

Newspapers and Neighborhood Economic Change

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Abstract

Gentrification presents differently in different neighborhoods depending on how it is defined and measured, and newspaper coverage of gentrification competes with other topics that reporters define as newsworthy. In this thesis, 57 articles from *The Boston Globe* and *The New York Times* were both read individually and analyzed with sentiment analysis software in order to study the relationship between newspaper reporters' use of the term "gentrification" and the tone of their coverage. Articles focused on Jamaica Plain in Boston, Massachusetts and Williamsburg in Brooklyn, New York. The results found a statistically significant relationship between tone and mention of gentrification: articles that mention gentrification tend to be more negative than those that do not. The way newspaper reporters weave their coverage of gentrification together with coverage of related urban issues suggests that policymakers might consider using new tax revenue from gentrification to help needy residents rather than trying to stop it.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Urban neighborhoods are always changing. People and businesses move in and out in response to local economic conditions, zoning changes, transportation options, and many other factors. One scholar of urban planning chose to title a book *A Neighborhood that Never Changes* as an ironic reference to the fact that neighborhoods are constantly changing (Brown-Saracino 2009). The speed and scale of neighborhood economic change can have a large impact on a city. Some cities shrink, losing residents and tax revenue. Other cities grow rapidly and then face difficulties in suddenly providing services for large numbers of new residents.

Historically, many American cities have responded to increased population by growing outward. Most American cities have a ring of sprawling suburbs that push away from the urban center along an ever-widening frontier of low-density development. In many cities, previously built-up areas have been repurposed through infill development, such as by converting former industrial districts to housing or retail space.

This thesis studies a particular type of infill change. Gentrification occurs when a formerly working-class residential neighborhood is converted to housing for more affluent residents. This thesis studies gentrification using neighborhoods in Boston and New York City as examples.

Given the prevalence of gentrification in so many cities, how the public perceives the process is important because public opinion can help to shape political decisions that impact how gentrification is encouraged, discouraged, or managed. Since newspapers are an important source of knowledge for the general public, this thesis analyzes newspaper accounts of neighborhood economic change in order to study how the public perceives gentrification. It builds upon previous work that analyzed how newspaper reporters cover gentrification (Brown-Saracino and Rumpf 2011; Freeman 2006; Hyde 2014; Wilson and Mueller 2004).

Gentrification is a complex process whose causes and effects are still being studied. However, political discourse and the public opinion that drives it do not recognize this complexity. For this reason, this thesis seeks to analyze the more widely read accounts of neighborhood economic change that reporters often present in newspaper articles. It uses content analysis, a technique used in qualitative urban planning research to gather information in an unobtrusive manner. Newspaper articles are a common data source for content analysis. Newspaper articles have already been published, so they eliminate one potential source of researcher bias where data might include information that respondents thought a researcher might want to hear (Gaber and Gaber 2007; Hollander and Cahill 2011).

This thesis seeks to answer three interrelated questions. First, how do newspaper reporters cover gentrification? For example, do reporters write about negative effects such as displacement of existing residents, positive changes such as new restaurants, or a mix of both? Second, how often do newspaper reporters label neighborhood economic change as gentrification? Third, what is the nature of the relationship between use of the term “gentrification” and the type of coverage reporters provide?

The thesis begins with an overview of some of the issues and concepts surrounding gentrification. The concept has existed since the 1960s, and since then scholars have written about displacement, race, measurement, and other issues surrounding it. The next section discusses how newspaper reporters choose what topics to cover. Both of these areas of background information are context for analyzing newspaper articles about gentrification. The thesis then describes how newspaper articles were selected and analyzed. It describes which neighborhoods were chosen, how relevant articles were assembled, and the process used to categorize articles and measure their tone. These processes build on previous work that employed similar content analysis strategies to analyze newspaper articles (Brown-Saracino and Rumpf 2011; Freeman 2006; Hyde 2014; Wilson and Mueller 2004). The next section offers three sample passages from newspaper articles used in the study to give the reader a sense of the data.

Finally the thesis presents the results of the analysis along with its limitations and some thoughts on implications for policy and practice and ideas for further research. It offers ideas on how other researchers might use the results for other studies and how government officials might use the results to inform policy.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

This chapter provides an overview of background information related to the research conducted for this thesis. It summarizes literature related to gentrification, including studies that assessed evidence of gentrification in particular cities, studies that looked for gentrifying trends in demographic data from multiple metropolitan areas, and studies that focused on particular sub-topics such as displacement, race, or crime. This chapter also reviews literature related to how newspaper reporters decide what stories to cover.

What is Gentrification?

The demographics and built environment of an urban neighborhood can change in many ways, and gentrification is a term that describes a particular type of neighborhood change. It occurs when middle-class residents move into a neighborhood that was previously inhabited primarily by lower-income residents. It is often characterized by improvements to existing housing, conversion of underused buildings to lofts or other new housing, or the opening of new businesses that cater to more affluent residents. Gentrification often involves lower-income residents being unable to afford rising rents in their increasingly popular neighborhood, resulting in those residents being displaced to other neighborhoods or to the suburbs. Although scholars debate how best to define gentrification, many agree that it is a process by which middle-income people

displace lower-income people in urban neighborhoods (Anderson and Sternberg 2012; Atkinson 2000; Bryson 2013; Curran 2007; Freeman 2009; Lawrence 2002; Lees 2003; Slater, Curran, and Lees 2004).

Part of the disagreement over the definition of gentrification stems from disagreements over measurement. Some scholars study gentrification from a quantitative perspective, using census data and other statistics to draw composite pictures of demographic changes over multiple neighborhoods or entire cities. Other scholars use a qualitative approach, studying racial change or the change in a character of a small neighborhood or a part of a neighborhood. These differing approaches lead to different conclusions as to where gentrification is occurring (Barton 2014).

Origin of Gentrification

The term “gentrification” was coined by Ruth Glass, a scholar who was studying residential transformation in a portion of London in the early 1960s. She observed that professionals were moving into parts of London that had previously been home to blue-collar workers, and she used the word “gentrification” to describe that change (Glass 1964). Since then the concept has been studied in cities around the world, especially in New York City and Chicago. One study conducted an international comparison between gentrification in New York, London, and Paris (Carpenter and Lees 1995). The authors found that gentrification proceeded along

roughly similar lines in all three cities despite differences between Anglo-American and continental European laws and customs.

Displacement

The central mechanism of gentrification is displacement, whereby one group of people takes up residence and another group of people leaves. Displacement is the most significant negative impact of gentrification, but measuring it is difficult because displaced people scatter (Atkinson 2004; Lawrence 2002). Some move to other neighborhoods of a city, some move to lower-cost suburbs, some move in with friends and family who already live somewhere else, and others stay in the neighborhood and might benefit from improved amenities (Freeman and Braconi 2004).

One study showed that the relationship between gentrification and displacement in New York City was not especially robust while acknowledging that displacement, even if rare, can be traumatic (Freeman 2005). Another study of New York showed a stronger correlation between gentrification and displacement while acknowledging the difficulty of measuring displacement (Newman and Wyly 2006). Displacement is likely underreported because people who leave go to so many different places. For example, New York City municipal data might track people who move from one neighborhood to another within city limits, but it would fail to track people who move to Long Island or New Jersey.

Race

One assumption about gentrification has been that newly arrived middle or upper-income people tend to be white and that displaced lower-income people tend to be nonwhite. To challenge this assumption, some authors have shown that displaced people can be of any race, while other authors have shown that middle-class Black people can be gentrifiers (Anderson and Sternberg 2012; Bostic and Martin 2003; Boyd 2008).

One study looked at census data from metropolitan areas across the United States and found an ambiguous relationship between gentrification and racial segregation on a citywide scale (Freeman 2009). Another study used coffee shops as a proxy for gentrification in Chicago. It found that homicide rates decreased in predominantly white, black, and Hispanic neighborhoods that were experiencing gentrification. However, it found that property crime increased in gentrifying black neighborhoods (Papachristos et al. 2011).

Politics

A person's opinion on gentrification is often confounded by his or her overall political beliefs (Cortea 2011). Commentators on the right have generally seen gentrification as "the market salvation of the inner city," while the left has often seen it as "damaging entrenchment of antagonistic social relations and displacement" (Atkinson 2004, 111). As such, whether one sees gentrification as good or bad often ties in with related opinions about what role governments

should play in rent regulation, subsidized housing, home inspections, and eviction proceedings.

City Policies and Crime

Some city leaders welcome gentrification because they stand to gain from the greater tax revenue, improved schools, and new business opportunities that often follow (Lawrence 2002; Zukin 2009). As a result, some city leaders actively pursue policies that can lead to gentrification. For example, in the early 2000s New York mayor Michael Bloomberg implemented a plan to re-zone dozens of waterfront blocks in Williamsburg and Greenpoint to permit condominium towers. This policy had the effect of driving up housing prices. However, few program evaluations have been conducted to determine the effect of policies such as rezoning on gentrification (Brown-Saracino 2016; Curran 2007).

Some city leaders support gentrification because they associate it with reductions in crime, although studies have shown the relationship between gentrification and crime rates to be unclear. Atkinson (2004) and Barton (2014) both wrote that previous research on the relationship between gentrification and crime was contradictory because some studies showed crime decreasing in gentrifying neighborhoods while other studies showed crime increasing in gentrifying neighborhoods. All of the gentrifying Chicago neighborhoods that Papachristos et al. (2011) studied experienced a reduction in homicide rates, but black gentrifying neighborhoods experienced a rise in property crime.

Geography

Although studies of gentrification have been conducted in numerous cities, the nature and consequences of the phenomenon vary depending on the size of a city and the state of its economy. Smaller, struggling cities might welcome it, while the effects would be different in large cities with overheated real estate markets (Atkinson 2004). Wyly and Hammel (1999) found gentrification to be present to varying degrees in a range of coastal and inland American cities. Lees (2003) identified what she called “super-gentrification” in certain parts of London and New York where wealthy financiers had recently displaced middle class residents who themselves had displaced working-class residents a few decades earlier. Table 1 provides a summary of studies of gentrification that were reviewed for this thesis that focused on particular cities. It reports what cities were studied and each study’s general findings.

Table 1: Selected Gentrification Literature that Focused on Particular Cities

<u>Authors</u>	<u>Cities</u>	<u>Major Findings</u>
Wyly and Hammel 1999	Boston, Chicago, Detroit, Milwaukee, Minneapolis, Philadelphia, Seattle, Washington, DC	Gentrification, as measured by mortgage investment in city neighborhoods compared to suburbs, slowed during the recession in the early 1990s but then resumed in the late 1990s.
Carpenter and Lees 1995	New York, London, Paris	Certain neighborhoods in all three cities experienced gentrification despite contextual differences.

Anderson and Sternberg 2012	Chicago	Nonwhite gentrification is a relatively new phenomenon, and they found evidence of it in both black and Latino neighborhoods.
Boyd 2008	Chicago	Middle-class blacks attempted to keep white people from gentrifying a neighborhood, but in doing so they displaced poor blacks.
Brown-Saracino 2009	Chicago	Social preservationists are people who move to a new neighborhood and want it to retain its old character.
Papachristos et al. 2011	Chicago	An increasing number of coffee shops is associated with lower homicide rates in gentrifying white, black, and Latino neighborhoods. An increasing number of coffee shops is associated with an increasing number of street robberies in black gentrifying neighborhoods.
Atkinson 2000	London	Using type of employment as a measurement, London gentrified in the 1980s.
Barton 2014	New York	Deciding whether a neighborhood is gentrifying depends on what kind of measurement is used.
Curran 2007	New York	When industry is displaced, so are the blue-collar jobs it sustains.
Freeman and Braconi 2004	New York	Low-income people who are able to remain in gentrifying neighborhoods can benefit from improved services and quality of life.

Lees 2003	New York	In the 1990s Brooklyn Heights experienced “super-gentrification,” whereby wealthy financiers displaced middle-class residents who themselves had displaced lower-income residents a few decades earlier.
Newman and Wyly 2006	New York	Reducing funding for public housing and rent stabilization would lead to even greater displacement due to gentrification.
Zukin 2009	New York	Gentrification is often characterized by an increase in expensive specialty stores, some increase in large national chain stores, and a precipitous drop in locally owned businesses.

Research Gaps

In spite of all the research that has been conducted on gentrification, gaps in knowledge remain, especially due to mismatched results from qualitative micro-analyses that tend to study small neighborhoods or parts of neighborhoods and quantitative macro-analyses that tend to study entire cities or entire metropolitan regions (Brown-Saracino 2016). Research is also tricky because developers, landlords, realtors, and other individual agents of gentrification are disinclined to talk to academics, especially if they use the word “gentrification” (Slater, Curran, and Lees 2004). Additionally, Brown-Saracino (2016) found that few researchers have conducted systematic investigations of organized resistance to gentrification, and so she called for studies to fill that gap.

How Do Reporters Decide What Issues to Cover?

Both public officials and the public at large have a limited attention span. Neither can deal with more than a few public policy issues at a time, such as health care, criminal justice reform, or disaster response (McCombs 2004). When newspaper reporters decide what issues to cover, they are shaping the public's view of reality and guiding the prioritization of public affairs (Lowrie et al. 2011; Miller 1997; Tan and Weaver 2011). They only report on issues they deem to be newsworthy, which gentrification may or may not be depending on the reporter (Barton 2014). As a result, the choices newspaper reporters make regarding what topics to cover play an important role in setting public policy agendas. Additionally, newspapers are money-making businesses, and they often support the views of elites at the expense of poor people. For example, newspaper editors might label a neighborhood as "blighted" in order to build support for demolishing older homes and building new buildings for more affluent people (Dreier and Martin 2010; Graber 2006).

Newspaper reporters write emotionally stirring stories that they believe the public wants to read. Reporters seek stories about blame, conflict, or personal anguish in order to connect with their readers (Greenberg et al. 2008). Conversely, reporters will shy away from boring topics. They are under pressure to keep the public entertained, and so coverage of gentrification competes with crime, natural disasters, elections, and other attention-grabbing topics (Graber 2006). Readers trust local newspaper reporters more than national commentators, and so local

reporters play an important role in shaping city dwellers' sense of reality (Wilson and Mueller 2004).

In summary, the literature on the motivations of newspaper reporters suggests they will seek stories that grab attention. The desire of reporters to write stories the public wants to read will drive the type of coverage they give, shape the reality their readers experience, and influence public policy.

When Reporters Cover Gentrification, How Do They Do It?

While the literature that Brown-Saracino and Rumpf (2011) reviewed suggested that newspapers would support gentrification as part of the will of the elite, they found in their research that newspaper reporters have covered gentrification in a variety of ways depending on the stage of gentrification, the identity of newcomers and long-time residents, and other factors. However, Hyde (2014) found that newspaper reporters who wrote reviews of restaurants in gentrifying neighborhoods in Vancouver usually did not discuss the larger social and neighborhood context. Wilson and Mueller (2004) found that reporters who covered gentrification in St. Louis tended to favor the interests of real estate firms and other businesses while ignoring the interests of poor and minority neighborhoods.

Other researchers have analyzed newspaper coverage in ways that are similar to the approach taken in this thesis. For instance, Greenberg et al. (2008) looked at

local newspaper coverage in their study of risk-related issues at nuclear weapons facilities. Similarly, Dreier and Martin (2010) looked for patterns in news coverage as part of their study of political attacks on the grassroots organizing network ACORN.

Chapter 3: Methods

This chapter begins with some background information about the neighborhoods studied in this thesis and why those neighborhoods were chosen. The chapter then describes the steps taken to conduct the research.

Neighborhoods: Jamaica Plain, Boston and Williamsburg, Brooklyn

This thesis uses the neighborhood as the unit of analysis. Building off Foo et al. (2013), a neighborhood is a community that is large enough to capture trends and small enough to contain some degree of shared identity. Analyzing economic change for an entire city would obscure more nuanced trends in its component neighborhoods. This thesis studies two neighborhoods that have seen especially pronounced economic change in recent years: Jamaica Plain in Boston, Massachusetts (Figure 1) and Williamsburg in Brooklyn, New York (Figure 2). Jamaica Plain was chosen because searches of the *Boston Globe* for “gentrification” and “Jamaica Plain” returned more results than did searches for gentrification in other neighborhoods of Boston. Williamsburg was chosen for the same reason from searches of the *New York Times*.

In the early nineteenth century, the area that is now Jamaica Plain was both a farming community and a location for wealthy Bostonians’ country estates. Urbanization spread along railroad and streetcar lines in the late nineteenth century, and Jamaica Plain transformed into a densely populated working class

neighborhood (Boston Landmarks Commission 2001). Today the median home value in Jamaica Plain is \$430,000, which is almost \$60,000 higher than the average home value in Suffolk County but still lower than longtime wealthy neighborhoods such as the Back Bay (\$861,000) (Social Explorer 2015).

In the early nineteenth century Williamsburg was its own village, located a mile from the City of Brooklyn and across the East River from the City of New York. It was incorporated into Brooklyn in the 1850s. The completion of the Williamsburg Bridge in 1903 brought thousands of immigrants into Williamsburg, and for much of the twentieth century it was a densely packed immigrant community (Brooklyn Public Library 2017). Today the median home value in Williamsburg is \$767,000, which is \$197,000 higher than the median for Brooklyn but still lower than Manhattan's Upper East Side, where median home values exceed \$1 million (Social Explorer 2015).

Figure 1: Jamaica Plain, a Neighborhood of Boston, Massachusetts
(Data Source: Boston Planning and Development Agency)

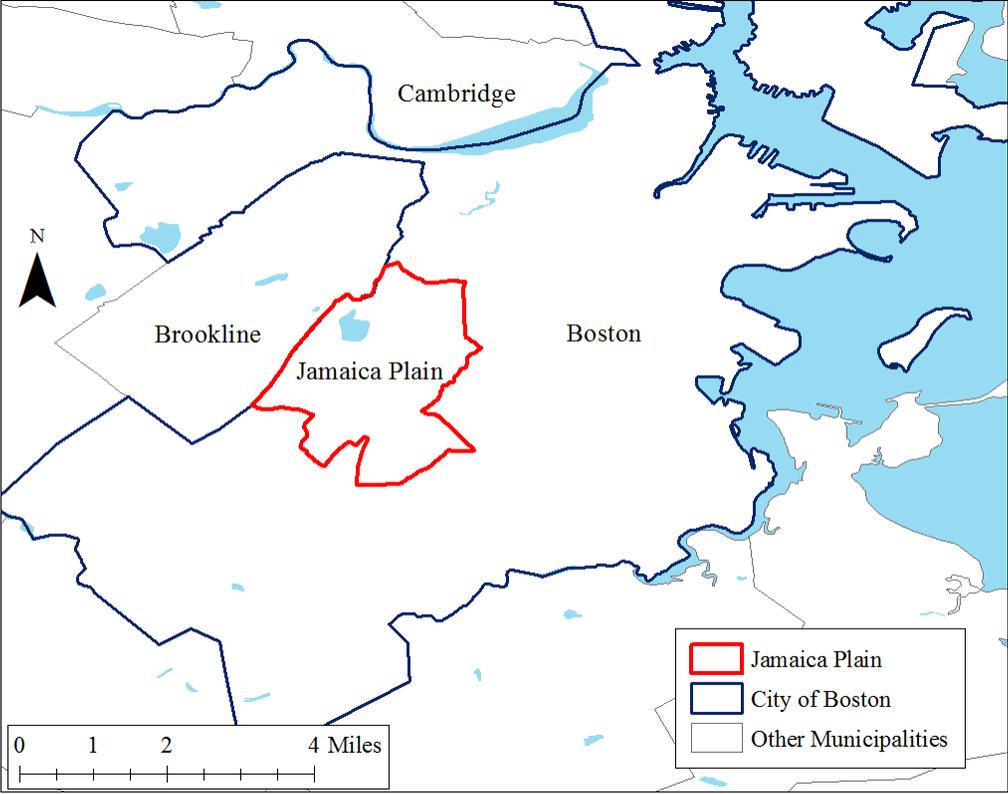
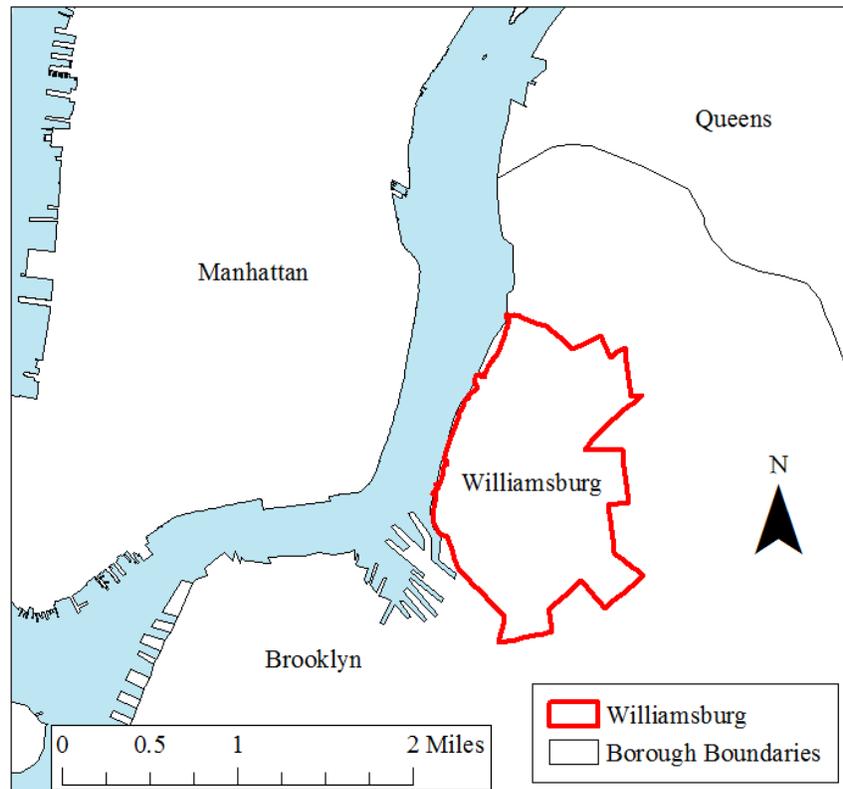


Figure 2: Williamsburg, a Neighborhood of Brooklyn, New York
(Data Source: New York City Department of City Planning)



Approach

First, a body of newspaper articles was assembled through searches of LexisNexis for *New York Times* articles and the online archives of the *Boston Globe*. These newspapers see wide circulation in their respective cities and thereby can influence the views of numerous residents. Articles were selected from a seven year period between October 1, 2009 and October 1, 2016 in order to capture trends since the recession of 2007-2008. Articles were found through a series of searches combining “Jamaica Plain” and “Williamsburg” with “gentrification” and “real estate.” The term “real estate” was chosen because it captured a large

number of articles that explored various aspects of neighborhood economic change. Collectively these searches yielded 1,311 articles. The search results were reduced by excluding restaurant reviews, letters to the editor, brief articles that lacked narrative voice, articles that presented real estate data with minimal accompanying text, and articles that only mentioned Williamsburg or Jamaica Plain in passing. The remaining list of 57 articles included general news coverage, opinion pieces, and unsigned editorials (see Appendix 1 for article titles). The articles were listed in a table by date and title, and each subsequent step of analysis was entered into a column on the table (see Appendix 2 for a sample table).

Second, articles were analyzed for manifest content. For each article, a control-F search of the text was used to find “gentrification,” “gentrify,” or other forms of the word. Articles that had some form of the word were marked “yes,” and those that did not were marked “no.”

Third, each article was manually analyzed for latent content. After reading each article, it was marked as describing neighborhood economic change in a manner that is generally “positive,” “negative,” or “mixed,” similar to the classifications used by Brown-Saracino and Rumpf (2011). In order to determine the nuances of use, each mention of gentrification in an article was also analyzed for meaning in its immediate context as suggested by Gaber and Gaber (2007), and those results

were recorded. A composite manual rating for each article was created by comparing overall and specific classifications.

Fourth, to strengthen the internal validity of the manual results, articles were analyzed using sentiment analysis software developed at the Urban Attitudes Laboratory at Tufts University by Justin Hollander and Dibyendu Das. The software uses a dictionary called AFINN that was developed by Finn Årup Nielsen. AFINN rates 2477 words on a scale from +5 to -5 depending on the strength and type of sentiment they express. For example, “abusive” is rated -3, and “satisfied” is rated +2 (Hollander et al. 2016; Wiley 2015; Yu 2016). The sentiment analysis software returned two scores for each article: a positive score and a negative score.

Two models were created to combine the positive and negative scores into a composite score. The first model constructed was additive: the negative score was subtracted from the positive score, similar to the approach used by Wiley (2015). In the additive model, an article with a larger positive score would have a positive composite score and an article with a larger negative score would have a negative composite score. For example, D.W. Gibson’s article in the *New York Times*, “How to Force Out Rent-Controlled Tenants,” had a positive score of 39 and a negative score of 117, so its additive composite score was -78.

A review of the literature did not reveal any ways to compute an automatic composite score aside from the additive model. The results from the additive model suggested that longer articles tended to have inflated positive scores because they had more words than shorter articles. In an attempt to correct for this discrepancy, a second automatic composite model was constructed in which the positive score was divided by the negative score to create a ratio. In the ratio model, an article with a larger positive score would have a composite score greater than 1, and an article with a larger negative score would have a composite score between 0 and 1. For example, D.W. Gibson's article had a ratio composite score of 0.33.

Finally, a series of statistical tests were conducted using SPSS. First, a chi-square test was used to check for a statistically significant relationship between use of the word "gentrification" and the tone of an article as measured by manual latent content analysis. Second, an independent samples t-test was used to check for a statistically significant relationship between use of the word "gentrification" and the tone of an article as measured by the sentiment analysis software using each of the two models (additive and ratio). Third, an ANOVA test was used to check for a statistically significant relationship between the manual scores and each of the two models of the automatic scores.

The research for this thesis mixed methods by using two different approaches to content analysis: manual reading and automated software. The goal of mixing

these methods was to seek convergence in the data, where similar results could be validated by different methods as suggested by Gaber and Gaber (2007).

Additionally, the research mixed qualitative and quantitative methods by performing statistical tests on the results of the qualitative data collected through content analysis.

The research for this thesis began with a pilot study. It selected 27 articles from the *Boston Globe* focusing on East Boston and proceeded in the manner described above. The pilot study found a statistically significant relationship between article tone and mention of gentrification. Reporters who wrote articles about East Boston and mentioned gentrification tended to write more negative articles, and those who did not use the term tended to write more positive articles. The pilot study also helped to explore the types of articles that different search terms yielded. It helped to develop a process for assessing which articles were relevant to the study, and it provided an opportunity to practice both manual and automatic content analysis.

Chapter 4: Results

This chapter begins with sample passages from three of the newspaper articles that were reviewed for this thesis. The passages offer the reader a sense of the types of coverage reporters give to gentrification. The chapter then reports the results of two types of analysis: manual content analysis that was conducted by reading each article and judging its tone, and automatic content analysis that was conducted by using sentiment analysis software to score each article.

Example Articles

Below are sample passages from some of the articles reviewed for this study. The first is from an article in the *New York Times* entitled “How to Force Out Rent-Controlled Tenants” by writer D.W. Gibson:

The arraignment of the notorious New York landlord Steven Croman last month was a rare bit of good news for the tenants in his buildings, many of whom have said they have endured hazardous conditions designed to force them out of their homes. Mr. Croman was charged with 20 felonies related to his rental income (he has pleaded not guilty), and faces a civil suit accusing him of using illegal means to force tenants out of their rent-stabilized apartments, in order to renovate them and find new tenants to pay market rates.

Unfortunately, Mr. Croman's alleged approach to emptying buildings is not at all uncommon. Altering or destroying a building in order to make it unsafe is the method of choice for many property owners operating in some of the city's most rapidly changing neighborhoods. When tenants can no longer cope with the danger, they often reach out to city agencies for help, which plays right into the property owner's hand: A city inspector pays a visit, observes the hazards and issues an order to vacate. Tenants then have mere hours to leave their homes, and once they vacate an apartment it is nearly impossible for them to get back in.

Even when housing court disputes are settled and a judge finds a property owner responsible for illegal construction, such decisions rarely involve criminal charges. Occasionally, city and state governments are able to

work in concert to arrest a bad actor. But the number of bad actors far exceed the arrests. Brooklyn, which is undergoing an aggressive wave of gentrification, is rife with property owners who engage in these practices with impunity. Specific examples are easy to come by (Gibson 2016, SR7).

The passage above is an example of an article that vividly portrays the destructive consequences of gentrification. The sentiment analysis software rated this article positive 39 and negative 117.

By contrast, the next passage from the *New York Times*' Jim Rendon comes from an article entitled, "Williamsburg, Toddlertown" that does not mention gentrification:

Michael Moshan bought his first condo in Williamsburg, Brooklyn, in 2003. A few years later he persuaded his girlfriend, Shana Liebman, to move there from the West Village. She was skeptical -- she didn't want to be surrounded by 20-somethings just out of school. But over the years the neighborhood, with its restaurants, bars and galleries, grew on her.

They were married in October 2006, the same month they closed on a condo on Roebling and North Seventh Streets for \$725,000. To their surprise, they found a building filled with families. Now they can't imagine raising their 15-month-old son, Nate, anywhere else.

"If you look at child-friendly parts of Brooklyn -- Carroll Gardens, Brooklyn Heights, Park Slope -- those neighborhoods are beautiful and safe and the schools are great and that is good for our kids," Mr. Moshan said. "But is that good for us? We thought, if Williamsburg could mature into a neighborhood where kids can grow, then you've won."

Families are discovering that Williamsburg is much more than a playground for the postcollege, skinny-jeans set. The neighborhood has a few private preschools; several indoor play spaces; art, movement and music classes; and a number of children's stores, some of which were started by neighborhood parents. Many of the condo buildings rising all over the neighborhood feature playrooms, pools and other family-friendly amenities.

Mr. Moshan, 41, a lawyer and a partner in Gold Scollar Moshan, and Ms. Liebman, 36, a freelance writer, are among the converts. Ms. Liebman has found plenty to do with Nate. There's Play, an indoor play center that opened this fall, with its movement and art classes for kids. Nate also loves the children's shows on weekend mornings at the Knitting Factory, the concert hall. Ms. Liebman has met other parents through the Brooklyn Bambino e-mail group. They get together for playdates, coffee, even happy hour.

For the Moshans, their building has been the most surprising resource. The five multifamily townhouses in the development run side by side for most of a block. In the Moshans' town house, three of the four apartments are occupied by families. They share a nanny and watch one another's children if someone has to run an errand. In the summertime the kids have the run of the sidewalk. And Ms. Liebman has come to know many families in the other town houses.

“You can go out in the neighborhood on a Friday night and feel sexy and single-ish,” Ms. Liebman says with a laugh. “And then wake up next morning with the kid and take him to the farmers' market and the play center” (Rendon 2011, RE1).

In the passage above Rendon describes Williamsburg as a paradise for young families. Later in the article he mentions how properties in the area have become more expensive, but he says nothing about people who were priced out of the neighborhood or the social consequences of displacement. The article has a positive tone to it, but the reader is left asking what is missing. The sentiment analysis software rated this article positive 105 and negative 20.

For a third example, the passage below comes from Yvonne Abraham, a columnist for the Boston Globe, who mentioned gentrification in a column she wrote about a grocery store controversy in Jamaica Plain in 2011:

Whole Foods is replacing the old Hi Lo supermarket - an institution that quickly grew more beloved after its owners chose to get out of the Latino

provisions business and invite the organic behemoth in.

Some elected officials have tried to smooth neighborhood divisions. Others have helped harden them. State Senator Sonia Chang-Diaz - whom I like and agree with often - demanded that Whole Foods establish an affordable housing fund or stay out of JP.

This was not helpful. If it's right to demand an affordable housing fund from Whole Foods, why shouldn't she demand it from Ten Tables, or City Feed? Why shouldn't the recently opened Canary Square and Tres Gatos kick in, too? They're all contributing to - and profiting from - gentrification in JP, a process that began decades ago....

But really, nobody's going to get anywhere focusing solely on Whole Foods. Just ask JP resident Ben Forman, research director at nonpartisan think tank MassINC, and an expert on what makes cities tick. Whole Foods will help drive up property values in the neighborhood, he says. But there's a bigger driver nearby: Longwood Medical Area.

“This is real estate economics 101,” Forman says. “What drives property values is employment, wages, and good commute times.” Longwood workers living near Hyde Square enjoy all three.

And if locals want villains, Forman says, how about real estate speculators? People aren't automatically displaced when property values go up: Developers throw them out, converting affordable rentals to condos (Abraham 2011, B1).

The passage above shows Abraham's view that gentrification is multi-faceted.

She faults neighborhood activists for focusing exclusively on Whole Foods instead of looking at the larger issues involved in the grocery chain's arrival. The overall tone of the article is negative because it criticizes neighborhood activists, but her use of the word “gentrification” in context is mixed because she describes the larger forces at work. She portrays it as neither good nor bad, but as a situation to be managed. The sentiment analysis software gave this article a rating of positive 41 and negative 21.

Manual Analysis

Of the 57 articles reviewed for this thesis, 27 used the word “gentrification” and 30 did not. The results of the manual analysis of latent content, broken down by mention of “gentrification,” are displayed in Table 2. The first column of Table 2 shows a trend of decreasing values. As tone becomes more positive, the number of articles shrinks. The second column of Table 2 does not show any apparent pattern.

Table 2: Manual Analysis Results

	At least one mention of gentrification	No mention of gentrification
Negative tone	15	10
Mixed tone	10	7
Positive tone	2	13
Total	27	30

In order to test these results for statistical significance, the presence or absence of the word “gentrification” was treated as a nominal independent variable and the tone of the article was treated as a nominal dependent variable. For these data, chi-square was 9.464 ($p=0.009$), indicating a statistically significant relationship. In other words, the test shows a statistically significant relationship between the two variables: in this case, stories that used the word “gentrification” had a significantly more negative tone as measured by manual content analysis, and stories that did not use the word tended to have a more positive tone. The Cramer’s V for the chi-square value was 0.407 ($p=0.009$), indicating a

relationship of medium strength (a Cramer’s V close to 0 would suggest a weak relationship; close to 1 would suggest a strong relationship).

Automatic Analysis Model 1: Additive

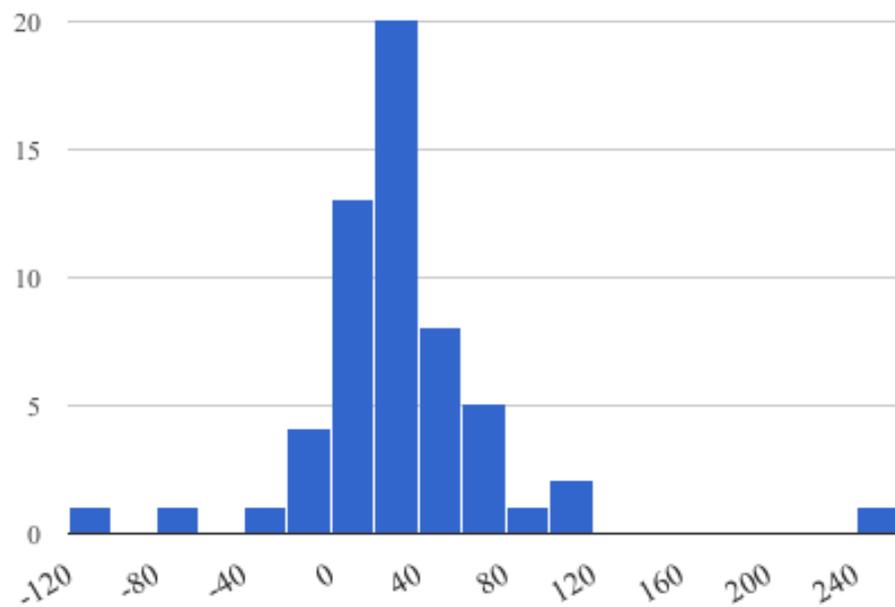
The scores from the sentiment analysis software model 1 (additive) are summarized in Table 3. The data in Table 3 are displayed in terciles in order to correspond to how the data in Table 2 are displayed. The first column of Table 3 suggests a modest downward trend. The number of articles that mention gentrification decreases slightly as scores rise. However, the data in the second column of Table 3 do not suggest any particular trend.

Table 3: Summary of Automatic Composite Scores Model 1 (additive)

	At least one mention of gentrification	No mention of gentrification
Lowest third of scores (-106 to 18)	11	9
Middle third of scores (19 to 36)	10	9
Highest third of scores (37 to 255)	6	12
Total	27	30

The distribution of composite scores from automatic analysis model 1 (additive) are displayed in Figure 3. The horizontal axis of Figure 3 shows ranges of scores grouped in intervals of 20, and the height of each column shows how many scores fell into each group. For example, 13 articles scored between 0 and 19, and two articles scored between 100 and 119. The shape of Figure 3 shows that the data have an approximately normal distribution ($N = 57$).

Figure 3: Distribution of Automatic Composite Scores Model 1 (additive)



The descriptive statistics of the composite scores from automatic analysis model 1 (additive) are displayed in Table 4. The first column of Table 4 shows the descriptive statistics for all observations. The second and third columns of Table 4 show the descriptive statistics for two sub-categories of articles: those that mention gentrification at least once, and those that do not. In all three columns, the median is less than the mean, showing that the data skew positive. The data have a large spread, as shown by the large standard deviations, especially for articles that mention gentrification (second column of Table 4).

Table 4: Automatic Composite Scores Model 1 (additive) Descriptive Statistics

	Total	At least one mention of gentrification	No mention of gentrification
Number of Observations	57	27	30
Mean	30.74	26.93	34.17
Median	26	24	32.5
Standard Deviation	46.64	60.8	29.3
Minimum	-106	-106	-34
Maximum	255	255	111

In order to test these results for statistical significance, the presence or absence of the word “gentrification” was treated as a nominal independent variable and the automatic composite score model 1 (additive) was treated as an interval-level dependent variable. An independent samples t-test was performed to see whether articles that used the word “gentrification” had a significantly different mean

score from those that did not. The mean for articles with no mention of gentrification was 34.17 (third column of Table 4), and the mean for articles that mentioned gentrification was 26.93 (second column of Table 4), creating a difference of 7.24 between the two means ($p=0.57$). However, since the p value is so much larger than 0.05, the difference is not statistically significant. In other words, articles that mention gentrification do not have a significantly different tone of coverage as measured by automatic composite score model 1 (additive) than articles with no mention of gentrification.

Comparison of Results from Manual Content Analysis and Automatic Composite Scores Model 1 (Additive)

Since the manual and automatic model 1 ratings were obtained by different methods, an ANOVA test was used to compare results from the two rating systems. The comparisons are displayed in Table 5.

Table 5: Comparison of Automatic Model 1 (additive) and Manual Results

	Mean Automatic Composite Score Model 1 (95% confidence interval)
Manual Score: Negative	20.84 (3.07 - 38.61)
Manual Score: Mixed	31.82 (0.39 - 63.26)
Manual Score: Positive	46.00 (30.07 - 61.93)

The ANOVA test resulted in an F score of 1.39 ($p=0.258$). The mean automatic scores in Table 5 appear to show a relationship between the automatic and manual scores. The mean automatic score for manually negative articles was 20.84, while the mean scores for mixed and positive articles were incrementally higher. However, the large p value and the correspondingly large and overlapping confidence intervals displayed in Table 5 show that this relationship is not statistically significant.

Automatic Analysis Model 2: Ratio

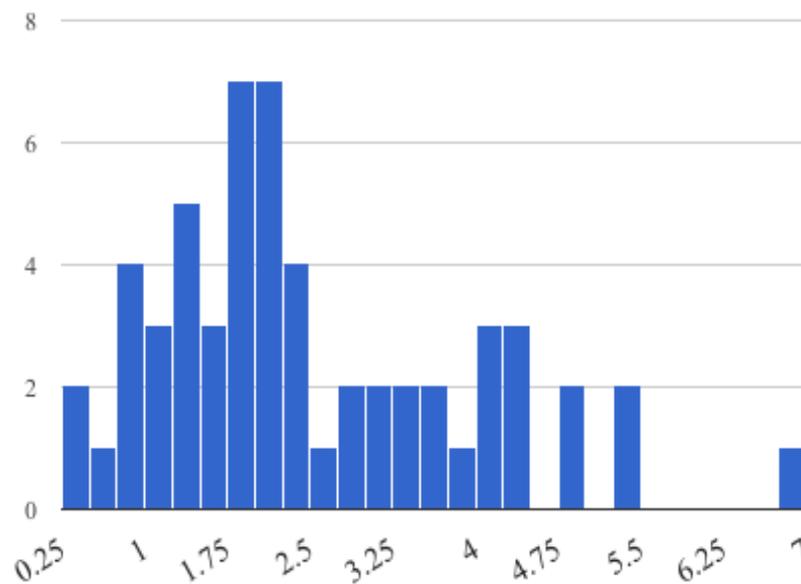
The composite scores from automatic analysis model 2 (ratio) are summarized in Table 6. The data in Table 6 are displayed in terciles to correspond to how the data in Tables 2 and 3 are displayed. The first column of Table 6 suggests a modest downward trend, since 15 is larger than 5 and 7. The data in the second column of Table 6 suggest a modest upward trend, since 13 and 12 are larger than 5.

Table 6: Summary of Automatic Composite Scores Model 2 (ratio)

	At least one mention of gentrification	No mention of gentrification
Lowest third of scores (0.33 to 1.79)	15	5
Middle third of scores (1.80 to 2.87)	5	13
Highest third of scores (2.87 to 6.83)	7	12
Total	27	30

The distribution of composite scores from automatic analysis model 2 (ratio) are displayed in Figure 4. The horizontal axis of Figure 4 shows ranges of scores grouped in intervals of 0.25, and the height of each column shows how many scores fell into each group. For example, five articles scored between 1.25 and 1.5, and four articles scored between 2.25 and 2.5. The shape of Figure 4 shows that the data have an approximately normal distribution with a positive skew (N = 57).

Figure 4: Distribution of Automatic Composite Scores Model 2 (ratio)



The descriptive statistics of the composite scores from automatic analysis model 2 (ratio) are displayed in Table 7. The first column of Table 7 shows the descriptive statistics for all observations. The second and third columns of Table 7 show the descriptive statistics for two sub-categories of articles: those that mention gentrification at least once, and those that do not. In all three columns, the median is less than the mean, showing that the data skew positive.

Table 7: Automatic Composite Scores Model 2 (ratio) Descriptive Statistics

	Total	At least one mention of gentrification	No mention of gentrification
Number of Observations	57	27	30
Mean	2.49	2.12	2.82
Median	2.11	1.79	2.44
Standard Deviation	1.42	1.32	1.45
Minimum	0.33	0.33	0.45
Maximum	6.83	5.33	6.83

In order to test these results for statistical significance, the presence or absence of the word “gentrification” was treated as a nominal independent variable and the automatic composite score model 2 (ratio) was treated as an interval-level dependent variable. An independent samples t-test was performed to see whether articles that used the word “gentrification” had a significantly different mean score from those that did not. The mean for articles with no mention of gentrification was 2.82 (third column of Table 7), and the mean for articles that

mentioned gentrification was 2.12 (second column of Table 7), creating a difference of 0.70 between the two means ($p=0.061$). This shows that the results are just slightly above the cutoff to be significant at the 95% confidence level ($p=0.05$), but they are significant at the 90% confidence level ($p=0.1$). In other words, articles that mention gentrification have a tone of coverage (as measured by the ratio model) that is marginally statistically significant and more negative than articles with no mention of gentrification.

Comparison of Results from Manual Content Analysis and Automatic Composite Scores Model 2 (ratio)

Since the manual and automatic model 2 ratings were obtained by different methods, an ANOVA test was used to compare results from the two rating systems. The comparisons are displayed in Table 8.

Table 8: Comparison of Automatic Model 2 (ratio) and Manual Results

	Mean Automatic Composite Score Model 2 (95% confidence interval)
Manual Score: Negative	2.19 (1.67 - 2.71)
Manual Score: Mixed	2.27 (1.55 - 2.98)
Manual Score: Positive	3.23 (2.37 - 4.08)

The ANOVA test resulted in an F score of 2.97 ($p=0.060$). Since the p value is slightly higher than 0.05, these results barely miss the cutoff to be significant at

the 95% confidence level ($p=0.05$), but they are significant at the 90% confidence level ($p=0.1$). In other words, there is a marginally significant relationship between the manual scores and the automatic scores model 2 (ratio).

Chapter 5: Conclusions

This chapter begins by answering the research questions that were posed at the beginning of the thesis. It then describes possible implications of the results for designing methodologies for future studies and for policy making. Finally it discusses some limitations to this research and suggestions for future studies.

Answers to Research Questions

The first question this thesis asked was how newspaper reporters cover gentrification. Regardless of whether they used the term, reporters took a variety of approaches to the subject. The results confirm the findings of Brown-Saracino and Rumpf (2011), who found that reporters' coverage of the topic was anything but uniform.

The second question this thesis asked was how often newspaper reporters label neighborhood economic change as gentrification. In the 57 articles analyzed in this thesis, 27 used the term "gentrification" and 30 did not, meaning the term was used in 47% of the articles in this study.

The third question this thesis asked was about the relationship between use of the term "gentrification" and type of coverage. The answer to this question depends on the type of measurement used. When tone was measured using manual content analysis, there was a marginally significant statistical relationship between mention of gentrification and type of coverage: articles that used the word tended

to have more negative coverage, and articles that did not use the word tended to have more positive coverage. When tone was measured using sentiment analysis software, the strength of the relationship depended on how the scores were compiled. When negative scores were subtracted from positive scores, there was no statistically significant correlation between tone and use of the word “gentrification.” However, when positive scores were divided by negative scores to construct a ratio, there was a marginally significant relationship.

Methodological Implications

These results suggest that forming a ratio between positive and negative scores generated by sentiment analysis software may be a better way to measure the tone of an article than subtracting the negative score from the positive score. This may be in part because ratios dampen the effect of article length. Since the scores are being divided, an article with more words would not have the distorted appearance of being more positive simply because it has more positive words.

The results also suggest a calibration for sentiment analysis software for the purpose of measuring article tone. Rather than taking 1 as a neutral ratio (where an article has equal positive and negative scores), the results in Table 6 suggest possible cut points for using sentiment analysis software to measure tone: articles with a positive-to-negative ratio under 1.80 could be considered negative, those with ratios between 1.80 and 2.87 could be considered mixed, and those with ratios above 2.87 could be considered positive. These cut points could be used to

measure tone in thousands of articles, saving the time it would take to read and evaluate each article manually.

Using ratios of 1.80 and 2.87 as cut points assumes that the manual analysis conducted for this study was valid. Any manual reading of a body of text is subjective, but the results showed that articles that mention gentrification tend to be more negative than articles that do not mention it.

Policy Implications

These results suggest that planners and policymakers should pay greater attention to the multidimensionality of gentrification. The phenomenon has a variety of causes and consequences that affect different groups of people in different ways. Rather than reflexively labeling rising neighborhood property values as either wholly good or bad, planners and policymakers should consider how economic change affects different groups of people.

The results also suggest that gentrification does not exist in a vacuum. This thesis intentionally took the neighborhood as the unit of analysis in order to capture a high level of detail, but neighborhoods exist in a regional context, and trends in one place affect trends elsewhere. In one of the articles reviewed for this thesis, *Boston Globe* columnist Paul McMorrow wrote that, “Suburban towns expend enormous amounts of time and money trying to keep affordable housing outside their borders. The opposite dynamic is at play in Jamaica Plain; the housing

developments running into trouble are the ones relying on market rents” (McMorrow 2012, A11). Similarly, *New York Times* reporters wrote about people who were priced out of Williamsburg and moved to towns in the Hudson Valley and New Jersey. Cities are constantly changing, and rising or falling property values are just one component of that change.

The Paul McMorrow quote implies that the responsibility for providing affordable housing should not fall exclusively on the city itself. In a sense, Wellesley, Newton, and other suburbs gentrified long ago. They have been unaffordable for decades, and many of their residents want to keep it that way, placing upward pressure on housing prices across the region. One might make a similar argument about Scarsdale and the Upper East Side. Looking at gentrification in Jamaica Plain or Williamsburg in isolation ignores the larger regional economic forces and political decisions that are pushing up housing prices in the neighborhood.

As a result, regional planning and state government agencies should continue to frame affordable housing as a regional issue. When some neighborhoods gentrify, the demand for affordable housing increases across the region. Agencies should continue to advocate for interlocal agreements that provide for mixed-income housing that is interspersed throughout the region. Agencies should collect new data on gentrification as frequently as possible and use that data to inform decisions about where to locate new mixed-income and affordable units.

Likewise, mayors and other city officials should use gentrification to their advantage. Mayors should use new tax revenue from gentrified neighborhoods for programs that assist needy city residents, both those who were displaced by gentrification and those who live in non-gentrified neighborhoods. Mayors could use new tax revenue to fund homeless shelters, schools, parks, food pantries, job training, and other services for the needy.

Finally, it is important for advocates of social change to bear in mind the many facets of gentrification. Advocates should push for relief for people who are displaced by gentrification, but they should not try too hard to fight gentrification itself. Instead, like mayors, they should use it to their advantage. Gentrification presents an opportunity to advocate for the needs of the displaced. Advocates should build coalitions of gentrifiers, city officials, and businesses that move into gentrifying neighborhoods. These coalitions could lobby for diverting new tax revenue to mixed-income housing and social programs.

Limitations, Suggestions for Further Research, and Generalizability

This thesis made a number of assumptions. Among them was the process for choosing articles to include in the study. Search terms were employed to generate lists of newspaper articles, and then articles were manually selected from the search results. Articles were selected for relevance, but those judgements were ultimately subjective. A future study could develop a less subjective process for selecting relevant articles. For example, one could focus solely on restaurant

reviews, similar to Hyde (2014), or one could look solely at news articles and exclude op-eds, columns, editorials, and other opinion pieces. One could also develop more detailed criteria for narrowing search results. For example, one could look only at articles that mention new retail stores or only articles that mention displacement.

Another assumption was that “real estate” was the best search term for finding articles that discussed neighborhood economic change without using the word “gentrification.” “Real estate” was chosen because it yielded a high number of relevant search results, but there are many other ways one could assemble a body of articles to use as a counterpoint to those that mention gentrification. A future study could focus on comparisons between different search terms or make comparisons between three or more groups of articles.

This thesis only studied two neighborhoods in Boston and New York, which are among the most expensive cities in the country. As suggested by Atkinson (2004), gentrification has a different meaning in an economically depressed city than it does in a booming city with an overheated real estate market. The results of this thesis could be useful in inferring how gentrification affects other boom towns like San Francisco or Washington, DC, but it would be less applicable to struggling cities like Milwaukee or Cleveland. Future studies could conduct a similar analysis of news coverage in other cities to draw a more comprehensive picture of gentrification in other places.

Also, this thesis used two approaches to content analysis on articles from two large newspapers in order to study how reporters cover a topic. Future studies could build on this work by analyzing how writers of smaller newspapers, online forums, scholarly papers, or other sources discuss gentrification. Future studies could also interview newspaper reporters to ask them how and why they cover gentrification.

Finally, although the “positive,” “negative,” and “mixed” classifications used in this thesis were important for quantifying data and comparing two different types of content analysis, the classifications oversimplified the variegated picture of cities the articles presented. The articles reviewed for this thesis gave richly textured and multi-faceted descriptions of city life. Particularly in the *New York Times*, reporters told stories that greatly exceeded a binary conception of gentrification being wholly good or bad. Reporters discussed gentrification in the context of changes in demographics, the national and regional economy, national and local politics, the real estate market, employment patterns, family structures, and other issues. Collectively these articles showed how changing property values interact with many other aspects of city life. A future study could develop a more fine-grained rating system that better captures these complexities.

Summary

This thesis investigated how gentrification was reported in newspaper coverage. It argued that analyzing coverage of gentrification in major newspapers was important because of those papers' wide readership. Although census data or interviews might offer a more valid depiction of gentrification, neither source is as widely read by the general public as newspapers. The results presented in this thesis suggest that newspaper reporters' coverage of gentrification tends to be more negative when they label it as such and tends to be more positive when they do not. Bearing this trend in mind could help city officials, advocates for social change, and residents make better decisions about how to manage neighborhood economic change.

Appendix 1: List of Newspaper Articles Reviewed

<u>Date</u>	<u>Publication</u>	<u>Title</u>
9/18/2016	New York Times	Starring Reality
9/11/2016	New York Times	Brooklyn's Food Gap
7/27/2016	New York Times	Commuters in Williamsburg Ponder Life Without the L Train
6/30/2016	Boston Globe	Where cool is hot: hip 'hoods in Boston
6/5/2016	New York Times	How to Force Out Rent-Controlled Tenants
6/2/2016	Boston Globe	Zoning board faulted on meetings
4/9/2016	New York Times	Brooklyn Museum Finds That a Show Hits Close to Home
3/27/2016	Boston Globe	How Boston puts new businesses on ice
3/20/2016	Boston Globe	First-Time Home Buyers' Blues
2/11/2016	Boston Globe	The Sharing Economy
12/15/2015	New York Times	Smokers Get Bolder in a New Era for Marijuana
12/13/2015	Boston Globe	Must all our churches become luxury condos?
11/27/2015	New York Times	Safety Citations and Anonymous Deaths
11/25/2015	Boston Globe	New bills shock the block
11/8/2015	Boston Globe	Walsh's chance to ease Boston's housing crunch
11/1/2015	Boston Globe	Is buying a home around Boston worth it anymore?
9/7/2015	Boston Globe	City's middle-income base eroding
7/16/2015	Boston Globe	Protesters demand affordable housing
6/16/2015	New York Times	Spitzer Charges Into Family's Real Estate Business With Big Project
5/26/2015	New York Times	Seeing Their Brooklyn Gone, and Taking Big Checks to Go
2/24/2015	New York Times	Vice Media's Expansion Strikes a Sour Note
2/8/2015	New York Times	Room for a Little Baby and a Lot of Cooking
2/2/2015	New York Times	\$100 Million Penthouse Gets 95% Tax Cut
12/21/2014	New York Times	The View From the Bridge
12/7/2014	Boston Globe	12 ideas for making Boston more inclusive
12/5/2014	Boston Globe	JP project a first step to lowering rents
10/1/2014	New York Times	The Cost of Being Cool
9/14/2014	New York Times	Bushwick Takes the Spotlight
8/24/2014	New York Times	Life After Brooklyn
7/8/2014	New York Times	Blink and It's Gone: A Farewell Column About Chasing the Ever-Changing City
4/21/2014	Boston Globe	Luxury condos soar in city

4/20/2014	New York Times	Catching Up to the North Side
4/13/2014	New York Times	The Hip at Heart
1/6/2014	New York Times	A Developer Is Mourned And Vilified In Brooklyn
10/29/2013	Boston Globe	Use housing to heal scars from bulldozer era
9/26/2013	New York Times	The Williamsburg Divide
9/8/2013	New York Times	A Low-Rise Feel at High-Rise Prices
6/27/2013	New York Times	Where Popcorn Feels Passé
6/19/2013	Boston Globe	Class politics aggravate JP housing woes
3/24/2013	Boston Globe	Invested in their neighborhood
2/17/2013	New York Times	Creating Hipsturbia
1/21/2013	New York Times	North Brooklyn Start-Ups Find Office Space Is Scarce
11/12/2012	Boston Globe	JP fight has Home in bind
10/30/2012	Boston Globe	More identity politics in Jamaica Plain
3/13/2012	Boston Globe	Turn bus to bustle by JP overpass
10/12/2011	New York Times	Fuel for the City That Never Sleeps
6/12/2011	Boston Globe	Turmoil, Aisle 12
3/5/2011	Boston Globe	Vilification market interlopers
2/19/2011	Boston Globe	Change has long helped spice the broth in JP
2/10/2011	Boston Globe	Whole truth isn't simple
1/23/2011	New York Times	Williamsburg, Toddlertown
1/21/2011	Boston Globe	A community, not just a store
1/13/2011	Boston Globe	A rental revival
11/9/2010	New York Times	For One Real Estate Investor, Vinyl Siding Never Lost Its Shine
9/19/2010	New York Times	Looks Like a Condo, Acts Like a Hotel
8/22/2010	New York Times	Goodbye Glitz
8/17/2010	New York Times	With Luxury Hotel-Apartment Complex, Williamsburg Continues Its Evolution

Appendix 2: Sample Table

Below is an abbreviated version of the table constructed to organize information about the newspaper articles analyzed for this study.

<u>Date</u>	<u>Publication</u>	<u>Title</u>	<u>Mentions gentrification?</u>	<u>Automatic analysis: positive score</u>	<u>Automatic analysis: negative score</u>	<u>Automatic composite score (model 1: additive)</u>	<u>Automatic composite score (model 2: ratio)</u>	<u>Manual tone, overall article</u>	<u>Manual tone, key- word-in- context for each instance</u>	<u>Manual tone, composite</u>
12/13/15	Boston Globe	Must All Our Churches Become Luxury Condos?	yes	43	-18	25	2.39	negative	negative	negative
2/11/16	Boston Globe	The Sharing Economy	no	74	-18	56	4.11	positive	(n/a)	positive
6/5/16	New York Times	How to Force Out Rent Controlled Tenants	yes	39	-117	-78	0.33	negative	negative	negative
1/6/14	New York Times	A Developer Is Mourned And Vilified In Brooklyn	no	28	-62	-34	0.45	mixed	(n/a)	mixed

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