ABSTRACT: After decades of gentrification, inner city neighbourhoods are still changing. They become a place for enhancing the site-base experience that feeds the economy of the post modern city. It seems that the issue of inequality occurring in the urban core has been surpassed by the rise of new expectations concerning the basic living environments called neighbourhoods. According to the literature, new phrases such as cultural quarters, urban villages, and post modern neighbourhoods, all aim to suggest the idea of a vibrant, exciting and desirable city. Empirical field work demonstrates that neighbourhood desire is a matter of “everyday life” rather than depending on site-based experience, entertainment, and consumption, as literature suggests. This paper will argue that even thought low income populations are no longer the majority in those neighbourhoods, the idea of a “lively working class neighbourhood” remains very strong in collective representations and contributes to the re-calling of specific forms of urbanity. Urbanity implies a confrontation with diversity, the un-expected, the unplanned social interactions and political struggles that enhance to the desirability of the neighbourhood itself.

KEYWORDS: neighbourhood change, new economy, desire, urbanity, gentrification

PREMISE

In contemporary cities some diverse and authentic neighbourhoods are becoming desirable places and important sources for the new economy.

These are inner city neighbourhoods, originally positioned as working class settlements that have registered a long process of transitions. First they lost their original populations which were replaced by new inhabitants with higher incomes and a more sophisticated habitus, a process well known as gentrification. Recently they seem to have registered another stage of their evolution: new expectations are rising around the minimum unit of co-existence that was originally called a neighbourhood. In other words what in for some decades was considered to be a basic living environment where strong ties were nursed and replicable (Tosi 2001), is starting to be considered a place where the local economy could be enhanced.

Moreover it has been observed that this shift affects the system of relations, belonging, meanings and identities at a local level. For this reason it is a shift that must be read behind activities, systems of meanings, representations and expectations concerning the living environment.

Empirical research demonstrates that, even though the working class population is no longer the majority in those neighbourhoods, the ideas of “lively working class neighbourhood” remains very strong in

1 This paper will present a selection of the empirical work conducted in two neighborhoods - Fort Greene in Brooklyn and San Lorenzo in Rome. The authors have been living in each neighborhood for eight months to conduct a survey of neighborhood change using the method of field-work observations and active participation. The case study comparisons underline some similarity in the change occurring in the neighborhood and in the contemporary economy that will be presented here throughout one case. The complete empirical field work comparison, can be found in the doctorate dissertations Un quartiere chiamato desiderio: la transizione dei quartieri popolari in Broklyn e Roma, defended by the author.
collective representations and contributes to the re-calling of specific forms of urbanity.

In fact new expectations concerning neighbourhoods seem to occur in certain contexts where a set of physical and social characteristics repeat the diversity, density and heterogeneity as Louis Wirth (1938) describes them. Those (apparently new) expectations concerning neighbourhood life, are occurring within the wider changing state of the economy of the post industrial city.

Nowadays cities are considered central points of a new emergent form of economy defined with new terms such as economy of experiences (Pine and Gilmore 1999), cognitive and cultural economy (Scott J.A 2006), and symbolic economy (Zukin 1995), all based on a cognitive and non-material capital (Rullani 2004) that have strong ties to the local. Though cities are facing a complex reconfiguration of their role in the global economic arena, becoming entrepreneurial machines for economic growth (Logan and Molotoch 1987, Harvey 1989), the local level represents a context in which the result of global changes could be negotiable (Cremaschi 2008).

Therefore these neighbourhoods become places to attract investments and where planning authorities, according with the political arena, chose to locate regeneration projects as well as large urban redevelopment projects. On the other hand, citizens and local authorities seem unwelcoming to these new initiatives that are accused of stressing the neighbourhoods with new waves of gentrifications and new expectations.

The change observed at neighbourhood level has a strong connection with the need of cities to reinvent their images, at the same time with the capabilities of local contexts to adapt and absorb structural changes. Diverse and authentic neighbourhoods are in this sense meant to become places for enhancing the site based experience that feeds the economy of cities, while at the same time places where it is possible to experiment with the capacities of adaptation and reactions to global challenges.

All of those aspects will be explored in terms of neighbourhood desire, throughout the examples offered by selected case studies and with a literature overview concerning neighbourhood change.

LITERATURE REVIEW: NEW EXPECTATIONS CONCERNING NEIGHBOURHOOD CHANGE

The main contributions in literature concerning neighbourhood change are focused on class based theory and poverty. Those studies have given attention to patterns of concentrations of disadvantages, minorities and class struggles. Throughout those studies scholars recognize important distinction to the working class neighbours that inhabited the designated poverty areas (Gans 1963). In the USA they were mainly in opposing to the renewal approach that considered poverty areas as something that must be neglected and replaced (Topalov 2003).

At the same time, as working class neighbourhoods began to achieve a form of social and cultural legitimacy, they started to lose their low income population. For that reason researchers focused on working class neighbourhoods located in proximity with the city centre, which had experienced decades of decay due to serious disinvestments, where the inhabitants were replaced by newcomers and new investments.

The debate on gentrification began in order to explain the changes occurring in the reproduction of capital in the urban core (Smith 1989, 1996), and considering a cultural explanation (Ley 1994, Bridge, 2006), within the wider changing state of the economy in the post industrial city (Ley 1980, Hamnett, 2002).

The use of this neologism, together with the concept of class and displacement, declared the social blame that terms like gentrification imply: the steady tendency of the city to become more and more inaccessible and unequal under a programmatic and intentional neoliberal urbanism (Harvey 2005, Smith 2005).

2 The case studies (san Lorenzo, Roma and Fort Greene, Brooklyn) have been selected considering: the historical background, the process of gentrification currently underway, the presence of a vibrant atmosphere in terms of street activities and social practices, and recent Urban Redevelopment Projects underway. Both neighbourhoods, after a period of decay, become vibrant and desirable for entertainment.

3 The concept of gentrification has been coined to describe a displacement of poor income residents in inner city neighbourhoods who were replaced by new middle and upper class residents. (Smith 1989). It is generally agreed that this is due to private investment, however government action can influence the process to a large extent. The term gentrification also implies the upgrading of an area but has many negative implications such as the displacement of original residents, the rise of land values, increase in speculation in real estate, increased costs and changes in local services, and loss of social diversity. For a theoretical framework about Gentrification and the different positions in explaining the process see Glass R., Smith N., Ley D., Hammet D, Atkinson R, Lees L., Slater T, Wyly E.
Recently the literature on neighbourhood change has registered a shift from concerns about the consequences of gentrification to a more contemporary approach which considers working class neighbourhoods as an engine for enhancing and enriching the local economy.

In debt to Jane Jacobs, recent literature about neighbourhood change focused on diversity as an essential ingredient of a vital and vibrant urban experience. New terms such as cultural quarters (Bianchini 1997) art neighbourhoods (Urban Fortune 2002), Urban villages (Bell 2004), and post-modern neighbourhoods (Lloyd 2005) are used to describe inner city neighbourhoods as places where it is possible to experiment and create new lifestyles based on routines and consumption. Moreover they describe fashionable places (Bovone 2005) and places that better represent the post modern aesthetics of the city (Lloyd 2005).

Phrases such as “culturally diverse neighbourhoods” describe neighbourhoods shifting their attention from their liveability to their profitability. One example is the creative debate⁴ that is fostering “how can a city become creative in order to compete in a global market” (Florida 2002). Many experiences demonstrate that the location predicted by Florida has many references to some particular neighbourhoods, in general with those that are already gentrified (Peck 2005). According to the creative discourse, some emergent phenomena of neighbourhood change, for instance in Milan (Italy), are considered vectors of cultural and creative local economies (Bovone 2005) and are interpreted with positive expectations.

On the whole, the shift registered in literature describing changes occurring at neighbourhood level goes from neighbourhoods that change after the arrival of artists⁵ “rich in cultural capital, but (initially) weak in economic capital” (Ley 2003, Cameron S. and Coafee J., 2005), to neighbourhoods that change in order to attract creative people (Florida, 2002), if possible, high income and self sufficient (Peck 2005).

To this extent, the implication of the shift in describing changes occurring at neighbourhood levels, raises the question about who is the repository for important characteristics that are valued by citizens, and worsens the concern about who the city is planned for?

This short literature overview reveals that the idea concerning what a neighbourhood should be is changing. New expectations and descriptions encourage neighbourhoods - the basic life-space, where bonds of co-existence are made possible (Cremaschi 2008) - to satisfy new demands of entertainment, leisure and consumption that characterise the desire of urban living (Zukin 1998). This tendency is supported by increased demand from urban micro entrepreneurs that need to profit from the strong ties and networks of trust given by proximity (Scoot 2006), as well as from the aesthetic dispositions that characterise individual entrepreneurs in post industrial cities (Lloyd 2005).

In other words the descriptions in literature about neighbourhoods in the contemporary economy have moved from class based theories, which blame the unequal city, to a description where this change is considered unavoidable and is fostered by urban rhetoric and local development projects. It seems that the issues of exclusion and the unequal growth of the city have been surpassed by an idea of development that relies on the eventually prosperous, vibrant, creative and exciting city. Neighbourhoods are the place where this discourse finds empirical evidence.

Given this fact, the field work conducted in Fort Greene, Brooklyn, offers an even more complex picture.

The desire of a neighbourhood cannot simply be classified as the desire for an exciting and vibrant urban lifestyle based on leisure and consumption. The empirical work allows the opportunity to take into account Lefebvre’s assumption of “everyday life is a place of desire” (1974). In fact neighbourhoods are not registering this change without struggle. They are spaces where this change is perceived and where it is steadily negotiable. In other words, neighbourhoods are spaces where desire and ambitions for the future, could be achieved.

FORT GREENE, BROOKLYN: BEYOND THE HISTORY OF GENTRIFICATION

Fort Greene, Brooklyn is a neighbourhood that has recorded a long process of gentrification which is

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⁴ According to Florida “in the era of the new economy, success for cities will depend on creativity, and in particular in the concentration of many creative people in one place [...]They are looking forward “urban environments that are open, diverse, dynamic and cool” (Florida 2002).

⁵ “the origins of gentrification include the establishment of an urbane habitus that drew its identity from a perspective rich in cultural capital, but (initially) weak in economic capital, to a state of commodification and reinvestment.” Ley, 2003.
still underway.

In recent years it has been described as an art neighbourhood (Urban Future 2005) and has been included in the strategic plan for Down Town Brooklyn as a place to locate a Cultural District6.

Firstly it is important to remember the cultural momentum that already exists in the neighbourhood, and in Brooklyn as a whole, had its root in the 70s when Fort Greene was “the oldest and most Afro-centric artist community” (Woo, 2002). During this time a serious disinvestment and the closure of the Navy Yard where many African American labourers where employed (Jackson 2004, Kamil, 2005, Brown 1992) occurred and the neighbourhood registered a serious period of decay that consequently gave it its designation as a poverty area according with the criteria of the Council Against Poverty (Habenstreit 1974).

Later, a strong cultural change meant many areas of Brooklyn experienced an increase of pride in black aesthetics. Fort Greene became an African American artists mecca7 and a place that just ten years before was considered boring, out of date, or even worse, torn apart by racial conflicts, started to become desirable as a living option. The new social geography of the neighbourhood was emerging. New enthusiastic inhabitants started to renovate historic Brownstones and steadily moved into the neighbourhood (Jackson 2004).

Those new inhabitants were in particular African-American. They were the urban pioneers described in literature as gentrifiers, responsible for the process of gentrification, and who contributed to a particular form of black gentrification (Freeman, Baconi 2004). This gave room for the affluent black middle class in the neighbourhood8 and slowly for a process of emancipation of the black community (Freeman 2006). In addition to this, local organisations started to mobilise for the preservation of neighbourhood heritage as well as for access to housing markets by low income families.

Since the 90s the process gave a “sign of renaissance, and much of this growth was the result of small-scale, community-based initiatives” (Jackson 2004). Indeed in the last decade the gentrification phenomena has started to be more aggressive (Smith e Hackworth 2001). The new superlative “super gentrification” coined by Lees (2003) easily clarified the tendency of the neighbourhood to turn into a rich enclave. Nerveless the Down Town Brooklyn Plan adopted by the planning authorities, chose to locate at the boundaries of the neighbourhood, large urban redevelopment projects such as Metro Tech, and the BAM cultural District. Those projects are perceived by local communities as threats to their effects coupled with the issue of gentrification9.

This short description of the change that occurred in Fort Greene reveals that the neighbourhood has been subject to different structural changes. The issue of preservation of historical architecture is nowadays overlapped with class and race issues. Moreover associations, communities and activists are mobilised against new projects and promoting alternative ways of sustainable development.

OBSERVATION OF NEIGHBOURHOOD CHANGE

In order to capture this complex stage of the neighbourhood, where a fervid coexistence of issue and claim are finding place, there are presented here the results of field-work conduct by observations and active participations in the communities, nonprofit organizations, and spontaneous groups that were advocates for their living environment.

The field work has produced two different products. The first defined the archaeology of change, and looked primarily at the comprehension of how the “space between buildings” (Gehl 1968) is changing

6 "BAM cultural district is conceived as a vibrant, mixed used, multicultural art district, that will nurture and build upon the local arts and business community and shape local development already in progress...The primary goal for the project is to foster a lively, livable neighborhood, in which there is a supportive framework for the production, enjoyment and representation of the arts. (Plan for BAM Cultural District BAMLDC 2002)

7 “Fort Greene is an effervescent, trend-setting neighborhood that artists in particular find irresistible. In perhaps no other Brooklyn community can writers, musicians, designers, filmmakers and visual artists draw inspiration from a rich and varied history that is so well preserved, or engage more fully in the animated debate that defines tomorrow's Avant-Garde” (Kennet Jackson, 2004).

8 “In retrospect, we can see that not only was White Flight good for slumlords and realtors, it also provided an opening for members of a growing Black middle class to buy beautiful homes in a previously white only section of neighborhood that had long had a black presence”(Rosenberg1998).

9 In particular a large urban development known as Atlantic Yard Project has been attacked by local activists with slogans such as Developers Don’t Destroy Brooklyn to produce “instant gentrification”.
according with new needs and uses. Hence, kind of symbols and images of transition occurred and are still occurring in Fort Greene, and how they could be perceived. For this purpose building typologies and their re-uses, commercial corridors and their appeal, public spaces and their uses, have been scheduled and described. The result is a collection of maps and images that contribute to the understanding of the neighbourhoods characters and features. The survey reveals a heterogeneous, diverse, and complex social geography visible in the street, strongly tied with housing typologies\(^{10}\) and their locations in the neighbourhood (Fig. 1).

\[\text{Figure 1 Archaeology of change: building typologies}\]

This is confirmed by Census data that reveals the gentrification of the neighbourhood correlates with housing typology: the income is higher and it grows in census tract where brownstone houses are located, moreover the total income of these neighbourhoods is growing 20% more than the rest of the city.

The street appeal (shop frontage and design) and the uses occurring in the main corridors\(^{11}\) reveal a vibrant and active street life and the presence of different populations in the neighbourhood (Fig 2). The populations are varied\(^{12}\) and the uses of public spaces are multiple. Therefore diversity encompasses ethnic, social, cultural, and physical characteristics.

\(\text{\textsuperscript{10} The neighborhood has a good patrimony of architecture: housing in wood from the end of the nineteenth century and row houses in brownstone that characterise the south part of the neighborhood, the one that has been almost completely gentrified. To the north, manufacturing buildings left empty are re-used mainly by young artists as work spaces; public housing projects are still considered hostile and are mainly inhabited by African-Americans. Single plot marked neoclassical and neogothic villas stand well restored in the core of the neighborhood and have been recently bought by Anglo American families. In some lots new condos are rising and those are the reason for the birth of recent forms of activism called “condo boom watch”.}\)

\(\text{\textsuperscript{11} Tree corridors cross the neighborhood. Myrtle Avenue is the north corridor that runs along the public housing. It is characterised by general markets and 24 hour shops oriented to cheap goods. While Dekalb Avenue and Fulton Street are characterised by sophisticate shops, wine bars, French patisseries, boutiques and self made designers, to give some examples.}\)

\(\text{\textsuperscript{12} The populations vary from young students to elderly still in the neighborhood; from Anglo and African American to Caribbean, Mexican, and Chinese; from highly skilled professionals to ordinary workers. The African American population is the majority with a rate among the total populations (18,000) of 70%. This rate is considerable if compared with a black brooklynities rate that is 30% among the rest of the population. In recent years the white population is rising, however Rosenberg demonstrates that the neighborhood is facing a class issue more than a race issue (Rosenberg 1998).}\)
The survey has considered also the main projects and policies for the neighbourhood (Fig. 3). The main urban projects could be simplified as top down – decisions that come from the Planning Department mainly oriented to the future development of the city – and bottom up, proposed and suggested by communities oriented to the preservation of the neighbourhood heritage. Those two families of local policies reveal different expectations concerning the future of the neighbourhood.

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\(^{13}\) This survey was up date as of late 2008. Some projects may have changed slightly in feature or size considering recent economic changes.
The second product of the field work comes from the history of participations that constitute the raw material for the production of a graph called Observation of neighbourhood vitality (Fig 4), a kind of complex representation of all the activities taking place in the neighbourhood, reorganised on the basis of the ideas and representations concerning the neighbourhood. The image is composed of independent columns without any horizontal correspondence. In column 1 there are the communities\textsuperscript{14}, groups of interest and institutions that were working for their neighbourhood\textsuperscript{15}. Within this group some individuals have been privileged informants concerning their activities and also their personal opinions. In column 2 there are the recurring representations of the neighbourhood. Those representations are a convergence of ideas and aspirations within the space that is able to host them: the neighbourhood (Grande 2006).

\textsuperscript{14} The term community is used in common languages to indicate a group of people that live in the same surroundings and share ideas, advocacy or issues. Even if it is a common term it has a dense meaning full of geography and belongings. In general a neighborhood’s community has a minimum of two of those three characteristics; a common geography and sense of belonging to a place (living in the neighborhood), have a common idea or advocacy (to share an issue as well as an interest in something), have a common identity (due to religion, ethnicity or culture).

\textsuperscript{15} Fort Greene Association was promoting Fort Greene as an Historical District; BAM LDC and Downtown Brooklyn Partnership was promoting the BAM cultural District; “condo watch community” was an sporadic community advocating against new developments; non-profit organisations PRAT Community Council was working on anti displacement policies and affordable housing; South of Navy Yard artists association was promoting the Artist Studio Strowl; Myrtle Avenue Brooklyn partnership was promoting the revitalisation of commercial activities. For each of those groups the author produced a report about their activity, objective and their ideas concerning the neighborhood. In each group more than one key informant has been chosen for a more in depth interview.
Figure 4 Observation of neighbourhood vitality

In column 3 there are the main local projects, driven by groups or institutions. They are strongly tied with the way to consider the urban fabric: re-use the vacant buildings; maintain the physical assets of the neighbourhood; maintain social and ethnic diversity and allow all to access the housing market; build a new city with urban redevelopment projects; and promote and enhance the vibrant atmosphere in the street life encouraging small business.

This complex representation allows us to draw some conclusions about the desirability of Fort Greene and to underline a strong tie between the desirability and a precise form of urbanity.

NEIGHBOURHOOD DESIRES

To this extent desirability could be defined as a variable that depends on several different, contrary, and controversial ideas of what a neighbourhood is or should be.

So far, Fort Green could be considered as an historical district with architectural relevance that should be preserved: confirmed by the comment “we are the brown stoners”; a neighbourhood that corresponds to many expectations concerning the built form: confirmed by comments such as “it has the right scale”; “we used to see the sky”; an artistic mecca with an active cultural life; a place where socio-ethnic diversity is still an important component, but where local activists are facing class issues; an area of future urban redevelopment and a good opportunity for sure investment confirmed by “it is close to the Manhattan financial district”; and, finally, a vibrant neighbourhood with an active street life confirmed by phrases such
as “it is a hot place”, “it is the happening ‘hood’”.

Thereby it is important to see how the built environment plays a very important role on the “production” of the neighbourhood’s ideas. Throughout the use of the “neighbourhood of brick and mortar” (Blokland 2005) the urban fabric offers the raw material for the reproduction of collective and shared ideas that form the neighbourhood symbolically. Some of those ideas come from the rewriting of the past; the old fashion aristocratic neighbourhood with luxurious villas. Indeed others are recent and oriented into possible investment and promotions. No single one of these ideas is sufficient in describing what the neighbourhood is. All of those ideas, even if apparently in contrast, are present at the same time.

The complex coexistence and the negotiations of different local projects and ideas produce the symbolic, social and cultural space called Fort Greene.

Local projects and initiatives are promoted by a group of citizens forming communities but also from individuals. Figure 5 shows a trajectory of groups that advocate against gentrification. Starting from the same ideas of what the neighbourhood is (a diverse neighbourhood) and with the same objective (preserve social diversity), their members have different approaches.

**Figure 5** Observation of neighbourhood vitality: local project trajectories

Anti-gentrification activists are requesting that the existing buildings should be protected by anti-gentrification policies. The Director of a nonprofit association called PRATT Community Council is working for a quote of affordable housing in new developments.

It is also interesting to note that different groups, born from different issues (such as the anti-gentrification movement and the condo boom watch), overlap with the ideas that the neighbourhood
should preserve both from aspects of its physical form and its social diversity, and come up with similar proposals.

Finally local projects result in three main attitudes: form of resistance, adaptations, and promotions. Reactions are basically aimed to compare the physical change of the neighbourhood. Those practices find their applications in policies such as Down Zoning Plan, the enlargement of the Historic District and the contextual rules that oblige new development to be coherent with the surroundings. Forms of reaction also include the activities of the anti-gentrification movement and displacement watch, promoted by local nonprofit associations. Their aim is to allow low income families to access the housing market under the protections of rent stabilisation procedures.

Forms of promotions consider the neighbourhood and its characteristics a good context for investment, in particular for small enterprises oriented to fashion, entertainment (bars and clubs) and shops. Activities that enhance the vibrant street life that already exists in the neighbourhood, are in some sense a form of promotion. The Downtown Brooklyn Partnership promotes a Cultural District called BAM where it is aimed to develop cultural activities related to performing arts. This project has received much criticism from the local artists because it appears to profit from an already existing African American cultural community.

**NEIGHBOURHOOD VALUES**

The observation of activities in Fort Greene allows us to select some important features that determine the desirability of the neighbourhood. They could be considered neighbourhood values and could be summarised as follows:

**-Arts and culture as ordinary not extraordinary.** In Fort Greene art and daily life are coupled with the practices of everyday life of inhabitants. Artists usually conduct their lives in complete anonymity and contribute to the cultural capital of the neighbourhood as any other inhabitants that produce values with care to their surroundings. Given that assumption, the culture of a neighbourhood is not something that can be externalized, and at worst, sold as urban experience as literature suggests. From this perspective neighbourhoods must be considered a document of actions (Geertz 1973), the result of a summary of the amount of the possible ways of life (Williams 1989) occurring in a living environment.

**-Sociability and vitality.** The active street life occurring in the neighbourhood is not only a product of businesses but also a sub-product of the uses and practices promoted by individuals and groups. The liveability of Fort Greene is due to the diversity of the street activities, young populations, ethnic groups and their behaviour. Moreover vitality is due to the activities promoted by the communities and associations that contribute to the social reproductions of space, of trust networks, and ties. That being said, for culture, ties should not be considered only for their economic advantages. They are substantive for the vitality of a lived environment.

**-The built form.** The field work demonstrates that the built environment is the common ground for the dialogue among different expectations concerning the neighbourhood. The building environment of a neighbourhood is a set of physical and social features that re-call the pre-modern urban form repertoire: the fine grain of the nineteenth century with dense housing blocks, row housing and villas. Figurability and legibility as described by Kevin Lynch (1960) still finds connection with the desirability of certain neighbourhoods in post modern times.

**CONCLUSION**

The main research outcomes concern the desires of certain neighbourhoods in the contemporary economy.

The empirical field work proves that neighbourhood desire is a matter of “everyday life” rather than depending only on site-based experience, entertainment, and consumption.

Desirability frames a complex reality. It embraces: a combination of different socio-cultural representations related to the neighbourhood; a set of physical and social characteristic that have been described as neighbourhood values; and finally, the strong and persistent advocacy of activists, the sociability,
and the opportunity to express ideas and claims. Therefore desirability is the opportunity and the space where individuals and groups of citizens can express their opinions concerning their surrounding world. This position finds its theoretical support in Lefebvre assumption “everyday life is a place of desire” (1974).

This interpretation of neighbourhood change suggests a strong link between desire and urbanity. The attachment to a precise building environment represents a re-call for urbanity: a combination of physical, social and symbolic features that create a dense, diverse and heterogeneous urban living. Urbanity implies confrontation with diversity, the unexpected, the unplanned social interactions and political struggles that enhance the opportunity of self expression. From this perspective neighbourhoods are not registering structural changes passively. Even when the neighbourhood undergoes a process of gentrification there are still spaces where changes and meanings could be steadily negotiable.

Finally this re-call for urbanity in the new economy leads to a paradox: the unfeasible time relations between a set of physical and social values with the need of post modern society. The pre modern city required the sociability desired from the working class inhabitants during the sixties and seventies, however it must be redefined to give room to post modern lifestyles.

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Neighborhood change literature review


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**Fort Greene, Brooklyn**


