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Neighborhood Transformation: The South Wedge

Exploring Gentrification and the Impacts of Displacement

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Abstract

Gentrification is a process that transforms declining urban neighborhoods into stable, desirable communities. Mid-size cities are experiencing gentrification as they look to revitalize the urban realm and there is concern of indirect displacement pressures through this process on existing lower-income residents. This research is a case study of the South Wedge neighborhood in Rochester, New York. The research explores the nature of gentrification in mid-size cities and the experiences of residents through the transformation, looking for policy implications as other cities and neighborhoods navigate this process.

The following is a mixed-methods approach of thirteen resident interviews along with data analysis of the census, housing sale prices, crime and assessment data and businesses over approximately ten to fifteen-year timeframe. Resident interviews were gathered through a snowball sampling method and every effort was made to achieve a spectrum of demographics. Unfortunately, due to limiting factors during the research phase, the low-income population is missing from this study.

The South Wedge neighborhood has experienced a high demand for residential housing, a spike in residential sale prices over a two-year period, and demographic shifts in income class, racial make-up, and total population indicating gentrification. The resident interviews showed a strong sense of community and place attachment as well as active participation in the community organizations. There appears to be some exclusionary displacement exhibited. The longevity and success of the community organizations can offer strong examples of approaches and future policies that may prove beneficial in other neighborhoods.

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I. Introduction

Gentrification is a term that can elicit strong implications, specific images of neighborhoods awash with coffee shops and high end luxury condos, and typically a vision of a whiter, wealthier population. It can be a divisive word when used in conversation, with some arguing for bettering neighborhoods and others arguing for consideration of the poor. Harlem, New York, Austin, Texas, Washington, D.C., and other large metropolitan cities come to mind as examples. An underlying question following the gentrification debate asks if one can bring a neighborhood back from decline without disrupting the community and displacing the disadvantaged. The gentrification debate also brings up the issue of what occurs in smaller cities in North America that do not have the benefits of some of the larger ones.

The South Wedge neighborhood in Rochester, New York is one such changing neighborhood. Over the last forty years, the South Wedge has made the transition from a crime-ridden neighborhood with a boarded-up commercial corridor and houses falling in from disrepair to a trendy, urban village with a strong commercial district, community atmosphere, and thriving neighborhood. Does this transformation fall within the bounds of gentrification? If this can be named gentrification, how has it affected the long-term residents?

This thesis investigates these questions in a case study exploring the transformation of the urban South Wedge neighborhood in Rochester, New York. Through a mixed-methods approach, the transformation is analyzed to determine if it fits the definition of gentrification as well as what impact this transformation has had on residents. The South Wedge neighborhood is a prime area to study as it has undergone dramatic changes. The South Wedge can offer a glimpse of any impacts on the residents from these changes and a platform for policy implications moving forward.

Gentrification can be defined in different ways: by race or income change, or through housing or cultural changes. The definition by which the South Wedge will be measured is through the in-migration of higher income residents and an increase in property values. These will be measured through available home sales data over time compared to the Rochester housing market and through census data looking at shifts and changes in the neighborhood over time. In looking at the impacts of transformation, the focus will be on displacement, both direct and indirect and on place attachment. Direct displacement is residents being forced out of their homes. Indirect displacement is observed as residents experience being displaced culturally, socially, politically, through sense of place, and housing exclusion while living in their gentrifying neighborhood. Place attachment speaks to the connection between people and places and is linked to experiences of indirect displacement. Resident interviews will provide detailed descriptions in which any displacement effects and residents' sense of place may be revealed and will provide the local viewpoints of the transformation of the South Wedge neighborhood.

II. Literature Review

Gentrification is a phenomenon in the life cycle of a neighborhood that revitalizes a declining urban area. The process of gentrification can be seen through the in-migration of higher-income residents into declining urban neighborhoods, thus increasing aggregate neighborhood income and changing its demographics (Griffith, 1995). Through in-migration, neighborhoods transform from low-value to high-value housing over time (Ehrenhalt 2015). The term has a number of definitions, all of which focus on the in-migration of higher-income residents into urban neighborhoods, shifting the demographics and improving the neighborhood. (Griffith, 1995, Freeman & Braconi, 2004, Freeman, 2005, Twigge-Molecey, 2014). The

benefits of gentrification are an infusion of higher income residents (Freeman, 2005; Griffith, 1995; Tach, 2009), a rehabilitated housing stock (Freeman, 2005; Griffith, 1995; Twigge-Molecey, 2014), growth in economic opportunities (McLean & Rahder, 2013; Newman & Wyly, 2006), and other amenities that benefit cities and residents. The majority of incumbent, low-income residents welcome gentrification since it increases the safety of their neighborhoods, brings better public maintenance by increased attention of the city, and other economic opportunities that arrive with gentrification (Newman & Wyly, 2005, Freeman 2006). Gentrification is typically argued to be market driven rather than something any one group initiates or interferes with (Howell, 2015; McClean & Rahder, 2013). The negative impacts of gentrification include direct displacement experienced in an immediate physical displacement as well as indirect displacement as experienced in the social, political, cultural, and long term housing realms. Gentrification is a process that transitions neighborhoods but is often perceived as negative due to the impacts of displacement felt by existing long-term lower-income residents.

Direct displacement refers to residents physically displaced from their homes and can more specifically be "as a result of housing demolition, ownership conversion of rental units, increased housing costs (rent, taxes), landlord harassment and evictions" (Newman & Wyly, 2005, p27). Another definition tracks a more general concept that "refers to instances of eviction of residents due to wider neighbourhood changes, such as gentrification or expropriations for mega-projects" (Twigge-Molecey, 2014, p2). These two definitions do not consider the timing of direct displacement. Direct displacement over a short period tends to be more prevalent in very large cities of approximately 600,000 people or more or where there are rapidly increasing property values, such as Harlem in New York City, or Washington D.C. These particular cities have specific characteristics that set them apart from the majority of cities nationwide, such as

being global cities with concentrated political and economic power, high housing prices, and the ability to channel economic pressures for housing development. Smaller cities outside of large metropolitan areas can still experience gentrification, typically at a slower pace, and a smaller scale. As Shaw & Hagemans explain, "All places change, of course. The key is the scale of change and the availability of alternatives. For low-income people who have fewer choices and less capacity to travel in order to shop and socialize, wholesale class transition with some residential exceptions (to which there may be few alternatives) can have significant impact" (2015, p.327).

Activists, advocates, and residents themselves are concerned that lower-income residents in up-and-coming urban neighborhoods will experience direct displacement as housing prices skyrocket seemingly overnight. There is growing evidence that in the majority of American and Canadian cities gentrification happens without rapid, immediate physical displacement on a large scale (Howell, 2015, Shaw & Hagemans, 2015). Freeman (2005) tracked direct displacement in gentrifying neighborhoods as compared to non-gentrifying neighborhoods in New York City. His calculations show only a modest correlation between direct displacement and gentrification, concluding "these empirical results provide little evidence that displacement is the engine of neighborhood change in gentrifying neighborhoods" (p. 483). His analysis supports the notion that the majority of gentrifying neighborhoods do not experience direct displacement. The reality in declining urban neighborhoods is the presence of a large number of vacant buildings or vacant land due to neglect and deteriorating conditions of the existing housing stock. Newcomers, when moving into these gentrifying neighborhoods, move into renovated vacant buildings or infill housing, which is newly built housing located on previously vacant plots, instead of directly displacing existing lower-income residents (Twigge-Molecey, 2014, p.2).

Indirect displacement focuses on the negative impacts felt by the existing long-term, typically lower-income residents of these gentrifying neighborhoods. "Displacement starts from a relational and socially constructed definition of place rather than the simple equation of place with location. If a place changes, feelings of displacement can be experienced" (Shaw & Hagemans, 2015, p.324). There is a smaller body of literature discussing indirect displacement, which is exhibited in a variety of forms: social displacement, political displacement, cultural displacement, and exclusionary displacement. Indirect displacement affects the long-term, lower-income residents in gentrifying neighborhoods who continue to live in their neighborhoods. These low-income residents experience indirect displacement by losing their political voice to the newcomers, the higher-income residents; losing their cultural amenities as the neighborhoods shift to cater to these newcomers; and by losing their social network as the existing ones are slowly displaced from their community.

Another variable at risk in gentrifying neighborhoods is residents' sense of place, place attachment, or place identity. Sense of place has a number of definitions rooted in a variety of fields of study. Sense of place, or place attachment, generally describes people's perceptions of and feelings towards their environment. It generally develops over time and refers to the bond between people and places (Cross, 2001, Twigge-Molecey, 2014). Place identity varies slightly as it describes "the incorporation of place into the larger concept of self" (Twigge-Molecey, 2014, p.5). Place identity can also refer to "changes in one's position in the neighbourhood structure" (Shaw & Hagemans, 2015, p.326). These two definitions of place identity are important components of sense of place, as they define a resident's identification with, as well as their relationship and attachment to, their neighborhood. This is seen both in a tangible, built environment context as well as a relational, or even spiritual, context.

Sense of place can incorporate a variety of relationships between people and their environment. Cross (2001) identifies two aspects within sense of place: one being relationship to place and the other being community attachment. Relationship to place refers to the, "ways that people relate to places, or the types of bonds we have with places" (Cross, 2001, p.2) and can be seen within the social, cultural, and political spheres that residents relate to their neighborhoods. Community attachment, on the other hand, refers to the "depth and types of attachments to one particular place" (Cross, 2001, p.2). Community attachment can also encompass residents' political and cultural relationship to their neighborhood. The loss of a sense of place to their neighborhoods can be a large component of this, as residents can experience a loss of stability, familiarity, and control in all types of indirect displacement.

A. Indirect Displacement

Indirect displacement is pervasive across a broad section of cities and is prevalent in the gentrifying neighborhoods of a wide variety of city sizes. In creating a deeper "understanding of displacement we can understand the experience of indirect displacement as losing access or no longer belonging to a neighbourhood; whereas the experience of direct displacement takes away 'home' itself" (Twigge-Molecey, 2014, p.5). Four different types of indirect displacement include social displacement, political displacement, cultural displacement, and exclusionary displacement.

1. Social Displacement

Social displacement, as defined by Twigge-Molecey, is seen in the connection of "the social relationships residents have in a particular place and the impact of gentrification upon those ties and networks" (2014, p.5). Working-class residents express a stronger place

attachment than middle-class residents and can thus experience stronger impacts from social displacement (Shaw & Hagemans, 2015, p.326). Newman & Wyly (2006) found a similar association wherein low-income and elderly residents tend to rely more heavily on a network within their neighborhood for support. Residents come to rely on these networks to provide the relational and community connection of looking out for one another: for example, by helping families in need of child care or elderly neighbors in need of assistance around the house. "On a basic level, knowing one's neighbor weaves the community members into one another's lives, adding an extra layer of protection, trust, and responsibility to the otherwise institutional protections of policing, governance, and committees" (Burke, 2010, p.90). The social network can be seen in the case study of Orchard Gardens in Boston, Massachusetts.

> The long-term residents tended to be actively involved on behalf of their community, attempting to maintain social control; … intervening when neighborhood children were misbehaving, trying to get to know the names of children and their parents, calling the police, or feeling that their neighbors were likely to do these things too (Tach, 2009, p.285).

The residents were invested in the lives of their neighbors, working to maintain their neighborhood for the betterment of everyone. These networks create a sense of community that coincides with residents' sense of place. A sense of community can be defined as revolving "around feelings of membership or belongingness to a group, including an emotional connection based on a shared history, as well as shared interests or concerns" (Manzo & Perkins, 2006, p.339). When these social networks are broken up by some residents moving out of the neighborhood, those residents that stay behind experience "deep changes in social structure (a transition from knowing others and being 'known' in a place, to becoming unknowing and 'unknown') … [which] can amount to a kind of community displacement" (Shaw & Hagemans, 2015, p.328). They may not have the resources to fill in for the gaps of childcare, transportation,

or general support and community left by their fractured community. As Newman and Wyly summarize: "Those who avoid these direct displacement pressures may benefit from neighbourhood improvements but may suffer as critical community networks and culture are displaced**"** (2006, p.27). Through social displacement, low-income residents lose their sense of belonging, sense of place, and sense of community to their neighborhoods and the loss of their social networks creates more struggles in their lives as they work, raise their children, and keep their families fed, clothed, and sheltered.

2. Political Displacement

Political displacement results "in either political disempowerment or, conversely, in political empowerment through access to new social capital" (Twigge-Molecey, 2014, p.6). Another accepted definition explains political displacement experienced when "Political control, in terms of leadership of neighborhood associations, in gentrifying communities often shifts from long-time residents to new residents" (Martin, 2007, p. 603). One case study of political displacement is the Over the Rhine neighborhood located in Cincinnati, Ohio. When the out-migration of Over the Rhine left the neighborhood to become a crime-filled ghetto, local activists stepped in to create the Over the Rhine People's Movement in the 1970s. The People's Movement provided much-needed services to the existing residents in the form of a homeless shelter and other organizations offering legal advice, tenant support, and a housing network. As the neighborhood still struggled with crime and blight, a Chamber of Commerce was formed in the mid-80s with a pro-business slant.

> Creating a new, pro-business institutional infrastructure has opened new forms of, and channels for, participation in the neighbourhood but this access is selective. Moreover, it comes at the expense of the established Community Council, negating a public space through which disenfranchised residents are politically represented. (Addie, 2009, p.544)

The political voice of the low-income residents through the People's Movement was discredited because they had not transformed the neighborhood, and was edged out by the Chamber of Commerce. The Chamber of Commerce failed to advocate for the low-income residents and instead focused more on business development. "Changes in local governance, in turn, appear to produce a sense of loss of control and stability" for residents (Shaw & Hagemans, 2015, p.339). This loss of stability can deprive low-income residents of their power and result in political displacement, which continues the slow erosion of the connection and sense of belonging to their neighborhood.

Another example is the Kensington Market neighborhood in Toronto, which saw stark political displacement as well. P.S. Kensington was an activist group created to celebrate community and fight the gentrification going on around them. They threw "Pedestrian Sundays," a street party, to celebrate the community within Kensington Market. P.S. Kensington had easy access to the city government, as the government provided active support for the Pedestrian Sunday events by closing the street down. The timing of P.S. Kensington's grassroots initiative lined up nicely with a City Works Department investigation into creating pedestrian zones. Another activist group in Kensington Market, Planning Action, shared that "Some community members expressed concern that the types of initiatives organized by P.S. Kensington might actually accelerate gentrification" (McLean & Rahder, 2013, p.98). Shaw & Hagemans (2015) explain, "Different groups engage available resources to appropriate spaces and adapt them as they can to their tastes and demands. The gentrifying middle classes are clearly better equipped than the earlier populations of gentrifying areas" (p.328). P.S. Kensington had much greater political sway for promoting neighborhood activities, as opposed to that of the incumbent community members. Their activities lined up with the City's goals,

leading to a positive and supportive relationship. "P.S. Kensington has not received City of Toronto funding since 2004, but because its interactive celebrations of community fit well with City development goals, the group continues to informally collaborate with municipal planners, City councillors, and BIA groups" (McLean & Rahder, 2013, p.100).

A final example of political displacement is found in the Shaw/U-Street neighborhood of Washington, D.C. The residents here saw a dramatic shift in political representation "as more upper-income residents moved into the area… the low-income faction's political power began slipping away" (Hyra, 2014, p.10). The low-incomes' political faction was a voice for existing residents to communicate their needs for their community with lawmakers. When the low-income residents' political voice is displaced due to the arrival of newcomers, the low-income residents lose a strong path of advocacy for the needs of their community. As these examples show, the low-income residents lost the voice of their neighborhood which, as discussed next, activates other forms of indirect displacement.

3. Cultural Displacement

Culture goes beyond the arts and customs of particular groups of people. Culture "is about people sharing value-based ideals that inform their participation in their geographical communities and communities of interest" (Sarkissian, Hoffer, Shore, Vajda, & Wilkinson, 2009, p.26). Culture is connected to both the built environment and the relational, interpersonal and spiritual environment. "What is valued culturally is socially determined, and the strengthening of cultural capital will largely depend upon the strength of social capital" (Callaghan & Colton, 2008, p.936). The relationships and values within a neighborhood affect the use of public space and the business corridor and are affected by character of the community.

As newcomers enter a neighborhood, the character shifts and the relationships and values change.

Several case studies identify specific changes in the gentrifying neighborhoods of low-income residents. These changes have a central theme of cultural displacement. This third form of displacement, cultural displacement, is seen "when the norms, behaviours and values of the new resident cohort dominate and prevail over the tastes and preferences of long-term residents" (Hyra, 2015, p. 1754). Cultural displacement can also be defined similarly as gentrifiers "tend to try to refashion the neighborhood in their image," which can result in tension and conflict between gentrifiers and incumbent residents (Twigge-Molecey 2014, p.5). Its typical manifestations are

> "changes in urban form, shifts in neighbourhood service provision or changes in neighbourhood use and appropriation. It may be experienced by incumbent residents in a number of ways including economic and cultural exclusion, inconvenience resulting from commercial service displacement, or conversely, appreciation of new local services; it may also affect levels of comfort in neighbourhood public spaces" (Twigge-Molecey 2014, p.5).

In reviewing the case studies, these expressions of cultural displacement can be observed repeatedly. Table 1 shows the presence of cultural displacement in its varying expressions: culture clash, retail amenities, and public space. Some neighborhoods experience the whole gambit of cultural displacement through clashes between existing residents and newcomers, the change in retail establishments, and change in use of public spaces, i.e. the installation of dog parks and bike lanes, while others experience only the transformation of the retail sector. These three expressions capture the breadth of displacement as it impacts many facets of everyday life. When low-income residents are focused on meeting day-to-day needs, these impacts have long-lasting effects. The authors in the table identify the phenomenon of cultural displacement through the various forms cultural displacement takes.

Table 1: Presentations of Cultural Displacement Experiences in Urban Neighborhoods

Case Study City	Culture Clash	Retail	Public Spaces	Authors
Montreal, QC	x	x	x	Twigge-Molecey, 2014
New York City, NY		x		Newman & Wyly, 2006
Austin, TX		x		Henneberger, 2015
Toronto, ON	x	x	x	McLean & Rahder, 2013
Washington, DC		x		Wogan, 2015
Washington, DC	x	x	x	Hyra, 2014

Culture clash occurs when newcomers have desires and ideas of what their neighborhood should look like and bring in their cultural values along with these desires. "There is little doubt that the middle classes, by virtue of their higher economic, social, and cultural capital, support higher-quality shops and services in their neighbourhood, successfully lobby for landscape and infrastructure upgrades and attract public investment to the area" (Shaw & Hagemans, 2015, p.325). The differing values and the influence the middle class introduces into the neighborhood typically clash with the long-term residents' vision, needs, and established cultural values within their neighborhood.

One example in Toronto, Ontario, is when a younger community group, P.S. Kensington, held monthly street parties that "re-inscribed existing power imbalance by privileging certain types of people and certain types of consumption in the process" (McLean & Rahdar, 2013, p.103). These trendy and strategically selective street parties actually intensified gentrification

by appealing to the visitors who came to the parties, thus widening the gap between the low-income locals and those in the neighborhood who identified with P.S. Kensington as well as newcomers drawn to the neighborhood by this organization. With certain types of culture clash, the increased investment after newcomers come to the neighborhood can be perceived as preferential treatment, as seen with the Kensington Market case study (McLean & Rahder, 2013, p.103). Giving increased power to a particular group of people underscores inequality, which divides communities and separates people. This creates the expectation that one group's cultural values are more important than another, keeping the newcomers separate from the existing residents (Hyra, 2013, p.126). This discourages older residents and newcomers from coming together to create and celebrate their diverse and united community.

As shown in Table 1, one of the most common forms of cultural displacement as found in the case studies occurs as cultural amenities shift when newcomers impose their values and desires in their new neighborhoods without consideration of the existing culture and needs of the community. This leads to the loss of access to services and retail stores and loss of identification with the community for low-income residents.

4. Exclusionary Displacement

Finally, exclusionary displacement, often referred to as housing, housing market, or collective displacement, happens when "areas become inaccessible to low- and modest-income households as competition from higher income groups pushes prices beyond their reach" (Twigge-Molecey, 2014, p.6). This differs from direct displacement in that it happens over a longer time frame in a neighborhood and affects new lower-income residents who are unable to move into a neighborhood alongside higher-income newcomers, as opposed to direct displacement, which forces lower-income residents out. Due to increased attention and interest

by newcomers, the evolution of the housing options increases house and rental prices above lower-income residents' means. The literature does not provide a specific time frame for either direct or exclusionary displacement. Where direct displacement tends to take place in a matter of a few years (less than five), the research suggests that exclusionary displacement can happen over a longer time frame. For the purposes of this research, I will focus on five or more years as the threshold for evidence of exclusionary displacement.

Exclusionary displacement hurts existing lower-income residents who may have to switch apartments and can find no other affordable, comparable rentals in the neighborhood where they find their community. As Marcuse explains it,

> A normal movement of households occurs in any housing market within any neighborhood. When one household vacates a housing unit voluntarily and that unit is then gentrified or abandoned so that another similar household is prevented from moving in, the number of units available to the second household in that housing market is reduced. The second household, therefore, is excluded from living where it would otherwise have lived (1985, p.206).

This is a clear example of exclusionary displacement. As higher-income residents continue to move into a gentrifying neighborhood, the lower-income residents experience a reduction of affordable housing options and a loss of the ability to move within their neighborhood.

Exclusionary displacement can be seen in the Saint Henri neighborhood within Montreal, as the low-income residents' "friends and family who had left the neighbourhood and wished to return, had no option but to put their names on public housing lists and hope for the best" (Twigge-Molecey, 2014, p.16). The low-income residents lost their ability to choose the neighborhood due to financial constraints as the market, over time, rose above their means.

Durham and Sheldon (1986) argue that the revitalization of the housing stock by middle- and higher-income newcomers increases demand for housing. This increase "makes it harder for

a displaced tenant to find affordable shelter. Low rent units have not generally been as profitable as higher rent units" (p. 10) for landlords. This decrease in low-rental supply makes it difficult for low-income residents as rentals are converted to market-rate housing for the higher-income earning newcomers. In Pittsburgh, Grant (2013) quotes Ernie Hogan, an executive director of Pittsburgh Community Reinvestment Group, who argues that, "most low-income families' incomes do not rise in correlation to the increased rents and real estate taxes, so they end up having to leave because they can no longer afford to live there" (p.2). It is in this way that low-income residents who have called these neighborhoods home are excluded from moving to similar units and staying in their neighborhood. They are displaced by the revitalization and gentrification of their neighborhood.

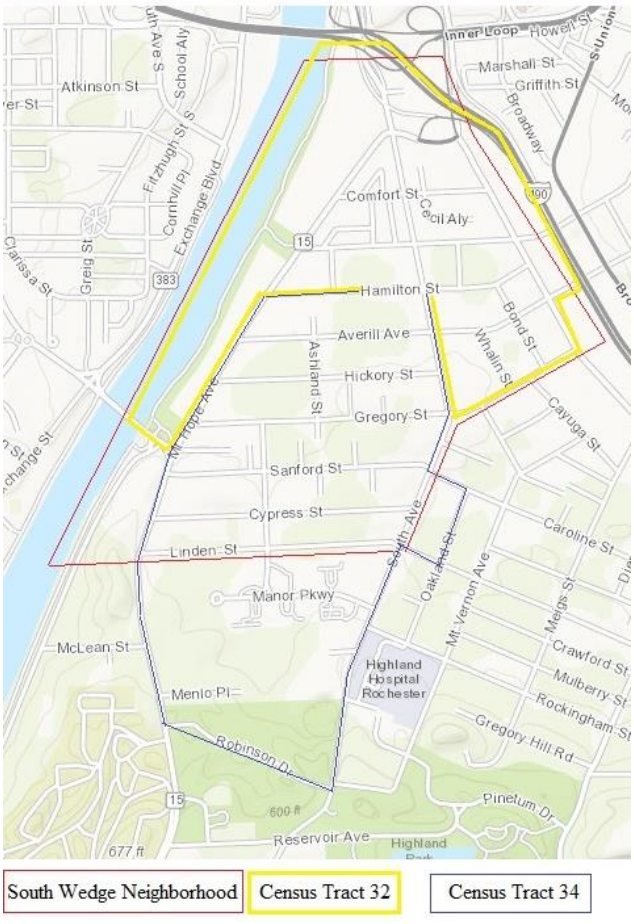
B. South Wedge History

The City of Rochester is a representational mid-sized city in western New York often described as a Rust Belt city in a post-industrialized world. There are many things that set Rochester apart, such as its rich cultural centers, many schools of higher education, and a historic and rich business sector that includes Kodak, Xerox, Wegmans, and Bausch and Lomb among others. Taking a step back, Rochester has many traits similar to mid-size cities across the country. Rochester, along with many other cities, experienced a massive residential flight to the suburbs in the 1950s and 1960s, opening many urban neighborhoods to decline. Rochester is among the many mid-size cities of the northeast and midwest that suffer from post-industrialization as manufacturing has long been leaving the cities. It also is among the many similarly-sized cities experiencing a shrinking city center.

Within the City of Rochester, there are neighborhoods that cover the spectrum, from depressed neighborhoods experiencing crime, disinvestment, and poor housing conditions to

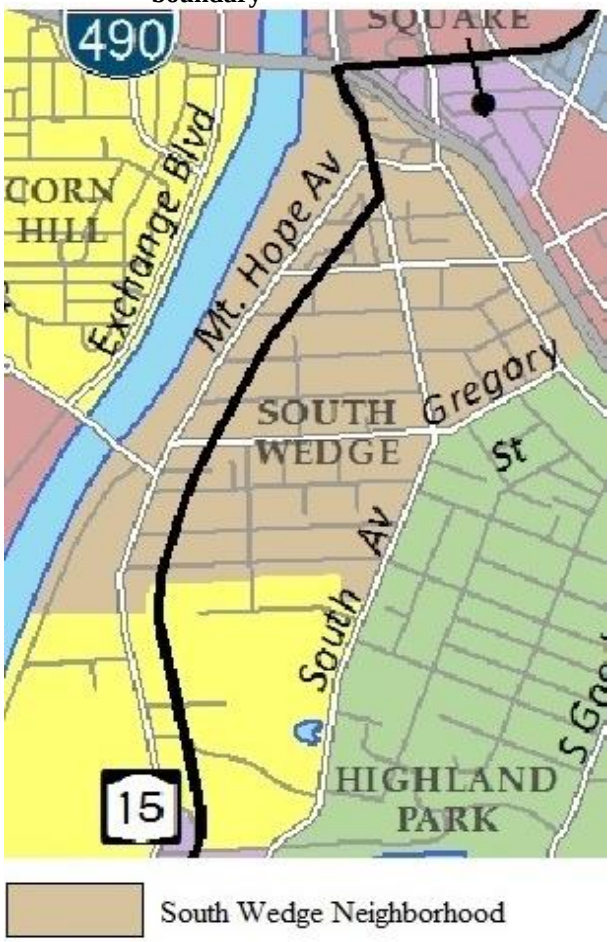
high priced neighborhoods with large immaculate houses, strong commercial corridors, and considerable investment. The different neighborhoods have experienced various changes. The South Wedge neighborhood is a neighborhood that has turned around from a declining neighborhood. This neighborhood was selected for the case study because of this change.

Figure 1: The South Wedge neighborhood and its census tracts



Map retrieved from National Geographic

Figure 2: The South Wedge neighborhood city boundary



Map retrieved from the City of Rochester

The South Wedge neighborhood started as camps of Irish immigrant workers formed along the Erie Canal in 1819, located in the northern portion of the current South Avenue. The South Wedge neighborhood grew in the 1830s and 1840s down to Sanford Street (O'Keefe, 2005). It was composed of mostly working-class people, "including skilled artisans, laborers, salesmen, and clerks" (SWPC pamphlet). According to one informant, in the early 1900s, the

South Wedge saw many people of German descent settle there. Notable abolitionist Fredrick Douglass and his family moved to the area in 1852 ("South Wedge Area Businesses & Restaurants" pamphlet, 2013). The neighborhood continued to develop and expand. Zoning practices were implemented, which created more structure as residential buildings continued to be built south of Sanford Street.

In the late 1960s, the South Wedge neighborhood had become depressed. The neighborhood experienced an increase of vacant residential and commercial buildings, structural decay, and crime during the 1970s and into the 1980s. The exact timing is unclear, but the South Wedge was on the docket to receive a proposed expressway carving a path through the neighborhood. Around this same time, a committed subset of neighborhood residents came together to take matters into their own hands, creating the South Wedge Planning Committee (Democrat & Chronicle 1968-1980, Times Union, 1968-1981). Change can be seen throughout the South Wedge over the past thirty to forty years in two stages of transformation.

The early 1970s through the 1990s encompasses the first stage of transformation. This stage begins when the neighborhood was at its lowest. The South Wedge experienced the flight of middle-class white residents to the suburbs, similar to other neighborhoods in Rochester and major cities across the country. This neighborhood also was on the brink of being demolished in favor of expanding expressways through Rochester, with Interstate 390 proposed to roughly follow Clinton Avenue south through the city. Newspaper articles from the 1970s document a neighborhood with 200 vacant homes, 690 rentals and 202 owner-occupied houses (Lovely, D. 1972). The data sources used for the articles are unclear. Current boundaries for the South Wedge estimate roughly 2,400 housing units total (U.S. Census 2010). Another source cites one third of the homes were boarded up, with roughly 85% vacancies along the business corridor

(Non-resident informant). There were pockets of homeowners maintaining their properties but there was also extensive, overall deterioration of the housing stock. Houses were, quite literally, falling down. Articles also report that crime and open-air drug markets were rampant in the crumbling neighborhood.

Through this first stage, neighbors came together to create organizations advocating for assistance to stabilize the deteriorating conditions in the South Wedge. The organization started assessing the neighborhood houses and getting residents involved. Through a dedicated critical mass of residents, numerous grass-roots community organizations sprang up around the various needs of the South Wedge to breathe new life into the neighborhood. They focused on preservation efforts of historical houses, marketing plans, commercial façade improvements, community engagement, and other incremental changes to stabilize the neighborhood. A 1982 newspaper article notes the neighborhood "has been bouncing back," citing new roads, curbs, and signs of rehabilitation (Polmenteer, 1982, p.7). At the same time, large, rundown buildings continued to plague the neighborhood, like the "Green Monster" on South Avenue, a deteriorating set of buildings where rehabilitation efforts had stalled as the building became entangled in red tape (Jacobson, 1981). Just as efforts had renewed, the buildings had a fire and were torn down quickly afterwards.

The second stage of changes in the South Wedge can be seen from the late 1990s through the present day. The tone of the neighborhood shifts from focusing on pulling it back from the brink of decay, stabilization, and safety, to focusing on growth and continuing to build the identity of the South Wedge. Development opportunities began to grow with a grocery store being proposed in 1994 just outside the boundary of the South Wedge, and Rite Aid looking to develop a store in the neighborhood. SWPC held a "Taste of the Town" festival to promote area

restaurants in 1995, and a variety of festivals have come and gone since that time. In 2000, there was a subcommittee formed to focus on improving the parks in the neighborhood. This stage is characterized by mounting attention to the changes happening in the neighborhood. The city invested the funds to clean up a brownfield property within the South Wedge in 2003.

River Park Commons was built in 1974 comprising a high-rise building and a handful of low-rise structures. As time went on, it experienced disrepair and was poorly managed, having been in bankruptcy for more than 10 years at the point of its sale in 2004 (Democrat & Chronicle, 2008). During this time, the low-rise buildings had almost 50% vacancy. One resident remembers the South Wedge neighborhood being identified by "the projects," River Park Commons. Once sold, the high-rise building was renovated into The Hamilton, consisting of approximately 200 units of 100% affordable housing with all upgrades happening without physically displacing residents. The low-rise structures of 200 affordable housing units were demolitions with approximately 100 units built in their place. These new low-rise units, named Erie Harbor, are mixed-income housing with 80% listed as market rate units and 20% reserved under affordable housing prices.

The neighborhood organization continues to focus on improving the housing conditions, challenging the development of a parking garage, citing concerns on its social, visual, and traffic impact on the neighborhood, and promoting community engagement. The business association incorporated in 2003 to become its own entity and, from that point on, has continued to organize many community events, offer support to incoming small businesses, and promote the South Wedge neighborhood. The tone and perception has shifted as outsiders are drawn to events, the neighborhood, and the shopping district. In 2006, Lamothe quoted a local businessman, saying, "Everyone always says the South Wedge is up and coming, but we're here to say it's already up

and we're hoping people who don't usually come across the expressway experience something new" (Lamothe, 2006). Other newspaper articles use the phrases "urban village," "funky enclave," or "trendy" when describing the neighborhood, suggesting an inviting and welcoming impression.

III. Methods

The mixed-methods selected for this case study are chosen to replicate, in part, the methodology of Amy Twigge-Molecey's 2014 case study of the Saint Henri neighborhood in Montreal, Quebec. These include the use of interviews, a census analysis, and an analysis of changes in the commercial sector. In addition to the methods used by Twigge-Molecey, I also conducted an analysis on the residential housing market prices over a fourteen-year period, an analysis of the city housing assessment data, conducted every four years, covering a twenty-year period, and an analysis of crime data within the City of Rochester from 2011-2016. The methods were selected as key instruments in answering the research questions as to whether gentrification has taken place in the South Wedge neighborhood and whether displacement has impacted residents in the South Wedge neighborhood.

A. *Case Study Critique*

The case study of the Saint Henri neighborhood is compelling to replicate due to the focus on indirect displacement in a neighborhood where massive development and skyrocketing housing prices did not occur (Twigge-Molecey, 2014). This neighborhood experienced mostly "new-build gentrification" which is defined as either "infill development or the creation of whole new neighbourhoods on brownfield sites. Since such developments create additional rather than rehabilitate existing housing units, developers and municipal governments alike claim that

displacement will not occur" (Twigge-Molecey, 2014, p.3). The Saint Henri neighborhood of Montreal and the South Wedge neighborhood of Rochester share many similarities that make Twigge-Molecey's study a prime choice for replication. These similarities include a history of being a working-class neighborhood with industrial development along the waterfront in the late 1800s. Both neighborhoods experienced continuous population decline and unemployment due to deindustrialization, and both have histories of strong citizen activism and opposition to development that threatens the needs of the community. Also, they have each experienced an uneven distribution of investment and development. The South Wedge comprises two census tracts. The southern tract experiences a stronger housing market due to the proximity to the upscale Highland Park neighborhood; whereas the northern tract, up until 2008, had a very imposing low-income public housing complex and is cut off by an expressway on the east side and the river on the west side. Both neighborhoods also exhibit a unique social and cultural life which facilitates place identity.

Despite these similarities, there are some important differences. Saint Henri historically is characterized by relative social homogeneity and was much bigger with a population of 14,802 in 2006. By comparison, using available data from a similar time frame of 2010, the South Wedge had a population of 4,333, much smaller than the Saint Henri neighborhood. The Saint Henri neighborhood also experienced significant new-build development on a scale larger than the South Wedge, though specific numbers are not available.

Twigge-Molecey used interviews, census analysis, and an analysis of the commercial transformation within the neighborhood over time. The central method to her research was resident interviews. She conducted twenty-nine semi-structured interviews with renters who had been living in the neighborhood for five or more years. Her initial sample was limited to private

renters. Her initial analysis showed this population could be characterized as marginal gentrifiers, which "refers to highly educated but precariously-employed professionals with modest or moderate incomes" (Twigge-Molecey, 2014, p.6). With this discovery, she expanded her sample, on the suggestion of community stakeholders, to include residents of social housing, which is affordable rental housing subsidized by the government. The longer-term, lower-income residents of the Saint Henri neighborhood typically live in social housing. By including the social housing, her interviews provide a broader base of individuals experiencing neighborhood changes. The majority of her interviewees were white and lower-income. Of her total interviewee pool, 50% had an income of $20,000 or less.

She also conducted a descriptive analysis of the census at the beginning and end of a ten-year period for the neighborhood looking for the degree and type of gentrification occurring in this neighborhood. Additionally, she performed an inventory of commercial service provisions on the main business districts in the neighborhood at the beginning and end of a fifteen-year period to document the changes in retail services. She used these methods in various combinations for each of the four subsets of indirect displacement.

Twigge-Molecey's findings suggest that social displacement occurred in Saint Henri due to the fragmentation of residents' social networks. The fragmenting of social networks had many causes specific to Saint Henri. The social displacement documented suggests that, regardless of the cause for acquaintances moving out, it is "through the dilution of networks of locally-based weak ties [acquaintances]" (Twigge-Molecey, 2014, p.10) that social displacement is felt.

Her research did not reveal any political displacement. She attributes this to the way the neighborhood was marketed to newcomers. Quoting an interviewee's experience with a realtor,

the appeal of the new housing was explained as, "What is fun here is that you have the advantage of the canal, but you are backed onto the neighbourhood, so you do not need to be involved" (Twigge-Molecey, 2014, p.15). Twigge-Molecey did not offer additional evidence to further support the lack of involvement by the newcomers, only to note that political displacement was not present in this neighborhood at the time of the study.

Three areas of cultural displacement were explored: retail services, public spaces, and a shifting sense of place. First, her findings indicate that the greatest increase in retail services were experienced in the corporate chains and entrepreneurial stores, which she classifies as services targeted at the higher-income newcomers. She also suggests that, due to the simultaneous decrease in vacant businesses, these new businesses were not displacing existing local businesses. A deeper investigation may have revealed stronger conclusions. The qualitative data from resident interviews showed a shifting sense of place through the changes in the retail corridor. Long-term residents struggled emotionally with the loss of a local small-scale grocery that was replaced by a new boutique-style grocery exhibiting higher prices. The changes documented by her research hold significance, though there was less clear and definitive evidence to draw substantial conclusions.

Secondly, cultural displacement through the public space showed similar evidence of tension between appreciating the improvements in the public realm and displaying conflict between newcomers and existing residents. This creates an observable but not definitive trend of cultural displacement. There was mixed response to the park improvements; some residents felt insulted that the improvements came only after affluent residents moved in, while other residents appreciated the opportunity in the new dog park to mix diverse dog breeds and subsequently socialize with new and existing residents. Lower-income residents often experience such tension

as their neighborhoods start to improve. The addition and improvements to public space can change existing residents' sense of place and place attachment with their neighborhood. Twigge-Molecey does not draw any specific conclusions about the presence of cultural displacement through public space improvements.

Thirdly, her findings on shifting sense of place reveals that "such competing 'sense(s) of place' [as experienced in the Saint Henri neighborhood] have been found elsewhere and constitute evidence of cultural displacement" (Twigge-Molecey, 2014, p.14). Existing residents experienced social separation and division through culture clashes with newcomers. Those residents who were actively engaged in advocating and directing the growth of the neighborhood had stronger place attachment and place identity, thus experiencing cultural displacement more powerfully. Again, while the evidence does not provide a clear, definitive conclusion, the experiences of residents supported by quantitative data, where applicable, point to a significant relationship being present.

The final subset of indirect displacement, exclusionary displacement, speaks to the experience of losing access to the neighborhood in housing options versus actually losing "home" itself, which is direct displacement. Twigge-Molecey draws the conclusion that "whether long-term residents leave voluntarily or not, gentrification foreclosed the option to return" (2014, p.16).

The nature of indirect displacement is difficult to trace due to the individual experiences of residents in neighborhoods. Her methods are general enough to replicate and comparable to methods used in other case studies found in the literature review, suggesting they are strong methods for measuring the various types of displacement experienced in gentrifying

neighborhoods. Overall, her case study is thorough and provides a compelling basis to investigate other cities' experiences with "new-build gentrification."

B. Original Research

The research methods used for the case study of the South Wedge consisted of conducting interviews with residents and non-resident stakeholders, analyzing census data, City of Rochester crime data, housing assessment data, and residential sales over time, and reviewing the commercial corridor over time. Available newspaper articles from the Rochester Central Library Local History section and the Democrat & Chronicle archives from 1968 through 2015 were also reviewed to gain a sense of the mood, tone, and history of the last forty to fifty years.

Initially, a literature review was conducted to provide a foundation of understanding on gentrification, displacement, and sense of place. Within the literature were a number of case studies of various circumstances of gentrification and displacement. The articles and books were gathered in a snowball sample using reference lists and similar search terms to supplement and expand the understanding. The literature review also offered a road map that the research has taken: from the starting point around gentrification and the concern over direct displacement, to an exploration of whether or not direct displacement was occurring, to the more current question of what happens and is experienced by residents who are not directly displaced but may experience indirect displacement. This created a platform to use when looking at the case study neighborhood of the South Wedge and to create guides for analyzing resident experiences and changes in data sets.

The research process continued by gaining an understanding of what has taken place in the South Wedge neighborhood over time: the starting condition of the neighborhood, who was

involved in the changes going on, and the time frame for these changes. Looking for a comprehensive history of the neighborhood turned up no singular sources. There were different sources that provided snippets of information establishing an understanding of what shaped the South Wedge. Newspaper archives provided a snapshot of various organizations, events, causes, and a general tone towards the neighborhood.

In addition to a written history, a conversation was conducted with two urban planners with the City of Rochester. They answered questions, helped facilitate data, and provided a basic perspective as planners when looking at cities, revitalization, and gentrification. Stakeholders were also identified as important contacts regarding the neighborhood. From a number of interview requests sent, six key non-resident stakeholders involved in the advocacy, activism, and development of the neighborhood were interviewed to help shape the general outline provided by the newspaper articles, and fill in details and relationships working together for the neighborhood. These interviews were structured to gather background on the establishment, involvement, and production of the organizations with which each stakeholder was involved. These interviews also provided perspectives on the neighborhood involvement and process as it changed over time.

The interviews with various community organization stakeholders helped establish connections to neighborhood residents for the resident interviews. Overlap did occur as some active community organizers, who had a strong presence in shaping change in the South Wedge, also resided within the neighborhood and, as such, were interviewed using the resident interview guide. Attempts were made throughout the research process to obtain as much variety in the sampling of residents as possible. Contacts were made with local pastors for resident referrals. Some contacts did not respond, which could be due to email filtering or incorrect contact

information. The specific bounds of the South Wedge neighborhood were more rigid than the residents who identified and participated in the South Wedge area. Some contacts were made prior to establishing where they lived. Although unable to be interviewed, they were willing and helpful to refer me to a friend or contact within the neighborhood. All referrals were received with the intention to follow up with each new resident. In some cases, no further contact was made as there were time constraints.

Thirteen interviews were conducted with residents through a snowball sampling. The initial residents were identified through the stakeholder interviews with persons familiar and known in the South Wedge neighborhood. At the conclusion of each stakeholder interview and each resident interview, I asked the interviewee if they knew of anyone that might be someone I should speak with considering the information discussed in the interview. Most interviewees provided a couple of names and assisted with making a connection to the next potential resident. From the demographics gathered at each resident interview and the basic information provided for the next contact, I was intentional to reach out to the residents that offered some demographic diversity.

All resident interviews were identically structured, following the same interview guide, with some deviance in response to the flow of conversation and experiences of residents. This structure allowed for data comparisons to be made. The interview guide used was approved by the Rochester Institute of Technology Institutional Review Board, shown in Figure 1. Residents were asked to sign an informed consent form, giving their permission to use their experiences in this research. The document also included contact information for the Human Studies Research Office if residents had any questions or concerns. These interviews were conducted at times and

locations most convenient to each resident. The majority of residents opened their homes to me for the interviews. Each interview also was recorded with permission of the interviewee.

Figure 3: Resident Interview Guide

- What is your favorite part of your neighborhood?
- Why did you choose to move to the South Wedge?
- How long have you lived in the South Wedge?
- Have you moved around within the time you've lived in the South Wedge?
    - If Yes – How was your experience finding different housing in the neighborhood?
    - If No – Where did you live before?
- Do you have friends and family in the neighborhood?
    - Roughly how long have they lived in the neighborhood?
- What is your interaction with or relationship to your street/block/neighbors?
    - Do you feel like you can rely on your neighbors?
    - Do you have a community/network in your neighborhood?
- Have you noticed change in the South Wedge over the last 15 years or as long as you've lived here?
    - If so, what kind/how?
    - How have you responded to the changes you've seen? Have they affected you at all?
- Has the Erie Harbor development affected your connection to your community/neighborhood?
- Has Erie Harbor changed your interaction with the river?
- Do you shop in the South Wedge? Has this changed over the last 10-15 years?
- How do you use the parks and river front in the South Wedge?
- Do you feel comfortable in the commercial sections of the Wedge?
- What has your experiences been with any of the Boulder Fests, Wedgefest, Beer Expo, or other South Wedge activities?
- Are you involved in your neighborhood?
- Are you involved in the South Wedge as a community? What organizations?
- What differences have you seen come from your involvement?
- How have you seen an impact from this involvement?
- Do you feel heard in your neighborhood and in the South Wedge?
- What is your ideal community?
- What is a favorite memory of your neighborhood?

The sample ended up being composed of only homeowners. The majority of respondents were white, with 62% being female. Half of the respondents were retirement age or older. Almost half have lived in the neighborhood for twenty-five years or more, with the median number of years living in the neighborhood being seventeen. Four of the thirteen residents have purchased their house within the last ten years. Not all residents provided education data, but eleven of the thirteen reported at least some college education. Only seven residents provided

income data; of those four were between $60,000 and $90,000. The overall income range of those reported spanned $35,000 to above $120,000. The analysis of the interview content is in the following section.

Simultaneously with the interviews, demographic data was gathered through the United States Census website, residential sales data from the Greater Rochester Association of Realtors, crime data through the City of Rochester website, and Rochester assessment data coordinated through the City of Rochester planning department. Demographic information was selected based on the variables used as indicators of gentrification. Population size, racial makeup, age, homeownership, income levels, and education levels were gathered as these groups were noted as key identifiers of possible gentrification. Using the 2000 and 2010 census years, the data was compared to track the differentials and trends between the years.

Residential sales data was processed to provide an average price per square foot per year. An average price per square foot helps to account for the differential in residential properties sold each year. There are a number of variables affecting the sale price of the home, namely condition, size, number of bedrooms and bathrooms, lot size, and more. The effect house conditions have on the sale price is important to note. The number of homes in poor condition would be reflected in lower house prices both from the specific house being sold and the influence of the condition of the surrounding neighborhood. Realtors use recent home sales of comparable size and condition to select the sale price of new homes coming on the market. As a neighborhood is up and coming, the condition of homes start to improve, which is reflected in the overall sale prices. As homes are fixed up, there are fewer homes of poor condition reflecting an overall slight increase in sale prices. This demonstrates a shift in the neighborhood,

which is important because as the housing stock starts to improve, that changes the perception of the neighborhood and it can start to attract more gentrifiers.

Square footage tends to have a large influence on the price of the home. In trying to get as representative an average as possible, the sale price was divided by the square footage for each home sold in each year. An average was then taken of all the prices per square foot for that year to get an average price per square foot for the South Wedge. This was then plotted against the average price per square foot for the entire City of Rochester. The residential sales data and assessment data were processed the same way. Both data sets were kept in nominal dollar amounts as the national inflation calculators do not reflect the nuance of the local market. The assessment data was analyzed both through the price per square foot change as well as the percent change in comparison to the City of Rochester.

The City of Rochester provides public, searchable crime data through a third party website, crimereports.com. The dataset had intermittent data reportedly from 1899 through 2016 on the entire City of Rochester. The data was sorted by zip code and then manually sorted by street name and block group. The boundaries of the South Wedge are broken down to the specific house number, while the crime data was broken down per 100 house block. Each road that extended outside of the South Wedge boundaries was rounded up or down, depending on the house number. Some of the data present from the website had street names but no zip codes. These were manually sorted, looking for specific street names within the South Wedge.

Once the data was sorted, the reported incidents were sorted by date. Prior to July of 2011, the data looked to be intermittently reported and not an exhaustive report. Data from July 2011 through to June of 2016 was used and each year broken into 6-month increments to maximize the available data. The data was also sorted by reported incidents north of and

including Averill Avenue and reported incidents south of Averill Avenue. This additional step was taken based off of a newcomer interviewee's experience of being warned not to purchase too far north in the neighborhood. The data was graphed base on over-all reported incidents by 6-month increments and by over-all reported incidents by 6-month increments north and south of Averill Avenue.

Research was conducted in the Local History department of Rochester's Central Library for any available archives on the South Wedge neighborhood. This search revealed documents promoting the businesses of the South Wedge and South East area in a variety of years. Three business directories published by the South Wedge Planning Committee (SWPC) for the South East were on record from 1995, 1996, and 1998. The 1995 and 1998 directories were selected to be cataloged and compared against existing business operations. Each directory was manually read and all businesses within specific address boundaries of the South Wedge were cataloged for later comparison. Businesses with multiple functions appeared more than once in the directory and were categorized by the overarching business type. The Business Association of the South Wedge Area (BASWA) published a "South Wedge Area Businesses & Restaurants" pamphlet in 2013 advertising the neighborhood. This pamphlet provided a condensed comprehensive listing of all businesses in operation in the South Wedge neighborhood at that time. This particular directory, in addition to the businesses, churches, and other institutions, also highlights the parks and greenspaces available in the South Wedge area. The pamphlet was also manually categorized for later comparison.

The final data set for comparison was retrieved from southwedge.com, BASWA's website and up-to-date directory. The website provided a variety of categories for businesses. The site was manually analyzed and the businesses categorized and compiled along with data

from the other three years. The business categories were generalized to create a broader grouping for visible trends. Professional Services include businesses such as attorneys, architects, and collection agencies, as well as event planners, news distributors, and a funeral home. Residential Services consist of sewing centers, security companies, and carpet cleaners, and Arts & Entertainment covers the Historic German House, swing dancing companies, and art and music stores. Basic Services include dry cleaners and laundromats, whereas Luxury Services include yoga studios and massage parlors. From there the businesses were tallied by category and year and plotted in a bar graph (Graph 15).

C. Interview Analysis

The interviews were transcribed and then reviewed and coded to pull out common themes. Each interview was highlighted using four color codes to identify the four different categories covered in the interview guide: housing, culture as experienced in the businesses and public spaces, participation in community organizations, and social networks. From there, the coded passages were organized into a chart based on the four overarching categories. As the coded passaged were entered into each category, themes emerged from specific topics brought up by multiple residents. The themes used in the coding are as follows in Table 2 by the four categories and each theme.

Table 2: Coding Themes

Social – making friends	Culture – BASWA
Social – everybody helps everybody	Culture – shopping demographics
Social – changing demographics	Culture – comfortable in parks
Social – healthy community	Culture – use of parks
Social – safety	Culture - walkability
Culture – availability of stores	Culture – river
Culture – type of stores	Desirability of neighborhood

Culture –grocery store/ farmer's market	
Housing availability	Housing – Erie Harbor
Housing – number of rentals	Political – block clubs
Housing – rental prices	Political – activism on issues
Housing – owners vs. renters	Political – pull together to make changes
Housing – renters wanting to become owners	Political – takes a lot of hard work
Housing direction	Political – support of the city
Housing – displaced	Political – not an activist
Housing improvements	Political – old mentality vs. new

Coded resident responses were grouped under each theme in each category. Some residents mentioned the same theme in different context and were entered more than once in each theme. Table 3 shows the themes by category with the number of responses pertaining to each theme. Some categories had significantly more responses than others. All the themes encompass the experience of residents, both common and individual in nature.

Table 3: Interview Coding and Number of Comments

Social - making friends	17 Comments	Cultural - sense of place	8 Comments	Housing - owners vs. rentals	8 Comments
Social - everybody helps everybody	13 Comments	Culture - low income services	1 Comment	Housing - renters want to become owners	3 Comments
Social - block club	4 Comments	Culture - business improvements	6 Comments	Housing direction	4 Comments
Social - missing cohesiveness	1 Comment	Culture - availability of stores	3 Comments	Housing - displaced	3 Comments
Social - missing cohesiveness	2 Comments	Culture- type of stores	3 Comments	Housing improvements	4 Comments
Social - healthy Community	2 Comments	Culture - supporting local	10 Comments	Housing erie harbor	6 Comments
Social - safety	1 Comment	Culture - grocery / farmer's market	4 Comments	Housing - low-income/ refugee	3 Comments

		Culture - baswa	10 Comments	Housing - isolation	1 Comment
Politics - activism on issues	6 Comments	culture - shopping demographics	4 Comments		
Political - pull together and make changes	8 Comments				
Political - a lot of hard work	3 Comments	Culture - comfortable in parks	3 Comments		
Political - support of the city	2 Comments	Culture - use of parks	7 Comments		
Political - not an activist	3 Comments	Culture - walkability	7 Comments		
Political - old mentality vs. new	1 Comment	Culture - RIVER	5 Comments		

Information gathered through confidential resident interviews conducted by Emily Royce.

The findings were analyzed for links between the themes and typical experiences of displacement. The themes were also analyzed for a general sense of residents' place identity to their neighborhood. The findings were then written up in a qualitative formation which included specific quotations from respondents to tell the story of this subset of residents' experiences in the South Wedge neighborhood.

IV. Findings

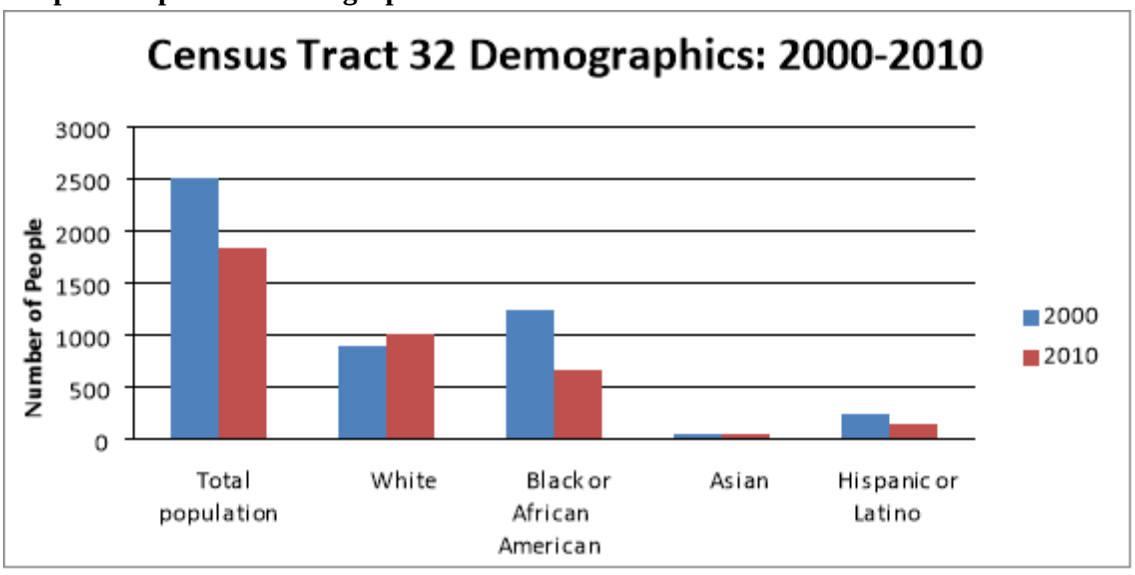
Gentrification definitions rely on particular categories as indicators of the phenomena. The indicator categories used to look for the presence of gentrification in the South Wedge neighborhood include race, income, and education census data, city assessment data, residential sale prices, and the businesses in the neighborhood. In this section, these indicator categories will be discussed in terms of changes and trends in the South Wedge neighborhood over the last 15 to 20 years. The results from the resident interview analysis will also be discussed.

A. *Census Data*

The census data gathered from the United States Census for 2000 and 2010 provides specific data about the South Wedge neighborhood. The South Wedge neighborhood is divided into two census tracts (Figure 2). Census Tract 32 covers the northern part of the neighborhood, while Census Tract 34 covers the southern portion of the South Wedge neighborhood, extending slightly into the Highland Park neighborhood. The 2000 census data consists of specific numbers covering a variety of categories. The 2010 census data consists mostly of specific information from that area. The income and education data, however, is from the American Community Survey and offers estimates with a margin of error.

On the micro level, demographics for Census Tract 32 show some interesting trends. Graph 1 shows that from 2000 to 2010 the total population decreased by 678 people. Within this large population decrease, the white population saw an increase of 122 people, while the African American population saw a larger decrease of 576 people. The Asian and Hispanic populations, though small, saw a slight decrease as well.

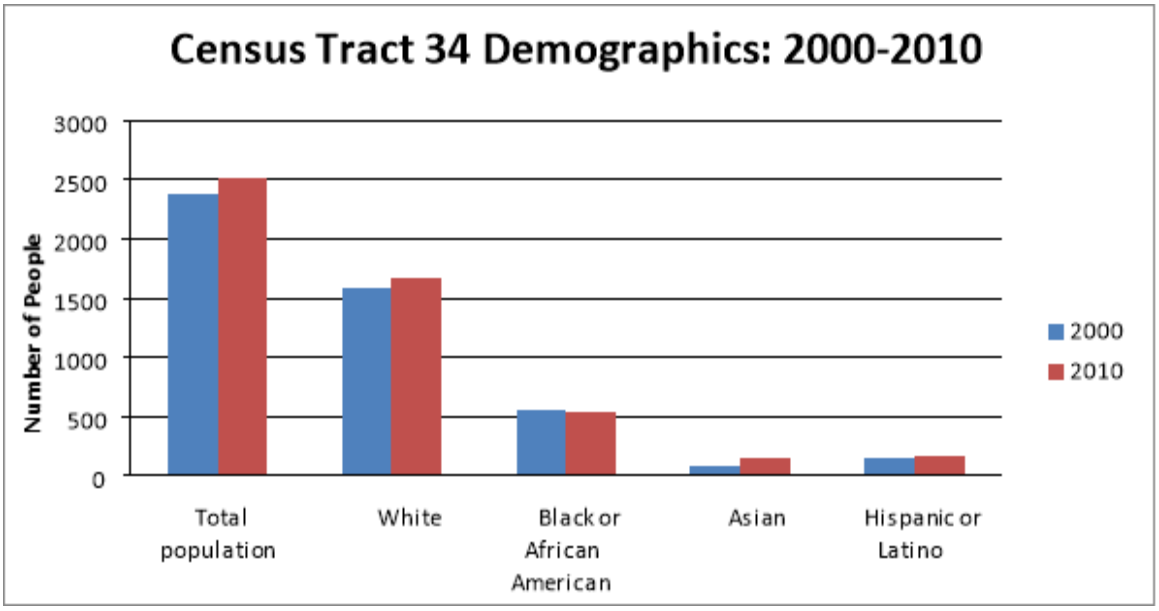
Graph 1: Population Demographics for 2000 and 2010 in Census Tract 32



Information gathered from the U.S. Census

Basic demographics for Census Tract 34 show a slight increase in overall population of 122 people. The white population saw a gain of 89 persons while the African American population saw a loss of 14 persons. While small subsets of the total population, the Asian population saw an increase of 73 persons and the Hispanic population an increase of 18 persons.

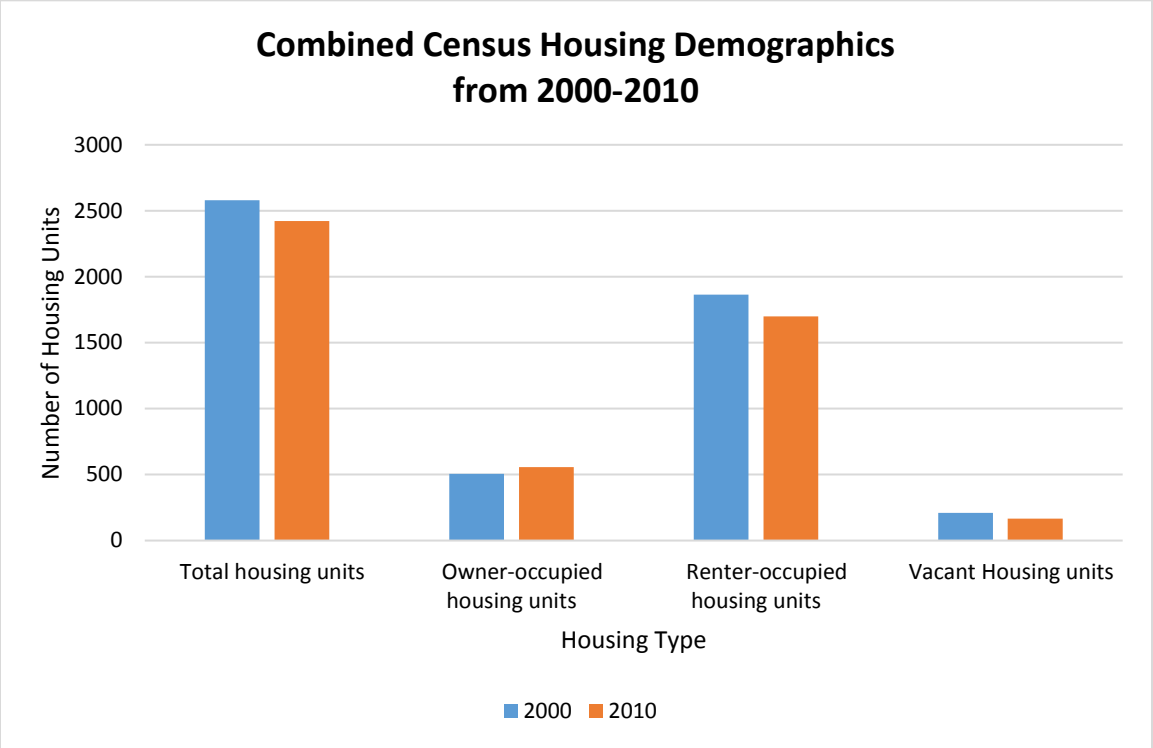
Graph 2: Population Demographics for 2000 and 2010 in Census Tract 34



Information gathered from the U.S. Census

Looking at the demographics of housing in the South Wedge neighborhood as a whole shows a decrease of 158 total housing units, shown in Graph 3. This is an increase of 51 owner-occupied units, a decrease of 166 renter-occupied units, and a decrease of 43 vacant housing units. While the trend is showing less renter-occupied housing units from the census data, the owner-occupied units make up 22% of the overall housing units. It is unclear if specific trends are present in this data.

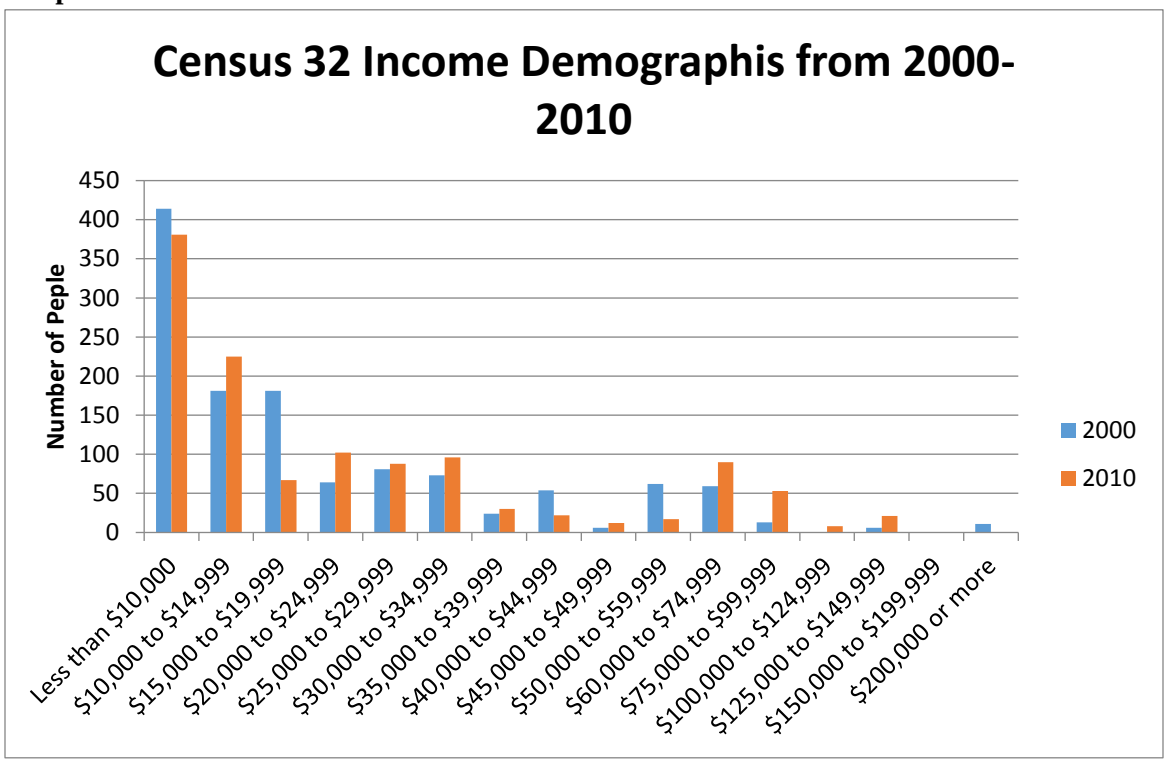
Graph 3: Combined Census Housing Demographics from 2000-2010



Information gathered from the U.S. Census

Income changes for Census Tract 32 are shown in Graph 4. The largest decrease in income population is seen in the $15,000 to $19,999 bracket. There are 114 fewer people in that income bracket in 2010. The other three brackets that saw a change of 40 or more people are the income brackets of $10,000-$14,999 with an increase of 44 persons, $50,000-$59,999 with a decrease of 45 persons, and $75,000-$99,999 with an increase of 40 persons.

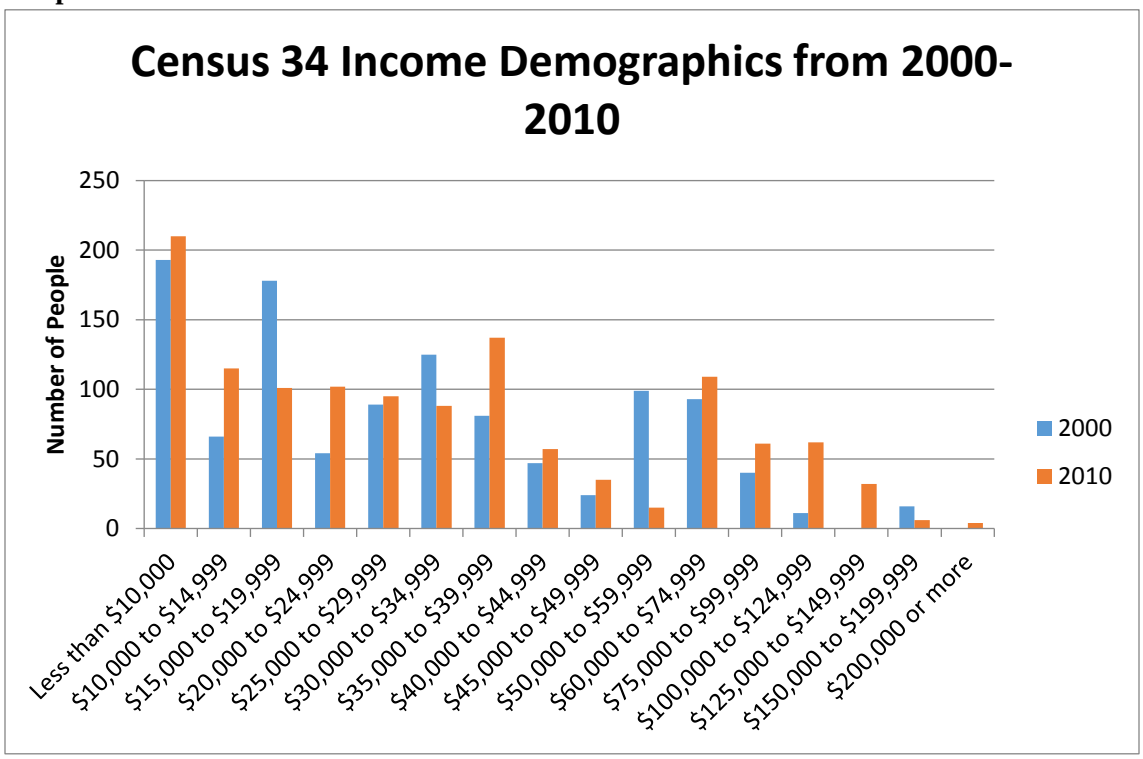
Graph 4: Income Data for Census Tract 32 from 2000 and 2010



Information gathered from the U.S. Census

Census Tract 34's income levels show a different trend than its northern neighbor, as seen in Graph 5. There are 6 income brackets with changes of 40 people or more. The income bracket of $10,000 to 14,999 saw an increase of 49 persons, while the next bracket up, $15,000 to $19,999, saw a decrease of 77 persons and the bracket of $20,000-$24,999 saw an increase of 48 persons. The $50,000 to $59,999 bracket saw a decrease of 84 persons, while the $35,000 to $39,999 and $100,000 to $149,999 brackets saw increases of 56 and 51 persons respectively.

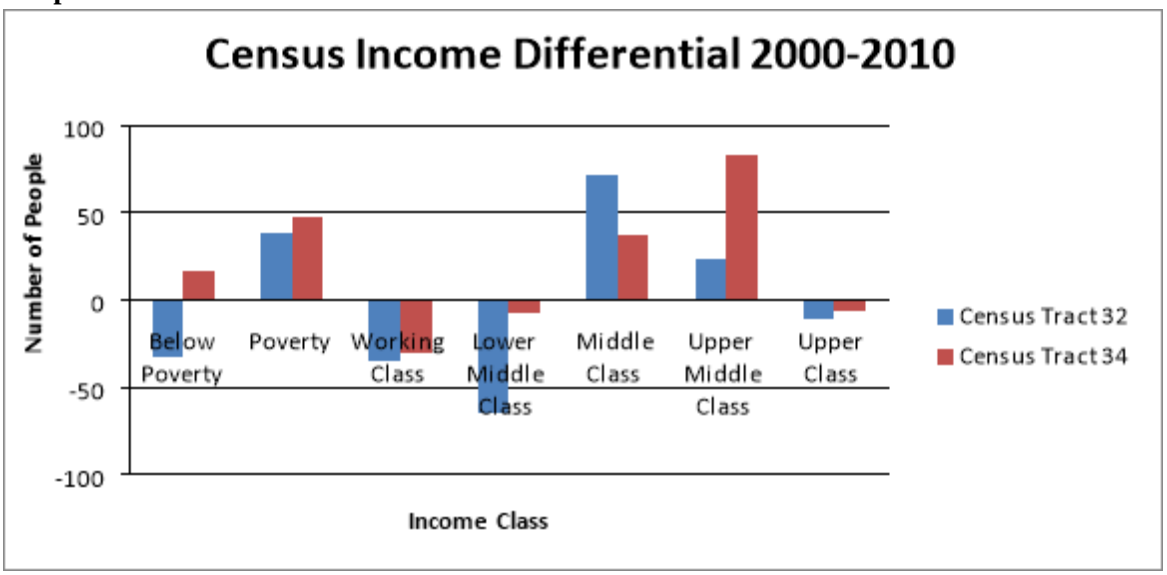
Graph 5: Income Data for Census Tract 34 from 2000 and 2010



Information gathered from the U.S. Census

A different way to look at this data is in terms of income class. Income classes were defined using the U.S. News delineation (Francis, 2012) for below poverty, poverty, working class, lower middle class, middle class, upper middle class, and upper class income ranges. These income ranges were adjusted slightly to fit the income brackets provided by the United States Census data. As seen in Graph 6, Census Tract 32 saw a significant decrease in residents in the below poverty group, working class, and lower middle classes, while the poverty, middle, and upper middle classes saw an increase. Conversely, Census Tract 34 saw an increase in both the below poverty and poverty groups, with decreases in the working and lower middle classes. The middle and upper middle classes in Census Tract 34 also saw population increases.

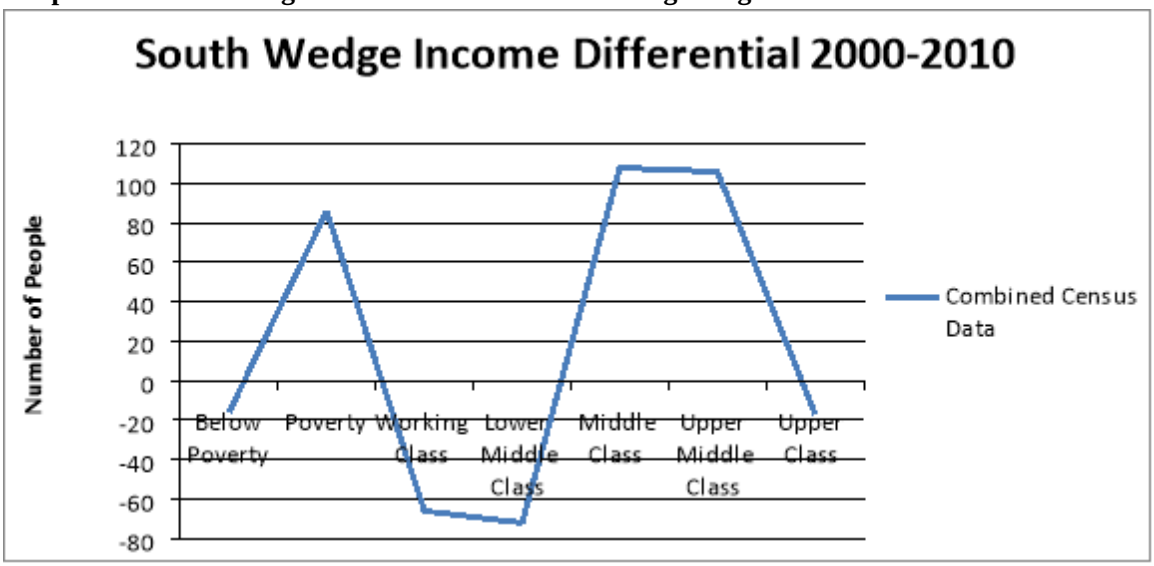
Graph 6: Census Income Differentials for Census Tracts 32 &34 from 2000 to 2010



Information gathered from the U.S. Census

On a macro level, the combined trends of Census Tracts 32 and 34 show a broader picture for the South Wedge neighborhood as a whole. A graph of the income data as provided by the United States Census can be seen in Graph 7. With this combined data grouped by income class, there is a distinct trend of a loss of lower middle, working, and below poverty class residents and a notable increase in poverty, middle, and upper middle class residents.

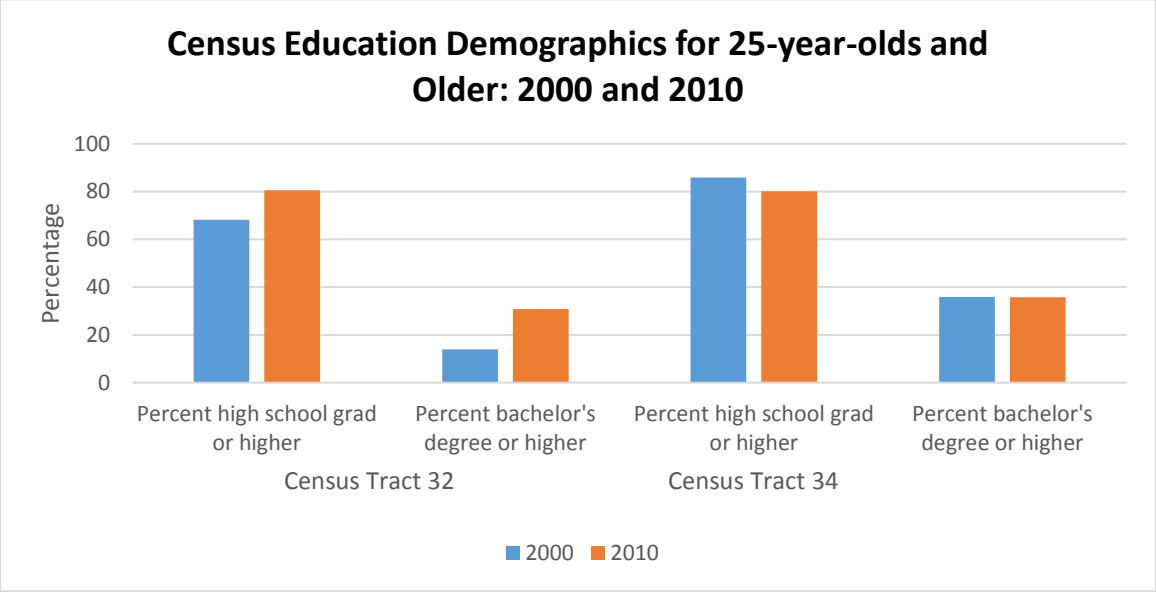
Graph 7: Income Change over Time for the South Wedge Neighborhood



Information gathered from the U.S. Census

Education rate changes in both census tracts also do not indicate any significant increases or transformations over time for the South Wedge neighborhood. Graph 8 maps out high school educational attainment and college educational attainment for residents 25 years old and older. In this graph, the education rates increase in both categories for Census Tract 32 and stay moderately the same in Census Tract 34 with a slight increase in high school educational attainment.

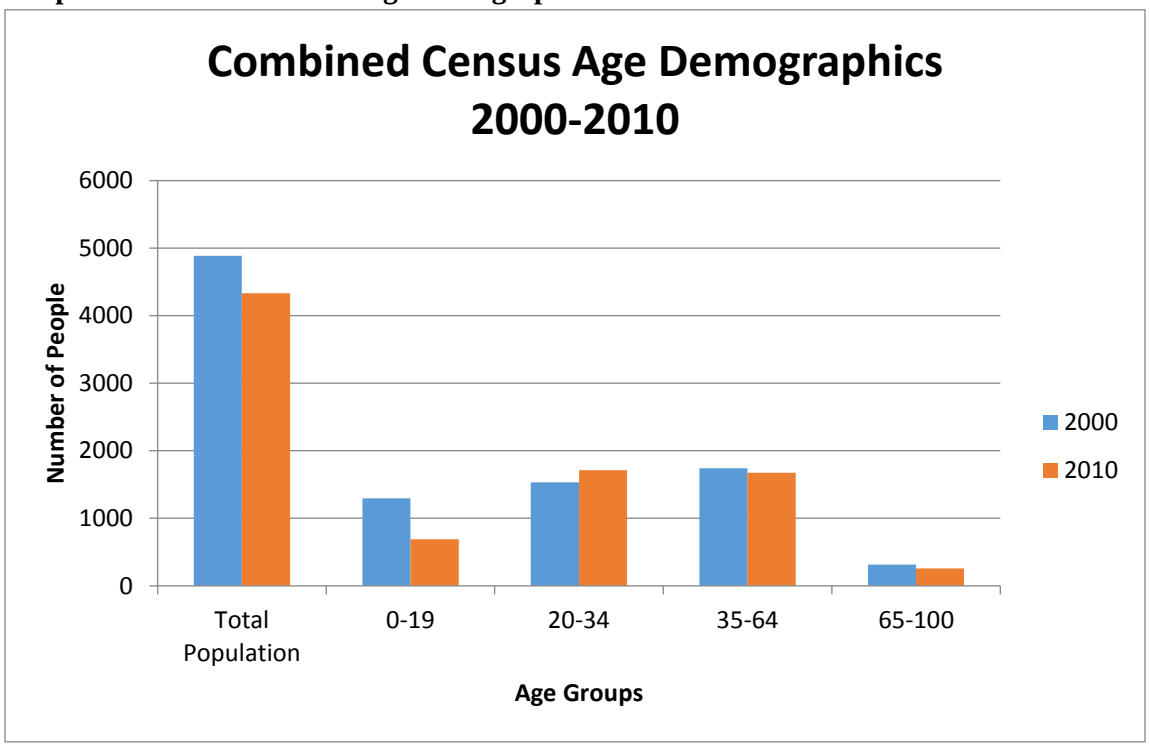
Graph 8: Census Education Demographics for 25-year-olds and Older in 2000 and 2010.



Information gathered from the U.S. Census

The South Wedge neighborhood saw shifts in the age demographics of the area. Graph 9 shows the total population decreasing from 2000 to 2010 as noted previously. The decrease is reflected in specific age groups, such as the largest decrease in children from 0-19 years old of 608 children, and the two age groups over 35-year-old show a decrease over the 10-year period. What is significant is while almost all age groups show a decrease, only one age group, the 20-34 years old age group shows an increase of 178 people.

Graph 9: Combined Census Age Demographics

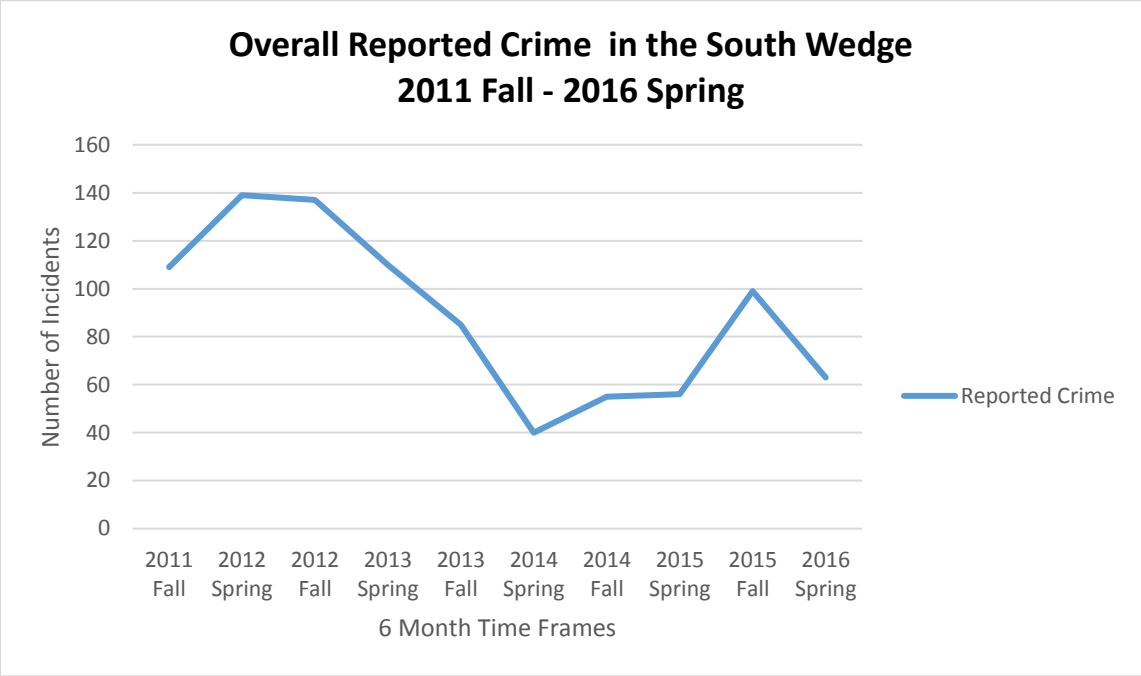


Information gathered from the U.S. Census

B. *City of Rochester Data*

Some resident interviews revealed comments about the perceived safety of the neighborhood and one instance of being gently warned to avoid certain areas when buying a house. With this information, it seemed important to look any available crime data for the South Wedge neighborhood. The data available is for a limited time frame of the research range of time. Though it covers a 5-year time frame, this can offer an initial trend for the South Wedge. Looking at Graph 10, the overall reported crime incidents has shown a general decrease. The spring of 2014, has the lowest reported incidents of 40, while the fall of 2015 has 99 reported incidents, just 10 below the fall of 2011. This indicates that the general trend seems to be decreasing but further data is needed.

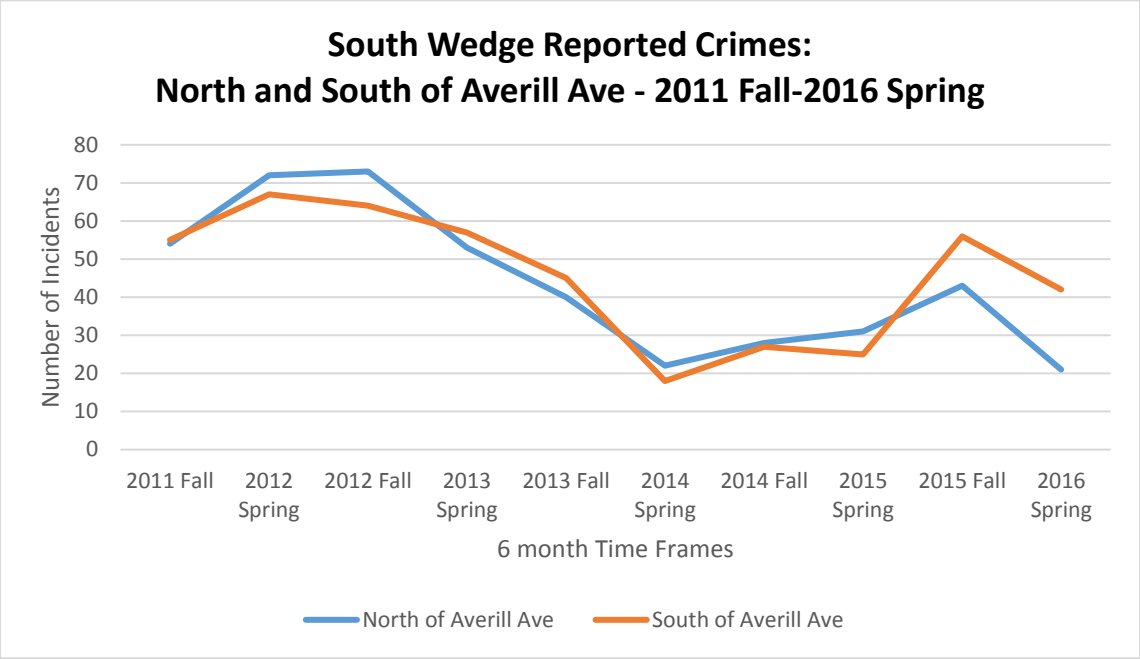
Graph 10: Overall Reported Crime in the South Wedge



Information gathered from www.crimereports.com

Continuing to look at the data, it was analyzed to see if there was an evidence behind warning persons about the northern portion of the South Wedge. The data can only reflective those crimes that were reported. In Graph 11, the reported incidents are graphed by 6 month increments based on their location on or north of Averill Avenue and south of Averill Avenue. Looking at the two lines, the data is fairly consistent with one being higher at a certain time and then another being higher at a different time. From this data, there is little evidence of the northern section being more unsafe than the southern section.

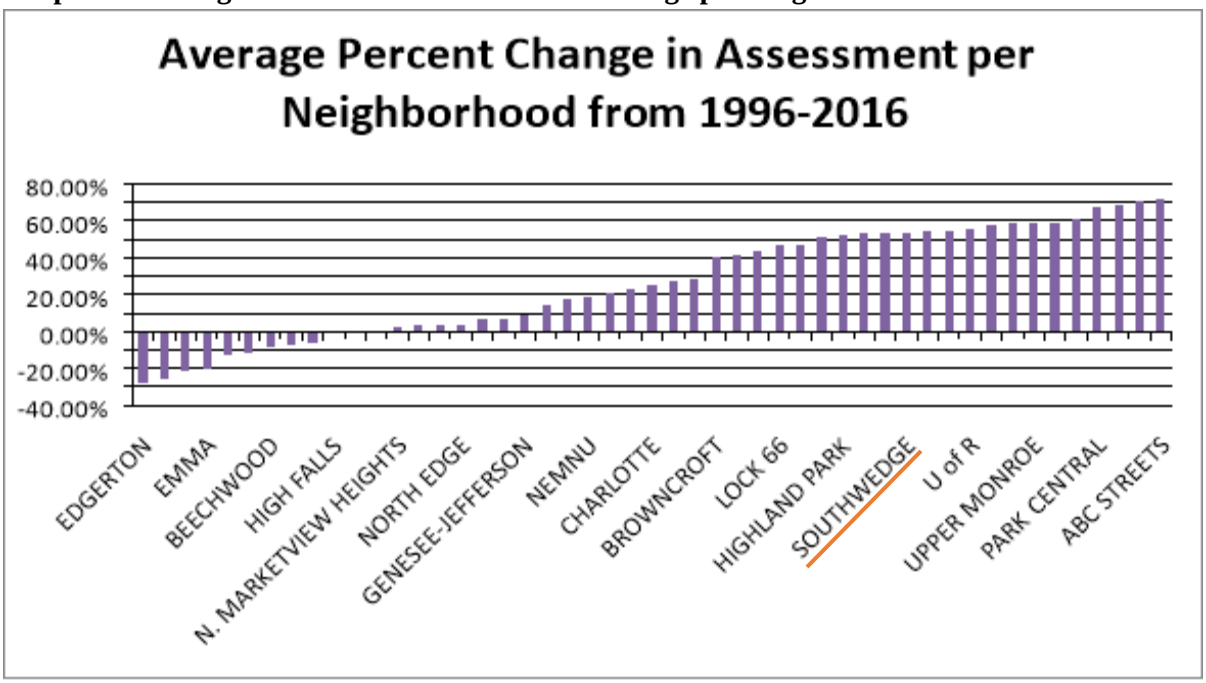
Graph 11: South Wedge Reported Crimes Divided North and South of Averill Avenue.



Information gathered from www.crimereports.com

Assessment data was gathered from the City of Rochester with the help of an urban planner with the City. The data provided information from 1996, 2000, 2004, 2008, 2012, and 2016 assessment years on all residential properties in the City of Rochester and is presented in nominal dollars. In the overall assessment trend in the City of Rochester's 45 neighborhoods over 20 years, the South Wedge neighborhood residential assessed value change falls in the middle of the neighborhoods experiencing a 40-60% overall increase, as shown in Graph 12.

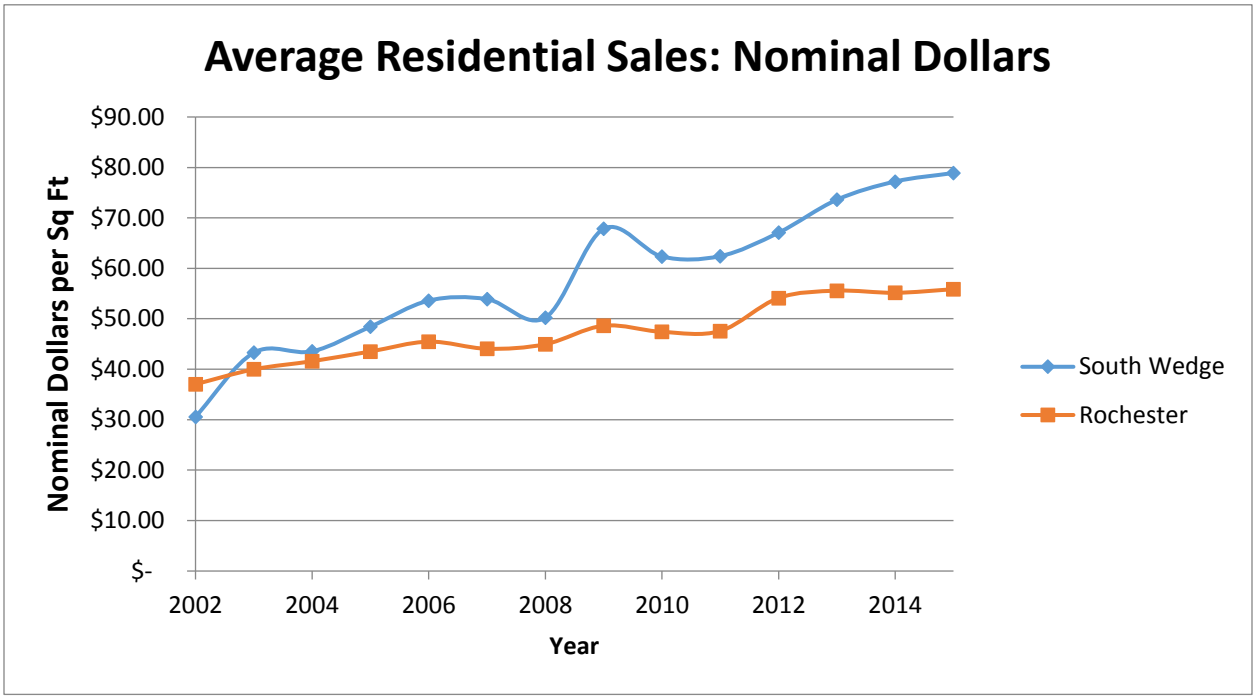
Graph 12: Average Residential Assessed Value Change per Neighborhood from 1996-2016



Information provided by the City of Rochester.

In comparison, the South Wedge neighborhood residential assessed value trend next to the average residential assessed value change for the City of Rochester as a whole shows a different visual. Graph 13 shows that the South Wedge average residential assessed value per square foot generally follows the City average in 1996 and 2000. The neighborhood lags below the City Average from 2000-2008. The average residential assessed value per square foot jumps above the City trend in 2012 and 2016 at a higher rate than the assessment years prior.

Graph 13: Average Residential Assessed Value per Square Foot from 1996 to 2016



Information provided by the City of Rochester.

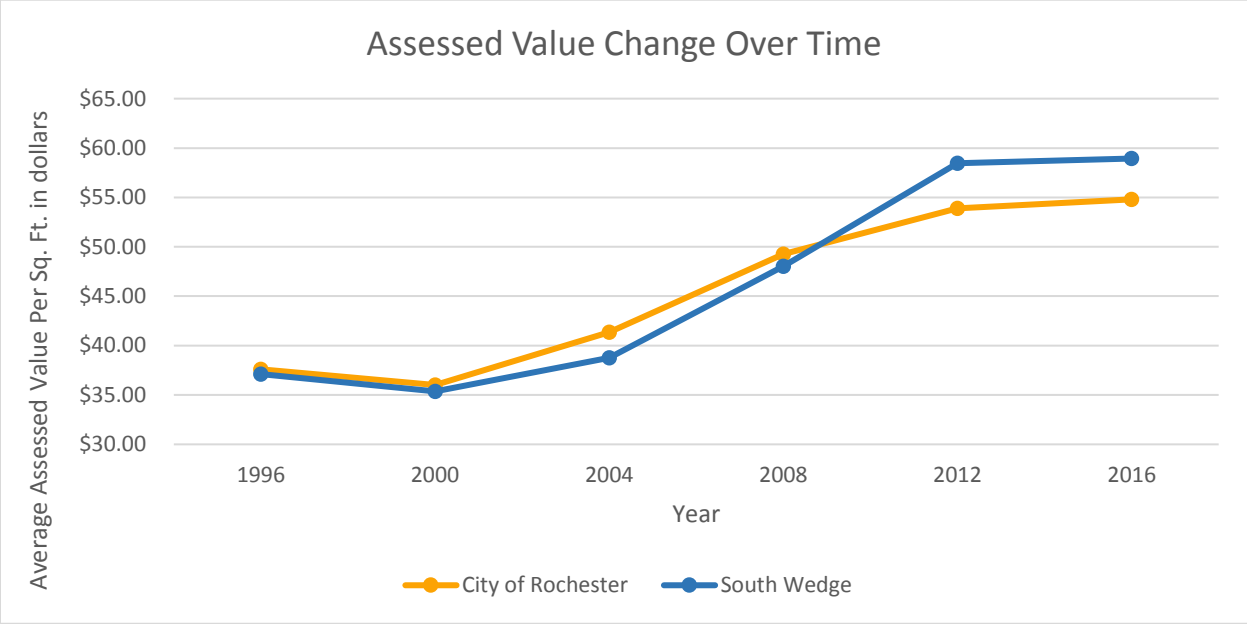
C. Residential Sales

Data from the Greater Rochester Association of Realtors, Inc. was gathered on residential sales from 2002 to 2015. The dataset was divided between residential sales in all of the City of Rochester and residential sales located within the South Wedge neighborhood. For each sale, the price was divided by the square footage of that specific house. An average of the price per square foot for each house in a year was calculated and plotted on the graph.

In Graph 14, the sale price of a residential home in the South Wedge Neighborhood was plotted against the sale prices within the City of Rochester. The graph shows that in 2002 the South Wedge was below the average residential sale per square foot across the city. This changed in 2003 as the price per square foot jumped above the city average slightly and continued to increase. In 2008, both the city average and South Wedge average took a slight dip,

which is the same year the U.S. housing bubble burst. In 2009, there is an increase in residential sales across the South Wedge and the City of Rochester. This coincides with the First-Time Homebuyer Credit that was available from 2008-2010. From the sharp increase in average residential sale prices experienced in 2009, the South Wedge neighborhood prices have continued to increase at a rate somewhat faster than the City of Rochester average.

Graph 14: Average Residential Sales per square foot in constant dollars



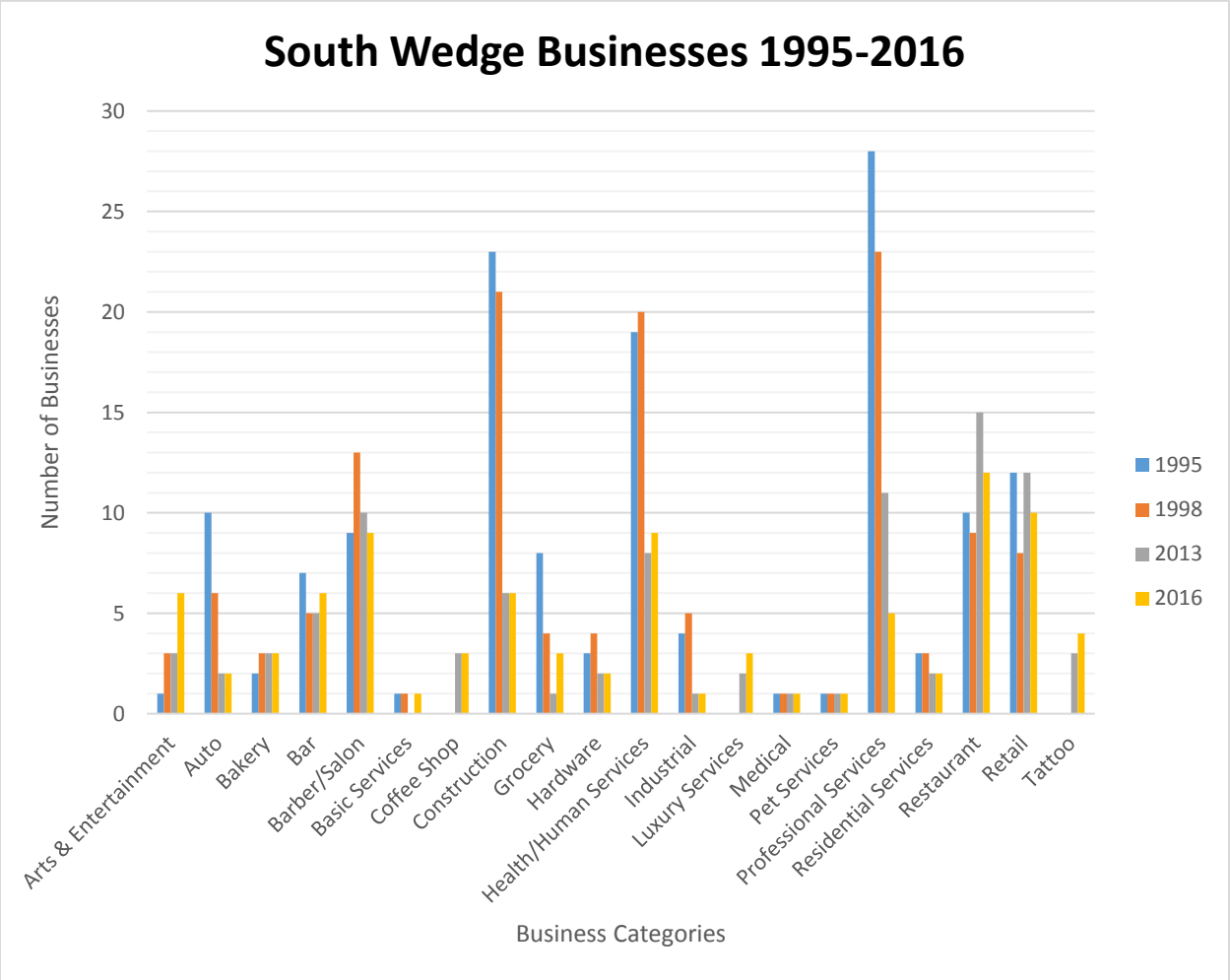
Information provided by the Greater Rochester Association of Realtors, Inc.

D. Business Comparisons

The commercial organizations within the South Wedge have consisted of a wide variety of small businesses. There are many supporting businesses just outside the limits of the South Wedge Neighborhood that also benefit the residents and add to the walkability and "urban village" feel of the neighborhood. A business comparison was conducted using various business directories and business pamphlets made to promote the many businesses and market the neighborhood. The pamphlets provided a more specific range of businesses for the South Wedge and surrounding southeast neighborhoods, while the business directories for the South Wedge

and surrounding neighborhoods cataloged every business that was open when the directories were made. All attempts were made to maintain an accurate count of businesses available during each time frame. Businesses were categorized by business type in general terms to capture the essence and target consumer market. Graph 15 shows the change over time in the South Wedge.

Graph 15: South Wedge Businesses by Category from 1995 to 2016.



Information gathered from Business Directories from the Local Archives at the Public Library and from Southwedge.com, the current business directory for BASWA.

The largest changes in this 20-year period are the decrease in the construction supply and service category, industrial/manufacturing category, automotive category, and professional services category, namely in the decrease of advertising/communication companies, and in the

health and human services category. Some of these decreases may be due to the changing purpose of the business directories over time.

Grocery services have decreased over time due to fewer mini-markets around. From conversations with residents, the few stores that sell groceries are a staple and a part of their daily lives. There is excitement among the interviewed residents for the arrival of the Abundance Food Co-op, a community-owned grocery store that is in the process of relocating from their current location on Marshall St. in Rochester. These residents look forward to the ability to do even more shopping within their neighborhood.

Restaurants, bars, retail stores, and barber shops and salons have fluctuated over the last 20 years maintaining a fairly stable presence in the South Wedge. According to Wallace (2013), independent restaurants have up to a 60% failure rate, while retail clothing stores see an 80% failure rate within the first 5 years. This indicates that starting a small business can be very challenging. While many businesses have closed their doors in the last 20 years in the South Wedge, many new ones have come in their place.

What this data shows, in a broad sense, is the diversity of category and longevity over time of businesses in the South Wedge. Many businesses have left the neighborhood or closed altogether for many reasons. The types of businesses have shown some shifting over time as well. But there are anchor businesses that have remained in the South Wedge over 30 or more years. Through it all, there is still a variety of businesses present for the residents.

E. Interviews

When initially speaking with a couple urban planners from the City of Rochester, it was found that the City of Rochester did not have an overarching plan for the transformation of the South Wedge. Some within the City of Rochester government feel there is no gentrification in

Rochester's neighborhoods. In general, the term "gentrification" can evoke strongly negative positive reactions and have a strong emotional implication beyond its definition. As found in the literature review, gentrification is present broader than the highly visible occurrences in very large cities.

The resident interviews provided an in-depth understanding of the conditions and experiences of the neighborhood and various elements within it. To gain an insider perspective in the interviews, I selected specific topics from the handful of areas indirect displacement is experienced: housing availability, housing and rental prices, the number and types of businesses, the businesses lining up with the needs of the residents, the use of parks, the participation in neighborhood politics and community organizations, the sense of community and sense of place, and the social networks of the residents. The following sections summarize the experiences of the residents in these areas. All names have been changed to protect the anonymity of the residents interviewed.

1. Housing

a) Home Ownership

Some residents commented that the South Wedge is a desirable neighborhood. As an example, one landlord has a waiting list for her units and there is a sense that tenants tend to stay longer. This desirability was explained by the proximity to downtown and other amenities as well as the amenities within the neighborhood. Many said it is difficult to buy a house in the South Wedge as sometimes the houses sell before hitting the housing market. The variation in housing size allows the neighborhood to meet a variety of owners' needs. Whether a single mother needs a small house, or a family is expanding and needs to fit into a larger house, "you have little tiny houses next to gigantic, you know, 3,000 square feet houses and I think that's

good," said Silas. Many renters look to transition to becoming homeowners within the neighborhood, as experienced by one landlord and heard through conversations. "All the people who rent want to stay so they start looking for a house. It's basically word of mouth," shared Gloria.

A couple of residents noted the general condition of the housing stock through exterior improvements, many contractors working in the neighborhood, and watching less desirable houses get renovated. Over the course of the last 40 years, some residents had a hand in renovating much of the housing, stabilizing the neighborhood. Phyllis shared, "For almost the whole time we've been on this street that [house] has been a really crummy rental property. And it just got bought just a few months ago, owner-occupied, and I was just jumping up and down I was so excited." There are some properties that still need some work. "The house behind this house on Gregory Street, it's one of these trashy houses. The bank owns it. I don't see anything happening over there yet," said Vernon.

b) Rentals

There is concern that the number of rentals in the South Wedge continues to increase. The general consensus is if the number of rentals grows too big, the South Wedge will lose its community sense by losing the long-term residents. Also, if the number of rentals saturate the market, then landlords could charge any price to fill the vacancies and that will change the sense of community. One pocket of landlords tries to instill community expectations in its renters, such as that partying and loud music belong on Park Avenue, not in the South Wedge.

Rental prices have increased to a much higher rate. Some respondents point to the increase in property taxes and others are astonished with how much they can get for a rental now.

One resident hypothesizes the price increases are due to Erie Harbor's high rents along with the general upswing of the neighborhood and businesses.

Some residents really appreciate the mix of rentals and owner-occupied housing. According to Silas, "I think the fact that it's a mix of residential and rental makes that work because there are people that live here for the long haul." Another resident points to this mix when saying that the neighborhood has not totally gentrified. Different streets have different ratios of renters to owners; for example, Averill Street seems to have more rentals whereas Hickory Street, due to smaller houses, experiences more owners. Vernon pointed out that the proportion of rental units increases as you go north, "Alexander and Hamilton street, all those streets have more apartments. More issues with Section 8 [housing] and you're close to the high rises." The northern portion of the South Wedge is also the location of long standing public services for lower-income people.

c) Residential Pricing Out

A few respondents spoke to the change in the neighborhood of people starting to get priced out. Several point to the increasing property taxes. Silas commented, "The taxes have gone up significantly since I've moved in. So you're definitely seeing, and I think somewhat to the detriment of the neighborhood, it's getting harder and harder for people who are really working class to live here. The housing is just becoming out of their reach." Another is concerned sensing difficulty for the working class in the future. One low-income development is using county-wide income levels to define low-income levels which "many people in this neighborhood are going to have trouble actually affording it. So everyone who is saying it's a low income place, it's just not," Florence shared. Phyllis, on the other hand, is concerned about the remaining cheap rentals, saying

> because this neighborhood bottomed out it still has, it has fewer than it used to, but still has a bunch of funky low-rent places and until every single one of those gets flipped over you got people looking for cheap rent and they can. It's harder to find than it used to be. I mean across the street is not cheap rent anymore.

d) Erie Harbor Development

Most residents interviewed see the Erie Harbor in a positive light, as Georgina pointed out, "I haven't seen an adverse impact. So, it's brought people to the neighborhood and its mixed housing, so that's great." One indicates her belief that the turning point of the South Wedge was when the former River Park Commons was torn down for the Erie Harbor development. For some, it makes the river pathway feel safer and more accessible. For others, the development both before and after feels very separate. Charlotte likens Mount Hope Boulevard to a deep chasm and elaborates that, "when it was River Park Commons there was nothing to bring people over…And I never really saw anybody out because the parking lot is facing our street. So there's no reason to hang out, like there's no yard and there's no patio or balconies on our side. So in that sense, it still feels really separate."

2. Culture

a) Businesses

Many residents have noticed an improvement in the quality and attractiveness of the businesses, an increase in the amount of businesses that have come in, and that businesses do not seem to move out as much. Some give credit of the commercial district's success to the business association. BASWA did a big push to promote the South Wedge. Charlotte noted, "The business association came on the scene and they really started organizing and that made all the difference in the world." Many of the respondents try to attend the neighborhood events put on by BASWA. Some find the events are geared towards a different audience, when talking about the annual Beer Expo, but still volunteer to help out.

From the responses gathered, there seems to be a gap in business offerings in the South Wedge surrounding groceries. There was a lot of excitement about the incoming food co-op store as it would allow many respondents to do most of their shopping within the South Wedge. "So that's gonna take a big part of my personal shopping budget from outside the neighborhood to inside the neighborhood," commented Florence. The Farmer's Market, on the other hand, does not seem as robust as it once was. One resident tries to continue supporting it by buying a few things, but shared there is not a lot offered at the market anymore. Currently there are a small handful of corner stores to buy last-minute items for a meal. Vernon notes that Mise En Place has lower prices in some cases than Wegmans, "A lot of his prices are less. His beer is more but his produce is less."

The majority of respondents felt that supporting the local businesses, keeping their money in the South Wedge, and trying to buy as much as possible in their neighborhood were crucial choices for them. Silas appreciated the fact that there are no chain stores in the South Wedge and that most of the business owners live within the neighborhood. "It's all 90% of the people who own these businesses live here or live very close to here." There is a sense of loyalty to the South Wedge small businesses and a desire for the businesses to be vibrant and survive. Charlotte shared her approach, "We sort of balance [trying] to get them started. And then once they get a following, then we don't feel the obligation that we need to, like, help sustain." One resident shared his concern that the commercial rental prices are too high and will jeopardize businesses, noting the closure of the liquor store.

A couple of residents brought up the varying demographics within the neighborhood observing that the target market seems to be the 24-34 year olds. Phyllis noted that, "you know, 24-34 year olds, many of the renters don't have kids yet. They are not enough to sustain some

place like Little Blue, which was a marvelous pricey cheese shop," while another noted she had only so much space for expensive cheeses in her grocery budget which highlights the differing attitudes in the neighborhood.

b) Public Spaces

Respondents say they see kids on the playground and Little League baseball happening in the various parks. Those respondents that use the neighborhood parks enjoy them whether for themselves, their children, or grandchildren. Others are grateful to have a park right on their street. Respondents say they feel safe in the parks and on the river trail, as well as comfortable letting the children go over to the parks by themselves. With the development at Erie Harbor, respondents felt the river trail is accessible and safe.

Some respondents felt that with the lack of utilization of the river, there was a missed opportunity to draw people over to the river. "Erie Harbor, which they redid and put over here on Mount Hope, cuts the river off from use in that there's nothing to do there. People live there. It's not as though I'm gonna go there and there's gonna be a restaurant at the river and I can sit at the café and have a cup of coffee," commented Silas.

One thing respondents mentioned repeatedly was the walkability of the neighborhood both as a desirable element for their tenants and for themselves. The walkability to access shops, parks, the river trail, friends, or taking walks through the neighborhood is a common favorite thing about the South Wedge among residents.

3. Community

A majority of respondents indicated an overwhelmingly positive feeling of comradery and friendliness in the neighborhood. As Elmer put it, "it's everybody doing everything together. It's like they the days of the 50s and 60s." Wayne has a small network of landlords on

his street and commented that, "They help me out all the time. He's the one who did my front porch." Many residents feel connected to their neighbors, from cutting the lawn of neighbors, to helping a neighbor with health problems weed her yard. "It's a very tightly knit neighborhood. There are people who have been here for a really long time," shared Florence. "Rochester does the Clean Sweep but we really just focus on our own street. And we come out and we have breakfast together and then just clean the street. So we always do that," shared Jane.

There was a strong indication from respondents of experiencing a sense of belonging in the neighborhood, through the experience of their children roaming the neighborhood, neighbors offering their children ice cream, impromptu backyard bonfires, and, as Gloria shared, "We're all best friends. I mean, I don't know how to describe it to you unless you experience it and live it and breathe it. It's not something that's thought out. It's just the aura of the South Wedge what forces all that to happen."

A couple of respondents noted some difficulty in making friends as older residents. The majority of the residents sampled commented on the ability to make friends through events on their street, hanging out in the neighborhood, and through some of the local bars. Hubert shared his experience, saying, "[The neighborhood is] already aging out. All of the people we knew 40 years ago, most of them are gone. And our challenge is to make friends with the younger crowd. And so far, it's happening easily right here and to some extent through BASWA."

4. Political

All the respondents interviewed have been fairly active in the South Wedge, either through organic circumstances or SWPC. Throughout the years, people in the South Wedge have rallied together around various issues. Wayne, a newer resident, shared, "I think that's part of why a lot of the people, this neighborhood did come back cause a lot of the people just stuck it

out…. They're just like 'we're not gonna put up with this crap,' you know what I mean." Gloria, a long-term resident said, "What I'm trying to point out is how we all saw a need in the neighborhood. And we loved this neighborhood so much and what we felt it represent and what we wanted it to represent that everyone worked together. It was a team. It wasn't like just Judy or me it was everyone coming together." New and long-term, residents are still involved in advocating for issues that are important to them. Beatrice, a newer resident who is actively engaged shared, "I'm going to start pushing back a little bit on the [possible housing] development on the river [park land]. I don't want to see that happen."

An organization that has also effected a lot of change in the South Wedge is BASWA. Florence became involved because "I was complaining about stuff and [the president said] 'Well come down to the meeting and we'll talk about stuff.' So I did and then I got recruited and that's how it starts usually. If you're not happy about something you need to help change it." A number of residents point to BASWA saying, "Without the work that BASWA has done I don't think we'd be where we are. I think they've done a lot of really great work," said Silas. Phyllis recognizes how much work and time it takes for changes to take place and perceptions to start changing. "People somehow have this impression that there's this crazy magic happening here. And I just look around and go no, there's some really smart people that work really, really hard."

The relationship with the city government, as indicated by a handful of residents, played a key role with the change. Gloria remembers, "When city council saw the passion that came out from the people who lived here... they realized they had a real neighborhood here in the South Wedge." Phyllis adamantly pointed out, "[the relationship with the city] did not happen overnight and people are going 'the South Wedge [is] so trendy.' Well I don't know if hard

work is trendy but some of the people are, I'll just say, they're all workaholics but they're really smart."

As the neighborhood continues to change and the residents turn over, a number of respondents noted a change in the direction of SWPC. Other respondents expressed a cynicism or of being worn out from all the work and energy involved over the years. Gloria shared,

> There's so many strong, wonderful people, giving people that are the foundation of this neighborhood. I think one of the things that frustrates me is that some of the newer people, they don't have the history. They don't understand how bad it was here and how hard we had to fight to get the city to listen to us. But over time, you know, we proved ourselves. But they don't respect that. They go, 'oh, here comes those old people that all they know how to do is fight for an issue.' So I've just, that's why I just can't be bothered anymore.

VI. Analysis & Recommendations

A. Has Gentrification Occurred?

Based on the quantitative and qualitative research presented, gentrification has taken place in the South Wedge neighborhood. While gentrification does not have specified numerical benchmarks, the trends within the South Wedge indicate some level of gentrification, though the extent or stage of gentrification is unclear.

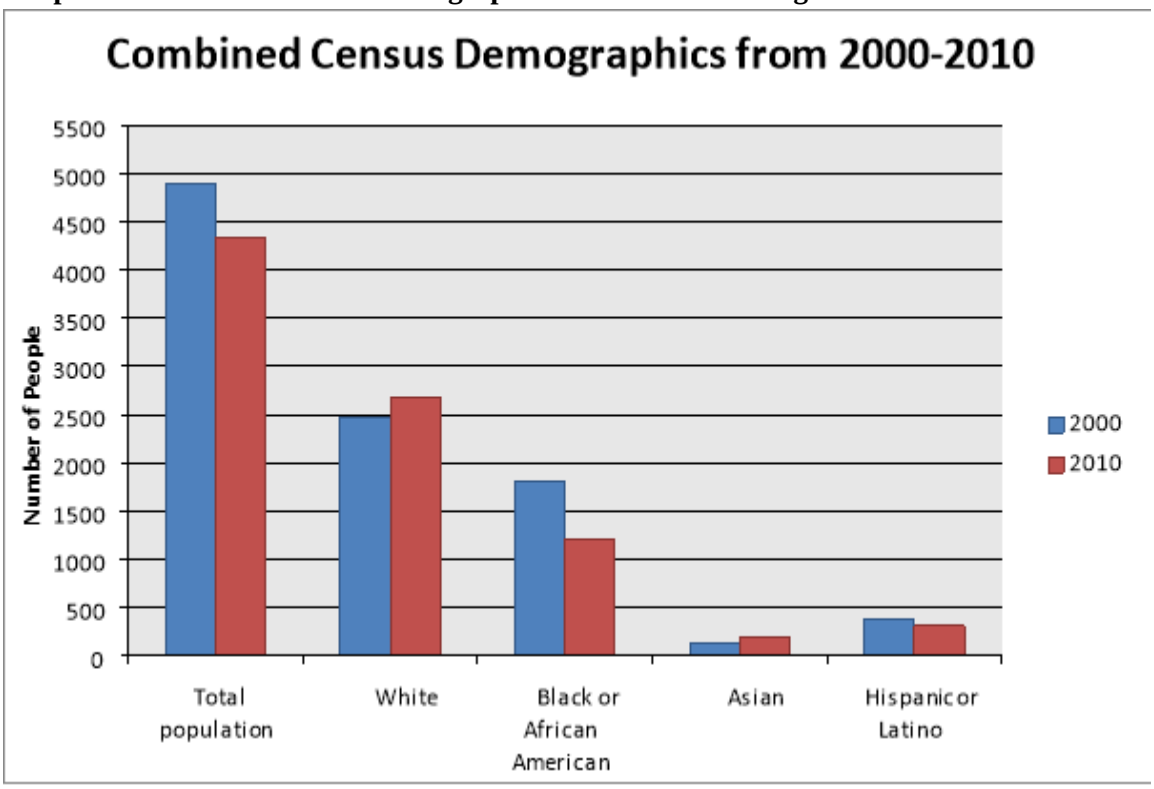
The trends in the Residential Sales show a very distinct shift in price over a relatively short period of time, roughly between 2008 and 2012. The national housing market crash occurred within this time frame as well, but the South Wedge trends do not show a negative impact from this economic event. The rising residential home sale prices point to demand shifting as more newcomers are attracted to and move into the neighborhood. Rising housing sale prices are a common variable in gentrification and the jump seen in Graph 14 supports this indicator in the South Wedge. The residential sale prices shift and maintain an increasing

trajectory for home prices within the South Wedge in comparison with the overall Rochester market. This coupled with the relatively short time frame for this increase supports the notion that gentrification is occurring within the South Wedge.

As the residential housing market increases in the South Wedge, assessment values are shown to increase as well. Graph 13 mirrors the shift seen in the residential sales. Between 2008 and 2012, housing assessments for the South Wedge neighborhood increase, showing the City responding to the changes within the South Wedge.

The demographic data offers less clarity through the trends and changes within the neighborhood. Though this is true, there are still general shifts that indicate the South Wedge may be on the beginning side of gentrification. There is a notable loss of population in the South Wedge. With this population drop, the white population shows an increase and the black population shows a sizable decrease, as seen in Graph 16. The lack of direct information on the education and income statuses tied to the racial populations inhibits the ability to draw strong conclusions regarding the presence of gentrification. In general, though, the trends of shifting income in losing working class and lower middle income residents alongside the minor shift of residents having a higher education indicates a shift in the population towards higher-income residents. These demographic findings suggest gentrification is occurring on some level.

Graph 16: Combined Census Demographics for the South Wedge from 2000 and 2010.



Information gathered from the U.S. Census

The concurrence of the Hamilton and Erie Harbor development in the same time frame as the population shifts could indicate a general rise in income in the South Wedge as Erie Harbor introduced approximately 80 high-end residences into the neighborhood, while decreasing the amount of affordable housing available. This supports residents' concerns about the ability of working class residents to stay in the neighborhood. As one non-resident stakeholder illustrated, "the waitress, where does she go? She deserves a good place that, you know, a good, solid place where she can walk to work. Where does she go?"

The business sector provides some ambiguity regarding the forces of gentrification within the South Wedge. The South Wedge has a strong diversity of businesses and while the businesses have shifted in quantity and type over the years, there has not been a distinct shift so far, towards high-end shops replacing shops geared at lower income residents. Within the last

three years, luxury services are starting to gain a presence in the business corridor such as a yoga studio and a few coffee shops. A number of the restaurants and bars also cater to a younger type of consumer that lives within and also travels into the neighborhood for the experience. At the same time, according to the business directory analysis, a laundromat has returned to the neighborhood. There is also a strong presence of health and human services for low-income residents in the northern portion of the South Wedge. These have subsisted prior to the 1995 business directory and offer support to the lower-income residents.

The number of grocery-style shops have decreased due to the closure of a number of mini-marts. Some residents mention reportedly competitive prices of Mise en Place, which help provide some basic, last minute grocery services within the neighborhood. Many residents expressed excitement at the pending arrival of a food co-op store. While this will fill in a gap in the availability of groceries in the neighborhood and is not displacing stores aimed at lower income residents, food co-ops specialize in organic, sustainably grown, and locally sourced produce and dairy products as well as specializing in organic, non-GMO, and gluten-free groceries. These products typically are sold at a much higher price and will be expensive for lower income residents. The business corridor is shifting, though at a delayed pace in comparison to the other longer term changes taking place.

Through the resident interviews, all residents affirmed that the neighborhood has changed, mostly experienced in the desirability of the neighborhood, more stable shopping options, increasing rental prices, and increasing house values of the neighborhood. Some residents are noticing that it is harder for working class people to afford living in the neighborhood.

Two of the thirteen residents interviewed specifically used the term gentrification. One felt the neighborhood getting close to gentrifying but "I think the reason we're not there is because there are people that have lived here and don't want to see that happen. They're not willing to kind of sell out their neighborhood, so to speak." This particular resident also has noticed a trendier bar scene, sharing "I feel as though it's becoming more of well-to-do people that were living in the suburbs or grew up in the suburbs are gentrifying the neighborhood and pushing out people that have lived here their entire lives." Another resident brought up gentrification in terms of some people being priced out due to it being hard to find a house to purchase. "There's nice diversity of renters and owners, so it's not really, it hasn't been gentrified totally." Both residents shared a similar tension as expressed by one, "There's that sort of fine line between: you want your neighborhood to improve but when it starts improving, people want to come in and it pushes [others out]."

B. Has Displacement Occurred?

Through conducting my research, I anticipated finding clearer instances of indirect displacement. I anticipated finding residents who felt marginalized by the existing two strong and proactive neighborhood organizations, as was experienced in the case study of the Kensington Heights Neighborhood in Toronto. Another case study with strong neighborhood organizations, Hyra's analysis of the Shaw/U Street neighborhood shed light on political and cultural displacement through public spaces. I anticipated hearing some discontent regarding specifically the parks either by newcomers or by existing residents but I did not. I also anticipated hearing at least one first-hand experience of exclusionary displacement, if not experiences of renters needing to advocate for themselves on some level, similar to Howell's

case study of the Columbia Heights neighborhood. I did not expect to find direct displacement as was seen in New York City and Washington D.C.

In conducting a partial replication of Twigge-Molecey's 2014 case study of the Saint Henri neighborhood in Montreal in the South Wedge Neighborhood of Rochester, NY, it is through the analysis for indirect displacement experiences that the two studies overlap. Through the subset of residents interviewed, the findings were analyzed to determine if indirect displacement has taken place in the South Wedge. I looked for indirect displacement in four key areas: social networks, cultural areas as experienced in public and retail spaces, political voice, and housing exclusions.

The case study of the Saint Henri neighborhood accessed a wider variety of residents in the Saint Henri neighborhood than were accessed in the South Wedge neighborhood. Some of the different findings in resident experiences can be attributed to this variance in residents sampled. Twigge-Molecey found,

> Overall, we can conclude that there was some evidence of social, cultural, and housing market displacement observed in Saint Henri, particularly among low-income longstanding and lifelong residents. There was no evidence of political displacement underway in the neighbourhood, though this should be reexamined at a later date, as incoming gentrifies were not actively mobilized through resident associations at the time of this fieldwork (2014, p.16).

In smaller research cases like the Saint Henri neighborhood and mid-size cities, gentrification moves at a slower pace with certain displacement pressures being experienced on a staggered timeline.

The South Wedge experienced similar displacement categories of cultural, and exclusionary displacement as well as additionally through direct displacement. Unlike Saint Henri, the South Wedge has not experienced social displacement through the loss of social

networks, as experienced by those residents interviewed, or political displacement. After speaking with thirteen residents, all respondents had some level of ties in the neighborhood, whether an old woman had weak ties to her neighbors and son living in the neighborhood, or as a local business owner who lives in the neighborhood and all their friends live there too. For the resident sample in the South Wedge, the long-term residents were all homeowners and were not experiencing significant neighborhood turn over themselves or in their social networks.

All residents noted having friends in the neighborhood, having a sense of comradery, and feeling as though they could rely on their neighbors if they had a need. The majority of residents made mention of the diversity in the neighborhood as one of their favorite elements. Some residents wish there was more cohesiveness and connection both on their streets and in the neighborhood. A couple of residents expressed sadness about not having a successful block club group on their street despite their efforts to organize one. Others expressed appreciation for their block club and identify the block clubs as the way they were able to meet everyone on their street. It seems that there are some stronger streets in terms of having a social network and some streets that are less cohesive. There was not enough information gathered to note any patterns in whether the southern streets experienced more connections or the northern streets, near more of the social services, experienced less.

In looking for any signs of political displacement, I deliberately asked each resident whether the respondents felt their issues or concerns would be heard by the community. Regardless of each resident's level of participation in neighborhood organizations, all respondents felt they had someone they could bring their concerns to. None of the respondents mentioned any feelings of losing their political voice or influence.

Direct displacement occurred in the South Wedge Neighborhood. From the census data, the South Wedge lost 556 residents in a ten-year period. Not all of these can be attributed to the Erie Harbor development project, but the Erie Harbor project displaced some of these residents. The Hamilton project, which occurred prior to the Erie Harbor project, conducted renovations without displacing residents out of the building. It is unknown if any residents left The Hamilton due to the rehabilitation of the building.

The main area in which indirect displacement occurred is through exclusionary displacement. Though not experienced firsthand by many respondents, the increase in rental prices as experienced by an acquaintance to an interviewed resident is foreclosing the option to stay in the South Wedge. The respondents did indicate a concern for the working class residents that typically make up the South Wedge, in terms of being able to afford housing. Exclusionary displacement presents differently in the South Wedge than in the Saint Henri case study. Saint Henri residents experienced difficulty, dependent on their socio-economic position, when trying to move back to the neighborhood. The South Wedge is experiencing the rising rental prices and also a lack of inventory in both homes for sale and apartments available for rent.

While residential rental price data was not available, a number of resident interviews indicate that the rental prices have increased and could continue to increase. The market rate for a two-bedroom first floor apartment at Erie Harbor is reported to be $1,200 a month, which is very expensive for the area. One landlord was charging $475 for a unit 15 years ago and has been able to almost double the rent in that frame. They are aware they could be charging even more. Through conversations with their peers, comparable units in the neighborhood can get an even higher rental price. This increase shows the demand for living in the neighborhood. It also

offers some insight that exclusionary displacement could be beginning to happen as rents continue to increase.

The other way exclusionary displacement may be occurring is through the high demand of homes. Two residents shared examples of homes selling before they were even put on the market. This supports a result found in Freeman's research (2005). His research shows that housing mobility within gentrifying neighborhoods, of which displacement is only a portion, was not higher than in non-gentrifying neighborhoods. His investigation continued with a hypothesis addressing whether those residents moving are moving within or outside of the neighborhood, thus being displaced. The study's "results suggests that gentrification may inhibit intra-neighborhood mobility and contribute to demographic change in that way" (Freeman, 2005, p.484). If the ability to find housing within the neighborhood is in short supply, demand increases prices, limiting the ability of lower-income residents to have intra-neighborhood mobility. Through the experiences of the residents interviewed, this seems to be a slowly developing displacement. As the final developments reach completion, a stability in owner-occupied housing and rental housing could be reached. Beatrice shared a concern, repeated by a resident stakeholder, that single-family homes continue to be divided into double or triple units by investors.

Through the interviews, cultural displacement has various levels of expression. Some is less visible at this time. This could be due to the makeup of the residents sampled. Many residents reported being able to satisfy most of their shopping needs within the neighborhood, especially with the impending higher-end, food co-op coming into the neighborhood. There are a few residents who do not find the businesses appealing and a senior resident with limited income stated that businesses do not meet her needs at this time. Other older residents feel out of

place in some of the restaurants or noting a change in the clientele, though most reported having a variety of dining options within the neighborhood. One resident commented on the ability to find lower-priced thrift store clothing within the neighborhood, as well as the sporadic option of shopping at a high-end clothing store.

The Saint Henri neighborhood residents experienced some displacement in the commercial corridor as corporate chains and entrepreneurial shops catered to more affluent residents and low-income residents experience a mismatch of shops and need to shop outside their neighborhood. The Saint Henri residents also struggled with the changes in public spaces as the spaces shift towards the needs and desires of the newcomers, which does not seem to be the case with the South Wedge. A couple of case studies in the literature review indicate tension between the newcomers and the long-term residents as spaces transitions in their uses. From my interviews and the average residency of these residents being 17 years, there was not much dissatisfaction with the changes that have been happening. A few of the very long term residents played key roles in reclaiming the parks, advocating for new sidewalks, and other changes. The residents did not express any cynicism or feelings of being insulted that these changes have come once the neighborhood is desirable, as found in case studies in the literature review.

When looking at cultural displacement as experienced by sense of place and place attachment, there was evidence that this could build as time continues and could use additional research at a later point. Some residents shared the observation that the newcomers are different, the newcomers do not grasp how far the neighborhood has come, and they do not have an understanding of what effort and fight it took to get to where things are now. This observation was not distinctly limited to longer-term residents. This has not presented as feelings of division or social separation yet, but may grow in time. The Saint Henri neighborhood experienced this

shifting sense of place as expressed "while not all long-term residents experienced this social separation as forcibly negative, those who did were actively engaged in the fight to protect their neighbourhood" (Twigge-Molecey, 2014, p.14).

The Orchard Gardens case study reflected a similar experience as that shared by some of the long-term South Wedge residents. With many long-term residents present in the neighborhood, there is a subset of residents who remember the South Wedge prior to its transformation. They remember how hard it was, how much work it took, and how far the neighborhood has come. Since the second stage of transformation, there are many newcomers to the neighborhood who do not remember what the neighborhood was like before. In the case study of the Orchard Gardens program, Tach notes:

> I find that residents' perceptions of the community, and their subsequent investments in it, varied greatly. Contrary to predictions derived from the literature on concentrated poverty about the social benefits of higher-income neighbors, it was long-term residents of the public housing project, not the newcomers, who were primarily involved in community organizations, fostered ties with neighbors, and intervened in neighborhood affairs to maintain social control (2009, p. 270).

In the South Wedge, some of the long-term, active residents are reaching a level of frustration leading to having no interest in being involved any longer in neighborhood organizations. This may not solely be a result of newcomers.

Place attachment also plays a key role in the involvement level of residents in their neighborhood. "Good neighborhoods need to achieve investments of time and money, social cohesion, and social control. Yet these very factors are related to place attachment, as those who are move attached to their neighborhoods are more likely to invest their time and money into the neighborhoods" (Manzo & Perkins, 2006, p. 339). This experience was repeatedly shared by long-term residents of the neighborhood. Their involvement with SWPC, rehabilitating the

neighborhood, and neighbors helping each other, was the combination that helped create more than 40 years of transformation.

The South Wedge exhibits traits of a sustainable and resilient community. Resilient communities are communities,

> that are able to absorb and/or adapt quickly to change and crisis. Elements critical to developing resilience in a community include: planning and developing strategies that minimize vulnerabilities, developing communication and crisis response systems, supporting government/private partnerships and independent initiatives that create social support, and developing strategies that diversify risk across space, time and institution" (Callaghan & Colton, 2008, p.932).

SWCP's inception in the early 1970s was the neighborhood residents reacting to a crisis of the level of deterioration within the neighborhood. The multifaceted approach by SWPC initially, in working to stabilize housing conditions, assisting the businesses through façade improvements, and doing community engagement by supporting various grass roots resident organizations that formed in response to community concerns, created the structure for the South Wedge's resiliency. Harriet, a long-time resident, shared, "I'll say the leaders in the community always had the interest of the residents at heart and they planned things that would benefit the residents."

As a resilient community, the residents and SWPC supported social and cultural capital by placing value on the historical structures within the neighborhood, for example, and doing multi-stage preservation efforts of these houses. One of the current defining traits of the South Wedge is the diversity of housing, which is still present due to the initial preservation work so many years before. The social capital of the South Wedge has been a strong component throughout the years. A strong subset of residents demonstrate shared values and trust as everyone helps everyone, pulling together to turn the neighborhood around. An attractive feature of the neighborhood is the sense of community which grew out of the social capital that

continued to develop and shift through incoming residents and as new concerns crop up over the years. Social and cultural capital require maintenance and engagement by the current cohort of residents as the South Wedge continues to change and transition into each new phase.

The South Wedge also reflects a sustainable community given the history of SWPC's role and activities led by the residents. "Sustainable communities employ strategies and solutions that are integrative and holistic. They seek ways of combining policies, programs, and design solutions to bring about multiple objectives" (Beatley & Manning, 1997, p.33). In speaking with a former member of SWPC, the organization used a three-legged stool approach in the late 1990s, by incorporating business support, housing programs, and community engagement as their goals. By doing this, SWPC helped promote a sustainable community, which in turn, fostered a sense of place. "A sustainable community respects the history and character of those existing features that nurture a sense of attachment to, and familiarity with, place" (Beatley & Manning, 1997, p. 32).

In the past, SWPC created a supportive structure advocating for the concerns and needs of the neighborhood while maintaining a sense of community. It also acted as a bridge between the issues within the South Wedge and the city governance. This relationship is key to achieving the goals of the active residents as well as navigating the overarching goals and plans of the city. This also makes conclusions difficult to draw about how involved the city was in the transformation process, plans, direction, and timing. From a number of non-resident stakeholder interviews, the city seemed, overall, very supportive of all the work SWPC was doing in the neighborhood. There were differing goals or opinions on some projects, as happens with multiple stakeholders invested in development projects. While the city never created a focused urban renewal plan for the South Wedge, through the plans it supported and involvement it had

in a number of small projects, the city remains an influential stakeholder in the development and progress.

One branch of the city is the Neighborhood Service Centers (NSC), a program originating from a specific mayoral administration. One employee describes the Neighborhood Service Center saying, "part of the way I see our role is that we're advocates for the community and the business owners not necessarily that we work for the City of Rochester, which we do." She shared many examples of the role the NSC has with the neighborhoods, such as: handling complaints, attending all neighborhood organization meetings, through issuing business permits and creating a relationship and expectations with each new business owner, managing the nuisance points system, varying levels of planning events and creating accessibility for residents. Her office understands "that it's about relationships. It's about the fact that if somebody comes here, even though it's not our responsibility, we're going to get you to where you do need to be."

The presence of the NSC created strong bridges between the city, the community organization, and the neighborhood. A non-resident stakeholder who worked closely in community organizations shared,

> You can't do any engagement if people don't trust you and they don't know you. … But it takes a long time to build that relationship so you have to have the trust of the people and you have to, I mean, to me community engagement is saying to them, 'This is your neighborhood. What do you want to see?'.

The South Wedge neighborhood has a lot of attributes that make it a unique case in comparison with other Rochester neighborhoods, such as its location to other amenities and the relationships and resources available to residents. There are universal elements within the South Wedge that, as Phyllis shared, are duplicable. These elements can be found in the social and cultural capital within the neighborhood, the resiliency of the South Wedge community, and the relationships.

A key component of all the changes that occurred are relationships. Numerous times within the interview, Gloria pointed out that if it was not for the Mayor, and the president of SWPC at the time, and another key community stakeholder "things wouldn't have gotten done. They helped me and taught me and trained me." In BASWA, the relationships between the business owners within the neighborhood have created one of the few, very successful business associations in the City of Rochester. One resident shared that the members do not always agree, but there is the space to share and listen and work together to meet their goals.

Through the creation and growth of a sustainable, resilient community within the South Wedge, the sense of place and sense of belonging has taken root, grown, and spread to the newcomers that move into the neighborhood through the years. This foundation and structure that grew out of the initial crisis of the South Wedge seems reflected in the experiences residents shared. The experiences show a lack of indirect displacement in the social and political realms which points back to the place attachment and place identity within the South Wedge through its accomplishments of being a sustainable and resilient community.

From the interviews, it sounds as though SWPC, in the past, provided a solid foundation for residents to take an active role in the neighborhood. "How the town decides to develop, what to protect, and what to restore and provides a public testament to the value a community places on cultural capital" (Callaghan & Colton, 2008, p. 936). This supports the sense of community and sense of place felt by residents. The public testament of the South Wedge can be seen at the variety of events throughout the year, at the local bars and restaurants, and through the residential housing stock that has been preserved through the years. Moving forward with this capital, there needs to be care taken to minimize displacement pressures for all residents in the South Wedge neighborhood.

C. Recommendations

What is the point beneath all the research, data, and analysis? The goal is to recommend policies supporting a balance in neighborhoods to retain the long-term residents and the core sense of place, which is the golden nugget that helps create a desirable neighborhood and draws the newcomers after the transformation is underway. Maintaining old and new residents' sense of place and place identity within the neighborhood through the cultural realm of public spaces and commercial districts, through the social and cultural capital, and history of the neighborhood can help to keep the neighborhood rooted, fostering the sense of community, social networks, and political involvement of the residents.

Once transformation has solid footing and a stable hold in a neighborhood, the neighborhood organization, which has been a vehicle for facilitating change, has a difficult transition itself. The job and focus of the neighborhood organization drastically shifts from maintenance mode of fighting to preserve the housing structures, facilitate community, and foster a positive business corridor to the future. Neighborhood organizations that stay connected to the residents and the combined vision of the neighborhood are poised to continue as a viable, attuned connection to advocate for the community within the neighborhood as developments come and other revitalization projects continue to grow within the neighborhood.

To maintain the sustainable community that has developed within the South Wedge, "we must always ask, Sustainable for whom? And be cautious that any vision of a sustainable community be an accessible one: one that is open to all racial, cultural, age, and income groups and that encourages social and cultural diversity" (Beatley & Manning, 1997, p.35). A number of residents identified the village feel of the South Wedge. Maintaining the components that

create that sense will continue to support a sustainable community within the South Wedge as well as the sense of place and sense of community found there.

Maintaining the quantity and accessibility to affordable housing within the South Wedge will perpetuate the diversity of housing and residents that respondents value in their neighborhood. The most prominent experience of indirect displacement in the South Wedge is seen in exclusionary housing. Further research into the changes in rental housing prices, mix, and availability will further clarify the concerns facing the working class residents of this neighborhood. Poverty levels within the City of Rochester are different than poverty levels within the County of Monroe that Rochester is in. Using applicable poverty levels of the location of the development can allow for those residents within the city to retain access to new low-income developments or mixed-income developments within the South Wedge.

Guard against direct displacement of residents through the occasional proposal of new developments. If a development comes into a neighborhood that will directly displace residents, especially low-income residents, finding suitable housing within the neighborhood will provide some cushion from the trauma of being moved. Social networks are key components in the day to day living, especially for lower-income residents. Preserving these social networks can facilitate stability.

Support the local neighborhood organizations. These organizations are typically built by the community and know the community and it's needs. The organizations typically are involved in the long process of advocating and facilitating new changes and deserve credit for this work. They also represent the unique character of the particular neighborhood. "'One size doesn't fit all' at the neighborhood level… It is creative local initiatives that are the essential power for regenerating community" (Kretzmann & McKnight,1993, p.373).

As the business corridor continues to develop, maintaining "continuity, even on a small scale, of key neighbourhood resources and sense of community can prevent [social and cultural displacement and associated] feelings of grief – that as long as there are some places to go to fill basic needs for goods, services, and social interactions, and as long as there is a measure of familiarity and safety," (Shaw & Hagemans, 2015, p.339). By doing this, the toll of indirect displacement may be significantly reduced. This will maintain the social capital that draws so many long-term and newcomer residents to the neighborhood and has created such a strong sense of place.

One of the significant limitations of this research is the variety of residents interviewed. A large voice of the community is missing in the responses gathered: that of the low-income resident. While every effort was made, this voice is still absent. Further research dedicated to the low-income resident's experience in the South Wedge of both long- and short-term residents will amplify the findings and analysis of the South Wedge.

VII. Limitations

Throughout the course of the research, various limitations arise from the available data sets, the referrals for interviews, and time constraints. The research was completed as thoroughly as possible within these constraints and, as such, presents the best possible results given the available data and time. That being said, the limitations of this particular research should be addressed to better clarify the results.

A. Interviews

During the initial request for resident candidates and continued referrals at the end of each interview, every attempt was made to capture a diverse array of voices from the

neighborhood. Using a snowball sample method, referrals were a great resource as every resident interviewed offered a couple of names they thought would be a good addition to my research, based on the topics discussed in the interview and the relationships each resident had. Either due to the nature of my research questions and/or the social connections of those involved, each referral pointed me to another resident that was very involved in the changes that had occurred during the last 40 years and had also typically been in the neighborhood for a period of 10 years or more. After the fifth interview, a handful of names continued to be offered as good people with whom to talk. Each additional resident provided a unique and insightful perspective from their position in the neighborhood. This added a broader understanding and fascinating depth about the changes that had occurred over the last 40 years.

Pursuing variety in my research sample was a constant struggle that was ultimately unsuccessful due to the lack of referrals to residents of different races and income status. The couple of potential referrals did not pan out due to missing information, no response, or the residents had moved. Another constraint to achieving a diverse group of resident experiences in the South Wedge was time. Having only a number of months to conduct the interviews, I was unable to dig deeper and make more connections to access the desired diversity for the interviews.

With these limitations of the snowball sample interviews, a well-rounded sampling of resident experiences was not captured in the South Wedge neighborhood. This creates insufficient evidence for displacement, both direct and indirect. Some physical displacement was seen through the Erie Harbor development, but solid numbers on how many displaced residents moved to other housing within the South Wedge is not available. Unsuccessful

attempts were made to contact some of the residents who were able to return to the development following the renovations.

Given the particular makeup of the residents interviewed, it is inconclusive whether social, cultural, political, or exclusionary displacement has occurred. To the subset of residents interviewed, these have not occurred. A handful of residents did touch upon the inability for working class residents to find housing within the neighborhood and concern over the rising rents and residential home prices, but specific examples were missing at the time of my interviews.

B. Census

The United States Census data posed its own set of limitations. The data gathered from the 2000 census provided specific data from the census taken for that representative year. The data gathered from the 2010 census did not have specific data for all categories. The income and education data sets were estimates provided by the American Community Survey. Any analysis comparing the income and education data sets from 2000 and 2010 will inevitably pose some margin of error as concrete numbers are compared to estimates.

The other limitation of the census data is that the two census tracts comprising the South Wedge cover more than just the specific boundaries of the South Wedge neighborhood as defined by the City of Rochester. Given this, the southern census tract, tract 34, included census data from the Highland Park neighborhood, which has somewhat different housing and demographic trends than its neighbor to the north, the South Wedge neighborhood. This does not seem to influence the data provided or the trends seen significantly but that is difficult to prove.

The income data gathered from the 2000 and 2010 census is separated into a variety of income groups based on a $5,000 or $10,000 span. The income class ranges used from the U.S. News & World Report article were based on a more specific dollar amount for each income class. For the purpose of this research, the income class criteria was adjusted to fit the income groups provided by the U.S. Census. For example, the defining income for poverty is $18,000 to $23,050. Due to the information available from the U.S. Census, that group is $20,000 to $24,999 and so on with the other categories.

C. City of Rochester Crime and Assessment Data

Crime data is limited to reported crime. The perception of danger in the neighborhood may go beyond the number of actual reported crimes and cannot be revealed through this data set. The data is also reported in 100 house blocks. Some of the streets extend beyond the South Wedge neighborhood boundary, with the boundary in the middle of a 100 house block. To accommodate this, each street was rounded up or down to the nearest 100 house increment. Also, when delineating a north/south split within the neighborhood, two streets were intersected in the middle of a 100 house block. These two streets were separated equally both in time and being selected for the northern section and southern section to not erroneously skew the available data. Had the data been more specific, the reported incidents would have been sorted accordingly.

Assessment data provided by the city is in nominal dollars. While this information could have been converted into constant dollars, using a national calculator to track trends and changes without inflation affecting the results, this would not accurately reflect the inflation changes on the local level. Assessed values are based on market values and other criteria specifically for the

City of Rochester. The various criteria can affect the assessments to reflect variables or trends not accounted for within this analysis.

D. Business Comparisons

The major limitation of the business comparison is the business directories. Business directories were produced by the South Wedge Planning Committee (SWPC) in 1995, 1996, and 1998. These directories were a comprehensive list of all businesses in the southeast region from churches to construction supply, and from machine shops to hair salons. They present a comprehensive listing of all businesses functioning within the southeast area. A pamphlet was released in 2013 by BASWA documenting the variety of markets & shops, food, drink & entertainment, services, and health businesses within the South Wedge area. In 2016, the business data available is maintained on BASWA's website, due to the difficulty in maintaining a paper directory as businesses come and go. The change in organizations producing the various directories, the goal of each printed directory, and the definition of each category changes with each production. This limits the data as it is difficult to definitely say which businesses had closed and which were still operating in a given year. There is a margin of error in the comparison of the 4 business directory documents, but the overall trends still present a representative picture of the changes in the South Wedge.

VIII. Conclusion

The South Wedge neighborhood is a special neighborhood. The location, proximity to downtown Rochester, the river, make-up of houses, and diversity of residents provided the setting for a strong neighborhood to grow. I asked a couple of residents why the South Wedge

was successful in organizing and transforming their neighborhood while welcoming newcomers and rehabilitation to better the place they call home, as other Rochester neighborhoods have struggled to maintain a sense of place. Phyllis shared, "People say the South Wedge is incredible. No it's not. People have worked for 10 or 20 or 30 or more years" putting in the hard work into the neighborhood, whether that was cleaning up cigarette butts from the sidewalks, or just getting down on their hands and knees to clean up or rehabilitate an area of the neighborhood. She goes on to share that, "It's duplicable. It's doable. It just, you have to team up with somebody who's at least one step ahead of you." I asked Florence, who is also active in community organizations, what makes her group so successful. She replied, "Pizza and beer is what started it and pizza and beer is what sustains us cause we get together and we have fun." A non-resident stakeholder offered the history of the neighborhood as a response. "I go back to Susan B. Anthony and Fredrick Douglas. You know, I think it's them. You know, I mean Fredrick Douglas lived here. And there's a permission to really raise public issues. It's the flavor and I think the other piece is it's a highly educated area," due to the proximity to the local universities with a stable housing stock.

These responses offer a glimpse into the underlying fabric that often sustains the South Wedge. There is evidence that the gentrification process is taking place within the South Wedge. The community may be able to weather the effects of gentrification without significant displacement experiences if strategic plans are implemented moving forward. Some indirect and direct displacement sectors are already activating and careful planning can help the neighborhood navigate these affected sectors.

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