

INTERMEZZO
GENTRIFICATION
OF THE LITTLE ITALIES

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LITTLE ITALIES AND GENTRIFICATION

di Jerome Krase

INTRODUCTION

Although this essay will focus on the visual changes of places commonly referred to as “Little Italies” of one sort or another, it is necessary to lay out some keywords as well as the methodological and theoretical groundwork for appreciating my work. Most importantly, in my visual studies I have synthesized theories about visualizing spatial practices to argue that ordinary people change the meaning of spaces and places by changing their appearance (1993, 2002, and 2004a, 2004b: 27). The first of these keywords is “vernacular landscapes” that I discovered in John Brinckerhoff Jackson’s writings while looking for a concept that would allow me to translate my visual sociological studies of ethnic neighborhoods, in the first case, Italian American ones, for the readers of *Places* which is a journal on architecture, landscape, and urbanism and whose audience includes designers, artists, and photographers (Krase 1993). For Jackson, vernacular landscapes are part of the life of communities which are governed by custom and held together by personal relationship. Such spatial organizations cannot be understood «... unless we ask ourselves who owns the spaces, how they were created and how they change» (1984: 6). To this, Dolores Hayden added that, in multiethnic

cities immigrant and ethnic vernacular urban landscapes, provide “...an account of both inclusion and exclusion”.

Jackson tried to redirected the focus of urban scholars to the needs and tastes of average working people as opposed to the grander designs of architects and planners. According to him landscapes are to be lived in and not just to look at, therefore these everyday worlds of ordinary people deserved serious attention. Jackson’s perceptive work neatly complements social researchers’ interests in how and why groups are where they are in the city, and how space effects their social interactions and opportunities. Vernacular landscapes change as a result of forces such as immigration, and gentrification that in many cases create layers, or palimpsests, of competing cultural artifacts. (See Figures 1 - 4) Urban vernacular landscapes are an important part of the larger, cultural landscape «...that includes cultural and natural resources associated with an historic event, activity, person, or group of people...» as well as «...works of art, texts and narratives of cultures, and expressions of regional identity» (CLF 2009).



FIG. 1. BENSONHURST, BROOKLYN, NEW YORK, 2015.
THE NEIGHBORHOOD OF BENSONHURST, BROOKLYN HAS LONG BEEN THOUGHT OF ONE OF NEW YORK CITY'S MANY LITTLE ITALIES. IN THE 1990S IT BEGAN TO CHANGE DUE TO IMMIGRATION FROM CHINA. THIS PHOTO REPRESENTS THE COMPETITION BETWEEN THE GROUPS IN DEFINING A MAJOR COMMERCIAL STRIP VIA ETHNIC COMMERCIAL VERNACULARS.



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N INC.
718-256-0218

WEST END
EST. 1918
Bakery & Pastry Shop
259-0717

PIZZA
FREE DELIVERY
718-837-2358

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PIZZA DEN
FREE DELIVERY 718-837-2358 05-21 10th Ave

ATM

PIZZA
FREE
718-837-2358



FIG. 2. CHINATOWN AND LITTLE ITALY, MULBERRY STREET, MANHATTAN, NEW YORK, 2019. SIMILAR TO SAN FRANCISCO'S, MANHATTAN'S MOST FAMOUS LITTLE ITALY AND CHINATOWN HAVE EXISTED CHEEK BY JOWL FOR AT LEAST A CENTURY. WHILE THE ITALIAN POPULATION OF THE AREA HAS DECLINED IT HAS BEEN MORE THAN MADE UP FOR BY THE INCREASE IN CHINESE AND OTHER ASIAN RESIDENTS AND BUSINESSES.



DIPALO'S
FINE IMPORTED ITALIAN CHEESE

SPECIALIZING IN
SALAMI - PASTAS - PASTA
OLIO DI OLIVA - MIELE

MADEIRA - BOURBON
TEQUILA - WHISKY
LATVIAN PRICES

210 **DIPALO FINE FOODS** 114

CUCINA

212-968-3797

蓮香軒

212-968-3797



FIG. 3. BELMONT, THE BRONX, NEW YORK, 2014. THE LITTLE ITALY OF BELMONT, OR "ARTHUR AVENUE," IN THE BRONX IS A MAJOR TOURIST ATTRACTION TODAY, BUT, AS IN OTHER LITTLE ITALIES, THE NUMBER OF ITALIAN AMERICAN RESIDENTS IS SMALL. IN THEIR PLACE HAVE COME IMMIGRANTS FROM LATIN AMERICA, THE MIDDLE EAST, AND, REPRESENTED IN THIS COMPLEX GRAFFITO MEMORIAL, ALBANIANS FROM KOSOVO.





FIG. 4. ITALIAN HARLEM, MANHATTAN, NEW YORK, 2016.

EAST HARLEM HAS HAD A LONG HISTORY OF ETHNIC CHANGE. ITALIANS CAME TO DOMINATE THROUGH THE 1980S WHEN THE POPULATION, AND THE NAME, CHANGED TO SPANISH HARLEM. IN THIS PHOTO, THE FLAG OF PUERTO RICO REPRESENTS ONE OF THE MAJOR LATINO GROUPS IN THE AREA WHO ARE NOW DEMOGRAPHICALLY CHALLENGED BY OTHERS FROM MEXICO AND CENTRAL AMERICA.



Rosie

COMPETING ETHNIC VERNACULARS.

As to why the study of vernacular, as opposed to “polite”, architecture is more valuable for insight into social history he argued that since the nineteenth century, «Innumerable new forms have evolved, not only in our public existence—such as the factory, the shopping center, the gas station, and so on—but in our private lives as well» (118-19). Jackson also commented on the visual competition commercial vernacular (246), that included motels, fast-food franchises, garages, and strip malls. Inspired by Jackson’s work, I wrote «Beyond the great public spaces and edifices lies a vast domain of little people and little structures which in fact comprise most of our material society and where ordinary people have created distinct landscapes and places. The designs of these neighborhoods are such in the way that space is socially constructed. Italians, like all migrants, carry designs or living from the original home environments and adapt them to the resources and opportunities in new locales» (1993: 46).

The main thrust of my visual studies is demonstrating how ordinary people change the meaning of spaces and places by changing what those spaces and places look like, both to themselves and especially outside observers. I should note that in my work, I include people and their social activities in the visual frame as part of the vernacular landscape. For example, how a space is being used—what is going on in the space—changes its meaning. For example, how a homeless person creates a home in a doorway.

Without using the term itself, the importance of vernacular landscapes is widely recognized among social scientists. For David Harvey «Different classes construct their sense of territory and community in radically different ways. This elemental fact is often overlooked by those theorists who presume a priori that there is some ideal-typical and universal tendency for all human beings to construct a human community of roughly similar sort, no matter what the political or economic circumstances» (1989: 265). Anthony D. King (1996) saw cities as “text” to be read. I would add that ethnic, and other kinds of, vernacular landscapes are crucial, yet often ignored parts of that urban text (See also Lynch 1960: 1-13). In basic agreement with King, Sharon Zukin noted the geographic battles over access and representations of the urban center. In that regard she noted «...the endless negotiation of cultural meanings in built forms—in buildings, streets, parks, interiors—contributes to the construction of social identities» (43). And, «Visual artifacts of material culture and political economy thus reinforce—or comment on—social structure. By making social rules “legible” they represent the city» (1966: 44). Mark Gottdiener argued that spatial semioticians would recognize that social and cultural meanings are attached to urban landscapes as well as to the people and activities observed on the scene (1994: 15-16).

Our second keyword is “Little Italy”, which is both a concrete and symbolic version of Italian American ethnic enclaves. As



FIG. 5. CARROLL STREET, BROOKLYN, NEW YORK, 2019. CARROLL STREET, NEAR THE HIGHLY POLLUTED COWANUS CANAL, HAS BEEN A SOUTHERN ITALIAN AMERICAN ENCLAVE SINCE THE TURN OF THE 20TH CENTURY. THIS PHOTOGRAPH ON A GENTRIFYING BLOCK IS AN EXAMPLE OF HOW ITALIAN AMERICANS APPROPRIATE PUBLIC SPACE FOR THE OWN USE.



FIG. 6. LITTLE ITALY, UNIVERSITY VILLAGE, CHICAGO, 2018.
 THE LITTLE ITALY, OR UNIVERSITY VILLAGE, IN CHICAGO IS RAPIDLY GENTRIFYING, BUT A FEW OLDER COMMERCIAL VERNACULAR STORES REMAIN SUCH AS MARIO'S ITALIAN LEMONADE STORE ON TAYLOR STREET.



FIG. 7. LITTLE ITALY, MULBERRY STREET, MANHATTAN, NEW YORK, 2018.
WHILE MOST OF MULBERRY STREET'S HISTORIC LITTLE ITALY HAS BECOME AN ETHNIC THEME PARK, AS IN CHICAGO, A FEW LEGACY BUSINESSES REMAIN TO DEMONSTRATE WHAT IT USED TO LOOK LIKE.



FIG. 8. BELMONT, THE BRONX, NEW YORK, 2014.
ONE OF THE BEST EXAMPLES OF A VERNACULAR COMMERCIAL DISPLAY OF THE "TASTE OF NECESSITY," I HAVE PHOTOGRAPHED IS THE ENTRANCE TO THE FAMOUS TEITEL BROTHERS WHOLESALE AND RETAIL GROCERY COMPANY, ESTABLISHED IN 1915 WHICH IS KNOWN FOR HIGH-QUALITY ITALIAN SPECIALTY ITEMS.

I have argued about the production of ethnic enclaves: «Theoretically, if immigrants could, they would replicate the highly valued places and spaces from which they came» (1993: 46). However, architectural, and other physical artifacts of ethnicity are only noticed when they successfully clash with the cultural values of the dominant society (229). That is why, in most cases, one must be content with finding examples of ethnic influences found in vernacular architecture and landscapes. The central elements of Italian American neighborhoods are represented in vernacular landscapes. For example: Italian enclaves tend to be small scale and arranged so to facilitate intra-family and interpersonal relations; Italians have a great tolerance, if not a preference, for high human density; Italian communities endorse the supremacy of private (family) over public (nonfamily); individuality and competitiveness are emphasized over conformity and cooperation; and the physical and symbolic defense of individual, family and neighborhood spaces is the most important feature (Krase 1993).

Unfortunately, the iconic term "Little Italy" is generally reserved for the most famous touristic attractions, which I refer to as "Ethnic Theme Parks" as opposed to more and less authentic Italian American enclaves. Although the term "authentic" is also semiotically troublesome, it is in common usage in the humanities and social sciences such as by Sharon Zukin in *Naked City: The Death and Life of Authentic Urban Places* (2011). For me, all places are authen-

tic in the sense of the literal meaning of the term. It should not be an academic "judgment". Commonsensically, "Authentic" Little Italies, as opposed to those serving as Ethnic Theme Parks of one sort or another, are most likely to be located in less known, perhaps even anonymous, ordinary places and spaces in which concentrations of people of Italian descent continue to live and work. In many cases, the number of Italian Americans living in "Authentic" Little Italies in the densely populated centers of major cities is waning. However, due to migration and natural increase, their number has grown in suburbs and other locations outside central cities. (See Alba, Logan and Crowder 1995). I must note from a symbolic perspective, that these authentic concentrations of Italian Americans, as their anonymous urban iterations, are not referred to as "Little Italies".

Almost all of the historical Little Italies, created generally in the period 1890-1920 were located in mixed residential, commercial, and industrial neighborhoods. Geographically, they were formed in or near the busy centers of major American cities such as New York, Boston, New Orleans, Philadelphia, Chicago, St Louis, and San Francisco to name some of the most famous. These have slowly disappeared but, in some cases, the social and cultural capital of ethnic vernacular architecture is important aspect of local tourism efforts. Such "Ethnic Theme Parks" (Krase 2019, 2004) are a variant of Michael Sorkin's "themed" cityscapes designed for social control. Sorkin

lamented the potential loss of «The familiar spaces of traditional cities, the streets and squares, courtyards and parks, are our great scenes of the civic, visible and accessible, our binding agents» (1992: xi-xv). They represent a form of “commodification”, or when economic value is assigned to something not previously considered in economic terms; for example, an idea, identity or gender. The commodification of vernacular architecture and other spatial practices expands or creates a new market and applies to ethnic as well as many marketable “life style” or other spatial practices such as art communities. In the spectacle of the Ethnic Theme Park the social value of the ethnic neighborhood, produced by the immigrant, is transformed by its capacity to produce festivals, restaurants, and other amusements for outsiders.

For Shortell and Krase (2011) ethnic identity markers are in a constant state of tension among alternative interpretations of Self and Other. Roman Jakobson (1960, 1972) identified three sign functions that can help disentangle competing meanings in urban neighborhoods: expressive, conative, and phatic. People create expressive signs during their everyday practices via rituals of identity. Some visible practices are using flags or national colors to denote ethnic origins. Conative signs attempt to influence others’ behavior. Some of these signs, such as gang graffiti, can be markers of exclusion. So too can the uses of “foreign” alphabets that outsiders cannot understand. Phatic signs facilitating social relations is

a common signifier for ethnic vernaculars. These signs are artifacts of ordinary social interaction often mark the boundaries of settlement spaces, and indicate that we are “at home” in our neighborhood. They can be extracted from this context and rendered as representations of ethnic spaces. Style of dress is a phatic sign, since it is a key component of the social interactions among those who share a culture. But to cultural strangers, style of dress works as an expressive sign, advertising one’s place of origin, religious affiliation, etc.

Cultural traits are visually available as social performances in vernacular architecture. For example, Mike Davis (2001) showed how Latino’s practicing *Latinidad* “reinvented” Los Angeles. For Anthony Giddens it is “Human Agency” which transforms representation into practice though continuous social action within the constraints of structure (1984). His idea tracks closely to notions of precarity, informal, and spontaneity. Erving Goffman (1959) would submit that the way that all ethnics present themselves on the street can be viewed as practice as well as representation. It is their own agency which transforms mere representation into practice. My own and these as well as many other insights blend easily with Pierre Bourdieu’s notion of “habitus” and of “taste” which are visible in the vernacular landscape as for me the landscape includes people and social activities (1984 and 1977). Pierce K. Lewis’ “Axioms for Reading the Landscape” .. such as The Axiom of Common Things,

which has been obvious in my work such as "Common landscapes—however important they may be—are by their nature hard to study by conventional academic means.

The reason is negligence, combined with snobbery (1976: 8).



FIG. 9. LITTLE ITALY ENTRANCE, MULBERRY STREET, MANHATTAN, NEW YORK, 2019.
THE MULBERRY STREET LITTLE ITALY IS NEW YORK'S MOST WELL-KNOWN AND MOST VISITED. IT HAS ALSO BEEN DESIGNATED AS A SPECIALLY PROTECTED BUSINESS DISTRICT BY CITY GOVERNMENT. DESPITE BEING WELL-DEFINED GEOGRAPHICALLY, THE MERCHANTS FELT THE NEED FOR A PROMINENT ENTRANCEWAY.





FIG. 10. BELMONT, ARTHUR AVENUE, THE BRONX, 2014.

LIKE MULBERRY STREET, BELMONT'S ARTHUR AVENUE LITTLE ITALY IS ALSO VERY WELL-KNOWN BUT IN CONTRAST TO AN ARCHED ENTRANCE IT CHOSE TO ANNOUNCE ITSELF WITH THIS SIGN ON THE SIDE OF A PROMINENT BUILDING.



FIG. 11. RESTAURANT, MULBERRY STREET, MANHATTAN, NEW YORK, 2019. THIS RATHER RUDE STATUE OF "THE DAVID" GRACES THE EXTERIOR OF ONE OF MULBERRY STREETS MANY "RED SAUCE" RESTAURANTS CATERING TO TOURISTS. SYMBOLICALLY, IT INDICATES THE DISTANCE BETWEEN AN AUTHENTIC ETHNIC ENCLAVE AND AN ETHNIC THEME PARK.



FIG. 12. RESTAURANTS, NORTH END, BOSTON, 2018.

LIKE NEW YORK'S MULBERRY STREET, BOSTON'S NORTH END LITTLE ITALY IS VISUALLY DOMINATED BY MANY "ITALIAN" RESTAURANTS, SOME OF WHICH ARE OWNED BY LOCALS, AND MOST OF WHOSE CLIENTELE ARE TOURISTS.



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BACCO

RISTORANTE

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FIG. 13. ENTRANCE TO THE "ITALIAN" MARKET, BELLA VISTA, PHILADELPHIA, 2011.

ALTHOUGH THE "ITALIAN MARKET" IN BELLA VISTA PHILADELPHIA NO LONGER EXCLUSIVELY OFFERS "ITALIAN" FOOD AND OTHER PRODUCTS, IT REMAINS THE THEME PARK'S GREATEST DRAW FOR VISITORS, EVEN AS THE RESIDENTIAL PART OF THE NEIGHBORHOOD RAPIDLY GENTRIFIES.



NO
TURN
ON
RED

Washington Ave

WASHINGTON AVE

GIORDANO



FIG. 14. LITTLE ITALY ENTRANCE, WOOSTER STREET, NEW HAVEN, 2016.

EVEN THOUGH THERE IS VERY LITTLE LEFT OF NEW HAVEN'S, ONCE CROWDED, THRIVING ITALIAN AMERICAN ENCLAVE, WOOSTER STREET STILL ATTRACTS TOURISTS WHO MIGHT ENTER THROUGH THIS ARCHWAY AND EXPECT MUCH MORE THAN THEY WILL ACTUALLY FIND IN THE WAY OF AUTHENTICITY.





FIG. 15. PEPE'S RESTAURANT PIZZERIA, WOOSTER STREET, NEW HAVEN, 2016.

PEPE'S RESTAURANT PIZZERIA IS PROBABLY THE MOST FAMOUS OF ALL THE EATERIES THAT REMAIN ON WOOSTER STREET. AS IN OTHER LITTLE ITALIES, MORE UPSCALE RESTAURANTS AND SHOPS HAVE APPEARED ON RECENT YEARS.





FIG. 16. LITTLE ITALY, BALTIMORE, MARYLAND, 2009.

WHAT REMAINS OF BALTIMORE'S LITTLE ITALY IS NOT AS LARGE, OR WELL-KNOWN AS THOSE IN EITHER NEW YORK OR BOSTON, BUT ITS VERNACULAR LANDSCAPE ALSO CONTAINS A LARGE NUMBER OF RESTAURANTS. THE DISTINCTIVE, "FORMSTONE," A TYPE OF STUCCO SIDING OF THE BUILDINGS, IS USED WIDELY IN BALTIMORE AND IS A DEFINING FEATURE OF THIS AREA. SIMILAR SIDING IS FOUND IN MANY OTHER MORE AND LESS AUTHENTIC ITALIAN ENCLAVES.



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NOV-DEC-2008



FIG. 17. LITTLE ITALY, UNIVERSITY VILLAGE, CHICAGO, ILLINOIS, 2018.

TAYLOR STREET, IS THE SITE OF CHICAGO'S LITTLE ITALY ETHNIC THEME PARK. LEONE'S PIZZERIA, "SINCE 1950," IS ONE OF THE LAST ITALIAN AMERICAN LEGACY BUSINESSES. ANOTHER ITALIAN AMERICAN FEATURE ON TAYLOR STREET WAS THE ITALIAN AMERICAN SPORTS HALL OF FAME WHICH WAS THERE FROM 2003 UNTIL 2019.

Our third keyword is “Gentrification”, usually defined as the conversion of socially marginal and working class areas of the central city to middle-class residential use. The common use of the term began in the 1960s. Urban ecologists might call this phenomenon the invasion and succession of inner city neighborhoods by the “new bourgeoisie and petite bourgeoisie”. Writing about gentrification, and the displacement of the activities of the poor from the streets and city spaces in 18th and 19th century England, J.B. Jackson wrote «in brief, much of the traditional play, popular with working class citizens, located at the center of town where the players lived and worked, was driven out, either by the shortage of space or by police decisions to improve traffic circulation and promote order» (11).

As noted, visual attention to urban vernacular landscapes allow us to identify conflict, competition, and dominance at a level not usually noticed and which can easily be related to abstract theories and descriptions. Most important for our current discussion, are productions of “Symbolic Capital”, defined by Bourdieu as «The collection of luxury goods attesting to the taste and distinction of the owner» (1977: 188), which help us to understand the residential and commercial up-scaling of working-class white ethnic areas during a later phase in the second circuit of capital such as did New York City’s Bohemian (and Italian) Greenwich Village in the 1970s (See Jacobs 1969, Ware 1965, and Tricarico 1984).

A central focus of my research is gentrification and how it materializes in the urban landscape. As a result, I have a large collection of photographs on gentrified and gentrifying neighborhoods defined demographically, in social science literature, in popular media, or by the real estate industry. In «Poland and Polonia: Gentrification as ethnic aesthetic practice and migratory process» (2005), I attempted to show some of the visual similarities in commercial vernacular landscapes of gentrified places by holding constant the ethnic dimension and describing them as a matter of Bourdieu’s Tastes of Luxury or Necessity. Pierre Bourdieu’s *Distinction* between the taste of «necessity» and the taste of «luxury» that help understand how spaces become more attractive to more advantaged consumers of housing, goods, and services. (1984: 174-5) This also involved looking for symbolic expressions of class position, aesthetic tropes, or specific types of commercial establishment of gentrification, that are indicators or semiotics of upscaling such as upscale coffee shops serving cappuccino (Atkinson 2003, Zukin 1995). I think of gentrification as a shift in semiotics or the meaning of the space/place changes as opposed to merely the physical alteration in the space/place. It is a movement from a taste of necessity to a taste of luxury. In some cases, the vernacular of ethnic or working-class neighborhoods, the patina, or ambiance if you will, is commodified but at the same tamed or domesticated, i.e. “themed” (Krase 2005: 187-88). It is possible for such, even “shab-

bily chic" productions can be incorporated into the gentrified scene.

We will now turn to a selection of Pre- and Post- Gentrification Photographs from some of the more and less famous Little

Italies in America such as those found in Baltimore, Boston, Chicago, New York City, and St. Louis to see the visual changes in the vernacular landscapes from tastes of necessity to luxury.



FIG. 18. JENNIES, NORTH END, BOSTON, 1983.

IN ONE OF MY EARLY PHOTOGRAPHY TRIPS TO THE NORTH END, IN 1983, I STUMBLED UPON, THE RATHER PRETENTIOUS "JENNIES ITALIAN CUISINE" RESTAURANT IN A RATHER RUN-DOWN ALLEYWAY.



FIG. 19. JENNIES, NORTH END, BOSTON, 2018.

DURING A LATER VISIT IN 2018, I WAS SURPRISED TO SEE HOW MUCH UPSCALING HAD TAKEN PLACE IN THE SAME LOCATION. I MUST NOTE THAT BICYCLES AND BIKE RACKS ARE COMMON ICONS OF **GENTRIFICATION**.

8-12 Bartlett Place





FIG. 20. ITALIAN AMERICAN ALLEY, CARROLL GARDENS, BROOKLYN, NEW YORK, 2014.

FIGURES 19 AND 20 ARE EXAMPLES OF HOW "REPEAT PHOTOGRAPHY" HELP TO SHOW VISUAL CHANGES, BUT IN THIS PHOTO ONE CAN EASILY SEE HOW THE ITALIAN AMERICAN HOUSING VERNACULAR HAS BEEN REPLACED BY MORE UPSCALE DEVELOPMENT. AS IS TRUE OF CARROLL STREET, THIS BACK ALLEY IS ON THE FRINGE OF A WELL-DEVELOPED VERY EXPENSE GENTRIFIED NEIGHBORHOOD.





FIG. 21. CARROLL GARDENS, BROOKLYN, NEW YORK, 2019.

IN THE SECTIONS OF CARROLL GARDENS HISTORIC DISTRICT HOUSES ONCE OWNED BY ITALIANS HAVE BEEN SOLD FOR MILLIONS OF DOLLARS AND ARE BEING RESTORED AND RENOVATED. THIS ONE SPORTS A "GREEN CONTRACTOR" SIGN WHICH IS ANOTHER ICON OF *GENTRIFICATION*.



20

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FIG. 22. NOLITA, MANHATTAN, NEW YORK, 2016.

THIS STREET SCENE CLEARLY AFFIRMS WIKIPEDIA'S DESCRIPTION OF NOLITA AS: "... A CHARMING, UPSCALE AREA WITH A TRENDY VIBE. IT'S KNOWN FOR ITS CHIC SHOPPING SCENE, AND HAS PLENTY OF DESIGNER JEWELRY SHOPS, UNIQUE CLOTHING BOUTIQUES AND HOME-DESIGN STORES.



FIG. 23. NOLITA, MANHATTAN, NEW YORK, 2016.
A CLOSE UP LOOK AT A "TASTE OF LUXURY" GOURMET ITALIAN FOOD SHOP IN NOLITA PROVIDES AN EXCELLENT CONTRAST TO THE APPEARANCE OF ITALIAN AMERICAN COMMERCIAL TASTES OF NECESSITY IN SEVERAL PREVIOUS FIGURES.



FIG. 24. UPSCALE MIX ON MULBERRY STREET'S LITTLE ITALY, MANHATTAN, NEW YORK, 2016.
AS IS OBVIOUS IN THIS PHOTO, **GENTRIFICATION**, OR OTHERWISE RESIDENTIAL AND COMMERCIAL UPSCALE DEVELOPMENT, IS TAKING PLACE ON MULBERRY STREET.



Giovanna's

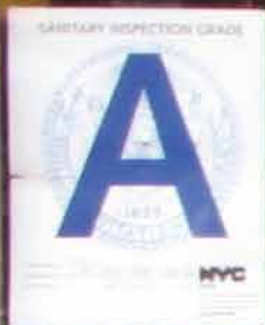
Ristorante
Italiano

Giovanna's Ristorante, Bar & Caffè



Memorial Day Weekend

Sun, May 20 12 Noon
 1 PM
 Mon, May 21
 Tue, June 5
 Wed, June 6



PLAX OF
 SAINT ANTHONY OF PADUA



THE [REAL] GOODFELLAS



Mulberry St.
 Bar

Happy Hour
 2-6 PM

MULBERRY STREET
BAR





FIG. 26. UPGRADE HOUSING, ITALIAN HARLEM, MANHATTAN, NEW YORK, 2018.

AS IN MOST NEW YORK LITTLE ITALIES, VERY FEW ITALIAN AMERICAN RESIDENTS REMAIN BUT ON THE STREETS WHERE THERE ONCE LIVED LUXURY HOUSING DEVELOPMENT IS BOOMING. IN THIS PHOTO, AN OLD TENEMENT STANDS BESIDE A NEWLY RENOVATED STRUCTURE.



FIG. 27. STARBUCKS, BENSONHURST, BROOKLYN, NEW YORK, 2015.

ALTHOUGH **GENTRIFICATION** IS NOT TAKING PLACE TO ANY GREAT EXTENT IN BENSONHURST, THERE IS SOME INTRUSION OF GENTRIFYING ICONS SUCH AS THIS STARBUCKS COFFEE SHOP ON A BUSY MULTI-ETHNIC SHOPPING STREET..



FIG. 28. CONDOS FOR SALE, LITTLE ITALY, UNIVERSITY VILLAGE, CHICAGO, 2018.
ANOTHER COMMON INDICATOR OF **GENTRIFICATION** IN URBAN NEIGHBORHOODS THAT WERE ONCE WORKING AND MIDDLE-CLASS, IS THE BUILDING OF NEW CONDOMINIUMS, OR THE CONVERSION OF OLDER BUILDINGS TO COOPS OR CONDOS SUCH AS HERE IN UNIVERSITY VILLAGE.



FIG. 29. FUEL COFFEE, LITTLE ITALY, WOOSTER SQUARE, NEW HAVEN, 2016.

LIKE STARBUCKS, AND ORGANIC FOOD STORES, TRENDY COFFEE SHOPS WITH CRYPTIC NAMES HAVE BECOME SIGNS OF UPSCALE RETAIL AND RESIDENTIAL TRENDS IN CITY NEIGHBORHOODS.



FIG. 30. RESTORED HOUSING CONTRAST, LITTLE ITALY, BALTIMORE, MARYLAND, 2009.

AS IN OTHER ONCE-DEPRESSED CENTRAL CITY LOCATIONS THAT WERE COLONIZED BY ITALIAN IMMIGRANTS, SOME SUCH AS CARROLL GARDENS IN BROOKLYN, BELLA VISTA IN PHILADELPHIA, AND BALTIMORE'S LITTLE ITALY ARE NOW VALUED AS HISTORIC DISTRICTS AND THE RESTORATION OF ONCE HUMBLE RESIDENTIAL STRUCTURES IS IN FULL SWING. AS PREVIOUSLY NOTED, IN BALTIMORE FORMSTONE WAS APPLIED TO COVER THE ORIGINAL BRICK BUILDINGS AND IN THIS PHOTO WE SEE THE TRANSFORMATION OF SOME OF THEM.





FIG. 31. LITTLE ITALY, WOOSTER SQUARE, NEW HAVEN, 2016.

JUST ONE STREET NORTH OF WOOSTER STREET IS THE WOOSTER SQUARE HISTORIC DISTRICT WHERE WHAT ONCE WERE ROOMING HOUSES AND OTHER MULTI-FAMILY HOUSES FOR ITALIAN AMERICANS FAMILY ARE RESTORED HIGH-PRICED CONDOMINIUMS FOR SALE.





FIG. 32. GENTRIFIED BOCCO COURT, BELLA VISTA, PHILADELPHIA.
PERHAPS THE GREATEST IRONY OF **GENTRIFICATION** IN LITTLE ITALIES ARE THE NEWCOMERS WHO APPROPRIATE ITALIAN ETHNIC PRACTICES SUCH AS THESE GENTRIFIERS PLAYING BOCCO IN BELLA VISTA WHO ARE BEING WATCHED BY SOME REMAINING ITALIAN AMERICAN RESIDENTS.



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