Black neighborhoods. It became particularly clear in this corpus how respondents' personal and professional backgrounds influenced their own positioning and their constructions of neighborhood. In cases where informants had different stakes, they revealed the conflicting nature of the marketing of place (cf. Paganoni 2012a, b; 2014) to

clients from outside the neighborhood and the reality of the neighborhood and its residents. A close look at vague and underspecified group denominators was helpful in uncovering another recurrent discursive strategy: that of placing blame for negative outcomes of gentrification or smaller-scale local developments. This gave insight into the ideological foundations of influential and less influential groups of social actors in the rental market. Through their circulation in everyday conversation, these habitual ways of talking about others maintain stigmatizing discourses. In practice, these create a climate of skepticism and distrust based on a lack of reciprocity in a super-diverse urban context (cf. Vertovec 2007; Rosenblum 2016).

This stands in stark contrast to what these stakeholders at the grassroots level describe as desirable features of neighborhoods that they are working towards: sociality, respect, and community, all of which depend on continuous and long-term nourishment by residents. Although research on community in urban spaces suggests that this type of stable and inclusive ideal of community is an illusion under the conditions of increasing urbanization, it is exactly this “old idea of community as a fixed thing that people can opt or be pushed into or out of” (Blokland 2017: 168) that the stakeholders in this corpus highlight as a crucial dimension of their neighborhoods – no matter how “unhelpful” (ibid.) this understanding may be in the eyes of an urban researcher. Rather, the insistence on the social dimension of the neighborhood by those who work and live in the neighborhoods that urban planners or developers deal with provides an important lesson for future considerations of urban neighborhoods.

This chapter’s focus on urban forms of participation can be viewed as a direct response to sociological literature on civic participation in the U.S. which has been argued to be declining across the board. Putnam’s (2000) landmark study, in particular, has painted a dark picture of eroding social ties due to the decrease of traditional forms of civic participation. Rather than including newer urban forms of participation like working in a neighborhood association (cf. Ruef/Kwon 2016), community garden or organizing bike rides through the neighborhood, Putnam stays with traditional indicators such as the number of members of officially recognized clubs. It seems from these stakeholder interviews that there has been a dispersion of civic participation, not an erosion thereof.

Participation may now consist of lending a hand in block beautification drives or becoming a member of a block association. People still gain different forms of social capital from personal networks created within neighborhoods, “even though residence may be less and less a source of community in people’s everyday performances.” (Blokland 2017: 8; cf. also Middleton et al. 2005;

Ruef/Kwon 2016) Nevertheless, these traditional forms of participation, of doing community, have not completely eroded but, like organic matter, taken on different forms, some of which were discussed in this chapter.



Fig. 15: Unity in the community. Gates Ave/Classon Ave, Clinton Hill/Bed-Stuy. Photo: KB, June 2019.

Although it requires participation and durable engagement by individuals, the interviews have shown that community evolves from practice, no matter how small or seemingly insignificant. In community gardens and block groups tending to lawns and treebeds in particular, very different groups of residents gain a sense of control over a parcel of space that allows them to visibly shape their environment, thereby countering potential visual disorder. Although such third places are not a “panacea to heal divides that are, after all, based on concrete differences in interests and outlook, and that are rooted in deeply inequitable and troubling spatial policies” (Martinez 2010: 65), they bring people together and reduce distrust between social actors. Conversely, areas without such spaces, be it because there are no public third places or because everyone has their own front lawns, lack these possibilities for interaction and the creation of a kind of working trust between neighbors (cf. Rosenblum 2016).

In the BK_SpokenID corpus, spaces where all neighbors can come together were mentioned as particularly important in facilitating connections between diverse groups of neighbors, long-time residents, and newcomers that bring a variety of different socioeconomic backgrounds to the table but still have one thing in common: their neighborhoods. Especially in light of gentrification and its discontents, research has shown that (racial) stereotypes and distrust are reduced by continued co-presence and interaction over time (cf. Ellen 2000). This

is where the stakeholders I interviewed come in. Their involvement with their neighbors, block groups, and local communities of practice emphasized and cultivated the social dimension of neighborhood. Their associations provide spaces for people to interact, work on policies and negotiate the improvement of the neighborhoods they are active in. In their roles as gardeners, activists, landlords, residents, and tenants' representatives, they enrich the soil for the growth of community in the urban space.

6. Advocates' perspectives: The politics of neighborhood association websites

Neighborhood associations are usually non-governmental, non-profit groups which focus on a number of issues central to their own sphere of influence in the neighborhoods they are situated in, for example, tenants' rights or environmental concerns, and thus "encompass a diverse array of organizational forms" and purposes (cf. Ruef/Kwon 2016: 60). Over the past 50 years, the number of neighborhood organizations in the United States has drastically increased, presenting a profound institutional change in urban governance (cf. Marwell 2007). As neighborhood associations are active at the grassroots level and were formed based on the needs of local residents, they are likely to have an image of what a good neighborhood should look and be like. This ties in with what I have learned during my fieldwork, where members doing work in gardens or who are active in homeowners or block associations expressed on multiple occasions that their motivations for organizing or volunteering in the neighborhood were motivated by an idealized vision of what their neighborhood could and should be like. Looking at these imaginations can give an insight in the production of neighborhoods on the ground. Many of the websites also contain a section with a mission statement, the organization's principles or values which provide some information on what neighborhood is to them. The corpus of neighborhood association websites, BK_OrgaWeb, thus presents an invaluable window into how neighborhoods are discursively construed and reflected by these local communities of practice, and can give insight into the functions of such groups for neighborhoods more generally.

This sub-corpus was compiled in October 2018 with the help of the web-crawling function of SketchEngine (<http://www.sketchengine.eu/>).¹⁶⁹ The corpus

¹⁶⁹ In the process of crawling the websites with SketchEngine, it is possible to select specific pages on a website or to crawl the entire website, which is what I did for BK_OrgaWeb. However, it remains unclear which parts of the websites were crawled and how deeply into the repository of available content and the structure of individual websites the crawler probed. What is more, the content crawled from the websites contained duplicates, a lot of boilerplate text and noise which required substantial cleaning in the pre-processing stage. While it was beyond

contains content from 20 neighborhood organization websites in neighborhoods along Bedford-Avenue. As with the interviewee distribution in BK_Spoken_ID, there is an overrepresentation of some neighborhoods over others, with seven websites from Williamsburg and Bed-Stuy associations, one each from Clinton Hill, Crown Heights and Flatbush, and three from Midwood. This resulted in a corpus with 914,989 tokens for the BK_OrgaWeb. As a reference corpus, I use a freely available sample of the iWeb corpus (about 130 million words), which is a sampled web corpus of the 100,000 most visited websites in English and thus comparable in variety to the focus corpus. In the analysis, I will name the area that the organization is located in as stated by the organization in brackets after the respective data sample. This is to make visible any possible inter-spatial variation, and to ensure a certain amount of anonymity for the associations, although the data was freely available on the internet. For a full list of organizations and websites crawled, see appendix B.

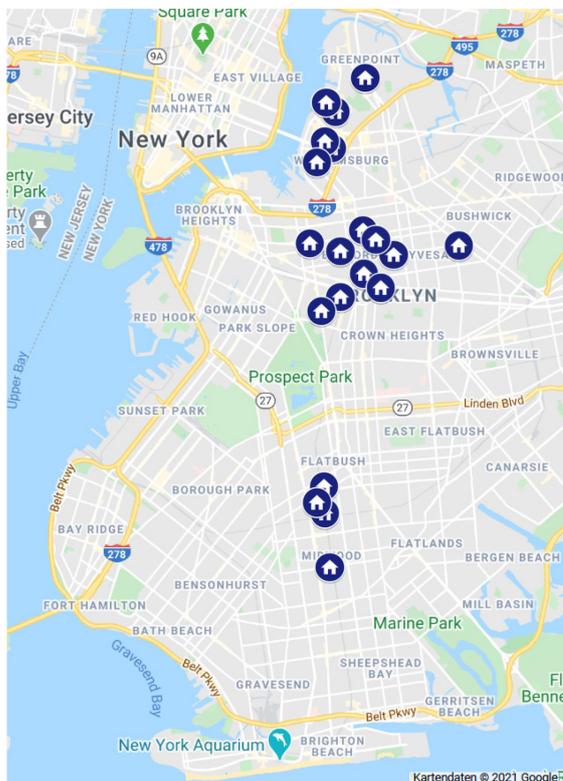


Fig. 16: Neighborhood organizations in BK_OrgaWeb. Adapted from Google My Maps (2021).

The size of the BK_OrgaWeb corpus, which is significantly larger than those used in the spoken data in chapters 5 and 6,¹⁷⁰ calls for an approach that is very clearly focused on the specific research questions posed in this study. A first glance at the data reveals that the purposes voiced by the neighborhood organizations are largely similar to the themes touched upon in the BK_SpokenID corpora. This is

the scope of this work, it would have been advantageous to be able to reduce the nebulosity of the data crawling process to ensure a more evenly balanced sample.

¹⁷⁰ The keyness and collocation scores are thus, on average, much higher.

because some of the stakeholders interviewed for this corpus are representatives of neighborhood associations themselves. Moreover, the toponyms that occur among the keywords also largely reflect the location of the respective organizations and their practices and relations across Brooklyn, which is why they will not be subject to scrutiny here.

Consequently, in line with the overall research question, the emphasis in the following section will be on the lemmas NEIGHBOR and NEIGHBORHOOD as represented in the Keyword forms *neighbors* (0.04%, LL=1,757.02), *neighborhood* (0.16%, LL=7,929.33), *neighborhoods* (0.04%, LL=1,510.82). By looking at these words in their immediate co-texts, it is possible to establish how neighborhood groups discursively construct the concept of neighborhood.

Therefore, I first take a look at key collocate pronouns, before discussing adjectival premodification of NEIGHBORHOOD, and ending the chapter with a discussing how the people who reside in the area are described by analyzing the uses of the keyword *neighbors* and its near-synonym *residents*. In this analysis, I investigate the corpus, starting with key collocates of an item to individual example excerpts and their wider contexts from the websites to show larger trends in the corpus. By moving from the observation of more frequent phenomena (macro-level) to their manifestations in lower-frequency occurrences and their respective contexts (micro-level), the cumulative force of these items becomes visible.

6.1 Neighborhoods as spatial projects

A first look at the top 20 collocates of the node word *neighborhood* suggest that it collocates strongly with the pronoun *our* ($t=11.454$), and when looking beyond the first 20 collocates, it also seems to co-occur frequently with the pronouns *your* ($t=8.744$), *their* ($t=7.868$), and *you* ($t=4.744$). Upon closer inspection, the first three pronouns are most revealing with regard to how neighborhood associations perceive the neighborhoods they are active in, how they assess their current state, and how social actors play into this. In order to do justice to the minute differences in use of the node word in question, I discuss the pronoun collocates of *neighborhood*, and the plural form of the lemma, *neighborhoods*, which also collocates with these pronouns, but only *our* ($t=6.176$) and *their* ($t=5.108$) are indicated by the t-score as confidently associated with the node word. Due to the large number of occurrences of these pronouns, I only investigate the collocate pronouns in L1 position, that means one position to the left of the node word.

N	Word	With	Relation (t-score)	N	Word	With	Relation (t-score)
1	THE	neighborhood	28.061	1	THE	neighborhoods	11.356
2	AND	neighborhood	18.918	2	IN	neighborhoods	11.509
3	IN	neighborhood	19.441	3	AND	neighborhoods	10.673
4	TO	neighborhood	18.354	4	OF	neighborhoods	9.032
5	OF	neighborhood	17.937	5	TO	neighborhoods	7.349
6	A	neighborhood	17.411	6	FOR	neighborhoods	7.504
7	S	neighborhood	12.685	7	BROOKLYN	neighborhoods	6.782
8	FOR	neighborhood	11.088	8	CENTER	neighborhoods	6.639
9	OUR	neighborhood	11.454	9	HEALTHY	neighborhoods	6.375
10	IS	neighborhood	10.024	10	OUR	neighborhoods	6.176
11	COMMUNITY	neighborhood	9.033	11	CITY	neighborhoods	5.303
12	FROM	neighborhood	9.328	12	NEW	neighborhoods	4.954
13	WITH	neighborhood	8.941	13	S	neighborhoods	4.863
14	NAG	neighborhood	9.168	14	THEIR	neighborhoods	5.018
15	YOUR	neighborhood	8.744	15	A	neighborhoods	3.730
16	BROOKLYN	neighborhood	7.608	16	WILLIAMSBURG	neighborhoods	4.712
17	THEIR	neighborhood	7.868	17	THAT	neighborhoods	4.315
18	HOUSING	neighborhood	7.840	18	WITH	neighborhoods	4.190
19	THAT	neighborhood	6.627	19	ARE	neighborhoods	4.218
20	THIS	neighborhood	7.035	20	ORK	neighborhoods	4.351

Table 6.1: Top 20 collocates of *neighborhood* and *neighborhoods*.

In concordances of *neighborhood(s)* and *our* in L1 position (74.31% of all occurrences, full list see appendix C3.1 and C3.2), the verb choices surrounding the node word give rise to the impression that neighborhoods need to be maintained and cared for. In this vein, it becomes apparent that neighborhood organizations view neighborhoods as spatial projects that “shape urban space in accordance with specific goals and techniques.” (Madden 2014: 480) In their concerted efforts, neighborhood organizations are continuously engaged in achieving and preserving neighborhood, in producing and shaping these spatial projects. The verbs that co-occur with *our neighborhood(s)* highlight that organizers are committed to protecting the neighborhood from existing change or else in making the best of the changes that are happening. In doing so, they draw on vocabulary from the semantic field of battle and evoke what, based on Brown-Saracino (2009), I call a preservation discourse, an observation that will become clearer throughout the analyses in this chapter.¹⁷¹ The focus in this section will be on illustrating how the discursive positions are constructed in concordances of NEIGHBORHOOD and its collocate pronouns across neighborhoods, and how historical trajectories and present-day structural properties of the areas investigated may affect the way these changes are perceived.

¹⁷¹ Brown-Saracino (2009) uses the term ‘preservationist’ to describe a particular ideology that affects the ways in which these preservationist gentrifiers position themselves in a neighborhood: they are sympathetic to long-standing neighbors and want to preserve as much as they can from the pre-existing social fabric. In applying this term to neighborhood organizations, I want to stress the ideological foundation of this outlook that aims at preserving neighborhoods as they are, and the impact it has on their work.

N	Concordance	our neighborhood	Location
1	won't stop fighting until	our neighborhood	Williamsburg
5	why this is a vital issue for	our neighborhood	Williamsburg
8	forced out of their homes in	our neighborhood	Williamsburg
10	es. These chains detract from	our neighborhood	Williamsburg
21	who work together to improve	our neighborhood	Williamsburg
22	®" WE WILL NOT BE MOVED!	Our neighborhood	Williamsburg
29	many concerned citizens from	our neighborhood	Williamsburg
31	e out to do something about	our neighborhood	Williamsburg
41	fordable housing important to	our neighborhood	Williamsburg
75	pace safely and effectively.	Our neighborhood	Williamsburg
99	way to improve the health of	our neighborhood	Williamsburg
27	or all of Boerum Hill. Defend	our neighborhood	Clinton Hill
18	d to come together to improve	our neighborhood	Bed-Stuy
3	rove the living conditions in	our neighborhood	Flatbush
17	the park-like environment of	our neighborhood	Midwood
4	ke action and make changes in	our neighborhoods	Williamsburg
9	he panel discussion about how	our neighborhoods	Williamsburg
12	projects that will help improve	our neighborhoods	Williamsburg
17	s that threaten to destabilize	our neighborhoods	Williamsburg
18	Issues that need action to make	our neighborhoods	Williamsburg
20	e quality of life and strengthen	our neighborhoods	Williamsburg
27	the panel discussion about how	our neighborhoods	Williamsburg
5	hat includes creating stability in	our neighborhoods	Bed-Stuy
13	sidents, bring better services to	our neighborhoods	Bed-Stuy
16	bike share access improves in	our neighborhoods	Bed-Stuy
7	preserve the cultural diversity of	our neighborhoods	Flatbush
10	celebrations that add value to	our neighborhoods	Flatbush
11	e quality of life and strengthen	our neighborhoods	Flatbush
22	oncentration of such facilities in	our neighborhoods	Flatbush
23	who fought for so long to make	our neighborhoods	Flatbush

Concordance 6.1: Verb choices expressing a preservationist stance in concordances of *our neighborhood(s)*.

In a quarter of all occurrences of the verbal constructions of concordances, neighborhoods are construed as in need of improvement and as under threat from outside pressures. The verbal constructions might not directly collocate with the node words in a span of five slots to the left and to the right, but still add to the meaning of the latter by frequently co-occurring in the wider co-text of the website text, even if not as fixed lexical patterns or grammatical structures. Nevertheless, their cumulative occurrence contributes to a preservation discourse that is evoked in the context of these websites.

Looking more closely at these concordance lines, it seems that one manifestation is that of a description of the state of the neighborhood with the help of words that are associated with the semantic domain of battle. One website reads:

Our neighborhood is under attack. Landlords are trying to evict longtime residents and replace affordable apartments with luxury housing. We must take direct action. Join [name] and the [name] and the fight to save our homes. (line 22, Williamsburg)

The verbal construction in the first clause of the excerpt, the relational clause (to be) *under attack*, introduces the theme of battle that presents the background against which the issue is described. Here, evictions through greedy landlords are likened

to attacks on the entirety of the neighborhood. By using individuals as stand-ins for the whole neighborhood, the association extends the threat on individual actors to the group of all neighbors. The repeated use of the possessive pronoun *our* (*our neighborhood, our homes*) in this excerpt creates a sense of immediacy with the help of which the organization seeks to mobilize other neighbors, who are not directly affected but are still included in the directive by the inclusive pronoun *we*, to *take direct action*. In this sentence, the modal verb expresses an obligation on part of the reader (cf. Halliday/Matthiessen 2014), while the verb phrase denotes both an “action that seeks to achieve an end directly and by the most immediately effective means (such as a boycott or strike)” (Merriam-Webster 2020: “direct action,” n.), or smaller raids and ambushes conducted by special operations forces. The link between organizing against eviction and battle is strengthened by the nouns *attack* and *fight* in the first and last sentences of the excerpt, which reinforce the battle image that is created of the situation in Williamsburg.

Further manifestations of the semantic field of battle can be found in occurrences of the verb FIGHT which is used to conceptualize situations neighborhoods are facing in the BK_OrgaWeb corpus. However, there are minute differences among neighborhoods with regard to that which is fought for and when the process of fighting occurs. One Williamsburg association emphasizes that it *won't stop fighting for the open space our neighborhood deserves* (line 1, Williamsburg). The simple future tense of the verb phrase *we won't stop fighting* suggests that the act of fighting is ongoing in the present, while the negation indicates that there is no intent to cease the action of fighting in the future. In Flatbush, the fight for the neighborhood is rooted in the past:

People also speak about seniors being pushed out of our community. They were the ones who built our communities for us to be here. We don't see enough fight for our seniors who fought for all of this to keep living in our communities. They are the very people who fought for so long to make our neighborhoods decent – to have decent housing, decent schools, decent stores. (line 23, Flatbush)

The simple past tense of the verb FIGHT in this excerpt indicates that the fights that the senior residents of the neighborhood were engaged in lie in the past. In residential Flatbush, it is generations that have themselves fought for the neighborhood who are now struggling. The fight is one to preserve what is already there, the long-standing residents and their achievements. The terms from the semantic field of battle are used across several neighborhoods, but each fight ultimately is a different one. There are striking differences between who or what is fought for. In post-industrial and now residential Williamsburg, the fight is to control the direction of the changes affecting the neighborhood, while the preservation of the status quo seems overall more prominent in Flatbush.

The use of words from the semantic field of battle is also striking in references to threats to the neighborhood's character in Clinton Hill and Flatbush. In the eyes of organizers in these areas, the "feature used to separate" (Merriam-Webster 2020: "character," n., 1b) them from other, nearby areas are the low building heights threatened by rezoning that would allow for the erection of taller structures. One association states: *Defend our neighborhood and all of Brooklyn from out-of-scale development!* (line 27, Clinton Hill) The verb *defend*, defined as "to drive danger or attack away from" (Merriam-Webster 2020: "defend," v., 1), frames the possibility of the construction of taller buildings as dangerous, as an attack on the neighborhoods in question. The imperative clause ended with an exclamation mark highlights the importance of an issue that they see as threat to the neighborhood:

We fear that this could lead to a concentration of such facilities [tall buildings, KB] in **our neighborhoods**, changing their character. (Flatbush, Midwood)

Here, the verb phrase *we fear* is mitigated by the use of the modal verb *could*, indicating the possibility of alteration through larger-scale buildings in a residential neighborhood with relatively low building heights. Although the changes are similar to those in other areas, what these concordances show is not a threat to the neighborhood because it lacks adequate park land or because its many of its residents are being evicted, as is the case in concordances from Williamsburg. Rather, these developments work against a perception of what is the norm for the neighborhood. The concentration of taller buildings in the area, which has already become the reality in North/North-Western Brooklyn neighborhoods like Williamsburg or in nearby Downtown Brooklyn, is perceived as an existential threat to low-scale, residential neighborhoods like Clinton Hill, Flatbush, or Midwood, which are largely areas with contextual zoning laws "designed to maintain existing neighborhood scale and character in residential zones." (Angotti 2017c: 24) However, in Clinton Hill¹⁷², Flatbush and Midwood¹⁷³, the threat of rezoning is so acute that the neighborhoods need to be protected from taller buildings, or otherwise they will lose their (low-rise) character – as other nearby neighborhoods like Williamsburg have done in the past.

¹⁷² In Clinton Hill, the wider context reveals that the act of defending the neighborhood is spurred by one particular project at 80 Flatbush Avenue, where two tall towers were supposed to be erected (cf. Cuba 2018). After subsequent protests by community board and local advocate, the planned building height was capped and the floor-area ratio reduced. At the time of my last field trip, demolition at the construction site was already ongoing. The towers are supposed to be completed in 2022 and 2025 respectively.

¹⁷³ In the wider context of the Flatbush examples shows that the excerpt belongs to a 2015 testimony of a submission to the City Planning commission, wherein the chairman of community board 14 states: "To preserve the community district's character, Brooklyn CB14 agreed in 2005 and 2009 to rezoning plans for Midwood and Flatbush that would trade modest increases in bulk for contextual height protections. We also agreed to voluntary inclusionary housing in several of our contextual zones. [...] Our primary concern with ZQA's greater height limits is that they would diminish our community's low-rise character, and by facilitating construction at maximum allowable bulk limits, would increase density and cause our streets, schools and parks to become more crowded." (Flatbush/Midwood)

The above concordances show that the aims that are brought forth on Williamsburg websites revolve around open space and affordable housing rather than avoiding out-of-scale development, primarily because this fight has already been lost after the 2005 rezoning that increased density and permitted high-rise towers in a previously “low- to mid-rise” area (DePaolo/Morse 2017: 75), leading the way for “high-rise luxury housing on the waterfront and throughout the neighborhoods, spurring dramatic increases in housing costs and residential displacement.” (ibid.: 73). Thus, the transformations that are feared in areas that have not seen changes to the built structure following concerted, state-led efforts to alter the neighborhoods are of a different quality than those in areas that have seen large-scale structural and social change. Although all neighborhoods seem to struggle with affordability of housing¹⁷⁴, the degree to which the neighborhoods have been impacted by gentrification shapes the way these processes are perceived and construed. In this vein, areas that have already moved beyond early-stage gentrification and like Williamsburg, have already experienced large-scale, state-led expansion as part of the third wave of gentrification in the 1990s-2000s (cf. Hackworth/Smith 2001; Hackworth 2002) and are on the verge of or already have entered a fourth wave of gentrification (cf. Lees et al. 2008) naturally face different challenges. While change moves on into adjacent areas that were “previously untouched” (Moss 2017: 30f.), this kind of “growth in the suburbs has been slower” (Hackworth/Smith 2001: 468), leaving neighborhood organizations in residential Flatbush and other long-standing residential areas to fight battles at a time when the latter have already been lost further north.

This also becomes conspicuous in the remaining verb choices in concordances of *our neighborhood(s)* which suggest that the developments in the neighborhood are mostly construed in a negative fashion. In the following, I touch upon some of the most striking examples to highlight the cumulative effect of references that evoke a preservation discourse that shapes the individual discursive fields of the neighborhoods discussed. In Williamsburg, the neighborhood *has the immense pressure of luxury housing constantly looming* (line 22, Williamsburg). The emphatic adjective *immense* suggests that the extent of the pressure transcends the boundaries of the ordinary. The present participle *looming* has a negative semantic prosody for it tends to co-occur with negative referents like threats or crises, as a look at the COCA confirms. More drastically even,

¹⁷⁴ A close look at further concordance lines suggests that the similarity between the neighborhoods’ struggles lies in a decreased affordability of housing. In both areas, there is a fight for longtime residents who are struggling to stay on because landlords are trying to evict (line 22, Williamsburg), people are forced out of their homes (line 8, Williamsburg), or they are pushed out (line 23, Flatbush) because landlords are trying to capitalize on the space that they live in. That is to say that all neighborhoods are facing similar kinds of changes, but based on concordances of *our neighborhood(s)*, these are most pronounced in Williamsburg.

Williamsburg is described as an area that is currently construed as not sufficiently “suitable for living in” (Merriam-Webster 2020: “livable,” adj., 1.), and must be made *more livable* (line 18, Williamsburg) with the help of collective action and improvements. The conceptualization of developments as threats in Williamsburg occurs again in line 17, where the *rapid changes that threaten to destabilize our neighborhoods* (line 17) that New York City neighborhoods are facing. Here, one additional conceptualization of the neighborhood emerges, wherein the verbal constructions indicate that changes have left neighborhoods weak and unstable. The measures undertaken suggest what kinds of changes have affected them. In Flatbush and Williamsburg, park groups are formed to *improve quality of life and strengthen our neighborhoods* (line 20, Williamsburg) and to *strengthen our neighborhoods* (line 11, Flatbush). In Bed-Stuy, a gentrifying area where foreclosures through mortgage scam are on the rise (cf. Frost 2019), the organization aims at averting a large real-estate turnover by *creating stability in our neighborhoods and preserving homeownership* (line 5, Bed-Stuy). Consequently, the verb choices in occurrences of *our neighborhood(s)* underline that neighborhood organizations contribute to a preservation discourse that depicts the respective neighborhoods as lacking in stability and strength to deal with the challenges they are faced with.

The inter-spatial variation in the perceptions of change also indicates a different kind of ideal version of the neighborhood that is constructed ex negativo by highlighting desirable neighborhood characteristics that are perceived to be under threat. As opposed to the formerly industrial Williamsburg area, Flatbush and Clinton Hill, which have always been residential and thus a little slower to change, have not experienced large-scale hyper-gentrification. This is partly because they were already relatively wealthy, (sub)urban areas, that is, they were above the 40% average household income in 1990 and thus not considered gentrifying (cf. Furman Center 2015), and therefore did not have the potential for great financial returns through a large rent gap (cf. Smith 1979) as did Williamsburg. Accordingly, the historical structural prerequisites of the areas under investigation affect neighborhood preservation discourses, the kinds of changes that are mentioned on the websites, as well as the kinds of qualities that are considered worth preserving.

The above concordances underline that all neighborhoods are currently shifting, but the direction of these shifts is a slightly different one. Neighborhood organization websites suggest that Clinton Hill, Flatbush, and Midwood are facing less of the large-scale social and structural change that has affected Williamsburg and made it barely livable because of rising rents, greedy landlords, and increased

commercialization of the area. Rather, organizers in areas towards central Brooklyn are concerned with the preservation of the existing assets that the individual neighborhood has, such as *decent living conditions* (line 23, Flatbush) and a distinct neighborhood character are now endangered by out-of-scale development. Contrary to gentrifying neighborhoods in the North, the threat to the neighborhood is not explicitly named in concordances of *our + neighborhood(s)*. Rather, the threat posed by cultural homogenization and a change in the neighborhood aesthetics is introduced more implicitly by way of highlighting that the positive features of the status quo that are worth preserving.

Comparing the way that organizers talk about their neighborhoods in concordances of *our neighborhood(s)* accentuates that an extended period of threats to the neighborhood from outside impacts the way activists view and talk about the neighborhoods they are located in. The dynamics and challenges that neighborhoods are facing are conceptualized differently in historically residential areas and post-industrial neighborhoods that are dealing with the effects of large-scale gentrification through corporate investors. While all neighborhood organizations contribute to a preservation discourse and there are similarities with regard to the linguistic strategies used to describe challenges, there are strong differences regarding what they construe as particularly pressing issues, and in how they thereby discursively construct their neighborhood(s).

In their concerted efforts, neighborhood organizations are continuously engaged in achieving neighborhood, in producing and shaping this spatial project with the help of a variety of specific actors and specific techniques. In looking at occurrences of the singular word form of NEIGHBORHOOD and its collocates,¹⁷⁵ I illustrate how these spatial projects are achieved with different types of contributions initiated and mediated by organizers. The concordances of *neighborhood* with the possessive determiners *your* ($t=7.843$, in L1 in 60% of all occ., full list of occurrences see appendix C3.3) and *their* ($t=7.068$, in L1 in 60% of all occ., full list of occurrences see appendix C3.4) underline that organization websites view neighborhoods as “coordinated, continuous, collective campaigns to produce and format space according to identifiable logics and strategic goals, pursued by specific actors utilizing particular techniques.” (Madden 2018: 480)

Collocate verbs found in the extended collocation span of *your* and *their neighborhood* reflect the fact that the organizations use the websites to communicate concrete information for site visitors and are thus the most prominent

¹⁷⁵ This is because the collocation of *your* is only weakly associated with *neighborhoods* ($t=0.272$), and the dispersion of *their + neighborhoods* is limited to one section on a Bed-Stuy organization’s website wherein the same phrases occur repeatedly in a paragraph about a program to support families. The remainder of the occurrences originates from policy texts from other city departments that are republished on the organization websites, and would consequently skew the analysis.

items in concordances of *your neighborhood*. Among them are material clauses (Halliday/Matthiessen 2014: 216) which, first, aim at the readers' involvement through the act of engaging mentally with the causes advocated for, and, second, aim at an active, physical engagement with causes and events that the neighborhood organizations host or promote. Both of them are active processes of doing, but the kinds of actions are qualitatively different.

N	Concordance	Location
10	visualize, and create your own ideal neighborhood . Next, learn how you can get involved	Williamsburg
19	ements on issues of interest to your neighborhood Please read both sides carefully. You	Flatbush
26	find out which organizations serve your neighborhood , bookmark this map and use it as a h	Flatbush
38	more about events planned for your neighborhood , including where you can get free smo	Flatbush
30	g for an afterschool program in your neighborhood ? Need information on improving readi	Flatbush
46	erty, discover new proposals for your neighborhood and learn where City Planning initiati	Flatbush
58	get informed about the issues of our neighborhood , know your rights, and help organize y	Williamsburg

Concordance 6.2: First group of transformative material clauses in concordances of *your + neighborhood*.

Two strategies in encouraging residents in the spatial project of the neighborhood are conspicuous in the above concordances. The first becomes apparent in a group of transformative material clauses which provide information on issues that concern the neighbors themselves, such as *improving reading* (line 30, Flatbush) or getting to know one's rights (line 58, Williamsburg). The second goal that is discernible here is that organizations also invite to a more active, physical involvement (*join, help, make happen, be part of, attend*) in an extending process of accompaniment (Halliday/Matthiessen 2014: 236) or an enhancing process of motion to a place (*get out, come out, go*). Thus, in order for the spatial project to succeed, the first step is getting informed (line 58, Williamsburg), the second is to actively *help organize your building or your block* (ibid.).

N	Concordance	Location
1	ity spaces, your neighbors, and your neighborhood , PLEASE COME OUT for this impor	Williamsburg
5	a grant to beautify your block or your neighborhood ! Several grant opportunities are ava	Flatbush
16	: July 10, 3pm: What does your ideal neighborhood look like? Join us for a workshop th	Williamsburg
27	e to speak out for 2 minutes about a neighborhood issue dear to your heart...In the up	Williamsburg
29	your community. Help improve your neighborhood by voting on projects addressing sc	Clinton Hill
31	second Curb Your Litter: Greenpoint neighborhood clean up day with Greenpoint Refor	Williamsburg
34	ements on issues of interest to your neighborhood . You are encouraged to attend and	Flatbush
43	ou can make history happen in your neighborhood by simply getting out and interviewi	Williamsburg
48	#FeastBedStuy to share your favorit neighborhood spots or what you think makes the	Bed-Stuy
58	et informed about the issues of our neighborhood , know your rights, and help organiz	Williamsburg
64	you can search for programs in your neighborhood by going to the following web page:	Flatbush
71	ference on your favorite corner of the neighborhood . Be a part of the team that organiz	Williamsburg

Concordance 6.3: Second group of transformative material clauses in concordances of *your + neighborhood*.

Although the effects are mutually dependent, two distinct effects of these material clauses can be distinguished. One is to reach a broad coalition that supports causes beneficial to the neighborhood. Encouragements to join the local community of practice of people who work on and for the neighborhood also have an additional effect. In this vein, the second goal is to facilitate social interaction

between residents. In doing this work, residents and organizers can get to know other members of the local community of practice engaged in the spatial project of the neighborhood. Thereby, associations across the areas investigated aim to establish a culture of contribution that differ in the degree of involvement, as can be exemplified in the following imperative clauses:

Help improve **your neighborhood** by voting on projects addressing schools and housing developments or public safety and city streets! (line 29, Clinton Hill)

Find out which organizations serve **your neighborhood!** (line 26, Flatbush)

Apply for a grant to beautify your block or **your neighborhood!** (line 5, Flatbush)

Concordances of *our neighborhood(s)* mainly dealt with spatial projects that are decided upon outside the neighborhood, for instance in the case of parks or the creation of regulations against eviction. Concordances of *your neighborhood* contain more local, micro-scale projects which are addressed as part of the spatial project of the neighborhood. In the Clinton Hill example, different aspects of the local infrastructure are decided upon in a *Participatory Budgeting Vote* (line 29, Clinton Hill). The only type of contribution to them is a collective one that depends on the individual voices collected in the form of votes. The second is the contribution to the neighborhood by an intermediary organization. By informing themselves about these organizations and their work, residents become indirectly active – they learn who actively contributes to the joint spatial project of the neighborhood. The most direct contribution, though, lies in the direct, personal contribution to the neighborhood on a micro-scale: applying for financial support to work on the aesthetics of the immediate (*block*) or wider *neighborhood*.

Concordances of *their + neighborhood* (see appendix C3.4) give insight into the nature of the everyday contributions that residents can make towards their neighborhoods as spatial projects.¹⁷⁶ Rather than discussing the linguistic intricacies of the respective concordances, I want to give an overview of the types of contributions that appear in these concordances.

N	Concordance	Location
41	business owners to help keep their neighborhood clean! New Yorkers in busy areas	Flatbush
46	tiation processes affecting their Neighborhood , and promoting the right to desi	Williamsburg
52	on their street... NAG's Annual Neighborhood Gala & Benefit is such fun! W	Williamsburg
60	potential improvements to their neighborhood . Several community groups that	Bed-Stuy
63	ied history of fighting for their neighborhood . They 've fought the largest publ	Williamsburg
64	a relatively small piece of their neighborhood . In 1975, New York City was dee	Williamsburg
68	to volunteer and celebrate their neighborhood parks at parks and public spaces	Bed-Stuy

Concordance 6.4: Excerpt of neighborhood contribution concordances in *their + neighborhood*.

¹⁷⁶ The perspective on social actors and how they engage in and with the area that they live in is only one side of the coin. The concordances also attest to a reciprocal effect: there are those who contribute to the neighborhood and those who are affected by it, i.e. are pushed out of the neighborhoods because of the trajectories they take.

Overall, the concordances suggest that the spatial project can be supported by a diverse range of actors and a diverse range of social practices. These can be as mundane as patronizing *small businesses* (line 16, Bed-Stuy) or coming *together to volunteer and celebrate their neighborhood parks* (line 68, Bed-Stuy). In central Brooklyn, business owners are invited to *help keep their neighborhood clean* by adopting a local *litter basket* (line 41, Flatbush), while North Brooklyn residents receive help by organizers to *plug into their local government and create (or call for) real change on their street* (line 52, Williamsburg), and stakeholders *engage in serious efforts to improve Bedford Stuyvesant* (line 60, Bed-Stuy). The common spatial project, ideally, is achieved or worked towards by all neighbors:

the entire community is entitled to participate in decision-making and negotiation processes affecting **their neighborhood**, and promoting the right to design a future vision for shared public space. (line 46, Williamsburg)

These are contributions to an alternative spatial project that takes into its hands space shared by all residents. This shows that neighborhood organizations are spatial entrepreneurs (cf. Madden 2014, referring to Logan/Molotch 1987) who work towards a spatial project of the neighborhood, while other actors, like commercial real estate developers, have a different and potentially competing spatial project in mind for the very same space. The excerpt above suggests that the future of the neighborhood is not only up to the most financially powerful developer, but depends on residents' contributions. This ultimately conceptualizes the neighborhood "as an achievement, rather than a natural outgrowth of urban social life." (Madden 2014: 481) This common project of the neighborhood can be realized, be it in mundane or in organized social action. Consequently, concordances of *your* and *their neighborhood* indicate that the ongoing process of neighborhood construction is achieved through individual practices by social actors or joint practices facilitated by neighborhood organizations, be they shopping at local stores, becoming involved in local decision-making processes, and working together towards the common goal, the neighborhood they imagine.

6.2 Neighborhoods as social projects

What kinds of neighborhoods are imagined or worked towards by organizers can be learned, for instance, from premodifying adjectives. There are fifty adjectives among the top 200 keywords of NEIGHBORHOOD, but not all of these have such an immediate effect on the meaning of the term as premodifiers do. A look at those that directly pre-modify the head of the noun phrase can thus provide further information about how NEIGHBORHOOD is conceptualized on the neighborhood organization websites. As the list of adjective collocates is rather extensive and

contains items that are only used by one organization or as a proper name, for instance, *united* (t=4.788) which occurs in the phrase *United Neighborhood Houses of New York*, I focus on those adjectives that show a salient association (a t-score of 2.0 and above) with both the singular and the plural word form of NEIGHBORHOOD. As figure 17 below shows, there is a difference in the number of collocate adjectives: *neighborhoods* only collocates with half as many individual adjectives as the singular form.

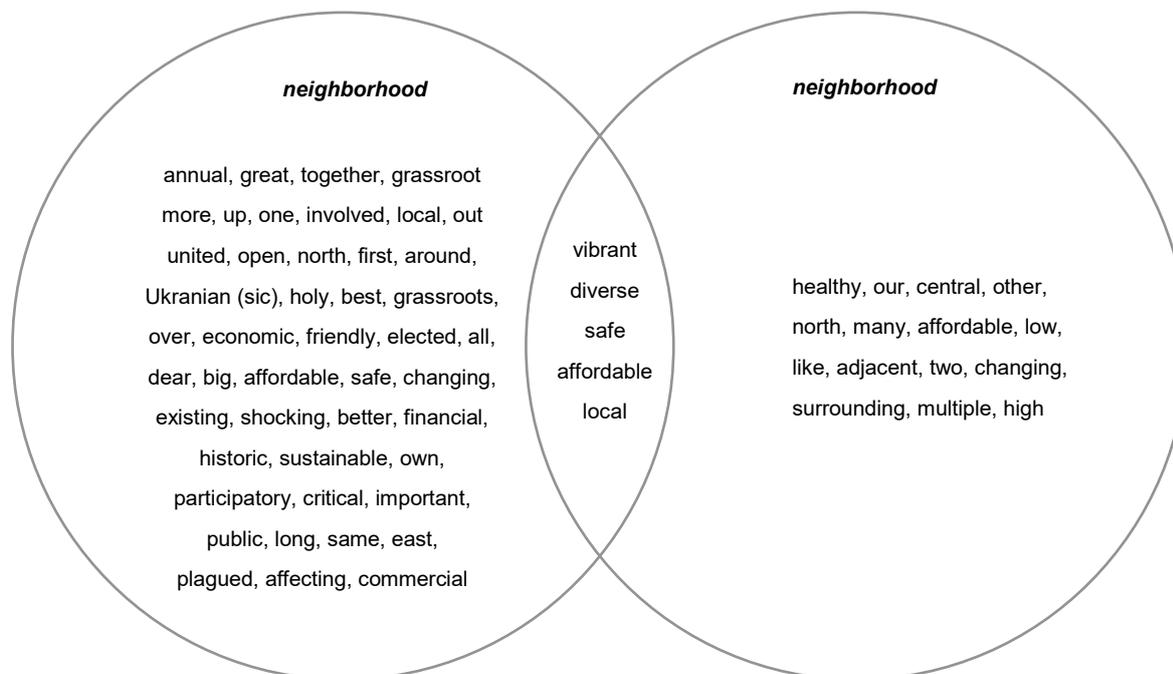


Fig. 17: Collocate adjectives of *neighborhood* and *neighborhoods*.

In concordances of *vibrant + neighborhood(s)*, two things become conspicuous at first sight. The first are the verb choices and the second is the co-occurrence of several, if not related adjectives with the node word and the collocate adjective *vibrant*. The verbs used in the above concordances (*nurture, sustain, transform, maintain, foster, promote*) all indicate that the state of a *vibrant neighborhood* that is an area that is “pulsating with life, vigor, or activity” (Merriam-Webster 2020: “vibrant,” adj., 1a) needs to be supported or created anew.

With the exception of *transform*, whose definition indicates a “change in composition or structure” (Merriam-Webster 2020: “transform,” v. 1a), the material clauses all indicate that the vibrancy of the neighborhood already exists but needs to be taken care of. Verbs that co-occur with the adjective *vibrant* denote actions to preserve the status quo (*sustain, maintain*) or work towards the creation of *vibrant neighborhoods* in the future (*foster, nurture*). The adjective’s collocates in the COCA suggest a strongly positive semantic prosody, which, in turn, serves as a means of covert positive evaluation of the neighborhood that exhibits this feature.

N	Concordance	neighborhood	Location
1	rture and sustain a vibrant	neighborhood	Williamsburg
2	rture and sustain a vibrant	neighborhood	Williamsburg
3	rture and sustain a vibrant	neighborhood	Williamsburg
4	-Stuyvesant a safe, vibrant	neighborhood	Bed-Stuy
5	rture and transforming the	neighborhood	Bed-Stuy
6	ture and transforming the	neighborhood	Bed-Stuy
7	essed to maintain a vibrant	neighborhood	Flatbush
8	and transforming Brooklyn	neighborhoods	Bed-Stuy
9	and transforming Brooklyn	neighborhoods	Bed-Stuy
10	tains vibrant and equitable	neighborhoods	Bed-Stuy
11	maintaining strong, vibrant	neighborhoods	Flatbush
12	foster vibrant and diverse	neighborhoods	Flatbush
13	foster vibrant and diverse	neighborhoods	Flatbush
14	g Promote vibrant, diverse	neighborhoods	Flatbush

Concordance 6.5: Concordances of *vibrant* + *neighborhood*(s) in L/R ±5 in the BK_OrgaWeb corpus.

The spatial distribution of these processes is also interesting, for the requirement of transformation of a neighborhood into a *safe, vibrant place to live* is only referred to in concordances from one Bed-Stuy organization. From a corpus linguistic perspective, the adjective collocate *vibrant* is not well-dispersed across the entire corpus, but “locally concentrated” (Scott/Tribble 2006: 66). However, rather than rejecting the key collocate because they occur in local “bursts” (ibid., referring to Katz 1996), it is important to bear in mind that the low dispersion can be an indicator for inter-spatial variation across the areas of investigation, which is why local, unequally-dispersed collocates will be discussed here, too.

The goal of the desired process of transformation, turning Bed-Stuy and other unspecified *Brooklyn neighborhoods* into a *safe, vibrant place to live*, indicates that this organization presupposes that their and other neighborhoods in Central Brooklyn are currently lacking these qualities. In Williamsburg, on the other hand, the state of being vibrant seems to have already been reached. Here, the goal is *[t]o nurture and sustain a vibrant neighborhood that supports the diverse family life of Williamsburg* (Williamsburg). The verbs *foster* (line 12 and 13), *maintain* (line 7), and *promote* (line 14), all of which are used by organizations in Flatbush, also highlight the previous existence of vibrancy and the awareness of that the latter needs to be actively preserved. Thus, it seems from these concordances that Williamsburg and Flatbush are already perceived as *vibrant*, but that, according to the organization website corpus, this condition is not something that is yet associated with Central Brooklyn neighborhoods like Bed-Stuy.

In Flatbush, the achievement of a *vibrant neighborhood* is formulated as part of the vision that neighborhood organizers have. The vibrancy of the area is something that must be cared for by associations to ensure the continuance of this desired neighborhood quality. What is required to create this vibrancy can be seen in the following excerpt:

Affordable housing needs to be preserved and built, commercial revitalization must continue, and quality-of-life issues must be addressed to maintain a **vibrant neighborhood**. (Flatbush)

The vibrancy here refers to livelihood of streets through the patronizing of local shops, the preservation of ethnic and socio-economic diversity, and a range of unspecified *quality-of-life issues* are required for Flatbush to stay a *vibrant neighborhood* in the future. Upon closer inspection, the semantic meaning of the verb PRESERVE evokes several time periods. It highlights that the desired features are and have already been there in the past and thus introduces a sense of nostalgia that motivates the desire for maintenance in the present and future. What is particularly striking in this excerpt is that both the verbs that indicate actions geared towards the preservation of the present state (*preserved, continue, maintain*) and those that are aimed at the creation of a future vision (*built, revitalize, address*) lead to a similar outcome. The change verbs and the maintenance verbs conceptualize the current state of the neighborhood slightly differently. The maintenance verbs rate the current state as worth preserving while the change verbs assess it less positively, but ultimately both suggest that associations utilize similar (pro-)active strategies to prevent transformation of neighborhoods. The seemingly passive actions of preserving, continuing, and maintaining work towards the same goal as the change verbs, a vibrant neighborhood.

Because of its co-occurrence with *vibrant*, the second observation from the above example also holds true for *diverse*, the next collocate adjective to be investigated. In 5 out of 14 occurrences of *vibrant* (35.71%), the adjective co-occurs with another adjective in the pattern ADJ. (+ CONJ. CRD.) + ADJ. + NEIGHBORHOOD. In these paratactic adjective clauses, which are either separated by the coordinating conjunction *and* or a comma, both parts have equal status (cf. Halliday/Matthiessen 2014). Thus, both of the attributes are construed as equally desirable or important, indicating that neighborhoods should be both *safe* and *vibrant*, *vibrant* and *diverse*, *vibrant* and *equitable*, and *strong* and *vibrant*. The different emphases on attributes that are considered worth preserving, with *vibrant* leading the way, also add to the more general impression of the multifacetedness of neighborhoods. They cannot just be lively but also supportive of its diverse population.

Due to the co-occurrence of several adjectives in the collocational environment of the node word *neighborhood(s)*, some of the below examples have already been discussed and will not be taken up again, especially the preservationist outlook on neighborhoods that becomes apparent in the verb choices, which highlights the general impression, that both *vibrant* and *diverse*

neighborhoods are conceptualized as in need of protection through regulatory or other deliberate efforts, remains. Now that I have shown that vibrant neighborhoods are perceived as under threat, how do neighborhood associations construe a *diverse neighborhood*?¹⁷⁷

The groups of social actors that are linked to *diverse neighborhood(s)* suggest that the associations in BK_OrgaWeb work for those most likely to be affected by hardships in the form of rent increases and housing insecurity. More precisely, the social actors which collocate with the node words suggest that *diverse* is understood as socio-economic and ethnic diversity: a *diverse neighborhood* means that it is for *New Yorkers with a range of incomes* (line 13, Flatbush), *working class families of color, immigrants, and seniors* (line 12, *ibid.*), and *the Hispanic community* (line 1, Williamsburg).

N	Concordance	neighborhood	Location
1	unity to remain a part of this diverse	, and for it to not be driven out b	Williamsburg
2	f importance in the ethnically diverse	. The association is facilitated by S	Williamsburg
3	nurture and sustain a vibrant	that supports the diverse family lif	Williamsburg
4	nurture and sustain a vibrant	that supports the diverse family lif	Williamsburg
5	nurture and sustain a vibrant	that supports the diverse family lif	Williamsburg
6	nurture and sustain a vibrant	that supports the diverse family lif	Williamsburg
7	of social service agencies and	associations, and diverse cultural	Bed-Stuy
8	housing and diverse, thriving	for New Yorkers through loan an	Bed-Stuy
9	ue place as the nation 's most diverse	,both ethnically and socio-econo	Flatbush
10	diverse needs within and between.	Second, DCP should require that	Flatbush
11	ary Housing Promote vibrant, diverse	Ensure affordable housing in area	Flatbush
12	led to the de-stabilization of diverse	and a housing crisis for working c	Flatbush
13	s, and will foster vibrant and diverse	. Key Facets of The Affordable Ho	Flatbush
14	s serve the different needs of diverse	within our community district? W	Flatbush

Concordance 6.6: Concordances of *diverse* + *neighborhood(s)* in L/R ±5 in the BK_OrgaWeb corpus.

In the wider co-text of concordance line 12 (Flatbush), some of the most vulnerable parts of the population in diverse neighborhoods, *working class families of color, immigrants, and seniors* are described as living in unstable conditions due to a decrease in rent-stabilized apartments (cf. Angotti 2017). In order to keep the latter groups from having to leave, neighborhood associations put a special emphasis on ensuring that these populations will also be able to part of these neighborhoods in the future.

The postmodifying relative clause in lines 3-6 indicates that the area's *diverse family life* is a distinct feature of Williamsburg. This conceptualizes the area as a place for families, which is also reflected in the spoken interviews discussed in chapter 4. Further, the definition of the verb SUPPORT indicates that this, too, is something that has to be actively worked towards preserving. The wider context of the node word gives insight into how this can be achieved, and what a possible reason for the need to support *the diverse family life* in the neighborhood could be.

¹⁷⁷ Here, too, associations to *maintain* the status quo (2x, lines 2 and 5), and *foster* or *promote* diverse neighborhoods (lines 11 and 13). Moreover, the function of the organizations in the neighborhood are hinted at.

By implication, possible threats to the *vibrant neighborhood* and *diverse family life* can be identified as problems with health and wellbeing, a decrease of equal opportunities in a rapidly-gentrifying neighborhood, and, above all, a lack of affordable housing, which, as Marwell (2007) shows in her study of Williamsburg's Southside, is a particularly pressing issue for the local Latinx population.

The third shared collocate of *neighborhood* and *neighborhoods* is *safe*. Individual occurrences are either part of proper names of plans (lines 8-12), or attest to the fact that a *safe neighborhood* is a matter that every New York City resident deserves.

N	Concordance	neighborhood	Location
1	ross this city – deserves a safe	neighborhood	Williamsburg
2	impacts of living in a changing	neighborhood	Bed-Stuy
3	rd culture and transforming the	neighborhood	Bed-Stuy
4	ng a physically safe and active	neighborhood	Bed-Stuy
5	rd culture and transforming the	neighborhood	Bed-Stuy
6	ford-Stuyvesant a safe, vibrant	neighborhood	Bed-Stuy
7	o maintain a safe and attractive	neighborhood	Bed-Stuy
8	des. SAFE is our broad-based,	neighborhood	Flatbush
9	ogy. Streets and Safety 2. Safe	Neighborhood	Flatbush
10	ity: Safe and Fair Everywhere",	neighborhood	Flatbush
11	employment, Safe Space/Safe	Neighborhoods	Bed-Stuy
12	employment, Safe Space/Safe	Neighborhoods	Bed-Stuy
13	ture and transforming Brooklyn	neighborhoods	Bed-Stuy
14	led in top-rated schools in safe	neighborhoods	Bed-Stuy
15	ture and transforming Brooklyn	neighborhoods	Bed-Stuy

Concordance 6.7: Concordances of *safe* + *neighborhood(s)* in L/R ±5 in the BK_OrgaWeb corpus.

Those occurrences that, like the previous collocate adjectives, co-occur with additional adjectives can provide a deeper understanding of those circumstances that make a neighborhood safe according to neighborhood organization websites. Lines 13 and 15 point to liveliness and safety as being equally important and desirable for Brooklyn neighborhoods, while the wider context of line 7 indicates that attractiveness and safety should both be maintained by *residents of a particular area who work together* in *Block & Residents Associations* in Bed-Stuy. The wider co-text suggests that one aspect that is conducive to neighborhood safety is *lighting* (line 1, Williamsburg), while the occurrence in line 2 – although part of a list with bullet points and not technically a co-occurrence of *neighborhood* in a sentence – refers to the safety of *streets and public spaces* (Bed-Stuy) within a neighborhood. While most of the occurrences of *safe* + *neighborhood(s)* are from websites of Bed-Stuy organizations, not all of them refer directly to the neighborhood, but Brooklyn neighborhoods more generally. However, the focus on safety on organization websites from the area despite significant decreases in neighborhood crime since the 1990s (cf. NYPD CompStat 2020) indicates that there are still safety concerns, which is, again, in line with findings from chapter 4.

However, line 4 reveals that these might have shifted slightly. The core concern of physical safety of residents is extended – from *safe streets and public spaces* (line 2) – to issues of *health and nutrition*, both of which are aspects that can be particularly problematic in lower-income neighborhoods of color like Bed-Stuy.

Though health and nutrition are not always part of a community revitalization agenda, they are increasingly linked to community prosperity in terms of having a physically **safe** and active **neighborhood** and in reducing economic burdens typically associated with gentrification. (Bed-Stuy)

This is because of a persistent food insecurity (cf. Food Bank of New York 2018) and a lack of healthy food infrastructure in the area that was once considered a food desert. As sociologist Miranda Martinez (2010: 100) ascertains, the “lack of a supermarket, and the prevalence of fastfood takeout places, [is] fairly typical for Brooklyn neighborhoods outside of the gentrified areas closer to Manhattan.” The lack of access to fresh and nutritious foods can become a public health risk for residents, leading to “epidemics of obesity, diabetes, and hypertension among inner-city residents.” (ibid.)¹⁷⁸ Even before the novel corona virus hit dense, low-income neighborhoods of color in spring of 2020, the latter were disproportionately affected by health risks related to malnutrition, with Black residents who lived in more segregated areas being at a particularly high obesity risk (cf. Lim/Harris 2015; NYC Department of Health 2018a). Thus, a *safe neighborhood* is also one whose properties enable residents to lead a healthy lifestyle, by creating an environment where they can move around safely and live healthily because the local infrastructure and amenities allow them to do so.¹⁷⁹

In addition to safety risks, the neighborhood organization websites reveal an additional risk to lower-income populations, that of losing their home because of a rent spike. The collocate adjective *affordable* only premodifies *neighborhood(s)* in two cases (lines 16 and 17 below), suggesting it is less the neighborhood as such that should be affordable, but individual units of *housing* therein (lines 1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 9, 12, 13, 18, 19, 20).

N	Concordance	Location
1	affordable housing important to our neighborhood , and what can we do to preserve it?	Williamsburg
2	e need for affordable housing in the neighborhood and worked tirelessly with HPD and	Williamsburg
3	[name] 's vision and commitment to neighborhood revitalization and affordable housing	Williamsburg
4	up include increasing access to food neighborhood , access of affordable food and chan	Williamsburg
5	and create affordable housing in our neighborhood . You do n't have to be a loft tenant	Williamsburg

¹⁷⁸ The topic of health, especially that of the younger population, is also discussed in the analysis of the BK_BBHPR corpus (4.4) and the spoken data and field observations in BK_SpokenID (chapter 5), particularly in the context of community gardens as spaces of transgenerational knowledge transfer in areas that have experienced food insecurity. It was not, however, mentioned alongside safety discourses in BK_SpokenRA (4.1).

¹⁷⁹ Martinez (2010: 100) discusses counter-measures taken against the sparseness of supermarkets in lower-income areas by the Bloomberg administration as well as the role of community gardens in areas with food insecurity.

6 the long term. NAG believes that our **neighborhood** deserves affordable housing, better Williamsburg
7 aware of the families that inhabit the **neighborhood** , and their need for affordable hous Williamsburg
8 lieve in the service we provide to the **neighborhood** — facilitating access to affordable, o Clinton Hill
9 ents in and around the Norris Square **neighborhood** , including affordable housing and h Bed-Stuy
10 ike share as an affordable means for **neighborhood** residents. Restoration has taken the Bed-Stuy
11 ousing, whose residents making the **neighborhood** less affordable to long-time resident Bed-Stuy
12 o improve the living conditions in our **neighborhood** and maintain affordable housing th Flatbush
13 eating Affordable Housing in Livable **Neighborhoods** " tackled tenant harassment, rising r Williamsburg
14 nd simultaneously help the City keep **neighborhoods** affordable," said Mayor de Blasio. La Williamsburg
15 number of affordable units for our **neighborhoods** . NAG has always sought the goal of Williamsburg
16 called "less desirable" yet affordable **neighborhoods** . However, the number of affordable Bed-Stuy
17 However, the number of affordable **neighborhoods** in New York City is rapidly declining. Bed-Stuy
18 ffordable Housing in Three Brooklyn **Neighborhoods** 915 St. Marks Avenue is one of 9 buil Bed-Stuy
19 ary Housing Promote vibrant, diverse **neighborhoods** Ensure affordable housing in areas i Flatbush
20 of Mandatory Affordable Housing in **Neighborhoods** § For public and private applications Flatbush
Concordance 6.8: Concordances of *affordable* + *neighborhood(s)* in L/R ±5 in the BK_OrgaWeb corpus.

These concordances suggest that *affordable housing* is a key issue for neighborhoods, for all areas investigated in the BK_OrgaWeb corpus, but with most occurrences on websites of associations located in Williamsburg. In this North Brooklyn neighborhood, the verbs used in clauses dealing with affordable housing revolve around the maintenance or increase of access to affordable housing units (*preserve*, *create*, *increasing access of*, *creating*), suggesting that there is a particular sparsity of or *need for affordable housing* (line 2 and 7, Williamsburg). As this is also one of the areas in the borough that is most affected by gentrification, it seems from these concordances that housing is a particularly pressing issue for organizers in the area, so much so, that one organization states that it *believes that our neighborhood deserves affordable housing* (line 6), making affordable housing a matter of merit. But this is not only a pressing issue in Williamsburg. Organizers in other areas investigated also make use of material processes (*facilitating access to* (line 8, Clinton Hill), *maintain* (line 12, Flatbush), *ensure* (line 19, *ibid.*), *preserving* (line 18, Bed-Stuy)) to signal that there is not enough affordable housing in their neighborhoods, or that existing units are threatened and might be turned into market-rate housing.

In line 11, the situation introduces a cause for the need for affordable housing in Central Brooklyn, a *demographic shift* which has led to rent increases and consequently *is making the neighborhood less affordable to long-time residents and driving many of them away*. (Bed-Stuy) The situation is presented in terms of an imbalance of supply and demand: more affluent people of ethnicities that were not traditionally present in these areas move to an area, prompting a demographic shift through rent spikes and housing insecurity for longer-term residents – a phenomenon not only relegated to Bed-Stuy, but many gentrifying central Brooklyn areas (Krase/DeSena 2016). The cause of these demographic shifts is revealed in two instances of *affordable* that directly co-occur with

neighborhoods. This first indicates an overall decrease in affordability in the city (line 17, Bed-Stuy). The second occurs on the same website and introduces a contrast between desirability and affordability:

Real estate trends underway in New York City are exacerbating the racial wealth gap. Neighborhoods across the City, including Bedford Stuyvesant, are attracting affluent residents. Prior generations of African Americans and working- and middle-class households were able to gain a foothold through the purchase of homes in these so-called "less desirable" yet affordable neighborhoods. However, the number of **affordable neighborhoods** in New York City is rapidly declining. As a consequence, the opportunities for African American and working and middleincome families to purchase homes, and thereby participate in the increasing value of the real estate market, are greatly reduced. This, in turn, leads to growing wealth disparities along racial lines. (line 16, Bed-Stuy)

This excerpt provides insight into neighborhood perceptions, their trajectories, and recent shifts therein. In the first sentence, it is established that the aforementioned contrast between desirability and affordability does not relate to the present day, but a time further from the deictic origin (cf. Levinson 2003) of the website text: that of *[p]rior generations*. Throughout much of the 20th century, the so-called "less-desirable" neighborhoods like Bed-Stuy primarily attracted working-class populations of color because of their affordability. Over time, with the increased unaffordability of surrounding and perhaps "more desirable" neighborhoods, formerly unattractive areas have become appealing for affluent residents. The image of Bed-Stuy has thus shifted from undesirable while affordable for families from the lower-income tiers to attractive for everyone but affordable only for the affluent. This has resulted in tensions between different income groups and contributed to the *growing wealth disparities along racial lines* across the borough and the whole of the city. This shows very clearly how a shift in the perception of neighborhoods can significantly affect their trajectories and the lives of their residents.

The final shared collocate adjective of *neighborhood* and *neighborhoods* is *local*. With ten occurrences total, this is another relatively infrequent item. In the concordance lines, there are distinct differences between the singular and the plural form. For one, the singular *neighborhood* is used as a qualifying adjective in several noun phrases. As part of the present progressive construction *neighborhood-serving* (line 5, Williamsburg), it is coordinated with the adjective *local*, which indicates that the businesses are from within the area. This is a qualitative difference in meaning, for the coordination of the two qualifying adjectives that premodify *retail* signals that both have equal weight (cf. Halliday/Matthiessen 2014), as opposed to the occurrences that are not coordinated by a comma or conjunction but follow each other directly. As part of

adjective phrase *local neighborhood*, it premodifies the noun phrase *activists* (line 1, Williamsburg), *associations* (line 3, Flatbush), *environmental advocate* (line 4, Williamsburg), and, in a slightly modified form as *local, neighborhood-serving retail* (line 5, *ibid.*). Here, the somewhat tautological phrase *local neighborhood* can highlight the “position in space” (Merriam-Webster 2020: “local,” adj., 1), that is, that these referents are close to the deictic origin of the website. A *coalition of local neighborhood activists* (line 1), then, would be one that works from and for “a place or region near” (Merriam-Webster 2020: “neighborhood,” n., 3a) the North Brooklyn waterfront, where the cause that these activists attend to are located. Thus, local neighborhoods groups are “primarily serving the needs of a particular limited district” (Merriam-Webster 2020: “local,” adj., 3a). In this case, *local* would be a “dimension” or “physical property” adjective (Dixon 1977: 37) that limits the scope of the following adjective, while *neighborhood* would function as a qualifier or purpose adjective, thus a post-adjectival modifier for the following noun *activists*. This could be to establish a contrast between measures that are taken in the immediate neighborhood as opposed to those that concern the larger neighborhood in question as well as adjacent ones.

N Concordance

		Location
1	continues to burn, a coalition of local neighborhood activists are demanding the City be	Williamsburg
2	posting, and education in our local neighborhood and beyond. Founded in March	Flatbush
3	s, or the Board can encourage local neighborhood associations to sponsor local initiative	Flatbush
4	in Presentation by [name], local neighborhood environmental advocate & che	Williamsburg
5	say that they want to include local, neighborhood - serving retail that will be affordable	Williamsburg
6	h Unemployment, Safe Space / Safe Neighborhoods , etc. to local community leaders	Bed-Stuy
7	ices of local banks to low income neighborhoods . He was concerned with how many	Williamsburg
8	r volunteer efforts to keep their neighborhoods clean through local block and street	Flatbush
9	t Board, Center for New York City Neighborhoods (CNYCN), Local Initiatives Support Co	Bed-Stuy
10	Unemployment, Safe Space/ Safe Neighborhoods , among others, to local community	Bed-Stuy

Concordance 6.9: Concordances of *local* + *neighborhood(s)* in L/R ±5 in the BK_OrgaWeb corpus.

A final possibility is that *neighborhood* is part of the compound noun phrase *neighborhood activists*, and as such premodified by the *adjective* *local*. In the latter case, the double expression of locality on the lexical level may serve as an emphatic marker of an in-group-status for the head of the compound noun phrase, and underline the legitimacy of those working in and for the neighborhoods. The adjective phrase highlights that the actors referred to (*activists, associations, and environmental advocate*) are indeed from within the neighborhood, and not external agents working to affect what is happening inside the perceived ‘boundaries’ of the neighborhood.¹⁸⁰ Lastly, the emphasis on locality serves to establish not only the sphere of influence of the particular associations, but also underlines the fact that they are working from and for the respective neighborhood.

¹⁸⁰ It also implies that if there is a local neighborhood, there exists a supra-local neighborhood that reaches perhaps even up to the borough level, as the Brooklyn Borough Hall Press Releases would suggest (see chapter 7).

This might be undergirded by a certain anxiety on the part of neighbors and associations about external agents who influence events in the neighborhood, for instance the *City* (line 1, Williamsburg), to the disadvantage of residents. The result of this is the implicit construction of an opposition between these internal and external agents who make decisions for local residents that benefit external agents rather than those residing in the neighborhood, as in the case of chains which replace locally-owned stores. Neighborhood associations thus discursively position themselves as trustworthy members of the in-group of residents in order to be recognized as legitimate members of the neighborhood community of practice, which, as chapters 4 and 5 have shown, is a key concern for both residents and stakeholders. The analysis of adjective collocates of *neighborhood(s)* has shown desired neighborhood qualities that are perceived as being vital but on the edge of being lost. Verb choices show that the preservation of affordable housing, diversity, and vibrancy are key concerns of associations in BK_OrgaWeb. The frequent co-occurrence of collocate adjectives like *diverse* and *vibrant*¹⁸¹ attest to the multifacetedness of the concept of neighborhoods, but also to the competing demands on the neighborhood.

In this final section, I discuss the minute but meaningful differences in the use of the keywords *neighbors* (0.04%, LL=1,718.76) and the even more frequent *residents* (0.15%, LL=6,040.27) on the neighborhood organization websites with the help of their key collocates, highlighting that, simultaneous to being spatial projects (cf. Madden 2018), neighborhoods can also be fundamentally social projects. Beginning with *neighbors*, I discuss key collocate pronouns and verbs that are aimed at the creation of social ties and trust among residents that can, ultimately, advance the social project of the neighborhood. In the analysis of the keyword *residents* and its collocates, I establish that residents are perceived as beneficiaries of actions and, when a differentiation is made between longtime and new residents, are a group of actors that has the potential to create tension in a neighborhood.

N	Collocate	With	Relation (t-score)
1	join	neighbors	9.604
2	exploring	neighbors	8.712
3	come	neighbors	4.322
4	help	neighbors	4.244
5	meet	neighbors	3.964

N	Collocate	With	Relation (t-score)
1	help	residents	2.967
2	assist	residents	1.795
3	empower	residents	1.680
4	gave	residents	1.679
5	encourage	residents	1.600

¹⁸¹ Indeed, vibrant only occurs within a range of ± 5 words of diverse: diverse and vibrant Brooklyn; diverse and vibrant community; diverse and vibrant residential community; vibrant and diverse neighborhoods; vibrant, diverse neighborhoods; and finally, vibrant neighborhood that supports the diverse family life of Williamsburg. This is an interesting link, for the two neighbourhood qualities cannot be equally affected by organizers. Diversity is something that may be affected through regulatory measures, while vibrancy is not as easily controlled. Thus, it seems that vibrancy is a perceived effect of diverse neighborhoods, and with regard to the neighborhoods under study, this refers mostly to ethnic diversity and culturally-specific practices of particular ethnic groups, such as the Puerto Rican community of Williamsburg's Southside, or Los Sures, as it is called by local residents.

6	encourage	neighbors	3.587	6	helping	residents	1.570
7	submitted	neighbors	3.545	7	urges	residents	1.407
8	is	neighbors	3.315	8	displace	residents	1.399
9	having	neighbors	3.297	9	invites	residents	1.382
10	following	neighbors	3.262	10	reconnect	residents	1.377
11	keep	neighbors	3.123	11	encourages	residents	1.371
12	make	neighbors	3.046	12	enable	residents	1.369
13	know	neighbors	2.896	13	notify	residents	1.368
14	founded	neighbors	2.810	14	allowing	residents	1.363
15	drink	neighbors	2.427	15	informed	residents	1.331
16	developed	neighbors	2.426	16	helps	residents	1.305
17	engage	neighbors	2.123	17	bringing	residents	1.284
18	lead	neighbors	2.143	18	serving	residents	1.268
19	share	neighbors	2.139	19	connect	residents	1.261
20	support	neighbors	2.044	20	permit	residents	1.234

Table 6.2: Top 20 verb collocates of *neighbors* and *residents* in the BK_OrgaWeb corpus.

The analysis of the keyword *neighbors* (0.04%, LL=1,718.76) suggests that, by creating a shared sense of connection to the people and the area that they live in, associations facilitate social connection. This is, first, done with the help of the help of pronouns which give insight into relations between *neighbors*. Second, the frequency of transitive verbs used in the co-text of *neighbors* prompts the assumption that organizers work towards creating social ties in the respective neighborhoods, perhaps in an effort to bridge the differences between individual groups of neighbors.

Neighbors co-occurs strongly with the pronouns *your* (t=13.662), *our* (t=5.528), and *their* (t=4.231). In concordances of *your + neighbors* and *their + neighbors* (full list of concordances see appendix C3.7 and C3.8), it becomes conspicuous that the phrases *your neighbors* and *their neighbors* are the direct object in the majority of verbal constructions, forming the pattern V + POSS. PRON. + *neighbors*. On the first glance, this is nothing out of the ordinary. However, looking closer, most of these verbs are material processes that invite neighbors to physically meet others. In the case of the bigram *your neighbors* (149x), these are JOIN (e.g., line 1, Williamsburg; 80x as part of the cluster *join your neighbors*), *come out* (line 18, Flatbush), *meet* (line 17, Williamsburg; 13x as part of the cluster *meet your neighbors*), *bring together* (line 138, Bed-Stuy), or communicative, more precisely mental and verbal (cf. Halliday/Matthiesen 2014), processes such as (*get to*) *know* (line 53, Flatbush), *speak to* (line 64, Williamsburg), and *talk to/with* (line 11 and 22, Williamsburg). Moreover, the interpersonal support between people who live in the same area is hinted at in concordances from Flatbush and Clinton Hill. In the latter, it is to *support your neighbors who would would lose access to light and air* (line 121, Clinton Hill) due to new high-rise construction in a hearing. In Flatbush, the website text gives the advice *be kind and watch out for your neighbors* (line 86, Flatbush), and even to *check on* (line 89, Flatbush) those neighbors who are seniors. All of these are imperative clauses which express the

intention of the neighborhood organizations directing or requesting social interaction and mutual support. The pronoun use in those clauses establishes a sense of solidarity that enhances the possibility for the addressees of the website to act upon these imperative clauses that facilitate inter-neighborhood contact.

In like manner, concordances of *their neighbors* (11x) contain a variety of verbal constructions that suggest that the aim of organizers is to facilitate connection between different groups of social actors are *coming together to help* (line 1, Flatbush/Midwood), *help* (line 4, Williamsburg), *get to know* (line 6, Williamsburg), *encourage* (line 8, Flatbush), and *work with* (line 9, Flatbush). This act of getting to know neighbors may lead social actors to *develop a new understanding of their neighbors, both familiar and foreign* (line 5, Bed-Stuy). Thus, verb collocates of *their neighbors* denote mostly actions that are aimed at creating weak social ties by way of organizing events for all neighbors, and consequently at facilitating intra-neighborhood trust (cf. Schmid et al. 2014). The creation of trust as an underlying outcome or even goal becomes apparent in the array of material clauses that denote the act of establishing contact. These are used with pronouns that bring the neighbors closer to one another through the distance-reducing and potentially trust-facilitating social interactions on the linguistic, and if neighbors act on the imperative clauses, also on the social level.

Indeed, living side by side with little or no contact to other neighbors can result residential and social segregation in the neighborhood, and also in a lack of specific, social trust, especially between different ethnic groups (cf. Tolsma/van der Meer 2018; Gundelach/Freitag 2014; Bakker/Dekker 2012). However, 'specific trust' (Uslaner 2017: 6) can be built as a product of repeated social interaction (as opposed to the 'generalized trust' in the world and others that is assumed to be there, but more often than not is lacking). Trust-formation processes, as indicated in the verbal constructions above, do not only serve to reduce "negative stereotypes of the other", unknown neighbor, but also to possibly expand the local "in-group identification to encompass them." (Brugger 2015: 80) However, trusting does not merely spring from the "identification of the trustee 'as one of us'" (Brugger 2015: 80). Rather, it evolves over time in interaction that follows communal norms of reciprocity (cf. Rosenblum 2016) that are upheld in the local community of practice founded around a common idea or common social or spatial project of the neighborhood (cf. Wu 2015).

To this end, neighborhood organizations position themselves as part of this neighborhood in-group. Although slightly less frequent than previous pronoun collocates, the concordances of *our neighbors* (21x), comprise similar verbal constructions as the ones discussed above, but the meaning of the possessive

determiner *our* suggests that, this time, the organizers as producers of the text are referred to as those who are in contact with *neighbors* themselves. It is the neighborhood organizations as local stakeholders who *have discussions with our neighbors* (line 9, Williamsburg) or *speak to our neighbors* (line 1, Williamsburg), *respect each other* and *our neighbors and the neighborhood* (line 8, Williamsburg), and *(get to) know* (line 4, Bed-Stuy) one another to reduce anxieties about unknown residents and members of the neighborhood's communities of practice. As part of their work on the spatial project of the neighborhood, neighborhood associations thus engage in the linguistic construction and the extra-linguistic creation of solidarity between different parties and stakeholders within a neighborhood, employing an affirmative approach to local social cohesion. As can be seen from the above verb collocates and the complete concordance lists in appendix C3.7-9, the majority of the verbs used in concordances of *our neighbors* (t=5.528), *your neighbors* (t=13.655), and *their neighbors* (t=4.231) denote actions that facilitate social action or cooperation and encounter between neighbors. This supports the assumption that connection and communication between neighbors is a shared goal of organizations (cf. Martin 2003a). In answering the question about the nature of the spatial project of the neighborhood, one way of furthering the latter is by facilitating the formation of trusting relations between different local actors and neighbors. Thus, the pronoun and verb collocates of *neighbors* underline that the good neighborhood, the spatial project that is to be successfully accomplished by neighborhood organizations in the face of adversity is one based on social contact and trust.

As opposed to *neighbors*, the near synonym *residents* is used in different contexts. In concordances of *residents*, the functional classification of someone living somewhere permanently is used over the social dimension that is linked to the word *neighbors* whose meaning entails the close proximity of people "living [...] near another" (Merriam-Webster 2020: "neighbor," n., 1.).¹⁸² The noun *residents* shares a number of collocates with *neighbors*. While it also collocates with the

¹⁸² A look at the toponym collocates of both terms can be useful here to find out whether this is a specific use by particular neighborhood organizations or whether neighbors or residents are connected more to one area as opposed to another. The 1,268 unique occurrences of *residents* collocate with a range of toponyms. In 28.57% of all occurrences of *residents* and *Brooklyn* (t=10.909), the *North Brooklyn* area is specified, while 31.09% refer to *Central Brooklyn*. The third spatial collocate, *Bedford Stuyvesant* (t=6.633) falls into the North Brooklyn category and is more closely associated with *residents*. In contrast, *neighbors* collocates with *Brooklyn* (t=9.237), 7.8% of which are occurrences of the bigram *North Brooklyn*, and the neighborhoods that make up most of the latter, *Greenpoint* (t=3.360) and *Williamsburg* (t=1.450). *Neighbors* is also weakly associated to *Midwood* (t=1.643) in the BK_OrgaWeb corpus. Of the two, *residents* is linked slightly more often to central Brooklyn areas, while it also refers to North Brooklyn neighborhoods, which are more closely linked to *neighbors*. This suggests that there is a difference in terms of address or even conceptualization of *neighbors* or *residents*, which could be affected by the document types present on websites. The genre conventions of these texts likely affect the ways in which addressees are addressed. Organization websites that also contain different types of official documents are likely to talk more about *residents*, while others use a more inclusive style because their content is more targeted to facilitating social connection, for instance by inviting neighbors to events.

pronoun *our* (t=4.032), the remaining shared pronoun collocate, *their* (t=1.190) is flagged as insignificant by the association measure and will thus not be analyzed further at this point. In contrast to *our neighbors*, the concordances of the bigram *our residents* (27x in L1, 28.72% of all occurrences) do not overwhelmingly suggest that individual members of the neighborhood must be brought together. Rather, the key verbal collocates of *residents* (see table 4.15 above), which are not statistically significant collocates judging from their t-score values but the only actions that are connected to residents in the list of collocates, picture *residents* as beneficiaries of actions of a supportive nature. In particular, the key collocate verbs HELP, assist, *empower*, *gave*, ENCOURAGE, *enable*, *bringing*, *servicing* are material processes in which *residents* are the beneficiaries of supporting actions, while *displace* could be one of the actions that threatens the livelihood of *residents*.

Zooming into a smaller snapshot of occurrences, it becomes discernible that the same is true for concordances of *our residents* (full list of occurrences see appendix C3.10). In more than a quarter of all occurrences (28.42%) the verbs are material clauses from the domains of support and assistance (*assist*, line 1-3; 5-9; 13-14, 17, 20-21; 27, all Flatbush), *give* (line 16, Williamsburg), *empower* (line 15 and 26, Flatbush), *meet* or *recognize the needs of* (lines 4 and 11, Flatbush), *provide* (line 12, Bed-Stuy), *make a difference in the lives of* (line 10, Bed-Stuy), *affect* (line 24, Bed-Stuy), portraying the referents of *our residents* as a passive group in need.

We will insist on fair housing in our community, which is located in a city which is supposed to be the citadel of opportunity, and equality. The deep-rooted residents of Williamsburg, Bushwick, and Bed-Stuy will not be forced out of their community. The Broadway Triangle Community Coalition is tired of waiting for the Mayor to give **our residents** what is already guaranteed by our Constitution and by common morality. We will not be moved (line 16, Williamsburg)

The situation in South Williamsburg that is depicted in the above example is quite drastic, for its residents do not receive from Mayor de Blasio what they are entitled to by law – fair and affordable housing. But as the wider co-text shows for the Bed-Stuy example in line 24 shows, it is not only disadvantages of a socio-economic nature (such as un- and underemployment) that *affect our neighbors*, but also *unaddressed mental health issues* (line 24, Bed-Stuy). Even in Central Brooklyn, neighborhood organizers construe residents as a group of people who are in need of help and support because *the needs of [Flatbush] residents* are not recognized by healthcare networks and ambulatory services (line 26).¹⁸³ Consequently, in

¹⁸³ In hindsight, the fact that the *importance of hospital beds for emergency preparedness* is stressed as part of the Statement of Community District Needs published in 2018 is particularly troubling because Flatbush, based on statistics on the number of frontline workers, cases by patient zip code, and deaths by zip code, had “one of the biggest clusters of coronavirus cases in the city, along with one of the highest concentrations of essential workers.” (Sengupta 2020)

arguing for even basic needs of residents from the neighborhood in-group, neighborhood organizations take on a vital position as advocates for residents from their neighborhoods. Overall, then, verb collocates of *our residents* suggest that the latter are construed as more passive beneficiaries of the associations' actions rather than individuals that are to be connected with other residents.

N	Collocate	With	Relation (t-score)	N	Collocate	With	Relation (t-score)
1	good ¹⁸⁴	neighbors	9.604	1	local	residents	8.845
2	allied	neighbors	8.940	2	new	residents	4.658
3	against	neighbors	4.445	3	our	residents	4.032
4	formerly	neighbors	3.735	4	all	residents	3.977
5	local	neighbors	3.149	5	many	residents	3.407
6	free	neighbors	3.037	6	remaining	residents	2.803
7	together	neighbors	2.939	7	longtime	residents	2.635
8	out	neighbors	2.922	8	permanent	residents	2.407
9	dynamic	neighbors	2.633	9	current	residents	2.263
10	literally	neighbors	2.234	10	eligible	residents	2.119

Table 6.3: Top 10 adjective collocates of *neighbors* and *residents* in the BK_OrgaWeb corpus.

One similarity that becomes apparent in the uses of *residents* and *neighbors* is that the organization websites seem to speak from the position of an in-group member of the community. Just as in concordances of *local + neighbors*¹⁸⁵, the adjective *local* (t=8.845, 71% in L1, full list of concordances see appendix C3.11) is not only used to specify the location of residence as a means of spatial deixis (cf. Levinson 2003), but also as a means of social deixis to disambiguate between in-group and out-group referents that benefit from the work of neighborhood organizations. In the 83 occurrences of *local residents* (full list of concordances see appendix C3.12), they are provided with access to things as basic as food (line 38 and 43, Williamsburg) and a range of resources from job training (line 55, Williamsburg) over access to *tax prep services* (line 32, Bed-Stuy), economic opportunities, retail (line 53, Bed-Stuy) or real estate. In these concordances, the provision of such services, and taking the worries of residents seriously is justified by the specification of what kind of residents – only local ones – will get assistance with regard to these measures that enhance their quality of life.

N	Concordance	Location
43	ten volunteers, feed nearly 6,000 local residents a year. Volunteers hold her in h	South Wb.
44	sion and our capacity to protect local residents from displacement through aff	South Wb.
50	improve the quality of life of all local residents ." A MESSAGE FROM BROOKL	South Wb.
51	improve the quality of life of all local residents . I had the privilege to work with	South Wb.
53	create improved retail access for local residents .3 A flexible enrolment farm sha	Bed-Stuy
55	ries * A job training program for local residents * Inclusion of artisanal or light m	Williamsburg
56	nity-based approach to assisting local residents of the South Side of Williamsbu	South Wb.
57	aining but better paying jobs for local residents over the long term. NAG believe	Williamsburg
60	ior Services: Trained nearly 1,200 local residents in our technology-learning cent	Bed-Stuy

¹⁸⁴ The first three adjectives are part of the name of one Williamsburg neighborhood organization, NAG, which used to be called "Neighbors Against Garbage", then "Neighbors Allied for Good Growth", and were as of 2019 called "North Brooklyn Neighbors".

¹⁸⁵ The adjective *local* appears only eleven times in the co-text of *neighbors*, three occurrences of stem from the same website: *Filling the ranks of loving volunteers were local neighbors and NAGsters, friends from other boroughs* (Williamsburg).

67 s program both creates jobs for local **residents** and galvanizes local support for Bed-Stuy
 70 for tenants' rights and to protect local **residents** from displacement. "Unscrupulu South Wb.
 74 service hub designed to improve local **residents** ' financial, occupational and edu Bed-Stuy
 76 the Older Adults Strengthening local **residents** of North Brooklyn, including for South Wb.
 77 ct in improving the well-being of local **residents** and business. About the Nation Bed-Stuy
 Concordance 6.10: Concordance excerpts of *local residents* in the BK_OrgaWeb corpus.

The second group of residents that is singled out is that of *new residents* (t=10.630, 30.97% in L1), occurrences of which make up one third of all instances of *new*. Neighborhood associations frequently contrast the former group with *remaining* (t=2.803), *old* (t=2.235), *(long-)established* (t=1.732) or *community residents* (t=14.248, 44.82% in L1), highlighting the separate status of new residents.

N	Concordance	Location
1	d § Population Growth 230,000 new residents arrived since 2010 and 600,000	Flatbush
2	its quiet middle-class ambiance, new residents began pouring into Midwood duri	Midwood
4	ere 's Our Park? "Thousands of new Residents need greenspace!" said Represen	Williamsburg
8	fabric of this neighborhood. As new residents move into the community, gentrifi	Bed-Stuy
9	strong sense of community. As new residents move into the community, gentrifi	Bed-Stuy
12	o residents directly. As waves of new residents call North Brooklyn home, we hav	Williamsburg
14	nd are planned for thousands of new residents in the next 10 years. As a result,	Williamsburg
15	in 2012 to unite established and new residents through art while remembering th	Williamsburg
16	pace for the 40 or 50 thousand new residents joining the chronically underserve	Williamsburg
17	t Landing will add thousands of new residents to the relatively inaccessible Gree	Williamsburg
18	ranslates into 46,000 to 56,000 new residents . Those numbers cover all of CB6	Williamsburg
19	d thousands upon thousands of new residents . But those 28 acres? To date, let	Williamsburg
23	delivered – tens of thousands of new residents in thousands of new housing units	Williamsburg
27	to mitigate the impact of 20,000 new residents in a community that already ranke	Williamsburg
29	d thousands upon thousands of new residents have joined our community as a r	Williamsburg
30	t that many of the thousands of new residents at Greenpoint Landing and other	Williamsburg
32	o 2,400 units, or 6,000 to 7,000 new residents) will further tax an already overbu	Williamsburg
34	promises to bring thousands of new residents into our community. Now is the ti	Williamsburg

Concordance 6.11: Numerical terms and water metaphors in concordances of *new residents* in the BK_OrgaWeb corpus.

What is most striking in concordances of *new residents* is the collocation with concrete numerical terms. These enumerate the *thousands* (line 4 and 14, Williamsburg), *tens of thousands* (line 23, *ibid.*) or *thousands upon thousands* (line 19, *ibid.*) of *new residents* in the neighborhood. The verb choices range from relatively 'neutral', describing the simple act of coming to the neighborhood, such as *move into* (lines 8 and 9, Bed-Stuy), *joining* (line 16, Williamsburg), and *arrived* (line 1, Flatbush), to a range of verb and noun phrases to depict the amount of *new residents* by likening them to a flood, "an overwhelming quantity or volume" (Merriam-Webster 2020: "flood," n., 3.), implying that they are a powerful force that cannot be stemmed.¹⁸⁶

The water metaphor becomes more apparent in the collocate verbs *pouring into* (line 2, Midwood) and the noun phrases *waves* (line 12, Williamsburg), *inflow* (line 21, Bed-Stuy), and the *influx of new residents* (line 31, Williamsburg), suggesting that these new arrivals bring with them some difficulty for the *old*, *(long-*

¹⁸⁶ As Baker et al. (2008) show in their study on representations of refugees and asylum seekers in the UK press, this is a common strategy used to construe undesirable groups.

established residents that they are contrasted with here. The *impact of 20,000 new residents* (line 27, Williamsburg) on the neighborhoods is indicated by the other verb choices that introduce a range of negative effects the newcomers seem to have on the neighborhood. For example, it is predicted that the large number of newcomers will strain the existing transit infrastructure (line 32, Williamsburg). These concordances examples overwhelmingly conceptualize *new residents* as a group of residents that have detrimental effects on the neighborhood, mainly because they come in such large quantities, particularly in the North and North-Central Brooklyn neighborhoods Williamsburg and Bed-Stuy.¹⁸⁷ This shows that neighborhood organizations, too, perceive that the ‘new Brooklyn’ functions as a resource for identity construction for a substantial number of new residents.

[T]he palates and budgets of **new residents** have created barriers for long-standing residents, increasing what is often referred to as food gentrification, a process that drives up prices for healthy, fresh foods [...]. (line 33, Bed-Stuy)

These new arrivals have the power to alter the commercial landscape in that the desires of *new residents* are viewed as a hindrance for less affluent *long-standing residents*. In the above example, the latter cease to be able to afford fresh produce when more affluent residents with different and arguably more expensive tastes, as expressed by the noun phrase *palates and budgets*, move into a neighborhood. What is more, local businesses are *replaced by businesses that [cater] to new residents with higher incomes* (line 22, Williamsburg), putting people out of their jobs. This is very much in line with Hackworth’s definition of gentrification as “the production of space for progressively more affluent users.” (2002: 815) Businesses that cater to a more affluent clientele have an exclusionary effect because they only serve a very small part of the local population and, by only offering more expensive products, can be argued to contribute to creating barriers between different groups of neighbors. Thus, the consumption landscape becomes stratified according to income level and tastes of the more affluent.

Against the background of larger numbers of new white residents moving to the area, long-term residents in Bed-Stuy are critical of demographic change that spurs other types of alterations in the neighborhood:

For some long-term Bedford Stuyvesant residents, the changes were seen to be in service of incoming, increasingly white, residents, rather than to the neighborhood’s predominantly African American and low-income residents. White residents in Bedford Stuyvesant increased from 2.4% in 2000 to 15% by 2010. The inflow of **new residents** increased competition for basic neighborhood amenities such as sidewalk space, parking spaces, and local parks. (line 21, Bed-Stuy)

¹⁸⁷ The concordances from Flatbush and Midwood refer to the whole of the city and to the 1980s.

Crucially, the arrival of more white people is construed as an increased *competition for basic neighborhood amenities*, which indicates that there are rivalling parties striving to come out on top. The reference to *competition* implies, too, that there will be winners who get to enjoy neighborhood amenities, and losers who do not.¹⁸⁸ What follows from this conceptualization is that demographic change in Bed-Stuy creates two opposing sides of social actors. The water metaphor expressed in the noun phrase *inflow of new residents* highlights the impression of physical intrusion into the neighborhood and emphasizes the opposition created between old and new residents that neighborhood organizations are attempting to overcome.

The bigram *new residents* suggests not only that the latter bring change to the neighborhood, but also that these residents are considered dissimilar from the old residents, in that they still actively need to *bond* (line 6, Williamsburg) and *unite* (line 7 and 15, *ibid.*) and *connect* (line 24, *ibid.*) with the neighborhood and existing population. The verbs used in the co-text of *new residents* are similar to those that co-occurred with the keyword *neighbors*, in that they portray their subject referents who require to be connected with the neighborhood by associations. Consequently, neighborhood organizations host events that can facilitate social cohesion (line 28 and 35, Williamsburg); some even visit new arrivals with official welcoming committees (line 5, Midwood), which, it seems from the number terms used in concordances above, would be impossible in North Williamsburg due to the large amount of new residents.

6.3 Concluding thoughts: The trust-facilitating function of neighborhood organizations

In this chapter, I analyzed how neighborhood organizations discursively construct neighborhoods on their websites. To do so, I scrutinized a range of key collocates of the realizations of NEIGHBORHOOD. In the discussion of the pronoun collocates, I established that neighborhoods are perceived as shifting. The move from key collocates to individual concordances was useful for zooming into this a large data set, providing angles to focus on, and to make discoveries that would not have been conspicuous from the frequency or keyword lists.

The concordances with the pronoun collocate *our* revealed a preservation discourse that contains both moderate and drastic representations in the form of vocabulary from the semantic field of battle that are used to describe the mitigation or aversion of changes. The pronoun is employed to emphasize the immediacy of the threats as relevant to all neighbors alike, which underscores that “spatial

¹⁸⁸ This also echoes Woodsworth's (2016) work on the war on poverty with the title *The Battle for Bed-Stuy*.

projects are always contested” (Madden 2018: 481). The pronoun collocates *your* and *their* suggested that the spatial project of the neighborhood is best realized with the help of a variety of different social actors who come together in local communities of practice. Hereby, the organizers work as trust-facilitating actors in that they encourage and initiate intra-neighborhood contact that may serve to dismantle the barriers between local groups. The discussion of collocate adjectives of NEIGHBORHOOD brought forth a range of values worth keeping. Verbal constructions found in concordances of premodifying adjectives also evoked preservationist discourse, for the qualities were either conceptualized as endangered or in need of active work so they could be maintained.

In the discussion of *residents* and *neighbors* and their collocate adjectives, pronouns, and verbs, I have shown that neighborhood organizations view neighborhoods as social projects. On the websites, the keyword *residents* is used to highlight differences between social groups within the neighborhood, while *neighbors* is used in line with its spatial and social meaning, that of living and being close to another party, to promote solidarity and cohesion among the former. Associations utilize a variety of measures to bridge a potential gap between more dissimilar groups of neighbors and residents, be it due to socio-economic or other reasons, in order to ensure that established residents are not only affected negatively by the arrival of *new residents*. By facilitating encounters and attempting to alleviate the impacts of large numbers of new arrivals in the neighborhood, the organizations serve to mitigate the potential for distrust that comes with waves of new arrivals to the neighborhood.

The prevalent discursive strategy that emerges in the BK_OrgaWeb is the creation of solidarity between neighborhood associations and different groups of social actors in the neighborhood.¹⁸⁹ In order to achieve this, they first position themselves as neighbors (*our* neighbors), discursively align themselves with the norms and values of the neighborhood and with long-term neighbors, and assess the status quo of the neighborhood by evaluating certain issues and identifying areas for improvement. Aligning presents a “qualitative change in the situated relations in which the relationship [between two parties, KB] itself increasingly becomes the point of departure for the perceptions and assessments of the people interacting” (Frederiksen 2014: 179). These relationships may be fostered by way of collective activity or events, as generalized trust is deeply rooted in collective experience. A collective neighborhood memory is affected by events that cater to dis-/trusting behaviors in groups (cf. Uslaner 2002; Freeman 2006) If neighborhood associations have successfully positioned themselves as trustworthy social actors

¹⁸⁹ See discussion in chapter 4.7 on the repercussions of diversity on trust.

within the neighborhood, they work as facilitators of social action towards the common spatial project of the neighborhood, for instance helping to keep the neighborhood clean or supporting neighbors in need.

The discursive reduction of distance and creation of solidarity among residents is transferred into the realm of the social through physical encounters in the neighborhood that facilitate the creation of trusting relations (cf. Frederiksen 2014: 186). By offering invitations to events, providing information and services, and by being a point of contact, neighborhood organizations may facilitate the formation of trust (cf. Ruef/Kwon 2016; Lepofsky/Fraser 2016) by creating opportunity for interaction between different groups of social actors. This is mirrored in the way they portray their goals, mission statements, and in the way they conceptualize the neighborhood, neighbors, and residents. Following these observations, a good neighborhood, is one where people are in contact with one another and work together on the unfinished spatial project that is the neighborhood. However, the neighborhood is as much a social project as it is a spatial one. Organizers create opportunities for the neighborhood to become a larger community of practice wherein people contribute to a common cause within the neighborhood, and thus bring the neighborhood closer to an anticipated future version of it. This is necessary because associations perceive that desired qualities they consider as worth keeping are threatened by neighborhood-external forces and actors, which are largely beyond the sphere of influence of residents within. However, those challenges that can be tackled are construed by organizations as a common cause. This chapter showed that organization websites conceptualize problems that are faced in the neighborhood as issues that concern all neighbors alike, and thus bring people closer in solidarity.

7. Official perspectives: Discursive place-making from Brooklyn Borough Hall

The corpus of Brooklyn Borough Hall Press Releases (BK_BBHPR) analyzed in this chapter consists of 332,244 tokens and was collected from early March 2014 to March 2019. This was a research pragmatic decision, for the 2014 data was the earliest available press release from Brooklyn's Borough Hall. The collection window of five years was chosen in order to minimize the risk of the data set being skewed towards one particular event or a political campaign that the borough president might have focused on within a shorter collection span. This also makes it possible to trace how particular discourses might be used over time, and to see how discourse topics might be construed differently in a span of five years. For keyword analyses, I draw on the Open American National Corpus (OANC,

7,838,952 tokens), which is a suitable reference corpus as it also contains written government texts.¹⁹⁰ As the BK_BBHPR corpus is the one data set in this project that is not limited to areas along Bedford Avenue, it is likely to contain references to neighborhoods across all of Brooklyn, thus adding a novel and complementary perspective to the discussion of discursive constructions of neighborhood.

Year	Releases	Collection period	Tokens
2014	70	9 months	23,347
2015	123	12 months	79,840
2016	127	12 months	92,881
2017	111	12 months	64,769
2018	115	12 months	63,780
2019	26	3 months	7,727
Total	572	60 months	332,344

Table 7.1: Press release counts.

Published by the office of the Brooklyn Borough President (BP), this data type belongs to a more public genre than the previous corpora which consisted of private conversations with individual speakers. The BK_BBHPR corpus constitutes a valuable complement to the previous corpora as it can provide insight into how Brooklyn's highest elected official and thus a powerful discourse actor contributes to the formation of and shapes neighborhood discourses. The discursive construction of Brooklyn neighborhoods in this corpus is thus affected both by the official character of the genre and, indirectly, by the perspective of the discourse actor whose voice is represented in the press releases, Eric L. Adams,¹⁹¹ whose office might bring with it a certain stance on the discursive representation of Brooklyn as a whole, however "neutral" it may appear to be (Jaffe 2009: 3). This does not mean that the BP himself writes these releases, but that they are written to represent the voice of the highest elected representative in the borough of Brooklyn and that of Borough Hall as the local government and administration.

At the level of politics, BPs have little executive power except being members in the city's planning and education commissions and advising the mayor on issues regarding the borough. Thus, BP Adams functions as an officially elected advocate for the interests of the borough of Brooklyn in the City of New York, for instance with regard to the distribution of the municipal budget. Although having lost most of their executive powers since the consolidation in 1898, borough presidents still appoint community board members who, in turn, are the closest representatives of Brooklyn residents, and make proposals to the city for land use

¹⁹⁰ Contrary to the earlier chapters, I do not draw on the COCA here, for its written section contains text types that are more dissimilar to the BBHPR than those in OANC. Plus, a 15-million-word subset of the OANC is available as open data, without restrictions on usage and redistribution. I used the written parts of OANC, resulting in a reference corpus size of about 8 million tokens.

¹⁹¹ Adams' stance-taking in neighborhood discourses might also be influenced by his growing up in Brownsville, a neighborhood notorious for its high crime rates. Eric L. Adams went to public schools in Queens and later worked as police officer in Brooklyn, where he still resides. (cf. Brooklyn-USA.org 2019)

reviews, recommendations on education, health, housing, immigration, safety, technology, and various other policies. This range of duties is likely to be reflected in the BK_BBHPR corpus. In the following analysis, I refer to the BP as the highest official in Brooklyn Borough Hall as communicator of these perspectives in place of all actors who are responsible for the press releases analyzed in this corpus and will mention if another councilmember is mentioned as responsible party in any of the instances discussed.

The genre and the circumstances in which these texts are published create additional restraints on the ways neighborhoods is and can be discursively constructed. Fairclough (1995), Kristeva (1989 [1981]), and Bakhtin (1981) regard genre as a sociocultural process that consists of repeatedly used textual patterns that (re-)create commonplace or default ideological positions. The discourses that contribute to the construction of a particular neighborhood occur in the whole BBHPR corpus rather than being relegated to single texts, which means the concept of a (particular) neighborhood is co-produced intertextually as well as co-textually. Press releases form a “hybrid genre” (Bhatia 2004: 90; cf. also Fairclough 1992) that does not have clear-cut boundaries. From a theoretical perspective, press releases combine features from news reports and self-promotion strategies, which is less obvious at the structural than on the content level. A given press release may have many different objectives and contents.

These genre-constraints, too, are likely to affect the ways of neighborhood construal in the BK_BBHPR corpus because press releases tend to be significantly biased towards events that are considered newsworthy by the producers of these texts (cf. Catenaccio 2008). Releases by a public authority differ from those of companies in the amount of self-promotional content they contain but could be argued to be skewed towards covering more positive events. If negative events do occur, the countervailing measures undertaken by the authorities are highlighted, which could result in a low number of explicit negative evaluations in the entire corpus.

The first aspect that is characteristic of the BK_BBHPR corpus is its self-referential nature. Both the official name of the office as well as the personal name of the *Brooklyn Borough President, Eric Adams*, are clusters that can be detected among the top keywords. The toponym *Brooklyn* is the top keyword in the BK_BBHPR corpus. Unsurprisingly, it collocates strongly with *borough* ($t=35.769$) and *president* ($t=27.972$), both of which occur most frequently in the right collocation window in positions R1 and R2 respectively, forming the cluster *Brooklyn Borough President* (630x). The individual lexical items denoting the personal name of the BP, *Eric* ($t=23.040$), L (0.17%, LL=3,622.19), and *Adams*

($t=17.380$), which form the frequent cluster *Borough President Adams* (2,264x), are also among the top collocates of *Brooklyn*. In 348 of the 4,832 occurrences, *Brooklyn* occurs as the place of publication of the press releases, as part of the bigram *Brooklyn, NY* ($t=25.820$), which, next to the date, is stated at the beginning of every press release and constitutes a structural features of the text type itself.¹⁹²

N	Keyword	Freq. in BBHPR_all	%	Freq. in OANC_written	RC. %	Keyness
1	BROOKLYN	4,832	1.45	52		30,908.44
2	BOROUGH	4,459	1.34	9		28,916.30
3	ADAMS	3,994	1.20	72		25,292.99
4	PRESIDENT	3,453	1.04	1,722	0.02	16,033.24
5	BP	1,326	0.40	942	0.01	5,620.69
6	YORK	1,443	0.43	1,471	0.02	5,463.25
7	COMMUNITY	1,417	0.43	2,198	0.03	4,549.27
8	CITY	1,701	0.51	3,890	0.05	4,502.11
9	OUR	2,463	0.74	10,563	0.13	4,226.45
10	SAID	1,596	0.48	3,872	0.05	4,084.11
11	NEW	2,339	0.70	9,956	0.12	4,038.81
12	L	559	0.17	0		3,622.19
13	SPOKESPERSON	573	0.17	7		3,650.77
14	ERIC	595	0.18	58		3,482.10
15	BROOKLYNITES	420	0.13	0		2,730.89

Table 7.2: Top 15 keywords from the BK_BBHPR corpus.

The spatial foci of the corpus can be determined in the list of keywords, and the toponym or landmark references more specifically. There are 45 references to neighborhoods are areas in the city that are listed as significant in comparison with the OANC reference corpus. While some of them are neighborhood names of their own, like *Flatbush* and *Williamsburg*, the keyword *park* is part of several neighborhood names or landmarks in Brooklyn. Of the 613 total occurrences, 103 refer to the bigram *Prospect Park* ($t=10.600$), the biggest park in Brooklyn, 98 to *Sunset Park* ($t=10.132$), a neighborhood in South-West Brooklyn, 84 to *Park Slope* ($t=9.575$, 84 of 92), 18 to *Marine Park* ($t=4.785$), 20 to *Wingate Park* ($t=4.783$), all of which are neighborhood names, and a final 17 to Brooklyn Bridge Park ($t=4.321$) and 15 to *Fort Greene Park* ($t=4.440$). From a macro-perspective, these are relatively evenly distributed across the borough. However, the difference in the amount of times these names occur in the span of five years suggests that there are indeed some areas that occur twice as often as the others: these are Coney Island, Flatbush, Williamsburg, Bedford-Stuyvesant, and Brownsville.

¹⁹² Further indicators of this text type are verbs of expression. Press releases are largely used to inform Brooklynites about events, decisions, and initiatives. This is reflected in the keyword list which contains a variety of such verbs of expression serving to structure the press releases: *announce* (0.04%, LL=601.99), *said* (0.48%, LL=4038.31), *statement* (0.07%, LL=475.13), *applaud* (0.02%, LL=377.90), *spoke* (0.03%, LL=268.38), *highlighted* (0.02%, LL=261.63).

N	Keyword	Freq.	%	Keyness
1	BROOKLYN	4.829	1.44	30,778.32
2	YORK	1.443	0.43	5,431.72
3	CITY	1.701	0.51	4,466.91
4	NEW	2.339	0.70	3,994.62
5	NYC	273	0.08	1,711.29
6	WILL	1.670	0.50	1,599.35
7	PARK	583	0.17	1,551.84
8	NY	390	0.12	1,546.96
9	CONY	207	0.06	1,318.68
10	FLATBUSH	171	0.05	1,107.85
11	HEIGHTS	223	0.07	1,071.61
12	PROSPECT	185	0.06	922.50
13	WILLIAMSBURG	142	0.04	876.72
14	BEDFORD	161	0.05	858.58
15	BROWNSVILLE	129	0.04	793.44
16	STUYVESANT	115	0.03	724.94
17	EAST	274	0.08	449.57
18	BUSHWICK	69	0.02	447.01
19	GREENE	83	0.02	444.47
20	CANARSIE	66	0.02	427.57
21	MIDWOOD	65	0.02	421.09
22	CROWN	128	0.04	407.38
23	DOWNTOWN	131	0.04	402.50
24	STATE	629	0.19	398.31
25	GREENPOINT	59	0.02	382.22
26	GOWANUS	54	0.02	349.83
27	ISLAND	260	0.08	271.18
28	SLOPE	92	0.03	269.98
29	PLAZA	111	0.03	269.76
30	HOOK	73	0.02	265.13
31	LEFFERTS	35	0.01	226.74
32	WINGATE	35	0.01	205.99
33	HAMILTON	57	0.02	184.77
34	BOERUM	28		181.39
35	GRAVESEND	27		174.91
36	MANHATTAN	54	0.02	174.59
37	CYPRESS	38	0.01	169.07
38	BENSONHURST	25		161.96
39	SHEEPSHEAD	39	0.01	145.08
40	STATEN	25		143.13
41	CARROLL	32		134.38
42	BROADWAY	33		130.41
43	RIDGE	40	0.01	117.31
44	DUMBO	19		115.23
45	ALBANY	29		113.87

Table 7.3: Toponyms in the BK_BBHPR corpus (infrastructure items and landmarks excluded).

These items provide a first overview on which parts of Brooklyn are strongly associated with the borough and used throughout the five-year span in the BP's press releases. A significant number of occurrences in the list keywords of the BK_BBHPR provides information on the frequency and statistical significance as opposed to the reference corpus. How does the situation look at the level of the collocation and concordance though, and which sections are represented more with regard to a specific topical focus than others in this sub-corpus? This will be explored with special emphasis on five salient discourse topics identified among the first 200 keywords. These are immediately relevant to the livelihoods of constituents and fall within the scope of the BP's office: transportation, education, housing, safety, and group-denominating terms.¹⁹³ This will yield further information on which of the key toponyms addressed above are connected to which topical foci in the press releases.

¹⁹³ Among the top keywords, there is also a large number of so-called high-value words, which are items that are used in positive evaluation (cf. Janich 2013). These are commonly used in communications and advertising to evoke positive emotions associated with a product, in this case, Brooklyn. This category fits in well with the press release genre which I hypothesized could contain an overrepresentation of positive or self-promotional content. The large number of high-value words is indicative of genre-specific features of press releases and will therefore not be discussed by itself in the BBHPR, but will be touched upon as collocates of individual items that structure the discourse topics identified.

7.1 Transportation: Of transit deserts and transit equity

The discourse topic of transport is represented by five individual keywords in the BK_BBHPR corpus. These are *transit*, *MTA* (*Metropolitan Transportation Authority*), *subway*, *bike*, and *transportation*. As foundations of this discourse topic, these words and their collocates shed light on how transportation issues are construed, and how transportation is linked to the question of neighborhoods in discourse.

N	Keyword	Freq.	%	RC. Freq.	Keyness
92	MTA	86	0.03	1	546.30
102	TRANSIT	107	0.03	52	496.36
239	SUBWAY	61	0.02	53	241.94
284	BIKE	51	0.02	46	199.86
336	TRANSPORTATION	101	0.03	440	168.64

Table 7.4: Transportation keywords in the BK_BBHPR corpus.

The keywords *MTA*, *transit*, *subway*, and *transportation* all revolve around the metropolitan public transport system and thus denote a form of mass mobility. The keyword *bike*, to the contrary, constitutes an individual form of transportation, and collocates with nouns that provide information on infrastructure like, for instance, *LANE* ($t=3.741$). In these concordances, the need to create more bike lanes and the risks that come with a lack of cycling infrastructure or blockage through cars, both of which have contributed to fatal accidents over the last years (cf. Nguyen 2016), are discussed. Data collection for this corpus covered the first years after the introduction of Vision Zero, a city-wide policy implemented in 2014 to significantly reduce traffic-related injuries and deaths by 2024 (cf. NYC.gov 2019), which is why references to bicycle deaths as observed in concordances of *bike lane(s)* and the improvement in local *infrastructure* ($t=1.989$) for both cyclists and pedestrians might have moved more into the center of public focus and the press releases.

The spatial collocates of *bike* refer to three neighborhoods: *Park Slope*, the location of an activist group which joined BP Adams for a 'bike to work' event (22.04.2015), *Greenpoint*, which received upgrades in cycling infrastructure along Greenpoint Avenue and Kingsland Avenues, and *Red Hook*, where the BP allocated funds to construct a BMX bike and skate park (26.03.2018). None of these, however, refer to areas in Brooklyn like South Brooklyn that are severely lacking in cycling infrastructure and have seen a surge in accidents and deaths of cyclists (cf. BikeSBk.org 2019).

N	Concordance	Date
1	Bike rider, I am thrilled to see that bike share will 'keep on rolling' in New York Cit	28.10.2014
2	crossing Brooklyn, and easy access to bike share , make biking to work a safe and	22.04.2015
3	ervice, Modell 's Sporting Goods, NYC Bike Share , Santander Bank, Sheraton Brooklyn	08.05.2017
4	mployees, expanding New York City 's bike share network and promoting a healthy an	28.02.2017
5	rking with local companies to bolster bike share membership among their employee	28.02.2017
6	with other local companies to promote bike share for their employees. We applaud Bor	28.02.2017
7	he nation 's largest and most popular bike share systems, Citi Bike is on the forefront	28.02.2017
8	ns in the neighborhood by introducing bike share and potentially modifying express b	28.08.2018

Concordance 7.1: Concordances of *bike share* in the BK_BBHPR corpus.

The increasing importance of cycling is also reflected in the collocate *share* (88.8% in the noun phrase *bike share*). The provision and expansion of bike sharing services (cf. Nguyen 2016; Berberich 2019a) was a major topic in the borough during the data collection period that, to a large part, revolved around granting improved access to underserved areas, like the area south-west of Prospect Park by

increasing transportation options in the neighborhood by introducing **bike share** and potentially modifying express bus routes to include a stop in Windsor Terrace (line 8) ¹⁹⁴

Verbs that collocate with *bike share*, *introduce* (line 1), *expand* (line 4), *bolster* (line 6), *promote* (line 7) point towards an inclusion and promotion of this mode of transportation, also in partnerships and official programs. One of these is the Brooklyn Healthy Workplace Challenge (28.02.2017). In February of 2017, BP Adams, who had then been diagnosed with Type 2 diabetes and was making major lifestyle changes that are referred to in many of the press releases, announced the challenge together with medical associations, local employers, and the company *Citi Bike* (t=3.741) to increase awareness of the benefits of cycling in terms of health and sustainability by motivating employees to cycle to work. The low-frequency collocate cluster *group bike ride* (t=2.229) is a further indicator of the growing importance of this form of mobility in the eyes of the BP who hosts and joins events that highlight eco-friendly alternatives for the daily commute in Brooklyn (22.04.2015).¹⁹⁵ Over the five years, the press releases highlight the importance of cycling as a mode of transportation that is beneficial to social actors because of its relative affordability as well as its health benefits (cf. Caimotto 2020), both in terms of reducing emissions and through boosting cardiac health, with a focus on programs that increase the number of cyclists in the borough. However, the press releases mainly focus on the borough-wide expansion of privately-owned for-profit bike share services in already well-served and affluent areas with smaller streets rather than an improvement of cycling infrastructure in areas that are more car-dependent and served by fewer transit options, such as South Brooklyn.

The keywords denoting forms of mass mobility, *MTA*, *transit*, *subway*, and *transportation*, all point to the same issue: the lack of reliable and affordable public transportation service across the borough. Since their keywords are largely overlapping, I focus on the key noun *transit* (0.03%, LL=496.36) as the most general of these items here. *Transit* has several spatial foci. These are transit hubs like *Downtown Brooklyn*, and Willoughby Square in particular (15.06. and 28.12.2018), *Broadway Junction* and the planned *Broadway transit corridor*

¹⁹⁴ Publication dates of the individual press releases where these items occur will be provided in brackets.

¹⁹⁵ Caimotto (2020) shows that framing cycling as a social justice issue and a choice by the individual social actor is much more productive in getting people to embrace cycling as a valuable form of mobility as it reduces the cumbersome juxtaposition that "road user labels" (ibid.: 138) tend to create.

(02.05.2014) in East/Central Brooklyn. The use of *transit* in the press releases highlights that problems seem to occur mainly on the outer edges of the borough: they cover the BP's request to the MTA for out-of-station transfer in Brownsville (11.02.2016), the introduction of express trains on the F line, which *links communities from Coney Island to DUMBO* (17.05.2016), and an expansion of ferry services from *Coney Island to Marine Park to Canarsie* (13.12.2017) and *North Sixth Street* in Williamsburg (12.04.2016), all presenting more peripheral areas of Brooklyn that seem to be in need of transportation upgrades in order for *transit equity* (t=1.994)¹⁹⁶ to be achieved.

The key noun collocates of *transit* also provide evidence of the formulaic nature of this discourse topic. Many of these occur in fixed phrases such as the *New York City Transit Authority* (t=3.600), the *New York Transit Museum* (t=2.441), the *transit system* (t=3.450), and *transit options* (t=2.994). *New York* (t=4.951) co-occurs more often with *transit* than *Brooklyn* (t=2.670), most likely because transportation is a supra-local issue that works across boroughs and the state, and is steered by one central authority responsible for all of New York City, the Metropolitan Transportation Authority, *MTA* (t=2.819). In addition, there are several non-profit *transit advocacy* (t=1.988) groups, such as the *grassroots* (t=1.729) initiative Riders Alliance, the New York City Transit Riders Council (NYCTRC), and the Tri-State Transportation Campaign among the noun collocates. These *transit advocates* (t=1.713) work for improved transit equity and transportation more generally, mostly addressing the shortcomings of the MTA. The representation of such grassroots actors in the BK_BBHPR corpus highlights the importance of their work in the transportation discourse, and the role they play in the realm of local politics more generally.

Granting better to *access* (t=2.801) to *affordable transit*, *mass transit* or *public transit* is a consistent demand voiced in the BK_BBHPR corpus (03.12.2015, 04.12.2015, 11.02.2016, 29.03.2016, 21.07.2017, 15.06.2018, 19.12.2018). As physical mobility is a crucial factor for social mobility, allowing, for instance, for better job access and participation in the city (cf. Sheller 2014; Minor 2018), the BP repeatedly pleads for better *transit service to communities in dire need of more transportation options* (30.09.2015), but also for the improvement of access to stations for people with disabilities in compliance with the Americans with Disabilities act (ADA, 19.12.2018). This impression is supported by the collocate *accessibility* (t=1.732; 30.09.2015, 19.12.2018), which is construed as requiring improvement, and the noun collocate *needs* (t=2.213), which is used in the

¹⁹⁶ T-scores ≤ 2.0 do not suggest a strong association between the two words. While not statistically significant, these collocates are valuable because they provide further information on the keywords, their uses and conceptualizations across the BK_BBHPR corpus, which is why they will be included as part of the analysis.

discussion of measures that comply with ADA like an expansion of *access to mass transit, including on-demand ride needs* (19.12.2018) for people with impaired mobility.

N	Concordance	Date
1	apital needs in Brooklyn's mass transit system."	28.10.2015
2	Street, in order to support the transit needs of an increased local workforce	12.04.2016
3	indicative of a creaking mass transit system that needs urgent upgrades to	21.07.2017
4	more intelligent use of our transit system, prioritizing the needs of com	23.05.2018
5	cess to expand access to mass transit , including on-demand ride needs, as	19.12.2018

Concordance 7.2: Concordances of *transit + needs* in the BK_BBHPR corpus.

In occurrences of the collocate *needs*, it becomes clear that the transit system is viewed as something that should work for the people whose livelihoods, to a large extent, depend on it. Indeed, in issues of mobility, both with regard to positional as social movement (cf. Sheller 2014), it becomes conspicuous how spatial and social concerns become enmeshed to create structural disadvantage for people who do not have access to reliable and affordable transportation. It is stated in the press releases that it is necessary to identify problems and locate and direct funds to the problem (line 1). In this vein, the BP argues that the system needs to be used more intelligently to serve its riders. The reference to *creaking mass transit* (line 3) also relates to the fact that public transportation in the US has not been profitable since its inception in the 1950s. Rather than being able to improve on the services, public transport has relied on an increased amount of subsidies while providing a decreased amount of services (cf. Hart 2001), particularly in areas with a lower tax base due to lower residential densities.

The strong emphasis on repairs, service extensions, station re-openings to shoulder the *needs of a 21st century city* (line 3 above) and the large amount of riders who depend on mass transit to earn their living is in line with research that criticizes the "scarcity of [...] transit-served locations" (Florida 2017: 160) and its detrimental effects on residents. The emphasis on re-zoning to increase density in areas with good access to public transportation (cf. Angotti 2017a) either tends to bypass less affluent neighborhoods or indeed leads to the displacement of residents because good access to transportation attracts people who can afford to live in a well-connected mixed-use area (cf. Franz 2015). As a response, the BP frequently proposes land use application studies for a potential rezoning to the Department of City Planning and to build affordable housing along the 3 line corridor in his native Brownsville (21.08.2017), which is a common way to harness zoning to reduce reliance on motorized transportation (cf. Angotti 2017c) that could, if realized, also begin to spur gentrification (cf. Florida 2017).

The BP's agenda for transit equity is further accentuated by the verb collocates of *transit*, a majority of which revolve around upgrading and improving

the transit system: *expand* (t=1.981), *reduce* (t=1.991), *offer* (t=1.716), *improve* (t=1.711), *connect* (t=1.404), *increased* (t=1.399). Although these are not strong collocates based on their t-score, the co-occurrence of items from the semantic domain of growth suggest that the agenda is one focused on transit expansion. Not only should *mass transit access* (19.12.2018) and *transit options* (29.01.2016) be expanded, but their cost should be reduced, especially for *low-income working-age New Yorkers* (23.11.2016) who could benefit from more flexible transfer solutions (11.02.2016). The auxiliaries among the key verb collocates, *be*, *have*, *will*, and *can*, show the urgency of transit equity in the BK_BBHPR. In third-person singular present tense forms of the copular verb BE, there are two occurrences wherein transit is construed metaphorically as vital to Brooklyn and its residents. It is *the engine that keeps Brooklyn moving forward* (10.10.2015) and *the lifeblood* of Brooklyn's economy (10.05.2017). The conceptualization as integral part of the borough puts the BP's calls for transit equity into perspective – if transit is that important, then particular service expansions, such as the ferry service to southern Brooklyn, are indeed *a matter of transit equity* (13.12.2017).

As one of the pillars of democracy, access to public transport for a maximally large portion of the public is key (cf. Parkinson 2012). A “mobile public space” (ibid.: 177), is a prerequisite for Brooklynites to fulfill their right to the city (cf. Lefebvre 1996; see also Sheller 2014). In this vein, the BP declares that *access to affordable transit is one of the most certain ways to improve social mobility* (04.12.2015), which is why it is

imperative that our transit system is brought up to a 21st century standard on which all New Yorkers can depend. (30.06.2017)

The use of the pronoun *our* here emphasizes his vision of the transit system as common property, a part of the public that is open to and ideally also accessible for all. According to the press releases, public transport can be a democratic space as long as everyone *can have access to mass transit* (04.12.2015), which is one mission that is particularly conspicuous in the BK_BBHPR corpus. Future commitments to this cause are shown in concordances of *transit* and *will* (t=1.996). All of these occur with proposals and plans introduced or endorsed by the BP in press releases and suggest that, in the future, the agencies responsible *will offer resilient transit service* (30.09.2015), *will make several neighborhoods more accessible* (29.01.2016) and *will expand the transit options* (29.01.2016), as in the case of ferry services or new types of Long Island Rail Road (LIRR) tickets, both of which are prevalent issues in 2015 and 2016.

The overwhelming focus on the expansion and/or improvement of transit services confirms the notion that in the eyes of the Brooklyn borough president's

office, the transport system, however crucial to the city's economy, is not running well and, more crucially, is underserving some areas in Brooklyn. This *crisis* (t=1.712) seems to reach its peak in 2017, which most of the occurrences in the corpus date from.¹⁹⁷ Here, the BP speaks of an (*ongoing*) *transit crisis* (19.06.2017, 14.12.2017), instances of which are identified as the unequal treatment of transit riders affected by repair works, and the incoherent plans for the (then) upcoming L train shutdown which – if realized – would have affected residents in several North-East Brooklyn areas, especially Williamsburg and Bushwick.¹⁹⁸ Both occurrences of the noun phrase *transit crisis* refer to commuters having to adjust their commutes due to long-awaited repairs to several subway lines in Brooklyn.

The interconnectedness of all five boroughs and thus the equal importance of all boroughs in the distribution of services is addressed by the BP in a plea to Andrew Cuomo, who as the New York State governor exerts some influence on the MTA:

We have one regional transportation network. We cannot have two different ways of treating commuters amid this ongoing transit crisis. (19.06.2017)

The construal of the *transit crisis* as something that affects all New Yorkers is indexed here by means of inclusive *we*, and in an earlier paragraph of this press release in the use of the specification of the number of boroughs, *across the five boroughs*. The juxtaposition of the numeric terms *one* and *two* is used in the excerpt to create a contrast between, on the one hand, the interconnectedness and equal standing of all boroughs that share one common transport network, and, on the other, the MTA's policy of fare reductions and benefits which creates essentially a two-class system by prioritizing commuters in Manhattan while disadvantaging Brooklyn residents. One of the most prominent examples of this differential treatment is the MTA's long prohibition of out-of-station transfers in Brownsville, which the BP repeatedly criticizes in 2016 (e.g., 11.02.2016). In a similar case in the affluent Manhattan's Upper East Side, the possibility of out-of-station transfer already exists, while the transfer option on Junius Street and Livonia Avenue in the low-income neighborhood Brownsville is only granted about a year after the situation is first addressed in the BK_BBHPR. In this discourse topic of transportation, the BP positions himself as an avid supporter of transit

¹⁹⁷ Indeed, the keywords *transportation* and *MTA* show 'bursts' in occurrences (Katz 1996) in the years 2017 and 2018. A look at the latter of the two reveals that it is used in 10 press releases in 2017, in 5 in 2018, and 1 in 2019. At first glance, the occurrence dates seem to correlate with a major event that, if realized, might have severely affected northern Brooklyn: the L train shutdown. However, there are only two references to these plans in the concordances.

¹⁹⁸ The closure of the 14th Street Tunnel under the East River to repair damage from the 2012 Hurricane Sandy was originally proposed in late 2016 and followed by mitigation plans in December 2017 and June and September 2018, and finally called off in early 2019 when new recommendations for repair works that allowed for the service to continue were presented to the public (cf. MTA 2020).

equity for riders in Brooklyn by claiming the same rights for the borough he represents.

One way of ensuring equal access is by reducing *transit costs* (t=1.722) for members of *economically challenged communit[ies]* (19.06.2017). These are identified as *low-income working-age New Yorkers* (23.11.2016), and especially those *who live and work along the Atlantic Branch corridor* (29.01.2016) of the LIRR who could benefit from a particular type of ticket, the so-called *Freedom Ticket* (29.01.2016), to save on transportation costs. This corridor stretches across East New York, Brownsville, Crown Heights and Bedford Stuyvesant, all mostly lower-income neighborhoods of color, before reaching the Atlantic Terminal in Downtown Brooklyn. The BP's plea for increased access to public transport in historically Black neighborhoods was already made by neighborhood associations in the 1950s (cf. Woodsworth 2016), but not much has changed in these "transit deserts" (Schlichtman et al. 2017: 201) since. Rather, the past situation is still reflected in the growing residential segregation today as residents of color again "migrate deeper into the off-the-transit grid neighborhoods" (DeMause 2016: 138), effectively recreating the lines of segregation that marked the borough in the past.

The framing of the state of New York City's transportation system as being in a *crisis* in these press releases is interesting for discursive neighborhood construction because it shines light on implicit ways of neighborhood evaluation that are inherent in discourses that are linked to certain areas. Those areas that are established across the BK_BBHPR as being disproportionately affected by the transit crisis, as being disconnected, as lacking access to physical and social mobility take on a particular meaning: they are constructed as being disconnected from the borough and the city, quite literally, through unreliable and patchy service, as well as at a more abstract level – that of participation.

In the context of fare reduction and transport equity affecting residents of a particular area, the press releases put an emphasis on *community* (t=1.469), which is also a collocate of *transit*. Those who are regarded by the BP as being in need of improved transportation are labelled with the term COMMUNITY, rather than transit riders or else. Contrary to its positive semantic prosody in the COCA, though, COMMUNITY is associated here with negative conditions, such as lacking access to funding or waiting for improved transit connections. The noun phrase *challenged community* is used twice in 2017, referring to a group of people who are "presented with difficulties" (Merriam-Webster 2019: "challenged," adj., 1.), and "deprived of the power to perform one or more natural bodily activities" (ibid.).

N	Concordance	Date
1	transit service to communities in dire need of more transportation options	30.09.2015
2	community residents who have long called for this project to be funded	28.10.2015
3	relief to straphangers in this economically challenged community	19.06.2017
4	the transit-challenged community of Coney Island	13.12.2017
5	Canarsie - a community in true need of transit equity	10.01.2019

Concordance 7.3: Collocates of *transit* + *community* in the BK_BBHPR corpus.

This phrase is striking as it suggests the lack of mobility that comes with a lack of access to public transportation is indeed a hindrance to social mobility for residents of these more remote parts of Brooklyn, Canarsie, Coney Island, and Brownsville. The correlation between access to transit and real estate development already applied in the 1920s, when a “building and population explosion took place” (Krase/DeSena 2016: 22) exclusively in well-connected areas of Brooklyn. Even then, transit-sparse neighborhoods remained largely unaffected by large-scale development precisely because they did not have rapid connections to Manhattan or Downtown Brooklyn.

It is thus not surprising that the geographical areas in focus for being in need of transit equity are often historically low-income areas, such as East New York, Brownsville, Crown Heights, and Bedford Stuyvesant. This issue weighs particularly heavy in direct comparison with more affluent areas that are better connected and receive different treatment than residents in low-income areas like Brownsville. In this case, census data show that at 46.9 minutes, the commute time in the Brownsville area in 2018 was about 1.4 times longer than the city average (cf. U.S. Census Bureau 2019), with 71% of residents relying on public transport for their daily commute. The median household income, however, was at half the city’s average in 2018, as opposed to the Upper East Side, which had a significantly lower mean travel time to work (30.8 min) and 1.5 times of the city average income, while still benefitting from fare reductions. Given these statistics, it becomes clear why the discourse topic of transportation, and transit equity, are such salient features in the BK_BBHPR, and points that seem to be high on the BP’s agenda. Although “city neighborhoods are never equally or even equitably served” (L’Heureux 2012: 102), the BP highlights the importance of reliable transportation for neighborhoods, particularly with the strong connection between transportation and social mobility in mind. Although some of the issues were resolved in the five years analyzed, projects like the proposed BQX light rail connecting the different areas along the “innovation coastline” (Zukin 2020: 166) show that public transportation is a contentious issue, and one that, looking at transit equity issues that have persisted over decades, is slow to change.

7.2 Education: Upgrading schools across the borough

A second salient discourse topic in the press releases is *education* (0.13%, LL=959.48). The items that refer to the realm of education strongly suggest that learning facilities in Brooklyn need to be improved. Two items, *school* (0.26%, LL=2,428.57) and *PS* (0.13%, LL=2099.54), the acronym for public schools, are found among the top 20 keywords in BK_BBHPR corpus, which highlights that the topic is high up on the BP's agenda. Further keywords connected to this discourse topic are lower-frequency items like *college*, *DOE* (Department of Education) as well as facilities and equipment like *classroom* and *smartboards*.

N	Keyword	Freq.	%	RC. Freq.	Keyness
19	SCHOOL	858	0.26	1,705	2,428.57
20	PS	445	0.13	205	2,089.38
32	SCHOOLS	362	0.11	427	1,291.16
35	STUDENTS	434	0.13	922	1,185.52
49	EDUCATION	422	0.13	1,238	951.02
121	COLLEGE	185	0.06	501	438.81
244	DOE	57	0.02	41	239.31
309	CLASSROOM	57	0.02	84	185.72
313	STEAM	62	0.02	113	183.17
372	SMARTBOARDS	24	0	0	155.48

Table 7.5: Education keywords in the BK_BBHPR corpus.

Public schools are zoned by districts that children are assigned to based on their home address. Depending on the popularity of the school, however, students will not always be assigned to the school within their zone. This can also lead to a replication of residential segregation inside the school (cf. Monarrez 2018; Shapiro 2019), which is why this is one of the keywords with the most immediate and consequential relation to Brooklyn neighborhoods. But is this reflected in the keywords? First and foremost, the collocates of *PS* suggest that schools in Brooklyn are undergoing transformation. The acronym collocates strongly with *STEM* (Science, Technology, Engineering, and Mathematics; $t=9.713$), *technology* ($t=8.883$), *upgrades* ($t=8.155$), *lab* ($t=5.626$), *infrastructure* ($t=4.649$), *new* ($t=3.363$), and *STEAM* (Science, Technology, Engineering, Arts, and Mathematics; $t=2.973$), pointing to a clear focus on a particular type of education.

Indeed, in the majority of occurrences of *school(s)* and *PS*, BP Adams announces the allocation of funds or applauds the decision on or completion of an upgrade of the school infrastructure. The press releases in which these keywords and collocates appear further contain a considerable amount of direct speech quotes by school representatives and parents thanking the BP for his support. In fact, it appears from the collocates of the three keywords in the table below show that the main focus when talking about education is to allocate funds to schools (no shading) and to improve learning facilities for STEM subjects (grey shading).

School	t-score	PS	t-score	Schools	t-score
technology	7.997	technology	8.884	funding	4.163
STEM	6.028	upgrades	8.156	received	3.709
upgrades	6.788	lab	5.262	technology	3.625
science	5.483	labs	4.880	funds	3.578
lab	5.034	infrastructure	4.649	million	3.369
arts	4.861	library	3.428	capital	3.067
computer	4.291	classroom	3.442	invested	2.638
100,000	4.183	received	3.272	science	2.577
35,000	4.183	science	3.249	financial	2.565
labs	3.693	engineering	3.131	budget	2.563
infrastructure	3.643	computer	3.114	funded	2.422
technical	3.443	arts	3.048	grants	2.422
250,000	3.307	STEAM	2.973	computer	2.398
engineering	3.259	smartboards	2.817	resources	2.386
learning	3.243	laptops	2.637	underserved	2.218
150,000	3.233	hydroponic	2.624	programming	2.207
classroom	3.116	greenhouse	2.630		
STEAM	3.112	auditorium	2.439		
funding	3.074	upgrade	2.217		
received	3.071				
library	2.919				
225,000	2.914				
500,000	2.867				
math	2.622				
capital	2.577				
business	2.442				
upgrade	2.416				
62,000	2.395				
million	2.352				
300,000	2.352				
obtained	2.220				
auditorium	2.213				
innovation	2.180				
budget	2.003				

Table 7.6: Collocates describing funding and upgrades in the BK_BBHPR corpus sorted by keyness.

The toponym collocates of *PS* can give an indication which public school districts or schools receive funding and upgrades. Neighborhoods that collocate with *PS* and receive funds or are affected by school improvement measures in the form of upgraded science facilities are *Park Slope* (t=2.785), *Canarsie* (t=2.413), *Brownsville* (t=2.379), *Bedford-Stuyvesant* (t=2.361), *Sunset Park* (t=2.176), *Boerum Hill* (t=2.219), *Sheepshead Bay* (2.183), *Gravesend* (t=1.711), *Dyker Heights* (t=1.720), *Midwood* (t=1.682), *Prospect Heights/Prospect Lefferts Gardens* (1.589), some of which contain high schools that do not fare well in city-wide comparison. Of these, the collocates with a score ≥ 2.0 are more strongly associated with the keyword *PS*, and thus tend to occur more often in its immediate co-text and are thus mentioned more frequently in the press releases as receivers of financial support or upgrades.

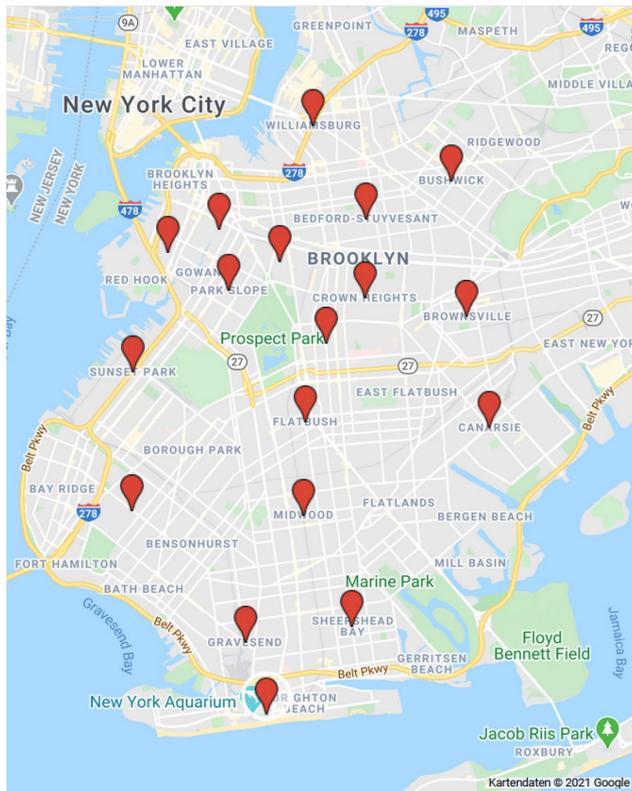


Fig. 18: Neighborhoods that collocate with items from the discourse topic education. Adapted from Google My Maps (2021).

The keyword *school* also collocates with many of the above areas (*Bedford-Stuyvesant* ($t=4.264$), *Dyker /New Heights* ($t=3.724$), *Midwood* ($t=3.416$), *Brownsville* ($t=2.889$), *Sunset Park* ($t=2.914$), *Prospect Heights* ($t=2.254$)), while also introducing four new spatial foci: *Carroll Gardens* ($t=3.545$), *Williamsburg* ($t=3.504$), *Crown Heights* ($t=2.712$), and *Bushwick* ($t=2.377$). Finally, the plural word form *schools* collocates with *Bedford-Stuyvesant* ($t=2.580$), *Brownsville* ($t=2.393$), *Flatbush* ($t=2.154$), *Park Slope* ($t=2.192$), *Canarsie* ($t=1.964$), *Bushwick* ($t=1.963$), *Gravesend* ($t=1.715$), *Sheepshead Bay* ($t=1.708$), *Williamsburg* ($t=1.644$), *Coney Island* ($t=1.603$), *Brooklyn Heights* ($t=1.593$), *Dyker Heights* ($t=1.402$), *Midwood* ($t=1.365$), and *Sunset Park* ($t=1.338$). In terms of spatial distribution of collocates, there is an emphasis on North/Central Brooklyn areas who are the receivers of funding and beneficiaries of special initiatives by the BP's office. These collocate areas tend to have received more coverage in the press releases and based on the thematic foci of the collocates also stronger financial support from the BP than did the other neighborhoods that did not co-occur with *school(s)* or *PS*.

The use of the key noun *upgrades* (0.06%, LL=1022.84) provides further evidence for the ongoing changes in the public school system. *Upgrades* collocates strongly with *PS* ($t=8.155$) and *school(s)* ($t=6.787$), and implies that these institutions are in the process of being elevated, or "raised to a higher rank or position" (Merriam-Webster 2019: "upgrades," n., 2.). As opposed to framing the measures as improvement, which suggests that the beneficiary of such an act of

improvement was previously lacking in quality, an upgrade indexes that there were no shortcomings. In the data from the COCA, *upgrades* collocates with items from the semantic domain of technology and computing, while *improvement* collocates with items from the domain of technology, infrastructure, and items that denote the necessity of such improvements, like *needed*, *safety*, *dramatic*, thus indexing a certain deficiency in the referents.

The avoidance of the verb IMPROVE in favor of UPGRADE is one way of obfuscating a potentially negative status quo by foregrounding the positive aspects, i.e. that there will be upgrades in said learning institutions, over the fact that many of these are currently lacking in equipment and facilities. Items from within the education topic that strongly collocate with *upgrades*, like *technology* (t=11.025), *school* (t=6.787), *lab* (t=3.295), *STEM* (t=3.276), *auditorium* (t=3.159), *computer* (t=2.979), *library* (t=2.428), highlight the emphasis on a preparation for work in the technology sector that is gaining steam in Brooklyn (cf. Zukin 2020). Further beneficiaries of *upgrades* outside of the education context in the BK_BBHPR corpus identifiable from the collocates are *park* (t=2.893), *infrastructure* (t=1.960), and *transit* (t=1.698), as well as structural upgrades in *architecture* (t=1.729) and concrete *building[s]* (t=1.670), none of which are particularly strong collocates. The decrease in collocate strength suggests a weaker link between the node word *upgrades* and the individual aspects that could be upgraded. Thus, upgrading specific parts of learning spaces and providing for state-of-the-art technology for students is prioritized over upgrades of the overall landscape and infrastructure.

Finally, the more general keyword *education* does not have any toponym collocates except for the neighborhoods of *Williamsburg* (t=1.910), *Flatbush* (t=1.608), and *Coney Island* (t=1.231). A closer look at the concordances of *Williamsburg*, *Flatbush*, and *Coney Island* shows that the keyword *education* does not relate to the instruction of children, but of musicians, artists, and organizations which won a grant to promote *artistic and cultural activities, with an emphasis on borough tourism* (15.08.17). Indeed, almost all of the occurrences of toponym collocates of *education* are receivers of such grants, e.g., an *African Diaspora-dedicated arts and education organization in Flatbush* (27.02.2015), *Building Beats, a DJ and music education organization in Williamsburg*, or the *Coney Island History Project, a cultural historical society in Coney Island* (15.08.17). Thus, rather than pointing to *financial* (t=6.964), *higher* (t=5.281), *public* (t=4.937), *science* (t=4.644), *STEM* (t=4.403), *computer* (t=3.835), *arts* (t=3.649), and *technical education* (t=3.595), the focus of the toponyms which collocate with *education* is

the advance of tourism through showcasing local arts and culture, and creating marketing and public education materials with the help of these grants.¹⁹⁹

The list of collocates also indicates possible education outcomes. One is to achieve *empowerment* (t=4.343) of residents by means of education, which is also underlined by the verb collocates *support* (t=2.760) and *provide* (t=2.909). These collocates highlight the BP's involvement in education and his long-term agenda to make students ready for jobs in the growing tech sector. However, the strongest content word collocate also points to a second aim: financial education. The adjective *financial* (t=6.964) occurs as part of the name of an annual program called *Brooklyn Financial Education Empowerment Month*, where students in high schools throughout the borough are taught about basic financial principles and saving for college (06.04.2017). The attention to financial education is likely related to the fact that Brooklyn is the borough that has the highest amount of student loan debt distress citywide²⁰⁰ (cf. NYC DCA 2018). More generally speaking, this shows that one of the main strategies used in the BK_BBHPR corpus is to draw attention to initiatives that support Brooklynites.

The strong link to some neighborhoods as opposed to others underlines that there is a special emphasis on improving learning facilities in these areas. An absence of other areas among the collocates could lead to the assumption that these schools or school districts are overlooked by the BP. Rather, they might not have received any attention in the five-year span covered by the corpus because they underwent renovations prior to the collection period or else because public schools in these areas already were in decent condition and thus did not require upgrades. However, the data clearly show the unequal distribution of funds in the public school system in Brooklyn.²⁰¹ In 2010, two thirds of Brooklyn public school districts had less than 10% of white students and 90% of charter schools remained "intensely segregated", as a study by the Civil Rights Project has shown (2014). In 2018, several school districts, like PS 21 in Bed-Stuy or PS 22 in Prospect Heights/Crown Heights, were among those in New York City that "encourage school segregation the most" in the city (Monarrez 2018). Like Mayor Bill de Blasio, BP Adams seems to follow the strategy of facilitating the creation of better schools through investments instead of "creating a citywide integration plan" (Shapiro

¹⁹⁹ In the press release, BP Adams justifies this type of public education thus: "Brooklyn is truly a destination, a place to enjoy and play for locals and visitors alike," said Borough President Adams. "Our goal at Brooklyn Borough Hall is to make sure our tourism industry embraces all that we have to offer. Outreach is everything, and Destination: Brooklyn allows these groups to be seen, be heard, and be appreciated by Brooklyn and the rest of the world. Every neighborhood has a unique culture and style all its own, and you haven't experienced our borough until you've experienced every one of them." (15.08.17)

²⁰⁰ Student loan debts are highest in a sector covering northwest to southeast Brooklyn, severely affecting all areas along Bedford Avenue (NYC DCA 2018: 14).

²⁰¹ Refer to Joffe-Walt's (2020) *New York Times* podcast series *Nice White Parents* for a thorough exploration of school segregation in a public school in Boerum Hill.

2019), primarily in areas where public schools and their Black and brown students have suffered from the effects of redlining for decades (cf. E. Anderson 1999; Woodsworth 2016).

7.3 Housing: The slow grind of affordable housing construction

A discourse topic that was briefly touched upon in the aforementioned discussion of public sector upgrades is that of *housing* (0.15%, LL=1,775.46). Keywords that evoke this discourse topic suggest that, with market pressures driving up rental prices, Brooklyn's growing population is in need of ever more *affordable* (0.09%, LL=1,545.94) living spaces. Indeed, *affordable* (t=15.366) occurs in the position one word to the left of *housing* in 94.94% of cases. This relatively fixed compound forms many clusters like *mixed use affordable housing development*, *housing construction*, *housing crisis*, and *housing lotteries*. In 73% of all occurrences of the collocate *public* (t=5.928), it immediately precedes the keyword *housing*, forming the bigram *public housing*.

N	Keyword	Freq.	%	RC. Freq.	Keyness
22	HOUSING	488	0.15	546	1,775.46
27	AFFORDABLE	307	0.09	99	1,545.94
58	PUBLIC	650	0.19	3,788	817.40
78	TENANTS	143	0.04	84	633.97
83	NYCHA	93	0.03	0	602.49
360	LANDLORDS	42	0.01	40	158.74

Table 7.7: Housing keywords in the BK_BBHPR corpus.

The collocates of *affordable* reflect the requirement to build more housing units of this kind. The comparative adjectives *more* (t=4.549) and *new* (t=4.111) co-occur with the verbs *bring*, *offer*, *construct*, *need*, *push*, *yield*, and *create* and are used in press releases that address the need for affordable housing. However, at the level of the concordance line, very few of these verbs refer to the actual creation or construction of such units, that is, the concrete realization of such processes.

N	Concordance	Date
1	by helping to offer more affordable housing and a community cente	17.12.2015
2	ayor's proposal to bring more affordable housing - and more people - int	29.01.2016
3	on the need to construct more affordable housing , we must not forget ab	01.03.2016
4	" Our city definitely needs more affordable housing ." "I thank Borough Pres	17.10.2016
5	URP) process to push for more affordable housing across Brooklyn. Last m	18.04.2017
6	upzonings should yield more affordable housing and, where appropriate,	21.07.2017
7	ograms' FY18 funding for new affordable housing developments included	21.11.2017
8	object, which will create 12 new affordable homeownership opportunities	21.11.2017
9	mmunity 's desire to bring new affordable housing and jobs to the area w	27.10.2015
10	community." Two more new affordable housing projects received capit	17.10.2016
11	LLS FOR CREATION OF NEW AFFORDABLE HOUSING DEVELOPMENT IN CO	07.03.2017
12	create more than 2,500 new affordable homes and coordinate more t	21.08.2017
13	uction of more than 1,100 new affordable units , including senior and	21.11.2017

Concordance 7.4: Concordances of *more/new* + *affordable* + NP in the BK_BBHPR corpus.

The nominalized verb form of CONSTRUCT in line 13 does not signal actual construction work, but an enabling of such activity through the provision of funds.

The verb *create* supports this impression, as it is used in the simple future tense *will create*, the infinitive construction *seek to create* and the nominalized word form *creation*, but merely a creation that is called for and not realized. The remainder of the verb phrases, *push for*, *should yield*, *proposal/desire to bring* all seem to indicate that the creation of such affordable units is an important topic in the BBHPR, but little is actually happening. Looking at both increases in market-rate housing and so-called affordable housing units, it becomes clear that the construction of market-rate housing surpasses that of affordable housing by far (cf. Angotti 2017c). Indeed, although Angotti and Morse (2017: 68) report that under the Bloomberg administration, 175,000 affordable units were built, a Furman Center Report confirms that, “while income-restricted subsidized stock grew by about 12 percent, the market-rate stock grew by much more, increasing by 28 percent” in the years 2002-2012 (NYU Furman Center 2013: 36). This time period precedes Mayor de Blasio’s term in office, who initially announced to build or preserve, “a hedge that has allowed countless New York City mayors to take credit for affordable housing that already exists” (DeMause 2016: 191), 200,000 units of public housing, a plan that BP Adams approved at the time.²⁰²

What is more, the verb collocates of *affordable housing/units* differ greatly in the levels of modality. In particular, elaborate noun phrases are frequently used to cloud the “illocutionary force” of the verbs (Austin 1962) instead of auxiliary verb forms that modify the utterances. Affordable housing is not just created or developed, but a range of related processes that serve to support affordable housing construction are mentioned. There are, for instance, opportunities for developing orto create affordable housing (17.12.2015, 17.10.2016, 07.03.2017, 09.02.2018, 05.04.2018). The BP often functions as the subject in these clauses; he allocates money, has a mission or a vision to create affordable housing, or else requests and proposes to build it. BP Adams also allocates money, makes plans, is committed to the creation of affordable housing, supports affordable housing organizations with money, and provides those willing to construct affordable housing with information and resources. The verb *create* is used as an infinitive in constructions that express intention, as in *seek*, *help* or *work + to create* affordable housing, while little actual construction is reported in BBPHR. There are but two references to the construction in the future tense form *will create* (25.06.2015,

²⁰² DeMause describes BP Adams reaction to De Blasio’s plans as follows: “Newly elected Brooklyn borough president Eric Adams, a former police officer who rose to prominence to opposing police brutality and racial profiling, stood at de Blasio’s side, enthusing, “Build, baby, build. Build tall, build high.” Adams’s first suggestion for a rezoning that would allow taller buildings: the Broadway commercial corridor that had been ground zero for the post-blackout looting and fires in 1977, which now formed the border between rapidly gentrifying Bushwick and Bedford-Stuyvesant.” (DeMause 2016: 191f)

21.11.2017). The first, however, is part of an elaborate commissive speech act (cf. Austin 1962) wherein BP Adams states that he is

committed to doing whatever it takes to move the State toward significant action in the months ahead that will create and preserve affordable housing. (25.06.2015)

Here, the present tense of *create* is not used for a specific construction event, but targeted at future action that the BP is committed to pursue in order to support the creation and preservation of reasonably-priced housing. However, judging from the verb phrase modalities, the chances that housing will be erected, despite the BP's commitment, remain low.

The verb collocate DEVELOP, which occurs in the forms *developing* (t=2.438), and *develops* (t=1.999), and the noun *development* (t=5.400), are used in statements expressing the intention to allocate funds *from Brooklyn Borough Hall to construct* (17.10.2016) or *announced to construct and preserve affordable housing across Brooklyn* (17.10.2016). Further, there are *application[s] to construct 100 percent affordable housing development* (13.12.2017), *several proposals to develop* (30.10.2014; 12.12.2018), and (financial) support from BP Adams for the ability to or help to develop (17.10.2016, 12.12.2018). These collocates reflect not only the slowness of the process, but also the amount of work that goes into building affordable housing. The BP engages in a wide variety of processes to support affordable housing creation, but cannot do more than expressing commitment and intent, and ultimately to *request for the developer, [name], to provide affordable housing* (02.04.2014).

By and large, verb collocates of *affordable* do not suggest that these efforts have come to fruition in the five-year span of press releases collected. They indicate that many of the measures surrounding the query term are relegated to the initial stages of conception or campaigning for support, with few definite information on realization of such endeavors being provided in the corpus. In the five-year span, there is but one project that seems to have progressed from the lobbying over the decision-making stage to the actual planning. This

innovative intergenerational, mixed-income project will bring Passive House construction to Crown Heights with over 185 units of sustainable affordable housing and a new robust community center (17.10.2016)

This faith-based development by Calvary Community Church is supported financially by the BP. Despite the verb tense expressing futurity, the realization of the project is not represented on the textual level.²⁰³

An explanation for the many linguistic instantiations that signal intent towards building affordable housing could be the time the press releases were

²⁰³ At the time of writing in late 2019, no information on the completion of these buildings could be found.

published. The press releases convey the impression of changing procedures on the municipal level. In 2014, Mayor Bill de Blasio released a five-borough ten-year plan for the creation of new affordable housing, leaving Brooklyn authorities with incentives to support the preservation of existing housing and policies supposed to tackle the *affordable housing crisis* ($t=3.436$). A large number of these new units would be built through so-called inclusionary zoning measures as part of new market-rate developments whose developers would receive tax abatements or concessions with regard to building heights if they included a small section of housing below market rate. Despite these requirements, few of these affordable units have been constructed by developers (cf. Angotti/Morse 2017). The remaining units in de Blasio's plan, "will produce far more units than any effort led since the times of Ed Koch [NYC Mayor 1943-1946, KB]" (Busà 2017: 220). However, high quality affordable housing units built in low-income neighborhoods are likely to "attract middle-income transplants escaping from the rising costs in more expensive neighborhoods, while they will still be out of the reach of locals." (ibid.)

The toponym collocates of the keywords *housing* and *affordable* highlight which areas are more closely associated with the discourse topic. Both collocate with the same four neighborhood names. The strongest spatial collocate, although still at a considerably weak association strength, is *Brownsville* ($t=2.373$ and $t=2.401$). The toponym occurs in the right collocate window and is used as a circumstantial location element on the clause level, meaning that it mainly designates where something is happening, or, in this case, where something is not yet happening. The construction of affordable housing seems in its early stages, but concrete projects have been identified and discussed here. The press releases report that authorities *explore the potential for affordable housing at the proposed Brownsville Community Justice Center* (30.10.2014) and *applaud the city support for affordable housing at the proposed Brownsville Community Justice Center* (30.10.2014). Three years later, an additional *planning study for affordable housing* (21.08.2017) is proposed by the BP. The most concrete project whose status can be traced in the corpus is the *481-unit mixed-use affordable housing development at Ebenezer Plaza in Brownsville designated for low-income families* (05.04.2018), which was *allocated \$500,000 in funds* (17.10.2016, 07.03.2017).²⁰⁴ Brownsville has thus been identified as an area in need of more affordable housing and, as can be seen from these concordances, measures have been taken by authorities to move forward with regard to this issue. Upon completion, these apartments, too,

²⁰⁴ Construction start date at Ebenezer Plaza was anticipated to be in the summer of 2017 (NY Housing Conference). Google Street View images taken at the location shows that construction had begun by June 2018.

are likely to attract higher-income residents to the area (cf. Busà 2017) based on the standard of housing and convenient access to transportation. As affordable housing construction is so dependent on private developers, BP Adams, is walking “a fine line between promising support for affordable housing that will help to preserve communities and redevelopment projects that will change” neighborhoods like his native Brownsville (Zukin 2010: 227).

In *Flatbush* (t=2.125 and t=1.921), supporting affordable housing is identified as having an important function for the neighborhood. Not only are funds allocated for new developments in East Flatbush (21.11.2017) and Flatbush Caton Market (27.10.2015), but *[t]he affordable housing will help Flatbush continue to be a diverse neighborhood where people from every walk of life can live.* (27.10.2015) The BP implies one important function of below-market rate housing, which is to support the Caribbean population in staying in a neighborhood that has one of the fastest rates of rent growth in the city (StreetEasy Rent Affordability Report 2018). The second implicature underlines that the diversity of Flatbush is threatened by rising rents which affect working people of color most severely.

Affordable housing in *Fort Greene* (t=1.308 and t=1.688) is mentioned in 2016 and 2018. Although this neighborhood is home to Fort Greene Houses, one of the first public housing developments in the U.S. built in 1944 (cf. Zukin 2010), Fort Greene has been a high-income neighborhood since the 1970s, which is why, statistically-speaking, it is not considered to be gentrifying.²⁰⁵ In spite of this, 22% of residents live in poverty (cf. U.S. Census Bureau 2019), which could be one reason why Fort Greene is associated with affordable housing in the BK_BBHPR. In 2016, BP Adams stated his belief that *at least 25 percent of any residential floor area developed due to a conversion of Oxford's Fort Greene location be designated for affordable housing.* (11.03.2016) This emphasizes the official recognition of the inclusion of such housing types in higher-density buildings, such as the ones at the location specified. Two years later, press releases mentioning *Fort Greene* tone down this previous assumption, for the BP wants to make sure to *balance the benefits of creating 100 percent affordable housing* as part of a 13-story mixed-use building in Fort Greene (05.04.2018). There is a pronounced difference between declaring one quarter of every floor in a building to affordable housing and merely wanting to balance the benefits of housing units affordable to everyone two years later. Thus, the two press releases essentially scale down the expectations for affordable housing creation in the area and re-negotiate what affordability means – because not every affordable housing unit in a mixed-use

²⁰⁵ In Fort Greene, census tracts that did not contain public but brownstone housing were gentrified in a previous cycle by mainly Black middle-class residents from the 1960s onwards (cf. Chronopoulos 2016).

development is actually affordable to the area residents (cf. Martinez 2010) – in this case, suggesting there might be the possibility to build *faith-based affordable housing* (05.04.2018) instead. The Oxford Street location addressed in the 2016 press release does not occur at any later stage in the corpus, which could indicate the BP's belief was not put into effect, for in other areas, specific projects are touched on repeatedly even before they have reached the construction stage, as in the case of Brownsville above. Given the percentage of Fort Greene residents who live in poverty, it is interesting to see, however, that the topic is raised in such few instances. One reason for this could be the average neighborhood income, which might lead authorities not to recognize the need for affordable housing to prevent the displacement of existing lower-income residents.

In an area in central Brooklyn, *Crown Heights* ($t=1.625$ and 1.613), there is only one affordable housing project that is referred to, namely a cooperation between BP Adams and local faith groups. Here, the aforementioned faith-based development initiative Calvary Intergenerational is planning a *mixed-use affordable housing development* (17.10.2016, 07.03.2017, 05.04.2018). Thus, despite a sizeable 10% of people below the poverty line (cf. U.S. Census Bureau 2019), the issue of creating affordable housing in *Crown Heights* as it is represented in the BK_BBHPR is tackled mainly in cooperation with church-based initiatives with financial support by local officials like the BP. Indeed, the uptake of one and the same clause in three press releases published over the span of three years, which discuss the allocation of funds to one affordable housing project, is indicative of the lack of new details about housing and the slowness of the process.

A prominent public actor in the field is NYCHA (0.03%, LL=604.61), the New York City Housing Authority, the nation's first public housing authority founded in 1934. NYCHA provides housing for 1 in 5 New Yorkers, with a total of 131,024 residents over 99 developments in Brooklyn only (NYCHA 2019a). Related keywords are *public* (LL=817.40), as NYCHA's buildings are the most prevalent form of *public housing* ($t=5.928$) in the city, and *tenants* ($t=633.97$). The key collocates of NYCHA provide insight into recent events in light of which the authority has become somewhat notorious for issues with housing maintenance: over the course of the year, local news media frequently report on problems with heat or water supply in NYCHA tenements (cf. NYCHA 2019a, 2019b; Kim 2019; Groushevaia 2020). It is thus not surprising that two of the key collocates are *repairs* ($t=2.641$), *roof* ($t=2.444$), *heating* ($t=1.411$). The collocate with the strongest effect size, *developments* ($t=3.314$), reflects the structure of NYCHA *houses* ($t=2.636$) as larger apartment complexes.

NYCHA does not collocate strongly with any verbs. Some might take this as a sign of the phlegmatic nature of the authority. However, those verbs that are under the significance threshold help to illuminate how *NYCHA* is construed in the BK_BBHPR corpus and thus shed more light on the discourse topic of housing. Interestingly, the low-frequency verbs also point to the faultiness of this organization.

N	Concordance	NYCHA	Date
1	ion of funds that it has committed to	<i>NYCHA</i> . Tenants need to see and trust	11.06.2018
2	sidents in public housing. For years,	<i>NYCHA</i> has fallen short of its commitment t	11.06.2014
3	further damage to it and those below?	<i>NYCHA</i> has big challenges to overcome, star	01.06.2015
4	tough road ahead, but Next Generation	<i>NYCHA</i> represents the first real road map d	19.05.2015
5	amount only represents 0.8 percent of	<i>NYCHA</i> 's projected capital funding deficit	05.02.2018
6	ice delivery to restore confidence in	<i>NYCHA</i> and improve the quality of life in o	23.02.2018
7	oach to asset management can improve	<i>NYCHA</i> 's performance in serving its tenants	12.12.2018
8	ivate partnerships to support current	<i>NYCHA</i> residents, and shared that his adminis	05.02.2018
9	ating a virtuous cycle of support for	<i>NYCHA</i> . According to a CBC study, <i>NYCHA</i> u	05.02.2018
10	MS STATEMENT ON DOI FINDINGS OF	<i>NYCHA</i> FAILURE TO CONDUCT MANDATOR	16.11.2017
11	s team for uncovering the failures of	<i>NYCHA</i> to conduct mandatory lead testing wi	16.11.2017
12	ter. "There was a major oversight in	<i>NYCHA</i> 's certification of documents to HUD	16.11.2017
13	ome because I was born and raised in	<i>NYCHA</i> housing, in a neighborhood similar t	15.04.2016
14	ugh President Eric L. Adams called on	<i>NYCHA</i> to take actions to address challenge	05.02.2018
15	rs, Borough President Adams called on	<i>NYCHA</i> to declare an "emergency declaration	05.02.2018
16	A STAT "I applaud Mayor de Blasio and	<i>NYCHA</i> Chair Brezenoff for committing to in	12.12.2018
17	BP ADAMS STATEMENT ON	<i>NYCHA</i> STAT "I applaud Mayor de Blasio a	12.12.2018
18	luxury apartments going through what	<i>NYCHA</i> residents are going through," said B	05.02.2018
19	need to approach other issues facing	<i>NYCHA</i> developments with the same energy, u	11.06.2014
20	Washington, created the crisis facing	<i>NYCHA</i> today. We cannot and will not accept	16.01. 2017

Concordance 7.5: Concordances of verb collocates of *NYCHA* in the BK_BBHPR corpus.

Verb collocates of *NYCHA* indicate that the housing authority is in a sorry state. Collocate verbs mainly add to the picture of a defunct large governing body that is too big to move. Across the five-year span, *NYCHA* is consistently criticized and shortcomings are identified. Concordances of *NYCHA* + *has* (t=1.605) show that it

has fallen short of its commitment to its tenants (11.06.2014)
has big challenges to overcome, starting with a severe shortage of funding that has let chronic issues fester and problems like these roofs grow exponentially (01.06.2015).

To the contrary, the verb collocate *represents* (t=1.408) shows that a plan out of the dire situation is identified:

There is a tough road ahead, but Next Generation *NYCHA* represents the first real road map developed in a long time to meet the longstanding capital needs, create safer living conditions for residents, and retrofit buildings for a sustainable future. (19.05.2015)

Two years later, these living conditions have not been significantly improved. Instead, reports of *NYCHA*'s *failure to conduct mandatory lead testing* (16.11.2017) became public. Another year on, the funding issues have not been addressed for the *State's distribution of funds that it has committed to NYCHA* (11.06.2018) is held up. The amount of those funds that have been allocated *only represents 0.8 percent of NYCHA's projected capital funding deficit of \$25 billion*

(05.02.2018). Urban policy and planning scholar Angotti argues that this lack of funding could, for instance, be absorbed if city and state contributed to housing in the same way they do to public transportation (cf. Angotti 2017a). However, since this is not the case, officials like the BP call for the support of private investors that are supposed to enter in *public-private partnerships* (05.02.2018) to help residents who suffer from difficult living conditions, for instance due the *citywide heating crisis* (05.02.2018).

BP Adams is very vocal on these issues in late 2017 and the beginning of 2018, especially surrounding the heating crisis that resurfaced again in 2019 (cf. Kim 2019; Grousheiva 2020). One of his suggestions is a *data-driven approach to asset management [which] can improve NYCHA's performance serving its tenants* (12.12.2018), and is later described as a '*CompStat-esque*' *model of tracking conditions and service delivery to restore confidence in NYCHA and improve the quality of life in our developments* (23.02.2018). This suggestion is even implemented in late 2018, when a press release containing the verb collocate *applaud* (t=1.401) states that *BP applauds mayor Bill de Blasio and NYCHA Chair Brezenoff for committing to initiate NYCHA STAT* (12.12.2018), a tool that helps with repairs similar to a crime mapping tool used by the NYPD. Whether or not the implementation of the tool is a direct cause of the BP's involvement and support of the issue cannot be determined. What the BK_BBHPR do suggest, however, is that BP Adams is positioned as a strong advocate for NYCHA residents and their cause in the press releases, calling on NYCHA to become active and address long-standing issues that negatively affect tenants.

Although the capital deficit that is without doubt one of the main reasons for the outstanding repairs, some of the propositions the BP endorses regarding the financial situation could also pan out to be detrimental to NYCHA residents. By introducing public-private partnerships as a solution to NYCHA's capital problem (05.02.2018), the BP and NYCHA administrators are re-conceptualizing a public good in terms of a private asset. In this vein, NYCHA

speaks of its "portfolio" instead of its obligations as custodian of a public trust. Instead of open spaces, basketball courts, and parking areas in NYCHA complexes, it sees "underutilized" sites ripe for development. It proposes building 10,000 new "affordable" housing units on NYCHA "property." (Angotti 2017a: 157)

If private developers were to act as they did in cases where they agreed on building below-market units as part of inclusionary zoning measures for tax abatements or other such concessions, it is unlikely these public-private partnerships will end up being beneficial to the public housing sector (cf. Moss 2017). In a city where land values have been on the rise for decades, it is more likely that the "private partner

is bound to wield superior power” (Angotti 2017a: 157; cf. Shamsuddin et al. 2017) and do away with the largest public housing sector that is still left in U.S. metropolitan areas.

Further, noun collocates of *NYCHA*, *residents* (t=2.789), *tenants* (t=2.433) and *chair* (t=2.437), indicate social actors that are connected to the organization because they depend on it as their landlord (*residents*, *tenants*), or because they direct it (*chair*).²⁰⁶ The majority of occurrences of *NYCHA residents* and *tenants* construe these groups as passive actors who lack the capacity to change their situation.

N	Concordance	Date
1	h 's New York City Housing Authority (NYCHA) developments for their youngest res	20.12.2016
2	for New York City Housing Authority (NYCHA) residents who live in Gowanus Hous	16.10.2017
3	ivate partnerships to support current NYCHA residents, and shared that his admin	05.02.2018
4	xury apartments going through what NYCHA residents are going through," said B	05.02.2018
5	ottery be inclusive of residents from NYCHA 's Gowanus Houses and Wyckoff Gar	15.06.2018
6	ers, New York City Housing Authority (NYCHA) residents, and other community-bas	17.10.2018
7	the 400,000 rent-paying residents of NYCHA . I 'll be listening closely to their	31.01.2019
8	many Brooklynites, from residents of NYCHA to food stamp recipients, and it dis	07.03.2019
9	es. "The tenants have a contract with NYCHA . The residents take care of their ap	05.02.2018
10	s of New York City Housing Authority (NYCHA) tenants impacted by the heating cri	05.02.2018
11	RGE MAYOR DE BLASIO TO PROVIDE NYCHA TENANTS WITH REAL-TIME CAPITAL	23.02.2018
12	s of New York City Housing Authority (NYCHA) tenants impacted by the heating cri	23.02.2018
13	za II in the City Council, as well as NYCHA officials and area tenants. Photo Cr	01.06.2015
14	ary housing is the basic minimum that NYCHA tenants deserve. Even on that standa	11.06.2018

Concordance 7.6: Concordances of *NYCHA* + *residents* and *NYCHA* + *tenants* in the BK_BBHPR corpus.

The phrasal verb *go through* in line 4 indicates an extended duration of process, while also pointing to hardness and difficulty. Collocates in the COCA, such as *divorce*, *trial*, *ordeal*, *agony*, *struggle*, *pains*, *grieving*, *rehab*, and *chemo*, corroborate the impression that NYCHA tenants face severe issues with their apartments and have done so for a long time.

We would not tolerate residents in private co-ops and luxury apartments going through what NYCHA residents are going through," said Borough President Adams. "They are paying rent like every other tenant and they deserve the same protection. These are not strangers; these are our family members who have been the staples and mainstays of this entire city. [...]

(05.02.2018)

Indeed, residents have extremely little political leverage to make their claims heard. Any concerns or issues must be directed at NYCHA or the federal department for Housing and Development (HUD) directly, thus bypassing local political bodies that

²⁰⁶ The *NYCHA chair*, which is the only way the two items collocate, was occupied by one and the same person between 2014 and 2018, chairwoman *Olatoye* (t=1.999), who resigned over pressures from a tenant lawsuit filed in the beginning of 2018. Two occurrences in the BK_BBHPR stem from this time, while the lawsuit is not commented on. After two occurrences of the trigram *NYCHA Chair Olatoye* (17.05.2015, 05.02.2018), the third contains *interim chair Brezenoff* (12.12.18). Although it could be hypothesized that *chair* is a strong collocate because of the 2018 lawsuit, two out of the three occurrences are published prior to the lawsuit. The last occurrence of *Olatoye* is published in a designated press release commenting on her resignation from office, where the BP thank[s] *Shola Olatoye for her service to the City as chair of NYCHA whose tenure charted a sound path of progress toward restoring the promise that public housing owes to its residents.* (05.04.2018) Thus, the BP mitigates the force of criticism targeted at the NYCHA chair and downplays their responsibility for the sorry state of NYCHA housing projects while also positioning himself as a champion of tenants' rights.

could intervene on behalf of NYCHA tenants if they were part of the process. This “creates a separate category of the ‘public housing tenant’ whose concerns are treated as subtly different or apart from a ‘resident,’ who is presumed to have interests and concerns on a range of neighborhood issues.” (Martinez 2010: 139) Those parts of the neighborhood that are public housing spaces, however, tend to be highly regulated spaces like the one where the photo below was taken.



Fig. 19: Regulation of public space at NYCHA Louis Armstrong Houses, 555 Green Avenue, Bed-Stuy. Photo: KB, June 2019.

The focus on transgressions in the semiotic landscape surrounding this public housing project already “structures attention” (Mitchell 2003: 182) toward a potential insubordination of residents and constructs them as social actors whose

public behaviors must be regulated by management, police, or the housing authority.

In this way, the semiotic landscape also seems to reflect the passiveness of NYCHA residents and tenants that shines through in the concordances. In the above excerpt from a press release that reacts to another heating outage in February 2018 that affected 40,000 Brooklyn residents (05.02.2018), the BP creates solidarity for NYCHA tenants by construing them as blood relations and pillars of the local population who deserve decent and safe living conditions rather than being treated like a ghettoized and passive ‘other’ placed in a “separate realm of the disadvantaged” (Martinez 2010: 145). Consequently, the BP positions himself as an advocate for NYCHA residents by demanding an improvement in living conditions for people who are the *staples and mainstays of this entire city*. (05.02.2018)

7.4 Safety: Smart guns for a safer future

Safety is another powerful aspect in discursive neighborhood construction and thus also represented in the BK_BBHPR. Fourteen lexical items can be subsumed under this header in three distinct categories which set the tone for the discussion of safety as a discourse topic. These are descriptions of the status quo (*safety, safe, safer*), threats to safety (*gun, violence, harassment, crime*), and authorities working to ensure or improve safety (*NYPD, police, detective(s)*).

N	Keyword	Freq.	%	RC. Freq.	Keyness
51	GUN	209	0.06	117	937.80
60	SAFETY	308	0.09	727	793.42
63	NYPD	208	0.06	226	764.74
73	VIOLENCE	233	0.07	427	686.62
80	POLICE	198	0.06	309	629.14
118	SAFE	172	0.05	401	446.16
144	PRECINCT	69	0.02	17	362.85
156	SAFER	77	0.02	46	339.90
227	HARASSMENT	58	0.02	38	249.89
307	POLICING	36	0.01	10	185.85
350	DETECTIVE	34	0.01	14	163.43
364	VICTIMS	81	0.02	291	158.14
371	DETECTIVES	27		3	155.65
477	CRIME	57	0.02	189	118.04

Table 7.8: Keywords in the BK_BBHPR corpus relating to safety.

Next to the key noun safety (0.09%, LL=793.42), the adjective lemma SAFE occurs in the positive form *safe* (0.05%, LL=446.16) and the comparative *safer* (0.02%, LL=339.90) and is used to describe the current or a desired situation.²⁰⁷ *Safety* co-

²⁰⁷ At first glance, it seems that attestations to safety are also connected to the keyword *crisis* (0.03%, LL=323.72). Despite the many occurrences of the item *crisis*, only one out of 106 concordance lines with the node word *crisis* can be traced back to matters of safety, *gun crisis* (19.06.2015). The incident described in the press release does not, however, take place in Brooklyn or even New York. This is a larger trend in the discourse topic. Many of the geographical locations referred to appear to be outside of Brooklyn, or the greater metropolitan area. The number

occurs most strongly with the coordinating conjunction *and* ($t=11.851$), indicating that when the topic is talked about, it is considered to be at least equally important as another aspect with which it co-occurs. The most frequent filler for the position two words to the right of the node (R2) in the pattern *safety + and + X* is the noun *security*. This is an interesting choice, for *security*, “the quality or state of being secure: such as a: from danger (safety)” (Merriam-Webster 2020: “security,” n., 1.) is a near-synonym to *safety*, which is defined as “the condition of being safe from undergoing or causing hurt, injury, or loss” (Merriam-Webster 2020: “safety,” n., 1.). Despite these similarities, it seems from the top-collocates in the COCA that *security* is more connected to military and higher-level agents, whereas *safety*, in turn, is something that concerns the individual and their daily lives. In the context of the BK_BBHPR corpus, the trigram *safety and security* is followed 17 times by the preposition *of* that provides information whose safety and security are being addressed. These range from local to supra-local actors and systems.

N	Concordance	Date
1	...d a significant risk to our public safety and security . In the wake of these	13.10.2014
2	...ew York City subway system is a safety and security imperative in 2014. In	17.10.2014
3	...station personnel in advancing the safety and security of our subway system	17.10.2014
4	...more than our ally and friend; their safety and security is at the nexus of the	02.03.2015
5	...en the community and police: the safety and security of New Yorkers lie in t	30.09.2015
6	...on, a population concerned about safety and security in both of our nations,	03.08.2016
7	...ore fundamental than ensuring the safety and security of our neighbors, and t	26.09.2016
8	...counterparts, while re-ensuring the safety and security at entertainment sites	22.05.2017
9	...more sacred than the right to basic safety and security in our country. "Brookl	02.10.2017
10	...government. When it comes to the safety and security of our streets, we can	08.12.2017
11	...ro 70, and their commitment to the safety and security of every New York City	23.05.2018
12	...nd first responders who ensure the safety and security of all New York City re	24.10.2018
13	...borne out of sorrow to improve the safety and security of all riders." On Novem	29.10.2018

Concordance 7.7: Concordances of *safety and security* in the BK_BBHPR corpus.

The first concordance line leads to another frequent bigram, public *safety* ($t=8.764$, 85.9% in L1), indicating the focus on the general welfare of the social actors referred to, and with a look at collocates of *safety*, especially residents within the *borough* ($t=4.055$), *New York* ($t=4.456$), *Brooklyn* ($t=3.187$), and several groups addressed under the group denominator *community* ($t=3.241$). Individual groups of social actors that are singled out here are *pedestrian(s)* ($t=3.308$), *children* ($t=2.654$), and *vulnerable* ($t=2.813$) groups. The node word *safety* also collocates with items from the semantic domain of improvement like the verb lemmas IMPROVE ($t=3.576$) and ADVANCE ($t=3.427$), as well as the nouns *commitment* ($t=3.106$) and *enhancements* ($t=2.231$). This suggests that there is, from the perspective of the BK_BBHPR, still room for improvement in this regard. However, *safety* does not collocate with any specific toponyms, which means that no particular area is

of occurrences of items in this category is thus likely to be higher than expected as the BP at times condemns acts of violence across the country in the press releases. However, gun violence is on the rise in the borough as several mass shootings in 2019 and the surge in gun violence in central Brooklyn neighborhoods in 2020 suggest (NYPD CompStat Unit 2020).

strongly associated with this keyword. Rather, the majority of the keywords explored in this section collocate with *Brooklyn* and *New York*, while some also collocate with *Washington* as the place where laws are passed that may have an effect on the safety of local residents. The only keyword that is associated with a particular area within the borough is *safer*, which is loosely associated with *Flatbush* ($t=1.386$, see discussion below). Alternatively, geographical hotspots for the safety discourse topic within Brooklyn can be determined by the toponym key collocates of police, *NYPD*, and *precinct*. These reveal that mentions of police precinct numbers and toponym collocates together cluster in North-East and Central Brooklyn areas.²⁰⁸

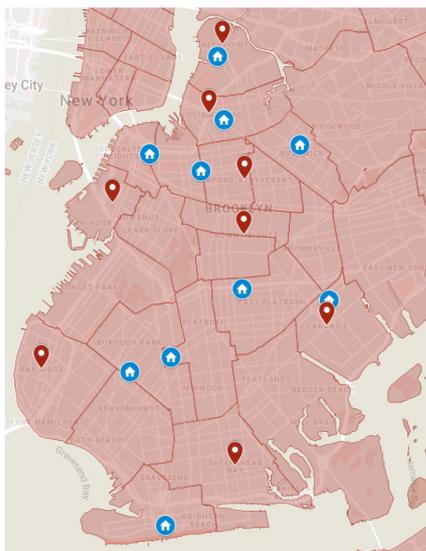


Fig. 20: Map of police precincts. Boundaries in red, precinct numbers mentioned (blue markers), precinct area names mentioned (red markers). Adapted from NYC OpenData (2020).

The adjective forms *safe* (0.05%, LL=446.16) and *safer* (0.02%, LL=339.90) indicate that there is a strong focus on future action to ensure the safety of particular groups and realms of society. Their verb collocates reveal a commitment toward a safer *future* ($t=1.698$): *will* ($t=2.692$), *promote* ($t=2.436$), *launch* ($t=1.722$), and *create* ($t=1.711$) are all active verbs with future orientation that collocate for instance with *law* ($t=1.709$), also an indicator of a desired change, while the verb phrase *keep safe* ($t=2.819$) aims at upholding the status quo. This future orientation is also reflected in the beneficiary groups, who are mainly children with a future in the borough, as in the trigram *a safe place* (16x, 26.67% in L1), which is realized as *a safe place to raise healthy children* and *a safe place to call home*, and *safe spaces* (13x, 92.86%), which also carries a future orientation in its collocates. The comparative form *safer* again circles in on *children* ($t=3.667$ and 4.097) and *streets*

²⁰⁸ On the above map, Williamsburg, Greenpoint, and Canarsie have both a blue and a red marker, while in most cases, there is no overlap between precinct number and area reference in the collocates of *police*, *NYPD*, and *precinct*. However, these collocates can also include references to retiring police officers and detectives, which is why these occurrences should be taken with a grain of salt.

($t=3.449$ and 3.867). In the latter case, the goal is to make these safer for *pedestrians* ($t=1.728$) following the many traffic fatalities in the city despite the implication of the Vision Zero initiative (NYC.gov 2019).

The beneficiaries of the general state of safety can be detected in the bigrams *safe* and *safer for*. With a few exceptions referring to mass shootings and other tragic events worldwide, the beneficiaries of safety and the improvement of safety go back to the focus groups mentioned above, children, families, and people on streets.

N	Concordance	Date
1	approach will lead our city to a safer future. In the State Senate, I introd	15.01.2014
2	king our shared vision of a safer , smarter, and stronger city possible	05.06.2015
3	that will make our branches safer , more welcoming and better equippe	20.08.2015
4	ur intersections are now significantly safer places for all pedestrians	18.09.2015
5	doing their part to make this a safer place for our children and families	21.10.2015
6	ments that will make it easier and safer for our most vulnerable populations	23.10.2015
7	every day to make our borough a safer place to raise healthy children	22.11.2015
8	work of making this city an even safer place for our children and families	30.12.2015
9	e our neighborhoods better, safer , more beautiful places to live.	06.06.2016
10	ited for that will secure a safer future for our children and families	12.06.2016
11	community in making our street safer ," said Eddie Mark, district	13.07.2016
12	solutions that make our communities safer places to raise healthy children and fa	03.08.2016
13	made our streets fundamentally safer . "Ken was more than my colleague	09.10.2016
14	work make all of our communities safer places where every one of us is able	09.11.2016
15	residents in making our communities safer places to raise healthy children and fa	17.05.2017
16	sunlight of our society, we are a safer and more just place to raise healthy c	23.01.2019

Concordance 7.8: Concordances of *safer* + *our* in the BK_BBHPR corpus.

Overall, there is a strong inclusive voice with in-group marking pronouns such as *we* ($t=3.159$ and 2.661) and *our* ($t=3.544$ and 3.857) for both *safe* and *safer*. The distribution of the groups and topics referred to in these concordances is almost equal to that of *safety*, with a clear preponderance of children, families/communities, and street safety across the entire time span. These could be regarded by the BP as especially vulnerable populations that need to be protected and kept safe, in the present and future. In 9 out of 16 concordances, the verb MAKE expresses the BP's commitment to an improvement of safety. Indeed, the act of making has an inherent sense of futurity as it denotes bringing something into existence that will then exist in the future. A range of verbs function as auxiliaries to modify the main verb and support the future commitment: *will*, *can*, *have*, *need*. While the latter two signal the requirement of this task, the verbs *can*, *work*, and *help* also indicate that making Brooklyn safer is a laborious and, as the inclusive pronouns suggest, a collective task.

Within the discourse topic of safety, several threats can be identified from the keywords: guns, violence, and harassment. As part of an ongoing debate in American society and a persistent problem in Brooklyn (Southall/Gold 2020), the keyword *gun* (0.06%, LL=937.80) is highly frequent, but has no concrete spatial focus within *Brooklyn* ($t=2.201$). On the contrary, this collocate only occurs as part

of the phrase *gun violence in Brooklyn*, focusing on the whole of the borough instead of a particular place within. The discourse topic seems to have a supra-local focus on cities, the state, or the nation, as is exemplified in the toponyms *Washington* (t=2.639), *America* (t=2.424), *Seattle* (t=1.412), and the more abstract noun *nation* (t=2.211) as places where laws are passed or shooting incidents occur.

In 91% of all occurrences of *gun*, it is followed by the noun *violence*, which is a keyword in the BBHPR itself (0.07%, LL=686.62). The L2 collocate *to* (t=8.669) shows that gun violence is something that actors are determined to overcome, as the infinitive phrases *to end*, *to fight* or *to combat gun violence* highlight. A second collocate that *gun* frequently occurs with is *epidemic* (t=2.232). In these co-occurrences, the threat posed by guns is conceptualized as a malaise that plagues the country and spreads abruptly and almost uncontrollably (Merriam-Webster 2020: "epidemic," n., 1., 2.).²⁰⁹ This construal of gun violence as an epidemic shifts the focus away from the root cause: the perpetrators of gun violence and what local authorities could do to stop them.

N	Concordance	Date
1	TILIZING TECHNOLOGY TO COMBAT GUN VIOLENCE IN NEW YORK CITY BO	06.02.2015
2	ed utilizing technology to combat gun violence in New York City. The r	06.02.2015
3	ment in the wider fight to combat gun violence across America. "We are	12.02.2018
4	Five to Stay Alive plan to combat gun violence , which focuses on the n	08.09.2015
5	co-chair of the Taskforce to Combat Gun Violence . "Preventing shootings	06.02.2015
6	ould lead the nation in combating gun violence , and there are tangible	06.02.2015
7	d all New Yorkers, from combating gun violence and tenant harassment t	27.02.2019
8	ckle mutual concerns of combating gun violence in a coordinated fashion	03.08.2016
9	ould advance forward in combating gun violence , including, but not limit	06.02.2015
10	novative solutions when combating gun violence in our communities," sa	06.02.2015

Concordance 7.9: Concordances of COMBAT + *gun violence* in the BK_BBHPR corpus.

One means of combatting gun violence introduced in the concordances and in collocates of *gun* is, perhaps counter to what one might expect, that of prevention through technology instead of regulation through laws. Between 2016 and 2017, a series of events on the use of smart *technology* (t=3.673) against gun violence are reported in the press releases. The aim of these is to develop a *smart gun* (t=7.203, in L1 in 94.23% of all occurrences) that prevents fatal accidents. In a *smart gun symposium on advancing smart gun technology*, officials and experts decide on a *smart gun design competition* (28.07.2016, 16.08.2016, 02.08.2017, 18.09.2017)

²⁰⁹ In the COCA, epidemic mainly collocates with *aids*, *obesity*, *opioid*, *disease*, *drug*, *HIV*, *cholera*, *flu*, *crack*, *Ebola* and other types of medical conditions or addictions, thus equating the issue of gun violence with widespread and/or contagious diseases that affect human beings who cannot or with difficulty protect themselves against guns. The comparison between guns and the outbreak of epidemic diseases suggests that gun violence is regarded as something sudden, that is rapidly spreading and that there is little protection from takes the human agents causing gun violence out of focus. This conceptualization was repeated in video announcements by BP Adams on Twitter throughout the month of July 2020. After a weekend of gun violence in which three people were shot and a one-year old in a park in Bedford-Stuyvesant and two teenagers were also shot in nearby Crown Heights (Southall/Gold 2020), BP Adams identifies three viruses that threaten Brooklyn: gun violence, illegal drug violence, and the corona virus pandemic (@BKBoroHall 2020).

that is reported repeatedly until, in September 2017, a team of winners is found. In the BK_BBHPR, the use of guns in the safety discourse revolves mainly around reducing acts of *senseless* (t=3.159), meaning unintentional, gun violence. However, as Brooklyn sociologist Alex Vitale argues with regard to policing, “[m]ore money, more technology, and more power” (2017: 222) are not going to improve the situation – and intentional gun violence is hardly going to be curbed through smart guns or safer gun storage (06.02.2015).

Beyond that, the collocates show other types of *violence* addressed in the BBHPR. These are, most prominently, *domestic* (t=9.213), *gang* (t=2.444), and *sexual violence* (t=2.231) as well as *harassment* (0.02%, LL=251.18). There is equal emphasis on providing *shelters* (t=1.985) and *housing* (t=1.683) to victims who are *fleeing* (t=2.447) dangerous conditions to become *survivors* (t=3.598) of violence in their homes. Those *victims* (0.02%, LL=158.14), primarily those of *domestic violence*, are identified as *families* (t=3.128) in Brooklyn. In the case of the more generic term *crime* (0.02%, LL=118.04) as a threat to safety, its collocates suggest that *hate crime* (t=2.234) and *violent crime* (t=1.729) are the most prevalent types addressed. Again, there is no specific geographic but a borough-wide focus in the collocates and a stress on *crime prevention tips* (09.03.2016) to inform Brooklynites how not to be *impacted* (t=1.408) by crime. The number of occurrences of *crime* is, compared to the other keywords, relatively low and it only appears sporadically in the corpus, which could be in line with the rapid decrease in crime since the 1990s, or the fact that press releases, where possible, tend to focus on positive content (cf. Lassen 2006; Catenaccio 2008).

Those who could be responsible for the drop in violent crime are members of the local *police* (0.06%, LL=633.36), and the *detectives* (0.02%, LL=373.12) working for the *NYPD* (New York Police Department, 0.06%, LL=769.26). The keywords appear with a low level of occurrences and a high significance level, but provide little conclusion about the work of these authorities. Occurrences of the lemma DETECTIVE and the acronym *NYPD* include mainly personal names of *officers* (t=5.376) who were harmed, received honors or went on to retirement and were thus thanked by the BP for their service to the borough. Strong collocates of *police* are *community* (t=5.859) and *relations* (t=4.354), which are zeroed in on from 2015 on when the BP and others publish *a new report with recommendations for improving police-community relations* (30.09.2015) with insights derived from a process of dialogue with the population. This suggests that there is room for improvement of these relations in light of *police brutality* (t=1.413), which is talked about very little in the BBHPR. In the five-year span, there are only two occurrences of the phrase. In both of these, the BP self-identifies as *a victim of police brutality*

(30.09.2015, 01.10.2015). *Police misconduct* (t=1.412), although a hot topic during the entire data collection period, receives even less attention and is also not overtly engaged with in the corpus, except in two occurrences in which the BP supports the innocence of an officer charged with misconduct (31.08.2017).

As one of the sites where the “moral economy of a diverse city is most contested” (Ignatieff 2017: 36), police-community relations or references to wrongdoings of police are kept to a bare minimum in the five-year collection span. Nevertheless, the repeated uptake of *community-police relations* in one press release that announces a report that aims to improve these relations (30.09.2015) and another that regulates the use of force by police (01.10.2015) support the notion that police misconduct and strained relations between police and public, despite being a topic that is potentially harmful to the self-promotion, need to be improved, especially after the death of Eric Garner in Staten Island in 2014 at the hands of a police officer and the nation-wide protests that erupted thereafter (cf. Vitale 2017).

N	Concordance	police	Date
1	recommendations for improving	police - community relations. The findings in	30.09.2015
2	The findings in "Improving	Police - Community Relations" are taken from	30.09.2015
3	GEL UNVEIL REPORT ON IMPROVING	POLICE - COMMUNITY RELATIONS September	30.09.2015
4	ctive and public manner on advancing	police - community relations. The seven-point	30.09.2015
5	do. We need to create a NYC Improve	Police - Community Relations Coalition to bri	30.09.2015
6	s which echo the report on improving	police - community relations that I released	01.10.2015
7	RSUIT OF ADVANCING COMMUNITY-	POLICE RELATIONS August 2, 2016 BROOKLYN	02.08.2016
8	inued pursuit of advancing community	police relations across New York City and A	02.08.2016
9	16 "Long before advancing community	police relations was a citywide and nationwide	13.10.2016
10	a partnership between community and	police to advance the quality of life in our neig	26.07.2016
11	advance public safety and community	police relations in the borough. He made th	02.11.2016

Concordance 7.10: Concordances of verbs of improvement in L1-5 + *police* + *community* in the BK_BBHPR corpus.

Indeed, in a span of five words to the left and right of the node word, a quarter of all concordances of *community-police relations* occur with verb phrases that signal improvement, such as ADVANCE or IMPROVE above, or with comparative adjective forms like *better* or *greater* preceding the node word. By highlighting the positive aspects of the status quo and stressing the continued engagement to advance the situation, the press releases manage to create the impression that discourses of safety revolve around progress, forward motion, and development. A look at the crime statistics corroborates this impression – the crime statistics have indeed slumped across New York City, with a slight uptick in violent crime in 2018 and 2019.²¹⁰ However, the stark overrepresentation of preventive measures and honors for retiring police officers keep a tight grip on the safety discourse in the BK_BBHPR. This could be attributed to the genre-specific conventions that generally aim at promoting a brand, or the image of the BP and the borough itself.

²¹⁰ See chapter 4 for more detailed insights into census and crime statistics.

Although this discourse topic is one of the more prominent ones, safety in Brooklyn neighborhoods is without doubt also a contentious issue that might affect how these matters are represented linguistically in BK_BBHPR.²¹¹

7.5 Groups: Homeless, homeowners, and neighbors in Brooklyn

The final discourse topic of groups contains a large number of group references and official occupation titles, for instance those of elected representatives. The groups are referred to by place of residence, role categories, age cohorts, and others.

N	Keyword	Freq.	%	RC. Freq.	Keyness
15	Brooklynites	420	0.13	0	2,721.33
28	New Yorkers	262	0.08	22	1,544.43
30	residents	398	0.12	524	1,359.73
35	students	434	0.13	922	1,185.52
47	communities	341	0.10	614	1,013.67
48	families	442	0.13	1,357	966.23
78	tenant(s)	203	0.06	143	782.70
84	youth	181	0.05	265	591.45
87	homeless	129	0.04	83	558.53
88	children	470	0.14	2,883	557.88
126	seniors	94	0.03	56	415.24
208	neighbors	94	0.03	182	296.46
220	parents	157	0.05	695	258.51
269	heroes ²¹²	61	0.02	70	219.79
286	everyone	104	0.03	391	196.07
288	riders	44	0.01	26	194.76
306	homeowners	41	0.01	22	185.85
360	landlords	42	0.01	40	161.66

Table 7.9: Group keywords in the BK_BBHPR corpus.

The keyword table provides an overview of groups included in the long list of 500 keywords.²¹³ In this section, I discuss those group keywords that have not been touched upon previously in this chapter, like transit riders or groups that are especially worthy of protection, and those groups that have a distinct connection to the borough in particular. These will be *Brooklynites*, as generic reference to residents living in the borough, as well as *neighbors* and *homeless*, a group that usually does not occur in discussions of neighborhood.

The first group-identifying keyword, *Brooklynites* (0.13%, LL=2,721.33), is distributed consistently across the corpus with a dispersion score of 0.909.²¹⁴ *Brooklynites* is used with very few items denoting sociocultural identity categories,

²¹¹ It can only be speculated whether the BP's former position as an officer at the NYPD affects the way the topic is represented in the press releases, but it often becomes clear when he openly positions himself as a former NYPD officer in the BBHPR. Moreover, he proposed the hiring of additional police as part of a *rethinking of the police force* – which was the main agenda he had when running for his office – and claimed to be supportive of the controversial broken windows approach to policing (05.06.2015, cf. also Kelling/Wilson 1982).

²¹² The majority of instances of this keyword occur as part of the "Heroes of the Month" campaign wherein BP Adams honors Brooklynites for good deeds or life achievements.

²¹³ Due to the large number and variety of occupation titles in the keywords, these are not listed or discussed in detail here as this would go beyond the scope of this chapter.

²¹⁴ A dispersion score of 1.0 indicates that the item is dispersed evenly across the entire corpus.

but functions as a catch-all denominator for a *diverse* (t=1.940) population of Brooklyn residents. The only keyword denoting an ethnic identity category is *Latino* (t=1.970), which highlights the salience of this group within the press releases and, as a sizeable group of 20% of Brooklyn's population (NYC PFF 2020), in the borough in general.²¹⁵ Besides *diverse*, the noun *diversity* (t=1.663) collocates only loosely with *Brooklynites*. When it is used, it is to signal unity and inclusiveness despite – or because of – the diversity on the ground. The BP rarely identifies single groups or individuals but large numbers of people, which becomes evident in the key collocate *all* (t=9.255) and the array of numeric terms occurring to the left of the node word. These are, sorted by collocation strength, *thousands of* (t=3.833), *hundreds of* (t=2.791), *dozens of* (t=2.208), *million*, *countless*, and a range of concrete numbers. When sub-groups of *Brooklynites* are established, these sub-classifications are based on age groups such as *young* (t=2.552), *youngest* (t=2.443), *older* (t=1.376) and *elderly* (t=1.397), with a considerable focus on the younger portion of the population, or based on socioeconomic group, such as *low income Brooklynites* (t=1.930).

The verbs that are associated with *Brooklynites* suggest that the latter are construed as passive and need to be activated by the BP. *Brooklynites* collocates with ENCOURAGE (t=3.852), INVITE (t=3.459), and URGE (t=1.981), suggesting that an outside actor, the BP, is required to get social actors to take part in activities. These are free events, such as training courses on, for instance, mortgage assistance (09.07.2018) as well as free entertainment (06.08.2015, 27.07.2016, 27.07.2017, 01.08.2017, 02.08.2018) or the participation in charitable efforts, marches, or for *civic-minded Brooklynites* (22.01.2015, 14.01.2016, 20.12.2017, 10.01.2017) applying to become elected officials. Apart from the obvious benefits of free music concerts, what the activities connected to *invite* and *encourage* have in common is that they bring Brooklyn residents *together* (t=2.339) to fight against common causes, to *celebrate* (t=2.408) and *come out together* (t=2.765).

N	Concordance	Date
1	BER TREYGER URGE ALL DENIED BROOKLYNITES TO RESUBMIT FLOOD INSURAN	02.03.2015
2	and Alan Maisel right), urge all Brooklynites who suffered property damage d	02.03.2015
3	proactively combat it. I urge all Brooklynites to get screened." Borough Presid	02.03.2018
4	r anxiety into action. I urge all Brooklynites to organize against this dangero	16.03.2017
5	laints in the borough. I urge all Brooklynites to continue raising their voices,	03.07.2018
6	nd by the people. I thank all the Brooklynites who participated and I urge all o	07.06.2019
7	ecovery and Resiliency, urged all Brooklynites who suffered property damage d	02.03.2015
8	, Borough President Adams urged Brooklynites , who have higher rates of diabet	29.06.2016
9	d absences from home. He urged Brooklynites to call 911 and/or the SCR 's pub	02.12.2016
10	President Adams urged his fellow Brooklynites to speak out against this humanit	21.06.2018

Concordance 7.11: Concordances of *Brooklynites* + URGE in the BK_BBHPR corpus.

²¹⁵ The BP also established the "Embrace Your Hyphen" campaign (e.g., 26.07.2017) to honor Brooklyn's diverse heritage and to celebrate residents' various cultural identities.

The verb collocate URGE has a distinct discourse prosody (cf. Partington 2015) in the BK_BBHPR, for it collocates with negative events, states and diseases. Accordingly, *Brooklynites* are urged to *speak out* and *organize* against plans released in Washington like the separation of families on the U.S. border (16.03.2017, 21.06.2018), raise their voices to complain about problems with rat infestation (03.07.2018), if they witness child abuse (02.12.2016) or to be proactive about health risks (29.07.2016, 02.03.2018).

Moreover, the verbs *educate* (t=2.434), *empower* (t=1.978), and *ensure* (t=1.859) collocate with *Brooklynites* who are in need of care, assistance or further skills to resolve a situation they are struggling with. The verb *educate* is used in medical and financial contexts. *Brooklynites* are *educated about the importance of donating blood* (30.06.2014), *around preventative health* (08.05.2017), Medicaid and Medicare errors (01.03.2019), as well as the use of a financial assistance app to foster financial literacy (17.01.2017, 20.11.2017), which ties in with the earlier focus on financial education. In the BK_BBHPR corpus, then, *Brooklynites* denotes large aggregates of people who come together to help one another or get the assistance they need to thrive.

One group of people that is construed as recipients of such assistance are *Brooklynites* who are *homeless* (0.04%, LL=558.53, full list of concordances see appendix C4.1). Collocate verbs show that *homeless individuals* (t=3.149) *receive services* (t=2.964) and support; are provided with opportunities, *shelter(s)* (t=4.239) and *housing* (t=2.761) in the form of affordable rental units (05.04.2018), are uplifted by initiatives, and face risks such as exploitation (24.05.2016). Furthermore, several group denominators collocate with *homeless*, which index segments of the population who seem to be most readily identified with homelessness in the BK_BBHPR corpus. These are *youth* (t=6.071), *families* (t=3.559), *individuals* (t=3.150), *children* (t=2.765), *men* (t=2.436), and *seniors* (t=1.711). Additional information on this group is provided in the collocate adjectives *incarcerated* (t=2.235) and *young* (t=1.962). The former is only used in one press release reporting on a program offered by a Bed-Stuy bakery that works to *enable formerly incarcerated and homeless men to find jobs in some of New York City's most-renowned restaurants* (17.10.2016). The latter refers to *homeless young adults* and *homeless LGBT young people* (all 24.05.2016) who receive support as part of the Runaway and Homeless Youth Act.

Although there are no toponyms other than Brooklyn and New York among the collocates, the concordance lines reveal that particular neighborhoods are discussed in connection with homelessness. These refer to Central/North-East Brooklyn (15.05.2015), shelters in Canarsie, Fort Greene, Brownsville and East

New York (15.05.2015, 21.06.2016, 23.04.2018), a Bushwick homeless shelter where a toddler was beaten to death by their father (27.10.2014), and a thanksgiving feast for those in need served in Crown Heights (01.09.2017, 23.04.2018) more specifically. *Albany*, the location of the New York state government (24.05.2016), emerges as an additional toponym reference because the BP repeatedly addresses the governor and the state government by means of metonymy in order for the latter to provide more funds to support *homeless* people in the city.

Brooklynites without a permanent place of residence are precisely not framed as undesirables who have no right to the city (cf. Belina 2011; Mitchell 2003), but as fellow Brooklynites in need of support, whose numbers have grown in a heated rental market (cf. Hamnett 2001; Vitale 2007; Kadi/Ronald 2016).²¹⁶ Indeed, homelessness levels from the Great Depression in the 1930s were surpassed during the years of the Bloomberg administration, leading to “over 50,000 homeless people sleeping each night in the New York City municipal shelter system by March 2013” (Busà 2017: 122), but numbers were rising to up to 132,660 different homeless individuals who slept in the city’s shelter system in 2019, which amounts to a 59% increase of New Yorkers seeking shelter each night over the past ten years (cf. Coalition for the Homeless 2020).²¹⁷ However, there is no accurate estimation of homeless residents who are not counted because they do not sleep in the shelters.²¹⁸

The keyword *neighbors* (0.03%, LL=296.46, full list of concordances see appendix C4.3) shows a similar preference for numeric terms to the group

²¹⁶ Indeed, the BP criticizes a group of people at a political event who oppose the opening of homeless shelters in a Queens neighborhood based on quality of life issues (cf. Jefferson 2017) and biases regarding race and socio-economic status, highlighting that telling officials to send homeless people back to East New York where they came from is a matter of deep concern to him (12.8.2016).

²¹⁷ For a discussion of homelessness and quality-of-life based urban policies that criminalized homelessness in New York City, see Vitale (2008). For a discussion of how homelessness is represented in discourse, see Huckin (2016).

²¹⁸ Homeowners (0.01%, LL=185.85, concordances see appendix C4.1), in the truest sense of the word, could be argued to represent a stark contrast to the former group denominator, homeless individuals. Quite on the contrary though, homeowners are also construed as *struggling* (t=1.412) in the BK_BBHPR corpus. Noun collocates of homeowners provide insight into the nature of these struggles, which are *mortgage* (t=1.730), *scams* (t=1.414), and *foreclosure* (t=1.411). While *mortgage* collocates with technical terms and has a neutral semantic prosody, *scam* and *foreclosure* tend to co-occur with words that suggest illegal and fraudulent activity that homeowners are affected by. These indicate that homeowners are exposed to risks with regard to their property, such as mortgage scams, deed fraud or theft which was on the rise especially in gentrifying neighborhoods like Bed-Stuy which had one of the “highest rates of foreclosure in the city” during the subprime mortgage crisis between 2007 and 2010 (Hymowitz 2017: 101; cf. also Frost 2019). These issues occur twice in the concordances of homeowner, once in 2015 and in 2018 (15.10.2015, 26.11.2018), when BP Adams describes the situation as having *reached a crisis moment in Brooklyn* (26.11.2018). In press releases discussing deed fraud, several spatial foci emerge. In 2015, neighborhoods in east and central Brooklyn, such as Brownsville, Canarsie, and East New York (15.10.2015) bear the brunt of foreclosure filings within the borough, meaning that homeowners are unable to pay their mortgage and thus have to file for foreclosure because they cannot uphold their obligation to repay the loan, effectively losing their property, especially homeowners in communities of color (16.10.2018). Instead of being represented as a “powerful force within the sociospatial dialectic” (Knox/Pinch 2010: 101), homeowners are also identified as struggling with an increasing number of mortgage scams and deed fraud. The spatial foci connected to homeowners are Brownsville, Canarsie, and East New York – again mainly low-income areas with residents of color that fall prey to predatory practices, which is reminiscent of how homeowners of color were dealt with from the 1950s onwards (cf. Woodsworth 2016; Moss 2017).

denominator *Brooklynites* and collocates strongly with *thousands* (t=2.816) and *hundreds* (t=2.225). These collocates are used in descriptions of events where people residing in Brooklyn come *together* (t=1.698) for activities or support, for instance in groups like *Neighbors Helping Neighbors* which makes up all the occurrences of the collocate *helping* (t=1.998).

N	Concordance	Date
1	ote our resources to caring for our neighbors here at home." "The grief felt thr	23.03.2015
2	ity while serving the needs of our neighbors ." "The networking event is an idea	08.05.2015
3	all education we can share with our neighbors can make a real difference in real	03.09.2015
4	event and their efforts to keep our neighbors out of harm 's way. I look forward	03.10.2015
5	cammers and truly safeguarding our neighbors ' homes. If you think you might be	15.10.2015
6	early feast, thousands more of our neighbors will face empty plates and empty h	23.11.2015
7	e fully support and encourage our neighbors to come out next Tuesday to the fr	10.12.2015
8	new standard that will empower our neighbors and preserve their voice in any fi	06.01.2016
9	t for us to raise our voice for our neighbors in the south who should not be ter	14.01.2016
10	ir own cause and be a hero to our neighbors in need." Dr. Gore, a 39-year-old	29.02.2016
11	hold-up at gunpoint of one of our neighbors . Given Borough President Adams 's	09.03.2016
12	s and I are excited to welcome our neighbors and friends from all across Brookl	31.03.2016
13	over the tens of thousands of our neighbors who have been inexplicably purged	19.04.2016
14	r the hundreds of thousands of our neighbors battling to make ends meet every d	12.08.2016
15	lives and answer the call when our neighbors are in trouble." On January 25th,	14.08.2016
16	ring the safety and security of our neighbors , and the continued collaborative e	02.09.2016
17	nds for, and I encourage all of our neighbors to be part of this ongoing effort.	23.11.2016
18	rved the homes for hundreds of our neighbors , including innovative uses of civi	12.02.2017
19	on and empowerment, weaning our neighbors off of emergency room overreliance	09.01.2017
20	very day. We need empathy for our neighbors struggling on our streets, many of	28.02.2017
21	claimed the lives of dozens of our neighbors and destroyed thousands of homes,	29.10.2017
22	NCIDENT "Brooklyn stands with our neighbors in Lower Manhattan in mourning the	31.10.2017
23	uperfund cleanup. "Hundreds of our neighbors have expressed the importance of p	08.01.2018
24	ood and feeling good, including our neighbors in need. I hope it inspires others	23.04.2018
25	g, engaging, and learning with our neighbors !"	14.06.2018
26	dams' message about keeping our neighbors in their neighborhood." Attendees	09.07.2018
27	esident Adams. "For those of our neighbors who are fortunate enough to reach	09.07.2018
28	units that will go to nourish our neighbors in need. We can solve our food des	17.10.2018
29	ther the mission of educating our neighbors how to identify and report potenti	20.01.2019
30	hich have taught thousands of our neighbors the necessary skills to make wise	25.02.2019
31	e in predatory tactics to evict our neighbors need to face criminal responsibili	09.02.2018
32	ts of a safety net that catches our neighbors when they stumble or fall." Januar	07.03.2019

Concordance 7.12: Concordances of *our neighbors* in the BK_BBHPR corpus.

The strongest collocate, however, is the personal pronoun *our* (t=7.186), which occurs in the L1 position in 60.38% of all occurrences. The phrase *our neighbors* is employed to evoke solidarity among the readers of the press releases, for the neighbors referred to in these concordances are mostly *neighbors in need* (23.04.2018) or *neighbors struggling to make ends meet every day* (12.03.2016). Here, the personal pronoun is used to establish a social and spatial proximity, as well as solidarity, with struggling Brooklyn residents: By referring to them as *neighbors*, their well-being is turned into a shared responsibility. This familiarity associated with *neighbors* is highlighted by its collocate *friends* (t=2.639), which is used in enumerations of people who are brought together in events hosted across the borough. *Neighbors*, here, takes on both a social and a spatial component, for neighbors refers not only to those living in close proximity, but to people *from all*

across the borough (31.03.2016). This is supported by the remaining spatial collocate, *Brooklyn* (t=1.632), which suggests that neighborhood is conceptualized here as something that stretches *across Brooklyn* (05.08.2018).²¹⁹

7.6 Concluding thoughts: A borough of neighbors

The overall conceptualization of neighborhood in this corpus expands the meaning of neighborhood to the scale of the borough. Spatial foci in this corpus range across the whole borough, but there is a clear emphasis on central as opposed to peripheral areas in neighborhoods that collocate with the key toponym *Brooklyn* in this corpus. In the press releases, the overall aim of the borough president seems to be to facilitate equity, and more specifically empowerment, prosperity, and community in a diverse borough. The discourse topics discussed in this chapter outline the BP's perspective on neighborhoods, what they are and what they should be like.

Equity is a common thread that runs through all the discourse topics scrutinized in this chapter. There is a clear focus on transit equity with low-income areas in East Brooklyn suffering from disconnection, patchy service and, as a consequence, restricted social mobility. Both central and remote neighborhoods are connected to the discourse topic transportation, but remote neighborhoods are far from well-connected to the rest of the borough: Those who depend the most on public transport live further away of the borough's bustling center and a variety of jobs and, on average, spend more time on public transit. Good neighborhoods, from the BP's perspective, are not only well-connected to public transport; they also receive the same treatment as others in the city. Ultimately, the analysis of the key discourse topic of transportation shows that transit equity still has not been reached, but verbs of improvement signal that the problem has been identified and the BP is advocating to establish transit equity.

Education is conceptualized through the lens of improvement that brings into focus learning facilities that are in dire need of upgrades. Schools which receive building upgrades during the five-year span that the corpus covers are construed as becoming even better than they already were before. The education topic tends not to be framed in a way that would attest to public schools being underfunded and underperforming in some way, despite the persistence of school segregation and stark differences in quality of schools across the borough. All in

²¹⁹ The spatial foci among the collocates of *neighbors* all refer to a relatively small area within the borough, the area of Park Slope (t=2.636), Prospect Park and Prospect Heights (t=1.702). These areas emerge as collocates in April 2015, when a bike-to-work event through Park Slope and Prospect Heights is organized by the community association *Park Slope Neighbors*, *Prospect Heights Neighborhood Development Council*, *the Prospect Park Alliance*, and others (17. and 22.04.2015). These unevenly dispersed spatial collocates, however, do not provide much information about the connection of individual areas with the keyword neighbors.

all, there is a strong emphasis on future orientation in this discourse topic, especially with regard to the type of education that the BP supports, which is largely centered on science and technology, and on financial literacy training to prepare students for their lives as adults, again to ensure equity for future generations of Brooklynites.

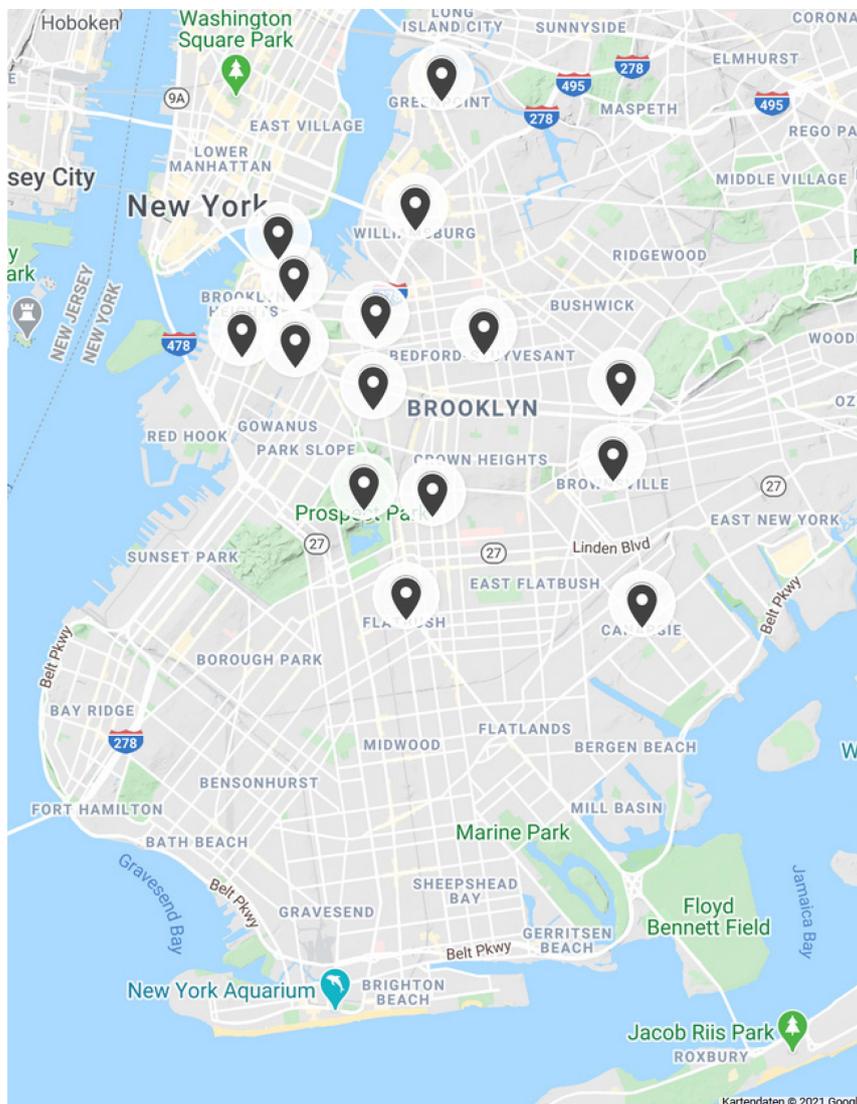


Fig. 21: Key toponym areas in the BK_BBHPR corpus. Adapted from Google My Maps (2021).

The analysis showed that most of the individual schools mentioned are located north of Prospect Park. This could be because many of these schools are located in more affluent neighborhoods where parents are able to apply for grants to direct the BP's attention to their schools, which is a common phenomenon in the public-school sector that affects students from lower socio-economic backgrounds most severely.²²⁰

In the housing discourse topic, it became apparent that the BP's idea for a good neighborhood is one that offers residents safe and affordable housing.

²²⁰ See Trinch and Snajdr (2020: 124ff.) for a description of how parents, especially women, work to change their children's schools in Brooklyn.

Following the release of an affordable housing plan by Mayor de Blasio, the BP's responses emphasized poor living conditions for public housing tenants that construed the city's housing authority as a defunct actor in the administrative sphere. Although being a vocal advocate for the construction of affordable housing units, only some achievements were made in these neighborhoods in the five-year span covered in the corpus. As collocates, verbs, modality, and tense choices revealed, there is little information on the actual construction of housing during that time.

Rather than directly addressing problems of safety or police-community relations, the verbs of improvement and comparative and superlative forms of SAFE construe the situation in the borough as one that is in need of amelioration. Verb tenses show a future orientation and commitment to protection of residents from specific threats, such as gun or domestic violence. The overall positive portrayal of the police in the press releases does not leave much room for overt criticism of police-community relations, although, as the verbs of improvement used in this context show, there is still room for improvement of the latter.

The final discourse topic, groups of people, showed what groups are referred to in the BK_BBHPR corpus. One linguistic strategy that became conspicuous across the discourse topics is that when the term *community* is used, it usually means that this particular group is experiencing a negative series of events, unfair or unequitable treatment by their landlords, city agencies or the state. The group denominator *neighbors* is used in the BBHPR to incite solidarity with vulnerable groups, which consist, most prominently, of young and low-income Brooklynites. This is telling about how marked groups shape the image of Brooklyn: the default, average person, who would then be middle-aged and affluent enough to cope with growing financial pressures. Vulnerable groups, in contrast, are construed as lacking agency, as in the case of homeless people or neighbors who the BP argues need to be supported by their fellow Brooklynites. In this understanding, neighborhood is something that is not confined to a few streets, but across the entire borough.

This also becomes apparent with a look at keywords that were not discussed in this chapter, such as promoting *opportunities* (0.11%, LL=659.18), *rights* (0.05%, LL=233.60), as well as *empowerment* (0.02%, LL=233.92) of individuals. Nevertheless, this is ever more difficult to achieve because the growth machine-outlook seems so deeply entrenched in urban policy-making. While the BP openly positions himself as an advocate for the disadvantaged, he also supports policies that bear the potential to backfire on those residents that are talked about the most in the corpus. Nevertheless, in the press releases analyzed

in this chapter, it becomes clear that the advancement of equity, the celebration of heritage and – in keeping with the Brooklyn motto “Unity makes Strength” – being united as a borough of neighbors are the guiding principles.²²¹

What does this mean for the study of discursive neighborhood construction? In the BK_BBHPR, the concept of neighborhood is construed more indirectly than in the previous corpora. The most prominent discourse topics identified are connected to neighborhoods in that they constitute the many of the underlying conditions that shape neighborhoods in concert with social semiotic practice. Local and public amenities like transportation, schools, supermarkets, and basic pre-requisites like safety are but one way of talking about neighborhoods. While the BK_BBHPR corpus does not provide a lot of fine-grained, place-specific information on particular neighborhoods, it provides information on those aspects of neighborhood life that are particularly salient from the perspective of the highest elected representative in Brooklyn. As the events, statements, and measures discussed in the press releases are viewed “by the issuer to be newsworthy information” (Catenaccio 2008: 11), they shine a light on what the BP’s office perceives as problem or opportunity for the borough and the neighborhoods mentioned. In this vein, the promotional purpose of press releases affects the content and the way in which it is presented. In addressing these discourse topics, the focus is clearly on the identification of issues without overtly admitting to negative conditions. Thus, genre constraints play a particular role with regard to which issues are discussed and how this is done in the press releases, which becomes apparent in the different stances taken by the BP in the press releases as opposed to other text types. Nevertheless, it is possible to identify distinct values that are related to neighborhoods in the data, although that link is more indirect than in other data types.

Finally, aside from the things that are overtly addressed in the BK_BBHPR, it is also interesting what is not mentioned. Based on the promotional nature of

²²¹ However, some of the BP’s recent appearances and especially his statements in other text types like interviews and speeches appear even more blunt and outspoken and partly seem to contradict key stances taken in the press releases. With regard to the overall development of the BP’s stance (cf. Jaffe 2009) on some of the issues discussed, it seems that based on the public appearances and communication in the form of speeches, interviews, and tweets by the BP in 2020, Adams has since shifted from the position adopted in the press releases between 2015 and 2019. This could be ascribed to two things. First, a difference in text type. Second, a political motivation. In various speeches throughout 2020, the BP positioned himself as an even more vocal and progressive advocate for reforms or in support of, for instance, the Black Lives Matter movement, as a result of which the street in front of Borough Hall was co-named “Black Lives Matter Boulevard” (cf. McGoldrick 2020). Ahead of what is likely to be a competitive primary for becoming the democratic mayoral candidate in 2021, BP Adams seems to have become more outspoken with regard to gentrification and other issues that have been plaguing Brooklynites, even as he has accepted large donations from the real estate industry for his 2021 campaign (cf. Bellafante 2020). One example for this was his speech on Martin Luther King Jr. Day in January 2020 which caused quite a stir: Adams told newcomers to New York to “go back to Ohio” (ibid.), stressing that the city belonged to people who “were here and made New York City what it is” (ibid.), only to backpedal on the same day that he only meant people who do not bother to engage with or even acknowledge long-time residents. In this vein, these public statements seem somewhat surprising given that BP Adams on previous occasions criticized the widespread opposition to gentrification, stating that it serves to “demonize the evolution of a community” at a speech at the Brooklyn Historical Society in 2018 (cf. Gaillard 2018).

press releases, I have illustrated in this chapter that the focus is on upgrades and improvements rather than the explicit identification of negative processes or conditions in Brooklyn. Topics that are not addressed openly in this vein, for instance, are school segregation, police violence, and gentrification. Coming to a similar result in a different data type, Franz (2015) shows in her analysis of gentrification across three cities (NYC, Berlin, and Vienna) that the term is not used in public policy documents because it is silently accepted as being “an inherent component of investment-led urban rejuvenation practices.” (2015: 168) Consequently, gentrification seems to be accepted as a necessary evil that comes with the perception of the city as a ‘growth machine’ (Logan/Molotch 1987; Molotch 2005). Despite the difference in text type, the effects bear striking similarities with the BK_BBHPR data as they further support Franz’s argument that community representatives like BP Adams are indeed aware of the detriment of gentrification and the immediate and far-reaching effects on Brooklyn residents. However, their “actual power remains limited to advisory impact” (Franz 2015: 168), and to cushioning gentrification’s blows. Thus, assessments of issues within the borough and specific neighborhoods therein provide information on what constitutes neighborhood, and good neighborhood in particular, for this powerful discourse but powerless public policy actor.

8. Consumer perspectives: Tasting the neighborhood in restaurant reviews

There are 27,000 restaurants in New York City, 6,860 of which are located in the borough of Brooklyn (NYC Department of Health 2020). In late modern societies, the food landscape is a crucial sector of the creative economy (cf. Reckwitz 2017). Restaurants contribute to this symbolic economy by catering to cultural consumption, creating both economic and cultural value for the neighborhoods they are located in (cf. Zukin 1995). Online review platforms such as Yelp.com function as amplifiers of these values because they attract millions of users who engage with the affordance on a regular basis. As one type of computer-mediated communication, the platform provides the possibility to rate and review restaurants in many cities across the globe. Zukin’s (2014) and Zukin et al.’s (2015) sociological work on restaurant reviews in Brooklyn, New York, has shown that while Yelp reviews are a treasure trove of big, open data, the affordance and the methods used to structure content are far from neutral and unbiased, and so are reviewers. The site carefully filters and curates the contributions with the help of algorithms unavailable to the public that recommend or delete reviews, all of which takes away from the transparency of the site and the review process (cf. Vásquez

2014). Moreover, the affordance's structure leads to a collection of duplicate reviews because featured contributions may occur as teasers in addition to being listed as full review further down on the site.

As an area that has undergone a “paradigm shift from a city of production to a city of consumption” (Zukin 2010: 221), Brooklyn is a popular with diners and new creative entrepreneurs alike (cf. Busà 2017; Hymowitz 2017). The review platform Yelp flourishes in an environment of this kind, and has become the most prominent service of this kind in Brooklyn, if not the entire United States (cf. Zukin 2014), where one frequently encounters stickers on shop or restaurant windows saying “Find/Review us on Yelp” or – if the restaurant is eligible for the sticker because of its ratings – “People love us on Yelp”. These are directly dispatched to restaurants with a specific business account to the site. These businesses are available for review online and their reviews can create a reputation and potential first impression for a customer-to-be.²²²

The power of such reviews, however, is not confined to the restaurants but extends to the areas they are located in. Indeed, the discursive investment of writing a review transcends the individual establishment reviewed:

Yelp reviews conceptualize and represent the urban locality in which individual restaurants are located (cf. Lefebvre, 1991). The website creates a discursive space where locality and identity intersect in terms of consumer tastes. (Zukin et al. 2015: 461)

Affordances that provide geographically structured displays of consumer taste affect neighborhood perceptions and trajectories. As “electronic word-of-mouth” (Hennig-Thurau et al. 2004) used to evaluate a product or service, customer reviews on Yelp.com play a pivotal role in place-making from the outside in. In other words, reviewers must not be locals, and if neighborhood perceptions are offered in the review at all, they are often based on a fleeting first impression only. Such user-generated reviews are thus great repositories not only for learning about the linguistic intricacies of such texts (cf. Jurafsky et al. 2014; Vásquez 2014), but they provide an intriguing perspective on neighborhoods, too. As “textual manifestations of social practices, which are in turn, related to larger socio-historically specific, material activities” (Chik/Vásquez 2016: 4), online restaurant reviews are an important genre that contributes to the construction of neighborhoods. Although the aim of writing restaurant reviews is not primarily to

²²² At the time of writing in late 2018, the affordance offers reviews of businesses that can be structured in the following ways. First, it is possible to search for a particular query term in a particular area or even neighborhood. These can be queries for a variety of businesses, ranging from dentists over gas stations to restaurants. In the latter case, a further search option is to show the most reviewed or highest rated restaurants in a particular area. Further filters include price categories (ranging from inexpensive to ultra-high end), businesses that are open at the time users are searching, order types (delivery or takeout), and online booking. An additional list opens up neighborhood lists; distance; general features of the establishment; Service of Alcoholic beverages; Meals Served; Music; Parking; Wi-Fi; Smoking and categories that include dog friendliness, liked by Vegetarians/20, 30, 40-somethings; Hot and New; Offers Military Discount, and finally Gender Neutral Restrooms.

discursively construct or evaluate a neighborhood, the cumulative force of neighborhood perceptions from such reviews has significant economic effects on the latter, and is thus also an important facet of discursive neighborhood construction.

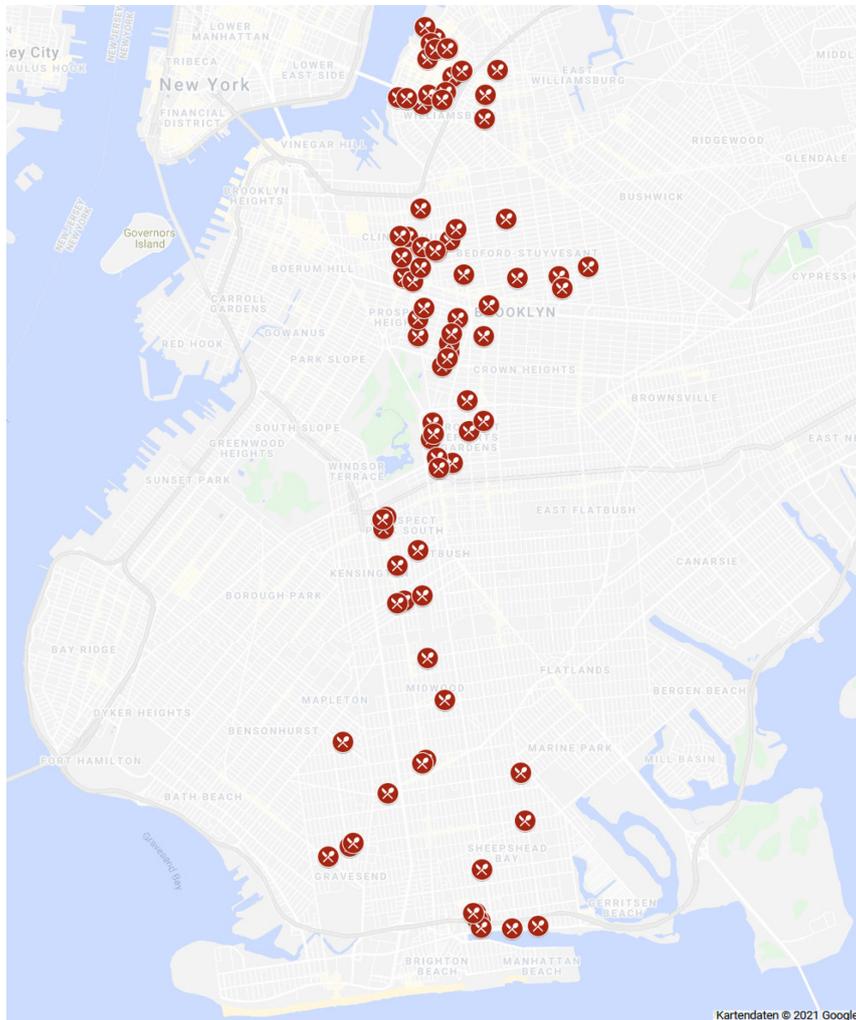


Fig. 22: Restaurants in BK_Yelp corpus. Adapted from Google My Maps (2021).

The analysis in this chapter is based on a corpus of reviews collected in late October 2018. For this, the first page of reviews from the ten most reviewed restaurants (cf. Zukin et al. 2015) from all neighborhoods along Bedford Avenue were collected. This results in a corpus of 90 restaurants with 15-20 reviews each (see fig. 22 above). The larger, more general reference corpus for this sub-corpus was collected from Yelp itself, which, as part of the Yelp Dataset Challenge 2019, offers an open release of data from the platform for research purposes. These are restaurant reviews from across the U.S. between 2004 and 2018. The Yelp reference corpus contains 1,311,265 tokens, while the BK_Yelp corpus is made up of 453,458 tokens. For the analysis, photos were removed, reviewer names were filtered out and restaurant names were anonymized, but neighborhood names serve as identifiers of review excerpts in brackets.

According to Zukin et al. (2015), individual neighborhoods are not usually named in restaurant reviews.²²³ When they do occur, they are used to signal a “perceived anomaly” (ibid.: 464), which is why it is especially interesting to find so many of them among the keywords of the BK_Yelp corpus. For instance, the lemma BROOKLYN occurs in two realizations (*Brooklyn*, *BK*) and has a combined log-likelihood of 1,200.36, while the lemma NEW YORK occurs in the word forms *NYC*, *New York*, *NY* (LL= 334.70). These toponyms provide the larger frames of reference that reviewers situate their reviews in. In the majority of occurrences of the lemma BROOKLYN, the name of the borough is used to highlight the location of the restaurant. But aside from localization of the establishments, they yield additional information on the toponym or other areas, since reviews are saturated with comparison between different neighborhoods.

N	Keyword	Keyness	N	Keyword	Keyness
1	Brooklyn	1,373.81	8	Clinton	91.53
2	NYC	387.72	9	Sheepshead	86.29
3	Williamsburg	267.51	10	BK	78.47
4	New York	142.52	11	Heights	69.79
5	Flatbush	140.17	12	NY	61.86
6	Manhattan	107.65	13	Prospect	61.18
7	Bed-Stuy	97.80	14	PLG	46.02

Table 8.1: Complete list of toponyms in the BK_Yelp corpus.

Against the background of discursive neighborhood construction, however, the frequency of such items in a corpus of restaurant reviews can be misleading. Many of the above items occur in phrases such as the following:

There's a lot of good food to be had in NYC and in BK but it's good to rate earnest food highly. (Sheepshead Bay)

The declaration in this review excerpt contains two toponyms from the above list, both of which are used in their abbreviated form.²²⁴ However, other than a rather vague proposition about the availability of *good food* in Brooklyn and New York City in general, the review does not offer a lot of information on the neighborhood the restaurant is located in. The method of analysis, then, must be adapted to a more qualitative reading of concordances in order to be able to filter out those instances where the toponyms contain some type of evaluative content referring to neighborhoods rather than just the simple location of the restaurant.

While Yelp does not draw very strict neighborhood borders, and it does happen that one restaurant is listed for two adjacent neighborhoods, I scrutinize

²²³ Although an interesting topic, restaurant names will not be the main focus of this analysis. For discussions of storefront signs, including restaurant signs, in Brooklyn, refer to Trinch and Snajdr (2020). For insight into how restaurant naming and branding affect restaurant evaluation, see Stock (2019) and Pichler (2019).

²²⁴ This can be attributed to the style of the individual commenter. In general, the reviews range from oral to written style, depending on the reviewer. In terms of register, food reviews are structured in a particular sequence, contain relatively fixed elements that are rated and described, and thus prompt viewers to using a particular jargon that focuses heavily on food. Some reviewers tell the story of their visit using features typical for narratives (cf. Jurafsky et al. 2014), others even stylize their review like a professional food review using a variety of specialist culinary terms. For a more detailed discussion of the genre of online consumer reviews, see Vásquez (2014).

neighborhood sub-corpora individually where possible. Where one micro-neighborhood is embedded in another, bigger neighborhood, and the toponyms in the smaller corpus all refer to the larger of the two, I subsume two corpora under the header of the larger macro-neighborhood, as in the case of Flatbush and Prospect Lefferts Gardens. In doing so, I avoid a doubling of restaurant listings in both areas, which happened rather frequently in areas where the affordance appeared to perceive neighborhood boundaries as fuzzier. I thus look at eight review sub-corpora that are then compared to the Yelp reference corpus.²²⁵ This yields a very small number of very specific keywords which provide insight into discursive neighborhood construction in restaurant reviews.

In addition to providing information on what kinds of cuisines are popular in one area and thus on consumer behavior, this technique shines a light on norms and expectations that are largely projected on a neighborhood from the outside in. In the analysis, I look mainly at those keywords used to talk about the neighborhood in the various sub-corpora, and then move on to focus on trends that go beyond these keywords.²²⁶ In doing so, I will again proceed from the North to the South of the borough. First, I discuss already gentrified Williamsburg (North and South), then a larger group of gentrifying neighborhoods (Bed-Stuy, Crown Heights, Clinton Hill, PLG/Flatbush),²²⁷ and finally, seemingly non-gentrifying neighborhoods like Midwood and Sheepshead Bay.

8.1 Williamsburg

Williamsburg has become a synonym for large-scale rapid gentrification and offers a great number of shopping and other consumption spaces, including a vibrant bar and restaurant scene attracting local and global consumers like tourists (cf. Urry 1990; Dalecki 2011; Busà 2017). These frequent but very specific reviewers model their reviews based on a specific image of the borough and its representation of it in *Williamsburg* (LL= 267.51), especially of its gentrified Northside, but increasingly also of the Southside of the neighborhood (cf. Williams 2013). This sub-corpus contains many references from people who specifically travel to the area for an authentic Brooklyn experience, which highlights that Williamsburg is viewed as a space for the consumption of a global Brooklyn brand.

²²⁵ Due to the way Yelp perceives of neighborhoods and boundaries, these do not correspond with the collection brackets used in chapter 4.

²²⁶ For an overview of the top 50 keywords in the whole BK_Yelp corpus, see appendix C5.1.

²²⁷ Of these, Clinton Hill and Midwood are not considered to be gentrifying by the NYU Furman Center (2015) statistics as they were excluded based on their already high income levels in 1990. Those neighborhoods that are considered gentrifying based on this calculation have had a "higher than median rent growth over the past 20 years" (NYC Dept. of Health 2018). Following this rationale, Clinton Hill and Midwood would be excluded. On the discourse level and when talking to people, it becomes clear that socio-structural changes are afoot and displacement of traditional income-groups is ongoing, which is why I classify these areas as gentrifying.

N	Keyword	Freq.	%	Keyness	N	Keyword	Freq.	%	Keyness
1	BROOKLYN	133	0.09	601.16	16	IT	2,313	1.65	237.83
2	THE	7,197	5.13	566.45	17	SLICE	97	0.07	227.30
3	WILLIAMSBURG	85	0.06	415.08	18	OF	2,235	1.59	221.28
4	WE	1,473	1.05	314.37	19	TRAIFF	44	0.03	214.85
5	STEAK	202	0.14	286.74	20	BRUNCH	138	0.10	214.35
6	D	132	0.09	286.52	21	WITH	1,409	1.00	210.68
7	WAFFLES	110	0.08	285.54	22	AND	4,818	3.43	202.33
8	MENU	374	0.27	281.33	23	BURRATA	49	0.03	194.49
9	YOU	1,350	0.96	276.34	24	S	1,054	0.75	190.21
10	A	3,780	2.69	269.72	25	BACON	132	0.09	183.61
11	NYC	78	0.06	266.10	26	PANCAKES	81	0.06	182.15
12	DO	443	0.32	260.38	27	TASTING	87	0.06	179.48
13	WAS	2,736	1.95	258.53	28	BUT	1,231	0.88	167.41
14	LUGER	50	0.04	244.15	29	STEAKHOUSE	55	0.04	165.58
15	PETER	57	0.04	239.80	30	XIXA	32	0.02	156.25

Table 8.2: Top 30 keywords in Williamsburg sub-corpus of Yelp_BK.

The keywords in this sub-corpus (138,648 tokens) that is made up of reviews from the area's North- and Southside²²⁸ reveal that the Williamsburg restaurant scene boasts of a plethora of different ethnic cuisines from all over the world (Italian, Spanish, Middle Eastern, American, French, German). Next to classic American fare like *waffles* (LL=285.54), *bacon* (LL=183.61) or *pancakes* (LL=182.15), the reviews also show a particular focus on more exquisite, premium foods such as *burrata* (LL=194.49), seafood or meats like *steak* (LL=286.74).

Moreover, it seems that Williamsburg's culinary reputation has become known throughout the city, for the corpus data shows that the area is incredibly popular with visitors. The spatial keywords of in the *Williamsburg* (LL=415.08), also called *the Burg* or *W-Burg* (LL=51.73)²²⁹ in the sub-corpus, suggest that reviewers talk more about *Brooklyn* (LL=601.16) as a whole when they review Williamsburg establishments. This shows that reviewers are familiar with Williamsburg, which they perceive to be representative of the borough. Moreover, the superordinate-level references to the borough and the city more generally, visible in the keyword *NYC* (LL=266.10) and (*New York*) *city* (LL=47.92), indicate that reviewers choose larger frames of reference for comparison, be it because of the quality of the restaurants that transcends the neighborhood borders or because they are indeed from out of town. The keywords of the above toponyms further point to the fact that many reviewers are non-residents *coming* (t=1.690) to the neighborhood via *Uber* (t=1.412) or making the *trek* (t=1.412) by ferry, mostly from *Manhattan* (LL=60.34) and highlight its destination character.

²²⁸ I use the terms "Northside" and "Southside" to denote the gentrified and the Latinx section of the area. The name "South Williamsburg", according to Marwell (2007: 88) refers primarily to the Hasidic section of the southern part of the neighborhood, and was introduced in the 2005 Williamsburg Rezoning.

²²⁹ By using alternative place-names, reviewers "signal that they have the control and power to define their localities." (Quist 2018: 249).

N Concordance		
9	s worth the experience and a very	New York thing to do. I was so excited to try
10	y it 's a great way to experience	New York . It 's also a great way to celebrate
15	full and satisfied. It 's a true	New York institution that cannot be missed. To
49	ith great people. This is a must do in	NYC but be prepared for the massive amount
65	ong, making it a must visit during my	NYC trip. Worth a try but overall taste i
14	g_nycity #ig_great_shots_	nyc #capture_nyc #unlimitednewyork
6	you want to bring someone to a real	Brooklyn bar experience. It 's always so inv
16	the warmth and hospitality that is	Brooklyn . Our decor has been personally desi
74	ust-see / experience food places in	Brooklyn . Highly recommended by Anthony Bour

Concodance 8.1: Toponyms in the BK_Yelp corpus highlighting the dining destination status.

The popularity of the area for visitors is further emphasized by the precise instructions on how to get to particular establishments or by the positive evaluation of central Williamsburg locations, as in: *Great location right in Williamsburg, so no need for a ferry trek over from Manhattan*. Reviews from tourists follow a particular scheme in which they, first, position themselves as being from out of town and, second, signal their lack of knowledge or associated skepticism about the restaurant's location. Potential evaluation of the area tends to be introduced by comparison with places that the reviewers know better than the restaurant's location. One Williamsburg review states:

I thoroughly enjoyed my meal at this steakhouse! I loved the area it was in. I had never been to New York so I was skeptical of being in Brooklyn but this is not in a shady neighborhood. We took the subway and walked to the establishment and it was all fine, this being at night because our reservations were for 9pm. Late I know, right. (Southside)

The outside perspective on Brooklyn offered here implies that the entire borough is regarded as *shady*, whereas this particular part is not, even at night time (*this being at night*). For many, this neighborhood "only a few years ago would have been considered off-limits, unsafe, or simply too dull." (Busà 2017: 82) Hence, it is not only the steakhouse that contributed to the positive review, but also the reviewer's perception of Williamsburg's Southside that goes against their preconceived notion of what Brooklyn neighborhoods are like. This contributes to the image of Williamsburg as an area that attracts creative consumption from both local and global visitors alike. The neighborhood is already developed enough for visitors to take part in consuming the neighborhood (cf. Urry 1995, 2005), because, unlike other Brooklyn neighborhoods, it is not considered shady or dangerous and can thus be enjoyed without risk. Reviewers from in and out of town also clearly signal that they came to Williamsburg specifically for the restaurant visit, which leads to the repeated use of the construction NP + superlative + *in* + NYC in Williamsburg reviews:

Yelp Family. I could not have been more excited to cross off the #1 dining destination on my NYC restaurant hit list. And [name]'s exceeded its centuries old, well-earned reputation for being the best steak in NYC. [name]'s is one of the most historic (opened in 1887) and **most iconic**

restaurants in NYC, and should be on every American and tourist's bucket list. (Southside)

In this review, it becomes clear that Williamsburg is regarded as a consumption destination that is home to many places where some of the *best* (t=3.125), *most* (t=2.418) + superlative, *trendiest* (t=1.413) and *favorite* (t=2.618) establishments of the entire city may be found. It is not just home to many great restaurants, but, as the collocates *decided* (t=1.974) and *options* (t=1.357) indicate, reviewers also frame the entire neighborhood as a dining destination with plenty of choices.

N Concordance

4	often among the best doughnuts in	New York	. These doughnuts are huge compar
5	top 100 restaurants to dine at in	New York	. It is a quaint little shop in Brookl
7	runch is a must have doughnuts in	New York	, and if you 're going to get just one
14	merous Zagat awards listing it as	New York	's best steakhouse. As a tourist it '
28	top 100 restaurants to dine at in	New York	. It is a quaint little shop in Brookl
33	ar the top of the heap for BBQ in	New York	City. Versus Hometown, Fette Sau err
34	Saturday attraction with many of	New York	's favorite eateries from mozzarella
42	best fried chicken and waffles in	New York	City, we 're serving what we like to
15	1887) and most iconic restaurants in	NYC	, and should be on every American an
17	one of the best tasting menu deals in	NYC	and everything is tasty. Favorites fo
18	worth it. Totally. Worth. It. Best in	NYC	! Peter Lugar reeks "Good for Big Gro
19	reputation for being the best steak in	NYC	. Luger 's is one of the most historic
26	ixa was one of the best I have had in	NYC	! It 's really highly rated online and
27	s easily the worst meal I every had in	NYC	/Brooklyn in all the times I 've been
30	re in the conversation for the best in	NYC	. The service and feel of this place i
38	p next time. My favorite BBQ place in	NYC	! Meats sold by pounds like most BB
40	s I missed. My favorite food market in	nyc	! So many food choices, such good vi
41	be one of the worst deals I 've had in	NYC	...FOR WHAT IT IS. Obviously if you g
42	one of the top romantic restaurants in	NYC	. Came here for the Omakase, which i
46	Chick is my favorite spot to eat at in	NYC	. Not only is the food great, but they
53	is one of my favorite places to go in	NYC	. Food is delicious, beer selection is
60	ne of my least favorite steakhouse in	NYC	. My friends and I came here awhile ba
64	ss off the #1 dining destination on my	NYC	restaurant hit list. And Luger 's exc
69	best Bloody Marys I 've had in all of	NYC	. It had the perfect combination of sp
71	ou the opportunity to try out some of	NYC	's trendiest/ and up and coming food
1	. My favorite coffee shop in all of	Brooklyn	! I love the vibe this place has- so
7	coming here for the best Italian in	Brooklyn	, no; are you coming here for delici
27	one of our favorite restaurants in	Brooklyn	. When I say good food, I mean, THIS
36	the worst meal I every had in NYC /	Brooklyn	in all the times I 've been here. T
51	vorite late breakfast spots when in	Brooklyn	. Small, quaint and really good food
83	zza favorites (which in my opinion,	Brooklyn	reigns supreme).Grazie mille, Massi
127	llet!! Hands down the best pizza in	Brooklyn	! I cant wait to go back and try dif

Concordance 8.2: Concordances of superlative + toponym in the BK_Yelp corpus.

Based on Johnston and Baumann's (2015) work on authenticity in the gourmet foodscape, some of these restaurants attract foodies because they have been there for more than a decade, while others serve culinary innovations and exotic foods. As one reviewer states, Williamsburg caters to all of these tastes, as its food landscape

gives you the opportunity to try out some of NYC's trendiest/ and up and coming food places all in one place. (Northside).

Those reviews that refer to Williamsburg as part of *Brooklyn* rather than framing it as a dining destination within the whole of New York City tend to have a particular perception of the neighborhood and the borough already. They describe the

neighborhood as a *boho* (t=1.412) part of Brooklyn whose locations take you away from *the streets* (t=1.413) and *madness of Brooklyn*.

In concordances of the toponym *Williamsburg*, it becomes apparent that the neighborhood is also framed in terms of *surprise* (t=1.409). However, the astonishment tends to be created not only by the quality of the food but also by what the food items cost. As the co-occurrences of *Williamsburg* and the adjective lemma SURPRISE indicate, the prices have adapted to reflect the area's global destination status:

Price wise it is on the higher end for BBQ, but considering the neighborhood I wasn't **surprised**. (Northside)

Pleasantly **surprised**, top notch. can't think of too many good pizzas places in Williamsburg. Normally would venture out here for brunch, [name], [name], but hadn't thought of the burg as a place to get a slice. Their specialty slice the [name] runs for about \$7. That's as expensive a slice that I know **of** or can remember, but I think it's worth it. (Southside)

These excerpts show that Williamsburg, although a popular dining destination that offers good quality food is perceived as expensive, perhaps even as expensive as the neighboring borough Manhattan. Indeed, regular, long-time visitors of these restaurants suggest that the popularity and hype about the Williamsburg food scene has its downsides, one of which is the pricing.

Horrible, overpriced food [sic] served with a grin. I don't usually write reviews but this time I felt robbed. The place is overall dirty. We stayed because we had good memories of other times, but is sad that Williamsburg now ceased to **surprise** for good things, and now will only let you down. (Southside)

The disappointment about the restaurant visit is here connected to a mismatch of expectation and reality. The uniqueness once connected to the neighborhood's consumption landscape has turned into a more upscale version that capitalizes on what was once considered an authentic Williamsburg dining experience (cf. Zukin 2010). Since they are located in a popular consumption destination, Williamsburg establishments have a wider audience and clientele that are willing and able to pay for this particular experience, a fact that is criticized by some, and acknowledged as such by others.

It's not cheap, but if you stick with appetizers and those "snacks," you'll be okay. I don't know why people are so down on this place. **It's not a budget restaurant** and doesn't claim to be. [...] If you think eating or living in Williamsburg is a **bargain**, you need to enter the 21st C. [...] **W-Burg is pricey**. (Northside)

During the shift from post-industrial neighborhood populated by artists, hipsters, and a large number of Latinx residents to a globally-recognized "epicenter of cool" (Zukin 2010: 41) now referred to in the reviews as *beyond-gentrification W-Burg* (Northside), the consumption landscape, as "the public drawing rooms of the

symbolic economy's business and creative elites" (Zukin 1995: 155), has inevitably commodified the experience it is a part of.

The wide-spread perception of Williamsburg, of *the new brooklyn* that *truly stands up to the hype*, is described with the collocates *hip* (t=1.412) and *hype* (t=1.403). As one of three components that are usually referred to in restaurant reviews next to food and décor, service (cf. Chik/Vásquez 2016) is also frequently commented on. Indeed, the key collocate *hip* mainly refers to staff and clientele in this sub-corpus. Not only are restaurants considered as *too hip for Williamsburg* (Southside), but their staff are also described based on these criteria, as having a *look that made Williamsburg* (ibid.) what it is today. In this context, the keyword *hipster* (LL=48.22) is used not to refer to exclusively to refer to a person but as a qualifying and scalable adjective:

[Name] is definitely "**hipster**" if by that one means the servers have tattoos (not sleeves but some ink) and facial hair is ubiquitous. But it's not obnoxiously **hipster**. This is how people here look. (Southside)

The spatial deixis used in this review suggests that the presence of such hipsters is a defining feature of the neighborhood in its current state and its "cultural style" (Zukin 1995: 157). Even if restaurant visitors cannot understand the present atmosphere and declare that they do not associate with it, they still come to the neighborhood, and the northern section in particular, for its food options:

I will be the first to admit that I am anything but a **hipster**. The hype over Williamsburg - from its trendy boutiques to the buzzworthy restaurants - escapes me completely. However, I will gladly travel to dine at [name] any day. (Northside)

The overt references to hipsterdom, hipness or trendy restaurants in the keywords of this sub-corpus and in the collocates of the toponym *Williamsburg* underline that this is a widely-known characteristic associated with the area. Although well-known, this does not necessarily mean that it is received positively by all reviewers. Some users openly elaborate negative experiences in this conceited atmosphere, especially with staff.

[M]y experience with the service was blunt and honestly felt a stuck-up vibe. But then again that may just be **Williamsburg**, idk. (Northside)

The connection between the neighborhood and the staff who work in restaurants here creates a negative evaluation of Williamsburg by linking the wait staff's arrogance to be representative of the area more generally. By doing so, the neighborhood's hipster vibe that is associated with styles of restaurants and behaviors of wait staff transcends the consumption landscape. Thus, the

neighborhood takes on a sensory dimension that is defined by the ironic distance of the hipster that some perceive as aloof.²³⁰

Moreover, the types of food offered in Williamsburg restaurants suggest a global rather than a local outlook, with French crepe restaurants that take visitors *away from the rush of the city and into a bohemian, soothing, Parisian setting* (Southside). The international outlook of the restaurants, many of which are described as an *escape* from what is considered to be *typical*, a “means of getting or keeping away from something undesirable” (Merriam-Webster 2020: “escape,” n., 2.), highlights the connection between a bohemian lifestyle that is detached from its immediate surroundings, in the southern section of the neighborhood with its Puerto Rican, Latinx, and Hasidic population. In the case of the *Parisian* setting above, the European imagery clashes with the ethnic composition of the area but not with the trendy dining destination discourse that prevails in the Williamsburg sub-corpus.

Indeed, concordances of *Williamsburg* corroborate that reviewers tend not to expect anything that is authentic to Brooklyn in the northern section of the neighborhood anymore:

I have been eating here for the last 6 years and it has always been consistently good. This is one of the hood's OG's and it has maintained the original feel of Williamsburg which unfortunately has been lost for the most part in North Williamsburg. (Southside)

The Williamsburg sub-corpus overwhelmingly suggests that reviewers come to the neighborhood for an experience, and more specifically, one that is representative of the “new sophisticated urban brand” (Busà 2017: 58; cf. also Zukin 2010), not one based on the *original feel* that can still be found in *the hood's OG's* [original gansters], a reference to a song by the rap artist Ice-T (1991), that were already there prior to gentrification in the Southside.

Although restaurants in Williamsburg offer foods that are considered traditional or authentic, restaurants themselves are not expected to be by reviewers. The authenticity of the neighborhood that is described by Zukin (2010: 50) as “a product with cultural buzz” has again been remodeled into a new kind of authenticity that is constructed based on what was previously thought to be authentic. Thus, in the new globally oriented consumption landscape, what is perceived to be authentic has shifted to new “horizons of significance” (Taylor 1992: 39).

²³⁰ Indeed, concordances of *hipster* in the COCA suggest that it has a negative semantic prosody in American English. It collocates strongly with adjectives like *misanthropic*, *self-proclaimed*, *wanna-be*, *pretentious*, *scruffy*, *generic*, *trendy*, *elitist*, *overrated*, *stereotypical*, and *snarky*. The top verb collocate *dress* also attests to an emphasis on clothing or a certain style associated with this group of people.

If you're looking for an authentic **Brooklyn** diner this isn't the place. It's so much better. The atmosphere is retro yet rustic. (Southside)

In this excerpt, it becomes clear that an establishment's "authenticity is generated through perceptions of how a cultural object negotiates a set of standards and values, instead of emerging from a cultural object's qualities." (Johnston/Baumann 2015: 63) Indeed, what is deemed authentic does not depend on a true connection to one's origins or the history of the neighborhood, although the retro atmosphere of the location is touched upon. Instead, these post-authentic gentrified consumption spaces collectively redefine the neighborhood as a "craft, confection, pastiche, or artifice." (Looker 2015: 339)

Restaurants that offer this new Brooklyn experience, viewed by some reviewers as being *as Brooklyn as it gets* (Northside), dish up a polished version of attributes connected to the borough's global brand-image and its more gritty origins, such as playing old-school Brooklyn rap music²³¹ and selling simple food like pizza, diner foods and Southern dishes:

They had me at chicken and waffles.... now I know the new **brooklyn** has a million options for brunch or mid day meals but this is one that truly stands up to the hype. [...] The vibe is so chill (so **brooklyn**) with Nas / Jay Z/ Biggie and that good school R&B playing over the speaker..... I felt right at home. [...] I am totally putting this spot at the top of my list when visiting **Brooklyn!!!** (Northside)

The commodification of the features that once indexically stood for the borough, like rap musicians, R&B music and African American foods, and their repackaging into an easily consumable and digestible product is what has become known as the New Brooklyn (cf. Hymowitz 2017). Contrary to Freudenheim's assessment that "New Brooklyn's food culture is pointedly political" (2016: 36) because of its eco-consciousness, it seems that it is more accurately characterized by the abundance of choice and its celebration of a post-authentic consumption landscape that, due to its popularity, is not required to adhere to the standards of the gourmet foodscape (cf. Johnston/Baumann 2015). Although the odd original restaurant of a time pre-gentrification has prevailed, the neighborhood is primarily constructed as a destination for those looking for hip and trendy consumption that is some way connected to artefacts like music or foods that reviewers associate with Brooklyn, thus contributing to the discursive investment in the neighborhood by perpetuating the dining destination discourse.

²³¹ It should be noted that by the 1990s, Bed-Stuy, not Williamsburg, had become "hip-hop's Nashville, the birthplace and inspiration of Lil' Kim, Notorious B.I.G., and the rapper-impresario Jay-Z" (Hymowitz 2017: 98) as well as the aforementioned rapper Nas. The music played in the establishment is thus harnessed for the simulation of an authentic Brooklyn experience by means of evoking cultural capital associated with Brooklyn rap music.

8.2 Clinton Hill

One of the first neighborhoods to be gentrified by people who were drawn to the area's stately brownstone homes in the 1970s, residential *Clinton Hill* (LL=209.55) is reviewed more by self-identifying Brooklynites. Both Clinton Hill residents and the odd visitor do not have it on their map yet and thus describe it as *uncharted territory* (t=1.413). The key adjective collocates reveal that Clinton Hill is perceived as *quiet* (t=1.411), *authentic* (t=1.410), and *little* (t=1.372), suggesting that the area is evaluated on a different scale than is Williamsburg, where trendiness plays a major role. In this sub-corpus (55,566 tokens), the key noun *neighborhood* (0.06%, LL=63.92) collocates with *little* (t=1.972), *quaint* (t=1.410), *perfect* (t=1.388) and indicates that the scale and the range of options are smaller, yet satisfying.

N	Keyword	Freq.	%	Keyness
1	BROOKLYN	46	0.08	267.14
2	THE	2,899	5.16	250.54
3	PIZZA	157	0.28	230.90
4	SLICE	63	0.11	212.71
5	CLINTON HILL	33	0.06	209.05
6	RE	55	0.10	205.02
7	CRAB	82	0.15	204.46
8	PEACHES	31	0.06	189.84
9	LUIGI	26	0.05	171.75
10	MEKELBURG	25	0.04	165.14
11	DELIVERY	65	0.12	161.60
12	AITA	24	0.04	158.54
13	VEGAN	59	0.10	157.08
14	EMILY	25	0.04	142.17
15	A	1,556	2.77	139.59
16	BABKA	19	0.03	125.51
17	SPOT	85	0.15	119.74
18	BOIL	21	0.04	117.04
19	I	1,590	2.83	114.74
20	CLEMENTINE	17	0.03	112.30
21	WAS	1,089	1.94	105.38
22	D	46	0.08	103.39
23	BURGER	90	0.16	99.81
24	COLONY	16	0.03	98.16
25	CAKE	57	0.10	91.78
26	COD	22	0.04	90.13
27	DID	158	0.28	87.98
28	WITH	561	1.00	86.94
29	EMMY	15	0.03	86.92
30	BUT	506	0.90	81.89

Table 8.3: Top 30 keywords in Clinton Hill sub-corpus of Yelp_BK.

First, the collocate adjectives in the reviews frame Clinton Hill as a homey, local neighborhood that can be discovered by those in the know. Secondly, the nouns that occur one word to the right of *neighborhood* suggest that these establishments are not only located in the vicinity of where the reviewers live, but that they belong to the neighborhood and its residents. These co-occurrences indicate that *neighborhood* spots in Clinton Hill tend not to cater to supra-local customers. A large number of items describing the location of an establishment follow in R1, resulting in such collocations as *neighborhood spot* (t=1.976), *restaurant* (t=1.374), *place* (t=2.397), *joint* (t=1.413), *café* (t=1.407), *Clinton Hill spot* (t=1.974) and *gem* (t=1.403). In this vein, collocates of the keyword *Clinton Hill* suggest that Yelp users frequently frame their outings in terms of discovery, as can be seen in the key collocate *discovered* (t=1.411). This is because food establishments are usually *tucked away* (t=1.412) in the residential does not create great expectations as a dining destination. Reviews that make references to the clientele emphasize that *warm and welcoming* businesses attract a *local crowd of similarly interesting characters* who sit in *cafés looking out at the brownstone houses and brick*

buildings of Clinton Hill. The act of sitting in a café described with the verb *luxuriate*, which denotes an act of indulgence wherein a person “enjoy[s] something that is appealingly rich or relaxing” (Merriam-Webster 2020: “luxuriate,” v.). Thus, Clinton Hill is constructed as an enjoyable surrounding in which residents and visitors can bask. The 19th century architecture in particular is highlighted as one of the defining features of the area and described rather affectionately as the *heart of Clinton Hill*.

The lack of expectation for the culinary landscape affects reviews positively: If expectations are lower to begin with, reviews then to be more positive (cf. Vásquez 2014).

Having grown up eating sushi all over LA and renown places in NYC, my expectations for a **neighborhood** place weren't too high. Pleasantly surprised to find the fish melt-in-your-mouth flavorful and all 12 pcs were gone in a flash. (Clinton Hill)

This review suggests that being considered a *neighborhood place* also means that the establishment is not expected to compete with other cities such as Los Angeles or *renown places in NYC* whose reputation transcends neighborhood borders. As Vásquez (2014) argues, the interjection *wow* is used in all types of product or business reviews to express surprise:

Wow, what a diamond in the rocks (is that the right expression?) I've walked past this shop many a nights and since it's near where I live, I just assumed that it can't be as good as something hyped up or something in **downtown brooklyn or park slope**. Silly me! (Clinton Hill)

Even Yelp users residing in the neighborhood do not expect quality dining in Clinton Hill but in affluent Brooklyn neighborhoods like downtown Brooklyn or Park Slope. The assumption that some Brooklyn neighborhoods are more likely to generate “public attention or support for a [...] business” (Merriam-Webster 2020: “hype,” n., 3.) than Clinton Hill suggests that although the neighborhood has received some attention by consumers, it is still not a destination widely known for its restaurant landscape.

N	Concordance	gem
1	old New York. Anyhow, [name] is a	gem in a Brownstone basement. I will not
2	d a great job. Love this place, such a	gem with such good quality sushi for rela
3	m nom! What can I say. This place is a	gem . Get in before all the cool table kids
4	looking for workspace in BK... such a	gem !! Loved the antique vibe, great music
5	ese! Earl Grey scones!) This is such a	gem of a spot that I conducted two of my
6	ll as a clean bathroom make this a	gem . Fell in love with this place and its
7	. I loved this pizza, literally my fav	gem , but I could never support a restaura
8	tan prices. Love the fact this hidden	gem is walking distance from us, we 'll h
9	ally have discovered this Clinton Hill	gem . I 'd say the only thing [name] i
10	bag. Wow people-- what a neighborhood	gem ! First of all! The atmosphere is so u
11	taly for the day. This place is a real	gem . Delicious, fresh food. Great wine. C
12	is hood. How did I not know about this	gem hidden on this quiet little street in
13	ite lucky to live two blocks from this	gem because it's become my go to spot af
14	we are to live near this little Tuscan	gem . They served my celiac wife a fantast

Concordance 8.3: Concordances of *gem* in the Clinton Hill sub-corpus.

Therefore, undiscovered establishments in Clinton Hill are described as valuable and rare stones like diamonds or gems, which underscores the impression that Clinton Hill is not perceived as an area whose consumption spaces have come to represent the neighborhood:

And. Here. We..... GO *Joker Voice* What can I say. This place is a **gem**. Get in before all the cool table kids ruin it and pack out the place causing increased prices. This is a somber place with some banging ass food. The type of location perfect for a date or chill time with friends. (line 3, Clinton Hill)

The description of restaurants as a *gem* (0.03%), an “unusually desirable” object that can be “polished for ornament” (Merriam-Webster 2020: “gem,” n., 1.) evokes two different discursive constructions of the neighborhood. First, it entails that in a place that is known for being a low-key, residential neighborhood, quality food spots are a rare and thus a precious discovery that is best enjoyed before a larger crowd becomes aware of it. The construal of a restaurant as a *gem*, then, also seems to indicate a certain hiddenness from plain view, that is, from *all the cool table kids* whose patronage can have effects such as an increase in prices. This concern reminisces of Williamsburg, where some establishments seem to have already entered on such a trajectory. Secondly, following Zukin et al.’s (2015)’s interpretation, it could imply that Clinton Hill is seen as a raw prototype that is yet to be polished and to become a more refined destination for eating out through discursive investment and development that would in turn create a public recognition for its dining destination status. However, “one of the first New York neighborhoods to experience the process—even before the term gentrification had gained currency” (Freeman 2006: 47f.), Clinton Hill is far from being an unpolished area but one that does not seem to have taken on a reputation as a place for cultural consumption yet.

Other Yelp users suggest that this development might have already been set in motion by processes of gentrification. Thus, in line with the transformation of Brooklyn, classic consumption spaces like bodegas that used to cater to the population’s necessity tastes have turned into consumption spaces that cater to luxury tastes (cf. Bourdieu 1984), even in residential neighborhoods. According to one reviewer,

[f]irst off I just need to say that coming from a Brooklynite this is one of the best examples of how NYC (especially Brooklyn) has changed. The location of this place was unexpected even knowing firsthand the changing of the borough. Most would say this is all for the better but I will have to admit that I do kind of miss the old New York. Anyhow, [name]s is a **gem** in a Brownstone basement. I will not say "it is hard to find" or "you may miss it" because we are all walking around with GPS systems in our pocket. Just look down for what appears to be a bodega. Upon entering you will find a deli/grocery store selling an assortment of carefully selected foods and

unique (mostly local) condiments, coffee, select kitchen goods, etc. Continue through the store and you will find a bar and restaurant. What looks to be just a pretty cool hangout spot will become very surprising shortly after ordering. (Clinton Hill)

In this excerpt from a very elaborate and detailed review,²³² – there are four paragraphs of roughly 100 words per food item each, resulting in about 600 words total – this Yelp user positions themselves as a *Brooklynite* who is able to assess the evolution of this particular Brooklyn neighborhood. Although it is a part of the New Brooklyn, not the Old New York, the reviewer views the establishment, a bodega-turned restaurant, as representative of the (positive) changes in the borough because it adheres to its local origins and tradition, thereby creating a hybrid consumption experience. In this vein, a transition to a middle- or upper-middle class neighborhood whose residents consume *selected* and *unique* food items that serve as “markers of social status” (Naccarato/Lebesco 2020: 2; cf. Bourdieu 1984) is ultimately construed as a favorable neighborhood trajectory, given the positive evaluation of the gourmet food offered at the bodega-turned-restaurant. The reference to surprise here and to precious jewels in other reviews suggest that Clinton Hill does not seem to be widely regarded as a place of and for consumption, but as a residential area interspersed with small, inconspicuous but quality locales such as the one reviewed here.²³³

8.3 Bedford-Stuyvesant

From the 2000s onwards, *Bed-Stuy* (LL=201.77) has undergone changes that also brought a growing number of new restaurants whose cuisines play with or even transcend the focus on soul food in this historically Black neighborhood.²³⁴ As the reviews in this sub-corpus (52,474 tokens) show, new spaces of consumption have challenged the existence of Bed-Stuy restaurants as “traditional space[s] for performing a black, African-American identity” (Zukin 2014: 144). From the overview of keywords, the cuisines and foods represented in the sub-corpus are deli foods, barbecue, pizza, brunch, French, and soul food, suggesting that there are a variety of options for diners in the area.

²³² The review contains many of the features that Vásquez (2014) identifies in her study of Yelp reviews, for instance, the involvement of the reader in the reviewer’s narrative about the restaurant visit through second-person pronouns. Such reviews indicate that the writing of reviews can be regarded as much of an aesthetic and cultural practice than the act of consumption itself.

²³³ This example supports Naccarato and Lebesco (2020: 8) who argue that the current upper-middle class in America now determines food quality “less by abundant quantity and global provenance and more by sourcing (the more local, the better), artisanality (the smaller the run, the better), taste (with organic methods favored), sustainability, healthiness, and the mindfulness with which it is eaten.”

²³⁴ Historically, soul food “involved making do with what one had and finding tasty uses for the parts of animals cast off by masters to slaves; [...] was inexpensive and demonstrated ingenuity and creativity.” (Naccarato/Lebesco 2020: 54)

N	Keyword	Freq.	%	Keyness	N	Keyword	Freq.	%	Keyness
1	BROOKLYN	77	0.15	475.28	16	AND	1,940	3.67	144.39
2	PEACHES	71	0.13	459.38	17	KATZ	21	0.04	141.23
3	KOLACHE	65	0.12	437.20	18	CHEESE	123	0.23	132.42
4	GRITS	87	0.16	382.27	19	SWEET	95	0.18	128.38
5	PASTRAMI	68	0.13	341.09	20	SANDWICH	92	0.17	125.07
6	THE	2,802	5.30	286.30	21	BRISKET	49	0.09	119.49
7	RE	69	0.13	285.83	22	DELICIOUS	142	0.27	116.93
8	KOLACHES	35	0.07	235.40	23	SAVORY	37	0.07	109.87
9	DOUGHNUTS	37	0.07	227.75	24	HOT	96	0.18	103.74
10	BED-STUY	30	0.06	201.77	25	SPEEDY	23	0.04	103.01
11	FRENCH	69	0.13	176.14	26	WAS	1,027	1.94	101.60
12	L'ANTAGONISTE	25	0.05	168.14	27	TOAST	44	0.08	99.22
13	BRUNCH	73	0.14	163.41	28	NEIGHBORHOOD	40	0.08	97.54
14	I	1,583	3.00	162.73	29	SPICY	69	0.13	94.99
15	PIZZA	125	0.24	155.19	30	SPOT	73	0.14	93.93

Table 8.4: Top 30 keywords in Bed-Stuy sub-corpus of Yelp_BK.

Despite the array of available options, the key collocates of *Bed-Stuy* suggest that it has been just as much under the radar as nearby Clinton Hill, at least with regard to the knowledge about the area that reviewers display in this sub-corpus. *Bed-Stuy* collocates with *gem* ($t=2.446$), *hidden* ($t=2.234$), and *special* ($t=1.406$), suggesting that it is a neighborhood where patrons discover new things; either because they had not expected this type of quality in Bed-Stuy or because they did not know a particular food spot existed and is thus worth cherishing and preserving. Despite being patronized by *locals* ($t=1.413$), the references to *Manhattan* (LL=60.46) among the keywords of the Bed-Stuy sub-corpus indicate that the area's restaurants have attracted the attention from diners across the East River:

- I would definitely make the trip from **Manhattan** here again! (Bed-Stuy)
- Priced a heck of a lot better than the usual suspects in **Manhattan**. (Bed-Stuy)
- I never tasted anything like that not even in **Manhattan**. (Bed-Stuy)

These excerpts suggest that the restaurant landscape attracts visitors from outside the borough, a notion that is supported by the present progressive verb form *coming* ($t=1.401$) that collocates with Bed-Stuy. One reviewer claims they would *definitely recommend this nifty establishment to anyone coming down to the Stuy* (Bed-Stuy). What is more, visitors seem to appreciate area restaurants because there is food that cannot find its match *even in Manhattan*, which implies that the borough across the East River is stereotypically viewed as the borough for culinary delights that come at a price (cf. Naccarato/Lebesco 2020). Bed-Stuy, on the contrary, impresses with good quality food and affordability, which is likely because the rents are still significantly lower in this part of Brooklyn than in the neighboring borough (cf. NYC PFF 2020). Talking about restaurants in comparison with Manhattan is also frequently done in Williamsburg, which could indicate that Bed-Stuy is also viewed as or is becoming a place that is appropriated by visitors through consumption (cf. Urry 2005).

The keyword *neighborhood* (LL=97.54) co-occurs with superlative forms like *favorite* (t=1.986) and *best* (t=1.966) that show the popularity of the establishments in the neighborhood. Unlike Williamsburg, Bed-Stuy restaurants have a more local appeal because they are not exclusively compared to the whole of the city. The collocates, which can be realized both as nouns or adjectives, reveal that some of the restaurants are described as a *neighborhood favorite*, or *favorite neighborhood spot(s)* that enable social exchange between neighbors. Beyond that, discursive constructions of neighborhood in this sub-corpus also allude to the discourses of Bed-Stuy as the urban ghetto, that, because it was known for “high incarceration rates and an illegal drug epidemic” up until the 1990s, “could not attract new residents or businesses.” (Zukin 2014: 144) This public image still lingers in the minds of some reviewers who engage in “discursive redlining” (Jones/Jackson 2012: 85) of Bed-Stuy and its culinary landscape by alerting other Yelpers not to visit the area. These warnings about or suggestions on how to navigate disadvantaged areas stigmatize a neighborhood and its residents. Discursive redlining also tends to discourage business and investment in the area (cf. Zukin et al. 2015). This behavior is so wide-spread that it is directly addressed in one review which refutes racial anxieties about the neighborhood:

If you are debating coming here bc of some of the one star reviews, the **neighborhood**, etc. Relax. Everything about this place is great. (Bed-Stuy)

This excerpt aims to resolve the internal struggle that potential customers seem to face when deciding whether or not to venture into Bed-Stuy to dine at this establishment that gets mixed ratings on the website. The racial anxieties (cf. Lin/Kubota 2013) of the review’s readers are alluded to in the subordinate clause implies that some readers harbor negative attitudes towards Bed-Stuy based on the persisting “urban racial archetype” (Zukin 2014: 144) of the Black ghetto. The following imperative clause introduced by *[r]elax* supports the reviewer’s presumption of racial angst, for relaxation denotes the act of relieving oneself from “nervous tension, or anxiety” (Merriam-Webster 2020: “relax,” v., 4.). In an all-encompassing declaration that includes the restaurant or also the entirety of the neighborhood, the reviewer works against the stigma. Thus, the reviewer engages in a form of discursive investment in the medial representation of the area and the tastes connected to it that, ultimately, may contribute to the process of gentrification that is “socially constructed by capital, state policy, media images, and consumers’ tastes” (Zukin et al. 2015: 462).

Giving advice with the help of imperative clauses is common to the restaurant reviews in the BK_Yelp corpus and in online reviews in general (cf. Vásquez 2014). Somewhat surprisingly, reviewers also engage in discursive

redlining (cf. Jones/Jackson 2012) when they had positive food experiences. In such cases, the stigma that is associated with the establishments' location casts a shadow on the evaluation of the business. In a non-commercial, residential area on the corner of gentrifying Clinton Hill and Bed-Stuy with medium to tall building heights, a doughnut store across the street from a public housing development is described thus:

Definitely some BIG donuts here! The name of the place gives it away. Many different options, with great seasonal flavors. The dough is soft and chewy. It's take out only. There is a dirty bench outside the store that you can sit on. No bathrooms. It's not in a great **neighborhood**, so be in and out. Overall I would recommend grabbing some donuts for a party or get together. (Bed-Stuy)

Although the establishment is take-out only, the lack of (clean) seating and bathrooms are highlighted as negative features that are foregrounded over the positive aspects – big donuts. The supposed lack of cleanliness outside the store suggests that the reviewer judges the immediate surroundings as uninviting, which is a stark contrast to the general tone of reviews in this sub-corpus that seldom describe the vibe or the ambiance of a particular establishment in such direct, negative fashion. This could be explained by racial anxieties that continue to be connected to such Black urban locales as Bed-Stuy that are discursively maintained as not being *great neighborhood[s]*.

The overall negative impression of the area is underlined by the reviewer's concluding recommendation for other customers' behaviors. In the adverbial phrase *so be in and out*, patrons are advised to enter and exit the store and general surroundings quickly. The imperative clause emphasizes that the reviewer presents the reason for this behavioral recommendation as a direct consequence of their perception of the store's location. This reaches beyond the general aesthetics, suggesting that the reviewer might deem the neighborhood unsafe. This may be linked to their impression of a corner that has not yet undergone gentrification, or preconceptions of Bed-Stuy that lead to quick judgments based on appearances, for instance with regard to the perceived safety of the area. This act of discursive redlining shows that, if not overlapped by more recent discourses about an area, as is the case in the former working-class neighborhood of Williamsburg, past conceptualizations can still affect present discourses linked to neighborhoods.

A larger trend in the Bed-Stuy sub-corpus is that 'traditional' restaurants are evaluated differently from, for instance, European restaurants that are seen as harbingers of gentrification. In the following I contrast neighborhood perceptions in reviews of one soul food and one French restaurant which stood out in the keywords specifically, *Peaches* (LL=459.38) and *L'Antagoniste* (LL=168.14).

Reviews of these restaurants make visible the struggle for the “moral ownership” (Zukin 2014: 145) of Bed-Stuy. At the time of writing, Peaches, jointly owned by a Black and a White chef, “is a perfect distillation of black and white strains of gentrification” (Hymowitz 2017: 102). The restaurant has three locations in Bed-Stuy that focus on slightly different kinds of modernized southern dishes each. These newly opened restaurants are evaluated favorably due to their coherence with history and the expectations that their customers have of the neighborhood:

Brooklyn has changed sooooo much but for the better now that places like this are popping up all over. Never in a million years would this place survive in a back in the day Bed stuy lol. Exterior of the place looks like your regular degular lowkey soulfood spot. Which means the food must speak for itself and you don't need huge advertising outside. (Bed-Stuy)

This review contains another affirmation of the positive changes of the neighborhood that becomes visible in the opening of new but unpretentious soul food restaurants. The fact that these kinds of restaurants *are popping up all over* the neighborhood suggests that the culinary landscape of the residential area is in transition, and the neighborhood’s image is changing into a version that attracts investment and foodies from outside the area. A chic soul food restaurant that caters both to the Black community and members of the so-called creative class that have moved into the neighborhood would not have been able to have business in previous times for reasons that the reader is left to speculate about. The incompatibility of the new restaurants with the past of the neighborhood is highlighted by the emphatic adverb phrase *never in a million years* and further reinforced by discourse marker *lol* which acts as a booster to propositional content of this conversational implicature (cf. Grice 1989).

Moreover, the establishment is criticized for their decrease in quality by locals who lament that soul food is now merely used as a “historic trope” (Zukin 2014: 137). The following review of Peaches highlights how “even reviewers who explicitly support Black-owned restaurants, and therefore support, at least by implication, the neighborhood’s ‘traditional’ character, offer negative comments about some of these restaurants’ food and service.” (Zukin et al. 2015: 473) The popularity of this long-standing restaurant is indirectly connected to the decline of food quality and service:

I come here all the time for the past 3 years and bring my friends and family here for the first time and let them know this is a Bed-Stuy staple restaurant. Unfortunately the service doesn't live up to it and my guests and I are underwhelmed. [...]

I really can't get down with the service here anymore and I'm surprised it has not improved. It used to feel like home, southern comfort food where momma, auntie, and grandma always talk to you, ask if you want more food and how the food is. You know, southern comfort. Don't really feel that anymore here. Their famous shrimp and grits is losing flavor with every visit. [...]

This particular area of bed-stuy is getting more and more new restaurants serving southern style comfort food with great staff and I would hate to see our Peaches become the has-been restaurant that lost its good reputation all because of the subpar service and inconsistency in food quality. It's not just me, many bed-stuy locals I know and meet at different restaurants are feeling the change too! It's like Beyoncé putting out subpar music and concerts expecting us just to accept it since she has a 20 year reputation and already has devoted fans for life so no need for her to work hard to please us. Yeah. That's what Peaches feels like now. We all know and love you, just doesn't seem like you love (me) back! (Bed-Stuy)

With growing success, the restaurant has become inconsistent, a shift that is linked to the management resting on their laurels, perhaps because they now attract a wide and supra-local audience (an implied *them*) and might not focus enough on pleasing the group of already existing *devoted fans for life (me, us)*. As the review shows, it can be difficult to “balanc[e] the social capital of the traditional black community and the cultural capital of new networks of foodies and the ‘creative class.’” (Zukin 2014: 144)

Bed-Stuy also attracts cuisines that are regarded as ill-fitting with the area and are thus evaluated critically by those familiar with the neighborhood. The French restaurant *L'Antagoniste* (LL=168.14) has also gained a reputation that attracts diners to the neighborhood with upscale French food and wines. After closing down their restaurant in NoHo (North of Houston Street), Manhattan, the owners who live in Bed-Stuy opened up this restaurant (cf. Greenhouse 2017) that sees itself *first as a neighborhood restaurant* (Bed-Stuy). Indeed, “Yelp reviewers in Bed-Stuy are sharply divided between support for, and criticism of, new restaurants precisely because they encourage gentrification.” (Zukin et al. 2015: 473) In this vein, the divergence between the type of cuisine and the location is taken up by reviewers who draw on imperialism discourses when talking about the restaurant:

What kind of twisted trend is this? Yet another European restaurant pops up in the hood. And the irony is far from lost on me, a place that celebrates social antagonists located on Malcolm X Blvd. Well, despite its very presence reminding me of imperialism, the food is just ok. The service likewise. I've been here twice now. We will not be back. Certainly not worth the hype. But hey, the Emperor has some new clothes. (Bed-Stuy)

As becomes conspicuous from this review, this restaurant is part of a larger development of new European restaurants moving into Bed-Stuy. Thus, the area is construed as in the process of becoming a neighborhood that is attracting businesses and diners from outside the area, which is a stark difference to previous stages. In the COCA corpus, the verb *pop up* collocates with adverbs that indicate astonishment and ubiquity such as *everywhere, suddenly, anywhere, wherever, frequently, unexpectedly, instantly*, suggesting that the establishment has appeared suddenly. Moreover, the fact that both *Peaches* and *L'Antagoniste* are

described as having popped up suggests that the neighborhood²³⁵ is undergoing rapid transformation.

The assessment of European-style restaurants opening in Bed-Stuy as a *twisted trend* construes their movement into the neighborhood as negative series of events that is perceived to be short-lived – a craze that will soon pass. The premodifying adjective *twisted*, meaning “mentally or emotionally unsound or disturbed” (Merriam-Webster 2020: “twisted,” adj.), presents a further devaluation of the process. By pathologizing the movement of such restaurants into Bed-Stuy, the reviewer does not only highlight the perceived illegitimacy of these practices that, as a form of “alternative consumption becomes a means of excluding others from their space” (Zukin 2008: 745). Despite the restaurant’s apparent attempt to create an authentic connection to its location by showcasing antagonism as a common denominator, the location of a European restaurant celebrating a range of foreign political activists on a street named after one of the most influential and iconic human rights activists in the U.S. constitutes a clash between the location and neighborhood norm for this reviewer.

What is more, the presence of the French restaurant is linked to a force aiming to extend its power in foreign territory, either by “territorial acquisitions or by gaining indirect control over the political or economic life of other areas” (Merriam-Webster 2020: “imperialism,” n., 1.). Opening a European restaurant in a historically Black neighborhood is regarded as imperialist practice, perhaps because serving white European food encroaches on the Black neighborhood, here framed as territory that is threatened by the arrival of the restaurant. In this light, the last sentence that refers to Anderson’s (1837) fable “The Emperor’s New Clothes” can be interpreted twofold. On the one hand, it could relate to the *hype* about the restaurant that the reviewer finds unjustified. On the other, it could – in line with the imperialist discourses evoked in the first line of the review – suggest that the white emperor moving into new, foreign territory is trying to disguise the fact that this is indeed an act of conquest. Indeed, the restaurant’s claim to authenticity that is based on the connection to the place via the reference to antagonism is one way of claiming the space as their own (cf. Zukin 2010). From this perspective, the many positive reviews of this French restaurant serve as additional discursive investments in Bed-Stuy in that contribute to the image of an attractive, hip neighborhood and, by extension, the imperialist practice of (white) affluent people taking over what is not rightfully theirs.

²³⁵ *Hood* is also a way of referring to a (formerly) deprived inner-city neighborhood (Merriam-Webster 2020: *hood*, n., 3.). While it would be fitting to read it the review this way, whether or not the reviewer intended to allude to this sense of the word can only be speculated.

The legitimacy of a European restaurant located in Bed-Stuy, and being at this particular location at that, are not questioned by all reviewers alike. While some only evaluate the food and encourage others to venture into Bed-Stuy, others regard the location as a source of authenticity that adds to the positive evaluation of the restaurant:

L'Antagoniste is a cool, cozy, clearly french inspired hideout on Malcolm X Avenue. Right across from a Crown Fried Chicken, for complete Brooklyn authenticity, which I love! (Bed-Stuy)

Another establishment across the street, a *Crown Fried Chicken* franchise, is listed as a source of authenticity for the French restaurant. Originally from Brooklyn, Crown Fried Chicken joints are a typical feature of American inner-city areas along the East Coast also known as “ghetto chicken” (Smith 2011: 387).²³⁶ The *Brooklyn authenticity* that is inherent in the location seems to rub off on the French business that is framed by other reviews as out of place (cf. Stock 2019). The legitimization of its presence²³⁷ is thus achieved discursively by linking it to a fast food joint nearby. Thereby, the European restaurant, despite being connected to discourses of imperialism, is positioned as being less of a threat to the African-American identity of Bed-Stuy, but a place to be discovered for diners from Manhattan and elsewhere who are keen enough to venture deep into the neighborhood, bringing Bed-Stuy one “destination restaurant” (Greenhouse 2017) closer to becoming a dining destination neighborhood whose rhythm is dictated by creative consumption.

8.4 Crown Heights

The transitioning *Crown Heights* (LL=139.76) area is characterized by an emphasis on surprise and discovery. Like in Bed-Stuy, reviewers tend not to expect good quality foods in the area and are consequently surprised by positive experiences. Their reviews thus contribute to the discursive investment in a slowly gentrifying neighborhood (cf. NYU Furman Center 2015). As opposed to the previous area investigated, the emphasis in this sub-corpus (57,487 tokens) is not on coherence with the area’s historical ethnic makeup as West Indian and African-American neighborhood, but on places that go against reviewers’ expectations,

²³⁶ Research on culinary practices in the U.S. suggests that non-white low-income neighborhood residents often rely on the “cheap, processed foods to feed their families.” (Naccarato/Lebesco 2020: 44)

²³⁷ In June 2019, a Bed-Stuy resident who lives in the eastern part of the neighborhood revealed to me that – much to their chagrin – a bar had recently opened next to their house that attracts mainly groups of young male college students from Manhattan. The first thing the owners did was to paint “BED-STUY” all over their windows, which annoyed the resident who could not understand why the connection to the area needed to be re-established in this manner, as if the location of the bar was not enough credibility and legitimization by itself (KB, Fieldnotes 2019). This speaks to the argument that a connection between a particular object and place can be a crucial component of the object’s authenticity (cf. Johnston/Baumann 2015), which is perhaps one of the reasons why the bar owners put so much emphasis on the connection to the neighborhood.

particularly those associated with gentrification that threaten the existing neighborhood identity.

N	Keyword	Freq.	%	Keyness
1	CRAB	117	0.20	347.02
2	THE	3,111	5.36	337.10
3	RE	80	0.14	332.37
4	JERK	72	0.12	328.43
5	BROOKLYN	55	0.09	321.28
6	DOMINICAN	46	0.08	284.64
7	PANCAKES	71	0.12	257.49
8	PIZZA	156	0.27	220.58
9	MAYFIELD	35	0.06	220.04
10	WAS	1,263	2.18	214.79
11	PIE	67	0.12	199.88
12	I	1,756	3.03	190.34
13	RICE	118	0.20	182.70
14	CARIBBEAN	35	0.06	179.34
15	OXTAIL	29	0.05	165.76
16	CAKE	78	0.13	157.74
17	ROLL	71	0.12	152.31
18	SHACK	28	0.05	148.79
19	BRUNCH	71	0.12	144.86
20	CRABBY	22	0.04	144.00
21	D	57	0.10	143.36
22	HEIGHTS	26	0.04	139.76
23	SAUCE	129	0.22	139.49
24	A	1,592	2.75	135.62
25	FOOD	408	0.70	132.27
26	BARBONCINO	20	0.03	130.91
27	MORES	24	0.04	127.53
28	WITH	617	1.06	123.46
29	SANGRIA	31	0.05	115.57
30	ORDERED	171	0.29	113.98

Table 8.5: Top 30 keywords in Crown Heights sub-corpus of Yelp_BK.

Both *Crown Heights* and *neighborhood* collocate with pronouns like *our* ($t=1.369$) which suggest that businesses, for the most part, are more likely to be frequented by local residents rather than destination diners. The salience of the pronoun use indicates an intimate connection of residents and a sense of solidarity with the area and the neighborhood establishments. The possessive pronoun *my* ($t=2.337$) designates spots that individual reviewers frequent, as in *my neighborhood bar or spot* ($t=1.388$). The noun phrase *neighborhood classic* ($t=1.406$) and the declaration of a diner as being a *staple of the neighborhood* ($t=1.413$) highlight that some of the establishments have been there over a longer period of time. One concordance line further suggests that there are indeed several good food options within the neighborhood by declaring one establishment *one of [their] favorites in the neighborhood*. What is more, concordances of *Crown Heights* and the possessive pronoun *their* ($t=1.345$) indicate that the neighborhood is perceived as an area in transition:

Give them a shot. There's a little something for everyone. It's great to support locals and **their** businesses, especially as Crown Heights is in the midst of gentrification. (Crown Heights)

Here, the reviewer encourages frequenting small businesses since they are owned by local owners and need to be supported as the neighborhood is transitioning. The developments in the area were spurred by the discursive investments by the media: the area was declared as reborn or rediscovered in the *Wall Street Journal* and *New York Times* in 2011 and 2012 after the Bloomberg administration had decided on several rezonings. In 2014, the opening of a Starbucks on Franklin Avenue was followed by several larger investments by Goldman Sachs (cf. Moss 2017), which could be one reason why the reviewer emphasizes the importance of

supporting local businesses to provide a counter-weight to large-scale investments.

In prepositional phrases denoting the location of restaurants, *Crown Heights* is frequently specified as a part of *Brooklyn* ($t=2.225$), as in *the Crown Heights area of Brooklyn, in Crown Heights, Brooklyn, or in this area of Brooklyn*. The latter example indicates that the location of the establishment is again at odds with the expectations of the reviewer, be it with regard to the quality of the food or the pricing that seems inadequate for the area. The low-frequency verb collocate EXPECT ($t=1.408$) signals disbelief or astonishment when it co-occurs with *Crown Heights* or *neighborhood* as reviewers do not anticipate good food and value for the money.

It is great to have a lively, well-executed Mexican eatery like this in Crown Heights, Brooklyn -- i.e., not where you might **expect** to find such a thing. (Crown Heights)

It's this pleasant surprise of food I wouldn't **expect** in the neighborhood. (Crown Heights)

The specification offered in the negated adverbial construction *not where you might expect* following the Latin phrase *i.e.* [id est] denies the possibility of finer dining options in Crown Heights in its current state. A second example also describes an unexpected experience, but one based on the type of food rather than the level of refinement of the cuisine. Taken together, the descriptions of surprising experiences constitute further acts of discursive investment in the area (cf. Zukin et al. 2015).

Moreover, *Crown Heights* collocates with the adjectives *good* ($t=2.934$), as in *a solid meal at a good value in Crown Heights*, and *expensive* ($t=1.342$). On the concordance level, the emphasis on the price indicates a clash between price and neighborhood perception:

The cocktails and pizza are a little **expensive** for Crown Heights but with good cause. The taste and quality bring me back to Italy. (Crown Heights)

The expectation of cheaper pricing of food and the framing of this pizza restaurant as a *pleasant surprise* suggests that reviewers do not regard Crown Heights as a place for finer, more expensive, dining experiences that would justify a higher price range. Here, taste and quality serve as an expression of authenticity that justify the pricing. The distinction and privilege of knowing first-hand the place where these foods originate from contributes to the reviewer's own identity (cf. Naccarato/Lebesco 2020) and the authenticity of the restaurant (cf. Johnston/Baumann 2015) which adds some distinction to the area. Co-occurrences of *Crown Heights* and the adjective *lucky* ($t=1.412$) highlight this effect. In one review, a Yelp user declares that *Crown Heights is lucky to have a business like this in our neighborhood*, again construing the restaurant being a part

of the neighborhood as a fortunate circumstance that is somewhat unexpected, like a *gem* ($t=1.412$) that is discovered amid the rubble.

Yelp users also confer an air of distinction on Crown Heights by linking the area of the neighborhood around the busy thoroughfare Eastern Parkway to a boulevard in Paris:

Convenient, delicious, professional and courteous, as well as fairly priced makes for a wonderful experience. To top things off it's positioned at the intersection where Franklin Ave meets Eastern Parkway, and according to [owner's name], the boulevard along Eastern Parkway was designed by the same person who designed the Champs Elysee in Paris. Not surprising given that walking along it evokes an especially European experience. Best to drop by in the mornings. (Crown Heights)

In this review, the location is mentioned as a particular asset of the establishment, conferring cultural capital upon the area by linking it to the French capital city. Not only is the overall experience described as *wonderful*. But by linking the Parkway crossing this neighborhood on the verge of gentrification to the well-known Parisian boulevard Champs Élysées, the reviewer frames this predominantly Black neighborhood as authentic white European setting. This review, then, does not work with presuppositions about the neighborhood that indicate a perceived mismatch between experience and location but finds that the area corresponds with their perception of it. However, the European flair that Eastern Parkway supposedly evokes, is at odds with the current ethnic and socio-economic composition of the area. By framing the area as a distinguished bohemian Parisian setting – as defined by its architecture, not demographics – the reviewer acts as a discursive investor in the ongoing process of gentrification in Crown Heights. In doing so, “reviewers encourage changes to the cultural landscape in neighborhoods that are potential sites of capital reinvestment” (Zukin et al. 2015: 462) because they signal that an area is suitable for people with a taste that is similar to their own.

Beyond architectural design styles, reviewers in this corpus also draw on features of interior design styles, like exposed brick and pipes, old wood furniture and floors – what Hymowitz (2017: 65) calls “[t]he Brooklyn vision” – which serve to underline the hipness of the area. Just like Edison bulbs (cf. Campanella 2017), these design features have become synonymous with the industrial warehouse-turned-restaurant scene in gentrified New Brooklyn (cf. Freudenheim 2016).²³⁸

[name] is located in the Crown Heights area of Brooklyn. On a busy street full of other hip shops and restaurants, the pizza spot has a very cool design. A converted space, the layout is a little strange with several different

²³⁸ The two restaurants where décor and gentrification are mentioned explicitly both have exposed brick walls, wooden floors, the bare minimum of lighting and outside signage, which suggests that a certain range of features, such as using chalk boards for menus in coffee shops (cf. Schneider 2020), are connected to neighborhood development, and more specifically, to gentrification by reviewers, regardless of the differences regarding the food offered.

seating levels. The large wood oven sits near the entrance then seating is spread across the rest of the space. The floors and ceilings are wood, the walls brick, and exposed piping weaves throughout the restaurant. Even in the middle of the day the lighting was dim, but I imagine it creates a great setting for a candlelight dinner. (Crown Heights)

The restaurant is evaluated positively because of its hipness that it derives, first, from its immediate surroundings, and, second, from its ambiance and industrial design, which does not reflect the style of a particular region and its cuisine but features associated with gentrifying Brooklyn (cf. Stock 2019).

However, this particular type of décor is also entrenched in discursive struggles over the neighborhood. While many of the restaurants in Crown Heights are applauded for their trendy atmosphere and industrial design choices, which constitute “a major signifier of urban hipness” (Hymowitz 2017: 65), the following excerpt establishes a connection between the décor and gentrification in which this particular style may take on a negative connotation:

The decor is trendy without being pretentious, overly gentrified or filled with white privilege. You will find locals coming here! (Crown Heights)

The reviewer distinctly states that the place is without being too exaggerated and too gentrified. Beyond the scalability of gentrification that can reach a threshold at which point it becomes too much, the review implies that gentrification and pretense are generally associated with a trendy interior, and in turn with *white privilege*, which is a stark contrast with the demographics of the neighborhood (cf. NYC PFF 2020). The declaration that *locals* are frequenting the establishment serves to further root it as authentic neighborhood space that, despite being on the trendier side, does not break with tradition and local norms. As practices connected to the space do not reflect gentrification, making use of a style usually associated with gentrified areas of Brooklyn does not automatically lead to a negative evaluation of the area and the restaurant.

When practices associated with gentrification are noticed by reviewers, they are construed as ill-fitting with Crown Heights. In this context, negative evaluation is achieved by positioning an establishment as being at odds with neighborhood norms, and by pointing to a link to gentrification in particular. One review complains about how they were treated by staff:²³⁹

I brought my friends here last night after an empty [name] wouldn't seat us because one member of our party was running late. Ended up being 100X's better food, service and cocktails. Plus they sat us right away, without any hipster BS attitude. (Crown Heights)

Here, the practice of not being seated in a restaurant that has seats available is likened with arrogance supposedly exhibited by hipsters. The fact that negative

²³⁹ There were two separate reviews in which staff of this restaurant are referred to with expletives, which I will not repeat here.

treatment is associated with hipsterdom indicates that the way the party was treated constitutes a breach of local behavioral norms. This shows that Crown Heights is enmeshed in a discursive struggle over the identity of the neighborhood, which is most conspicuous in the interface of style and practice. On the one hand, styles associated with gentrification are viewed favorably, as long as the staff does not display a negative attitude. On the other, practices connected to whiteness and gentrification are evaluated negatively, for they suggest that Black residents “are suffering a symbolic eviction from the neighborhood.” (Zukin 2014: 145). While some reviewers contribute to discursive investments within the neighborhood by conferring a sense of distinction upon Crown Heights, references to distinction based on taste and lifestyle practices (cf. Bourdieu 1977; 1984) in this sub-corpus are evaluated negatively. The reviews in this sub-corpus reveal a negative semantic prosody of the term gentrification and practices reviewers associate with it, and ultimately, of the direction toward which the neighborhood is heading.

8.5 Flatbush

The Flatbush section of Brooklyn is construed as a hybrid blend of Brooklyn and Caribbean culture. This becomes apparent both in the types of foods consumed and in the way they are advertised by reviewers. In this section, I discuss both the Flatbush (40,673 tokens) and PLG (49,714 tokens) review sub-corpora because of the large number of restaurants that were presented in queries for both areas on the review platform. It will become clear in the discussion that the restaurant landscape and reviews reflect the existence of distinct micro-neighborhoods within *Flatbush* (LL=261.29), one of which is *Prospect Lefferts Gardens*, also known by the acronym *PLG* (LL=90.88).

N	Keyword	Freq.	%	Keyness
1	JERK	208	0.23	967.52
2	THE	4,778	5.23	438.54
3	BROOKLYN	81	0.09	417.19
4	PIZZA	275	0.30	416.13
5	BRUNCH	161	0.18	394.43
6	CHICKEN	352	0.39	368.31
7	RE	93	0.10	325.44
8	AVOCADO	94	0.10	296.53
9	EMPANADAS	65	0.07	293.83
10	DOUBLES	55	0.06	278.60
11	ROTI	67	0.07	271.11
12	FLATBUSH	46	0.05	261.29
13	I	2,652	2.90	220.69
14	WHEATED	38	0.04	215.85
15	MANGOSEED	38	0.04	215.85
16	TOAST	88	0.10	205.16
17	PANG	39	0.04	195.40
18	PARKSIDE	34	0.04	193.13
19	NEIGHBORHOOD	74	0.08	176.87
20	CARIBBEAN	40	0.04	175.35
21	FARM	46	0.05	174.17
22	IT	1,524	1.67	172.83
23	SO	659	0.72	166.59
24	SPICY	121	0.13	161.69
25	INDIAN	71	0.08	160.17
26	AND	3,184	3.49	157.16
27	ORDER	254	0.28	153.79
28	SPOT	125	0.14	152.49
29	CAFE	74	0.08	151.50
30	DELIVERY	78	0.09	150.96

Table 8.6: Top 30 keywords in Flatbush/PLG sub-corpus of Yelp_BK.

The collocates of *Prospect Lefferts Gardens* suggest that the micro-neighborhood is declared to be a prospering part of Flatbush: *the burgeoning Prospect Lefferts*

Gardens region of Flatbush, Brooklyn. Collocates of *Prospect* (LL=77.84) describe the atmosphere and activities that social actors may engage in are *walk* (t=1.999), as in declarations like it's a beautiful neighborhood and a nice walk to the restaurant (Flatbush), *picnic* (t=1.414), *gorgeous* (t=1.414), *summer* (t=1.413), and *chill* (t=1.412), all of which suggest a serene atmosphere in the city. Flatbush, on the contrary, collocates with terms from the realm of noise and activity: *bustle* (t=1.414), *commerce* (t=1.414), *commotion* (t=1.414), *hubbub* (t=1.414), and *hustle* (t=1.412). Most of these collocates are used to describe one busy commercial thoroughfare in the neighborhood, *Flatbush Avenue* (t=2.447), indicating that there are two distinct areas referred to in this corpus, one that is tranquil and one that is defined by all the commotion of Flatbush Avenue.

The toponym *Flatbush* (LL=261.29, full list of concordances see appendix C5.2) suggests that the area is regarded as a source of culture and authenticity. The key collocate *vibe* (t=1.403), as in *definitely a fly vibe this side of Flatbush*, introduces the area around Flatbush Avenue as something that exudes positive vibrations. What is more, reviewers who live in Flatbush find it *refreshing* (t=1.407) *to see coffee shops opening up in the area*. (PLG) These types of businesses are generally thought to be indices of gentrification (cf. Hwang/Sampson 2014; Moskowitz 2017), which supports the idea that the neighborhood constitutes one of “Brooklyn's New Gentrification Frontiers” (Krase/DeSena 2016: 102), and is particularly for people who were priced out of super-gentrified neighborhoods in North Brooklyn.

Collocates of *neighborhood* (LL=176.87) indicate that reviewers frame the local culinary landscape in terms of discovery. The adjective collocates that describe feelings range from *excited* (t=1.406) to *surprised* (t=1.402). The adverb *pleasantly* (t=1.411) specifies that the surprises are positive in nature. The atmosphere of discovery is further supported by the key collocates *secrets* (t=1.413) and *gem* (t=2.640), used mainly as part of the noun phrase a *neighborhood gem* (4x). The premodification of *gem* by *neighborhood* relegates the sphere of attention to the neighborhood itself – it belongs to the neighborhood and its status as a precious establishment can only be seen with regard to the neighborhood. This quiet Brooklyn neighborhood offers mainly quaint (t=1.410) and old-fashioned establishments with a neighborhood feeling (t=1.724). The collocate *option* (t=1.724) indicates that there are indeed several alternatives for particular cuisines that offer a *great meal* to hungry diners, as the low-frequency collocate *great* (t=2.640) highlights.

The keywords under scrutiny share a number of collocates that hint at the importance of culture and heritage and reveal that the Caribbean food stores along

Flatbush Avenue have an appeal that reaches beyond the neighborhood, attracting people in search of a particular food and atmosphere. The key noun *neighborhood* collocates with *culture* (t=1.411) and *local* (t=1.396), while *Flatbush* co-occurs frequently with *culture* (t=1.412) and *authentic* (t=1.405), suggesting that the area has something that distinguishes it from others. The co-occurrences of *culture* + *Flatbush* or *culture* + *neighborhood* show that the restaurants provide opportunities for cultural consumption (cf. Zukin 2010):

For what this place is, it's amazing. Meaning, there is no where to sit but it's worth the standing. I travelled an hour to get the pepper shrimp, jerk, etc! Hands down one of the best authentic Jamaican restaurant. It's not commercialized and you get to feel and taste the culture of the **neighborhood**. (PLG)

[Name] merges the familiarity of one of America's most beloved food items with the vibrancy of the Caribbean culture that has sustained **Flatbush** for decades. (PLG)

Pizza In The Heart Of Prospect-Lefferts Gardens, Inspired By The Vibrant Caribbean Culture of **Flatbush**, Brooklyn. (Flatbush)

In the first review, the restaurant is described as providing sensual experiences of the culture. These processes of sensing (Halliday/Matthiessen 2014: 245) expressed by the verbs *feel* and *taste* suggest that the authenticity of the Jamaican restaurant is an index for the Caribbean culture that has long been associated with Flatbush and has, according to the first excerpt above, not been commercialized. These restaurants are evaluated positively because they constitute authentic representations of Flatbush's cultural roots. The verbs *sustain* and *inspire* indicate that the Caribbean culture is so vital to the neighborhood that it is construed as that which is nourishing Flatbush. The representation of this local identity in the consumption landscape generates an experience of authenticity in the neighborhood that can be consumed by locals and visitors alike (cf. Urry 2005; Zukin 2010).

The (g)local culture and strong sense of identification with the neighborhood also become apparent in menu items that are named after Flatbush, like *Flatbush wings* (t=2.225), *Flatbush sauce* (t=1.956), *Flatbush pizza* (t=1.316), all of which, according to the reviews, have some Caribbean spices or elements in them. These dishes create a synthesis of cuisines (cf. Zukin 1995)²⁴⁰ which contribute to the 'cultural hybridity' (Hannerz 1992) of the local food landscape:

A hidden gem in the heart of **Flatbush**. [...] The artwork displayed on the walls are inspired by the Spike Lee film "Do the Right Thing" in my opinion as well as the drink names; "Brooklyn", etc. There was a live DJ playing Carribean tunes at a favorable volume. Love supporting a Black owned business in the heart of Flatbush/Lefferts Gardens. (PLG)

²⁴⁰ It must be noted that what is described here as American cuisine "was built not on a Euro-American monoculture, but on the incorporation of ethnic food traditions from around the world—bagels, pizza, pickles—to construct a uniquely heterogeneous sense of American cuisine." (Johnston/Baumann 2015: 93)

The blending of global and local in Flatbush is also highlighted in this review. The art inside the restaurant, which pays homage to cultural representations of Brooklyn, namely the renowned Spike Lee film that has become a stand-in for Brooklyn culture since its release in 1989, is paired with *Carribbean tunes* [sic] and menu items that, taken together, create a strong sense of rootedness in a culturally hybrid part of Brooklyn. In line with this, occurrences of the keyword *Brooklyn* (LL=417.19, full list of concordances see appendix C5.3) also suggest that there is a strong emphasis on the authentic representation of culture in this area, particularly with regard to the drink names of the restaurant:

I had the Crooklyn (BROOKLYN STANDUP!!) and she ordered the "Do the right thing"....yea we love BK (I do at least lol). (PLG)

These menu items contain several references to Brooklyn culture, amongst others to the 1994 Spike Lee movie *Crooklyn* as well as the 1989 *Do The Right Thing*, and the 2008 Jay-Z song "BK Anthem", one line of which reads "BK stand up, Brooklyn; put your hands up". In this manner, local culture is commodified as an act of authentication (cf. Bucholtz 2003; Bucholtz/Hall 2005) that creates a competitive advantage for the restaurants and highlights the legitimacy of their business in an area in flux.



Fig. 23: Evidence for the strong sense of identification with the neighborhood in the area's linguistic landscape. Flatbush Ave/Fenimore St, PLG. Photo: KB, June 2019.

Concordances of *Brooklyn* further show that this Brooklyn authenticity is not only associated with innovative foods and restaurants (cf. Johnston/Baumann 2015; Hymowitz 2017) but also connected to more traditional types of foods:

So. Pizza. Brooklyn. The real Brooklyn. The real pizza. These guys know what they're doing. I love this hood. (Flatbush)

The coherence with the borough's history and its strong Italian-American base (cf. Moss 2017) are valued by establishing *pizza* (LL=416.13) as a feature that belongs to the borough. The history and tradition of the type of food that is connected to the borough come to serve as an authenticity marker for this reviewer, and the authenticity of the dish is linked to that of the neighborhood as an example of what is taken to be 'real' Brooklyn. The review shows that "branded versions of authenticities shape contemporary urban gentrifying landscapes, be it in the consumption of old stock houses, the consumption of 'authentic' regional eco food products, or in ethnic cuisines" (Stock 2019: 226).

Taken together, the emphasis on traditional Brooklyn dishes and culture and their blending with more exotic styles and foods – from a white, Euro-American middle-class reference point (cf. Johnston/Baumann 2015) – is a metaphor for the hybrid nature of immigrant neighborhoods like Flatbush. By bringing together two strands of identities that are considered defining features of the neighborhood, the otherness of the cuisine and its hybridity are commodified (cf. hooks 1992) and amalgamated into a distinct neighborhood culture that lends itself to creative consumption.

The hybridity of the area is also expressed in diverging tastes of residents. Perceptions of class and its relation to taste become apparent in concordances of *neighborhood*. One review in particular shows that instead of moving away from the elitism of food critics, online review platforms "also create their own culinary" (Naccarato/Lebesco 2020: 17) as well as class-based "hierarchies" (ibid.) that transcend the realm of the website:

My **neighborhood** is known for inexpensive "hole in the wall" Pakistani restaurants that I like but at which everyone basically has the same menu and same prices. Well finally someone figured out that there is also a need for an Indian restaurant that is a bit classier and more upscale, offers an array of vegan and vegetarian dishes and is geared to those with more discerning culinary tastes. Tonight such a restaurant opened its doors. It is called [name], a restaurant that while not pretentious, has an atmosphere that is a bit more sophisticated than many of their neighbors but with prices that are still very reasonable and friendly service. (Flatbush)

This resident construes the neighborhood as a place that is readily connected with cheap foods, restaurants that are usually "small and often unpretentious" (Merriam-Webster 2020: "hole-in-the-wall," n.), and people who are satisfied with such options, a group that the reviewer does not associate themselves with. Rather, they are part of a second, seemingly more sophisticated group of neighbors *with more discerning culinary tastes*, thus framing the remainder who go to hole in the wall places as lacking in understanding and appreciation, which clashes very much with the emphasis on authenticity and Caribbean culture in this sub-corpus. In doing so,

the reviewer claims moral superiority based on their own *more discerning tastes* and “marginaliz[es] other groups and their tastes” (Stock 2019: 242).

In addition to references to class and taste, reviews of three establishments south-west of Flatbush Avenue, located in a three-block radius in an area that is called Ditmas Park, contain several references to hipsters, gentrification and discriminatory attitudes, a topic which is otherwise absent in the keywords and toponyms scrutinized in this sub-corpus. The distribution plots for the items *hipster(s)* and *gentrification* show that they occur bundled in one part of the corpus only, namely in reviews of these three cafés. In one of these, the reviewer evokes questions of pricing and types of food that are typically connected to hipsterdom and whiteness:

What is this crap I just ate and why did I forced my friends to come here to eat? Don't get me wrong I like hipster white people food aka brunch spots but at least be worth the extravagant price you charge. (Flatbush)

The review continues with the many things that went wrong during the visit to the establishment, many of them connected to the food. The assumption that brunch is a prototypical type of food consumed by white hipster people is an illustrative presentation of how culinary and racial stereotypes are interwoven with one another in many of the reviews. It shows that the acquisition and performance of culinary capital are linked to “a range of prevailing values and ideologies, including normative attitudes and assumptions about race, gender, sexuality, and ethnicity” (Naccarato/Lebesco 2020: 7) and require substantial financial resources that allow for the engagement in such lifestyle practices. In this review, a negative experience in the form of an *extravagant price* is linked to practices associated with a particular group who, in this context, serve to signal negative evaluation based on the negative discourse prosody that gentrification and related practices take on in this sub-corpus because they constitute a breach with what the local reviewers construct as the neighborhood norm for consumption spaces.

A second example supports the observation that pricing and taste can become a way of distinguishing residents from one another in a diverse neighborhood.

Problem Is ... They're just a bit pricey for me. Plus there is no loyalty discount or benefits neither to have me come here on a regular basis. I feel this is not for the middle class to enjoy on a regular basis even though it's in their neighborhood. Anyway before I begin talking about gentrification, [name] has a good atmosphere to work if you don't mind loud noise. [...] Food and service are nice as well. Although it's just a once in a while thing for me. (Flatbush)

Despite the positive evaluation of the food and description of an overall positive experience, the reviewer indicates that the restaurant's pricing clashes with this neighborhood's norms and income levels. The use of the possessive pronoun *their*

expresses moral ownership of the area and contributes to the impression that the reviewer regards the café as being out of place since it does not cater to the local population. The connection between prices and *gentrification* is only hinted at, but the implicature is that there is much to be said about this type of neighborhood change, although statistically-speaking, Flatbush is not considered a gentrifying neighborhood (cf. NYU Furman Center 2015), while parts of it have long been bastions of the middle class. Areas west of Flatbush Avenue in particular have experienced an increase in immigration from the Caribbean from the 1980s onwards (cf. Helmreich 2016; Krase/DeSena 2016). The review thus provides insight into what kinds of people are regarded as regular customers by reviewers and what kinds of people the café would likely attract based on its pricing, namely ones that are more affluent than local middle-class residents.²⁴¹

Very few reviews that address the spread of hipsterdom in the local consumption landscape take on a more positive perspective. In one of these, attributes that are associated with creative consumption are highlighted as distinguishing features of the café:

This is the hipster Brooklyn study cafe of my dreams: 1) an incredible variety of healthy, interesting, delicious drinks AND food 2) free wifi! 3) ample seating 4) great lighting 5) right by the subway station 6) clean bathroom. No but actually do you know how incredibly difficult it is to find a conducive study spot that you can squat at allll day with good drinks and food you can actually enjoy every day? If I lived in this neighborhood, I would be here every day. No joke. Alas, I do not ... I had a few hours before small group at a friend's nearby, so I studied here. (Flatbush)

The establishment is described as a dream come true: a *hipster Brooklyn study café* that serves foods associated with the “culinary elite” (Naccarato/Lebesco 2020: 14), like smoothies with *complimentary bee pollen, which made* [the reviewer] *feel super hipster*, and provides the possibility to engage in practices connected to *hipster Brooklyn*, such as studying in a café all day long, expressed here by the act of squatting, the action of occupying a space (Merriam-Webster 2020: “squat,” v., 2.), eating dinner that is *incredible (and pretty inexpensive for the quantity, instagrammability and taste)*. The way the establishment is judged depends on whether or not it enables its patrons to engage in the practices associated with a way of life or even a habitus they appreciate or aspire to (cf. Bourdieu 1984). Based on the review, the café seems to cater to a clientele who have a particular taste – another review marveled at the *well over 10+ options for Avocado Toast* on the menu – and a particular budget, spend their days working in cafés, and carefully curate their lives on Instagram, a platform that affects the

²⁴¹ One self-identifying Black man warns customers to stay away from this café because of a negative experience: *In the words of Brooklyn 's own Jay-Z "I miss #oldbrooklyn not this new _____!" To my yelpers please take your business some place else.*

social activities and behaviors of its users (cf. van Dijck 2013). Against the background of the remainder of the reviews, this establishment seems to clash with the rest of the area it is located in.

In the Flatbush/PLG sub-corpus, then, the area is described as a blend between Caribbean and authentic Brooklyn culture. While the portrayal of the immigrant neighborhood with its quiet corners and bustling commercial sphere dominates the corpus, a handful of reviews complicate the picture by alluding to conflicts between the culinary landscape and area residents, some of whom voice their discontent with the lack of upscale options and others with the pricing at such businesses. Very few reviews draw on gentrification discourses, but these references still underscore that the “big splash of gentrification in northern Brooklyn has sent its gentrifying ripples southward.” (Krase/DeSena 2016: 104) What is striking about those outlier reviews is that they are all located in a similar section of Flatbush that, since the early 1980s, has been a designated historic district and consists of stately one-family homes built in the early 20th century. The overt references to class and pricing suggest that there is a complex and contrary interweaving of perceptions of the neighborhood as a middle- or upper-class area on the one hand, and a bustling Caribbean neighborhood on the other.

8.6 Midwood

Nearby Midwood presents a strikingly different way of discursively negotiating neighborhood perceptions in restaurant reviews. Of all neighborhoods under scrutiny, it is the area that is the least self-referential – the neighborhood name is not among the keywords – and also the one with the smallest corpus size (23,116 tokens). When reviewers locate restaurants, they do not refer to Midwood, but to *Brooklyn* (LL=443.05) and, less frequently, an area within *NYC* (LL=60.71) or *NY* (LL=30.71).

N	Keyword	Freq.	%	Keyness	N	Keyword	Freq.	%	Keyness
1	BROOKLYN	58	0.25	443.05	16	IT	449	1.92	98.62
2	PIZZA	130	0.56	343.27	17	DELICIOUS	81	0.35	97.02
3	SLICE	57	0.24	278.06	18	THE	1,188	5.09	96.80
4	PIE	58	0.25	258.03	19	KEBABS	13	0.06	89.74
5	FALAFEL	33	0.14	150.64	20	ITALIAN	32	0.14	84.84
6	TURKISH	22	0.09	143.62	21	FARA	10	0.04	83.20
7	SAUCE	78	0.33	134.96	22	CICCIO	10	0.04	83.20
8	SICILIAN	21	0.09	131.85	23	CRUST	27	0.12	79.71
9	SPUMONI	15	0.06	124.81	24	BREAD	43	0.18	75.96
10	LAMB	33	0.14	117.47	25	KUTABY	9	0.04	74.88
11	SALAD	69	0.30	117.01	26	NYC	15	0.06	70.91
12	SQUARE	26	0.11	110.80	27	RE	18	0.08	65.94
13	SLICES	27	0.12	102.59	28	DI	11	0.05	65.91
14	MOTI	12	0.05	99.84	29	EGGPLANT	17	0.07	59.79
15	MOHINGA	12	0.05	99.84	30	BEYTI	7	0.03	58.24

Table 8.7: Top 30 keywords in Midwood sub-corpus of Yelp_BK.

Despite Midwood's multi-ethnic makeup with residents who migrated from the "former Soviet Union, Pakistan, India, Haiti, and Syria" (Helmreich 2016: 238), the Midwood sub-corpus is dominated by references to a particular regional cuisine, with *pizza* (LL=343.27) being the most salient item in the top keywords. The proximity to many Italian enclaves within Brooklyn, like Bensonhurst or Mill Basin, and the decade-long presence of many iconic Italian restaurants in Midwood might lead to the strong focus on Italian food in this sub-corpus. The area's multiculturalism also shines in the keywords that denote Middle Eastern and Turkish foods. However, occurrences of *falafel*, *lamb* and chicken *kebabs*, *kutaby* (a type of filled pancake from Azerbaijan), and *eggplant*, a staple in many Mediterranean and Middle Eastern dishes, are not as strongly associated with the toponym keywords under scrutiny as the most prominent food item in the sub-corpus. In the keywords, the Italian dish is represented with the items *pizza*, *slice(s)*, *pie*, *sauce*, *Sicilian*, *square*, and *crust*, as well as the names of several restaurants in the area famous for their pizza.²⁴²

The toponym *Brooklyn* (LL=443.05, full list of concordances see appendix C5.4) collocates most strongly with the preposition *in* (t=5.352) and forms clusters like *right in Brooklyn*, *in Midwood, Brooklyn*, and *here in Brooklyn*. These indicate the temporal dimension of the visits to the restaurants. These contain adverbial phrases *whenever I'm in Brooklyn* and *when in Brooklyn*, which highlight the regularity with which certain establishments are frequented. Even though patrons might not be in the immediate area, they still come to Midwood to experience a *staple* (t=1.722) or a *classic* (t=1.402) *in Brooklyn*. Thus, Midwood is construed somewhat as peripheral in the sense that many diners conceptualize the neighborhood as out of the way, and getting there is depicted as a *trek to deep Brooklyn from NYC*. Nevertheless, the reputation of the restaurants, which are described as the *best* (t=2.162) and *famous* (t=1.397) in Brooklyn, is a factor that draws diners to the area despite its remoteness. Many of the visitors state that they heard about the restaurants from *friends* (t=1.370) who grew up or live in the area. Others learn about these restaurants from the internet and have very few prior notions of what to expect of the neighborhood, which results in creative comparisons with areas in New York City, or in the case of tourists, with their home town.

²⁴² In this regard, the toponym *Brooklyn* collocates strongly with *Italian* (t=2.946) but not as strongly with *pizza* (t=1.435), *falafel* (t=1.383), and *Middle Eastern* (t=1.363). *NYC* collocates with *pizza* (t=2.048) and *falafel* (t=1.402), and *NY* collocates with *pizza* (t=1.923) only. The important role of the Middle Eastern restaurants is addressed in one review that, in the style of a popular meme based on a line by the character Boromir played by Sean Bean in the 2011 *Lord of the Rings* movie, *[o]ne does not simply go to Brooklyn and NOT try the Middle Eastern Restaurants there*. (Midwood) The review, like the meme, expresses that visiting Brooklyn without eating Middle Eastern food will have negative consequences.

In concordances of the acronyms *NYC* (LL=70.91) and *NY* (LL=30.71, full list of concordances see appendix C5.5), discursive neighborhood construction relies on contrasts either between restaurant location and areas that the reviewers know, or between the quality of the food that is contrasted with the area around the establishment. In explicit comparisons between two areas, attributes of one area are linked to another, as in the case of a tourist who stays near *TimeSquare* (sic) in Manhattan and connects Midwood to their deictic origin.

Came here during our weekend trip to NY. Even though we stayed in TimeSquare, we were really excited to try a NY burmese restaurant so we took the subway and rode 45-50 mins to try this place. The restaurant itself is tucked away in lower part of Brooklyn. There were several supermarkets and stores in the area but it's a completely different vibe from timesquare area. It has a ChinaTown vibe but a little cleaner and a lot quieter. (Midwood)

The comparison between Midwood and the two Manhattan areas suggests that Midwood, similar to the “exoticized spectacle” (Bidlingmaier 2016: 188) of China Town, is marked by its opposition to the clean and seemingly civilized Time Square.²⁴³ In this threepronged comparison, Midwood, as likeness of China Town and location of a Burmese restaurant, and Time Square serve as “binary oppositions: civilized versus barbaric, occident versus orient” (ibid.: 194) and construct the area around the restaurant as a cleaned up version of Chinatown in Brooklyn. The review only provides a brief first impression of the area by a non-Brooklynite but still casts a favorable light on the restaurant in Midwood as “‘safe’ space to ‘experience’ the Orient.” (Bidlingmaier 2016: 194) Finally, the review puts the area on the cognitive map of Yelpers with similar consumer choices (cf. Zukin et al. 2015) or existing imaginations of Chinatowns and Time Square, attracting even those unfamiliar with or hailing far from Midwood.

In this vein, it is not surprising that Midwood is also construed with the help of discovery discourses that can be identified in collocates and concordances of *Brooklyn*. The key collocate *gem* (t=1.397) suggests that here, too, discoveries are conceptualized as precious entities located out of sight of the ordinary consumer, and are thus *hidden* (t=1.397), especially for those who are not locals.

[Name]'s is a hidden Brooklyn pizza gem. It's a little neighborhood place a few blocks away from the Avenue U F train stop. [...] I really recommend it and it's great supporting an old-school neighborhood business. (Midwood)

The fact that directions are provided for readers to find the pizza spot adds to the declaration of it as a *hidden Brooklyn pizza gem*.²⁴⁴ While many of the

²⁴³ It should be noted that the Times Square area part of a business improvement district (BID) that is patrolled by public safety officers and sanitation workers employed by the Times Square Alliance that manages the area as a quasi-private space to curate its appearance in order to promote business (cf. Vitale 2008; Zukin 2010).

²⁴⁴ Instead of describing a pizza gem that is related to its location, Brooklyn, the noun phrase could also denote to a particular type of food: *Brooklyn pizza*. This pizza style stands in contrast with ‘New Brooklyn pizza’ featured in more up-and-coming neighborhoods. While the ‘New Brooklyn’ pizza style focuses on aesthetics and

establishments are described as *neighborhood business*, *neighborhood restaurant* or *neighborhood favorite*, it is clear that the reputation has travelled beyond the immediate area. One linguistic similarity between this sub-corpus and other neighborhoods that attract diners from beyond the neighborhood and have become dining destination neighborhoods is the prevalence of adjectives and superlative forms to describe restaurants in the area. A variety of the restaurants are declared as *great* (t=1.309), the *best* (t=2.162) in Brooklyn or in the city, or even *the best of the best*. The adjective *famous* (t=1.397) highlights that the reputation of the restaurants is what draws diners to the area. In an overview of New York's pizza landscape, food writer Nick Solares (2014) states that Midwood in particular has many pizzerias that "transcen[d] the neighborhood and becom[e] a destination for diners."

[T]his is the place to come to get a taste of those famous **Brooklyn** places that are no longer. Excellent neighborhood Italian restaurant. Everything is excellent. I come back whenever I'm in **Brooklyn**. (Midwood)

In this excerpt, the popularity of the restaurants in the area is something that belongs to a bygone era. Although *famous Brooklyn places* have long closed their doors, some alternatives provide a similar gustatory experience. The present culinary landscape is deeply rooted in tradition, which serves as the primary source of authenticity (cf. Johnston/Baumann 2015). The key collocates *classic* (t=1.402) and *old* (t=1.393) highlight that reviewers find that restaurants in Midwood continue in this tradition. Reviewers speak of a *[r]eliable old style Brooklyn restaurant* and ask rhetorically whether one could *ever really beat classic Brooklyn*. The *Brooklyn style* that is evoked here construes Midwood as a particularly authentic part of Brooklyn that provides something that diners miss elsewhere, not just regarding the food, but regarding the atmosphere in the vicinity of the restaurants:

By the way, love the old skool feel w/ the boys hanging out in the front chatting it up....like I remember Brooklyn! (Midwood)

The connection to long-gone practices reminiscent of a different time (cf. Freudenheim 2016)²⁴⁵ suggest that Midwood is considered a place that evokes nostalgia in people coming to the area. Its close connection to what has become enregistered as Brooklyn style is also visible in the use of local vernacular forms which are indexical of a Brooklyn identity (cf. Johnstone 2013):

A pizza experience like no other. If you want artichoke, duck, or pine nuts on your pizza forgetaboutit!!!! This is a classic pizzeria hot a little grease to keep the clots out of your heart and hot!!! (Midwood)

inventiveness (cf. Solares 2014), the 'Brooklyn pizza' style uses the bare minimum of ingredients but more cheese than typical Neapolitan NY pizzas prepared in gas-ovens.

²⁴⁵ For a deeper insight into practices linked to a bygone era in this part of Brooklyn, refer to Whyte (1943)'s *Street Corner Society*, a study on Boston's Italian-American West End neighborhood.

The use of the contracted form of the phrase *forgetaboutit* [forget about it], one spelling variant of the exclamation which indicates “that a suggested scenario is unlikely or undesirable” (OED 2016, “fuhgeddaboutit”, int.), is used in reviews of classic establishments. This phrase has been enregistered, that is, it is connected to values connected to the borough’s history (cf. Busse 2019), and thus serves to underline their connection and rootedness in Brooklyn tradition. This heritage does not permit variations of foods that break with the local gustatory norms. These reviews show not only that practices found in Midwood are considered authentic Brooklyn practices, but also the types of pizzas that can be had there, which the use of the phrase *[f]uggeddaboutit* [sic] highlights:

Best in the city. Better than everything in Chicago and New Haven. Fuggeddaboutit; It’s other Brooklyn contenders like [name] are sugary junk compared to this master square pie. (Midwood)

Pizza made anywhere outside the borough is jugded “not as good as Brooklyn and thus not worth bothering with.” (Busse 2019: 33) While restaurant reviews from other neighborhoods cherish their international cuisines and likewise businesses that transport them to a French boulevard or cater to similarly escapist fantasies, the appeal in Midwood seems to be a nostalgic one that allows visitors not to travel far away, but to go back in time.²⁴⁶ Thus, the neighborhood is construed as an oasis of authenticity that allows for the celebration of Old Brooklyn, be it its traditional types of food or social practices like chatting in the street. Consequently, the reviews in this sub-corpus constitute the area’s status as a dining destination neighborhood reminiscent of a bygone era of Brooklyn.

8.7 Sheepshead Bay

The southernmost neighborhood along Bedford Avenue, Sheepshead Bay, features several seafood restaurants along Emmons Avenue opposite the Sheepshead Bay pier. Interestingly, these are not prominently featured in the list of keywords. Rather, the Sheepshead Bay review corpus is about *sandwiches* (LL=168.90) like the *hero* (LL=55.80), *bread* (LL=41.41) and *subs* (LL=33.50), and *Russian* (LL=177.62) or *Belarussian* (LL=98.15) food like *plov* or *pelmeni* (both LL=49.07), also represented in the keywords as *dumplings* (LL=391.34). These types of food also provide information on the taste and composition of the (local) population of an area that is home to many migrants from Eastern European countries (cf. NYC PFF 2020).

²⁴⁶ Literary theorist Svetlana Boym (2001) distinguishes between “reflective” and “restorative” nostalgia. The kind of nostalgia that is evoked here is likely reflective, as the restoration of that which is desired, in a gentrifying Brooklyn, is highly unlikely.

N	Keyword	Freq.	%	Keyness
1	ROAST	69	0.28	407.70
2	DUMPLINGS	69	0.28	391.34
3	BEEF	88	0.35	254.46
4	SHEEPSHEAD	28	0.11	229.02
5	BROOKLYN	30	0.12	213.15
6	RUSSIAN	25	0.10	177.62
7	SANDWICH	75	0.30	168.90
8	BAY	32	0.13	152.79
9	THE	1,341	5.35	146.30
10	ANTHONY	20	0.08	110.18
11	CHEEZ	14	0.06	107.19
12	ROASTER	13	0.05	106.32
13	BRENNAN	12	0.05	98.15
14	BELARUSSIAN	12	0.05	98.15
15	CARR	12	0.05	98.15

N	Keyword	Freq.	%	Keyness
16	GARLIC	35	0.14	91.06
17	KOMPOT	10	0.04	81.79
18	DUSHANBE	8	0.03	65.43
19	LUDA	8	0.03	65.43
20	KEBABS	10	0.04	65.17
21	AND	910	3.63	63.70
22	JUS	10	0.04	62.86
23	DELICIOUS	69	0.28	60.51
24	WO	9	0.04	60.21
25	FRITTERS	11	0.04	59.84
26	SHISH	10	0.04	58.99
27	CUTLET	10	0.04	58.99
28	CHEESE	56	0.22	58.89
29	MUSHROOMS	19	0.08	57.23
30	JIMMY	13	0.05	56.79

Table 8.8: Top 30 keywords in Sheepshead Bay sub-corpus of Yelp_BK.

Aside from the types of food that are particular to the area, this sub-corpus (24,880 tokens) shows that reviewers construe Sheepshead Bay as an even more remote and unknown part of *Brooklyn* (LL=213.15) that, like many others, is currently undergoing transition.

The keyword *Sheepshead* (LL=229.02, full list of concordances see appendix C5.6), 89.29% of which refer to bigram *Sheepshead Bay*, suggests that the area's consumption landscape has primarily a local appeal. The toponym's collocate verb *live* (t=1.409) indicates that many of the reviewers refer to either having grown up or are currently living in the area. This could be traced back to the geographical location at the southern tip of Brooklyn which, at quite some distance to the rest of Brooklyn and the city, might not attract a supra-local crowd of diners. This is confirmed by concordances of *neighborhood* (LL=48.65, full list of concordances see appendix C5.7) which underscore that reviewers focus largely on what is available in the neighborhood itself rather than comparing the establishments with what is on offer in the rest of the city.

However, occurrences of *Sheepshead Bay* also contain very detailed directions as to how to get to the area, which is indicative of non-locals making their way there. A number of diners from other parts of the city provide recommendations, warning readers about the lack of parking – a problem also addressed by respondents in chapter 4 – or even narrate their journey in the review:

Daaaaaaaamn, THIS WAS WORTH the trip from Lower Manhattan...BY BUS!!! I don't know what show I saw this place on but it was on my Yelp collection list for forever. It was the trek that kept me from going here. And now I can say I've experienced [name] and immensely glad I did. My niece and I took the B44 SBS from Williamsburg Plaza and knew the long ride was over when we smelled the beach. Avenues X, then Y, then Z, then Voorhies, then get off on the Bay Shoreway stop. It's a mere 3 block max walk from there. [...] It's places like this that I wished I lived across the street from. But

there's only one and as I write I'm thinking of my 2nd visit. But wait, my sister just moved to **Sheepshead Bay**!!!! Yeah!!! (Sheepshead Bay)

The minute description of the trip underlines the remoteness of the location, which tends to keep reviewers from venturing out to Sheepshead Bay despite wanting to try an establishment. However, references to means of transportation and directions to get to the area encourage readers that Sheepshead Bay is a dining destination that allows for discovery by both locals and diners from elsewhere.

The toponym's collocates noun *area* (t=1.391) yields different perspectives on Sheepshead Bay. In the first occurrence, the reviewer laments the general lack of food options in this largely residential area at the southern tip of Brooklyn and construes the area as "marked by an obvious lack of style or good taste" (Merriam-Webster 2020: "trashy," adj., 1.):

I really don't like Italian food. I'll have a pizza once a year. This place has great food and very clean. The salads are very big and fresh. I'm surprised to find this in the trashy **Sheepshead Bay** area, where there's literally nothing good to eat around at all. (Sheepshead Bay)

As the establishment is at odds with the reviewer's general perception of the area, the contrast between the positive assessment of the food and locale (*great, clean*) and the negative assessment of the area (*trashy*) supports the overall negative construal of the neighborhood. In the post-modifying locative adverbial clause, the reviewer implies that despite the availability of food options in the area, none of them are considered *good*, or good enough.²⁴⁷ The use of the adverbs *literally* and *at all*, which support the propositional content of the existential *there* construction, highlights the level of surprise about the quality of the reviewed restaurant compared to other places in the neighborhood. The reference to a lack of food options, a discursive strategy commonly associated with negative perception of an area by reviewers (cf. Zukin et al. 2015), adds to the construal of the area as lacking in distinction and attests to the reviewer's own claim to moral superiority (cf. Stock 2019).

The second occurrence of the collocates *area* presents Sheepshead Bay as a neighborhood undergoing transition. The darkness of more traditional establishments like the one below presents a contrast to the newly constructed buildings and retail.

[name] is tucked into an area of **Sheepshead Bay** that is rapidly developing. Across the street is a new housing development with rather high end stores appearing on new places. Inside the rather dark restaurant, things are a bit more old school. (Sheepshead Bay)

²⁴⁷ The use of adjectives *good* and *great* here also supports Vásquez's (2014) finding that the adjective *good* is seldom used to signal positive evaluation in online reviews, but is usually coupled with an intensifier to achieve a greater degree of positivity.

This is confirmed by other reviews that occur in the concordances of *Sheepshead Bay* and *neighborhood*, which highlight the traditional character of the neighborhood and its small, long-standing businesses:

Like many over the years, I probably ignored this little gem of a hero shop on **Sheepshead Bay** Road in favor of the plethora of sushi and Mediterranean restaurants in the neighborhood. Well, shame on me. The glitz and flash of those restaurants grabbed all of the attention, while [name]'s just kept plugging along quietly by the bay making awesome sandwiches for years. (Sheepshead Bay)

These examples show that there seems to be a coexistence of old and new in Sheepshead Bay, with a large section undergoing development toward a neighborhood that, as opposed to the little *hero shop*, is more modern and in line with contemporary “culinary trends, but also the prevailing ideologies that inform them” (Naccarato/Lebesco 2020: 48).²⁴⁸ These reviews support the observation that types of food or restaurants that are not rare or do not contain exotic ingredients, like an old school business among high-end consumption facilities, tend to receive less attention from diners.

Because these establishments may not conform to the latest food fashion, reviewers, especially those from outside the neighborhood, either admit to being unaware of or having less expectations for older businesses in the area. Indeed, one review of an Italian restaurant states that its

menu is more inventive than you would expect for the **neighborhood**, but also has all the old favorites you could want. (Sheepshead Bay)

This underlines that the expectations for types and variety of food to be had in Sheepshead Bay are rather low but may lead to positive surprises, and that restaurants, in turn, seem to have to strike a balance between staying in line with their culinary tradition and attracting new clientele with food that may break with local culinary norms (cf. Johnston/Baumann 2015).

I thought that it would be a little more run-down. A little more less put together. But noooo, we found a clean fast food joint that has polished an old concept. Modernized but it's OG status still permeates. (Sheepshead Bay)

The lack of expectation on part of the reviewers, perhaps shaped by the food landscape's lacking potential to serve as a marker of distinction for consumers (cf. Reckwitz 2017; Naccarato/Lebesco 2020), goes hand in hand with a lack of knowledge about the area and its consumption landscape.²⁴⁹ Taken together,

²⁴⁸ If restaurants are considered “agents of neighborhood change” (Zukin et al. 2015: 469), this review of a pizza restaurant in Sheepshead Bay indicates that the consumption landscape is not undergoing any change.

²⁴⁹ The context and reviewer's vantage point are especially important for this: Is the restaurant viewed as breaking a norm by sticking to tradition in a city where everyone is following the latest culinary trend, or is the restaurant dishing up what is expected in an area with a more traditional character and thereby losing out in the attention economy (cf. Reckwitz 2017) that defines the foodie scene?

these reviews construct Sheepshead Bay as a neighborhood that is largely undiscovered and underrated even by local Yelpers.

Collocates of the keywords *Brooklyn* (LL=213.15, full list of concordances see appendix C7.7) and *neighborhood* (LL=48.65) indicate that many old favorites have indeed vanished over the years. Those that have prevailed are evaluated positively, as collocates of the keyword *Brooklyn*, like the adjectives *best* (t=2.211) and *excellent* (t=1.718), indicate. Reviewers narrow the range of these evaluative statements to Brooklyn, or to the even smaller radius of *South Brooklyn* (t=1.412). Consequently, concordances of these keywords indicate that city-wide comparison is not a strategy that is frequently used in this sub-corpus. Rather, diners make discoveries within the area time and time again. Instances of the verb collocate *rediscover* (t=1.413) show that exploring the culinary landscape leads to *excellent surprise[s]* like a *nostalgic Brooklyn deli taste and flavors*.

The nostalgia for a particular Brooklyn experience is frequently evoked in Sheepshead Bay reviews. The sub-corpus contains various descriptions of what Brooklyn was like several decades ago. A number of establishments have achieved *landmark* (t=1.412) status as they have been around since the early 20th century. Indeed, visitors openly state that they travel to the area to *experience a Brooklyn landmark* or to try a *classic Brooklyn staple*.

When you step into [name] it's like going into a time warp. Old school counter service and a small dining room. The waiters don't BS... [...] After spending the first 30 years of my life in the **neighborhood**, I don't live in Sheepshead Bay anymore. The **neighborhood** has changed and many of the places I grew up with are gone. Visiting [name] (and [name], and [name]) brings me back. If you want to experience what the real locals do, this spot is a must! (Sheepshead Bay)

The construal of the establishment as a *time warp* suggests that the restaurant, the service, and atmosphere seem to be authentic remnants of a former time. It is further implied that, in contrast to the old-school service found at this restaurant, a defining aspect of modern restaurant culture are waiters who “talk foolishly” to customers (Merriam-Webster 2020: “bullshit,” v., 1.), which are also criticized by reviewers in the Crown Heights sub-corpus.

Descriptions of such landmark establishments all list similar traits. They are described as small shops that offer honest no-frills food and service, described with the help of qualified evaluations like *not ok to terrible* (cf. Vásquez 2014):

Ended up here on a random jaunt into the heart of the **Bk**. This place is not fancy, service is not ok to terrible, and you'll be transported to the 70's when you walk into this place. It's old, dank, and maybe even a little dirty. [...] It's a dinosaur of a place remnant of old, dangerous, dirty NYC that is quickly disappearing. There's a lot of good food to be had in NYC and in BK but it's good to rate earnest food highly. (Sheepshead Bay)

The divergence between the outside world and the food place is evoked twice in the review. First, the place transports the diner *to the 70's* [sic]. Second, the metaphor of the dinosaur again highlights its age, its status as a relic of earlier times that evokes memories of a different era of the city which has mostly vanished. It is such small-scale, straightforward dining places that offer a local, old school experience. While the state of being *old, dank, and maybe even a little dirty*, would be considered a negative feature in other neighborhoods, it serves as a marker of authenticity in Sheepshead Bay because of the “honesty and effortlessness it displays.” (Johnston/Baumann 2015: 67) The distinction between earnest food and good food further highlights the artificial character of dishes served at more modern establishments.

What this shows is that this neighborhood seems to evoke its own discursive field (cf. Foucault 1972: 25) made up of discourses that structure evaluative practices and provide a range of norms, beliefs, and ideologies that are applicable in this particular context only. Discourses of nostalgia and authenticity relate to long-standing ways of serving and consuming food that differ from the industrial chic that prevails in restaurants further north in Brooklyn. The discourses and practices that define Sheepshead Bay and its dining establishments are assessed within this discursive field that prioritizes rootedness in place and tradition over culinary finesse:

People have nostalgic love for this place, its a place I don't remember coming to as a kid. My wife's grandparents lived in this neighborhood and she's been here before. Walking up to the outdoor window, it's **Brooklyn** all the way. [...] This is **Brooklyn!** I mean, [name] didn't invent the roast beef sandwich but they've been around forever and the price point is cheap. If you're a die hard Brooklynite, forget [name], you need to come to [name] for a proper roast beef sandwich. (Sheepshead Bay)

The nostalgia evoked in this sub-corpus suggests that there are still remnants of the values and practices that used to define a pre-gentrification Brooklyn. These establishments bring to mind genuine representations of what Brooklyn once was and are thus evaluated more favorably than others. They are not pioneers in the culinary landscape, but convince reviewers because of their adherence to tradition and affordability. Their authenticity lies not in the rarity or the status of the foods or the price but in their adherence to the historical tradition of the area. To highlight this, reviewers use declarations like *[t]his is Brooklyn* and *it's Brooklyn all the way* to describe the simplicity of the restaurants, their dishes and presentation.²⁵⁰

²⁵⁰ In their auto-ethnographic study of themselves as perpetrators of gentrification, Schlichtman et al. (2017: 162) discuss the “very thorny question” of the supposed superiority of some types of consumption spaces over others, asking what it is that makes a neighborhood with a bodega more ‘real’ than one with a ‘fake’ consumption space like chain stores, for instance.

Consequently, evaluative strategies in this sub-corpus do not only draw on overt means of evaluation by using adjectives or items known to express evaluation (cf. Hunston 2011). Rather, lexical items like the toponym *Brooklyn* that have become enregistered (cf. Johnstone 2016; Busse 2019) with values are used in the reviews and, in turn, serve to construct and evaluate a particular kind of neighborhood in the context of these restaurant reviews. In the Sheepshead Bay sub-corpus, restaurant styles and features like *outdoor window[s]* and *counter service*, and food items like the roast beef sandwich or the hero are construed as indices of a nostalgic representation of Old Brooklyn and the values it is associated with.

8.8 Concluding thoughts: A taste of New, Hybrid, and Old Brooklyn

From a corpus-comparative perspective, the analysis has shown that there is a distinct North-South cline in the way neighborhoods are talked about in the BK_Yelp sub-corpora. In the northernmost neighborhood of Williamsburg, diners try out trendy cuisines and thereby travel to international destinations, while they travel back in time through old school-consumption experiences towards the South.

There are three general distinctions that can be made between neighborhoods analyzed in this chapter.²⁵¹ In the northernmost section, there is the so-called 'New Brooklyn' which is defined by its global brand status and produces and follows the latest culinary trends. Here, the expectation of authenticity is not related to Brooklyn experiences, but simulacra thereof. In other words, signifiers of what is perceived as Brooklyn culture are utilized by restaurant owners who commodify the local culture and serve it as a "safe, sanitized versions of the original" (Hannigan 1998: 67; cf. also Stock 2019). Thus, features pertaining to this "internationally shared urban fantasy" (Hymowitz 2017: 2) that is Brooklyn are taken up in the restaurant landscape and exploited for cultural consumption,²⁵² satisfying the expectations of consumers looking for trendy experiences that have surpassed gentrifiers' longings for authenticity. Thus, Williamsburg presents post-authentic consumption and finer dining in line with the "new, ethnically white, cosmopolitan image of Brooklyn centered on the north side of the borough" (Zukin 2010: 38).

²⁵¹ Hymowitz makes a similar distinction between "three Brooklyns" (2017: 23) for the second half of the 19th century, with the respective parts being the industrial and port section in the west, the farmland in the South, and the rural areas in between. The industrial sections, today, are the gentrified enclaves near the waterfront that I refer to as the 'new Brooklyn', while the rural in-between of Cobble Hill, Fort Greene, Bedford-Stuyvesant, Crown Heights, Prospect Heights coincide loosely with the 'hybrid' Brooklyn. What I call 'Old Brooklyn' (cf. Freudenheim 2016; Hymowitz 2017) would – then and now – cover most of the suburban South. Due to its historical ethnic composition, Suarez (1999: 103) calls this part the borough's "white underbelly".

²⁵² Some might view this consumption landscape as a 'disneyfied' part of the city (cf. Soja 2000) whose appeal has moved beyond the borough to 'brooklynize' other cities (cf. Moskowitz 2017).

The second group of neighborhoods can be glossed as ‘hybrid Brooklyn.’ A merger between the unknown and the familiar provides several distinct hybrid consumption experiences with distinct ethnic cuisines in the various neighborhoods. Bed-Stuy and Clinton Hill are the most gentrified of the four areas in this group to date. In Clinton Hill, the hybridity lies primarily in the overlap between a purely residential area and the potential as an evolving dining destination that becomes apparent in the reviews. Clinton Hill is not compared to other areas in the borough or with other boroughs, as is Williamsburg, but it is largely self-referential. The area has mainly a local appeal but consumption spaces suggest that the New Brooklyn has come to the neighborhood, broadening the appeal for a wider range of diners.

In Bed-Stuy, the discursive struggle for the identity of the neighborhood plays out in the consumption landscape. Here, soul food restaurants in particular function as traditional spaces for performing and commodifying Black identity. In this vein, elements of the distinct neighborhood culture are “marketed as ‘experiences’” (Leeman/Modan 2010: 185). While changes that have enabled restaurants to open and persist are evaluated positively, new European restaurants are regarded as “agents of neighborhood change” (Zukin et al. 2015: 469) that bring in diners from more affluent locales such as Manhattan. Perceived disparities between location and type of restaurant are expressed with the help of imperialism discourses that are linked to the opening of several hip European restaurants. These underline the out-of-place-ness (cf. Cresswell 1996) of businesses that are not coherent with the neighborhood history. Lastly, the use of implicatures coupled with imperative clauses in this sub-corpus suggests that people still harbor prejudice that prevents them from engaging in creative consumption in Bed-Stuy.

Crown Heights is presented as a neighborhood in transition whose culinary landscape is oriented mostly to the local population. As the neighborhood is unknown to many reviewers who do not expect to find good food in a Black neighborhood, reviewers describe restaurant visits as positive surprises in this sub-corpus, which corroborates Zukin et al.’s (2015) findings on racial bias in restaurant reviews. Like in Bed-Stuy, styles and design choices of new restaurants that are perceived as being at odds with the area’s sociodemographic makeup and local norms are evaluated negatively. To the contrary, destination diners evaluate styles and practices associated with gentrification favorably. The occurrences of discursive redlining, which has the potential to affect consumption decisions and economic investment in the area (cf. Jones/Jackson 2012), contributes to the impression of Bed-Stuy and Crown Heights as areas that are struggling over the

discursive and moral identity of the neighborhood (cf. Modan 2007; Brown-Saracino 2009), which is typical for an area in the earlier stages of gentrification.

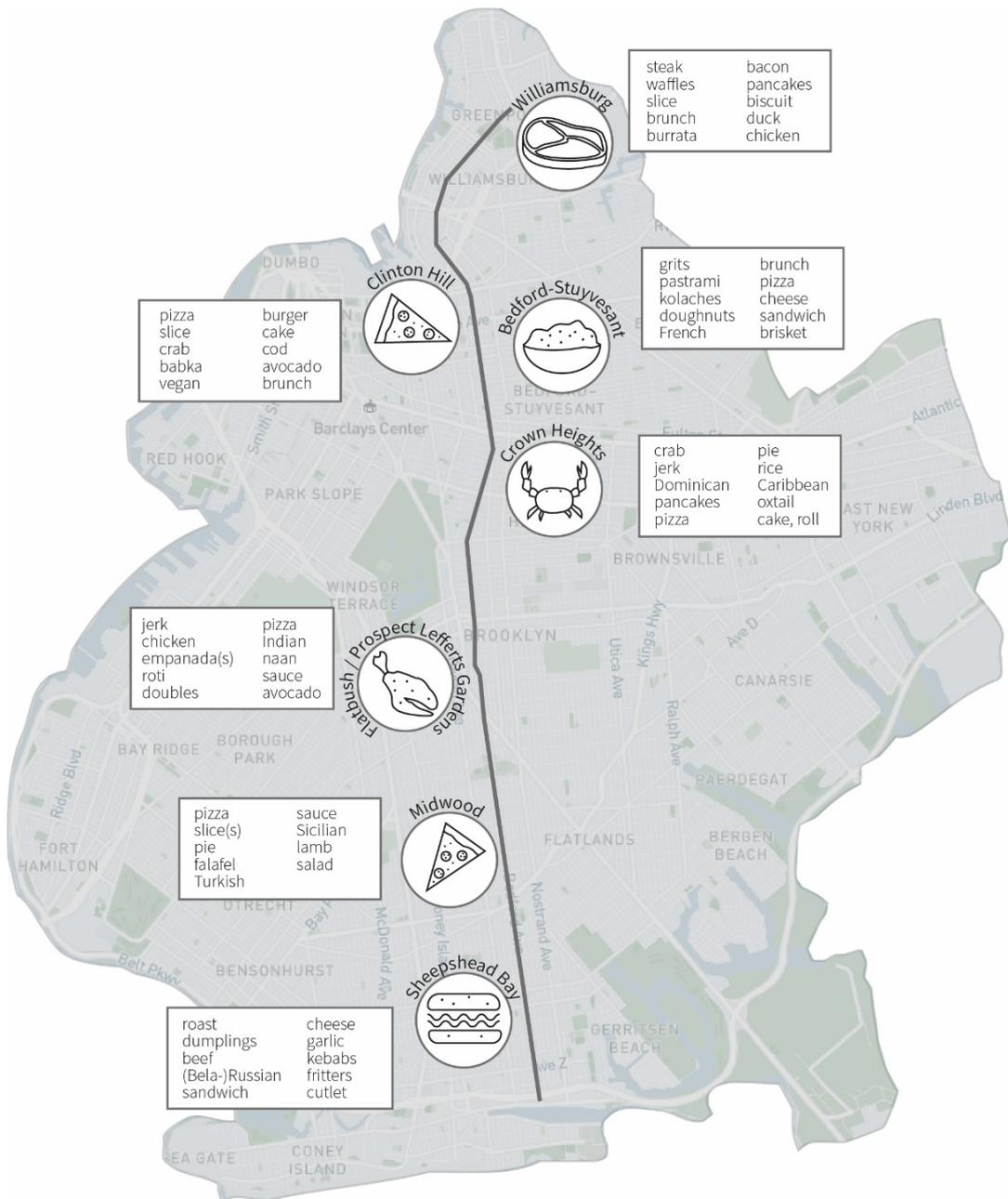


Fig. 24: Top ten key food items per neighborhood. Adapted from Mapbox/OpenStreetMap.

Flatbush and Prospect Lefferts Gardens are conceptualized as both a bustling immigrant area and a middle-class idyll attracting diners from outside the neighborhood. In one section of the neighborhood, a creative blend of global immigrant cuisines and local American dishes creates new forms of hybrid consumption. This part of the neighborhood is largely described in terms of secrecy and discovery by Euro-American visitors who find novel sensory experiences paired with familiar foods. What is more, the commodification of pop-cultural features and symbols associated with Brooklyn (cf. Hymowitz 2017; Moss 2017), such as particular artists and their music and cinematic culture, creates a sense of rootedness in place. However, Flatbush is so large and socio-economically diverse

that a broad variety of expectations of taste and perceptions of class play into how the area and its restaurants are perceived and evaluated. One small section in particular is linked to discourses of gentrification, which is evaluated more favorably by non-residents than by those living in the area but cannot afford to frequent the new establishments. Linguistic items that refer to gentrification tend to have a negative discourse prosody as they are connected to the class-based exclusion of lower-income residents (cf. Keatinge/Martin 2016).

Finally, the BK_Yelp sub-corpora suggest that Midwood and Sheepshead Bay can be seen as representatives of 'Old Brooklyn.' Indeed, the reviews show that both neighborhoods have earned a reputation that goes beyond the immediate area and attracts destination diners. Here, restaurants are judged by a different standard than those neighborhoods that are more closely associated with the image of Brooklyn that, "by a kind of global brand extension, [...] began to mark the entire borough" (Zukin 2010: 43) with the exception of these Old Brooklyn neighborhoods. Consequently, they are not defined by their consumption destination status, but their rootedness in the past. The rootedness in tradition and sense of localness also presents a risk for these areas because they might attract more attention and, like other Brooklyn neighborhoods further north, "become a cultural 'destination'" (Zukin 2010: 121).

Interestingly, the Midwood reviews are the only sub-corpus that does not contain any references to the neighborhood name among the relatively short list of keywords. When the area is mentioned, reviewers use the toponym *Brooklyn*, which highlights that the area is seen as representative of what the borough used to be like as a whole, "a borough of mom-and-pops." (Freudenheim 2016: 39) By evoking discourses of originality and authenticity, for instance in descriptions of practices such as hanging out and chatting on street corners, Midwood restaurants are discursively linked to an older period of Brooklyn. This romantic image of a former time is connected to the neighborhood and serves as a positive evaluation strategy. In this context, the declarations of authenticity can also be a testimony of reviewers' "anxieties about how places change." (Zukin 2010: 220)

In the Sheepshead Bay sub-corpus, reviews are steeped with nostalgia for a time long gone. Although reviewers tend not to view this as a dining destination neighborhood, as is expressed in the frequent expression of low expectations for the area, the consumption landscape seems to positively surprise most reviewers. Unassuming restaurants with a simple menu at a reasonable price are considered in line with the neighborhood norms. Based on these, neighborhood construction and evaluation follow different parameters in Sheepshead Bay. The neighborhood

thus has its own range of norms, values, and practices associated with good dining experiences that cannot be compared to other areas but to a different era instead.

In the BK_Yelp corpus, evaluation does not merely draw on overt evaluative strategies, but can go beyond the semantic content of the lexical item or the review. Depending on the neighborhood context, words and practices that evoke particular discourses take on evaluative functions that work “cumulatively and implicitly” (Hunston 2011: 3). The most prominent example is the term *gentrification* and the people, attitudes, and practices associated with it. These references take on negative discourse prosodies and are used as ‘fighting words’ (cf. Freeman 2006),²⁵³ particularly in neighborhoods that are on the brink of gentrification. Moreover, enregistered phrases are used to evoke images of a prior version of the borough pre-gentrification, which are, in turn, used to evaluate the restaurants. Finally, this analysis of Yelp restaurant reviews has also complicated the picture that previous studies have painted. As I have shown, neighborhood names do not merely signal “perceived anomaly” (Zukin et al. 2015: 464) of an area, but are used in strikingly different ways to express stringly different meanings across the sub-corpora.²⁵⁴

The BK_Yelp corpus offers a unique window on discursive neighborhood construction through neighborhood-external and -internal perceptions in online restaurant reviews. The analysis has shown that almost all neighborhoods along Bedford Avenue are dining destinations. In some of these, individual restaurants act as pull-factors, while others offer a fully-fledged consumption landscape that caters to a variety of tastes. Looking beyond Brooklyn, restaurant reviews, as a powerful communicative genre (cf. Vásquez 2014), provide valuable information about the foods, consumption practices, and expectations with regard to pricing or types of cuisines for an area. These reviews thus show “how locality and identity intersect in terms of consumer tastes” (Zukin et al. 2015: 461), and how these are mapped to space to construct neighborhoods. They also yield insights into and, cumulatively, have the power to affect the socio-economic makeup of an area through attracting like-minded consumers or further investments. All of these aspects work together to discursively construct a neighborhood structured by norms, values, and practices.

²⁵³ This corroborates Gerhard’s (2017: 146) claims about the use of different terms for reurbanization processes. While in her view, ‘reurbanization’ is still considered desirable, most likely because it has not taken on a negative discourse prosody yet, ‘gentrification’ has become a fighting word. This is also mirrored in my empirical analyses.

²⁵⁴ In line with Zukin et al.’s (2015) findings, when neighborhood names are used and a mismatch between expectation and reality is detected, for instance a dissonance between a neighborhood and a type of cuisine offered, reviewers refer to restaurants as “hidden gem”. At the same time, the use of a neighborhood name can also indicate that an establishment is a particularly cherished spot for the reviewer or that the establishment has indeed not been known to the reviewer and therefore been a pleasant surprise to them.

9. Zooming out: The discursive field of the neighborhood

In the beginning of this project, I posed three overarching research questions. First, I set out to explore the discursive strategies used to construct the notion of neighborhood across a range of different data types. The second question aimed at discourses contributing to the construction of neighborhood, and a third subsequent question that inspired my data collection in situ and from the web probed into the intra- and inter-spatial variation in different areas in Brooklyn, which means across and within data collection sites, and into interpersonal variation among different social actors.

My aim in answering these research questions was to investigate discursive neighborhood construction as one facet of “discursive urban place-making” (Busse 2019) from a largely social actor-centric, grassroots perspective. In refining my research questions by text type and context of production (see table 4.33 below), this study placed a strong emphasis on the heterogeneity and diversity of residents and stakeholders in order to look at how neighborhood is constructed from the bottom up. This aim informed my methodology on all levels: in the ethnographic fieldwork, data collection – most prominently in my decision to move away from the much-discussed waterfront and to investigate a cross-section of Brooklyn neighborhoods located along Bedford Avenue – and analysis. In bringing together insights gathered from in-depth observations and a quantitative as well as qualitative analysis of a variety of text types, this study extends previous work on neighborhoods by Modan (2007) as well as on urban place-making by Busse and Warnke (2014a, b), and Busse (2019), and shows that ethnographic fieldwork and participant observation are crucial for contextualization and thick description of the findings.

<p>Chapter 4 BK_SpokenRA</p>	<p>How is neighborhood discursively constructed by individual social actors in eight collection brackets along Bedford Avenue? Which processes, people, and evaluative resources are typically linked to neighborhoods? Which discourses are associated with neighborhoods in the respective sub-corpora? Is there intra- and inter-spatial variation?</p>
<p>Chapter 5 BK_SpokenID</p>	<p>How is neighborhood discursively constructed by neighborhood stakeholders? How do the work of associations, the people who live there, and the relations they engage in affect the way they perceive of neighborhoods?</p>
<p>Chapter 6 BK_OrgaWeb</p>	<p>How is neighborhood discursively constructed by neighborhood organizations? Which neighborhood norms are at the basis of these conceptualizations and how are they interwoven with discourses connected to the neighborhood? Is there intra- and inter-spatial variation?</p>
<p>Chapter 7 BK_BBHPR</p>	<p>How is neighborhood discursively constructed in Brooklyn Borough Hall Press Releases? How do salient discourse topics contribute to the perception of neighborhoods, and how are they connected to neighborhoods across Brooklyn? How are neighborhoods and the events taking place in them viewed from a micro-diachronic perspective?</p>

Chapter 8 BK_Yelp	How is neighborhood discursively constructed in online restaurant reviews? How are neighborhoods evaluated implicitly based on collocates of toponyms and neighborhood names, and in spatial frames of reference in particular? How do these strategies differ across neighborhood sub-corpora? How do discourses of gentrification affect discursive neighborhood construction?
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Table 9.1: Overview of research questions.

As social meaning does not automatically derive from the text, but from repeated discursive and social practice (cf. Fairclough 1992), neighborhoods come to represent a spatial anchor point for variegated social meanings as manifested in linguistic and quotidian practices as well as the semiotic landscape of a given neighborhood.²⁵⁵ In chapter 2, I introduced neighborhood as a social and a spatial concept and category of analysis. Chapter 4 builds on this conceptual foundation, as the five corpora provide additional, complementary perspectives on the discursive construction of neighborhood. As aggregates of complex and conflicting discourses, neighborhoods provide a link between space, linguistic, and social practice. This link takes the shape of a “discursive field” (King 2007: 301) which is structured by and evolves from repeated semiotic practice. Discursive fields, then, express patterns of structural relations and are presuppositions in mundane cultural action; they carry the power of structure into meaning-making. They limit the range of potential meanings and values (Spillman 1995: 142).

Discourses that are linked to particular areas contain sets of norms, beliefs, and assumptions about and values that guide practice in a neighborhood. The understanding of neighborhoods as discursive fields allows for the contradictory nature of discourses connected to a particular place.

The discursive field provides avenues for social actors to engage with the neighborhood in discourse and social practice. In line with a social constructionist understanding of the creation of social realities through language and social practice, the people, practices, and values connected to the neighborhood and its communities of practice have the capacity to structure the discursive field of the neighborhood. While it may not be possible to ever fully penetrate it, because its origins or entire range of meanings and intersections are not wholly identifiable (cf. Foucault 1971), a large collection of different text types provides a useful entry point into the discursive field of a neighborhood.

Based on the results of the corpus-assisted discourse analysis of a range of text types, I propose six dimensions that span the discursive field of neighborhood. The data have shown that neighborhoods, in addition to being spatial and social, are also sensory, symbolic, shifting, and stratified. These

²⁵⁵ Work that has drawn on the discursive field as a concept, albeit in a slightly different and more bounded understanding, has looked at the discursive field of population stabilization (King 2007), politicians’s discursive fields (Silva 2019), and the cycling app Strava as a discursive field (Rivers 2020).

dimensions create the discursive field within which the discourses associated with a neighborhood oscillate.

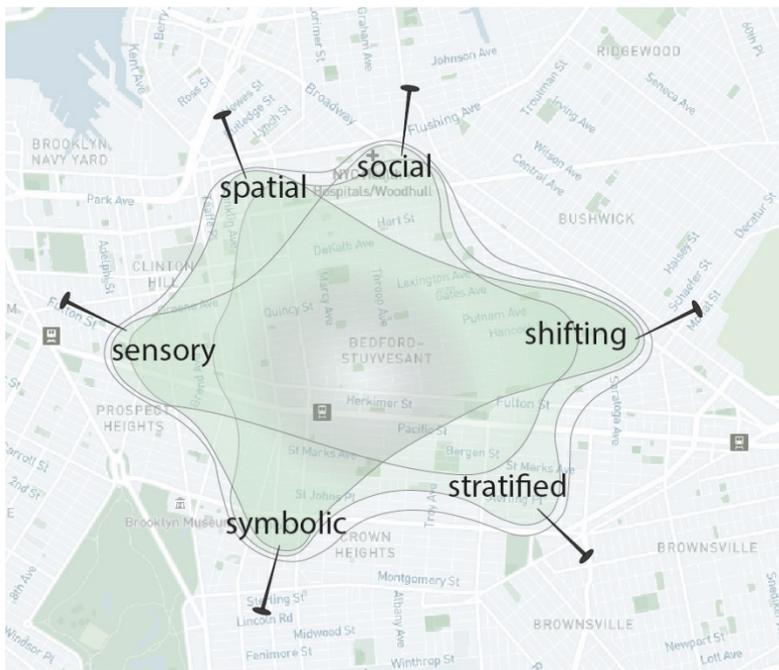


Fig. 25: The discursive field of the neighborhood. Adapted from Mapbox/OpenStreetMap.

In the following I discuss each of them in turn based on findings from the analysis chapters, trying to balance the highly frequent with the single occurrences that, in concert with the data from the other corpora and ethnographic observations, form larger patterns of their own right.

Neighborhoods are clearly **spatial** in that they extend across space. Although many social actors across the corpora conceptualize them as containers, in the form of clusters such as *in the neighborhood*, their borders are flexible. Not everyone will agree on where a given neighborhood begins or ends. The spatial dimension of neighborhoods strongly affects how these are conceptualized discursively by social actors based on the structural characteristics of an area, its buildings, infrastructure, and landscaping. One example from the BK_SpokenRA corpus (chapter 4) is that proximity to and the positive evaluation of the availability of green spaces such as Prospect Park or outdoor third places within a neighborhood is reflected in answers to questions about favorite places in the area. Moreover, some types of spaces, such as dead-end streets with low-rise buildings, community gardens or neighborhood joints are highlighted by respondents in Flatbush and Bed-Stuy as being particularly conducive to sociability within neighborhoods, which is a first indication that the six dimensions are at every moment co-operating, that is, interacting and co-creating the discursive field.

One of the most crucial aspects of the spatial dimension is intra- and interspatial variation²⁵⁶ found in the corpora. While the different vantage points of individual social actors (and interview locations in the spoken corpora) give rise to variation within a neighborhood, the different areas investigated also highlight how built structure significantly affects the way neighborhood is discursively constructed. A neighborhood's location close to the waterfront facing Manhattan, for instance, gives rise to comparison with the neighboring borough (BK_SpokenRA), while being located adjacent to a gentrifying neighborhood like Williamsburg seems to prompt residents to refer to said neighborhood as a negative example in the sense of an undesired neighborhood trajectory. Gentrified areas thus serve as a "new reference point for enregistering the value of neighborhoods" (Busse 2019: 37), albeit a decisively negative one, which attests to the indexical mutability (cf. Eckert 2012) of neighborhood names as signifiers of social value. The distribution of these spatial comparison strategies corroborates Florida's (2017: 109) observation that "the creative class is confined almost completely to parts of the borough that are adjacent to Lower Manhattan, though it is beginning to stretch out from there." In this vein, the area of investigation which has been the most gentrified, Williamsburg, is compared to different areas of Manhattan (cf. Busse 2019), mainly SoHo and the Lower East Side, both of which have been heavily affected by gentrification in the past two decades. This is in line with Busse's (2019) findings that highlight the importance of Manhattan as a basis of comparison in neighborhoods along Brooklyn's 'Innovation Coastline' (Zukin 2020).

The findings of BK_SpokenRA suggest, however, that the picture is more intricate if one looks beyond gentrified neighborhoods like Williamsburg or Brooklyn Heights that entered the fourth wave of gentrification in the early 2000s (cf. Lees et al. 2008). For instance, issues of mobility also impact the ways in which respondents describe and evaluate their neighborhoods. Throughout the BK_SpokenRA corpora, respondents appreciate quick and easy access to public transportation or being located close to a hub. In this regard, the interview data suggest that comparison with Manhattan also occurs in areas that are located further south along Bedford Avenue, more precisely in Midwood and Sheepshead Bay which have direct subway access to the neighboring borough with the F, B and Q-lines. Through the layout of the network of routes, the bypassing of certain hip waterfront neighborhoods, and the direct connection to Manhattan by subway, respondents use references to Manhattan as markers of negative evaluation to

²⁵⁶ I distinguish between intra- and interspatial variation in order to highlight that there can be considerable differences between one and the same neighborhood as well as between separate neighborhoods, no matter where the exact borders of these neighborhoods are.

signal undesired neighborhood trajectories, or, in the case of respondents in residential Sheepshead Bay, to picture the distant and exciting city where they work and play. Respondents in Bed-Stuy and Flatbush, in turn, draw on areas that are closer to them like Williamsburg to index negative evaluation. This shows the crucial role location and mobility play in affecting evaluation, frames of reference, and neighborhood construction more generally, and provides evidence for the existence of inter-spatial variation in the sub-corpora based on the different ways of construing the spatial dimension of the neighborhood.

Second, neighborhoods are **social**. Living in and identifying with an area does not necessarily depend only on location and amenities. Rather, one of the most notable findings from the analysis is that the more social a neighborhood is, the more respondents identify with it. In the BK_SpokenRA corpus, respondents in areas where community discourses are frequently evoked tend to stress the authentic quality of the social relations in the neighborhood, calling them *real* neighborhoods instead of *a collection of people who happen to be thrown together* (3_11216_14). In areas that are judged to be particularly *neighborhoody*, research participants use neighborhood as an adjective denoting a social quality that is associated with the space. This shows that respondents perceive an area as a neighborhood based on the amount to which it is social, and indicate a scalability of neighborhood that depends on the degree of sociality and relations between individuals.

Neighborhood-as-community discourses²⁵⁷ are inherent in the meaning of neighborhood in a large share of the interview data in BK_SpokenRA, but their significance varies across the eight areas investigated. Where people refer to an area as a 'real neighborhood', their answers indicate that there is a shared sense of sociability, for instance a community of neighbors where people greet and know one another and look out for the people on their block. This underlines Gans' (1968: 43) claim that "people do not live in cities or suburbs as a whole, but in specific neighborhoods [...] defined by residents' social contacts." This is especially the case in racially homogeneous areas, like in smaller sub-sections of Flatbush or the whole of Bed-Stuy, where a strong local culture with corresponding social norms affect residents' behaviors (cf. Sampson 2013). In this vein, these findings contradict the conservative lament that there is a widespread loss of community (cf. Putnam 2000, 2007) in urban areas. Community lives on in urban neighborhoods in Brooklyn, it merely takes on different shapes and forms. Most significantly, it lives on as a fundamental urban practice that is based on "fluid encounters" instead of "durable engagements" (Blokland 2017: 70) that have the

²⁵⁷ This can be traced back to the Chicago School of Sociology (Park et al. 1925; cf. also Martin 2003b).

ability to withstand the pace of fluctuation and change in neighborhoods as well as the potential to grow into more durable forms of local community.

In neighborhoods that are seen as communities, respondents frequently refer to the existence of communal third places where neighbors can come together on equal footing. These are meeting areas such as community gardens, parks, or neighborhood joints that respondents list as their favorite places within the neighborhoods because they facilitate social interaction with neighbors, especially in Bed-Stuy, Crown Heights, and Prospect Lefferts Gardens. Likewise, community is construed as a key asset of these neighborhoods and a frequent target of positive evaluation. Throughout the BK_SpokenRA corpus, the perception of physical order seems to be conducive to the impression of neighborhoods as communities of residents. This is in line with the often-criticized broken windows theory by Wilson and Kelling (1982) as well as studies on neighborhoods and social trust (Bakker/Dekker 2012; Sampson 2013), which report that orderliness in the neighborhood is conducive to neighborhood perception and social trust between residents. Collection brackets in which respondents frequently refer to features such as gardens and flowerbeds or evoke the local architecture tend to contain more references to the social dimension of neighborhoods. By contrast, the presence of blight, most prominently in the form of garbage in the street, is not associated with community discourses.

The social dimension of neighborhoods is also realized on the micro-neighborhood level. Even with neighborhood organizations serving the area, it is possible for distinct groups of residents to be living side by side while actually living apart (cf. Ignatieff 2017). The many micro-neighborhoods within Flatbush as well as the close-knit ethnic enclaves in Sheepshead Bay exhibit strong social ties between members of ethnic groups in their respective micro-neighborhoods, but their members in Flatbush and Sheepshead Bay seldom interact with the other residents or the middle- and upper-middle-class areas further to the west respectively. The BK_Yelp corpus (chapter 8) underlines that this social segregation is also reflected and reified in the consumption landscape, most prominently in Flatbush.

Respondents in “monofunctional, car-dependent neighborhoods” (Montgomery 2015: 55) in the more suburban south of Bedford Avenue, which largely consist of single-family homes and larger apartment buildings with patchy access to amenities and public transport, are less likely to evoke community discourses than residents in the more dense, walkable neighborhoods further north. The suburban character of the area makes it possible for new immigrants (in the case of Sheepshead Bay from Russian-speaking countries) to stick to their

kind. Whether a result of this relative residential segregation or not, respondents from different communities of practice signaled a lack of trust in their ‘other’ neighbors in suburban Sheepshead Bay. This is a stark contrast to the emphasis on community and social interaction between neighbors in walkable, multi-functional neighborhoods further north, and points to the importance of shared practices or third places as facilitators of interpersonal trust in neighborhoods (cf. Ellen 2000; Rosenblum 2016; Allmendinger/Wetzel 2020).

This social phenomenon comes into play when individuals encounter others. Trust is a key variable for the social dimension of neighborhood. Building on work by Luhmann (1968 [2000]) and Hartmann (2001), Gerhard and Keller stress that trust “bridges the gap between individuals, institutions or systems” (Gerhard/Keller 2019: 301, my transl.) in the urban space. It crucially affects other dimensions, too. In this regard, the findings of the study at hand corroborate Gerhard and Keller’s (ibid.) position as they highlight the importance of trust for relations within the neighborhood, how it affects perceived safety, how it is played out in descriptions of threats to the right to a home or the right to public space, in participation in or services provided for the everyday life in the neighborhood as well as in plans for its future.

Interpersonal, and to some extent generalized, trust are indeed some of the most important aspects for the happiness of people living in the city (cf. Montgomery 2015; Leyden et al. 2011), largely because the urban is ultimately a collective endeavor. The fact that urban life cannot function without trust (Gerhard/Keller 2019: 304) becomes apparent in various instances throughout this project. In my data, respondents rarely name ‘trust’ explicitly. When they do, it is to denote the absence of trust: when the city does not trust neighbors (BK_SpokenRA), when people do not trust a neighborhood and its residents enough to invest in it, or do not trust a neighborhood organization which works to create safe and affordable housing for low-income residents (BK_SpokenID). To be sure, this is nothing out of the ordinary. Findings from the latest Pew Research Center report on “Trust and Distrust in America” (2019) suggest that 86% (of the 10,618 respondents, not of all Americans) believe that the local level of the neighborhood is a starting point for building trust across disparate groups as well as across the political aisle (Pew 2019: 14). However, philosopher Trudy Govier (1997) calls attention to the fact that trust – not distrust – is rarely communicated explicitly. In addition, it crucially depends on who the trusters and trustees are, and who, in turn, “might benefit by ‘trusting more.’” (Govier 1997: 44) On the neighborhood level, groups with lower trust levels tend to be those who have experienced “harshness, poverty, discrimination, abuse, brutality, even torture and

surveillance” (ibid.) rooted in social inequality and the effects of discriminatory practices such as redlining. It is thus not surprising that there are varying trust levels in the American society and that not everyone has been able to rebuild a sense of working trust in historically untrustworthy actors like local authorities or in other social actors outside of their own racial or ethnic group, particularly in the context of rapidly shifting urban neighborhoods. In this vein, it is crucial to assess in how far measures to improve trust levels among the general population are actually beneficial to those who are supposedly lacking or benefitting from trust.

The importance of third places for the social dimension of neighborhoods is underlined in data from in-depth interviews with stakeholders (chapter 5) and neighborhood organization websites (chapter 6). Besides offering services, hosting events, or functioning as third places to local residents, these organizations facilitate interaction and have a solidarity-establishing function within the neighborhood. While pursuing different goals, the various neighborhood organizations create unique stances regarding a neighborhood, its norms, values, residents, and shared visions that they want to accomplish as part of the social and spatial project of the neighborhood. To do so, they discursively position themselves as neighborhood-internal actors and members of local communities of practice, evaluate issues at hand, and align themselves with different groups of neighbors by creating solidarity through an emphasis on closeness on the level of the text, most notably in the pronoun use and the choice of group denominators. These stances are rarely “overtly expressed grammatically” (Biber/Gray 2012: 30) but can be unearthed through a close focus on the ways respondents position themselves and evaluate certain conditions or groups to shed light on “the link between individual performance and social meaning.” (Jaffe 2009: 4) This also provides insight into individuals’ identities as neighbors who “draw social boundaries and lay claim to particular statuses” (Snell 2017: 306), as is expressed in negotiations of belonging in the neighborhood.

These findings are similar to Betancur’s (2010) study on gentrifying parts of Chicago, which underlines the importance of communal visions and mutual help in achieving aspirations for the neighborhood. By connecting the need of specific groups of neighbors with the well-being of the neighborhood as a whole, associations seek to find supporters for their cause and at the same time facilitate the connection between neighbors that is needed to create neighborhoods able to withstand the effects of looming changes. They do so by organizing “civic events that are collective in nature and that bring together members of the community.” (Sampson 2013: 182) These local, small-scale actions as described and advertised on neighborhood organization websites present these organizations as trust-

facilitating actors who value connection and community and lay important foundations for interaction between a diverse set of residents to become neighbors.

However, it is pivotal to be mindful of the (historical) contexts in which trust has flourished or been extinguished by institutions or other collective actors in a particular neighborhood. In a time that has been described as a “crisis of trust” (Yarrow 2018: 222), a phrase which is used somewhat excessively in academic discussions (cf. Frevert 2013), the emphasis is clearly on measures that can repair or rebuild trust. Nevertheless, in offering solutions to local and national ‘crises of trust’, “the failure to relativize the benefits of trust to life circumstances is significant.” (Govier 1997: 44) This means that not every social actor in the urban realm can necessarily afford to trust (cf. Lewis/Weigert 1985; Giddens 1990; Govier 1997; Allmendinger/Wetzel 2020). Therefore, it would be useful to think about creating neighborhoods and spaces within them that encourage social actors to engage in interactions that facilitate interpersonal trust, and to keep in mind the “contexts, evidence, and aspects of degree that apply to trust and distrust” (Govier 1997: 46) while doing so. If cities cannot function without trust, as Gerhard and Keller (2019) claim, neighborhoods as fundamentally social phenomena are a prime place to start rebuilding and maintaining trust from the bottom up.

When community discourses are evoked, respondents frequently link them to the **sensory** dimension of neighborhoods, suggesting that they are not just lived and practiced, but provide an experience. References to a ‘neighborhood feel’ hint at an intersection between the social and the sensory dimension. A different kind of atmosphere is evoked in interviews conducted in Williamsburg where respondents describe the presence of hip and creative people, the atmosphere at events, and the presence of creative consumption as markers of a cool vibe that is associated with the ‘New Brooklyn.’ In her study on city websites, sociolinguist Cristina Paganoni (2012 referring to Degen 2008) shows that the goal of the creation of a “sensory, and sensuous” (ibid.: 19) connection between textual representation and material reality is to encourage people to become consumers of an aesthetic experience connected to a particular space. This practice is most frequently touched upon in the restaurant reviews in the BK_Yelp corpus. Research on Yelp reviews highlights the generic nature of the language used to evaluate foods (cf. Chik/Vásquez 2016). The same holds true for evaluation of the surroundings of the establishments. Often based on momentary observations made while traveling to the restaurant, these judgments of the neighborhood give rise to evaluative structures with the polar opposites “good” and “bad.” Thus,

reviews tend to be ripe with stereotypes regarding the structural makeup of the area or the people who are around.

Discourses of safety evoked in the BK_Spoken RA corpus (chapter 4) strongly suggest that safety is also linked to the sensory dimension of neighborhoods. Safety tends to be evoked implicitly, either by stating that conditions in the area have improved or by declaring that crime has been reduced. This includes the strategy of temporal comparison by long-term residents who evaluate the current status of the neighborhood positively because there have been significant reductions of crime. Research participants evoke the issue of crime mainly by negating the crime frame as opposed to openly declaring that they are concerned about crime in the area. This discursive strategy plays a significant role with regard to discourses revolving around safety in the corpora, particularly in areas that have had higher-than-average crime levels in the past. These strategies occur in three areas only (Bed-Stuy, Flatbush, and Sheepshead Bay), which also highlights the shifting nature of these very neighborhoods.

Discourses of danger and safety are strongly affected by what is perceived to be the image held by people outside the neighborhood. The interview data also suggest that the awareness of safety depends on the length of residence and thus ability to assess the situation in a temporal comparison. This highlights the relevance of knowing the code of the street (cf. E. Anderson 1999), which in turn affects neighborhood norms held by informants. In the rapid-anonymous interviews and in off-record conversations with local residents and stakeholders during my fieldwork, members of the resident in-group mitigate public perceptions of safety with hedges and by weighing up instances of criminal activity with other aspects of the neighborhood that they consider to be more important, for instance affordability. Although only one respondent in the BK_SpokenRA corpus emphasizes that looking like one's neighbors is a precondition to feeling safe, this topic was brought up by several – usually Black or brown – people that I talked to off the record.²⁵⁸ Thus, a certain homogeneity in the neighborhood, and a convergence of people who share sets of identity categories, affects the sensory dimension of neighborhoods, both in terms of safety and feelings of belonging.

Fourth, neighborhoods have a **symbolic** dimension. This finding corroborates research in urban sociology which suggests that “every space has both material and symbolic forms.” (Zukin 2002: 346) Neighborhoods in particular “are both symbolically and structurally determined” (Sampson 2013: 55). This also

²⁵⁸ An audience member at a podium discussion at BRIC Brooklyn in September 2018 argued that the arrival of people who did not look like her in her neighborhood put her in danger, despite the crime levels dropping in her African-American North-Central Brooklyn neighborhood. After this, I brought up the matter in conversations with gardeners and residents in these areas who said they shared this impression.

entails the possibility of contestation and shifting of the symbolic meaning of the neighborhood. For instance, the name 'Bed-Stuy' may have become enregistered to evoke either stereotypes of a Black ghetto in the past or, in line with recent developments, may index a long-standing African-American neighborhood with a distinct culture and identity. This points to a partial shift in public perception and highlights the potential for indexical mutability (cf. Eckert 2012). In like manner, enregistered forms are utilized to signal context-specific evaluation that contributes to the symbolic dimension of neighborhood. The process of ascribing values to particular words or phrases in the BK_Yelp corpus is linked to a particular idea of the respective neighborhood. Enregistered phrases such as "fuhggedabboudid" and dishes named after the Flatbush neighborhood were used to create a connection to Old Brooklyn as "a state of mind as much as a physical place" (Freudenheim 2016: 13), thus emphasizing the authenticity of the hybrid cuisines.

The restaurant review corpus further showed that the consumption landscape affects the interpretation of the symbolic value of a neighborhood. This becomes conspicuous, for instance, in negotiations as to whether or not practices are conforming to the symbolic meaning of the neighborhood. Restaurant reviews shed light on the kinds of foods that are consumed, the culinary practices that the area is connected to and the expectations that are directed at it. Towards the north of Bedford Avenue, dining experiences transport consumers to foreign destinations. The middle section provides possibilities for hybrid consumption, while reviews in the South take diners to the Brooklyn of a former time. The three major classifications of neighborhoods as consumption spaces that evolved from the analysis – New, Hybrid, and Old Brooklyn – highlight how (historical) local identities and practices affect the construction of neighborhood and underline that "discourses always have a past and future" (Rheindorf 2019: 174). Based on this rootedness in space and time (cf. Pred 2010), perceptions that deviate from the neighborhood norms that are taken up in the interviews can constitute forms of discursive investment in neighborhoods or function as discursive redlining practices. The identification of deviance from neighborhood and local culinary norms is most prevalent in areas undergoing social or structural change. In largely white neighborhoods, there are fewer indicators of discursive struggles for the preservation of a racialized neighborhood identity and a stronger emphasis on nostalgia. Alternatively, the discursive struggle that is played out in the restaurant reviews revolves around social status anxieties that come to the fore in attempts to maintain or alter the neighborhood's class affiliation in discourse. The arrival of different types of cuisines associated with more upscale tastes, for instance an upscale brunch place in Flatbush or a French restaurant in the African-American

neighborhood of Bed-Stuy, are signs of a tug-of-war about the neighborhood's identity. Therefore, restaurants considered to be at odds with a neighborhood's history and culinary practices are evaluated negatively. Restaurant reviews thus contain complex expressions of neighborhood perceptions that contribute to the cumulative discursive construction of a particular neighborhood.

The BK_OrgaWeb, BK_SpokenRA, BK_SpokenID, and BK_Yelp corpora further showed that neighborhoods become symbolically loaded places²⁵⁹ that provide possibilities for belonging and pride. They also may evolve into symbols of social status, for instance in attempts to do singularization work (cf. Reckwitz 2017). In this vein, neighborhoods are ascribed a certain identity that functions as currency in the "symbolic economy" of the city (Zukin 1995: 2) because it may attract or deter investment or in-migration. When a neighborhood's identity becomes part of the symbolic economy, the history of an area and what residents perceive of its identity can be commodified and exploited, particularly alongside processes of gentrification. Accordingly, "gentrification begins to seem like a geographical as well as a social strategy of identity construction." (Harvey 1996: 105)

The analyses have shown that residents associate and align themselves with the history of the neighborhood, its local culture and identity. The interview corpora, organization websites, and restaurant reviews have shown that drastic changes in the neighborhood's demographics and consumption landscape are regarded as threatening to the area's identity. When social actors are confronted with neighborhood transformation, their affinity to an area's perceived identity may give rise to feelings of nostalgia. Struggles over a local identity, which take place in discourse and social practice, became most apparent in interviews conducted in historically African-American, now gentrifying neighborhoods, such as Bed-Stuy, Crown Heights, and to some extent also Prospect Lefferts Gardens/Flatbush. But also the most suburban of all areas, Sheepshead Bay, is currently undergoing demographic change that respondents see as a threat to the identity of the neighborhood. As the in-depth interviews and the organization websites have indicated, the development of new buildings, amenities, and consumption spaces attract and come with new residents who assert their claim for neighborhood space, while long-time residents struggle to keep up with rising rents or to hold on to their properties. Shifts in a neighborhood's socio-demographic makeup as a result of gentrification are also noticed and utilized by the real estate sector which heavily draws on the symbolic value of a neighborhood in sales strategies, as the

²⁵⁹ Noschis discusses the "symbolic meaning of public places" (1987: 301) to describe the "affective bonds between people and public settings of their habitat" (ibid.). Similarly, Pietrzak and Angiel (2018) discuss the "symbolic dimension of the city" of Krakow.

BK_SpokenID corpus has suggested. In light of this, even long-time residents who are open to change are concerned that the identity of the neighborhood is at stake.

The symbolic meaning of a neighborhood is also shaped by the wider public who do not reside in the area in question. This shows that struggles over the geography of a neighborhood, to borrow Edward Said's line of thinking, are "also about ideas, about forms, about images and imaginings." (Said 1993: 6) In a tense climate where race, class (anxieties), and privilege play into public perceptions, the discursive negotiations of particular neighborhoods, what they are and should be like, are not only very controversial but also prone to be defined by stereotypes and reductive accounts of the situation on the ground. Conversations with neighborhood stakeholders (chapter 5), some on and others off the record, reveal that these views are widespread, which was corroborated by their persistence in the BK_Yelp corpus. A hotbed of gentrification whose meaning is strongly contested, Bed-Stuy is connected with colonialization discourses in which the neighborhood is conceptualized as land to be conquered by pioneers who are pushing the frontier of gentrification further and further into Brooklyn. In the discursive negotiation of the meaning of the neighborhood, and the struggle for the identity of the latter, the use of such tropes is reflected in the act of strategically renaming neighborhoods (cf. Madden 2018). These tactics serve as a legitimization for gentrification (cf. N. Smith 1996; Mele 2000): Not referring to an area by its name erases its residents and history and, ultimately, plays down their significance in public discourse. At the same time, it obscures the values that are associated with the area and makes it more inviting for potential new residents. The symbolic dimension is thus shaped by local norms, values, and practices that are put on the table in restaurant reviews and other text types.

Fifth, neighborhoods are continually **shifting**. This dimension is evoked mostly by references to change, transformations of the commercial landscape but also structural and demographic changes. In line with Partington (2007), the two main ways in which these are evaluated grammatically are spatial and temporal comparison. One of the major shifts that is suggested across the spoken corpora lies in increases in rent or real estate prices, as well as in investments in the commercial landscape that have the potential to alter the faces and demographics of neighborhoods. This is where the struggle over the right to the neighborhood begins. Indeed, the fact that "powerful newcomers [are] appropriating place, claiming it as their own, and establishing a new credibility is an old New York story. It is also an American one." (Trinch/Snajdr 2020: 2015) However, there were minute differences in how this story is represented in the corpora. For instance, while respondents in BK_SpokenRA suggested that in almost all areas, an influx

of capital went hand in hand with a reduction of crime, a small number of residents in parts of Flatbush, Midwood, and Sheepshead Bay stated that shifts in the makeup of the neighborhood made them concerned about the general safety.

The shifting nature of neighborhoods is recognized and sometimes even embraced by social actors, as they attempt to realize desired visions of the neighborhood by keeping some aspects and fighting to change others. In the BK_OrgaWeb corpus, local organization websites across all areas conceptualize neighborhoods as unfinished spatial and social projects which are to be optimized by neighborhood-internal actors. This highlights a trend that can be observed across all corpora, namely that “place characteristics one cherishes are fragile” (Brown-Saracino 2009: 265), particularly in gentrifying or gentrified areas like post-industrial Williamsburg, where neighborhood association websites deploy battle rhetoric to highlight the urgency of the fight against further large-scale demographic changes, evictions, and the construction of luxury housing. Long-time residential areas, on the contrary, work on the basis of preservation of the neighborhood history and status quo, for instance by lobbying for a limit on permitted building heights to maintain the current physical makeup of the area. Thus, internal actors like neighborhood organizations implicitly evoke desired future visions that are based on people, practices, and values in the neighborhoods. Referring to qualities that they consider worth keeping, organizations create images of a good or ideal neighborhood that is not completely transformed by the downsides of gentrification, despite potential conflicts between the individual communities of practice within a neighborhood.²⁶⁰

While a key topic in the BK_SpokenRA, BK_SpokenID, and BK_OrgaWeb corpora, gentrification – as the most prominent driver of change in shifting neighborhoods during this project – was conspicuous by its absence in the BK_BBHPR corpus. However, even if it was not explicitly addressed, the key topics in the press releases underlined the existence of gentrification as the elephant in the room. Many of these relate to developments that negatively affect long-time, low-income residents. The issues seeking improvement are either correlated with or caused by gentrification. Findings from the BK_SpokenRA corpus, in turn, suggest that the decisions to alleviate the effects of these large-scale shifts in the realm of housing are perceived to be made in a top-down manner by neighborhood-external actors. The results from the BK_SpokenID and the BK_OrgaWeb corpora suggest that this is where neighborhood associations step in as intermediaries providing services and support from neighbors for neighbors in times of social and structural change.

²⁶⁰ Urban sociologist Suttles calls such neighborhoods “defended neighborhoods” (1972: 21-35).

In the BK_SpokenRA corpus, respondents conceptualize gentrification as a double-edged sword. While moderate changes of the neighborhood, most visibly the reduction of empty storefronts and lots, the improvement of amenities and services as well as a potential decrease in crime are appreciated, respondents are aware that these changes might attract more and more affluent residents who, in turn, may induce a demographic shift that transforms the neighborhood further. Gentrification not only jeopardizes social actors' personal existence due to skyrocketing rents but also the sensory and symbolic dimensions of the neighborhood because the threat of displacement that looms over residents or independently-owned stores is at once a threat to the identity of these social actors.

In the rapid-anonymous interviews, respondents position themselves vis-à-vis gentrification in various ways. On the one hand, they ignore their own role in the process as drivers of gentrification (consumption-side theory, see Harvey 1989a: 156) or shift the responsibility to corporations, local authorities, or even local residents themselves. While there is a strong sense of awareness in earlier-stage gentrifying neighborhoods such as Bed-Stuy, little attention is paid to previous residents or ethnic communities still fighting to stay on in Williamsburg, as the BK_SpokenID corpus confirmed. The most frequent discursive strategy, on the other hand, is for respondents to foreground their whiteness and thus out-group status in these neighborhoods and, at the same time, to own their responsibility and position themselves as active allies of long-time residents in the fight against neighborhood change. This also entails the expression of a desire to go back in time to a pre-gentrification state in order to maintain a neighborhood's socio-economic diversity. The protection of diversity comes close to an aestheticization thereof because it is seen as a means of cultural capital deployed for identity positioning, particularly by "symbolic" (Schlichtman et al. 2017: 36) or social preservationist gentrifiers (Brown-Saracino 2009). These stance-taking moves function as "avenues of identity construction" (Taylor 2002: 75), and, cumulatively, as means of neighborhood construction in discourse.

Across the BK_Yelp corpus, gentrification and the people, attitudes, and practices associated with it are used as a fighting word,²⁶¹ particularly in neighborhoods that have not yet been but fear to be completely transformed by it.²⁶² In this context, the semantic field of gentrification becomes enregistered as

²⁶¹ This corroborates Gerhard's (2017: 146) claims about the use of different terms for reurbanization processes. While in her view, 'reurbanization' is still considered desirable, most likely because it has not taken on a negative discourse prosody yet, 'gentrification' has become a fighting word. This is also mirrored in my empirical analysis.

²⁶² Even though many of these neighborhoods are, statistically speaking, not considered to be gentrifying in data published by institutions such as the NYU Furman Center (2019), rising rental prices and visible large-scale transformations often paint a different picture. It would thus be helpful to move away from taking average-median-incomes per neighborhood two decades ago into account when deciding whether or not it is apt to call a neighborhood 'gentrifying' but to look at the current conditions and rent burdens that local residents experience.

an index for negative evaluation. When members of this semantic field are evoked in the reviews, they signal negative polarity in all neighborhood subcorpora, with the exception of one instance in Flatbush and some reviews in Williamsburg that highlight positive effects of gentrification. This echoes findings from the BK_SpokenRA and BK_OrgaWeb corpora, where lexical items that refer to undesired changes and have a negative discourse prosody become part of the evaluative register connected to an area, thus enregistering the neighborhood name as a signifier of negative neighborhood trajectories, as in the case of Williamsburg.

As competing interests can easily seem irreconcilable, the difficulties related to demographic shifts in a neighborhood become apparent in the way different groups are linguistically constructed. Local stakeholders in the BK_SpokenID corpus do not see themselves as regulatory entities in a position to stop neighborhood change, but they are working to ensure that all neighbors can stay in the area and benefit from newly opened parks or other amenities. One underlying strategy that emerged from the BK_SpokenID and BK_OrgaWeb corpora revolves around the facilitation of interaction in the neighborhood and the creation of inter-group trust. In this vein, tenant organizers and association websites engage in strategic discursive performances of social coherence, while gardeners or members of a block association engage in continuous negotiations for consensus that enable them to pull together and make the most of the shifting environments they are located in.

Sixth, neighborhoods are **stratified**, both in relation to other areas that are discursively positioned as standing in a relation to that neighborhood, and in the sense that neighborhoods are not level playing fields but may (re-)produce inequalities within and between neighborhoods. The hierarchical or stratified nature of neighborhoods within the city derives from the fact that “[e]very building, street, and neighborhood is simultaneously a cultural space and a part of a matrix of power.” (Zukin 2002: 347; cf. also Sampson 2013) The inter-relatedness with other quarters or areas, their dependency on and hierarchical relation with them, became conspicuous in spatial comparisons between several neighborhoods which signaled negative evaluation. The stratification came to the fore in select interviews in the BK_SpokenRA corpus that addressed unequal distributions of services such as garbage collection or the availability of composting but appeared most prominently in the BK_BBHPR corpus.

The main discourse topics I identified among the first 200 keywords in BK_BBHPR (transportation, education, housing, safety, and groups) all suggest that neighborhoods are deeply unequal with regard to social and structural

aspects. The overall aim of the BP seems to be to facilitate equity, and more specifically empowerment, prosperity, and community in a diverse borough. In a borough of neighborhoods with diverse needs, however, some areas receive more attention by the BP than others. Depending on the discourse topic, there is a clear emphasis on central (previously redlined or industrial) areas toward the North as opposed to peripheral (residential, suburban) areas towards the southern end of Brooklyn. Since the contents of press releases are overwhelmingly positive causes, this geographical emphasis indicates which neighborhoods are most loudly supported. What is more, the press releases give insight into where grants or investments go. This might be because the beneficiary neighborhoods have been long neglected and need more attention and funding to compensate for services or resources provided elsewhere, for instance, in the public-school sector or with regard to access to transportation. Conversely, some areas may receive public funding as a result of grant applications written by local residents, a process that requires substantial time, skill, and resources.

While there is no mention of underperformance or school segregation, both prevalent issues in the borough's public-school system (cf. Civil Rights Project 2014; Monarrez 2018; Shapiro 2019), there is considerable inter-spatial variation with regard to which areas receive funding for upgrades regarding learning facilities. Moreover, in the discussion of affordable housing in the five-year span of the press releases, during which lower-income public-housing residents lived in inhumane and perilous conditions, not a single unit of affordable housing was built despite outspoken support and financial stimuli provided by the borough president. Transportation discourses reveal that references to pedestrian safety in the BK_BBHPR cluster in Central/South Brooklyn, areas which are underserved by both public transport and in terms of basic pedestrian and cyclist infrastructure, without announcing any improvement measures in these areas other than the expansion of private bike share services. The spatial focus in terms of housing, safety, and transport tends to be on lower-income areas on the periphery of Brooklyn that have thus far received inadequate services or have been treated differently than other areas, which points to an inter-neighborhood stratification in the borough or even city.

Intra-neighborhood stratification shines through on several occasions in the corpora. It becomes most obvious in the BK_SpokenID corpus where issues such as affordability are discussed with regard to neighborhoods. Here, the majority of respondents indicate they must work several jobs in order to afford the rent or from fear of being priced out, while very few laud the comparably low rents. This shows that, in shifting urban neighborhoods that experience processes of gentrification,

the struggle is less about the transformation of a neighborhood than it is “about power” (deMause 2016: 211) that one group wields over another. This internal stratification becomes conspicuous in answers from respondents addressing the future of the neighborhood, who state plainly that they feel like the new developments and amenities are not planned for them but for a whiter, more affluent clientele. This is also reflected in the consumption landscape which does not allow for all local residents to frequent the businesses in their neighborhood. This can easily snowball into other aspects of neighborhood life, “exert[ing] pressure for changes in both the physical landscape and the social community.” (Zukin 2010: 29) Concerns about commercial establishments catering only to an elite are also voiced in the BK_Yelp corpus. The Flatbush neighborhood, for instance, is so large and socio-economically diverse that a broad variety of expectations of taste and perceptions of class play into how the area and its restaurants are construed and evaluated. One café in particular is linked to discourses of gentrification and is evaluated more favorably by non-residents than those living in the area, for whom the establishment is inaccessible. The negative discourse prosody of lexical items that refer to gentrification emphasizes that consumption practices are “integrally linked with [the consumers’] class identity and the exclusion of the ‘other’.” (Keatinge/Martin 2016: 870) In these conditions, individual perceptions of residents can easily become exclusionary towards others who share the neighborhood space and amenities.

In light of the existing stratification, the findings from the present study assert Busse’s (2019) claim that, in addition to turning to hyper-gentrified Williamsburg as a “reference point for enregistering the value of neighbourhoods” nearby (ibid.: 37), it is crucial to also look beyond such reference points. Although they widely dominate the current public (global) perception of Brooklyn, they are only referred to by a small sub-section of the interview population. The farther one moves away from such supposed reference points, the less frequent and less relevant they become and the more they take on a negative meaning. They then carry a local discourse prosody or become more widely enregistered to signal negative polarity. Thus, the center becomes the periphery in that it is less frequently referred to and loses its positive evaluative potential. In moving away from the center, we also refrain from amplifying the stratification that originates from such reference points that serve to enregister and evaluate other areas nearby. In other words, we as researchers contribute to the stratification if our gaze is only directed at neighborhoods already considered to rank highest in the urban hierarchy.

It should be clear from this discussion that none of these dimensions have clear-cut boundaries. Instead, these six dimensions based on the results from the corpus assisted discourse analysis provide anchor points that span the discursive field of the neighborhood. These dimensions connect many of the discursive and social patterns discovered across the corpora and across the areas I investigated, creating yet wider patterns of discursive neighborhood construction that only become obvious when all variables are considered against the background of ethnographic fieldwork, both in-situ and from a distance. As human geographer Yi-Fu Tuan argues, “[t]aking language seriously” lays bare the “aesthetic or affectional” facets of place and, crucially, its “moral dimension” (1991: 694). In this vein, the power of language and the role it plays in the discursive construction of the neighborhood cannot be underestimated. This corpus ethnographic approach has provided a more detailed understanding of the norms and ideologies that are perpetuated in particular neighborhoods and highlighted how spatiality protrudes into the realm of the text.

Neighborhood is a ubiquitous and somewhat slippery concept that is frequently evoked as a subject of (scholarly) discussion. This also brings with it the danger of treating and applying it in a reductionist fashion, which neglects its multi-layeredness and dynamic nature. Research from across the social sciences often draws together two or three of these dimensions in their definitions of neighborhood, but few definitions are rooted in empirical explorations that draw on understandings of the concept held by the non-academic public. This project has proven that these can be a fruitful addition to theory-building on the subject. The six dimensions that make up the discursive field bring together aspects that can be tackled in participatory neighborhood development processes as well as in further research across disciplines. They are an easy-to-grasp tool that allows for practical as well as theoretical application. Future work building on these findings could provide deeper insight into neighborhood from an urban comparative vantage point, exploring in how far this conceptualization applies across North American post-industrial metropolitan areas and beyond the Global North.

Neighborhood is also a contested concept. Viewing neighborhoods as discursive fields makes clear the conflicting priorities of social actors at different levels of local organization. The discursive field makes visible the interrelations between the six dimensions, their simultaneous movement towards and push away from the respective poles. Understanding the neighborhood as a discursive field also highlights the pivotal role of social and semiotic practice for the neighborhood. Rebuilding trust in the urban space starts with taking neighbors and their concerns seriously. The understanding of a basic unit of urban – and social – morphology as

negotiable in discourse and practice opens up pathways to answer pressing questions in a more accessible and less top-down manner.

One thing became clear in the analysis of the corpora, namely that there is no one-size-fits all approach to preserving or developing neighborhoods. There can never be a broad consensus on what a good neighborhood is, but decisions made on a case-by-case basis should be targeted first on the needs of current local social actors, and only second on those one would want to attract. Understanding the discursive fields of neighborhoods and their rootedness in time and space is a key hurdle to the understanding of neighborhood as a concept, and the needs of individual neighborhoods and their residents in particular.

This study was limited to discursive neighborhood construction in Brooklyn. However, its findings do not only apply to Brooklyn. While every neighborhood across the world has unique structural, cultural, social, and economic conditions on the local level, it is at the same time affected by global forces. Negotiations about good and just living spaces are pressing issues no matter where we direct our gaze. Processes like gentrification, in the urban and elsewhere, can give rise to a spatial expression of the preference of some lifestyles, of some perspectives and needs over others, and in the end, the power of one group over another.

I want to end by emphasizing that, “[j]ust as every global city has a business district, every global city has a Brooklyn” (Shepard/Noonan 2018: 25). Ultimately, the parts of cities where the global elites work and play depend on those living in the periphery who keep the city up and running but whose perspective is seldom represented. Despite being worlds apart, the trendy centers made up of gentrified, almost disneyfied landscapes and the predominantly working-class neighborhoods across the world also have some things in common. The results from this study show that it takes more than an aggregate of buildings and people to form a neighborhood. Based on the data analyzed in this study, all these neighborhoods are spatial in that they have a location, a physical structure, and extend into space. They are social, and if we can believe the spoken data from this study, the more social an area is, the more of a neighborhood it is. They are sensory in that they can be felt and experienced. Neighborhoods are symbolic, which means they function as important resources of identity construction. Conversely, their symbolic value can also be commodified and exploited. They are shifting, both on the structural and on the semiotic level. Neighborhoods constantly change, just like their reputation and discursive representations, some faster than others. And lastly, they are stratified. They may be affected by or reproduce inequality, and due to their relational quality, they are always discursively weighed up against others based on their attributes or functions. It is precisely the interwovenness of these

dimensions in the discursive field of a neighborhood that bears the potential for resistance. The six dimensions that evolved from the analysis of data produced by a broad variety of social actors provide insights into the concept of neighborhood from a grassroots-perspective that can be utilized by community organizers and urban professionals. In discursive action, local social actors can re-negotiate the question of the right to the neighborhood, and open up avenues for more just urban futures.

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Appendix

A. Semi-structured interview questions:

General:

- Do you live in this area?
- Tell me about your decision to move to the area.
- What was your initial reaction to it?
- Do other people who live here share this view?
- Do people around here contribute to this area?

Status quo:

- What values/qualities in this particular neighborhood do you enjoy the most / the least (aesthetic, social, cultural, political...)?
- What is your favorite / least favorite place in this neighborhood and why?
- Please complete the following sentence: *This is a place where people...*
- What do people do around here?

Change:

- What qualities of the neighborhood would you like to see change? Why/why not?
- Has this place changed since you have moved here, if so, how?
- How would you evaluate these developments?
- Who decided to make these recent changes?
- What are your greatest concerns regarding the future of the neighborhood?
- If you could freeze the neighborhood in a specific time/state, what would it look like/which period would you choose?

B. List of websites crawled for BK_OrgaWeb:

	Organization name	Area	URL
1	BDSC	Bed-Stuy	https://www.bsdcorp.org/
2	IMPACCT Brooklyn	Crown Heights	https://impacctbrooklyn.org/
3	Radical living	Bed-Stuy	https://radical-living.org/
4	Bedford Stuyvesant Restoration Corporation	Bed-Stuy	http://restorationplaza.org/
5	STooPS	Bed-Stuy	http://www.stoopsbedstuy.org/
6	Society for Clinton Hill	Clinton Hill	http://www.societyforclintonhill.org/
7	Flatbush Development Corporation	Flatbush	http://www.fdconline.org/
8	Midwood Development Corporation	Midwood	http://middev.org/
9	Community Board 14	Flatbush, Midwood	http://www.cb14brooklyn.com/
10	West Midwood Community Association	Midwood	http://www.westmidwood.org/main/
11	El Puente	Williamsburg	https://elpuente.us/
12	Peoples Firehouse Inc.	Williamsburg	http://www.thefirehousebk.org/
13	Town Square	Williamsburg	https://www.townsquareinc.com/blog
14	Los Sures	Williamsburg	http://www.southsideunitedhdfc.org/
15	Reconnect Brooklyn	Bed-Stuy	http://reconnectbrooklyn.org/
16	Greene Acres	Bed-Stuy	https://www.nyrp.org/green-spaces/garden-details/greene-acres-community-garden
17	Brooklyn Neighborhood Services	Bed-Stuy	http://www.bnscdc.org/
18	BNIA	Crown Heights	https://thebnia.org/
19	La Casita Verde	Williamsburg	http://www.lacasitaverde.nyc/
20	NAG	Williamsburg	http://nag-brooklyn.org/

C. Concordances

1. BK_SpokenRA:

N Concordance

1 hborhood, but just, uh, more of a **neighborhood** , not in the sense of community, b
2 hink when you have when a when a **neighborhood** becomes touristy, it 's because p
3 elt like it was more of more of a **neighborhood** , but just, uh, more of a neighbor
4 ess I like that it 's, uh, both a **neighborhood** feeling and there and but and it
5 and so if Williamsburg becomes a **neighborhood** that 's, um, hip or, you know, ju
6 y wonderful, like the it 's now a **neighborhood** . There 's a lot of cultures here.
7 f romantic story with this little **neighborhood** . Okay, so what are the qualities
8 's why I 'm moving, uh, out of my **neighborhood** . Okay. Okay. Um, whereabouts do y
9 rget like they 're building in my **neighborhood** and all of those stores, and it I
10 Manhattan busy. It 's like a nice **neighborhood** kind of busy. Yeah, definitely. A
11 e here at all? Uh, not my kind of **neighborhood** . What is your kind of neighborhoo
12 y, or? I mean, I think I wish the **neighborhood** would move more towards, um, like
13 expect it to be, that 's all the **neighborhood** can be. Yeah, yeah. Um, and so, I
14 and then, I think, I moved to the **neighborhood** , uh, two years ago. Um, what did
15 . So, that 's a big asset for the **neighborhood** , I guess. Yeah, yes. Definitely.
16 a lot more money coming into the **neighborhood** and less of a, um, yeah, unique b
17 of those stores, and it loses the **neighborhood** feel. And that 's what happened h
18 ew, 'cause it makes- it makes the **neighborhood** safer, it makes neighborhoods mor
19 ghborhood? Um, well, I I knew the **neighborhood** before I lived here. I 'm gonna g
20 m a bit more stable now, but this **neighborhood** itself, I like the people in it,
21 When when I first moved into this **neighborhood** , my reaction was what am I doing,
22 ew, 'cause it makes- it makes the **neighborhood** safer, it makes neighborhoods mor

Concordance C1.1: Concordances of *neighborhood* in 1_11211.

N Concordance

1 and- and insane, but Brooklyn and **Williamsburg** is really relaxed and nice. Mh mh
2 bracing the change. Yeah, because **Williamsburg** , I believe, like, was started to
3 es the city, really. And, uh, but **Williamsburg** , right now, but it wo n't last lo
4 because Brooklyn, uh, especially **Williamsburg** is sort of like where things are
5 key here in Brooklyn, especially **Williamsburg** , Greenpoint, um. Is there anythin
6 live up to that thing, and so if **Williamsburg** becomes a neighborhood that 's, u
7 o have like a brick and mortar in **Williamsburg** at this point, so it definitely b
8 ommunity activism, and I think in **Williamsburg** it... Especially in this general
9 here? Uh, yes, I live in here in **Williamsburg** . Okay, and what was your first im
10 , and now everyone wants to be in **Williamsburg** . So, uh, I I think that 's a rou
11 girlfriend was born and raised in **Williamsburg** . She 's lived here, you know, her
12 Yeah. I mean, I think, you know, **Williamsburg** is on the cusp of kind of losing
13 that it does n't really feel like **Williamsburg** so much anymore. It feels kind of
14 ost about living here? Here, like **Williamsburg** specifically? Yeah. Uh, I like it
15 eter. Yeah. So maybe north, North **Williamsburg** would be better. Yeah.
16 ike everything here is, um, South **Williamsburg** , everything is done really well,
17 ion when you came here? About the **Williamsburg** ? Um, it 's a lot of young people,
18 es with New York before coming to **Williamsburg** for the first time were all in Ma
19 ally used to be a very artsy, uh, **Williamsburg** used to be place for artists. Now
20 Uh, Output, The Woods. Um, **Williamsburg** , it 's always nice, even it 's a
21 ? Oh, Williamsburg. Williamsburg. **Williamsburg** , wow. Found it to be very interes
22 k, or you mean? Oh, Williamsburg. **Williamsburg** . Williamsburg, wow. Found it to b

Concordance C1.2: Concordances of *Williamsburg* in 1_11211.

N Concordance

1 I do n't know. It 's like calm not a **people** . Um, I seen every kind of people, ac
2 artists and like business people and **people** doing things together, and it 's not
3 ood becomes touristy, it 's becaus **people** expect it to be a certain thing, and
4 g is like a merging, almost, because **people** say like the city, or like, you know
5 yeah. I guess more caring between **people** . That would be good. Yeah. Yeah. It
6 for a while, but after after a bit, **people** will find other places to go. So, ri
7 just like artists and like business **people** and people doing things together, an
8 a lot of spaces are being claimed by **people** who do n't necessarily have a right

9 having a variety, so that different **people** can come here. I guess it 's just al
10 I of it. Uh, yeah, I do n't know. Do **people** contribute to it being a good place?
11 t yet, and it was just happening for **people** that already existed here. Um, and n
12 that it 's getting too expensive for **people** to live, unless they 're very wealth
13 to go out as well. Uh, I 'm guessing **people** here all look the same, or are all a
14 suppose in that way, in bringing in **people** into this area, and I think that thi
15 ah. Uh, I mean, lower rent, um, less **people** , less tourists, um, um, maybe maybe,
16 be good. Yeah. Yeah. It seems like **people** are losing sight of that in this are
17 much development here, so many **people** moving in. That means more cars as w
18 n, I came here in college when most **people** did n't come here, so. Yeah. Not rea
19 t everyone is. Like, sort of the new **people** that that come in, the people that c
20 sed to be, like, hipster heaven. Now **people** are going to Bushwick instead. Uhâ€¦
21 ard, just because with the influx of **people** who are not from here, you know, a l
22 ain stores. I mean, I think a lot of **people** who move to New York City would pref
23 t a people. Um, I seen every kind of **people** , actually. Every kind, like every ra
24 iness. And so I think it 's a lot of **people** shopping, a lot of people going and
25 ork in the office, and also a lot of **people** who lives in the Wall Street, or the
26 s a lot of people shopping, a lot of **people** going and everything does cost money
27 e they've become more populatéc **people** think that they want Whole Foods or
28 uld like to see. Um, and not pricing **people** out. You know, having a variety, so
29 ah, yeah, yeah. Some people- some **people** do share that view, 'cause it makes-
30 ? So. And there are- there are some **people** that are like, that do n't like gent
31 erent reasons, reasons that, to some **people** may or may not make sense. Um, I 'd
32 the crime. I heard it from the some **people** who work in , so it 's also good pla
33 seeing that. Yeah, yeah, yeah. Some **people** - some people do share that view, 'ca
34 hing else. I do n't think it 's that **people** are incapable of interacting with th
35 tever it is, fill in the blank, that **people** sort of come to expect it to be, tha
36 ts and turn them into something that **people** will like, and there 's an awful lot
37 efinately feels like a live. And the **people** help. Yes. Twenty-six. And a freelan
38 y my entire life. I love. I like the **people** . I like the art around. I love every
39 he new people that that come in, the **people** that come in from like different are
40 nice. It 's very nice here. Um, the **people** are nice. That 's why I like it here
41 this neighborhood itself, I like the **people** in it, and I like what 's happening
42 ally well, the design, the food, the **people** , the quality of conversations. Uh, n
43 rs old and I am the manager of three **people** at Rockefeller Center at the Flagshi
44 U.K., like, six months ago. So, uh, **people** might be concerned about me rather t
45 o, um. Art. It 's very artistic. Um, **people** , you know, very hippie, very lo- I f
46 an authentic local community where **people** can just live without the constant i
47 pening and a good place for youn **people** to be at. The most. Um, the food, t
48 lliamsburg? Um, it 's a lot of young **people** , very, um, dynamic, fun. A lot of go
49 s that got really popular with young **people** and kind of hip. Um, and it 's gotte
50 bars, and I 'm surrounded by young **people** . That help? Um, huh. Added to it?
51 some reason, there 's a lot of young **people** who come here on the warm days, the
52 der, so I 'm I 'm happy to see young **people** who have their heads up. No, I do n'
53 impressed with it. Nice to see young **people** who are, uh, you know, cheerful, lov
Concordance C1.3: Concordances of *people* in 1_11211.

N Concordance

1 's feeling that I 'm living in a **neighborhood** as opposed to just a collection o
2 of the nice things to say about a **neighborhood** , I think. So, everyone 's differe
3 eah. I think live. It 's really a **neighborhood** . Yeah. Yeah. I mean, I think it '
4 s. Uh, I like it. It feels like a **neighborhood** compared to other places I've liv
5 , that, that it feels more like a **neighborhood** , you know your neighbors, and lik
6 's like, yeah, kind of a classic **neighborhood** joint and like, very, like, yeah,
7 Yes. Um, it was a cool **neighborhood** . Um, interesting. Not up not quite
8 used to live in a very different **neighborhood** that was very convenient for ever
9 s since I was born, I think every **neighborhood** , like Williamsburg started gentri
10 , trees. It was nice, like family **neighborhood** . I used to live in Chinatown, so
11 at it is like apparently a family **neighborhood** . Uh, I think there is like a real
12 long, and this is like the first **neighborhood** I've lived in other than Bloomsbu
13 when it comes to their immediate **neighborhood** , want to contribute a lot and do
14 ed to be, um, like a lower income **neighborhood** , and how it 's being gentrified.
15 gle night, and there are not many **neighborhood** that can be like oh, we do live m

16 h, fantastically varied and mixed neighborhood . There 's different colors and sh
17 able to get up and walk out in my neighborhood and see new restaurants and bars
18 g, because it 's a basically nice neighborhood . I love my block. I love, uh, my
19 hat I live in. It 's just a nicer neighborhood . Well, not in this neighborhood,
20 dings, which I like. It 's a real neighborhood . Like the, you know, I I speak to
21 pectful guest in somebody else 's neighborhood , and I enjoyed that, and now, all
22 everything has to be in the same neighborhood , so I do n't have to commute now
23 now. Moving to like this specific neighborhood ? Um, I do n't know. I 'd I I feel
24 e a lot of my friends are in that neighborhood in Queens, and it 's just a like
25 wer, but it 's still there in the neighborhood . Um, I feel fear of being put out
26 hed out. The people who built the neighborhood are no longer here. Oh, 100 perce
27 re educated people came into the neighborhood and, just listening to them, and
28 ns, clean up after you to get the neighborhood clean and stuff like that, but th
29 I 'm a clothing buyer. I like the neighborhood . It 's, uh, it 's sometimes it 's
30 verybody 's very proactive in the neighborhood , so. It 's definitely something t
31 Um, like, I I remember I left the neighborhood for, like, two weeks in the summe
32 ow, color races over here, so the neighborhood has totally changed. Well, I do n
33 or anything. I mean, I guess the neighborhood 's changed in that way. Like, I w
34 , well, just the diversity of the neighborhood is great. And there 's lots of di
35 No problem. Yes. Well, the neighborhood 's changed a lot. So, it 's much s
36 make comments on changing the neighborhood . Like, I get that like I 'm I 'm
37 fir- when I first moved into the neighborhood ? Danger. Yeah. Oh, my God, yes.
38 olved with the block and with the neighborhood . So, I would say yes. Um, my age
39 ive ones. Um, I actually like the neighborhood now better than I did before. Um,
40 it was the first like spot in the neighborhood where I where I feel like people
41 's changing the character of the neighborhood , and I 'm aware of that. So, that
42 white people and elsewhere in the neighborhood , who did n't grow up here living
43 there a particular quality of the neighborhood that I yes. I would say it 's fee
44 res adds a little flavor into the neighborhood . Um, convenience. Um, convenie
45 d to speak to a few people in the neighborhood . Very friendly, very nice. And, u
46 s I've lived. It 's nice. Uh, the neighborhood feeling and, you know, talking to
47 eak. Yeah. People are leaving the neighborhood because the rent is getting high.
48 were n't, people are leaving the neighborhood . And that 's because rent prices
49 Depot, which is kinda new in the neighborhood , but not really, get some plants,
50 ies for different people from the neighborhood , like maybe people who've lived h
51 k. Um, well, I 'm very new to the neighborhood , so I mean, you know, I speak to
52 use we 'd been hanging out in the neighborhood next door for a while and, um, uh
53 that the, um, personality of the neighborhood stays, that it 's not completely
54 en you do lose the culture of the neighborhood . It becomes just way too commer
55 e of, um, like changes within the neighborhood . So, I guess I would change that,
56 he people. That 's what makes the neighborhood . Correct. Correct. Uh, there 's a
57 people really do care about their neighborhood , you know. That 's a good questi
58 e are getting kicked out of their neighborhood . I do n't like that. Uh, I 'm an
59 really have an impression of then neighborhood , per se. It 's all I know. I like
60 was growing up over here in this neighborhood cause I used to have family that
61 lly. 1960s. Um, that 's when this neighborhood was definitely the heart of Brook
62 , and I 'm a business owner. This neighborhood ? It 's beautiful. I actually thou
63 Utica Avenue. Well, this neighborhood is totally different from how it u
64 up, none of this was around, this neighborhood . It was different. It was basical
65 it. Uh, a favorite place in this neighborhood to eat or just to hang out? Easte
66 ool or high school, and then this neighborhood and Bushwick, so I think it 's pr
67 outreach that existed within this neighborhood is like pretty much, like insulat
68 ween like people moving into this neighborhood and people who've lived here, jus
69 are of your surroundings. In this neighborhood ? Um, me and my friends, we 're u
70 to say because 15 years ago this neighborhood really was n't very safe, so you
71 r. People do show empathy in this neighborhood , so they 're willing to listen an
72 t for everything, and I find this neighborhood less so, in terms of, um , uh, tr
73 d nobody else can afford it. This neighborhood ? If I could freeze it? Could I fr
74 r neighborhood. Well, not in this neighborhood , but, um, it 's I 'm, uh, 15 minu
75 ergy that felt when I got to this neighborhood and the people reflected those fe
76 . Which people contribute to this neighborhood ? I mean, I 'm sure it 's on many
77 rate 's been in the drop in this neighborhood for a while now, you know. Stuff
78 love I love Bed-Stuy. I love this neighborhood , yeah. I love um, days like this,

79 eelancer. Yeah. I do live in this **neighborhood** , just a few blocks away. When I f
 80 ies. You 're welcome. Uh, if this **neighborhood** is Bed-Stuy, yes. I moved here se
 81 nt. It 's affordable. No. In this **neighborhood** ? Oh. All right, good question. Um
 82 I do. Oh, um, I've lived in this **neighborhood** for 14 years, so. It 's different
 Concordance C1.4: Concordances of *neighborhood* in 2_11205 and 3_11216.

N Concordance

1 n't know. I think it has sort of a **community** -like vibe. Uh, it 's not. Like, it
 2 actually able to, you know, form a **community** . I think it 's like one of the fir
 3 when I lived here, it was more of a **community** kind of thing. It is what it was,
 4 think it used to be more of like a **community** space, and it 's become accessible
 5 there. And it was s- super, like, a **community** . Like the older the kids coming in
 6 we really enjoy. And, I also have a **community** garden plot, so that 's like a spe
 7 and investigating that. I think any **community** outreach that existed within this
 8 I got to spend. The Jews, the Jews **community** , uh, contribute to Brooklyn. Age,
 9 y like are you talking more in like **community** development and like involvement i
 10 Uh, I think there 's a lot of like **community** outreach, but I do n't know how ma
 11 um, I think more art. I think more **community** art would be cool. I 'd love to se
 12 ah. I think so. There 's a lot more **community** gardens popping up, which is good
 13 you walk around there 's a bunch of **community** gardens and you see 'em and they
 14 ike that. I I do. There are lots of **community** gardens. There are lots of, uh, um
 15 ple are there 's a greater sense of **community** than I had before, and, um, there
 16 are changed. There 's not the same **community** it was in the beginning. It 's you
 17 t it. Uh, I do n't know. I love the **community** . I love the feel. I love I love Be
 18 d thing? I I do n't know. Like, the **community** . You know? I do n't know. Like, a
 19 ruggles, but you definitely saw the **community** get together when they needed to g
 20 k close, and it 's become quite the **community** , so I think people really do care
 Concordance C1.5: Concordances of *community* in 2_11205 and 3_11216.

N Concordance

1 oving into this neighborhood and **people** who've lived here, just kind of like
 2 re, but quite dramatically. Um, and **people** need to do something to offset the
 3 d, so they 're willing to listen and **people** will help you if they see you need h
 4 's there, too, that lingers around. **People** could care less about your status q
 5 ocery stores. Um, it 's got artistic **people** , it 's got people who were been h
 6 I appreciate the contrast, because **people** are there 's a greater sense of co
 7 ortant to open dialogues between **people** , instead of pretending like, you kn
 8 ly great opportunities for different **people** from the neighborhood, like maybe
 9 cessible in many ways to different **people** , but I think that 's also caused a l
 10 oy. But I I think that 's what draws **people** to New York in general. Yeah. Um, I
 11 a part of, because more educated **people** came into the neighborhood and, ju
 12 nd from what I've observed so far. **People** do show empathy in this neighborh
 13 um, just wanted to speak to a few **people** in the neighborhood. Very friendly,
 14 t 's gotten to be unlivable even for **people** who, like me, who, like have a lot o
 15 hink that that is a big draw for for **people** , um, but really, affordability is a
 16 e to where you need to be, friendly **people** . Favorite place? Um, well, I live ri
 17 says that they like are really good **people** or something, but it feels like this
 18 it 's got artistic people, it 's got **people** who were been here for, you know,
 19 ss I would change that, like greedy **people** who suck the life out of neighborho
 20 like going about their day, helping **people** out. Like, you know? Riding a bike.
 21 e I said, it 's more practical here. **People** are more focused on like kind of sur
 22 d like people who were from here, **people** who just moved here, students from
 23 ppening, and that 's probably how **people** could work together, but, um, yeah,
 24 was never any danger. It was just **people** being incredibly friendly. And, beca
 25 people kind of just like, you know, **people** kind of ignoring the problem of like
 26 out of their homes and, you know, **people** who kind of I do n't I mean, like, I
 27 you know your neighbors, and like **people** are friendlier. It feels less stress
 28 hborhood where I where I feel like **people** from all over and like people who
 29 I like people from all over and like **people** who were from here, people who ju
 30 ean, people it definitely feels like **people** have a lot to contribute, and I thin
 31 here 's a disconnect between like **people** moving into this neighborhood and
 32 rybody 's just chilling. I feel like **people** are just chilling, like it 's it 's
 33 eems like a good balance of local **people** , or people who've been here for a
 34 know, I speak to a lot of the local **people** who've been here for 20, 30, 40 yea

35 buildings have been sold, so many **people** are changed. There 's not the same
 36 's, um, nice to be around so many **people** all the time, because it constantly
 37 freeze is right now. It 's too many **people** in Brooklyn. I mean, we 're Manhatt
 38 ular ale- area, uh, it 's too many **people** , too many cars and ... Yeah. Um,
 39 rom the neighborhood, like maybe **people** who've lived here a long time and ne
 40 . So, yeah, stuff like that. I mean, **people** it definitely feels like people have
 41 ved back, and there are a lot more **people** like me, white people and elsewhere
 42 replacing entire building with new **people** that are willing to pay more. They '
 43 e been here for a while, and newer **people** coming in, hopefully not changing it
 44 that I would. Um, people were n't, **people** are leaving the neighborhood. And t
 45 y really enjoy it. There 's a lot of **people** here, which is cool. But, I do n't k
 46 would change that aspect of it, of **people** kind of just like, you know, people
 47 r. Oh, yes, definitely. Um, a lot of **people** are getting pushed out. The people
 48 's say, design, art-oriented kind of **people** . The rent increased so much. It 's I
 49 I think so. I mean, I think a lot of **people** are really interested in doing that
 50 rk, where there 's like the group of **people** that play chess the entire day with
 51 you know, it 's a lot of traffic of **people** , you know, a lot of events going on,
 52 here living on blocks where a lot of **people** did grow up there, and that balance
 53 awesome. I love it. I meet a lot of **people** here, which I love. It 's great. Oh,
 54 as opposed to just a collection of **people** who happen to be thrown together.
 55 a good balance of local people, or **people** who've been here for a while, and n
 56 uch and and annoy the the original **people** who were living here, you know. I 'm
 57 a very different answer from other **people** than me, but at the moment, it see
 58 n't know. Just to incentivize other **people** to do it, I guess, too. Um, but I al
 59 h, lots of other people who I other **people** who, like have things in common. I
 60 ds live here, and, uh, lots of other **people** who I other people who, like have t
 61 ,nd everybody 's just hanging out. **People** are barbecuing, even when it 's 40
 62 , like new buildings and, like, rich **people** moving in. It used to be, um, like a
 63 lose it is to my ex-boyfriend. I see **people** that I do n't want to see a lot, whi
 64 which is a bummer. But I also see **people** that I do want to see a lot, so that
 65 at, then rent going up, and seeing **people** leave. It was like ugh, but the free
 66 is is like a hot area right now. So, **people** are wanting to move here. So, I wa
 67 ave just grown up with like- some **people** my age here probably grew up with
 68 all types of ethnicities. Like, some **people** here may have just grown up with li
 69 ink people can, yeah. I think some **people** do. Um, I think the the saddest and
 70 f hard for me to say. I I think some **people** do. Some people try. I do n't know.
 71 y. I I think some people do. Some **people** try. I do n't know. But, I think may
 72 ou know, like the local store, store **people** who, like, all say hello and it 's a
 73 he meats and all that kind of stuff. **People** really did n't care. Yeah. Now? You
 74 ially to the way that in the summer **people** sit outside in the stoops and there
 75 at horrible gentrification word that **people** use, um, and it 's this places, up a
 76 impression. Yes. Umâ€¦ I think that **people** living here can contribute to this a
 77 , I wanna say this is a an area that **people** can grow with now way. So. I am
 78 lso caused a lot of shift within the **people** who've lived here for a long time. Y
 79 classes at school. Yeah. I like the **people** . Yeah. Sorry? Sorry? Uh, they 're
 80 l, uh the it 's really busy. Uh, the **people** . Manhattan. Raji Allah. Um, it depen
 81 moved back to Bed-Stuy, so. The **people** . They know you, they take care of
 82 I got to this neighborhood and the **people** reflected those feelings, I thought,
 83 n. But, it will go back again to the **people** , so I just like, you know, always go
 84 r the carnival. Yeah. Um, that the **people** who used to live here are getting ki
 85 's family oriented. mh. I enjoy the **people** . Everybody 's just chilling, if I ca
 86 , too. Yes. The camaraderie of the **people** . And, um, uh, let 's see. There 's e
 87 , you know, always go back to the **people** . That 's what makes the neighbo
 88 great place to live. It 's just the **people** who built it are no longer here. Tha
 89 ere. Um, unfortunately, a lot of the **people** that used to live here can no longer
 90 eople are getting pushed out. The **people** who built the neighborhood are no
 91 ke, I guess it 's I blame mostly the **people** who own property or like landlords
 92 of years ago, um, because of the **people** . Very creative. Um, I like the night
 93 cleaner experience, too, so I think **people** like the outdoors, or they-they thin
 94 nd of thing, so. I think so. I think **people** have definitely, like I've been here
 95 me quite the community, so I think **people** really do care about their neighborh
 96 t had for the last 30 years. I think **people** can, yeah. I think some people do.
 97 ave a lot to contribute, and I think **people** , especially when it comes to their i

98 s changing. Um, I 'd maybe talk to **people** who've been here more than a dec
99 a point in time that I would. Um, **people** were n't, people are leaving the nei
100 it 's it 's not a lot of drama until **people** get drunk, you know, but that 's fun
101 ed. Yeah. Yeah, I remember when **people** used to get by right there by the G
102 inately gardening projects where **people** clean up the streets and plant stuff
103 me feel differently about it. Which **people** contribute to this neighborhood? I m
104 e a lot more people like me, white **people** and elsewhere in the neighborhood,
105 . Like, even when it 's like winter, **people** are out there barbecuing. And I love
106 like be outside or to meet up with **people** . That 's like a nice thing about the
107 g this way? My lunch break. Yeah. **People** are leaving the neighborhood beca
108 mix enough of families and young **people** , dogs and kids, which I like. Um, I
Concordance C1.6: Concordances of *people* in 2_11205 and 3_11216.

N Concordance

1 ication. And I love it. Yeah. Another **love** is the YMCA, where we are now. I lear
2 ore community art would be cool. I 'd **love** to see that. Yeah. Yeah. And, so, do
3 s new era of Bed-Stuy, Brooklyn? I do **love** that, uh, any empty lot is turned int
4 , what do you like about this area? I **love** Brooklyn. I moved here a couple of ye
5 , also, some of the commerce. Like, I **love** some of it, you know, but a lot of it
6 nice neighborhood. I love my block. I **love** , uh, my apartment. It 's a beautiful
7 t 's a basically nice neighborhood. I **love** my block. I love, uh, my apartment. I
8 Heights. It 's s-. Why is that? Uh, I **love** the food, the Caribbean food, 'cause
9 sion of the area? Oh, I love it. So I **love** Crown Heights. I've always loved Crow
10 long time ago and now, as much as I **love** it, it 's a little bit too much excit
11 e blocks and I still take the bike. I **love** it, because it 's easy going. I would
12 estaurants. Yeah, it 's just great. I **love** it. Okay, and, um, if you could wish
13 feel. I love I love Bed-Stuy. Yeah. I **love** this neighborhood, yeah. I love um, d
14 community. I love the feel. I love I **love** Bed-Stuy. Yeah. I love this neighborh
15 ah. I love this neighborhood, yeah. I **love** um, days like this, everybody outside
16 h yeah. Yeah, yeah. That 's lovely. I **love** watching likeâ€¦ I know. Even when I
17 it 's not exactly around here, but I **love** the Botanical Garden. Yeah. Um, Fort
18 Um, I **love** the homes, because they 're beautiful
19 m Park Slope, where I grew up, so I **love** the park, you know, the little restau
20 Uh, I do n't know. I **love** the community. I love the feel. I lov
21 ove the community. I love the feel. I **love** I love Bed-Stuy. Yeah. I love this ne
22 do n't know. I love the community. I **love** the feel. I love I love Bed-Stuy. Yea
23 h of it, so, I mean. I love it now. I **love** it now, but I loved it back then. The
24 erieced so much of it, so, I mean. I **love** it now. I love it now, but I loved it
25 st favorite? Okay. I love the park. I **love** Tompkins Park. I call it Tompkins Par
26 I do n't know. I- I loved that, but I **love** it now, too. I still love it. Okay, a
27 I meet a lot of people here, which I **love** . It 's great. And so, if you could fr
28 barbecuing. That 's dedication. And I **love** it. Yeah. Another love is the YMCA, w
29 's Hubert Von King Park. Okay. And, I **love** it, because they have a dog park in t
30 it was awesome. That is just crazy. I **love** it. I meet a lot of people here, whic
31 Okay. I **love** the park. I love Tompkins Park. I cal
32 it. Yeah. I design for Aeropostale. I **love** it. Okay. Business was rocky, but it
33 diverse, you know, atmosphere, and I **love** that, and I want that for my niece an
34 I **love** it. I was raised here. Okay, and so,
35 Oh, I **love** it. So I love Crown Heights. I've alw
36 A favorite. I **love** the park. Who the hell is calling me?
37 ever. Yeah. Yeah. The new gardens. I **love** that. Okay. And, um, is there anythin
38 Sorry. Diversity. Yeah, diversity. I **love** that. I love the diversity. So, being
39 sity. Yeah, diversity. I love that. I **love** the diversity. So, being from Brookly
40 ht by the subway, and I kinda fell in **love** with it that way. That 's how I sort
41 ? Oh, I do. You know what I do really **love** about this new era of Bed-Stuy, Brook
42 that, but I love it now, too. I still **love** it. Okay, and so do you? I 'd change
Concordance C1.7: Concordances of *love* in 2_11205 and 3_11216.

N Concordance

1 e there 's a kind of, um, still a **neighborhood** feel, which I think is being lost
2 y care too much about, like, if a **neighborhood** was a little rough or if there we
3 certain amenities being in a in a **neighborhood** , which I think should be availabl
4 . I mean, it 's now turned into a **neighborhood** . Okay, and what does that
5 the most now? Just feeling like a **neighborhood** . No. No. I think people contribu

6 experienced? Um, I think this is a neighborhood that can that people can contribu
7 a a lot, actually. Not the actual neighborhood , but the vibe of it. It 's really
8 people do. I think it 's like any neighborhood . I you know, I personally am only
9 ssing for it to be an even better neighborhood , in your opinion. Uh, I 'd like m
10 used to live in a very different neighborhood that was very convenient for ever
11 re, uh it 's like a super diverse neighborhood , so like keeping it like that as
12 Uh, it 's quiet. It 's families' neighborhood . Not many changes yet. Okay. What
13 r called PLG. It 's like a little neighborhood caf  . It 's pretty cool. Okay, y
14 I mean, it 's now turned into a Neighborhood . It means everybody, you know, yo
15 really enjoy the diversity of my neighborhood , I think. There 's just so many d
16 ities that seem to converge in my neighborhood . Um, um, but I you know, there is
17 see like- there are people in my neighborhood that are like figures that I you
18 hnic communities converging in my neighborhood , which I do really appreciate . U
19 he neighborhood. We have a lot of neighborhood asso-, I was just walking down th
20 Yeah. There 's also like a lot of neighborhood gardens that you can volunteer. U
21 y good salad, and I feel like our neighborhood does n't really have any of those
22 dings, which I like. It 's a real neighborhood . Yeah. Like the you know, I I spe
23 ve lots of favorite places in the neighborhood . Um, favorite places for differen
24 arly because of the makeup of the neighborhood , the way there 's all- you know,
25 the neighborhood? Um, I think the neighborhood is amazing. Um, it was incredibly
26 ny research on what people in the neighborhood actually want. Everybody wants a
27 e like hey, I saw your dog in the neighborhood . Is everything okay? Really. And,
28 oklyn. Yeah. Um, everybody in the neighborhood knows each other. Uh, you know, p
29 know, I want them to stay in the neighborhood . Uh, but nobody does any research
30 s is sort of the beginning of the neighborhood , and it it has natural boundaries
31 orhood? Um, favorite place in the neighborhood . Yeah. There 's a really great ca
32 ow, everything is just within the neighborhood , which is a good thing. And do pe
33 h. People try, you know, keep the neighborhood nice and safe and pretty good. Ok
34 y? Well, what you enjoy about the neighborhood . Well, the fact that I got the st
35 erything, you know. Yeah. Now the neighborhood 's pretty good, you know. Everyth
36 came here? Um, I really loved the neighborhood , that it was a block from the par
37 riend, like making friends in the neighborhood has been really nice. Um, the tra
38 ce to support them and to see the neighborhood change. Um, I also have a friend,
39 nge a lot. Yeah, but we liked the neighborhood , but we part of that, the beginni
40 t it 's a great location, and the neighborhood 's only going to get nicer with n
41 l area. Um, we had friends in the neighborhood , so we were kind of familiar with
42 So, I I 'm pretty happy with the neighborhood . Yeah, so the the way it 's chang
43 there still any qualities of the neighborhood that you 'd like to see change, p
44 was the possibility to freeze the neighborhood in a particular point in time, is
45 but I think there 's a lot in the neighborhood . Um, I think we need less gourmet
46 nk people contribute a lot to the neighborhood . We have a lot of neighborhood as
47 in the area, and certainly, this neighborhood in particular has a lot of restau
48 , for the most part, I think this neighborhood is relatively well resourced, I m
49 New York for five years, and this neighborhood for for three, I think that it 's
50 but I do enjoy that part of this neighborhood . Do you have a favorite place aro
51 who are like originally from this neighborhood who potentially ca n't really aff
52 r 12 years, but I was around this neighborhood for years before that, so it felt
53 this neighborhood? I work in this neighborhood . Okay. And so what is your impres
54 neighborhood though. Not in this neighborhood . Um, what do you think of this pa
55 re? In New York? Yes. Not in this neighborhood though. Not in this neighborhood.
56 oklyn, or this neighborhood? This neighborhood . Um, it was improving quickly. Ok
57 he Hasidic Jews that live in this neighborhood , um, so we've seen it change a lo
58 hood? Uh, my therapist is in this neighborhood . Oh, okay. Um, what is your impre
59 ig. There 's no Starbucks in this neighborhood . It 's, um, not that, you know, S
60 t for everything, and I find this neighborhood less so, in terms of, um , uh, tr

Concordance C1.8: Concordances of *neighborhood* in 4_11225.

N Concordance

1 e country, it was very it was nice. A nice experience. Well, everybody have res
2 erything okay? Really. And, that 's a nice feeling, because also coming from a
3 's good transportation. It 's like a nice , diverse community. It 's seems to b
4 ve respect for each other, everybody nice . When I greet them, they greet you b
5 of like community building, which is nice . Yeah. There 's also like a lot of ne
6 k and and its diversity and and it is nice to have like good restaurants nearby

7 y, you know, keep the neighborhood **nice** and safe and pretty good. Well, I 'm
8 s workspace in, and it 's been really **nice** to have like meetings there, so I thi
9 e desk, so, like, it 's it was really **nice** , and, you know, like the local store,
10 riendly. Um, our neighbors are really **nice** . And, like, we 're close to the park.
11 e, I feel like it 's just in a really **nice** . Spot. Um, there 's a really nice co-
12 in the neighborhood has been really **nice** . Um, the trains are really fast. Like
13 lly nice. Spot. Um, there 's a really **nice** co-op space that you can like, my fri
14 ally close knit and it 's cute. It 's **nice** . We need a planter. I want to see mo
15 bush all the way down that way. It 's **nice** . I was excited when I moved here. T
16 work in this neighborhood. Um, it 's **nice** . It 's, uh, definitely very gentrified
17 d up that are really great, and it 's **nice** to support them and to see the neigh
18 eople talk to each other. Yeah, it 's **nice** . Friendly. Um, our neighbors are real
19 n't show you no bad face, so it it 's **nice** . I ca n't answer that, I hope I can s
20 neighbor. You know, like, it 's it 's **nice** . That 's, you know. It 's the It 's s
21 llo and it 's all the friendly. It 's **nice** . Yeah. I 'd like a big supermarket. U
22 a do any of that, so. Yeah, and it 's **nice** . This street is great. They have the
23 a strange country, it was very it was **nice** . A nice experience. Well, everybody

C2.9: Concordances of *nice* in 4_11225.

N Concordance

1 ies, which lead to a very, um, like a **close** -knit community even though we 're i
2 Where are you setting? I live **close** by. I live, uh, about two minute walk
3 n find things that remind me I 'm not **close** to home, but I can find food, culture
4 rs are really nice. And, like, we 're **close** to the park. Um, favorite place in t
5 ood, but the vibe of it. It 's really **close** knit and it 's cute. It 's nice. We
6 Well, the fact that I got the stores **close** by, you know, the, uh, subway, the I
7 s area, definitely the train 's super **close** , I guess. Probably the cafÃ©s. Um,
8 ween two train stations that are very **close** , so I was elated to have that again,
9 ing, because also coming from a very **close** -knit culture, you you know, you wan
10 efore. Um, I liked how everything was **close** . You can go to the laundry easily, y
11 , and I liked it a lot because it was **close** to the park and had good subways.

Concordance C1.10: Concordances of *close* in 4_11225.

N Concordance

1 e more mainly, um, African American **people** living here. But now I see more color
2 w there 's more different cultures and **people** who move to the neighborhood. You
3 tion that it 's going. 'cause yeah. And **people** seem, you know we 're resigned to it
4 sians. Yeah, yeah. You see the black **people** attending schools that mostly have bl
5 nding schools that mostly have black **people** . The Jews attend schools that. Attend
6 nd the park and generally. Yeah. But **people** somehow never saw the value in it. Ye
7 ck? Well, I I really like the Caribbean **people** . I think they 're great people, really. Y
8 , yeah. You know, every single day, **people** calling me. I 'm like, "And where would
9 . Yeah. I like to interact with different **people** , you know. And it-it 's kind of good f
10 thnicity. There are so many different **people** . You can find your local foods and, yo
11 . They will answer you. I mean, a few **people** might be a little moody, but you will fin
12 ht be a little moody, but you will find **people** like that wherever you go. Everywhere.
13 like there 's not enough resources for **people** to, like, get access toto what to the thi
14 ribbean people. I think they 're great **people** , really. Yeah. Really, for me, as as a R
15 er one is Jewish. Uh it 's interesting. **People** cohabit, you know, peacefully, but it '
16 concerts, and I give out . You know, **people** , invite them to my church when we ha
17 hat are happening. Yeah. You know, **people** , are still losing their homes. You know,
18 ah. And I think, too, that, you know, **people** I think that what happens is that a lot o
19 to to people I, you know? You know, **people** I think Brooklynners, New Yorkers get a
20 o, I still like that. I like, like, you know, **people** are still willing to, like, help you, and
21 , I like living here. I don't, you know **people** always say, "Oh, you'll always live in N
22 , yeah. There 's just not enough, like, **people** saying, "He hey, here is what you what
23 a simple thing. You could, like, make **people** see, "Oh yeah, we could go there," ev
24 are able to connect with so ma-many **people** in so many places. Yeah. Yeah. Do yo
25 ke forever," or? When they had more **people** over here. it 's, like it 's just coming
26 everything. Yeah. So, it 's, like, more **people** , more traffic, and just, ugh, you do n't
27 ss coming in. Yeah. So, that 's more **people** around now. Yeah. More people brin
28 ore people around now. Yeah. More **people** brings more police presence, you kno
29 So so, you know so, I think, for most **people** , for, like, the older set, they 're just
30 I 'm from Trinidad, and most, a lot of **people** on my street are from, like, the souther

31 them are from the Caribbean. A lot of **people** are, like, you know, subletting their the
32 lking the sidewalk. Okay. And a lot of **people** was like hustling like, you know, dope,
33 a energetic, because there 's a lot of **people** in the crowd, and the people here are
34 of. Yeah, I know. I approach a lot of **people** on the street. Right, to see that they 'r
35 omething, like I do n't know. A lot of **people** always say, like, "Oh, I want a salad pl
36 se changes that have? I think a lot of **people** are just they 're just resigned to it for
37 t there was a lot of stores and a lot of **people** actually. And your impression, um, is t
38 t there was a lot of stores and a lot of **people**, like, selling up and moving south, I g
39 - is going up," you know, and a lot of **people**, too, esp- on my street, where I am n
40 a country that says out of many one **people**, Jamaica. Mh mh. And, you know, wh
41 it? Because they, um, they try to put **people** out from the neighborhood raising the
42 better . You know, as we have said, **people** always said you know bad things neve
43 I do n't think so, but you can see **people** like actually talking to each other bec
44 ually Puerto Ricans and dark-skinned **people**. Yeah. And that is kinda intentional be
45 out there, that they are like that. So, **people**. Yeah. And that is kinda intentional be
46 u know, those things are n't like. So, **people** never, like, approach them to see that
47 e level of, uh, separation where some **people** are actively contributing to the comm
48 s. I feel pretty safe, just the fact that **people** live versus the others. Yeah. So, I think
49 is actually, like, a neighborhood that **people**, like, see me coming and going. Um, I
50 like the the city does n't believe that **people** are putting, um, effort into making, like
51 ah. And, you know, not a lot. So, the **people** who were n't raised in an environment
52 that what happens is that a lot of the **people** in the community contribute to the nei
53 say. You can feel the energy from the **people** who because a lot of the people in this
54 the people who because a lot of the **people** when they pass and the way they co
55 very easy to connect with with all the **people** in this community are, like, immigrants
56 , like, every place that I go knows the **people** from the Islands, but I but I really move
57 mplete change in, uh, you know, the **people** that frequent like, my laundromat like, t
58 a lot of people in the crowd, and the **people** that come to the area and what they b
59 ah, yeah, yeah. So, I would say the **people** here are really interactive and um, well,
60 onna look like, when you look, all the **people** make a neighborhood.
61 ighborhood to change, but I want the **people** in the pictures are white. Yeah, yeah.
62 Yeah, like, um, I would say the **people** who were here and who were invested
63 yn is changing. Let 's get rid of these **people**, mostly, like, make the neighborhood.
64 lk down the street and say hi to to to **people** so we can bring in the the the change-
65 n, there 's not a lot of, you know, uh, **people** I, you know? Mh mh. You know, peo
66 careful. Yeah, definitely. Okay. Well, **people** on drugs as much as other neighbor
67 but they would n't like to interact with **people** in this area. Yeah. And, you know, not
68 ols. Yeah, yeah. Um, we do n't zone **people** that are not like related to them, so I f
Concordance C1.11: Concordances of *people* in 5_11226.

N Concordance

1 's, it 's developing nicer. It 's good, a **good** business, a good, um, businesses, a I
2 d neighborhood. I work here. Uh, it 's a **good** area, good community. Yup. Oh, I I do
3 ig nicer. It 's good, a good business, a **good**, um, businesses, a lot more people.
4 Oh, it 's, uh it 's a **good** neighborhood. it 's a good neighbor
5 's, uh it 's a good neighborhood. it 's a **good** neighborhood. I work here. Uh, it 's a
6 I like I like the vibe. I I think it 's a **good** neighborhood. I work here. Uh, it 's a
7 od thing about it. The train and bus are **good** vibe. I mean, you walk a lot, and there 'l
8 od. I work here. Uh, it 's a good area, **good**. A favorite place? Oh no. I grew up in
9 Um, I like this junction here. I only got **good** community. Yup. Oh, I I do n't know.
10 bad, you know? The neighborhood is **good** memories to me. I feel like I like to chil
11 ce? Yeah. it 's King Plaza. Um, mine is **good**, you know, especially the white people
12 w income. And there are probably, like, **good**. Yeah. Uh, my, and my age, I 'm 22.
13 es coming. And it 's, it 's still a pretty **good** changes that could be made to, like,
14 es coming. And it 's, it 's still a pretty **good** area to come to in Brooklyn. I would, I
15 ore music, but maybe make sure it 's **good** area to come to in Brooklyn, uh uh. Wou
16 . And it 's, it 's developing nicer. It 's **good** music. I 'm like this. I mean, they 're, t
17 here in three, like three years ago. It 's **good**, a good business, a good, um, busine
18 gerous neighborhood, but it 's not. So, **good**. Most is, uh, people are not that bad,
19 think every different era has something **good** neighborhood. Favorite place? Yeah. it 's
20 nd there 's transportation. That 's the **good** about it, something bad about it, you
thing about it. The train and bus are g

21 killing people, man." I do n't miss them. **Good** thing they 're gone, you know, so. But
 22 Flatbush near Brooklyn College. It was **good** . I know this neighborhood from three ye
 Concordance C1.12: Concordances of *good* in 6_11210.

N Concordance

1 No. Uh, I thought it was a **nice** it looked like a nice area. Um, it just s
 2 , I thought it was a nice it looked like a **nice** area. Um, it just seems like a very, like
 3 all the way there. And, I mean, it 's a **nice** neighborhood. It 's just a lot of, uh, ge
 4 re like, uh, um, peaceful and uh, really **nice** to compare with this is, you know, tota
 5 it 's right there. Uh, the trains, that 's **nice** . I wish there were more trains though i
 6 then it 's just a lot of, um I mean, it 's **nice** too, because crime has been crime we
 7 I do not, no. Um, moderately it 's, it 's **nice** . It 's, uh, I, I feel like it could be a b
 Concordance C1.13: Concordances of *nice* in 6_11210.

N Concordance

1 borhood? Um, I 'm not. I mean, it 's a **nice** neighborhood. It 's really quiet comp
 2 ol. And, um, people were nice. It 's a **nice** environment, you know, nice area. A
 3 to live in Manhattan. So it 's kind of a **nice** change, but it 's, um, I do n't know. It
 4 ike a little girl, so, it 's always like a **nice** neighborhood. It 's growing as I grow
 5 a little bit about this area. Um, it 's a **nice** area. There 's lots of like, uh, super
 6 ark, but, um 'cause it 's not gonna be **nice** . The neighborhood has changed. Mh
 7 e. It 's a nice environment, you know, **nice** area. And, um, would you move back
 8 ls like, uh, co-op buildings, you know. **Nice** neighborhood. And, you know, I esp
 9 place then? Um, nice neighborhood, **nice** people, um, no criminal records. Yeah
 10 ld you describe this area? It 's nice, **nice** and pleasant area, you know. Nothing
 11 . It 's nice where I 'm at. It 's a pretty **nice** apartment. It 's a middle-class apart
 12 else? That 's it? That 's it. Just quiet, **nice** place. I mean, not so amazing, but qu
 13 own of the city, but it 's, it 's a quiet, **nice** neighborhood. And would you want to
 14 , yeah. What was it? Uh, it was quite **nice** , quiet, friendly, catchy. What do you
 15 mh. I feel they do. Um, it 's really **nice** . At Christmastime, they put all all this,
 16 Yeah, yeah. Everybody 's, like, really **nice** . There 's no crime going on. Mh mh.
 17 angerous. It 's very safe and it 's really **nice** . Is there anything that you would wan
 18 Brooklyn." Yeah, yeah. So, it 's really **nice** , but for the most part, I really do n't k
 19 would you describe this area? It 's **nice** , nice and pleasant area, you know. N
 20 I really do n't. I mean, it 's just, it 's **nice** . I do n't really hang out in here, for t
 21 resion. General impression? Uh, it 's **nice** . It 's quiet. Yeah. Mh mh. And it 's it
 22 erylhing. Uh huh. But it 's quiet. It 's **nice** . So what do you enjoy most about be
 23 h. So ... Okay. I mean, it 's nice. It 's **nice** where I 'm at. It 's a pretty nice apart
 24 wn. Mh mh. So ... Okay. I mean, it 's **nice** . It 's nice where I 'm at. It 's a pretty
 25 ing there very often. Yeah. So, that 's **nice** . Are there any qualities of the neigh
 26 , too crowded. Okay. What? But it 's **nice** . There is a lot of restaurants, stores
 27 you describe the place then? Um, **nice** neighborhood, nice people, um, no cri
 28 when you first came here? Um, it was **nice** , quiet. Everybody kind of just kept
 29 icular neighborhood? I thought it was **nice** . Mh mh? It was quiet, but now it 's
 30 y High School. And, um, people were **nice** . It 's a nice environment, you know, ni
 Concordance C1.14: Concordances of *nice* in 7-8_11229-35.

N Concordance

1 omething like that. I think it 's the **same** . I think it 's the same because, wher
 2 ink it 's the same. I think it 's the **same** because, where I live, in my building
 3 're really kin. They live there, the **same** uh house. No, no, next door. Next doo
 4 ah, yeah. No, it 's still kind of the **same** . Just, probably, rent is more expensi
 5 like it. No. Everything 's still the **same** here. I like it. Uh, I live in the mi
 6 ny houses do you let in like in the **same** area, so. Uh, 25, and I guess you cou
 Concordance C1.15: Concordances of *same* in 7-8_11229-35.

N Concordance

1 eighborhood, unless corporate America **stores** taking over, these little mom and pop sto
 2 but other than that, you know, there are **stores** . Most of them are my customers, so I m
 3 , uh, supermarkets. Um, you know, chain **stores** , restaurants. Um, it 's diverse, cultural
 4 could be improved. It has a few closed **stores** . Neighborhood 's dirty. If it would be cl
 5 mh. Probably some more, like, clothing **stores** are missing 'cause there 's a lot of othe
 6 o n't know, maybe some more different **stores** , but everything else is fine to me. I thi
 7 ice. Just I guess, like, more options for **stores** , you know, to bring more people in. Lik

8 kind of it 's, like, harder for me to get **stores** because I, to get to stores 'cause I 'm,
9 nd maybe some more, um, like, grocery **stores** and stuff like that. Not really. I mean,
10 g as I grow up. You know, there 's more **stores** , there 's more people, different cultures
11 ses, easy access to walk around, lots of **stores** nearby. I would n't say I necessarily enj
12 ns up, a bank opens up. There 's a lot of **stores** over here that, um like, the Salvation Ar
13 ness, you know. Yeah. So, the couple of **stores** , you know, lost their leases because, t
14 s in summer. Um, I do n't know. A lot of **stores** , restaurants. Yeah, a lot of people. It '
15 like 10 years old, there was not a lot of **stores** . It was n't really developed like this, b
16 of, um, I do n't know. But I see a lot of **stores** around here that are n't open yet or like
17 the stores around here. There 's a lot of **stores** to shop at, but nothing else. Well, just,
18 pping there were a lot different kinds of **stores** now than there were when I moved in. T
19 could, like, walk anywhere here. A lot of **stores** here. Nah. I like, I like it here. I do n
20 than there used to be. There are a lot of **stores** at Kings Highway. They 're not the great
21 t of business. Then, you know, the other **stores** went out of business, and then, now. A
22 a place is still there, but all the other **stores** that are over there are all becoming a, u
23 res taking over, these little mom and pop **stores** do n't make it, and the prices have gone
24 t 's nice. There is a lot of restaurants, **stores** here. For moving here. I came to live wit
25 ere 's a lot of it 's more, like, Russian **stores** and and things like that. So, sometimes,
26 od itself has changed considerably. The **stores** have changed. Um, the neighborhood, o
27 enjoy the, uh, salesperson. People in the **stores** are Russian-speaking. And prices, uh, pri
28 ng really in particular. I mean, just the **stores** around here. There 's a lot of stores to
29 store over here. They closed. So, all the **stores** over there, next to Subway went out of,
30 'm, like, on Ocean Avenue. So, like, the **stores** are a little more down, but I actually li
31 t shown that much, in terms of, like, the **stores** that they have around here, especially cl
32 e 's anything I need, I would go to those **stores** . Oh my God. I 'm a bank manager, and I
33 for me to get stores because I, to get to **stores** 'cause I 'm, like, on Ocean Avenue. So, I
34 tore. Yeah, I mean, there were, like, two **stores** here a couple of years ago. There was
35 't know. I find that, uh, store-wise, um, **stores** used to be a lot nicer here. Uh, I feel I

Concordance C1.16: Concordances of *stores* in 7-8_11229-35.

N Concordance

1 d up, and I said, "Why do n't you have a **Russian** interpreter?" And they said, "Well, if t
2 of years ago. There was a restaurant, a **Russian** restaurant and a furniture store, and yo
3 body that lives in this neighborhood is a **Russian** . Okay. Um, I 'm 65, and I 'm, uh, helpin
4 . So, I said, "Well, why do n't you get a **Russian** interpreter?" So, that 's when she says
5 uilding, that moved into the building are **Russian** , which is fine with me. I do n't care. U
6 diverse. Then the languages spoken are **Russian** , Georgian, English, this way, I do n't k
7 uh, salesperson. People in the stores are **Russian** -speaking. And prices, uh, prices are ver
8 . And so we've had to, uh, adapt. Being **Russian** myself or of Russian origin, I understan
9 sia to America and living in the Brighton **Russian** community, I mean, for some people tha
10 well, you have Jewish people, you have **Russian** people. Etc., etc. Everyone tends to kee
11 r and people are saying, "Thank you," in **Russian** and the and it 's like and then they loo
12 ouse. There 's a lot of it 's more, like, **Russian** stores and and things like that. So, som
13 good though. it 's really good. So, I 'm **Russian** . And my mom is from Russia as well. So,
14 me twice, and then they realize I 'm not **Russian** . Or, like, somebody I bought something
15 to, uh, adapt. Being Russian myself or of **Russian** origin, I understand this. Uh, but the,
16 ys has become more, more Russified or **Russian** immigrants come in. Well, of course it '
17 this building is, I would say, 99 percent **Russian** now. The neighborhood is 95 how do I
18 't they know that this is a predominantly **Russian** neighborhood, that you need somebod
19 , 90 percent of the people are speaking **Russian** . I mean, I know people speak the langua
20 ed somebody, an interpreter that speaks **Russian** ," because you get somebody that come
21 re are a lot of, uh, people who, like the **Russian** speaking people. They know each other.
22 do n't really like to hang out around the **Russian** community, restaurants or clubs. So for
23 k- you know, English-speaking people to **Russian** speaking. If even the younger people, th

Concordance C1.17: Concordances of *Russian* in 7-8_11229-35.

N Concordance

1 know, you 're walking out the door and **people** are saying, "Thank you," in Russian and t
2 you know? I say, "Thank you." I smile at **people** that I know and whatever. But and then
3 I was a kid got into drugs, got into bad **people** , and he died, you know? It 's not â€¦ so
4 long, but I have the impression they do. **People** , I mean, people live here and work here
5 like that, playgrounds for kids, for elder **people** , you know. We have like, I guess, more,
6 uh, prices are very important for elderly **people** . 53, programmer. Uh, yes, I d
7 community, I can see for elder-elderly **people** , but for young people and for people wi

8 s quiet. Yeah. And it 's it 's better for
9 ly people, but for young people and for
10 there is a large, uh, crowd of, of ghetto
11 ge on the floor like they do around here.
12 ng. If I had a wish. If I had a genie? If
13 , no. No. Yeah, well, you have Jewish
14 top & Shop is a bus and, you know,
15 le are speaking Russian. I mean, I know
16 od stamps or homecare or, you know,
17 ple have been, what happens is, lately,
18 ts, anything like that. I think so. Like,
19 be banned, because there 's too many
20 for me. Uh, too sporadic and too many
21 und here. People, they clean. I mean,
22 I do n't know what ... you mean
23 the impression they do. People, I mean,
24 things that are, you know, hectic. More
25 tns for stores, you know, to bring more
26 ow, there 's more stores, there 's more
27 ike this, but, and then you see like more
28 It 's not too much traffic, not too much
29 live here. Um, nice neighborhood, nice
30 a pool and things like that. So, a lot of
31 e them to change. For example, a lot of
32 , like, the thing I see there is a lot of
33 either going to Silver Star, and a lot of
34 or nothing, but I know there is a lot of
35 yn or even New York, you know. A lot of
36 but now it 's chaos. A lot ... uh, a lot of
37 say just buildings, in general. A lot of
38 ot of stores, restaurants. Yeah, a lot of
39 mark closed. And it 's hard for the older
40 ybody 's trying to stand up for their own
41 getting a little crowded. More religious
42 to cars. They cause problems. They rob
43 have Jewish people, you have Russian
44 here in the corner of the school. That 's
45 other. They enjoy the, uh, salesperson.
46 tuff like that. Not really. I mean, I see
47 urants and everything. Uh, it 's similar.
48 it is an immigrant neighborhood. And so
49 know the neighbor, the kin. Some some
50 n Russian community, I mean, for some
51 a diverse community, you know, some
52 can-speak- you know, English-speaking
53 people who, like the Russian speaking
54 just the different nationalities, but the
55 , uh, depends on, uh, you know, on the
56 , and just it 's growing. You see it. The
57 d has turned Ru- What mo- most of the
58 nterpreter?" And they said, "Well, if the
59 ot so amazing, but quiet and fine. The
60 re tourists. And it 's and then, when the
61 wn the street and 95, 90 percent of the
62 I is over here. So, it not bad, but they,
63 No, I do n't. I do n't think
64 's it 's just really diverse. So, I think
65 not alone because there are a lot of, uh,
66 ? Um, good restaurants. Yeah. Uh,
67 heepshead Bay High School. And, um,
68 t to clean, you know? Yeah, yeah. Um,
69 n't know. It 's really clean. It 's very,
70 h. I would say just, uh, diversity within

people , like uh especially girls, at nighttime.
people with families, probably not. Um, I for my
people there, which I 'm not too crazy about at
People , they clean. I mean, people are just mor
people were just honest. I 'm a teacher. And I '
people , you have Russian people. Etc., etc. Ever
people ca n't get with the shopping carts and on
people speak the language of their countries, b
people and I mean, she 's she 's been in the rep
people have been putting their gar- on the corr
people , like, the way they come, like the there
people who smoke and spit on the street. It 's b
people and problem with parking. Um, particula
people are just more respectful in my neighborh
people doing things and? No, no, unless it come
people live here and work here and. Uh, I like t
people . Yeah. Did I what? Um, probably Ocean
people in. Like, restaurants, anything like that
people , different cultures. Just like 'cause, wh
people coming, backgrounds, and just it 's grow
people up and down. TJ Max. Oh Lord, okay, so
people , um, no criminal records. Like, that 's t
people go there. Um, so, it 's, I feel like, may
people that 's in the corner and sit around ther
people that smoke. But otherwise, it 's okay bec
people do n't own cars. So, shopping at at at St
people . Sometimes they still there in the corner
people do n't consider this as America, to be ho
people on drugs. They walk through here every
people are smoking around here. So, I would sa
people . It 's crowded. It 's very high prices fo
people because it was either going to Silver Sta
people , and no one wants to get along. Nobod
people than there used to be. There are a lot of
people . Yeah. Not really. Only family. That 's i
people . Etc., etc. Everyone tends to keep to the
people who might run or something like that. I t
People in the stores are Russian-speaking. And
people , like, littering all the time, and it jus
People are n't very friendly. No. No reason at a
people , you know, within the Chinese communi
people I I do n't know. I I talk no . My my next
people that 's fine. For me, and you know, I do
people just do n't wanna be bothered, you kno
people to Russian speaking. If even the younger
people . They know each other. They enjoy the,
people are basically all friendly and sane. Uh,
people because, you know, um, I mean, where t
people , the environment. It 's not dangerous. It
people that live in this building, that moved in
people filled out the census, the government w
people are good. Yeah. No, everything is good.
people say, "Thank you," you know, I, you know,
people are speaking Russian. I mean, I know pe
people have been putting garbage in the garba
people are very friendly. Um, it 's very convenie
people do whatever they can, but as for the safe
people who, like the Russian speaking people. T
people do contribute to the community. Yes. U
people were nice. It 's a nice environment, you
people have been, what happens is, lately, peop
people are much friendlier. Oh, I 'm sorry. I me
people . Everybody 's, like, really nice. There '

71 really good, then now is it the young **people** all go there, go there, my daughter, too.
 72 e for elder-elderly people, but for young **people** and for people with families, probably n
 73 Russian speaking. If even the younger **people**, they all but that 's in every country. I
 Concordance C1.18: Concordances of *people* in 7-8_11229-35.

2. BK_SpokenID:

N Concordance

1 vations for, um, turning this into a **garden** was... Beautification. Beautificatio
 2 profit organization to run them and **garden** people, like ourselves, to monitor w
 3 Yeah. Yeah. I, um, there 's another **garden** that I think that 's... Same one. Sa
 4 now. It 's a com- you know, most are **garden** member- membership things. Yeah. So
 5 orner. You have a Brooklyn Botanical **Garden** . You have the Brooklyn Public Librar
 6 ow is what the role of the community **garden** is, like, in your life, and in also
 7 rborist. Okay. Green Acres Community **Garden** on Green Avenue and Franklin Avenue.
 8 'm a teacher. Okay. Target Community **Garden** . Um suggest quite a few organization
 9 rden project? Yes. It 's a community **garden** . Yeah, yeah. Um, is it like, um, wha
 10 that was her mission. It was to keep **garden** space in the community . She bought
 11 Bedford that 's also a Bette Midler **garden** area. Right. Right. Yeah. So, we hav
 12 e started talking about what kind of **garden** we wanted, and we were all really in
 13 ilitary. Okay. This is Clifton Place **Garden** on the corner of Clifton and Bedford
 14 h, the flowers. Um, and it 's a rain **garden** . It 's got a purpose for the, absorb
 15 to join the garden. They joined the **garden** . So, it 's really a good way to, lik
 16 new neighbors downstairs to join the **garden** . They joined the garden. So, it 's r
 17 o do n't live here, to come into the **garden** , and they 're like, "Oh my God, I di
 18 ut, anyway, um, you know, it 's, the **garden** 's been here for 30 something years.
 19 rn how things work and what role the **garden** plays for the community in your eyes
 20 sheds, so no one can, like, get the **garden** tools and just put them or whatever.
 21 ng together, to one come up with the **garden** , the idea of grow, of community gard
 22 our neighbors if we did n't have the **garden** . Yeah? Um, so like, we got to know,
 23 Definitely the **garden** . And, do you think many people have
 24 en. Yeah. This right in right in the **garden** is my it 's my that 's why I be here
 25 me out and have meetings here in the **garden** . Yeah, yeah, yeah. The season 's onl
 26 ion- I do n't- I do n't know how the **garden** got to her, but she started keeping
 27 y favorite place, here. Right in the **garden** . Yeah. This right in right in the ga
 28 , they all get together and keep the **garden** , keep the garden going. Some of them
 29 okay. That 's quite a while. Has the **garden** always looked like this, or? That ye
 30 mmunity, that they are coming to the **garden** . Some do volunteer working. And, uh,
 31 gether and keep the garden, keep the **garden** going. Some of them mow. Some of the
 32 turns, um, overseeing opening up the **garden** . So, like, today is my day. I would
 33 t does it? Right. So, members of the **garden** just have to take care of their own
 34 e people drive through, they see the **garden** . They 'll, uh, oh, this is she 's on
 35 to ask a couple questions about the **garden** . Because, I 'm doing a project on, y
 36 husband is the, uh, president of the **garden** . Oh, okay. Yeah. So, they 're a powe
 37 , okay, so basically, members of the **garden** like get to, like, make decisions, a
 38 storiation Project. They oversee this **garden** and many more. This is one of, um, w
 39 lly pretty over there, like, in this **garden** . We always tell people to come here.
 40 I 'd say, actually, everyone in this **garden** is lives within blocks. Mh mh. I mig
 41 rly like the more wild sense of this **garden** . Yeah. Okay. Cool. If I could wrap i
 42 mh, and, like, what is your, in this **garden** , um, do people have the same sense o
 43 t is now, and was able to hold on to **gardens** space. Because that was her mission.
 44 acant lots to, for gardens, to build **gardens** in Bloomberg 's era, and we, uh, we
 45 e;the housing has changed. Community **gardens** , which are something new. Um€the
 46 ou know, you find a lot of community **gardens** that are, like, highly, uh they loo
 47 galleries, soup kitchens, community **gardens** , festivals, so on and so forth. And
 48 rden, the idea of grow, of community **gardens** , working together, growing food, th
 49 in this neighborhood, the community **gardens** play a huge role in for people who,
 50 rsonally, the role of, um, community **gardens** is really to, uh, have space for pe
 51 ou know, neighborhoods and community **gardens** and what people like think what rol
 52 more wild space. Uh, some community **gardens** are very formalized, you know, desi
 53 fferent, like, um, gardens community **gardens** , things like that. They still do th
 54 giving access to vacant lots to, for **gardens** , to build gardens in Bloomberg 's e
 55 then also like um Prospect Lefferts **Gardens** and Flatbush. Although that area is

56 More **gardens** . More awareness to people. Let them
 57 m, what 's her name? Bette Midler 's **gardens** . Oh, okay, so there 's another one
 58 nce the with the whole U-Haul of the **gardens** , it 's definitely made it a lot dif
 59 n what ways has that, like, with the **gardens** , is there, like, more community now
 60 And this is not, like, one of these **gardens** that 's like 'cause, you know, you
 61 rted up so many different, like, um, **gardens** community gardens, things like that
 Concordance C2.1: Concordances of GARDEN in BK_SpokenID.

N Concordance

1 d from that. Um as far as affordable **housing** , you know the big mistake from the
 2 f you provided, you know, affordable **housing** , that they would do this. Um howeve
 3 eady. And also a lot more affordable **housing** . Um how 's how 's that being taken
 4 well off. I mean there is affordable **housing** there. Yeah, but "affordable housin
 5 housing there. Yeah, but "affordable **housing** ." Yeah, um it 'll largely be occupi
 6 hile we 're supportive of affordable **housing** you know we 're more focused on the
 7 ing to be able to provide affordable **housing** to the community resident. So, that
 8 ork and just like general affordable **housing** work, that has n't been our our mai
 9 e housing. What I mean by affordable **housing** - what is affordable to you. It 's c
 10 re funding to assist with affordable **housing** . What I mean by affordable housing-
 11 manages a lot of housing, affordable **housing** and does a lot of dope development
 12 o manage housing as well, affordable **housing** . Mh mh. Um then there 's Los Sures,
 13 to that, uh to to provide affordable **housing** for low income people. That 's the
 14 , I want to to um provide affordable **housing** to low income people. It 's only go
 15 ld go up. You see? You got a cheaper **housing** , but how about your transportation
 16 ment, HPD. That 's the New York City **Housing** Development Preservation, so they g
 17 w that there 's more, um ... high-cost **housing** , that has caused, uh, an impact on
 18 ion, get into I mean there are a few **housing** groups um but I think that it 's ki
 19 , everything works together. We have **housing** , you have all this wraparound progr
 20 roups who have a stronger footing in **housing** , you know there are several communi
 21 created this voluntary inclusionary **housing** proposal you know in exchange for a
 22 t, but if you 're putting money into **housing** to help the low and moderate income
 23 this non-profit that began to manage **housing** as well, affordable housing. Mh mh.
 24 ighborhood. Um that manages a lot of **housing** , affordable housing and does a lot
 25 ve a lot more capacity to to work on **housing** issues. Um and so but well, we 've
 26 d then we can move them to permanent **housing** , so there is a mechanics in place t
 27 f you call, because we have provided **housing** for low and moderate income, that i
 28 nd of largely concentrated in public **housing** developments um â€ did I say Puert
 29 Um and so but well, we 've done some **housing** work in the past, like we have done
 30 Um ... what has changed is ... the **housing** has changed. Community gardens, whi
 31 percent of your income just for the **housing** alone. You have other bills to take
 32 theâ€I guess the diversity. Um, the **housing** , the diversity of the community ...
 33 re was a time when we were doing the **housing** development. We have situation wher
 34 we did n't see at the time, that the **housing** is gonna be, you know, uh, will be
 35 me. And, with the situation with the **housing** in New York City now, people are sp
 36 's kind of an environmental lens to **housing** that we could play a role in and wo
 37 nt, and so I 'm going to take you to **housing** court to get you out. So, the tenant
 38 o 60 percent of their income towards **housing** costs, so it 's so it 's tough. So,
 39 a tremendous impact on the local um **housing** market. Mh mh. I think for us, we b
 40 of the income supposed to go to your **housing** costs, but in New York City, it 's
 Concordance C2.2: Concordances of *housing* in BK_SpokenID.

N Concordance

1 as a landlord/owner of a **property** view, to say I appreciate
 2 ties in the 1980s, before **property** became a as valuable as i
 3 the purchase of the final **property** . Oh! But that 's gonna ta
 4 rket works. They just had **property** . Most of them did n't kno
 5 't sell. Hold onto it. My **property** value, honestly, is 3 mil
 6 rd. I actually started my **property** management, which is Part
 7 ging it. I 've changed my **property** . Matter of fact, after th
 8 s whole block. So, taxes, **property** taxes actually goes up, b
 9 black owner who owns the **property** for almost 40 to 50 years
 10 know what to do with the **property** , so that 's when it start
 11 remediate and develop the **property** . Um and then there are ot
 12 . Um and then ... the **property** was purchased by U.S.A. W

13 he state, to purchase the **property** . And that was kind of fac
 14 ere Jewish, who owned the **property** , yeah, so they were like
 15 actually goes up, but the **property** value also goes up, which
 16 be, "Oh, they sold their **property** because, you know, it 's
 17 goal is to hold onto this **property** and pass it down to my ki
 18 ow, I 'd like to buy this **property** from you, because I 'm th
 19 y for this deed, for this **property** , and we 're finding that
 20 ere you have to sell your **property** , and let 's say you move

Concordance C2.3: Concordances of *property* in BK_SpokenID.

N Concordance

1 's like, "No, you made this up? **Real estate** people. Power." Yeah. Of course the
 2 's something I noticed also in **real estate** . They always callâ€the Bushwick sid
 3 h Williamsburg. That 's another **real estate** . They put it in her head to call it
 4 years old, and my occupancy is **real estate** investment. Yeah. Okay. Cool. Thank
 5 actic, because I do it too as a **real estate** guy, but I do n't do it like vigorou
 6 at 's all true, and once again, **real estate** is the cause of brainwashing people.
 7 , like me, who 's in the field, **real estate** , small investors, architectural new
 8 e who are realtors that 's into **real estate** . I know people who are, uh, fashion
 9 g trick perhaps. It is, and all **real estate** does the job to brainwash people an
 10 ason behind that? Oh, that 's a **real estate** , uh, contrude, mental thing. So, whe
 11 jobs that year. It was my, uh, **real estate** job was one. Part-time. Uh I was goi

Concordance C2.4: Concordances of *real estate* in BK_SpokenID.

N Concordance

1 also ... not that they have this anti- **AirBnB** , and hotels who also hate AirBnB, an
 2 So, without us, there would n't be **AirBnB**, and that 's a fact. So, AirBnB is d
 3 might not make it this long, because **AirBnB** myself ... you know, the problem with
 4 why I say 2015 was great is because, **AirBnB** -wise, AirBnB did n't have, uh, that
 5 at I 've heard, and friends who does **AirBnB** outside of my block, who have comp
 6 , and I 'm not the only one who does **AirBnB** . There 's about maybe four of us. It
 7 nds and non-friends who were doing **AirBnB** , my fellows, they could n't. Most of
 8 of the rooms in my AirBnB, my famous **AirBnB** room is so small, it 's like a close
 9 nti-AirBnB, and hotels who also hate **AirBnB** , and the politicians who hates AirBn
 10 irBnB, and the politicians who hates **AirBnB** , because each of them is jerking eac
 11 a bloody lie. It 's always a lie. **AirBnB** is only, what? Seven years old. Gent
 12 And they 're making it harder. Like, **AirBnB** has so many rules and regulations no
 13 f people are critical of things like **AirBnB** , being, like you know, driving rents
 14 s good. Um ... one of the rooms in my **AirBnB** , my famous AirBnB room is so small,
 15 Bed-Stuy, which I used to say on my **AirBnB** ? It was less rental. Very less. Yeah
 16 s border ... I try to be nice for my **AirBnB**, not to you know misinform them, so
 17 about 15 dollars less. Yeah. So, my **AirBnB** , for example, room number one ... I
 18 g crazy stuff. Making crazy money on **AirBnB** , but now, so much ... like, there was
 19 nd like you said earlier, people say **AirBnB** is the reason things are going up. T
 20 t be AirBnB, and that 's a fact. So, **AirBnB** is doing this all and I get it. You
 21 and they would go, "How do you start **AirBnB** ?" and I 'd say, "I 'm going to charg
 22 rder even? Yes. I have a vision that **AirBnB** might not make it this long, because
 23 nd of like helping people with their **AirBnB** . So, I was kind of like their adviso
 24 ard on that, but part-time, and then **AirBnB** , that 's three, and the fourth job w
 25 king their beards and stuff. I think **AirBnB** is also bending over too much for th
 26 ve half back, and it 's like ... ugh, **AirBnB** , what 's up with you? What are you
 27 y messed up. It 's really messed up. **AirBnB** has never changed the height of the
 28 row them under the bus. That 's what **AirBnB** is. They 're doing that to attack th
 29 ple area ... yeah. And you know what? **AirBnB** ? It worked out for me. I said, "Look
 30 nd people were just ... that was when **AirBnB** was trending. It was going hard. No
 31 e wants to talk about that, but when **AirBnB** came up for everyone, now you have
 32 5 was great is because, AirBnB-wise, **AirBnB** did n't have, uh, that much restrict
 33 myself ... you know, the problem with **AirBnB** also ... not that they have this anti
 34 e trying to, like, work with you. **AirBnB** would n't be around if owners did no

Concordance C2.5: Concordances of *AirBnb* in BK_SpokenID.

N Concordance

1 ses for poor people, for drug addict **people** , and stuff like that. No, uh, but if
 2 have a massive occupancy. Yes, and **people** were just ... that was when AirBnB w

3 so I think some people or there are
4 talk to. Um, us kind of in this area,
5 I'm closer to Clinton Hill, because
6 rican-American or my people, black
7 le. Racism are both the same bloody
8 eal estate does the job to brainwash
9 estate is the cause of brainwashing
10 anywhere you go in life or business,
11 hen, you know, not those people, but
12 Okay, well, let 's vote on it, but
13 fessions that are being, um, held by
14 ou kind of ask around, like, certain
15 see the mixture of the the community
16 at we would like to do uh to connect
17 e are, like, five or six really core
18 e. Power." Yeah. Of course they did.
19 he community? For sure, um. And do
20 n your block, or is thatâ€¦ like, do
21 not true, and like you said earlier,
22 at, because I always like to educate
23 's also programs that help education
24 , "No, you made this up? Real estate
25 gentrification to come our way, for
26 enjoy nature and, uh, you know, for
27 nity gardens play a huge role in for
28 for accumulating capital. Um and for
29 ovides like a unique opportunity for
30 ens is really to, uh, have space for
31 months. And I think that will force
32 ver really came in came to fruition.
33 organization to run them and garden
34 a problem. In Brooklyn, in general,
35 a good block. There 's a lot of good
36 use because, in order to get grants,
37 ly, like they do it. I do n't harass
38 e the bathroom here. Uh, so we have
39 Uh, that 's the difference. You have
40 erent. And, among them we still have
41 w, we do have workshops. We have
42 b was like, um, kind of like helping
43 Yeah, yeah. Um, and I think it helps
44 e we reduce the number of homeless
45 went from, you know, a few hundred
46 their apartment buildings to move in
47 ide affordable housing to low income
48 e still have people, very low income
49 to the point whereby the low income
50 income people, the moderate income
51 the low income or moderate income
52 de affordable housing for low income
53 to low, even to the moderate income
54 buyers. Once again, they 're Jewish
55 at 's two, and then the rest is just
56 ors that 's into real estate. I know
57 uh, Department of Education. I know
58 teresting. Mh mh. Um but you know
59 ind of like their advisor, you know?
60 some areas, you find that, you know,
61 his particular plot. Like, you know,
62 uh, fashion designers. Yeah, I know
63 eople who are social workers. I know
64 upper-income peop- folks and largely
65 bout growing. Oh, really? Yeah. Less

people who are kind of new business owner
People 's Firehouse would be another good
people will not come if I call my ..."Oh ye
people getting kicked out and pushed, I 'm
people . That 's what I 'd like to say. Okay
people and make them move in an area that
people . Uh, that 's one. Whatever 's on the
people tend to back out. They do n't really
people who live here, like, I 've lived in
people like to talk it through and never ge
people ? Like, is there a greater diversity
people that might know them, and they go,
people . I do n't see any friction at all. A
people to the neighborhood. Um so one of
people , and a lot of people come and go,
people like you. Yeah. People areâ€¦ yeah.
People try and work against that, in a sens
people frown on that, or do they welcome it
people say AirBnB is the reason things are
people about this particular here spectrum.
people , like the Restoration Corporation an
people . Power." Yeah. Of course they did.
people to actually trust us and move in." S
people to, uh, get together and have that c
people who, you know, otherwise could n't c
people who to come into the neighborhood
people to learn more about the history and
people to enjoy nature and, uh, you know, f
people in the neighborhood to be in the nei
People just opted out and built these devel
people , like ourselves, to monitor what goe
people were n't fighting. So, here 's the h
people . So, you can start, can I also get y
people will have to sort of do that. Yeah.
people . I 'll come once or twice, and I 'm
people come in doing composting classes.
people who that just left everything oh, wi
people , very low income people making like
people come in to give us tips on compostin
people with their AirBnB. So, I was kind of
people take pride in their neighborhood. Ye
people , you know, because if they evict the
people to like over a hundred-thousand in t
people who could afford to live there. Yeah
people . It 's only government who can do th
people making like in the family of four ma
people , the moderate income people cannot
people cannot afford to stay in this neighb
people . Most of- most of our development,
people . That 's the only way out. Well, let
people . So, if you 're making 70, 80 thousa
people . No matter how much I tell them to s
people talking. Like, just, uh, you know, g
people who are, uh, fashion designers. Yeah
people who are realtors that 's into real e
people were n't looting or anything. It was
People would call me, new people, and they
people just stick to themselves and say lik
people come from far away sometimes, becau
people who are social workers. I know peopl
people who are, um, a eye doctor, ophthalmo
people who are new to the neighborhood. So
people yeah do. Yeah. This just tastes so m

66 ly, even though they 're not letting **people** know, but they are pushing where the
67 ould be something more general, like **people** just being open to communicating wit
68 like ... I mean, down the line, like, **people** need to become more aware.
69 I say, "Oh, this is not fair." Like, **people** like [name]. This is ... this is good an
70 hat. Yeah. Yeah, 'cause now ... like, **people** have, like, a 30-day contract, and t
71 neighbors. Um, you know, it 's like **people** look out for each other. You know? W
72 the garden. And, do you think many **people** have their garden as a favorite plac
73 n that, or do they welcome it? Mh ... **people** would be like my neighbors, or, like
74 landlord, the ST, the local minority **people** that have been here long before they
75 the changes. Seeing more and more **people** come into the neighborhood, the comm
76 y in here 's totally different. More **people** are like when they come in here, the
77 a lot of more houses, a lot of more **people** moving in. Places like, uh, East New
78 oing to Jersey, actually? Yeah. Most **people** to go Jersey now. A lot of them. The
79 od that I think is invisible to most **people** um because it 's kind of concealed o
80 rious, where it comes from, but most **people** have money passed down from family
81 ty, anywhere you go, which ... most **people** do n't really pay attention to that,
82 borhood or? Yeah. Um, I think most **people** are within this neighborhood or, you
83 skyrocket. Landlords started moving **people** out of their apartment buildings to
84 and as far as African-American or my **people** , black people getting kicked out and
85 that is ready to help me, help my my **people** . If you 're going to take the means
86 , you know? Do n't be like my native **people** . Do n't sell. Hold onto it. My prope
87 to Bed-Stuy. It 's bad. It 's native **people** there. They 're going to be grumpy a
88 's just being inclusive. I want new **people** . I want the old, you know, to all be
89 ty to be lost with the influx of new **people** . So, I think that would probably be
90 some of them think you bringing new **people** on the block is messing the block up
91 u know? People would call me, new **people** , and they would go, "How do you sta
92 th the housing in New York City now, **people** are spending close to 60 percent of
93 rsey, which is like a new trend now. **People** are moving there, because it 's chea
94 lly makes a difference, and a lot of **people** like, we invite our friends, who do
95 like, we got to know, like, a lot of **people** on our block from it, and also, like
96 ah. Exactly. Yeah. There 's a lot of **people** sitting in there, working from home,
97 is neighborhood. Um, no. In terms of **people** ? Oh god, that compost is kinda gross
98 t 's happened and like the influx of **people** that have come in the neighborhood k
99 u know, you price out many, many of **people** in our community. So, I want the com
100 ere 's, like, a fancy, like, crew of **people** who come and, like, take care of thi
101 ou said, like, there 's a variety of **people** around. Like, what do the people who
102 es, yes. Yes. Yes. There 's a lot of **people** getting education. Yes. Very much. S
103 h is what I do in my work and lot of **people** do. Yeah. Um, and also there 's a lo
104 f people pushing, a certain group of **people** , no one wants to talk about that, bu
105 talks about that. The whole group of **people** pushing, a certain group of people,
106 t provides a place for all, a lot of **people** to come together to meet, and, um, h
107 ich was we could n't paint images of **people** , which is againstâ€ Well, it
108 six really core people, and a lot of **people** come and go, um, and this is the tim
109 front area. So you have like lots of **people** who 've uh recently moved to the nei
110 very was very different from lots of **people** that grew up in my immediate neighb
111 say melting pot, but convergence of **people** from all over the globe. And you can
112 And a lot of or like a huge wave of **people** from the Lower East Side kind of emi
113 ons just because of the diversity of **people** that get out or use that station. Mh
114 hat 's one thing that draws a lot of **people** to New York in general. Um but this
115 cleaner than before. Uh, because of **people** were involved. Uh, that 's the diffe
116 I 'm just relaxing right now. Okay. **People** really represent the neighborhood, I
117 ewcomer who are in- not that the old **people** are not involved, but you have more
118 alled 596 Acres, which is organizing **people** to advocate for, um, access to green
119 quote unquote mixing with with other **people** . Um the Marcy Ave J-station, um J-M-
120 butor has less of a voice than other **people** , in in, like, a style sense because
121 , but you also have to respect other **people** 's perspective, because some people
122 as a tenant, then I understand other **people** 's concerns, you know, and the conce
123 with [name] and a couple of other **people** to get access to here. So, we got th
124 know, so even if the majority of our **people** , they 're not even making half of th
125 o that. Yeah. So we 're not painting **people** . We 're painting vegetables and wor
126 told we 're building houses for poor **people** , for drug addict people, and stuff I
127 people?" So years later I realized, **people** will literally come in and goâ€ the
128 Yeah, same. But a lot of the reasons **people** come here is to meet their neighbors

129 t of my neighborhood and recognize
130 saying goes, "Oh, typical white rich
131 crats and Republicans are the same
132 ly goes by, you stop seeing the same
133 s, you know, they do n't want to see
134 sting grant, so we can have signage.
135 n Manhattan. It 's cheaper there, so
136 o like collect the insurance. And so
137 people 's perspective, because of the
138 voice. Mh mh. Um. Yeah. And some
139 ce was to what it 's become, some
140 tly cool um. Yeah. But I know some
141 nst that, in a sense? I I think some
142 ith El Puente um and so I think some
143 kes sense to have a recession. Some
144 ore experience in gardening. Some
145 like, in this garden. We always tell
146 hen it started happening, and I tell
147 . Bitcoin, you know one thing I tell
148 d Clinton Hill," and nine out of ten
149 e. Whatever 's on the internet, that
150 e different, is that we decided that
151 t see that. You know, basically, the
152 ike, I think, like I said, like, the
153 to trouble the government, but, the
154 the history and the struggles of the
155 gentrified to the point whereby the
156 Um. Just in general. I would say the
157 nd, you know, and I do n't think the
158 e something that is n't just for the
159 k. Like, there 's actually like, the
160 s neighborhood is not really for the
161 you know, like, a lot of times, the
162 ing. Um, do the newcomers and the
163 something I realized. I believe the
164 bit homey," you know? And I like the
165 that, because you can 't blame these
166 blame the new developers; all these
167 e, "Who 's saying that? Who is these
168 so goes up, which means that these
169 s talking over here, um, but I think
170 ood for seven years, so, like, those
171 onths, and then, you know, not those
172 d are already in the town. Um, those
173 , man, you know what? Screw those
174 an 't do that now. You know, so, uh,
175 profession, peop- professional, uh,
176 id n't exist at one point. Yeah. Um,
177 We have movie nights, concerts, um,
178 , this donut-shaped building that um
179 en consensus. Yeah, yeah. And, um,
180 re and why. Yes. People made it up.
181 omething important that I would want
182 ant thing, for me, that I would want
183 ody had a good time, and there was
184 p out the current tenants and, well,
185 . Everyone coming together, as well?
186 m, and this is the time of year when
187 money and during the summer, when
188 -Stuy is not really gentrified. When
189 the, I was watching a TV show where
190 e vibe to it, where in a sense where
191 evelopment. We have situation where

people in my neighborhood. They recognize
people . They do n't got no life. They-they
people . Racism are both the same bloody pe
people that you always walk on the same, uh
people progress. They do n't want to see th
People forget the rules. Yeah. And so, we '
people can move to New Jersey, or you can
people in the neighborhood were kind of fea
people just want to be private. They just w
people have more experience in gardening.
people will say it has n't changed for the
people struggled during during Sandy, so I
people do. Um and you know, speaking of s
people or there are people who are kind of
people will be smarter now, ever since we s
people are, have more professional experien
people to come here. It 's really nice. Lik
people , "Do n't always blame the Jews. Do n
people , and this is on the record. There 's
people took it. These guests, they know wha
people are misinformed about certain areas
people would n't, like, rent individual bed
people that are moving out to us are more y
people who are interested in, like, living
people that we have today, if they see any
people that once lived here tha- that 's no
people that can actually help the economy o
people , because I used to um, I lived here
people that were here, they were, you know,
people who live there who are gonna be, for
people who live in the block are very, very
people who live here per se, it 's more for
people drive through, they see the garden.
people who have been here for a while blend
people that move in the neighborhood, it ch
people here. It 's very convenient to go an
people . 800,000? They 've never seen it in
people who is buying shit. Do n't blame the
people ?" So years later I realized, people
people are going to be selling their house
people are just very aware of trying to giv
people that are interested in being neighbo
people , but people who live here, like, I '
people who 's probably been there, they sti
people. We tried to reach out to them; they
people are move involved with what is going
people in the neighborhood, for sure. Yeah.
people working together, coming together, t
people have parties, um, birthday parties,
people are living in now. But they have thi
people do n't like to vote, you know? How '
People literally made that up. It 's a mark
people to know about this neighborhood, um
people to know about this neighborhood is j
people from this young, from babies, all th
people who live there, but you know, so it
People coming together. Yeah, yeah. Um you
people get interested in gardening again. Y
people help there and do something, there i
people say "Bed-Stuy" they always think, li
people thought that they were getting fresh
people know you and you know them. So, I I
people who did n't know our intent, they 'r

192 like, talk to your neighbors, which **people** do n't do anymore. Yeah. You know?
 193 y? More gardens. More awareness to **people** . Let them know that if you-you do mo
 194 our, at least the the non-transient **people** , because I 'm sure you know this is,
 195 rds that is being used just to trick **people** to move in. It 's sad. It 's really
 196 o, It 's a tactical way of tricking **people** to buy and-and rent a place out, thi
 197 n, how most of the old British white **people** literally hold on to the money; they
 198 n Hill. So, I finally understood why **people** just assume a lot of things. Yeah. I
 199 time is spent there, you know, with **people** who I know in the neighborhood. So,
 201 know, do you often have issues with **people** say oh, we, there is no, we have iss
 202 st being open to communicating with **people** from different backgrounds.
 203 uld be so clean. You know. So, yeah, **people** will second guess you, you know, the
 204 ford that? I mean, nobody can. Yeah. **People** are starving across, they 're paying
 205 rse they did. People like you. Yeah. **People** area ... yeah. And you know what? Air
 206 y from shutting it down. Um so yeah, **People** 's Firehouse would be a good organiz
 207 draws their line where and why. Yes. **People** made it up. People literally made th
 208 more fresh blood coming in, younger **people** coming in, and their family. They wa
 209 are the issues. We want to get your **people** there to go and take care of the pro
 Concordance C2.6: Concordances of *people* in BK_SpokenID.

N Concordance

194 nity gardens play a huge role in for **people** who , you know, otherwise could n't c
 195 front area. So you have like lots of **people** who 've uh recently moved to the nei
 196 for accumulating capital. Um and for **people** who to come into the neighborhood w
 197 Uh, that 's the difference. You have **people** who that just left everything oh, wi
 198 d are already in the town. Um, those **people** who 's probably been there, they sti
 199 e something that is n't just for the **people** who live there who are gonna be, for
 200 p out the current tenants and, well, **people** who live there, but you know, so it
 201 k. Like, there 's actually like, the **people** who live in the block are very, very
 202 s neighborhood is not really for the **people** who live here per se, it 's more for
 203 hen, you know, not those people, but **people** who live here, like, I 've lived in
 204 blame the new developers; all these **people** who is buying shit. Do n't blame the
 205 time is spent there, you know, with **people** who I know in the neighborhood. So,
 206 evelopment. We have situation where **people** who did n't know our intent, they 'r
 207 their apartment buildings to move in **people** who could afford to live there. Yeah
 208 ere 's, like, a fancy, like, crew of **people** who come and, like, take care of thi
 209 eople who are social workers. I know **people** who are, um, a eye doctor, ophthalmolo
 210 ors that 's into real estate. I know **people** who are, uh, fashion designers. Yeah
 211 uh, fashion designers. Yeah, I know **people** who are social workers. I know peopl
 212 uh, Department of Education. I know **people** who are realtors that 's into real e
 213 upper-income peop- folks and largely **people** who are new to the neighborhood. So
 214 so I think some people or there are **people** who are kind of new business owners
 215 ike, I think, like I said, like, the **people** who are interested in, like, living
 216 term travel ... like, to travelers or **people** who are in the city for a short time
 Concordance C2.7: Concordances of *people* + *who* in BK_SpokenID.

N Concordance

142 ly goes by, you stop seeing the same **people** that you always walk on the same, uh
 143 nd, you know, and I do n't think the **people** that were here, they were, you know,
 144 to trouble the government, but, the **people** that we have today, if they see any
 145 le. Racism are both the same bloody **people**. That 's what I 'd like to say. Okay
 146 de affordable housing for low income **people**. That 's the only way out. Well, let
 147 the history and the struggles of the **people** that once lived here tha- that 's no
 148 something I realized. I believe the **people** that move in the neighborhood, it ch
 149 ou kind of ask around, like, certain **people** that might know them, and they go, "
 150 t 's happened and like the influx of **people** that have come in the neighborhood k
 151 landlord, the ST, the local minority **people** that have been here long before they
 152 very was very different from lots of **people** that grew up in my immediate neighbo
 153 ons just because of the diversity of **people** that get out or use that station. Mh
 154 gentrified to the point whereby the **people** that can actually help the economy o
 155 t see that. You know, basically, the **people** that are moving out to us are more y
 156 ood for seven years, so, like, those **people** that are interested in being neighbo
 Concordance C2.8: Concordances of *people* + *that* in BK_SpokenID.

N Concordance

1 d this is a Hasid building, and the **landlord** had one stipulation, which was we c
2 nts, and you need the landlord. The **landlord** to know their responsibility, what
3 s, so most of the time, we call the **landlord** and try to have the case resolved w
4 e not to pay the rent, and then the **landlord** will then say, you know, you 're no
5 issues, uh, tenant counseling, uh, **landlord** , we 're helping landlord to get som
6 around uh dealing with tenants and **landlord** issues, uh, tenant counseling, uh,
7 eling, uh, landlord, we 're helping **landlord** to get some subsidies from the gov
8 e the rent situation going up, some **landlord** , they want to evict their tenants,
9 were here, and the majority of the **landlord** , the ST, the local minority people
10 out going to court. We 'll call the **landlord** , okay, these are the issues. We wa
11 need the tenants, and you need the **landlord** . The landlord to know their respon
12 ices to the tenant and, uh, and the **landlord** , because you need both of them. Y
13 you know about the race riot, most **landlord** left the neighborhood. And, they le
14 it in a, now I 'm a landlord, a new **landlord** , so I 'm seeing it as a landlord/ow
15 ably like someone 's grandma, the **landlord** 's grandma, who was who owns it t
16 I did that, you know, so ... and the **landlord** was willing to work with me on that
17 use I 'm seeing it in a, now I 'm a **landlord** , a new landlord, so I 'm seeing it
18 ew landlord, so I 'm seeing it as a **landlord** /owner of a property view, to say I

Concordance C2.9: Concordances of *landlord* in BK_SpokenID.

N Concordance

1 's supposed to help out the current **tenants** and, well, people who live there, b
2 ed by the concerned citizen, I mean, **tenants** thought okay, we need an organizati
3 linquent, with on it. And then, most **tenants** , like I said, took over the managem
4 housing court to get you out. So, the **tenants** will come to us, so most of the tim
5 he apartment for them. So, when the **tenants** walk into us here, uh, we are here
6 ter. So, we 're always there for the **tenants** in the community. Yes. And, so, um,
7 all of that financial burden on the **tenants** .So, the neighborhood was like going
8 you need both of them. You need the **tenants** , and you need the landlord. The lan
9 hborhood. And, they left most of the **tenants** to take care of their buildings. Yo
10 hoods, say your gardens and like the **tenants** and the block associations and so o
11 e landlord, they want to evict their **tenants** , because once they get rid of them,
12 , we 've been around uh dealing with **tenants** and landlord issues, uh, tenant cou

Concordance C2.10: Concordances of *tenants* in BK_SpokenID.

3. BK_OrgaWeb:

N Concordance

1 stop fighting until our **neighborhood** gets the open space it
2 ommunity is through our **neighborhood** 's version of the DOT W
3 iving conditions in our **neighborhood** and maintain affordable
4 nteresting stats on our **neighborhood** and others are availabl
5 s a vital issue for our **neighborhood** : In the 2005 Greenpoin
6 ccess and stress to our **neighborhood** . Throughout this period
7 r of McCarren Park, our **neighborhood** Greenmarket will be per
8 t of their homes in our **neighborhood** of Southside Williamsbu
9 s to the community. Our **neighborhood** has recently witnessed
10 chains detract from our **neighborhood** 's character, take thei
11 nd contamination in our **neighborhood** and many are are curiou
12 e) developed out of our **neighborhood** 's desire to recapture
13 rching landlords in our **neighborhood** : Providing moral suppo
14 es How You Can Help Our **neighborhood** partners are critical t
15 use districting in our **neighborhood** , supporting standards t
16 ecome familiar with our **neighborhood** , to join WMCA if you ar
17 like environment of our **neighborhood** , and incidentally add t
18 together to improve our **neighborhood** . Bedford Stuyvesant, it
19 new playground for our **neighborhood** school, P.S. 217. The B
20 e) developed out of our **neighborhood** 's desire to recapture
21 together to improve our **neighborhood** on a hyper-local level.

22 WILL NOT BE MOVED! Our **neighborhood** is under attack. Landlo
23 f trash produced in our **neighborhood** . You know that composti
24 orthwest section of our **neighborhood** (bounded by Newtown Cre
25 lot of promises to our **neighborhood** in terms of parks acqui
26 has exploded, with our **neighborhood** now supporting seven CS
27 Boerum Hill. Defend our **neighborhood** and all of Brooklyn fro
28 th developed out of our **neighborhood** 's desire to recapture
29 erved citizens from our **neighborhood** ready to dive into a ye
30 limited in service. Our **neighborhood** retains legacy truck ro
31 do something about our **neighborhood** 's litter problem! You
32 ility and future of our **neighborhood** . The crawl starts at th
33 nding the health of our **neighborhood** , and join in on the loc
34 ges taking place in our **neighborhood** , supporting NAG is more
35 ed organizations in our **neighborhood** : The People 's Firehous
36 ooking to fight for our **neighborhood** ? Consider applying for
37 elopment happens in our **neighborhood** ? How can regular people
38 elopment happens in our **neighborhood** ? How can regular people
39 has more to do with our **neighborhood** becoming increasingly f
40 e) developed out of our **neighborhood** 's desire to recapture
41 ousing important to our **neighborhood** , and what can we do to
42 ation increase with our **neighborhood** 's low open space ratio
43 elopment happens in our **neighborhood** ? How can regular people
44 elopment happens in our **neighborhood** ? How can regular people
45 elopment happens in our **neighborhood** ? How can regular people
46 lot of promises to our **neighborhood** in terms of parks acqui
47 Know what pollutes our **neighborhood** creek today? Ever thoug
48 about the issues of our **neighborhood** , know your rights, and
49 r of McCarren Park, our **neighborhood** Greenmarket will be per
50 th developed out of our **neighborhood** 's desire to recapture
51 oy a stroll through our **neighborhood** ... Tomorrow, Council Me
52 processes affecting our **neighborhood** , leadership of local mo
53 fordable housing in our **neighborhood** . You do n'thave to be a
54 ommunity is through our **neighborhood** 's version of the DOT W
55 lot of promises to our **neighborhood** in terms of parks acqui
56 elopment happens in our **neighborhood** ? How can regular people
57 r information about our **neighborhood** schools visit the NYC D
58 has exploded, with our **neighborhood** now supporting seven CS
59 ed organizations in our **neighborhood** : The People 's Firehous
60 elopment happens in our **neighborhood** ? How can regular people
61 outtheast section of our **neighborhood** . Join us to meet your n
62 elopment happens in our **neighborhood** ? How can regular people
63 elopment happens in our **neighborhood** ? How can regular people
64 has exploded, with our **neighborhood** now supporting seven CS
65 oy a stroll through our **neighborhood** streets and support loc
66 processes affecting our **neighborhood** , leadership of local mo
67 oy a stroll through our **neighborhood** streets and support loc
68 elopment happens in our **neighborhood** ? How can regular people
69 e) developed out of our **neighborhood** 's desire to recapture
70 ommunity is through our **neighborhood** 's version of the DOT W
71 processes affecting our **neighborhood** , leadership of local mo
72 lot of promises to our **neighborhood** in terms of parks acqui
73 elopment happens in our **neighborhood** ? How can regular people
74 elopment happens in our **neighborhood** ? How can regular people
75 y and effectively. Our **neighborhood** has the immense pressur
76 ccess and stress to our **neighborhood** . Throughout this period
77 crash education on our **neighborhood** 's most notorious toxic
78 and preservation of our **neighborhood** . FDC 's dedicated and p
79 elopment happens in our **neighborhood** ? How can regular people
80 , we can do this in our **neighborhood** ." At the block party,
81 ate residents about our **neighborhood** 's industrial history a
82 ommunity is through our **neighborhood** 's version of the DOT W
83 production right in our **neighborhood** . In the tradition of ea
84 ecome familiar with our **neighborhood** , to join WMCA if you ar

85 community is through our **neighborhood** 's version of the DOT W
 86 lot of promises to our **neighborhood** in terms of parks acqui
 87 . NAG believes that our **neighborhood** deserves affordable hou
 88 lot of promises to our **neighborhood** in terms of parks acqui
 89 ag.bklyn@gmail.com) Our **neighborhood** experts in Williamsburg
 90 t how the police in our **neighborhood** investigate and deal wi
 91 outeast section of our **neighborhood** . Join us to meet your n
 92 & Williamsburg. Our **neighborhood** has a large cluster of
 93 like environment of our **neighborhood** , and incidentally add t
 94 d gentrification of our **neighborhood** . Now, 7 yrs later, they
 95 has exploded, with our **neighborhood** now supporting seven CS
 96 oy a stroll through our **neighborhood** ... Tomorrow, Council Me
 97 ement we see now in our **neighborhood** . That 's why our tenant
 98 elopment happens in our **neighborhood** ? How can regular people
 99 prove the health of our **neighborhood** . Please help us take th
 100 elopment happens in our **neighborhood** ? How can regular people
 101 elopment happens in our **neighborhood** ? How can regular people
 102 elopment happens in our **neighborhood** ? How can regular people
 103 crash education on our **neighborhood** 's most notorious toxic
 104 seum to learn about our **neighborhood** 's fascinating role in
 105 to get involved in our **neighborhood** ! This week: Tuesday 4/2
 106 s a vital issue for our **neighborhood** : In the 2005 Greenpoint
 107 es How You Can Help Our **neighborhood** partners are critical t
 Concordance C3.1: Concordances of *our + neighborhood* in BK_OrgaWeb.

N Concordance

1 massive rezoning of our **neighborhoods** . Six years later, we h
 2 parks funding over our **neighborhoods** , but his administratio
 3 m. It 's better for our **neighborhoods** – and businesses – to
 4 and make changes in our **neighborhoods** ! On Tuesday, July 6, w
 5 eating stability in our **neighborhoods** and preserving homeown
 6 and resources that our **neighborhoods** deserve. I remember wh
 7 ltural diversity of our **neighborhoods** . These are the hallmar
 8 using conditions in our **neighborhoods** . Flatbush Tenant Coal
 9 iscussion about how our **neighborhoods** can continue to exist
 10 s that add value to our **neighborhoods** . However, nearly 200 s
 11 life and strengthen our **neighborhoods** . To visit the event we
 12 t will help improve our **neighborhoods** . I encourage everyone
 13 better services to our **neighborhoods** , and enhance our commu
 14 economic growth in our **neighborhoods** . As the City 's indepe
 15 nd what they see in our **neighborhoods** and what the future of
 16 access improves in our **neighborhoods** , and organizations lik
 17 aten to destabilize our **neighborhoods** , the Green Light Distr
 18 need action to make our **neighborhoods** more livable. After se
 19 hat good growth for our **neighborhoods** , especially that open
 20 life and strengthen our **neighborhoods** . To visit the event we
 21 t. It 's better for our **neighborhoods** – and businesses – to
 22 such facilities in our **neighborhoods** , changing their charac
 23 for so long to make our **neighborhoods** decent – to have decen
 24 ffordable units for our **neighborhoods** . NAG has always sought
 25 een the backbone of our **neighborhoods** for decades. SAFE is o
 26 se greenway through our **neighborhoods** . The final plan will i
 27 iscussion about how our **neighborhoods** can continue to exist
 28 iscussion about how our **neighborhoods** can continue to exist
 Concordance C3.2: Concordances of *our + neighborhoods* in L1 in BK_OrgaWeb.

N Concordance

1 unity spaces, your neighbors, and your **neighborhood** , PLEASE COME OUT for this import
 2 unity spaces, your neighbors, and your **neighborhood** , PLEASE COME OUT for this import
 3 unity spaces, your neighbors, and your **neighborhood** , PLEASE COME OUT for this import
 4 unity spaces, your neighbors, and your **neighborhood** , PLEASE COME OUT for this import
 5 a grant to beautify your block or your **neighborhood** , PLEASE COME OUT for this import
 6 unity spaces, your neighbors, and your **neighborhood** , PLEASE COME OUT for this import
 7 unity spaces, your neighbors, and your **neighborhood** , PLEASE COME OUT for this import

8 unity spaces, your neighbors, and your **neighborhood** , PLEASE COME OUT for this import
9 unity spaces, your neighbors, and your **neighborhood** , PLEASE COME OUT for this import
10 , visualize, and create your own ideal **neighborhood** . Next, learn how you can get involved
11 d all that it has to offer in your own **neighborhood** ! In partnership with the Brooklyn Publ
12 d all that it has to offer in your own **neighborhood** ! In partnership with the Brooklyn Publ
13 ncements on issues of interest to your **neighborhood** . Please read both sides carefully. You
14 ncements on issues of interest to your **neighborhood** . Please read both sides carefully. You
15 ncements on issues of interest to your **neighborhood** . Please read both sides carefully. You
16 ty: July 10, 3pm: What does your ideal **neighborhood** look like? Join us for a workshop that
17 at is best for your children? For your **neighborhood** ? For you? During the 2012 Presidenti
18 passing [...] What's happening in your **neighborhood** this week: East River Ferry service la
19 ncements on issues of interest to your **neighborhood** . Please read both sides carefully. You
20 t if a Rain Garden is planned for your **neighborhood** . (Click for website.) DEP Green Infras
21 a bit nicer. What's happening in your **neighborhood** this week: East River Ferry service la
22 ee Civil Legal Services Coming to Your **Neighborhood** ! The Mobile Legal Help Center is a pa
23 at least your knowledge) of this very **neighborhood** . Teams of no more than 4 people can
24 ncements on issues of interest to your **neighborhood** . Please read both sides carefully. You
25 the satisfaction of doing good in your **neighborhood** ? Do you need assistance finding a jo
26 find out which organizations serve your **neighborhood** , bookmark this map and use it as a h
27 nce to speak out for 2 minutes about a **neighborhood** issue dear to your heart... In the upc
28 ncements on issues of interest to your **neighborhood** . Please read both sides carefully. You
29 in your community. Help improve your **neighborhood** by voting on projects addressing sch
30 ing for an afterschool program in your **neighborhood** ? Need information on improving read
31 he second Curb Your Litter: Greenpoint **neighborhood** clean up day with Greenpoint Reform
32 passing [...] What's happening in your **neighborhood** this week: East River Ferry service la
33 nce to speak out for 2 minutes about a **neighborhood** issue dear to your heart... In the upco
34 ncements on issues of interest to your **neighborhood** . You are encouraged to attend and p
35 ncements on issues of interest to your **neighborhood** . Please read both sides carefully. You
36 ncements on issues of interest to your **neighborhood** . Please read both sides carefully. You
37 nce to speak out for 2 minutes about a **neighborhood** issue dear to your heart... In the upco
38 n more about events planned for your **neighborhood** , including where you can get free sm
39 ncements on issues of interest to your **neighborhood** . Please read both sides carefully. You
40 ces or when you just need help in your **neighborhood** . They work with me and the other vo
41 ncements on issues of interest to your **neighborhood** . Please read both sides carefully. You
42 ncements on issues of interest to your **neighborhood** . Please read both sides carefully. You
43 w you can make history happen in your **neighborhood** by simply getting out and interviewing
44 ncements on issues of interest to your **neighborhood** . Please read both sides carefully. You
45 ng 4 boroughs. How has the change in **neighborhood** effected your business? Even with the
46 perty, discover new proposals for your **neighborhood** and learn where City Planning initiati
47 morrow as we continue to plan for that **neighborhood** we all want... Is your cupcake the bes
48 e #FeastBedStuy to share your favorite **neighborhood** spots or what you think makes the nei
49 ncements on issues of interest to your **neighborhood** . Please read both sides carefully. You
50 nce to speak out for 2 minutes about a **neighborhood** issue dear to your heart... In the upc
51 er"; or zoom and pan the map to your **neighborhood** location. To search or view only acces
52 nce to speak out for 2 minutes about a **neighborhood** issue dear to your heart... In the upc
53 ings from Boswyck Farms, your friendly **neighborhood** hydroponic farmers. You might know
54 nce to speak out for 2 minutes about a **neighborhood** issue dear to your heart... In the upc
55 ttle "TreeLC" and water a tree in your **neighborhood** ! The Parks Department is encoura
56 ncements on issues of interest to your **neighborhood** . Please read both sides carefully. You
57 ncements on issues of interest to your **neighborhood** . Please read both sides carefully. You
58 , get informed about the issues of our **neighborhood** , know your rights, and help organize
59 nce to speak out for 2 minutes about a **neighborhood** issue dear to your heart... In the upc
60 ncements on issues of interest to your **neighborhood** . Please read both sides carefully. You
61 Community Association (WMCA) - your **neighborhood** organization - for 2018. For the mod
62 nce to speak out for 2 minutes about a **neighborhood** issue dear to your heart... In the upco
63 nce to speak out for 2 minutes about a **neighborhood** issue dear to your heart... In the upc
64 46 You can search for programs in your **neighborhood** by going to the following web page:
65 d all that it has to offer in your own **neighborhood** ! In partnership with the Brooklyn Publ
66 Association. "It's a day to enjoy the **neighborhood** and your neighbors." Rosa Ortiz, ano
67 ncements on issues of interest to your **neighborhood** . You are encouraged to attend and p
68 nce to speak out for 2 minutes about a **neighborhood** issue dear to your heart... In the upco
69 ncements on issues of interest to your **neighborhood** . Please read both sides carefully. You
70 nce to speak out for 2 minutes about a **neighborhood** issue dear to your heart... In the upco

71 ference on your favorite corner of the **neighborhood** . Be a part of the team that organizes
72 ncements on issues of interest to your **neighborhood** . Please read both sides carefully. You
73 ncements on issues of interest to your **neighborhood** . Please read both sides carefully. You
74 perty, discover new proposals for your **neighborhood** and learn where City Planning initiati
75 ncements on issues of interest to your **neighborhood** . Please read both sides carefully. You
76 ncements on issues of interest to your **neighborhood** . Please read both sides carefully. You
Concordance 3.3: Concordances of *your + neighborhood* in BK_OrgaWeb.

N Concordance

1 ach in their buildings and in the **neighborhood** to build their tenant association
2 hange on their street... NAG 's Annual **Neighborhood** Gala & Benefit is such fun! W
3 hange on their street... NAG 's Annual **Neighborhood** Gala & Benefit is such fun! W
4 r Affairs for a walk around their **neighborhood** . A majority of the residents said
5 l those guerilla gardeners in the **neighborhood** that put their time, \$\$, and swea
6 ore what Citi Bike means in their **neighborhood** . From that initial idea, the girl
7 ork of our elected officials, the **neighborhood** associations and their able leade
8 hange on their street... NAG 's Annual **Neighborhood** Gala & Benefit is such fun! W
9 hange on their street... NAG 's Annual **Neighborhood** Gala & Benefit is such fun! W
10 or their support in promoting the **neighborhood** ."We should be encouraging one
11 hange on their street... NAG 's Annual **Neighborhood** Gala & Benefit is such fun! W
12 their elected officials about the **Neighborhood** Preservation Program. Photo: Rafa
13 ir community at a time when their **neighborhood** continues to experience a transfo
14 hange on their street... NAG 's Annual **Neighborhood** Gala & Benefit is such fun! W
15 ore what Citi Bike means in their **neighborhood** . From that initial idea, the girl
16 improving public spaces in their **neighborhood** . The tool was piloted in a variet
17 to get people to care about their **neighborhood** Sports fields, basketball courts,
18 hange on their street... NAG 's Annual **Neighborhood** Gala & Benefit is such fun! W
19 hange on their street... NAG 's Annual **Neighborhood** Gala & Benefit is such fun! W
20 refront. Merchants who keep their **neighborhood** clean show pride and demonstrate
21 ss our gratitude towards Brooklyn **Neighborhood** Improvement Association Inc. for
22 hange on their street... NAG 's Annual **Neighborhood** Gala & Benefit is such fun! W
23 hange on their street... NAG 's Annual **Neighborhood** Gala & Benefit is such fun! W
24 hange on their street... NAG 's Annual **Neighborhood** Gala & Benefit is such fun! W
25 ork of our elected officials, the **neighborhood** associations and their able leade
26 ge on their street... NAG 's Annual **Neighborhood** Gala & Benefit is such fun! W
27 local women who wanted to improve **neighborhood** conditions for their children and
28 their elected officials about the **Neighborhood** Preservation Program. Read the ar
29 ore what Citi Bike means in their **neighborhood** . From that initial idea, the girl
30 t not a lot their for youth to do **Neighborhood** Streets – get lots of use, how ca
31 hange on their street... NAG 's Annual **Neighborhood** Gala & Benefit is such fun! W
32 hange on their street... NAG 's Annual **Neighborhood** Gala & Benefit is such fun! W
33 ys refer them; their love for the **neighborhood** stands out. – Sonia LettBhola, Br
34 hange on their street... NAG 's Annual **Neighborhood** Gala & Benefit is such fun! W
35 hange on their street... NAG 's Annual **Neighborhood** Gala & Benefit is such fun! W
36 hange on their street... NAG 's Annual **Neighborhood** Gala & Benefit is such fun! W
37 ore what Citi Bike means in their **neighborhood** . From that initial idea, the girl
38 hange on their street... NAG 's Annual **Neighborhood** Gala & Benefit is such fun! W
39 hange on their street... NAG 's Annual **Neighborhood** Gala & Benefit is such fun! W
40 hange on their street... NAG 's Annual **Neighborhood** Gala & Benefit is such fun! W
41 usiness owners to help keep their **neighborhood** clean! New Yorkers in busy areas
42 ill help children visualize their **neighborhood** of North Brooklyn, and identify w
43 e community. City agencies in the **neighborhood** are also not coordinating their a
44 tainable business legacy in their **neighborhood** . This no-cost program, designed
45 ide has been displaced from their **neighborhood** over the last 10 years, and this
46 tiation processes affecting their **neighborhood** , and promoting the right to desig
47 hange on their street... NAG 's Annual **Neighborhood** Gala & Benefit is such fun! W
48 hange on their street... NAG 's Annual **Neighborhood** Gala & Benefit is such fun! W
49 ork of our elected officials, the **neighborhood** associations and their able leade
50 hange on their street... NAG 's Annual **Neighborhood** Gala & Benefit is such fun! W
51 hange on their street... NAG 's Annual **Neighborhood** Gala & Benefit is such fun! W
52 hange on their street... NAG 's Annual **Neighborhood** Gala & Benefit is such fun! W
53 their elected officials about the **Neighborhood** Preservation Program. As part of

54 oject LeafDrop 2010 sites welcome **neighborhood** residents to bring their bagged I
55 es. These chains detract from our **neighborhood** 's character, take their profits
56 of the families that inhabit the **neighborhood** , and their need for affordable ho
57 oject LeafDrop 2010 sites welcome **neighborhood** residents to bring their bagged I
58 forced out of their homes in our **neighborhood** of Southside Williamsburg. Unfort
59 hange on their street... NAG 's Annual **Neighborhood** Gala & Benefit is such fun! W
60 y potential improvements to their **neighborhood** . Several community groups that p
61 hange on their street... NAG 's Annual **Neighborhood** Gala & Benefit is such fun! W
62 ore what Citi Bike means in their **neighborhood** . From that initial idea, the girl
63 ied history of fighting for their **neighborhood** . They 've fought the largest publ
64 a relatively small piece of their **neighborhood** . In 1975, New York City was deep
65 atronize small businesses right in their **neighborhood** ,"says Emilio Dorcelly, President &
66 hange on their street... NAG 's Annual **Neighborhood** Gala & Benefit is such fun! W
67 tiation processes affecting their **neighborhood** , and promoting the right to desig
68 to volunteer and celebrate their **neighborhood** parks at parks and public spaces
69 hange on their street... NAG 's Annual **Neighborhood** Gala & Benefit is such fun! W

Concordance C3.4: Concordances of *their* + *neighborhood* in BK_OrgaWeb.

N	Collocate	Relation (t-score total)	Relation (t-score total left)
1	annual	6.887	6.741
2	great	6.620	6.150
3	together	6.298	5.802
4	grassroot	5.468	5.468
5	more	5.206	4.712
6	up	5.403	4.300
7	one	5.021	3.389
8	involved	4.910	4.910
9	local	4.900	3.884
10	out	4.862	3.145
11	united	4.788	3.600
12	open	4.751	4.111
13	north	4.406	4.291
14	first	4.242	4.122
15	around	4.409	3.970
16	Ukranian	3.867	3.867
17	holy	3.867	3.864
18	best	3.753	3.748
19	grassroots	3.716	3.716
20	over	3.468	2.825
21	economic	3.242	1.287
22	friendly	3.427	3.121
23	elected	3.241	2.739
24	all	2.084	0.332
25	dear	3.287	3.286
26	big	3.242	3.239
27	affordable	3.085	1.343
28	safe	3.014	2.468
29	changing	2.958	2.397
30	existing	2.881	0.643
31	shocking	2.823	2.823
32	better	2.815	2.223
33	financial	2.812	1.446
34	historic	2.774	1.923
35	sustainable	2.773	2.586
36	diverse	2.727	1.856
37	own	2.651	2.456
38	thriving	2.630	2.630
39	vibrant	2.598	2.179
40	participatory	2.592	2.592
41	critical	2.591	0.855

42	important	2.570	2.152
43	public	2.553	0.766
44	long	2.550	2.128
45	same	2.529	2.098
46	public	2.515	0.766
47	east	2.495	0.344
48	plagued	2.443	2.443
49	affecting	2.429	2.429
50	commercial	2.420	1.387

Table C3.5: Adjective collocates of *neighborhood* in BK_OrgaWeb.

N	Collocate	Relation (t-score total)	Relation (t-score total left)
1	healthy	6.637	6.052
2	our	6.167	5.660
3	central	4.197	2.936
4	other	3.844	3.844
5	north	3.065	2.719
6	many	2.895	2.895
7	affordable	2.721	2.326
8	vibrant	2.635	2.223
9	diverse	2.621	2.621
10	safe	2.605	2.188
11	low	2.589	2.388
12	like	2.555	0.760
13	adjacent	2.444	2.444
14	two	2.328	2.328
15	changing	2.223	1.985
16	surrounding	2.222	1.984
17	multiple	2.216	0.955
18	high	2.115	2.115
19	local	2.022	0.522

Table C3.6: Adjective collocates of *neighborhoods* in BK_OrgaWeb.

N Concordance

1 process, as we continue to speak to our **neighbors** and other community groups. Board 1
2 ade it a widely emulated model. with our **neighbors** to celebrate the life and art of our com
3 then used that input to advocate on our **neighbors** ' behalf. The result was the plan submi
4 nts every month. As we got to know our **neighbors** and the community, it got better. Now
5 outh and adults, BNS helps to equip our **neighbors** for a promising and more resilient futu
6 process, as we continue to speak to our **neighbors** and other community groups. Board 1
7 North Brooklyn and feedback from our **neighbors** . Eight years after the City rezoned the
8 a community — respect each other, our **neighbors** and the neighborhood. We must work
9 y, and having these discussions with our **neighbors** and future planners of the City. So, wh
10 eful consideration to. We encourage our **neighbors** to continue to engage in the process a
11 ated to local homeless shelters for our **neighbors** truly in need. We 've partnered with H
12 ing in faith and service to God and our **neighbors** ! For more info, email [email]
13 agraph Company built... As many of our **neighbors** know, Midwood is home to the very fir
14 Campbell 's story is one of many of our **neighbors** who have made biking a regular part
15 North Brooklyn and feedback from our **neighbors** . In 2010, NAG opposed CPR 's Do
16 g critical initiatives that can help our **neighbors** thrive." Assemblymember [name] said
17 te. (Credit: [name]) As many of our **neighbors** know, Midwood is home to the very fir
18 thy foods into the everyday lives of our **neighbors** , but also a great chance to get dirty a
19 se of making such interpretation. 22 Our **neighbors** at 15 Quincy Street and environs need
20 days rapidly approach, it is my hope our **neighbors** find it in their hearts to give a little mo
21 orked hard, did a lot of outreach to our **neighbors** , knocked on doors, and finally the T

Concordance C3.7: Occurrences of *our* + *neighbors* in BK_OrgaWeb.

N Concordance

1 rtance of coming together to help their **neighbors** in need. I encourage those who have t
2 community projects (submitted by their **neighbors**) that are designed to improve public s
3 the block. Building residents and their **neighbors** often felt anxious, distressed and voic

4 ch responded immediately to help their **neighbors** rebuild their lives." In 1975, a "group
 5 d develop a new understanding of their **neighbors** , both familiar and foreign. Straw, Be
 6 place long enough to get to know their **neighbors** , establish roots, or join a community.
 7 300 Putnam Avenue tenants and their **neighbors** on the block often felt anxious, distres
 8 rmally or informally, to encourage their **neighbors** to help keep their areas clean. The cle
 9 ng can inspire people to work with their **neighbors** to take action," says [name], who a
 10 r ideas of what steps they, and their **neighbors** , could take. Scenarios included what
 11 resources and communicators for their **neighbors** 2. Train Community Coaches and Dyn
 Concordance C3.8: Occurrences of *their + neighbors* in BK_OrgaWeb.

N Concordance

1	embraced by our community. Join your	neighbors	in exploring Brooklyn by bike - all w
2	embraced by our community. Join your	neighbors	in exploring Brooklyn by bike - all whi
3	embraced by our community. Join your	neighbors	in exploring Brooklyn by bike - all whi
4	embraced by our community. Join your	neighbors	in exploring Brooklyn by bike – all whi
5	embraced by our community. Join your	neighbors	in exploring Brooklyn by bike - all whi
6	embraced by our community. Join your	neighbors	in exploring Brooklyn by bike - all whi
7	embraced by our community. Join your	neighbors	in exploring Brooklyn by bike - all whi
8	f the Two Trees proposal, say hi to your	neighbors	, and then grab a spot for the powerp
9	mmunity, your community spaces, your	neighbors	, and your neighborhood, PLEASE C
10	week? Call upon your housemate, your	neighbors	— make sure your building is represe
11	e an application without talking to your	neighbors	and / or building owner, forming a te
12	embraced by our community. Join your	neighbors	in exploring Brooklyn by bike – all whi
13	talk directly with the experts and your	neighbors	. You 'll have a chance to get all of yo
14	embraced by our community. Join your	neighbors	in exploring Brooklyn by bike - all whi
15	embraced by our community. Join your	neighbors	in exploring Brooklyn by bike - while
16	embraced by our community. Join your	neighbors	in exploring Brooklyn by bike – all whi
17	source. This is a great way to meet your	neighbors	and learn all about garbage and recy
18	st) Come out to meet & greet your	neighbors	! The Unity Showcase Festival at Pros
19	embraced by our community. Join your	neighbors	in exploring Brooklyn by bike - all whi
20	e whole community involved! Join your	neighbors	for a day of beautification, painting o
21	embraced by our community. Join your	neighbors	in exploring Brooklyn by bike – all whi
22	talk directly with the experts and your	neighbors	. Other environmental experts that wil
23	reasingly popular in our area. Join your	neighbors	in exploring Brooklyn by bike and ma
24	talk directly with the experts and your	neighbors	. Muchmores bar & venue 2 Hav
25	s and email these to CB14. Engage your	neighbors	and urge them to follow this reportin
26	talk directly with the experts and your	neighbors	. Muchmores bar & venue 2 Hav
27	blic hearings, which give you and your	neighbors	a chance to hear in advance about pr
28	talk directly with the experts and your	neighbors	. Muchmores bar & venue 2 Hav
29	te in the hearing itself by joining your	neighbors	, testifying to the Council and arguing
30	yc.org It 's not too early to rally your	neighbors	! Visit this page to enter your block in
31	talk directly with the experts and your	neighbors	. Muchmores bar & venue 2 Hav
32	talk directly with the experts and your	neighbors	. NAG 's environmental happy hour is
33	talk directly with the experts and your	neighbors	. You 'll have a chance to get all of yo
34	embraced by our community. Join your	neighbors	in exploring Brooklyn by bike – all whi
35	embraced by our community. Join your	neighbors	in exploring Brooklyn by bike - all whi
36	embraced by our community. Join your	neighbors	in exploring Brooklyn by bike – all whi
37	embraced by our community. Join your	neighbors	in exploring Brooklyn by bike – all whi
38	embraced by our community. Join your	neighbors	in exploring Brooklyn by bike - all whi
39	embraced by our community. Join your	neighbors	in exploring Brooklyn by bike - while
40	embraced by our community. Join your	neighbors	in exploring Brooklyn by bike - all whi
41	embraced by our community. Join your	neighbors	in exploring Brooklyn by bike - all whi
42	embraced by our community. Join your	neighbors	in exploring Brooklyn by bike - all whi
43	embraced by our community. Join your	neighbors	in exploring Brooklyn by bike - all whi
44	embraced by our community. Join your	neighbors	in exploring Brooklyn by bike - all whi
45	aste, so please spread the word to your	neighbors	, local parks friends groups, and com
46	embraced by our community. Join your	neighbors	in exploring Brooklyn by bike - all whi
47	embraced by our community. Join your	neighbors	in exploring Brooklyn by bike - all whi
48	reasingly popular in our area. Join your	neighbors	in exploring Brooklyn by bike and ma
49	embraced by our community. Join your	neighbors	in exploring Brooklyn by bike - all whi
50	embraced by our community. Join your	neighbors	in exploring Brooklyn by bike - all whi
51	embraced by our community. Join your	neighbors	in exploring Brooklyn by bike - all whi
52	embraced by our community. Join your	neighbors	in exploring Brooklyn by bike - all whi

53 ith beauty, so why not get to know your **neighbors** while being a positive force in your co
54 Daftary-Steel This September, join your **neighbors** in the streets of Los Sures to celebrat
55 embraced by our community. Join your **neighbors** in exploring Brooklyn by bike - all whi
56 embraced by our community. Join your **neighbors** in exploring Brooklyn by bike - all whi
57 fe, sanitary and pest-free. Respect your **Neighbors** and Your Community Los Sures Mana
58 embraced by our community. Join your **neighbors** in exploring Brooklyn by bike - all whi
59 nter! Are you over 60? Come meet your **neighbors** and make new friends at the Los Sure
60 embraced by our community. Join your **neighbors** in exploring Brooklyn by bike - all whi
61 embraced by our community. Join your **neighbors** in exploring Brooklyn by bike - all whi
62 embraced by our community. Join your **neighbors** in exploring Brooklyn by bike - all whi
63 embraced by our community. Join your **neighbors** in exploring Brooklyn by bike - all whi
64 gainst Domestic Violence. Speak to your **neighbors** about domestic violence. We must st
65 embraced by our community. Join your **neighbors** in exploring Brooklyn by bike - all whi
66 embraced by our community. Join your **neighbors** in exploring Brooklyn by bike - all whi
67 embraced by our community. Join your **neighbors** in exploring Brooklyn by bike - all whi
68 embraced by our community. Join your **neighbors** in exploring Brooklyn by bike - all whi
69 embraced by our community. Join your **neighbors** in exploring Brooklyn by bike - while
70 y take your donations!) Come meet your **neighbors** , listen to some music, drink some ch
71 of the greatest ways to get to know your **neighbors** and maximize the amazing NY harves
72 st) Come out to meet & greet your **neighbors** ! The Unity Showcase Festival at Pros
73 embraced by our community. Join your **neighbors** in exploring Brooklyn by bike - all whi
74 embraced by our community. Join your **neighbors** in exploring Brooklyn by bike - all whi
75 embraced by our community. Join your **neighbors** in exploring Brooklyn by bike - all whi
76 reasingly popular in our area. Join your **neighbors** in exploring Brooklyn by bike and ma
77 embraced by our community. Join your **neighbors** in exploring Brooklyn by bike - all whi
78 embraced by our community. Join your **neighbors** in exploring Brooklyn by bike - all whi
79 embraced by our community. Join your **neighbors** in exploring Brooklyn by bike - all whi
80 embraced by our community. Join your **neighbors** in exploring Brooklyn by bike - all whi
81 embraced by our community. Join your **neighbors** in exploring Brooklyn by bike - all whi
82 ay to enjoy the neighborhood and your **neighbors** ." [name], another member of the
83 embraced by our community. Join your **neighbors** in exploring Brooklyn by bike - all whi
84 talk directly with the experts and your **neighbors** . NAG 's environmental happy hour is
85 embraced by our community. Join your **neighbors** in exploring Brooklyn by bike - all whi
86 utages. Be kind and watch out for your **neighbors** . Stay safe and be careful. Call 311 fo
87 mmunity, your community spaces, your **neighbors** , and your neighborhood, PLEASE C
88 talk directly with the experts and your **neighbors** . Muchmores bar & venue 2 Hav
89 for emergencies. Please check on your **neighbors** who are senior citizens or individuals
90 clean up the park. Come out, meet your **neighbors** and help make our parks a bit nicer.
91 embraced by our community. Join your **neighbors** in exploring Brooklyn by bike - while
92 embraced by our community. Join your **neighbors** in exploring Brooklyn by bike - all whi
93 embraced by our community. Join your **neighbors** in exploring Brooklyn by bike - all whi
94 embraced by our community. Join your **neighbors** in exploring Brooklyn by bike - all whi
95 it 's a great chance to get to know your **neighbors** that care about the waterfront. We ho
96 embraced by our community. Join your **neighbors** in exploring Brooklyn by bike - all whi
97 talk directly with the experts and your **neighbors** . Muchmores bar & venue 2 Hav
98 embraced by our community. Join your **neighbors** in exploring Brooklyn by bike - all whi
99 our neighborhood. Join us to meet your **neighbors** and make Greenpoint a healthier and
100 talk directly with the experts and your **neighbors** . Muchmores bar & venue 2 Hav
101 Saturday, June 11, 10am to meet your **neighbors** and make Greenpoint a healthier and
102 talk directly with the experts and your **neighbors** . Muchmores bar & venue 2 Hav
103 brates It 's My Park Day, come join your **neighbors** and protest to demand the city move
104 embraced by our community. Join your **neighbors** in exploring Brooklyn by bike - all whi
105 y take your donations!) Come meet your **neighbors** , listen to some music, drink some ch
106 embraced by our community. Join your **neighbors** in exploring Brooklyn by bike - all whi
107 embraced by our community. Join your **neighbors** in exploring Brooklyn by bike - all whi
108 Make it a group case together with your **neighbors** and your power builds! Visit our Face
109 embraced by our community. Join your **neighbors** in exploring Brooklyn by bike - all whi
110 mmunity, your community spaces, your **neighbors** , and your neighborhood, PLEASE C
111 clean up the park. Come out, meet your **neighbors** and help make our parks a bit nicer. I
112 embraced by our community. Join your **neighbors** in exploring Brooklyn by bike - all whi
113 mmunity, your community spaces, your **neighbors** , and your neighborhood, PLEASE C
114 reasingly popular in our area. Join your **neighbors** in exploring Brooklyn by bike and ma
115 mmunity, your community spaces, your **neighbors** , and your neighborhood, PLEASE C

116 embraced by our community. Join your **neighbors** in exploring Brooklyn by bike – all whi
117 talk directly with the experts and your **neighbors** . Muchmores bar & venue 2 Hav
118 embraced by our community. Join your **neighbors** in exploring Brooklyn by bike - all whi
119 embraced by our community. Join your **neighbors** in exploring Brooklyn by bike - all whi
120 talk directly with the experts and your **neighbors** . You 'll have a chance to get all of yo
121 A hearing on Nov 14th to support your **neighbors** who would lose access to light and air
122 embraced by our community. Join your **neighbors** in exploring Brooklyn by bike - all whi
123 talk directly with the experts and your **neighbors** . Muchmores bar & venue 2 Hav
124 y take your donations!) Come meet your **neighbors** , listen to some music, drink some ch
125 talk directly with the experts and your **neighbors** . Muchmores bar & venue 2 Hav
126 Saturday, June 11, 10am to meet your **neighbors** and make Greenpoint a healthier and
127 talk directly with the experts and your **neighbors** . Muchmores bar & venue 2 Hav
128 e whole community involved! Join your **neighbors** for a day of beautification, painting o
129 embraced by our community. Join your **neighbors** in exploring Brooklyn by bike - while
130 talk directly with the experts and your **neighbors** . Muchmores bar & venue 2 Hav
131 talk directly with the experts and your **neighbors** . Muchmores bar & venue 2 Hav
132 embraced by our community. Join your **neighbors** in exploring Brooklyn by bike - all whi
133 embraced by our community. Join your **neighbors** in exploring Brooklyn by bike - all whi
134 talk directly with the experts and your **neighbors** . NAG 's environmental happy hour is
135 talk directly with the experts and your **neighbors** . Muchmores bar & venue 2 Hav
136 talk directly with the experts and your **neighbors** . NAG 's environmental happy hour is
137 or Resident Association is to bring your **neighbors** together. Learn more about forming
138 th beauty, so why not get to know your **neighbors** while being a positive force in your co
139 mmunity, your community spaces, your **neighbors** , and your neighborhood, PLEASE C
140 NG YOUR KIDS, YOUR PARENTS, YOUR **NEIGHBORS** , YOUR LOCAL BUSINESS OWNERS
141 embraced by our community. Join your **neighbors** in exploring Brooklyn by bike – all whi
142 clean up the park. Come out, meet your **neighbors** and help make our parks a bit nicer.
143 y take your donations!) Come meet your **neighbors** , listen to some music, drink some ch
144 talk directly with the experts and your **neighbors** . Muchmores bar & venue 2 Hav
145 embraced by our community. Join your **neighbors** in exploring Brooklyn by bike – all whi
146 mmunity, your community spaces, your **neighbors** , and your neighborhood, PLEASE C
147 our neighborhood. Join us to meet your **neighbors** and make Greenpoint a healthier and
148 mmunity, your community spaces, your **neighbors** , and your neighborhood, PLEASE C
149 nd easy steps you, your family, and your **neighbors** can take to safely enjoy the outdoors.

Concordance C3.9: Occurrences of *your + neighbors* in BK_OrgaWeb.

N Concordance

1 wood and Kensington areas to assist our **residents** in preparation for Passover observan
2 wood and Kensington areas to assist our **residents** in preparation for Passover observan
3 wood and Kensington areas to assist our **residents** in preparation for Passover observan
4 wood and Kensington areas to assist our **residents** ' children. It is imperative that a loca
5 wood and Kensington areas to assist our **residents** in preparation for Passover observan
6 wood and Kensington areas to assist our **residents** in preparation for Passover observan
7 wood and Kensington areas to assist our **residents** in preparation for Passover observan
8 wood and Kensington areas to assist our **residents** in preparation for Passover observan
9 healthy, successful community where our **residents** can grow and thrive." Assemblywom
10 ke a real difference in the lives of our **residents** and families across the city." "Scale is
11 number of seats to meet the need of our **residents** children. Create a new, or The followin
12 e, and the Cancer Society to provide our **residents** with regularly scheduled programs fo
13 wood and Kensington areas to assist our **residents** in preparation for Passover observan
14 wood and Kensington areas to assist our **residents** in preparation for Passover observan
15 cess more transparent and empower our **residents** to improve the community. 70th Preci
16 red of waiting for the Mayor to give our **residents** what is already guaranteed by our Co
17 wood and Kensington areas to assist our **residents** i in preparation for Passover observan
18 needed in our District where 28% of our **residents** have limited English language profici
19 should not suggest that the needs of our **residents** for quality housing, including HPD enf
20 wood and Kensington areas to assist our **residents** in preparation for Passover observan
21 wood and Kensington areas to assist our **residents** in preparation for Passover observan
22 number of seats to meet the need of our **residents** children. Community Wide Expense R
23 tion 's services designed to improve our **residents** ' economic and educational opportuni
24 -economic disadvantages that affect our **residents** (such as unemployment and underem
25 rvices do not recognize the needs of our **residents** and note the importance of hospital b

26 cess more transparent and empower our **residents** to improve the community. CB14 has
27 wood and Kensington areas to assist our **residents** in preparation for Passover observanc
Concordance C3.10: Occurrences of *our + residents* in BK_OrgaWeb.

N Concordance

1 he ranks of loving volunteers were local **neighbors** and NAGsters, friends from other boroug
2 he ranks of loving volunteers were local **neighbors** and NAGsters, friends from other boroug
3 he ranks of loving volunteers were local **neighbors** and NAGsters, friends from other boroug
4 ING YOUR KIDS, YOUR PARENTS, YOUR **NEIGHBORS**, YOUR LOCAL BUSINESS OWNERS — C
5 waste, so please spread the word to your **neighbors**, local parks friends groups, and commun
6 ing this event with local Dominicans and **neighbors** in the community. Nuestros Niños Childc
7 partners. Key Phases 1. Recruit Dynamic **Neighbors**, or energetic and knowledgeable local r
8 otect us, as well as local civic groups, **neighbors**, businesses, neighborhood organizations
9 ated to local homeless shelters for our **neighbors** truly in need. We 've partnered with
10 awesome people such as yourselves! Join **neighbors** & local businesses in building our
11 s, product samples and raffles to entice **neighbors** to learn more about local businesses of
Concordance 3.11: Concordances of *local + neighbors* in BK_OrgaWeb.

N Concordance

1 elopment and solicit comments from local **residents** . What follows are our comments based
2 rmation and ideas from hundreds of local **residents** , the architects and landscape designers
3 llation, which played stories from local **residents** . 23 Major Funders & Private Sponso
4 the afternoon darkened into dusk, local **residents** got together to watch the first debate
5 the afternoon darkened into dusk, local **residents** got together to watch the first debate
6 n (TAMA) Summefest. Hundreds of local **residents** came out to see Jarobi White of A Tribe
7 ment corporations have worked with local **residents** and businesses to dramatically improve
8 cal merchants, property owners and local **residents** to join us at monthly gatherings and me
9 h and the People 's Firehouse Inc. Local **residents** , businesses and artists have joined for
10 it easier and more comfortable for local **residents** and visitors to spend an afternoon eati
11 ly financed abandoned buildings to local **residents** and the city seal-up program. 1980s Dev
12 goals. For example, Motivate hired local **residents** and used Restoration 's Economic Soluti
13 urse to record the oral history of local **residents** . "Have you ever heard the saying, 'hist
14 rs, or energetic and knowledgeable local **residents** such as retired teachers, church leader
15 munity-based approach to assisting local **residents** of the South Side of Williamsburg, incl
16 living campaign. The ads featured local **residents** and were placed in Bedford Stuyvesant s
17 uested information to the NYSDEC. Local **residents** are strongly encouraged to apply. Gradu
18 nd rehabilitated and later sold to local **residents** . The department continually seeks oppor
19 to increase activity levels among local **residents** . In April 2015, Restoration was awarded
20 ansportation Alternatives, CB1 and local **residents** – is part of the Working Group. We have
21 hosted by community partners and local **residents** are scheduled through October, every We
22 n and created hundreds of jobs for local **residents** . Financial Empowerment and Youth Servi
23 e Annex coordinator. On June 20th, local **residents** will be able to view the "Under the Sub
24 ission and our capacity to protect local **residents** from displacement through affordable ho
25 act in improving the well-being of local **residents** and businesses. Bedford Stuyvesant Rest
26 cant buildings, which were sold to local **residents** . The department continually seeks oppor
27 of money and visitors to our area, local **residents** and business owners now have the oppor
28 es into this process, knowing that local **residents** worry about safety, employment, living
29 elopment and solicit comments from local **residents** . What follows are our comments based
30 find ways to offer healthy food to local **residents** , a Kansas City chef was also beginning
31 ucting a survey to learn about how local **residents** and shoppers feel about the Junction sh
32 ll offer free tax prep services to local **residents** . This service will be offered at the Ec
33 nd rehabilitated and later sold to local **residents** . The department continually seeks oppor
34 cluded by expressing the hope that local **residents** would empower themselves to create wea
35 ething good to the community, hire local **residents** , and give back to my neighborhood." Yo
36 als, community organizations & local **residents** to learn about Mayor de Blasio 's Visio
37 als, community organizations & local **residents** to learn about Mayor de Blasio 's Visio
38 munity-based approach to assisting local **residents** of North Brooklyn, including formerly h
39 and were developed by hundreds of local **residents** and approved community. by the comm
40 ansportation Alternatives, CB1 and local **residents** – is part of the Working Group. We have
41 et programming: focus on engaging local **residents** , diversifying Citi Bike promotional mat
42 nnot be stopped, but insisted that local **residents** and merchants need to plan ahead so tha
43 ten volunteers, feed nearly 6,000 local **residents** a year. Volunteers hold her in high est

44 mission and our capacity to protect local
 45 f ways for groups, businesses, and local
 46 ten volunteers, feeds nearly 6,000 local
 47 oklyn. The students will interview local
 48 cause hoping to bring awareness to local
 49 cant buildings, which were sold to local
 50 improve the quality of life of all local
 51 improve the quality of life of all local
 52 and other issues of importance to local
 53 create improved retail access for local
 54 ansportation Alternatives, CB1 and local
 55 ories * A job training program for local
 56 munity-based approach to assisting local
 57 raining but better paying jobs for local
 58 rs, the ...Continued on pg. 7 (L): Local
 59 of which [...] Last night, about 30 local
 60 ior Services: Trained nearly 1,200 local
 61 or schedule and more information. Local
 62 y see an increase in visitors, and local
 63 E THROUGH LOCAL EXPERIENCE Local
 64 rning about the struggles faced by local
 65 into existing programming, showing local
 66 rnment and business, we are led by local
 67 ions program both creates jobs for local
 68 rnment and business, we are led by local
 69 dmark * A job training program for local
 70 for tenants' rights and to protect local
 71 access to economic opportunity for local
 72 ansportation Alternatives, CB1 and local
 73 why we are inviting you along with local
 74 ti-service hub designed to improve local
 75 a first-hand look at the needs of local
 76 in the Older Adults Strengthening local
 77 act in improving the well-being of local
 78 n have unhealthy consequences on local
 79 the attention and participation of local
 80 tained by a large, active group of local
 81 hopping and dining destination for local
 82 nd Restoration decided to look for local
 83 rnment and business, we are led by local
 84 YOUR HOME Our annual event partners
 85 se is led by a board of mainly long-time
 86 ions program both creates jobs for local
 87 YOUR HOME Our annual event partners
 88 laces with the community and encourage
 89 on agenda is designed to assist Flatbush
 90 sing Authority, Citibike, and many other
 91 pilot year more than 6,000 New York City
 92 rnment and business, we are led by local
 93 ative that forges collaborations between
 94 concerns that were repeatedly raised by
 95 oklyn Neighbors is continuing to educate
 96 se is led by a board of mainly long-time
 97 the surrounding area). We bring together
 98 is a tool that can be used by community
 99 expose unemployed and underemployed
 100 th the Members of the Board, community
 101 utreach materials to local merchants and
 102 ops, and events for local businesses and
 103 g and Advocacy for Local businesses and
 104 tion with local churches, businesses and
 105 sts, local leaders, business owners, and
 106 ormed by local church pastors and young

residents from displacement through affordable ho
residents to get involved. For more info on the e
residents a year. Volunteers hold her in high est
residents , take a field trip to UnionDocs, and te
residents . Find out more about breast cancer at h
residents . The housing department also oversees L
residents ." A MESSAGE FROM BROOKLYN BORO
residents . I had the privilege to work with David
residents . The event featured a flea market, boun
residents . 3. A flexible enrollment farm share pr
residents – is part of the Working Group. We have
residents * Inclusion of artisanal or light manuf
residents of the South Side of Williamsburg, incl
residents over the long term. NAG believes that o
residents at the celebration. Residentes locales
residents gathered in the back room of Teddy 's t
residents in our technology-learning center. Buil
residents will come together in public meetings t
residents will reap the benefit of having a reliable
residents and visitors screening short film docum
residents . Iris also came to understand the impor
residents how Citi Bike could serve them in their
residents and guided by local needs. Our menu of
residents and galvanizes local support for bike s
residents and guided by local needs. Housing Coun
residents NAG supports the affordable housing, pr
residents from displacement. "Unscrupulous landlo
residents . Assist in identifying and developing f
residents – is part of the Working Group. We have
residents and organizations to a: Williamsburg Wa
residents ' financial, occupational and educationa
residents . "I am very happy that I am going to me
residents of North Brooklyn, including formerly C
residents and business. About the National Associ
residents .The organization, Neighborhood Allied f
residents . One thought on "What does 28 acres lo
residents , Greene Acres features numerous innovat
residents and visitors from beyond the neighborho
residents , community groups, and stakeholders to
residents and guided by local needs. Housing Coun
residents and space owners with local artists to
residents — some of whom have local roots that g
residents and galvanizes local support for bike s
residents and space owners with local artists to
residents to support their local businesses," sai
residents work effectively with local groups, ele
residents and local partners. We 've been able to
residents proposed and voted on local infrastruct
residents and guided by local needs. Our menu of
residents and community stakeholders, including I
residents , businesses, professionals, local leade
residents about lead in our local soil. We will h
residents — some of whom have local roots that g
residents to develop local leadership, identify i
residents , local organizations and city governmen
residents to attractive opportunities with local
residents and business owners, our local elected
residents . Canvass key commercial corridors to id
residents . Coordinate, facilitate, support and pr
residents Organize and support new and existing m
residents . Stops along the parranda route include
residents to discuss, learn, and take action in t
residents who realized that tenants would have to

107 s we serve, local elected officials, and **residents** who enjoy being in the gardens we are b
 108 relationships with other local leaders, **residents** , and stakeholders in these neighborhood
 109 sts, local leaders, business owners, and **residents** to discuss, learn, and take action in t
 110 nication materials for local businesses, **residents** , and other stakeholders highlighting ev
 111 ime, local businesses that served NYCHA **residents** began to close. They were replaced by b
 112 used By Cigarette Displaces Local Senior **Residents** Eighteen days after her neighbor 's cig
 113 sts, local leaders, business owners, and **residents** to discuss, learn, and take action in t
 114 sts, local leaders, business owners, and **residents** to discuss, learn, and take action in t
 Concordance C3.12: Concordances of *local + residents* in BK_OrgaWeb.

4. BK_BBHPR:

N Concordance

1 all affected sites, there are 1,225 **homeless** families that would have been by th
 2 e been by this cut, including 2,091 **homeless** children. In Brooklyn 's would-be a
 3 lyn in East New York, there are 254 **homeless** families, including 525 homeless ch
 4 ty last February found nearly 4,000 **homeless** individuals on the street that nigh
 5 y last February, found nearly 4,000 **homeless** individuals on the streets that nig
 6 54 homeless families, including 525 **homeless** children. PHOTOS Â Â Brooklyn Boro
 7 ie A. Cumbo. "With more than 60,000 **homeless** New Yorkers, most of whom are women
 8 agreement with a municipality as a **homeless** shelter provider and the developmen
 9 he CAMBA Flagstone Family Center, a **homeless** shelter in Brownville, on becoming
 10 nized that the children living in a **homeless** shelter often miss out on the joy o
 11 21 and 25 regarding accessing adult **homeless** shelters, including fears of bullyi
 12 1 and 25 are afraid to access adult **homeless** shelters, and many report experienc
 13 21 and 25 regarding accessing adult **homeless** shelters, including fears of bullyi
 14 ing, and sexual harassment in adult **homeless** shelters," said Assembly Member Wei
 15 n of the New York State Runaway and **Homeless** Youth Act to include individuals un
 16 AND APPLICATION OF RUNAWAY AND **HOMELESS** YOUTH ACT BROOKLYN, NY, May 24,
 17 the full population of runaway and **homeless** youth in our state," said Borough P
 18 ising the age limit for runaway and **homeless** youth in New York State for purpose
 19 and Families under the Runaway and **Homeless** Youth Act. By raising the age limit
 20 ORS FORMERLY INCARCERATED AND **HOMELESS** -OPERATED BAKERY, COPS WHO SAV
 21 that youth can receive runaway and **homeless** youth services is a groundbreaking
 22 n of the New York State Runaway and **Homeless** Youth Act. "There has always been a
 23 the application of the Runaway and **Homeless** Youth Act to those under 25 years o
 24 ich a youth can receive runaway and **homeless** youth services, will allow Covenant
 25 duals, migrant workers, runaway and **homeless** youth, transgender sex workers, and
 26 nsitional housing accommodation and **homeless** shelters. Households in interim acc
 27 ovenant House and other runaway and **homeless** youth providers to better serve the
 28 am enable formerly incarcerated and **homeless** men to find jobs in some of New Yor
 29 taffed by formerly incarcerated and **homeless** men as part of the culinary arts pr
 30 erated by formerly incarcerated and **homeless** men, a number of police officers wh
 31 ET PAVING WAY FOR RUNAWAY AND **HOMELESS** YOUTH AGED UP TO 25 YEARS OLD T
 32 and Families under the Runaway and **Homeless** Youth Act. The language in the budg
 33 raise the age to allow runaway and **homeless** youth to access needed shelters and
 34 n of the New York State Runaway and **Homeless** Youth Act to include individuals un
 35 isabled, formerly incarcerated, and **homeless** populations. "Each and every day, t
 36 ing a dinner feeding the hungry and **homeless** that will be served at Milk River i
 37 criminal offenders, people who are **homeless** and living in shelters, youths agin
 38 TO HELP AT-RISK SURVIVORS AVOID **HOMELESS** SHELTERS March 25, 2016 BROOKL
 39 ining with their abuser or becoming **homeless** is unacceptable. A shelter is not t
 40 ou 're homeless or at risk of being **homeless** , getting a haircut is often a luxur
 41 ive to save our families from being **homeless** , and we in fact have a fiscal imper
 42 erable youth from being chronically **homeless** ." "It is up to us as lawmakers to m
 43 ty for their actions. Ms. Noel died **homeless** , all because her landlord evicted h
 44 ssed a proposal for an adult family **homeless** shelter in Queens. Homelessness com
 45 RVICE, FUNDING FREE HAIRCUTS FOR **HOMELESS** NEIGHBORS IN NEED BROOKLYN, NY,
 46 on for Homeless Youth. "Housing for **homeless** young adults has always been severe
 47 es. The select few who call out for **homeless** people to go 'back to East New York
 48 incorporating permanent housing for **homeless** households through the New York Cit
 49 ORATING PERMANENT HOUSING FOR **HOMELESS** HOUSEHOLDS BROOKLYN, NY, Septe

50 organizes birthday celebrations for **homeless** children and an educator who has de
 51 local brothers providing support for **homeless** New Yorkers. This included New York
 52 matching the working definition for **homeless** youth as established by the United
 53 ent the change. We are grateful for **homeless** youth champions in Albany, includin
 54 tive director of the Coalition for **Homeless** Youth. "Not only will this historic
 55 uth homelessness. The Coalition for **Homeless** Youth, which represents dozens of s
 56 ." "For 40 years, the Coalition for **Homeless** Youth has worked on behalf of the r
 57 unding to provide free haircuts for **Homeless** Youth in need across the boroug
 58 tive director of the Coalition for **Homeless** Youth. "Housing for homeless young
 59 cent will be set aside for formerly **homeless** residents. The building will includ
 60 endent living facility for formerly **homeless** seniors 55 years of age and older.
 61 ncome housing for seniors, formerly **homeless** individuals, and families, as well
 62 unities to seniors and the formerly **homeless** ; such a housing mix is good public
 63 ncome neighbors, including formerly **homeless** veterans. It is my mission to ensur
 64 of the units set aside for formerly **homeless** veterans; True Holy Church, which h
 65 s, including those who are formerly **homeless** . In respect to community preference
 66 across the borough." "As a formerly **homeless** person, I'm so proud to be part of
 67 e were more than 15,700 families in **homeless** shelters every night across the fiv
 68 ere were more than 63,000 people in **homeless** shelters every night across the fiv
 69 rican-American children sleeping in **homeless** shelters since World War II and the
 70 e standards to better support local **homeless** children, accommodating bicycle use
 71 ough President Adams and longtime **homeless** youth advocate and ally Lew Fidler.
 72 ks without our intervention." "Many **homeless** youth in New York State between the
 73 rns that have been reported by many **homeless** New Yorkers between the ages of 21
 74 and night to help our youth." "Many **homeless** youths between the ages of 21 and 2
 75 rns that have been reported by many **homeless** New Yorkers between the ages of 21
 76 n of New York and the Department of **Homeless** Services are partnering with Boroug
 77 overnment to reduce the reliance of **homeless** shelters and transitional housing t
 78 Adams for championing the needs of **homeless** youth," said Sister Nancy Downing,
 79 to the New York City Department of **Homeless** Services
 80 ," said New York City Department of **Homeless** Services
 81 E" PROPOSAL TO COMBAT PLIGHT OF **HOMELESS** YOUTH April 12, 2017 COALITION OF B
 82 ite for New York City Department of **Homeless** Services'
 83 on of State funding for a number of **homeless** shelters in New York City. Yesterda
 84 orney Center works with hundreds of **homeless** LGBT young people in their early 20
 85 f the rights, health, and safety of **homeless** youth and young adults across the S
 86 of the New York City Department of **Homeless** Services. "I thank Eric Adams for s
 87 ce at a New York City Department of **Homeless** Services family shelter located at
 88 ATIVE EFFORT TO COMBAT PLIGHT OF **HOMELESS** YOUTH IN NEW YORK May 24, 2016 AT
 89 served in the borough including our **homeless** neighbors," said Marla Simpson, exe
 90 nerable communities and that is our **homeless** youth, especially those in the LGBT
 91 going to become a symbol where our **homeless** men and women will be able to ident
 92 e power of community to support our **homeless** neighbors in need. All of our young
 93 ces and volunteerism. "When you're **homeless** or at risk of being homeless, getti
 94 the five boroughs. The most recent **Homeless** Outreach Population Estimate
 95 BLING COMMENTS MADE REGARDING **HOMELESS** SHELTER SITING AND EAST NEW YOR
 96 coordination to empower Brooklyn's **homeless** families, spoke about how this initiative
 97 g from a number of New York City's **homeless** shelters due to poor conditions. Ph
 98 g relationship with a nearby men's **homeless** shelter that has a high population
 99 R RESUMING PAYMENTS FOR CITY'S **HOMELESS** FAMILY SHELTERS May 15, 2015 BRO
 100 itted to saving the lives of NYC's **homeless** animals. We recognize that collabor
 101 responsibility to New York City's **homeless** families," said Gilbert Taylor, Com
 102 inue to work to support our city's **homeless** population. This shows how importan
 103 bile shower service that will serve **homeless** Brooklynites, day laborers, sex wor
 104 MOBILE SHOWER SERVICE TO SERVE **HOMELESS** AND OTHER VULNERABLE POPULATIO
 105 travel across the borough to serve **homeless** Brooklynites and other at-risk popu
 106 er project for many years servicing **homeless** individuals, migrant workers, runaw
 107 A) to withhold funding from sixteen **homeless** shelters due to poor conditions, ci
 108 on dollars every month from sixteen **homeless** shelters. For all affected sites, t
 109 and social services for our street **homeless** . The announcement of the Catholic C
 110 ago, Khalifa helped pull a suicidal **homeless** man away from jumping onto the trac
 111 reducing exploitation and risk that **homeless** young adults face from a lack of ho
 112 t the state has raised the age that **homeless** youth may access youth shelter thro

113 an 15,700 families in Brooklyn. The **Homeless** Outreach Population Estimate
114 ast November, the Coalition for the **Homeless** estimated that there were more than
115 oklyn and New York City to help the **homeless** stay warm this winter. Additionally
116 ast November, the Coalition for the **Homeless** estimated that there were more than
117 r advocacy at the Coalition for the **Homeless** , the State released a statement ind
118 Shelter in Fort Greene, one of the **homeless** shelters that would have affected b
119 r advocacy at the Coalition for the **Homeless** , outside of the Auburn Family Shelt
120 e stable housing stock to serve the **homeless** population. As more permanent units
121 cy led by him and advocates for the **homeless** community which has led to improved
122 MAS DONATED BY BROOKLYNITES TO **HOMELESS** YOUTH ACROSS BOROUGH BROOKLY
123 n our city 's ability to respond to **homeless** youth, because so many in the 21 to
124 y programs to provide assistance to **homeless** youth or youth in need of crisis in
125 structed affordable rental units to **homeless** individuals and families including
126 ONORS BAKER WHO BRINGS JOY TO **HOMELESS** CHILDREN, INNOVATIVE EDUCATOR
127 CLEANERS TO DONATE CLOTHING TO **HOMELESS** BROOKLYN, NY, February 12, 2014: Ye
128 structed affordable rental units to **homeless** individuals and families including
129 rtance of this initiative to uplift **homeless** individuals and families, part of h
Concordance C4.1: Concordances of *homeless* in BK_BBHPR.

N Concordance

1 dams is someone who cares about **homeowners** and is hearing our voices," said h
2 ," wrote Borough President Adams. **"Homeowners** have been suffering under this unf
3 tforms for home sharing that allow **homeowners** to bring in some extra income, bec
4 eclosure resource event will allow **homeowners** to address their specific challeng
5 gage assistance program will allow **homeowners** to meet with mortgage servicers fa
6 ' initiative of educating Brooklyn **homeowners** on how to deal with unfavorable fi
7 E SCAMS IMPACTING BROOKLYN **HOMEOWNERS** October 15, 2015 BROOKLYN, NY, O
8 a new beginning for many Brooklyn **homeowners** because of the support of the New
9 BP Adams JOINED BY **HOMEOWNERS** IMPACTED BY DEED FRAUD AND W
10 s, and tablets. At AGScamHelp.com, **homeowners** can search to see if organizations
11 ctions being undertaken to defraud **homeowners** of their property. When a person '
12 ntentionally playing in defrauding **homeowners** of their property. In letters they
13 s well. We will be able to educate **homeowners** and business owners alike on comm
14 use a variety of methods to entrap **homeowners** , such as using legally intimidatin
15 This is a terrific opportunity for **homeowners** to meet directly with housing coun
16 lled for attention on fairness for **homeowners** and renters in communities of colo
17 US ATTENTION ON FAIRNESS FOR **HOMEOWNERS** AND TENANTS IN COMMUNITIES
18 outlined a list of indicators for **homeowners** to look out for that may hint at a
19 . "This is a great opportunity for **homeowners** who are struggling to pay their mo
20 ing behavior and warning signs for **homeowners** locally and statewide to know; sin
21 ere joined by a number of impacted **homeowners** who have reached out to their offi
22 Volunteer Lawyer 's Project, Inc. **"Homeowners** are better off when they have lega
23 ng market that are impacting local **homeowners** , a problem exacerbating Brooklyn '
24 "Energy costs are a burden on many **homeowners** and with New York Passive House co
25 the outreach process, inclusive of **homeowners** and their associations as well as
26 urance companies are drowning our **homeowners** ' spirits," said Borough President
27 the program, BHA and participating **homeowners** will work with the 84th Precinct t
28 ilms. His commitment to protecting **homeowners** from unlawful lending practices al
29 ry to take advantage of struggling **homeowners** are exacerbating this crisis," sai
30 s clinic has allowed us to support **homeowners** and keep them in their homes. I wa
31 almost \$900 more on average than **homeowners** nationwide. Communities that have
32 ght on these pernicious scams that **homeowners** are up against," said Christie Pea
33 GScamHelp, a web-based app that **homeowners** can easily access on their compute
34 losure crisis is not over and that **homeowners** are still in danger of losing thei
35 unfortunately little solace to the **homeowners** and small businesses in Brooklyn w
36 hts Educational Centers, Inc., The **Homeowners** Association Inc., The Terry Resour
37 when we provide a helping hand to **homeowners** in need." "HOPE NOW looks forwar
38 hinders and hurts all it touches, **homeowners** and renters alike," wrote Borough
39 ts, and for standing with New York **homeowners** ." Borough President Adams and Att
40 up to \$40,000 to eligible New York **homeowners** at risk of foreclosure. Additional
41 forum, it was noted that New York **homeowners** have reported larger losses to sca
Concordance C4.2: Concordances of *homeowners* in BK_BBHPR.

N Concordance

1 ified housing counseling affiliate, **Neighbors** Helping Neighbors, assists hundred
 2 olent offender registry would alert **neighbors** when a domestic violence offender
 3 R" AND ENJOY GAMES ALONGSIDE **NEIGHBORS** AT PUBLIC SPACES ACROSS CITY Oct
 4 ng lead organizer for Tenants & **Neighbors** , a grassroots organization that su
 5 ; St. Nicks Alliance; Tenants & **Neighbors** ; and the Urban Justice Center. "We
 6 executive director of Tenants & **Neighbors** . "Tenants face this harassment bec
 7 others and fathers; our friends and **neighbors** . Victims of domestic violence dese
 8 their doctors, family, friends, and **neighbors** . Through the leadership of Borough
 9 ommunities for Change, Tenants and **Neighbors** , and Working Families Party. "Acro
 10 ekend brings families, friends, and **neighbors** , and we 're proud to serve more th
 11 ased employees are your friends and **neighbors** , and we 're proud to serve more th
 12 gether to meet with our friends and **neighbors** and bring in the New Year together
 13 ernatives, Park Slope Neighbors and **Neighbors** Allied for Good Growth
 14 ert Series that allows our Brooklyn **neighbors** to enjoy great music and a fun nig
 15 fessionals and his health-conscious **neighbors** , to attend a public conversation h
 16 IONALS AND HEALTH-CONSCIOUS **NEIGHBORS** ALIKE TO ATTEND TALK ON ROLE OF
 17 of what we can offer our customers, **neighbors** , and the city at large," said Coli
 18 will reach thousands of our fellow **neighbors** , and are a symbol of compassion an
 19 compassion and love for our fellow **neighbors** , particularly those suffering from
 20 to be thankful and help our fellow **neighbors** , celebrate this joyful time of the
 21 Ladder Company 159, arrived to find **neighbors** on the block reporting that a chil
 22 aunching my push to bring our furry **neighbors** into healthy and happy homes." Gro
 23 ntity of our neighborhoods and give **neighbors** a place to meet up, play and build
 24 ford-Stuyvesant; Neighbors Helping **Neighbors** ; St. Nicks Alliance; Tenants &
 25 seling affiliate, Neighbors Helping **Neighbors** , assists hundreds of Brooklyn tena
 26 the borough including our homeless **neighbors** ," said Marla Simpson, executive di
 27 NG FREE HAIRCUTS FOR HOMELESS; **NEIGHBORS** IN NEED BROOKLYN, NY, April 23, 20
 28 community to support our homeless **neighbors** in need. All of our young people,
 29 provide free haircuts for homeless **neighbors** in need across the borough. He joi
 30 her in the line of duty. Hopefully, **neighbors** will look up at this sign and unde
 31 tronger by supporting our immigrant **neighbors** who are making their way through t
 32 rents, immigrant friends, immigrant **neighbors** , immigrant parishioners and busine
 33 ens of our very low- and low-income **neighbors** , including formerly homeless veter
 34 reds of thousands of our low-income **neighbors** who face barriers to economic oppo
 35 very happy to join our Coney Island **neighbors** in taking part in Borough Presiden
 36 ibutions made by many of our Latino **neighbors** in the arts, business, government,
 37 iss Leslie Lewis and I join with my **neighbors** in mourning his passing." </text>
 38 heir interests, and those of all my **neighbors** ." "As a veteran medical science ed
 39 friend, an honor that so many of my **neighbors** across Brooklyn enjoyed over his m
 40 e 're happy to partner with our new **neighbors** ." "We 'll be cooling down attendee
 41 ents that will benefit thousands of **neighbors** and visitors along Fort Greene Par
 42 ts of a safety net that catches our **neighbors** when they stumble or fall." Januar
 43 ng, engaging, and learning with our **neighbors** !" </text> <file ID="481" date="15/
 44 which have taught thousands of our **neighbors** the necessary skills to make wise
 45 e in predatory tactics to evict our **neighbors** need to face criminal responsibili
 46 uperfund cleanup. "Hundreds of our **neighbors** have expressed the importance of p
 47 ood and feeling good, including our **neighbors** in need. I hope it inspires others
 48 INCIDENT "Brooklyn stands with our **neighbors** in Lower Manhattan in mourning the
 49 claimed the lives of dozens of our **neighbors** and destroyed thousands of homes,
 50 g units that will go to nourish our **neighbors** in need. We can solve our food des
 51 President Adams. "For those of our **neighbors** who are fortunate enough to reach
 52 Adams' message about keeping our **neighbors** in their neighborhood." Attendees
 53 urther the mission of educating our **neighbors** how to identify and report potenti
 54 t hold-up at gunpoint of one of our **neighbors** . Given Borough President Adams 's
 55 nity while serving the needs of our **neighbors** ." "The networking event is an idea
 56 heir own cause and be a hero to our **neighbors** in need." Dr. Gore, a 39-year-old
 57 d over the tens of thousands of our **neighbors** who have been inexplicably purged
 58 lives and answer the call when our **neighbors** are in trouble." On January 25th,
 59 ms and I are excited to welcome our **neighbors** and friends from all across Brookl
 60 t for us to raise our voice for our **neighbors** in the south who should not be ter
 61 hearty feast, thousands more of our **neighbors** will face empty plates and empty h
 62 cammers and truly safeguarding our **neighbors** ' homes. If you think you might be
 63 event and their efforts to keep our **neighbors** out of harm 's way. I look forward

64 new standard that will empower our neighbors and preserve their voice in any fi
65 We fully support and encourage our neighbors to come out next Tuesday to the fr
66 all education we can share with our neighbors can make a real difference in real
67 ote our resources to caring for our neighbors here at home." "The grief felt thr
68 nds for, and I encourage all of our neighbors to be part of this ongoing effort.
69 erved the homes for hundreds of our neighbors , including innovative uses of civi
70 every day. We need empathy for our neighbors struggling on our streets, many of
71 or the hundreds of thousands of our neighbors battling to make ends meet every d
72 ion and empowerment, weaning our neighbors off of emergency room overreliance
73 ring the safety and security of our neighbors , and the continued collaborative e
74 Earth Day with CitiBike, Park Slope Neighbors , Prospect Heights Neighborhood Dev
75 blic Library, Citi Bike, Park Slope Neighbors , Prospect Park Alliance, Prospect
76 c McClure, co-founder of Park Slope Neighbors and chair of Park Slope Street Saf
77 sportation Alternatives, Park Slope Neighbors and Neighbors Allied for Good Grow
78 c McClure, co-founder of Park Slope Neighbors . "It was an honor to ride today wi
79 ing Services of Bedford-Stuyvesant; Neighbors Helping Neighbors; St. Nicks Allia
80 fety of its tenants and surrounding neighbors at serious risk. "We have an uncon
81 ate feminine care products to their neighbors in need provides an important ackn
82 sed on serving and protecting their neighbors the right way, but the bad actors
83 meals, or other resources to their neighbors in need. "I often say people get i
84 nites to donate MetroCards to their neighbors in need as he delivered donations
85 rees have shown dedication to their neighbors and their communities. They have r
86 w Yorkers who want to support their neighbors in need. This announcement further
87 ung people engaged in serving their neighbors is an important part of a well-rou
88 Yorkers to come together with their neighbors and watch their hometown New York
89 of crime prevention tips with their neighbors , following a number of local attac
90 y as people come out and meet their neighbors . Stop 'N' Swap helps prevent waste
91 YNITES TO DONATE METROCARDS NEIGHBORS IN NEED AS HE DISTRIBUTES MORE T
92 eat again. With our most vulnerable neighbors at risk, we must turn our anxiety
93 s bill poses to our most vulnerable neighbors ."
94 ving Sunset Park 's most vulnerable neighbors . I have no doubt they will be a we

Concordance C4.3: Concordances of *neighbors* in BK_BBHPR.

5. BK_Yelp

N	Keyword	Freq.	%	RC. Freq.	RC. %	Keyness
1	THE	23,889	5.21	55,740	3,79	1,709.40
2	BROOKLYN	499	0.11	6		1,373.81
3	RE	563	0.12	63		1,245.23
4	PIZZA	1,037	0.23	844	0.06	853.34
5	WAS	8,902	1.94	20,446	1.39	677.38
6	A	12,109	2.64	29,633	2.01	626.17
7	BRUNCH	502	0.11	250	0.02	623.30
8	IT	7,519	1.64	17,009	1.16	619.63
9	AND	15,902	3.47	40,567	2.76	605.29
10	JERK	282	0.06	40		591.25
11	I	12,598	2.75	31,347	2.13	578.84
12	DELICIOUS	1,080	0.24	1,315	0.09	522.74
13	D	357	0.08	146		500.13
14	SLICE	307	0.07	93		499.73
15	SAUCE	837	0.18	888	0.06	499.39
16	WITH	4,487	0.98	9,561	0.65	491.51
17	CHICKEN	1,140	0.25	1,537	0.1	460.67
18	PIE	319	0.07	125		457.59
19	SPOT	556	0.12	477	0.03	432.01
20	DO	1,214	0.27	1,807	0.12	401.01
21	OF	6,884	1.50	16,551	1.12	396.83
22	YOU	3,896	0.85	8,444	0.57	394.52
23	FOOD	2,726	0.60	5,436	0.37	390.81
24	NYC	186	0.04	27		387.72
25	BUT	3,871	0.85	8,535	0.58	361.09

26	NEIGHBORHOOD	262	0.06	120		343.22
27	S	3,174	0.69	6,821	0.46	333.83
28	ORDERED	1,065	0.23	1,638	0.11	326.73
29	WE	4,001	0.87	9,105	0.62	317.35
30	WO	112	0.02	3		295.99
31	GOOD	2,426	0.53	5,043	0.34	294.67
32	CHEESE	705	0.15	937	0.06	292.48
33	DID	1,066	0.23	1,722	0.12	290.67
34	PEACHES	106	0.02	2		286.07
35	SO	2,775	0.61	6,008	0.41	281.85
36	SPICY	428	0.09	423	0.03	280.74
37	MENU	864	0.19	1,311	0.09	273.30
38	WILLIAMSBURG	93	0.02	0		267.51
39	IS	5,713	1.25	14,164	0.96	266.04
40	GRITS	177	0.04	65		262.75
41	WHICH	1,374	0.30	2,544	0.17	254.60
42	SEATING	299	0.07	250	0.02	238.89
43	AVOCADO	183	0.04	85		237.62
44	ALSO	1,211	0.26	2,207	0.15	235.88
45	SALMON	247	0.05	174	0.01	233.90
46	FRENCH	258	0.06	192	0.01	232.09
47	TOAST	228	0.05	149	0.01	230.65
48	PANCAKES	175	0.04	84		222.53
49	DELIVERY	235	0.05	176	0.01	210.10
50	FLAVORFUL	239	0.05	184	0.01	207.98

Table C5.1: Top 50 keywords in BK_Yelp.

N	Concordance		
1	restaurant opened its doors at 755	Flatbush	Avenue. ZuriLee Pizza Bar (pronou
2	amidst the hubbub of commerce along	Flatbush	Ave. - *Hat tip to the Abruzzo they
3	recommend it. On a humid night down	Flatbush	Avenue full of homemade sangria acc
4	ed Flatbush for decades. Â The East	Flatbush	, topped with impeccably seasoned je
5	n pizza. I can 't get over the East	Flatbush	pizza with is jerk chicken, sweet c
6	liflower (Jerk Chicken, Gorgonzola,	Flatbush	sauce). Everything was just fantast
7	breakfast with my friend. I live in	Flatbush	so it 's so refreshing to see coffe
8	opular, I suppose!) After living in	Flatbush	for about a month now, Cafe Madelin
9	d are so nice! Such a great find in	Flatbush	. Its a small place but the food is
10	ng for an authentic Indian place in	Flatbush	, this is the place to go. (PS they
11	breakfast with my friend. I live in	Flatbush	so it 's so refreshing to see coffe
12	Hidden beneath all the commotion of	Flatbush	Avenue lies Parkside -- a quant lit
13	lack owned business in the heart of	Flatbush	/Lefferts Gardens. Great cuisine and
14	Prospect Lefferts Gardens region of	Flatbush	, Brooklyn, brings a distinctive ran
15	By The Vibrant Caribbean Culture of	Flatbush	, Brooklyn. History Established in 2
16	.definitely a fly vibe this side of	Flatbush	. Brick Oven - Wood Fire Pizza In Th
17	nd \$6. A hidden gem in the heart of	Flatbush	. From the outside, this place looks
18	lack owned business in the heart of	Flatbush	/Lefferts Gardens. Great cuisine and
19	ted on hustle and bustle streets of	Flatbush	ave. You can automatically smell th
20	.definitely a fly vibe this side of	Flatbush	. I first went to Mango Seed back
21	ted on hustle and bustle streets of	Flatbush	ave. You can automatically smell th
22	Hidden beneath all the commotion of	Flatbush	Avenue lies Parkside -- a quant lit
23	eave that as the review. Its one of	flatbush	's best kept secrets. Everything th
24	via FB. Just left Blink Fitness on	Flatbush	and PLG was the closes one to me. W
25	viewer, I decided to try Peppas on	Flatbush	Ave and ordered the following: 2 sm
26	aribbean culture that has sustained	Flatbush	for decades. Â The East Flatbush, t
27	ed on the East Williamsburg and the	Flatbush	. And while there was a bit of a wai
28	ed on the East Williamsburg and the	Flatbush	. And while there was a bit of a wai
29	and truffle salt - SO GOOD. And the	Flatbush	has tomato sauce topped with roaste
30	difficult to fork and knife it. The	Flatbush	wings were okay, with good spices
31	h three cheeses and an order of the	Flatbush	wings...highly flavorful. The pizza

Concordance C5.2: Concordances of Flatbush in Flatbush/PLG sub-corpus of BK_Yelp.

N Concordance

1 kid-friendly, cocktail-ready and a **Brooklyn** favorite, serving lunch, dinner and
2 the best bakeries in Manhattan and **Brooklyn** . Check in at Cafe Madeline on the Y
3 t cuz as usual everyone is on CPT - **Brooklyn** (FIGAS!); So I BS outside, my hour
4 ordered drinks. I had the Crooklyn (**BROOKLYN** STANDUP!!) and she ordered the "Do
5 efferts Gardens region of Flatbush, **Brooklyn** , brings a distinctive range of wood
6 an 't say you 're from NYC/frequent **Brooklyn** if you have n't gone to Peppa 's, s
7 but toasted perfectly. Coffee: From **brooklyn** roasters, definitely on the sour +
8 wait and wait. This is the hipster **Brooklyn** study cafe of my dreams: 1) an incr
9 t. This is a definite go-to spot in **Brooklyn** , close to Prospect park. Grab a few
10 he rice was the best I had while in **Brooklyn** . The place was packed with large pa
11 tains- Small portion of salad So in **Brooklyn** and must have some jerk. Â I found
12 he rice was the best I had while in **Brooklyn** . The place was packed with large pa
13 I definitely patronize when I 'm in **Brooklyn** . Mind blowing flavors! Wow! Â Peppa
14 the finest coffee establishment in **Brooklyn** . The sandwiches are divine, and do
15 t corner of Roger and midwood st in **Brooklyn** , quiet corner easy to find parking
16 simple, easy,â€¦ Sushi roll shop in **Brooklyn** . We make every roll in the shop wit
17 wn. 6/8/2018 Previous review Was in **Brooklyn** for a couple days, went here twice
18 king distance of the room.â€¦Was in **Brooklyn** for a couple days, went here twice
19 al. One of the best indian spots in **Brooklyn** . Delivery is fast. People are alway
20 I do n't care if you do n't live in **Brooklyn** , you should get your ass over there
21 ve died with her. Despite living in **Brooklyn** and being in the general proximity
22 asy feat finding good Trini roti in **Brooklyn** . At one point I even gave up and re
23 I do n't care if you do n't live in **Brooklyn** , you should get your ass over there
24 al. One of the best indian spots in **Brooklyn** . Â Delivery is fast. Â People are a
25 I definitely patronize when I 'm in **Brooklyn** . Mind blowing flavors! Wow! Peppa '
26 here and try the oxtails ;-) So in **Brooklyn** and must have some jerk. I found a
27 ere. This does n't always happen in **Brooklyn** - I love a jam but if I can 't hear
28 the finest coffee establishment in **Brooklyn** . The sandwiches are divine, and do
29 NEW FAVORITE BRUNCH PLACE IN **BROOKLYN** !! I fell in love when I saw there w
30 like that at most places If your in **brooklyn** and close to cortel you road got to
31 people. My favorite pizza place in **Brooklyn** !! Absolutely obsessed with all the
32 like that at most places If your in **brooklyn** and close to cortel you road got to
33 rek to get to if you do n't live in **Brooklyn** itself. However, if you are lucky e
34 if you are lucky enough to live in **Brooklyn** , this cafe is a great one to check
35 rek to get to if you do n't live in **Brooklyn** itself. However, if you are lucky e
36 he rice was the best I had while in **Brooklyn** . The place was packed with large pa
37 if you are lucky enough to live in **Brooklyn** , this cafe is a great one to check
38 this neighborhood if you 're not in **Brooklyn** . One thing is sure, though: you wo
39 selection of whisk(e)y available in **Brooklyn** . 700+ bottles and growing. Includin
40 t corner of Roger and midwood st in **Brooklyn** , quiet corner easy to find parking
41 this neighborhood if you 're not in **Brooklyn** . One thing is sure, though: you wo
42 selection of whisk(e)y available in **Brooklyn** . 700+ bottles â€¦ Please note: Our
43 y from me (grr why did I ever leave **Brooklyn** ?!) but I 'm definitely gonna find e
44 pinion as well as the drink names; **"Brooklyn** ", etc. There was a live DJ playing
45 respect Lefferts Gardens section of **Brooklyn** . Since opening, it has quickly grow
46 ther options around in this part of **Brooklyn** . Despite being usually busy, PLG wa
47 ute little place is in the heart of **Brooklyn** , right by the Newkirk Plaza subway,
48 d Customer Service. In the words of **Brooklyn** 's own Jay-Z "I miss #oldbrooklyn n
49 lute favorite restaurants in all of **Brooklyn** . Hubs and I have made Wheated a re
50 r meal. With your dessert, we offer **Brooklyn** Roasting Company Mexico blend coffe
51 le, welcoming atmosphere in a quiet **Brooklyn** neighborhood Sitting at the bar, I
52 to come back Just minutes from the **Brooklyn** Botanical Gardens, this small place
53 s more efficient. I 'm newer to the **Brooklyn** food scene, and was so thoroughly e
54 od! Walked here after attending the **Brooklyn** Museum First Saturdays event. The f
55 to come back Just minutes from the **Brooklyn** Botanical Gardens, this small place
56 It was Delish! When passing through **Brooklyn** again, I will definitely patronize
57 nations sound very appealing! Where **Brooklyn** at?!? Dope pizza spot in PLG area.
Concordance C5.3: Concordances of *Brooklyn* in Flatbush/PLG sub-corpus of BK_Yelp.

N Concordance

1 lucky you can catch a glimpse of a **Brooklyn** Legend. I gave this pizza place 3 s
2 ecause this is an institution and a **Brooklyn** staple but I 've had better Sicilia
3 come back next summer, definitely a **Brooklyn** summer tradition. Love their pizza!
4 me Can you ever really beat classic **Brooklyn** ? I went yesterday with my fiance an
5 he menu. Its worth the trek to deep **Brooklyn** from NYC. Expect a wait and crowd m
6 come to get a taste of those famous **Brooklyn** places that are no longer. Excellen
7 agree with the majority. Being from **Brooklyn** and raised between Bensonhurst and
8 ies business. Ciccio 's is a hidden **Brooklyn** pizza gem. It 's a little neighborh
9 ally appreciated because parking in **Brooklyn** can be a hassle. Food: 3.5/5.0 Serv
10 llent. I come back whenever I 'm in **Brooklyn** . can 't get into Spumoni Gardens? T
11 =-to authentic Italian restaurant in **Brooklyn** . We recognized a waiter from fioren
12 taff, reasonable prices. We were in **Brooklyn** for an appointment, wish we lived c
13 of the best Italian restaurants in **Brooklyn** , With a staff that handles everythi
14 Italian restaurants you can find in **Brooklyn** ! They have reinvented themselves ov
15 this sublime slice of Azerbaijan in **Brooklyn** . 10 stars! I really liked it, very
16 f your pizzas. Best one we tried in **Brooklyn** and we tried a few. I have always h
17 !!!! The best falafel ever here in **Brooklyn** !!! I 'm eating here for about 3-4 m
18 sic same old "Asian fusion" food in **Brooklyn** . I will readily admit that I have o
19 ough). An incredible hidden gem in **Brooklyn** CafÃfÃ© village will have what you
20 are, A crazed Guido Best Falafel in **Brooklyn** ! My everyday spot when I need a qu
21 tar? It 's a humble little place in **Brooklyn** that serves both sushi and Burmese
22 you can taste Israel right here in **Brooklyn** ? What if I told you it was right he
23 Love this spot. It 's a classic in **Brooklyn** serving some really good pizza. The
24 mend! A really great pizza place in **Brooklyn** , too bad it 's so far from where I
25 ktails. Came here after an event in **Brooklyn** to try the infamous Sicilian slice.
26 visit! This spot is nice. Right in **Brooklyn** , GREAT pizza. They even have a litt
27 licious Mediterranean restaurant in **Brooklyn** ! The food is always super fresh! Th
28 back to this very popular place in **Brooklyn** . Taci 's Beyti has been around my n
29 ould be your go to Turkish place in **Brooklyn** . can 't wait for my next visit! Thi
30 s a reason why they are a staple in **Brooklyn** . The service was spectacular, and t
31 s. You have n't had Italian food in **Brooklyn** until you tried Michael 's of Brook
32 If you are going out for Italian in **Brooklyn** , avoid the place! It 's a huge let
33 ular this place really is. When in **Brooklyn** , especially the Coney Island area,
34 of Spumoni. My friend who lives in **Brooklyn** told me I have to go here. We came
35 for a famous Italian restaurant in **Brooklyn** for many years. I started at the ba
36 imilar to a very adored, well known **Brooklyn** Italian Restaurant and clearly this
37 lo from Bensonhurst & Mapleton, **Brooklyn** ! We had heard of this place a year
38 dinner from Taci Beyti in Midwood, **Brooklyn** . This place was on my list of resta
39 no idea how to cook myself. I miss **Brooklyn** . I miss the diversity and the food.
40 it 's own. The best Italian place n **Brooklyn** The food, the service.. just amazin
41 in the Bensonhurst/Avenue U area of **Brooklyn** despite not being a local resident.
42 p;B and DiFaras, the "Tre Amici" of **Brooklyn** Italian food. I look forward to my
43 I Italian spot in the middle-ish of **Brooklyn** =- not exactly serving housemade pas
44 ith me. Friends from other parts of **Brooklyn** . And even people outside of New Yor
45 oklyn until you tried Michael 's of **Brooklyn** ! A classic, white table cloth, fine
46 next time I 'm here. Michael 's of **Brooklyn** , Your jarred sauces that you sell i
47 Haven. Fuggeddaboutit; It 's other **Brooklyn** contenders like L&B are sugary
48 ere are way better options all over **Brooklyn** ! Tried this place tonight and had a
49 t chatting it up....like I remember **Brooklyn** ! Delicious pizza. I would recommend
50 from anywhere that is n't in south **Brooklyn** . We got menus from the only person
51 fresh everyday! Reliable old style **Brooklyn** restaurant, Excellent service, good
52 fter the David Bowie exhibit at the **Brooklyn** Museum. The food is fantastic as wa
53 t so worth it. You have to try this **Brooklyn** staple! The square slice is the bes
54 5 stars! One does not simply go to **Brooklyn** and NOT try the Middle Eastern Rest
55 Took the Q train from Manhattan to **Brooklyn** and this place is at the corner acr
56 r, this is a worthwhile traditional **Brooklyn** Italian restaurant. I highly recomm
57 re with a group of friends who were **Brooklyn** locals and they spoke highly of thi
58 ating a falafal from the Shuk, wow! **Brooklyn** needed one and its here! Highly rec
Concordance C5.4: Concordances of *Brooklyn* in Midwood sub-corpus of BK_Yelp.

N Concordance

1 It ended up tasting like your average **NYC** dollar slice pizza. I 'm practically
2 of the oven, it has got to be the best **NYC** pizza I 've ever had in my life. I 'm
3 worth the trek to deep Brooklyn from **NYC** . Expect a wait and crowd most of the

4 urant. Burmese food is hard to find in NYC . Together is one of two Burmese rest
5 equally kind family members. I live in NYC to eat at places like this - authenti
6 a I've eaten in my 47 years living in nyc . The Sophia pie is just amazing. The
7 I acclaim themselves as 'best pizza in NYC '. I made that statistic up but it's
8 ese restaurant he has experienced in NYC from the past decade. The store takes
9 alk about it being the best falafel in NYC . Of course I had to go see for myself
10 the best Turkish spot I've been to in NYC . We ordered a mixed grill platter jus
11 t any of the Turkish or Arab places in nyc . There are some afghani places in que
12 good. Not my favorite pizza place in NYC (Lucali 's still has my heart...) but
13 e BEST FALAFEL you will ever try in NYC (and most likely in the USA !) Master
14 est and can 't compare to any other NYC pizza joint. Although on the expensiv
15 place. This is the best falafel in the NYC area (and I have tried a whole bunch

16 quare, we were really excited to try a NY burmese restaurant so we took the su
17 od considering we're in the U.S. and NY at that lol). But overall it had a ver
18 ew York last fall and this is the best NY slice in the city. Barstool did n't di
19 st like most everywhere we visited in NY (small) walk up place your order and w
20 's pizza the best, must have pizza in NY ? Probably not, but it 's good enough t
21 to tell you the truth for me pizza in NY was OK it seemed the same as eating
22 place again. I was n't crazy about the NY style pizza, though. It was n't bad by
23 never tried good pizza until you go to NY , well I have been and we tried MANY
24 ame here during our weekend trip to NY . Even though we stayed in TimeSquar
25 it. But until they do, its traditional NY slices and Sicilians for me. Even thou

Concordance C5.5: Concordances of NYC and NY in Midwood sub-corpus of BK_Yelp.

N Concordance

1 r a summer day after walking along Sheepshead Bay. Cheap eats! Quick service The
2 ce and spent an hour waking around Sheepshead Bay before finding it. I ordered S
3 better. Now, this restaurant is by Sheepshead Bay 's waterfront, so parking was
4 good too. My new favorite spot in Sheepshead Bay. Forget 1001 Nights or Nargis.
5 ards! Bottom line: definite gem in Sheepshead , one of my go-tos Recommend for al
6 riendly and quick. Having lived in Sheepshead Bay for years, I thought it would
7 flop to the slice. If you live in sheepshead bay I see this being the best spot
8 slice. Best neighborhood slice in sheepshead bay. Pepperoni is seriously on poi
9 the neighborhood, I do n't live in Sheepshead Bay anymore. The neighborhood has
10 hole lot of Italian restaurants in Sheepshead Bay, but the ones that do exist ar
11 ch a place. If you 've grown up in Sheepshead Bay and wanted a Sub you said okay
12 andwiches in Brooklyn. A staple in Sheepshead bay. Terrific sandwiches, especiall
13 from the area but I was working in sheepshead 1 day and yelped "sandwich" (becau
14 a small, old school little shop in sheepshead , and everything is always fresh! T
15 ber of sushi restaurants that line Sheepshead Bay Road, Luda 's brings something
16 ! With the opening of Luda 's near Sheepshead Bay Road, another food option has
17 Dushanbe is tucked into an area of Sheepshead Bay that is rapidly developing. Ac
18 this little shop on the corner of Sheepshead Bay Road and Shore Parkway. On my
19 this little gem of a hero shop on Sheepshead Bay Road in favor of the plethora
20 re Do not drive, take he subway to sheepshead bay and make a day of it by also g
21 rekked over an hour just to get to Sheepshead Bay to try this restaurant. We wer
22 op the experience when it comes to Sheepshead Bay. An absolutely disgusting, sub
23 But wait, my sister just moved to Sheepshead Bay!!!! Yeah!!! I really wanted to
24 t here is to take the B/Q train to sheepshead bay and get off on the Voorhies St
25 lute treasure! It is right next to Sheepshead Bay canal. The dÃfÃ©cor shows all
26 rprised to find this in the trashy Sheepshead Bay area, where there 's literally
27 restaurant we had dined in within Sheepshead Bay. It is definitely the first th
28 ted most of the restaurants within Sheepshead Bay, I was very familiar with what

Concordance C5.6: Concordances of *Sheepshead* in Sheepshead Bay sub-corpus of BK_Yelp.

N Concordance

1 by, it 's still good slice. Best neighborhood slice in sheepshead bay. Pepperon
2 own into an already crowded local neighborhood of restaurants and stores. Howeve
3 's Place is a very popular local neighborhood place that puts out some big port
4 d go at a local restaurant in our neighborhood (minus the below average serving
5 nd also happens to be the perfect neighborhood restaurant for a low-key one on o
6 ky to have this restaurant in the neighborhood ! Thank you Anthony! This is a ver
7 ive than you would expect for the neighborhood , but also has all the old favorit
8 ove the mom and pop feel with the neighborhood service. My only qualm is their h

9 sauce has changed. If I 'm in the **neighborhood** I will definitely stop by, it 's
10 or the next time. Everyone in the **neighborhood** knows that this is a classic, goo
11 s really unfair for others in the **neighborhood** . My family & will I 've been
12 first 30 years of my life in the **neighborhood** , I do n't live in Sheepshead Bay
13 roducts are still the best in the **neighborhood** 1/19 One bite, everyone knows the
14 o happy to have this place in the **neighborhood** . I went there with friends Friday
15 Mediterranean restaurants in the **neighborhood** . Well, shame on me. The glitz and
16 tirely. I was walking through the **neighborhood** , planning to look for something o
17 ve in Sheepshead Bay anymore. The **neighborhood** has changed and many of the place
18 ife 's grandparents lived in this **neighborhood** and she 's been here before. Walk
19 support such a nice guy and this **neighborhood** gem of a shop. Came in for lunch
Concordance C5.7: Concordances of *neighborhood* in Sheepshead Bay sub-corpus of BK_Yelp.

N Concordance

1 . Brennan & Carr has been a **Brooklyn** landmark since the 1930 's. They se
2 k. Finally checked out this classic **Brooklyn** staple. Unfortunately I was n't tha
3 is an excellent roast beef spot in **Brooklyn** . The roast beef is cooked perfectly
4 has the best roast beef sandwich in **Brooklyn** and it does. The lean meat is slice
5 really glad I found another gem in **Brooklyn** to satisfy my cravings! The best of
6 und out my lunch. Next time I am in **Brooklyn** I plan on a return visit to sample
7 s. This place is a must try when in **Brooklyn** . Fair prices too. Make sure to get
8 lling me one pie cost nearly \$29 in **Brooklyn** ? Really? I 'm all for supporting lo
9 best spot for pizza. BEST PIZZA IN **BROOKLYN** ! This has been my all time favorite
10 all around excellent restaurant in **Brooklyn** and one of the best yet. It 's real
11 ith all of the great pizza shops in **Brooklyn** , here is one that falls under the r
12 shioned traditional Italian food in **Brooklyn** . To be honest, there are n't a whol
13 e, Roll N Roaster is a must when in **Brooklyn** . It is the only one that exists in
14 some of the best sandwich spots in **Brooklyn** ! Like many over the years, I probab
15 excellent surprise to rediscover in **Brooklyn** ... nostalgic Brooklyn deli taste an
16 Island, recently started working in **Brooklyn** . Ordered take out from here for lun
17 hero. By far the best sandwiches in **Brooklyn** . A staple in Sheepshead bay. Terrif
18 Give this place a try if you are in **Brooklyn** ! Always delicious food and fast del
19 they do n't serve ketchup. This is **Brooklyn** ! I mean, Brennan & Carr did n't
20 rediscover in Brooklyn... nostalgic **Brooklyn** deli taste and flavors! It 's worth
21 restaurant located in the heart of **Brooklyn** . The food is made homestyle and it
22 and order the chicken cutlet parm.. **Brooklyn** Salute... Say hello to Victor... Yo
23 o so the other day on my way past **Brooklyn** , I decided to stop by . They were d
24 rty of 12 (from Manhattan, Queens, **Brooklyn** , and Long Island) trekked over an h
25 ing up to the outdoor window, it 's **Brooklyn** , all the way. You see the guys with
26 . Best pizzeria hands down in south **Brooklyn** . It 's always consistent, fresh, an
27 that this place is located in south **Brooklyn** . It 's so cute and perfect. This fa
28 of Turkish restaurants in southern **Brooklyn** . Opera is luckily enough the one wi
29 s worth visiting to experience this **Brooklyn** landmark. Oh, and if you like chees
30 ime favorite place since I moved to **brooklyn** . The crust is very tasty and its ni
Concordance C5.7: Concordances of *Brooklyn* in Sheepshead Bay sub-corpus of BK_Yelp.