

St. John Fisher College

Fisher Digital Publications

Education Doctoral

Ralph C. Wilson, Jr. School of Education

8-2019

Black-Owned Small Business Survivors of Business Gentrification in the Bradhurst Neighborhood of Harlem, New York

Malcolm A. Punter

St. John Fisher College, mpunter4@icloud.com

Follow this and additional works at: https://fisherpub.sjfc.edu/education_etd



Part of the Education Commons

[How has open access to Fisher Digital Publications benefited you?](#)

Recommended Citation

Punter, Malcolm A., "Black-Owned Small Business Survivors of Business Gentrification in the Bradhurst Neighborhood of Harlem, New York" (2019). *Education Doctoral*. Paper 405.

Please note that the Recommended Citation provides general citation information and may not be appropriate for your discipline. To receive help in creating a citation based on your discipline, please visit <http://libguides.sjfc.edu/citations>.

This document is posted at https://fisherpub.sjfc.edu/education_etd/405 and is brought to you for free and open access by Fisher Digital Publications at St. John Fisher College. For more information, please contact fisherpub@sjfc.edu.

Black-Owned Small Business Survivors of Business Gentrification in the Bradhurst Neighborhood of Harlem, New York

Abstract

This study explored how Black-owned small businesses survived the business gentrification in the Harlem neighborhood of Bradhurst. The research methodology used was a mixed-methods, explanatory, sequential design. In the quantitative phase, survey data were used to describe how many Black-owned small businesses survived the business gentrification. In the quantitative phase, the researcher found a total of 74 (N) eligible Black-owned small businesses survivors. The Black-owned small businesses consisted of 28%, or 21, of the 74 business that existed prior to the period of gentrification and that survived after gentrification. There were 18%, or 13, of the 74 Black-owned small businesses that started during, and existed after, the business gentrification. In the qualitative phase, the researcher conducted six qualitative semi-structured interviews of Black-owned small business survivors. The qualitative findings of this study suggest that the Black-owned small businesses employed five key strategies to survive the business gentrification by managing the change in the business environment, identifying new business opportunities, securing capital financing for growth, taking advantage of technical assistance from local sources, and increasing education and leadership in operating their businesses. The quantitative and qualitative findings were then integrated for a better understanding of the strategies employed by the Black-owned small businesses to survive. Recommendations for stakeholders are to develop educational programs tailored to Black-owned small businesses, to create business-building strategies to enhance the resources needed to manage change in a changing business environment, and to stabilize the finances of their businesses for maximization and long-term business growth. The study was intended to be useful to policy makers, businesses, and educators.

Document Type

Dissertation

Degree Name

Doctor of Education (EdD)

Department

Executive Leadership

First Supervisor

Sr. Remigia Kushner

Second Supervisor

Gilbert Louis

Subject Categories

Education

Black-Owned Small Business Survivors of Business Gentrification in the
Bradhurst Neighborhood of Harlem, New York

By

Malcolm A. Punter

Submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree
Ed.D. in Executive Leadership

Supervised by

Sr. Remigia Kushner, Ph.D.

Committee Member

Gilbert Louis, Ed.D.

Ralph C. Wilson, Jr. School of Education

St. John Fisher College

August 2019

Copyright by
Malcolm A. Punter
2019

Dedication

It is with the highest degree of humility and gratitude that before the Almighty Maker and Sustainer of the Universe and before the witness of all readers, that I thank everyone who has played a role in my academic and professional pursuits. The journey was humbling but fulfilling and provided me with an invaluable growth experience.

I particularly thank my wife, Aarian R. Punter, and our son, Malcolm Ali (11y), and daughter, Aashe, for their immense sacrifice of giving up the agency of my attention as I pursued this achievement of scholarship. They have all been partners in this journey. I thank my late father, Richard W. Punter, and my mother, Sara Punter, for their lifelong sacrifices in my education and instilling in me an unrelenting persistence that I have carried with me throughout my life. I would like to thank my colleagues in Cohort 9, New Rochelle, for their spirited debate and scholarship.

Finally, I would like to thank my Executive Mentor, Joan O. Dawson, for her critical advice and guidance in the process of the application of the scholarly methods. I would like to thank my advisors, Drs. Shelly Jallow and Anthony Chiarlitti. Special gratitude is due to my dissertation chair, Sister Remigia Kushner, Ph.D., and committee member, Dr. Gilbert Louis. My committee was committed, critical, and supportive through the process. Your words of encouragement will not be forgotten.

Biographical Sketch

Malcolm A. Punter is currently the President & Chief Executive Officer of Harlem Congregations for Community Improvement, Inc., in the City of New York. Mr. Punter matriculated for his undergraduate degree at Mercy College, located in Dobbs Ferry, New York, completing his Bachelor of Science degree in Behavioral Sciences in 1998. He attended Salve Regina University, Newport, Rhode Island, from 2001 to 2004 and graduated with a Master of Business Administration degree, specializing in Management. Mr. Punter furthered his education by attending Thomas Jefferson School of Law, San Diego, California, and graduated with a Master of Science of Law degree in Taxation and Corporate Finance in 2013. Mr. Punter was admitted to the St. John Fisher College doctoral program at the New Rochelle, New York, extension site as a member of Cohort 9, and he began doctoral studies in the Ed.D. Program in Executive Leadership in 2017. He pursued his research on Black-Owned Small Business Survivors of Business Gentrification in Harlem, New York from 2000 to 2015, under the direction of Sister Remigia Kushner and Dr. Gilbert Louis and received the Ed.D. degree in 2019.

Abstract

This study explored how Black-owned small businesses survived the business gentrification in the Harlem neighborhood of Bradhurst. The research methodology used was a mixed-methods, explanatory, sequential design. In the quantitative phase, survey data were used to describe how many Black-owned small businesses survived the business gentrification. In the quantitative phase, the researcher found a total of 74 (*N*) eligible Black-owned small businesses survivors. The Black-owned small businesses consisted of 28%, or 21, of the 74 business that existed prior to the period of gentrification and that survived after gentrification. There were 18%, or 13, of the 74 Black-owned small businesses that started during, and existed after, the business gentrification. In the qualitative phase, the researcher conducted six qualitative semi-structured interviews of Black-owned small business survivors. The qualitative findings of this study suggest that the Black-owned small businesses employed five key strategies to survive the business gentrification by managing the change in the business environment, identifying new business opportunities, securing capital financing for growth, taking advantage of technical assistance from local sources, and increasing education and leadership in operating their businesses. The quantitative and qualitative findings were then integrated for a better understanding of the strategies employed by the Black-owned small businesses to survive. Recommendations for stakeholders are to develop educational programs tailored to Black-owned small businesses, to create business-building strategies to enhance the resources needed to manage change in a

changing business environment, and to stabilize the finances of their businesses for maximization and long-term business growth. The study was intended to be useful to policy makers, businesses, and educators.

Table of Contents

Dedication	iii
Biographical Sketch	iv
Abstract	v
Table of Contents	vii
List of Tables	x
List of Figures	xi
Chapter 1: Introduction	1
Problem Statement	7
Theoretical Rationale	8
Harlem’s African American Demographic History	10
Statement of Purpose	12
Research Questions	13
Potential Significance of the Study	13
Definitions of Terms	15
Chapter Summary	19
Chapter 2: Review of the Literature	21
Introduction and Purpose	21
History of Gentrification	21
Empirical Research Synthesis	47
Chapter Summary	48

Chapter 3: Research Design Methodology	50
Introduction.....	50
Research Design.....	53
Research Context	58
Research Participants	60
Instruments Used in Data Collection	63
Procedures for Data Collection and Analysis	68
Summary.....	71
Chapter 4: Results.....	72
Research Questions.....	73
Data Analysis and Findings	74
Qualitative Research Questions	85
Summary of Results.....	115
Chapter 5: Discussion	117
Introduction.....	117
Implications of Findings	118
Limitations	123
Recommendations.....	124
Conclusion	125
References.....	133
Appendix A.....	141
Appendix B	144
Appendix C.....	146

Appendix D.....	148
Appendix E.....	149

List of Tables

Item	Title	Page
Table 4.1	All Small Businesses in the Bradhurst Area (zip codes 10030 and 10039)	76
Table 4.2	Black-Owned Businesses in the United States, NYS, and NYC from 2000-2015	77
Table 4.3	Description of Black-Owned Small Businesses in Operation in Bradhurst from 2000-2015	78
Table 4.4	Interview Questions in Alignment with the Research Questions	83
Table 4.5	Qualitative Interview Gender	84
Table 4.6	Qualitative Interviewee Business Pseudonyms and Tenure	84
Table 4.7	Identified Themes and Subthemes	85
Table 4.8	Data Integration Comparing Quantitative and Qualitative Results	114

List of Figures

Item	Title	Page
Figure 1.1	The Bradhurst, Research Study Site, Neighborhood	4
Figure 1.2	Black American Population of Central Harlem, Greater Harlem, and NYC	11
Figure 1.3	Black Population 1990, 2000, 2010, 2015, and 2017 During the Gentrification Period	12
Figure 4.1	Black-Owned Small Businesses in Operation in the Bradhurst Section of Harlem	79

Chapter 1: Introduction

A 2017 report from the New York City (NYC) Comptroller's Office (Stringer, 2017) stated that from 2007 to 2012, the number of Black-owned businesses in NYC declined by more than 30%—even while the number of Black-owned businesses in other big cities across the country increased. The report further stated that NYC, NY; Detroit, MI; and Jacksonville, FL were the only cities with more than 500 Black-owned businesses that had seen such a decline (Stringer, 2017). In March 2018, the NYC Council proposed the Small Business Jobs Survival Act to the NYC legislature (NYC Council, 2018). This legislation was introduced to combat the impact of business gentrification and, at the time of this work's publication is being debated in the City legislature and in the court of public opinion. According to the NYC Council in 2018, the City legislature concluded that, to protect small businesses, changes were needed in the commercial lease renewal process. The proposed changes included creating a right to a renewal lease at the conclusion of a small business's initial term. The process would create a fair negotiating environment, which would result in more reasonable and fair leasing terms to help small businesses survive and to encourage job retention and growth in NYC (NYC Council, 2018) during gentrification.

Gentrification is defined as the process of renewal and rebuilding, while accompanying the influx of middle-class or affluent people into deteriorating areas. This process often displaces more impoverished residents. Glass (1964), the British sociologist who coined the term *gentrification* stated, “once this process of ‘gentrification’ starts in a

district, it goes on rapidly until all or most of the original working-class occupiers are displaced, and the whole social character of the district is changed” (p. xvii).

Gentrification continues to be a topic in scholarly discourse in the literature (Brown-Saracino & Rumpf, 2011; Ferm, 2016; Lavy, Dascher, & Hagelman, 2016; Meltzer, 2016; Williams & Needham, 2016). It is generally seen by government policy initiatives as positive, yet the impact of gentrification, as experienced by small businesses and residents, is often experienced differently. During the period between 2007 to 2012, minority business enterprises, such as Black-owned small businesses, experienced a decline across the United States. During the same period, there was a corresponding 45% increase for all other small businesses in NYC. The NYC Controller’s study (Stringer, 2017) demonstrated a decline in Black-owned small businesses, but it excluded any discussion of the survivors of the decline. Black-owned small business survivors during that period of gentrification has not been studied. Therefore, this study focused on the Black-owned small businesses that did survive the gentrification in a densely populated sub-neighborhood in the traditionally, ethnically Black community of Harlem. The site of the study was the Bradhurst section of Central Harlem in NYC.

The study of the rates of Black-owned small business survival during business gentrification and the experiences of the owners may provide information that other small businesses can use to also survive gentrification. The results of this study may also inform the government when it promotes urban revitalization plans in urban settings. This study is relevant because residential gentrification and displacement have been extensively explored in the literature, but gentrification that impacts businesses directly has not been studied (Meltzer, 2016; Patch, 2008). Business and residential gentrification

differ in that business gentrification can be perceived positively or negatively (Ferm, 2016). Lees, Slater, and Wyly (2008) suggested that “policymakers are more likely to positively promote business gentrification than addressing its negative impacts” (p. 241).

Government policy, as it relates to the perceived negative impact of gentrification, has primarily been concerned with the residential demographic changes. Attention to business gentrification by governmental regulatory agencies pales in contrast to the residential form of gentrification. The lack of governmental policy’s focus on business gentrification may be explained by the notion that business owners are perceived to be less in need of policy intervention to control market forces inherent in the gentrification process. The goal of this study was to describe and understand business gentrification’s impact on the social, cultural, and economic characteristics in a neighborhood going through the process of gentrification.

In March 1996, NYC designated the Bradhurst section of the Harlem neighborhood as the Bradhurst Urban Renewal Area. An urban renewal area is legally defined as a geographic area suffering under substandard or unsanitary living conditions (FindLaw, 2019). The Bradhurst neighborhood condition, between the 1960s and the 1990s was a geographic area that had deteriorated into a haven for crime, drugs, urban blight, disinvestment, and depopulation. The area had lost a substantial proportion of its buildings during this period. Fullilove, Green, and Fullilove (1999) stated that Bradhurst had deteriorated to the point that there was estimated to be 2,885 vacant or abandoned housing units, representing more than one third of the area’s housing stock. The blighted conditions existed in contrast to the former vibrant lower-middle-class neighborhood where the West 145th Street corridor was a thoroughfare of commercial and cultural

activity. At its lowest point, between the 1960s and 1990s, the Bradhurst neighborhood's small businesses struggled to remain open. The surviving small businesses provided a miniscule level of goods and services because the financial institutions avoided local investing in the small businesses. The result was a community of residents who were underserved and unemployed, and the businesses lacked capital for substantial operating activities.

The importance of the Bradhurst neighborhood for the Harlem community is its mixed-use commercial and residential zoning. The history of the Bradhurst neighborhood includes it being known for its venues, such as the Polo Grounds baseball stadium, which closed in 1963. The stadium was replaced with a NYC housing project call the Polo Grounds Towers in 1968. Bradhurst also possesses natural boundaries that connect the neighborhood to regional recreation, to nearby commercial corridors, and to major highways and waterways. The research study site for this study, the Bradhurst neighborhood, is bounded by the dotted lines, seen in Figure 1.1, and the Harlem River.

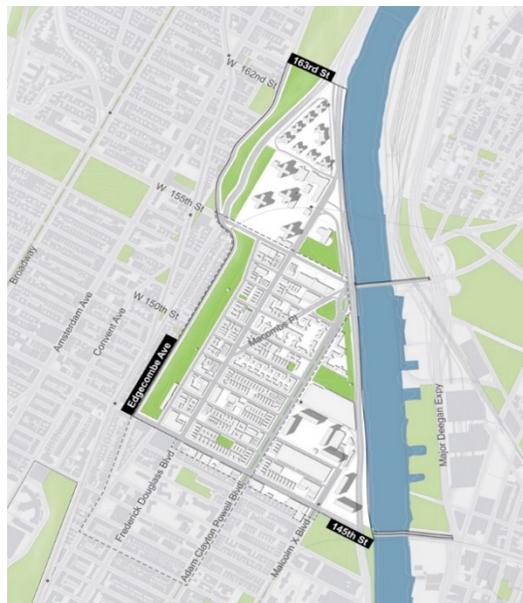


Figure 1.1. The Bradhurst, research study site, neighborhood.

In the early 1980s, local community leaders petitioned the City of New York for assistance in reversing the deteriorated conditions of the Bradhurst section of Harlem. Emerging from the blighted conditions was a local group of community-based organizations called the Consortium for Central Harlem Development. The Consortium was designated by NYC to implement the Bradhurst Urban Renewal Plan. To revitalize the Bradhurst section of Harlem, a plan to rehabilitate the neighborhood was formalized and known as the Bradhurst Urban Renewal Plan (1996). The Plan, as approved by the NYC Council, was to remain in place for 40 years from the date of its adoption, in 1996, until 2036.

The Bradhurst Urban Renewal Plan Authority was derived from legislation as follows:

The City of New York designated the Bradhurst neighborhood as the Bradhurst Urban Renewal Area under Section 504 of Article 15 of the N.Y. General Municipal Law. The Department of Housing Preservation and Development, NYC's principal housing agency, was designated to represent the City in carrying out the provisions of the Urban Renewal Law. (Bradhurst Urban Renewal Plan, 1996, p. 1)

The purpose of the Bradhurst Urban Renewal Area designation was to, "systematically combat the urban blight and general deterioration of the community and to reverse these conditions through repopulation, business investment, and stabilization of the cultural fabric of the community" (Bradhurst Urban Renewal Plan, 1996, p. 1).

The Bradhurst section of Harlem in NYC is primarily an ethnically homogenous neighborhood, and according to the 2010 census (U.S. Census Bureau, 2010), it

underwent gentrification, and displacement caused a dramatic district change.

Bradhurst—consisting of 40 square blocks—is bound in northern Harlem between West 138th and West 155th Streets, from Edgecombe Avenue and Bradhurst Avenue, on the west, to the Harlem River, on the east. According to a 2015 interim survey, the demographic make-up of the Bradhurst neighborhood was 70% African American, 18% Hispanic, 9% White, and 3% other (Harlem Congregations for Community Improvement, Inc., 2016).

Bradhurst has maintained a relatively consistent demographic character over the past decade. Since the 2010 U.S. Census, the Black demographic characteristic of the Bradhurst area population has been decreasing (U.S. Census Bureau, 2010). The change in demographics was characterized by an increase in White middle-class residents from 1,091, in the year 2000, to 2,636, in the year 2010, representing an increase of 141.61% in the White population (U.S. Census Bureau, 2000, 2010), which was an indicator of gentrification in the formerly homogenous Black ethnic neighborhood.

The gentrification phenomenon in Bradhurst is characterized by the addition of new housing and the revitalization of older housing. The commercial business activity in the Bradhurst corridor primarily occurs in *mixed-use* buildings. A mixed-use building is defined as a multistory residential building with retail, commercial, or civic uses on the ground floor in an urban district that is designated by local zoning laws for that purpose (Thrall, 2002). The business owners operating in the mixed-use corridor of Bradhurst had essentially become pillars of the community, a characteristic that was similarly described in research relating to local businesses by Liebow (1967). According to Liebow (1967),

local businesses add to the character of a neighborhood by contributing to the social, cultural, and economic vitality of the communities they operate within.

The importance of small businesses in ethnically homogenous neighborhoods are the contributing factors to the social, cultural, and economic character of a community. In the Harlem community, Black-owned small businesses have been impacted by the phenomenon of business gentrification. It has placed a strain on the Black-owned businesses' ability to continue to operate successfully in a neighborhood being gentrified, particularly when the business owners typically face increased operating costs, changing demographics, and competition from large well-financed brand entrants into the market.

Problem Statement

The Black-owned small businesses in the Bradhurst area were an essential element of the social, cultural, and economic character of the neighborhood. The Black-owned small businesses were challenged by the change in the district demographics. As gentrification in Bradhurst spread, small businesses in the area were impacted by increased costs in rent and the preferences of the changed customer base. New businesses that entered the Bradhurst neighborhood accommodated the new entrants and often failed to serve the needs of the original residents. The loss of customers of the original businesses resulted in a significant loss in economic activity, employment opportunities for entry-level workers, and sustainability of the local economy that relied on the Black-owned small businesses in Bradhurst.

This study of successful Black-owned small businesses that did survive business gentrification is useful to inform government policy on ways to prevent the decline of small businesses in local communities. This study may provide strategies for small

business practitioners to enhance their ability to survive business gentrification. This study may also make significant contributions to the field of entrepreneurship, small business management, government, and education. It examines the factors that contributed to the survival of Black-owned small businesses during a period of business gentrification in the Bradhurst neighborhood. The survival of Black-owned small businesses may be a key component of the economic, political, and cultural foundation of the Bradhurst neighborhood.

Theoretical Rationale

Gentrification may be viewed as a method of urban succession (Aldrich & Reiss, 1976; Lejano & Gonzalez, 2017). This study was based on the urban succession theory proposed by Aldrich and Reiss (1976). Urban succession theory provided the framework by linking business gentrification to the demographic that was associated with the gentrification that impacted the Bradhurst neighborhood. Aldrich and Reiss (1976) posited that race residential succession, a successor to urban succession theory, in an urban core impacts the survival of small businesses in an area undergoing demographic change. Urban succession theory argues that the systematic process of change occurring in gentrified neighborhoods includes small businesses (Aldrich & Reiss, 1976). Aldrich and Reiss's (1976) study of race residential succession, drawn from urban succession theory, suggests five predictive variables that impact the survival of small businesses in areas undergoing race residential succession: (a) withdrawal, (b) market decline, (c) successive opportunity, (d) economic shift, and (e) attitudes. In the context of business gentrification, urban succession and race residential succession theory provided the theoretical framework in this study.

In the Bradhurst section of Harlem, race residential succession was manifested through a gentrification process where increasing numbers of middle-class White residents moved into the neighborhood while lower-income Black residents moved out. The stage model theory of gentrification (Clay, 1979) and rent gap theory (Smith, 1987) are successor theories to the urban succession theory. These theories were integral to the study's theoretical framework because they are foundational theories in the gentrification literature. Stage model theory, suggested by Clay (1979), presented a description of the process of gentrification and how urban succession leads to the displacement of residents and businesses, and, therefore, it provided a second theoretical framework for this study.

The rent gap theory of gentrification posited by Smith (1987) provided an economic basis for gentrification. The rent gap theory of gentrification provided a market-driven motivation for the gentrification process. Urban planning professionals, government agencies, advocacy groups, and public and private interest groups have been exposed to the rent gap theory argument for real estate development. This study incorporated key elements of the rent gap theory as a tertiary theoretical framework to support the study.

The worldview inquiry of this study takes on a social-justice-inspired tone while taking into consideration the context of Black-owned businesses' survival during a period of gentrification. The Black-owned small businesses' ability to benefit financially, socially, culturally, and politically in American society, because of the structural impediments for this minority group, may underscore the nature and intensity of gentrification in the American context, in general, and, more specifically, in the urban setting.

The scholarly debates in the field of gentrification, which are more fully discussed in Chapter 2, are briefly mentioned here as relevant to urban succession theory and the race residential succession process inherent in the gentrification of Harlem and the Bradhurst neighborhood. Freeman and Braconi (2004) argued that gentrification was a sort of natural succession of the survival of the fittest. This argument supports the revanchist (Lejano & Gonzalez, 2017) ideology of gentrification and displacement as a deliberate process. Revanchism, according to the *Oxford Learner's Dictionaries*, is defined as a policy of seeking to retaliate—especially to recover lost territory. The concept of revanchism is aggressive and overt, and when applied to gentrification, it means that middle-class in-movers are return to the urban core of a city through some perceived right. The concept of revanchism may be inherent in the phenomenon of gentrification, and when displacement occurs, the lower-income, or disadvantaged individuals or businesses, may be in a fight for their survival, and they may need advocacy.

Harlem's African American Demographic History

The demographics of the Harlem community has changed since the year 2000. The changes resulted in certain demographic shifts in the patterns of ethnic and racial placement in the subject area for this study. Demographic patterns are essential to understand the phenomenon of gentrification in NYC and in its various sub neighborhoods such as Harlem. The patterns of demographic change have impacted the patterns of business owners and business types. The study findings concluded that business gentrification is closely tied to the phenomenon of residential gentrification (Aldrich & Reiss, 1976; Meltzer, 2016).

Gentrification in Harlem created a gradual process of change in the demographic population over a period of several decades between 1910 and 2010. The demographic change that corresponded with the gentrification of Harlem is illustrated by the racial and ethnic history of Black Americans in the community in comparison to NYC, Greater Harlem, and Central Harlem. Figure 1.2 shows a summarization of these changes.

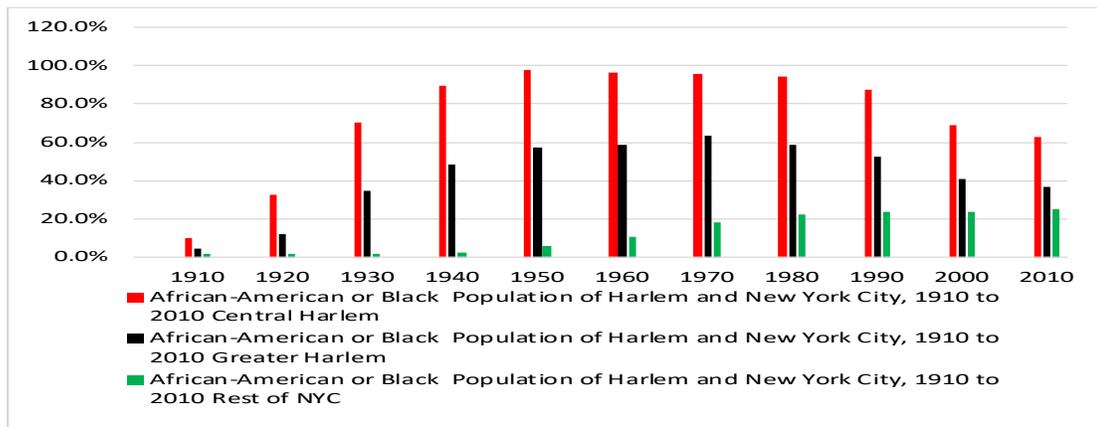


Figure 1.2. Black American population of Central Harlem, Greater Harlem, and NYC.

Adapted from Beveridge (2008).

The target area of the Bradhurst neighborhood is within the boundaries of the Central Harlem neighborhood of Manhattan in NYC. A review of the population changes during a period commonly associated with before and after gentrification illustrates the significant statistical changes occurring during the period 1990 through 2017. During that period the Black population had decreased from 88% in 1990 down to 53% in 2017. This trend represents a 33% decrease in the Black demographic population within this traditionally ethnically Black neighborhood. The trend appears to be continuing in Central Harlem. Figure 1.3 illustrates the decreases in the Black population in Central Harlem over 27 years.

Central Harlem changed demographically from the period spanning 1990 through 2017. The results of the study suggest that the rate of demographic change has impacted the residential community.

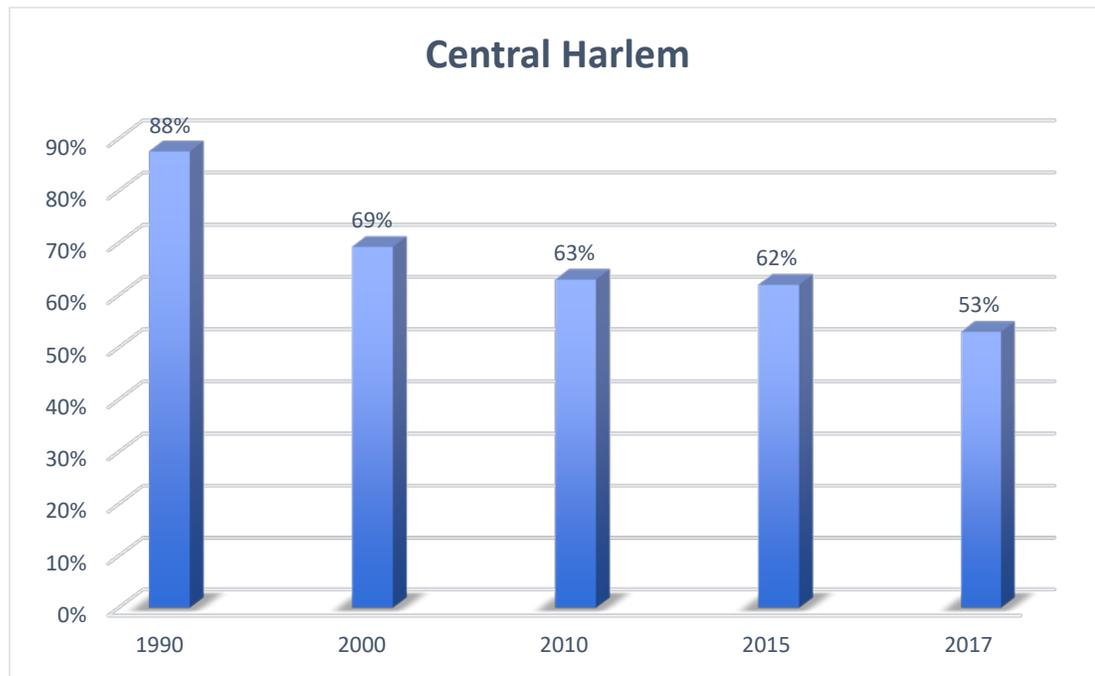


Figure 1.3. Black population 1990, 2000, 2010, 2015, and 2017 during the gentrification period. Adapted from U.S. Census, 1990 – 2010; U.S. Census Bureau Population Estimates, 2013; U.S. Census, 2017.

Statement of Purpose

The purpose of this study is to understand, through a mixed-methods explanatory sequential design, the rates of Black-owned business survival and the factors that contributed to the survival of Black-owned small businesses in Bradhurst during a period of business gentrification from 2000-2015.

Research Questions

Quantitative research questions. The quantitative research questions that guided this study, were

1. How many Black-owned small businesses existed before and after the period of gentrification in the Bradhurst section of Harlem from 2000-2015?
2. What percentage of Black-owned small businesses survived gentrification in the Bradhurst neighborhood in Harlem between the years 2000-2015?
3. What percentage of Black-owned small businesses started during a period of gentrification in the Bradhurst section of Harlem from 2000-2015?

Qualitative research questions. The qualitative research questions that guided this study were

1. What were the factors that contributed to Black-owned small business survival during the period of business gentrification in Harlem?
2. What resources were used by Black-owned small businesses in surviving or thriving during the period of gentrification in Harlem between 2000-2015?
3. How did Black-owned small businesses perceive the likelihood of their success before and after the gentrification between 2000-2015?

Potential Significance of the Study

The potential significance of this study contributes to the underdeveloped research regarding business gentrification and it adds to the body of knowledge of the gentrification literature, the explanation of the rates and factors of small business survival, and the description of the unintended consequences of business gentrification on the economic power of indigenous residential and business communities. An examination

of the rates and factors describing Black-owned small business survival during a period of gentrification can result in a significant contribution to the body of knowledge of gentrification literature.

Black-owned small business survival is essential to the stability of any Black majority neighborhood. The importance of small businesses in ethnically homogenous neighborhoods are the contributing factors to the social, cultural, and economic character of the community (Patch, 2008). The gentrification literature developed over the past 30 years has primarily focused on the causes, actors, and remedies of residential gentrification. Lees et al. (2008) and Meltzer (2016) voiced that business gentrification is an important phenomenon worthy of research. The importance of the study of business gentrification, in the context of Black-owned small business survival in Harlem, provided a unique, unexplored approach to the subject. The gentrification scholarship focusing on business gentrification is growing, however, it is in the exploratory stage. According to Yoon and Park (2018), business or commercial gentrification is a new form of gentrification in major cities around the world. The literature review, in Chapter 2, explores, in depth, the context of the gentrification literature as it relates to this study's research problem and purpose.

An explanatory, sequential mixed-methods study of the rates of survival, factors contributing to the survival, and resources Black-owned small business used to survive during a period of business gentrification will contribute to the body of knowledge and practice of the field of business education and urban planning. The area of Bradhurst in Harlem was the study site. Bradhurst was selected to explain the factors leading to the survival of the Black-owned small businesses because it provided an example of a

gentrified neighborhood that maintained a significant majority of its remaining Black residents and Black-owned small businesses.

This study examined business gentrification as it related to Black-owned small businesses in the Bradhurst neighborhood in Harlem. The site for this study is an enclave that maintained its demographic characteristics throughout the gentrification, and those characteristics were consistent with the pre-gentrification era in sections of this Harlem neighborhood. Black-owned small businesses were impacted by the phenomenon of business gentrification and its associated demographic change, as examined in others' research of gentrification-associated ethnic succession studies (Aldrich & Reiss, 1976; Fairchild, 2007). Business gentrification places a strain on the Black-owned businesses' ability to continue to operate successfully in a neighborhood being gentrified, particularly when faced with increased operating costs, changing demographics, and competition from large, well-financed brand entrants into the market. This study can result in practical strategies for small business survival for Black-owned, minority, and/or women-owned businesses and other disadvantaged business enterprises.

Definitions of Terms

In the context of this subject matter of gentrification, the frequently used terms are defined.

Black-Owned Small Business – a ground floor location of commerce that is at least 51% owned by a person having origins in any of the Black racial groups of Africa, the owner is a resident in the State of New York, and the entity is independently owned and operated (not a franchise), not dominant in its field, and employs 100 or less persons.

Business (Commercial) Gentrification – the displacement of places of commerce in a district that is being renewed and rebuilt causing increases in operating costs, and, particularly, rental rates.

Bradhurst Urban Renewal Area – the project boundary located in Community Districts 9 and 10 in the Borough of Manhattan, and it is generally bounded by (a) West 155th Street on the north, (b) Adam Clayton Powell, Jr. Boulevard on the east, (c) West 138th Street on the south, and (d) Edgecombe and Bradhurst on the west.

Built Environment – refers to the human-made surroundings that provide the setting for human activity, ranging in scale from buildings to parks. It has been defined as “the human-made space in which people live, work, and recreate on a day-to-day basis” (Roof & Oleru, 2008, p. 24).

Census Tracts – small, relatively permanent statistical subdivisions of a county characterized and uniquely numbered in each county with a numeric code. Census tracts average about 4,000 inhabitants with a minimum population of 1,200 residents and a maximum population of 8,000 residents (U.S. Census Bureau, 2010).

Discretionary Income – the amount of an individual’s wealth that is left for spending, investing, or saving after paying taxes and paying for personal necessities, such as food, shelter, and clothing. Discretionary income includes money spent on luxury items, vacations, and nonessential goods and services. Because discretionary income is the first to shrink amid a job loss or pay reduction, businesses that sell discretionary goods tend to suffer the most during economic downturns and recessions.

Disposable Income – also known as disposable personal income (DPI), it is the amount of money that households have available for spending and saving after income taxes have been accounted for.

Gentrification – the process of renewal and rebuilding, accompanying the influx of middle-class or affluent people into deteriorating areas that often displaces more impoverished residents (Glass, 1964).

Minority and Women Business Enterprise (M/WBE) – a place of commerce that meets the eligibility for the requirements as a disadvantaged business: it is legally authorized to transact business in New York State (NYS); the business has been in operation (i.e., selling goods and/or services) for at least 1 year; at least 51% of the business is owned, operated, and controlled by a U.S. citizen(s) or U.S. permanent resident(s) who are women and/or members of designated minority groups including: Black, Hispanic, Asian Pacific, Asian Indian (NYC Business, 2019).

Mixed-Methods Research – a study design in which the researcher collects, analyzes, and mixes (integrates or connects) both quantitative and qualitative data in a single study or a multiphase program of inquiry.

Mixed-Use Property – a building, complex of buildings, or new district of a community that is developed for different types of business and living by a private developer, (quasi-) governmental agency, or a combination thereof. A mixed-use development may be new construction, reuse of an existing building or brownfield site, or a combination of both (Thrall, 2002).

Real Estate Board of New York (REBNY). – NYC's leading real estate trade association. It was founded in 1896 as the state's first real estate trade association.

REBNY works on behalf of the mutual interests of its members by promoting public and industry policies. The organization frequently speaks before government bodies with the primary goals of expanding NYC's economy, encouraging the development and renovation of commercial and residential property, enhancing the city's appeal to investors and residents, and facilitating property management.

Rent Gap Theory – A theory proposed by Neil Smith in 1987 to explain gentrification (displacement of lower-income residents in a neighborhood by higher-income residents). Rent gap is a breach between the rent a property currently earns and the rent that a property can earn if put to its *highest and best use*. Smith (1987) argued that when the rent gap is wide enough, developers and landlords see the potential profit to be had in reinvesting in inner-city properties and redeveloping them for new inhabitants. Such redevelopment effectively closes the rent gap and leads to higher rent, mortgage and lease rates. (Smith, 1987).

Strategies – long-term plan of action designed to achieve market share in business opportunity.

Survival – a business continuously operating before, during, and after a period of gentrification.

Urban Succession – the systematic process of changing occurring in gentrified neighborhoods including small businesses (Aldrich & Reiss, 1976). The term is adapted from the biological science notion of ecological succession postulated by the Chicago school of thought on urban sociology emerging in the 1920s-1930s embedded in concepts of urban planning and renewal.

Chapter Summary

Black-owned businesses in neighborhoods that are traditionally low-income, ethnically homogeneous, and underserved are essential to the economic character of a community wherein those businesses reside. Black-owned businesses provide employment opportunities and tend to employ low-income, underemployed, and previously unemployed members of a low-income community. As described by Bates (1993), Black-owned businesses are more likely than White-owned business to operate in central-city areas and minority neighborhoods (Bates, 1993; Simms & Allen, 1997). Black-owned businesses tend to recruit workers from low-income minority communities (Boston, 1999) much more than nonminority businesses of similar size.

The survival of Black-owned businesses is essential to the economic sustainability of low-income residents and their neighborhoods. Aldrich and Reiss (1976) understood, based upon their theoretical framework, which was designed through the study of incorporating the urban succession and race residential success theories, that the survival of small businesses in gentrified neighborhoods was critical to the sustainability of the economy of those neighborhoods. A decline in Black-owned businesses during a period of gentrification, fueled by landlords' expectations of economic gain through increases in rent and real estate values, as described by Smith's (1987) rent gap theory, can result in a decline in the employment opportunities for minority residents. Gentrification leads to economic changes that increase the operating costs of doing business, in the context of the urban succession and rent gap theories, for small businesses that may be at risk of being less likely to survive in a gentrified neighborhood.

The loss of businesses and the impact of the loss to the residents in the Black low-income neighborhood could result in a significant loss in economic activity, job opportunities for entry-level workers, and sustainability of the local economies in neighborhoods going through gentrification. The study of the importance of Black-owned small business owners, as contributors of the local economic character of the neighborhoods within which they operate, may yield useful recommendations to inform government policy, business operation strategy, executive leadership, and to expand management education.

This chapter consisted of an introduction to the study, the background of the problem statement, the purpose statement, theoretical rationale, research questions, and definition of terms. Chapter 2 identifies the relevant literature that provided alignment with the problem and purpose of this study, provides a background and review of what is known about gentrification as a phenomenon, and the literature review helps to situate this study. The goal of the literature review is to identify a gap in the subject area of focus. Chapter 3, or the methodology, will describe the study methods, data collection procedures, research design, and the rationale for the research approach. Chapter 4 discusses the quantitative, qualitative, and mixed-methods findings of the study, and Chapter 5 discusses the implications of the study and gives recommendations to stakeholders and for further research.

Chapter 2: Review of the Literature

Introduction and Purpose

The purpose of this study was to understand the rates of survival and the factors that contributed to the survival of Black-owned small businesses during a period of business gentrification. The review of the literature begins with a discussion of the history and founding scholars of the field of gentrification. Next, the early scholarship of gentrification of (a) urban succession, (b) stage models, and (c) rent-gap theories are reviewed. Then, the chapter presents an analysis of the empirical research reports of gentrification, as applied to business or commercial establishments in the context of local business gentrification and international business gentrification. Finally, the review of literature concludes with a synthesis of the empirical research, focusing on how this study aligns with and contributes to the body of research in the field.

History of Gentrification

The phenomenon of gentrification was conceptualized in the writing of the British sociologist Glass, in 1964, who coined the term gentrification in a seminal work set in homogeneous London. Glass stated, “once this process of ‘gentrification’ starts in a district, it goes on rapidly until all or most of the original working-class occupiers are displaced, and the whole social character of the district is changed” (Glass, 1964, p. xvii). The process of gentrification dramatically impacts neighborhoods where the working class or lower-income residents reside. The process of gentrification may result in swift and permanent change and displacement. Glass’s definition of gentrification includes the

process of displacement. Inherent in this definition of gentrification includes a process that impacts the social, cultural, and built environment of a community. In this study district change refers to change brought on by gentrification, which impacts the social, cultural, and built or physical environment of a neighborhood or community.

In social science, the term, *built environment*, or a built world, refers to the human-made surroundings that provide the setting for human activity, ranging in scale from buildings to parks. It has been defined as “the human-made space in which people live, work, and recreate on a day-to-day basis.” (Roof & Oleru, 2008, p. 24). The *gentrifiers* are the actors in the process of displacement of the working-class occupiers in a neighborhood. Beauregard (1986) defined *gentrifiers* as the necessary agents and beneficiaries of the gentrification process (Lees et al., 2008). An example of the dramatic changes in population can be illustrated by the reduction in Black residents in the Central Harlem district of the Greater Harlem community. In the 1950s, the population of Black residents in Central Harlem peaked at 99%. According to the 2000 U.S. Census, the Black population declined steadily from its peak in 1950 down to 77.4% in 2000 (U.S. Census Bureau, 2000).

Displacement, as defined by Grier and Grier (1980), is

When any household is forced to move from its residence by conditions that affect the dwelling or its immediate surroundings, and that: 1) are beyond the household’s reasonable ability to control or prevent; 2) occur despite the household’s having met all previously imposed conditions of occupancy; and 3) make continued occupancy by that household impossible, hazardous, or unaffordable. (Grier & Grier as cited in Marcuse, 1985, p. 205)

The experience of district changes, as observed by Glass (1964), and displacement, as defined by Grier and Grier, appears to be closely related and may apply to businesses in a neighborhood going through gentrification. This study defines business gentrification as a process where businesses in a previously low-income census tract experience increased operating cost, changes in local zoning laws, the entrance of big box brands into a local market and shifts in the neighborhood's demographics (Grier & Grier, 1980).

Gentrification literature has evolved over the past five decades since its coining of gentrification by Glass in 1964, the British sociologist, based upon her observation of the phenomenon as it occurred in London. The theories underlining the gentrification literature developed into a large body of literature evolving into such as rent gap (Smith, 1987), the stage model theory of gentrification (Clay, 1979), and the supply and the demand sides of gentrification (Hamnett, 1991; Hamnett & Randolph, 1986; Lees et al., 2008; Smith, 1986). The gentrification literature contextualized within these various focal points attempts to describe the causes and actors underlining the field of gentrification. A review of these scholarly discussions in the gentrification field is necessary to grasp the scope and breadth of the focus of the field over an extended period.

Working definitions for gentrification have not resulted in a consensus amongst the scholars in the field. However, any operational definition for gentrification must recognize the evolving nature of the concept. Minimally, any useful definition of the term gentrification should incorporate both residential and commercial meanings to appreciate the depth of the gentrification phenomena fully. The gentrification literature suggests that operational gentrification definitions are dependent on the scope of the phenomena being described by the scholarly approach. Defining gentrification can be a complicated

endeavor because it must include the historical and contextual perspective of the phenomenon and the geography under study. Many scholars of gentrification have offered operational definitions that are briefly reviewed in this paper.

Gentrification can be defined as “the transformation of a working-class or vacant area of a central city into a middle-class residential or commercial use” (Lees et al., 2008 p. xv). According to this definition, gentrification is a process of neighborhood regeneration by relatively affluent incomers, who displace lower-income groups and invest substantially in improvements to homes, the quality of which had previously deteriorated (Hoare, 1994). Gentrification is the middle-class settlement in renovated or redeveloped properties in older, inner-city districts formerly occupied by a lower-income population (Gregory et al., 2009). The definition of gentrification is essential as the phenomenon, itself, has evolved. A review of the evolution of the concept of gentrification is explored in this paper beginning with the various theories and models presented in the literature.

The cause and process of the phenomenon of gentrification has been the subject of intense debate (Lees et al., 2010). The theoretical framework underlining this study consists of two established theories of gentrification: the rent gap theory and the stage theory of gentrification.

In recent years, gentrification has been a topic in scholarly discourse in the literature and popular media (Brown-Saracino & Rumpf, 2011). Urban cities in America and around the world have become the focal point of gentrification (Billingham, 2015). As the British sociologist, Glass (1964), observed in her seminal work set in homogeneous London, gentrification is the phenomenon of systematic change in the

inner city by the lower class being displaced by middle-class *in-movers* or middle-class residents moving into the neighborhoods. Glass (1964) suggested that the process of gentrification, once it starts, dramatically impacts neighborhoods where the working class or lower-income residents reside. The phenomenon called gentrification, as observed by Glass, represented a class conflict, resulting in displacement (Glass, 1964). According to Glass, during this process, the original working-class occupiers are displaced by middle-class in-movers, resulting in a swift and permanent demographic change. This definition of gentrification and the ensuing discussion in the literature of, *district change*, implies an impact affecting the social, cultural, and built environment of a community.

Gentrification literature often views the actors in the gentrification process as the cause of the associated result of the gentrification called *displacement*. These actors are often referred to as the *gentrifiers*. The gentrifiers are the actors in the process of the displacement of the working-class occupiers in a neighborhood. Beauregard (1986) defined gentrifiers as the necessary agents and beneficiaries of the gentrification process. The early gentrification literature of the 1960s colored gentrification in the theoretical and empirical literature as the class conflict where there are clear winners and losers. Gentrifiers benefit from gentrification, and the displaced are pushed out of the neighborhoods once occupied by the working-class original occupiers. The gentrification literature discourse has described the displacement caused by gentrification as a process of a *revanchist city* construct (Smith, 1996a). Smith (1996a) discussed the thesis of the revanchist city, explaining that *revanche* is French for *revenge*. In France, the revanchists of the late 19th century were a nationalist movement seeking revenge against the liberals and the proletarians. Smith (1996b) asserted that revanchist is behind the rewriting of

urban and social policy in American cities in a way that results in gentrification leading to displacement. The urban and social policy includes government revitalization initiatives including tax-free business zones and urban-renewal area designations that may contribute to the gentrification and the rapid neighborhood change associated with it.

Early gentrification scholars debated whether a correlation existed between gentrification and displacement (Clay, 1979, Grier & Grier, 1980; Smith, 1987). Displacement, as an outcome of the gentrification process, continues as a topic of interest in the literature. Displacement, as defined by Grier & Grier (1980), described three distinct impacts of this process:

When any household is forced to move from its residence by conditions that affect the dwelling or its immediate surroundings, and that: 1) are beyond the household's reasonable ability to control or prevent; 2) occur despite the household's having met all previously imposed conditions of occupancy; and 3) make continued occupancy by that household impossible, hazardous, or unaffordable. (p. 256)

The experience of district change, as observed by Glass (1964), and displacement, as defined by Grier and Grier (1980) appears to be closely related to how gentrification can occur in different contexts.

Residential gentrification is viewed primarily as an invasion by the middle class in a formerly low-income neighborhood, resulting in the displacement of the working class (Glass, 1964). The phenomenon called gentrification, as observed by Glass (1964), was described as a situation where, "original working-class occupiers are displaced" (p. xvii), resulting in a character change in the social and built environments during the

gentrification. Glass's definition of gentrification and the ensuing discussion of district change implies an impact affecting the social and originally built environment of a community. The gentrification phenomenon continues as an economic and cultural process in U.S. cities, resulting in an evolution in the definition of the concept.

Scholars have expanded the scope and definition of gentrification since Glass originally coined the term. According to the viewpoint of earlier researchers, district change may result in displacement as an outcome of the gentrification process. Grier and Grier (1980) described the involuntarily process of displacement as one that occurs when any household is forced to move from its residence by conditions that affect their dwelling or immediate surroundings. The experience of displacement, as defined by Grier and Grier may apply to businesses and their owners in a neighborhood going through gentrification.

Early theories of gentrification. Gentrification, as discussed in the 1970s and 1980s, was based upon the two main theories of the consumer preference schools of thought of gentrification, which are the demand side theory and stage model theory of gentrification (Clay, 1979; Smith, 1987). These two theories have played a permanent role in the gentrification literature. The demand side of gentrification posits that it is caused or driven by consumer preference, and it occurs in stages that are predictable. The consumer side of gentrification process suggests that, for example, middle-class in-movers succeed over lower-class incumbents in a neighborhood. The gentrification phenomenon from the demand side perspective can be observed in Harlem, in NYC, or in Society Hill, PA (Smith, 1987).

Stage model theory and types of gentrification. Stage model theory has remained a constant process in the explanation of gentrification. The stage models support a succession process between a pre-gentrification period and a post-gentrification period. The stage model theory of the 1970s and 1980s suggested stages or waves of gentrification. The stage models of gentrification have been identified and described by scholars in each decade since the inception of the gentrification literature (Clay, 1979; Hackworth & Smith, 2001; Hamnett, 1984; Lees et al., 2010).

In the decade beginning the year 2000, gentrification scholarship developed further descriptions of gentrification. Lees (2003) explored an evolution in the phenomenon of gentrification by examining the economic and cultural development of gentrification in Brooklyn, NY. Lees mentioned that “gentrification research has traditionally focused on the economic and cultural appreciation of formerly disinvested and devalued inner-city areas by an affluent middle class” (p. 2487). Lees identified the concept of *super-gentrification* as one that explores the boundaries of gentrification literature at the time. Lees (2003) stated that, “By super-gentrification, I mean the transformation of already gentrified, prosperous and solidly upper-middle-class neighborhoods into much more exclusive and expensive enclaves” (p. 2487). Lees was referring to additional waves of gentrification. In the super-gentrification process even the original gentrifiers are subsequently subject to gentrification themselves. Lees revealed that, “In the survey and interviews, a great many Brooklyn Heights residents expressed the belief that a sea of change had come over the neighborhood in recent years as a tidal wave of Wall Street money swept over the Heights” (Lees, 2003, p. 2501). Glass (1964) defined gentrification as phenomenon as it occurred in London in 1964. The

following definition of gentrification, as discussed by Lees in 2003, provides an example of the depth of the phenomenon of gentrification in the literature.

The stage model theory of gentrification evolved during the 21st century. Lees (2003), building upon the stage model theory and developing her concept of super-gentrification or the transformation of an already gentrified, wealthy, and solidly upper-middle-class neighborhoods into much more exclusive and expensive enclaves was added to the stage models of gentrification literature. According to Lees (2003), the stage model theory of gentrification includes five types of gentrification, which are observable in urban neighborhoods: (a) classical, (b) state-led, (c) new build, (d) commercial, and (e) super-gentrification. The traditional or classical form of gentrification was defined by individual gentrifiers renovating old housing through sweat equity or by hiring contractors to improve neighborhoods. These traditional gentrifiers were not wealthy; however, they were well-educated, middle-class individuals in comparison to the incumbent residents of lower income. In the classical form of gentrification, the new in-movers or gentrifiers had access to capital, were experienced, and had the will to take the risk and rapidly displace their lower-income neighborhoods.

The state-led form of gentrification is where the national and local governments support the gentrifications initiatives. These initiatives are usually designed to attract commercial finance and business investment into the targeted area. This can be realized through empowerment zones, urban renewal areas, and tax-free incentives that are attractive to businesses and investment interests. New building construction has been identified as a stage of gentrification, particularly in the urban areas that have been neglected, which results in blight and vacant land.

The new build stage of gentrification offers an opportunity to governments, businesses, and investors to increase the population of a previously depopulated area. This stage model also suggests that gentrification can be commercial. The commercial stage of gentrification may impact small businesses in various ways. Small businesses are often the only driver of jobs for residents in a neighborhood being gentrified. Gentrification's impact on small businesses, although recognized as a stage of gentrification, has not been the focus of the gentrification literature.

Super-gentrification is a stage of gentrification where re-gentrification occurs in a neighborhood by wealthy *financifiers* or the superrich (Lees, 2003). These gentrifiers are the drivers of the consumption side of the gentrification debate. The proponents of the supply-side in the gentrification literature have contributed a body of work that has furthered the gentrification field. The stage models of gentrification have been mechanisms of the evolution of gentrification in the literature. The stage models of gentrification continue to be employed in the gentrification literature in theoretical and empirical studies (Meltzer, 2016; Williams, 2016). Types of gentrification have been identified in the literature through various studies by Clay (1979), Hackworth and Smith, (2001), Hamnett (1984), and Lees (2003, 2012). The stage models of gentrification are considered useful in approaching the examination of the causes and process of gentrification.

The evolution of gentrification and the displacement of residents has produced a comprehensive body of literature from the consumption side and the supply side scholars in the gentrification literature. The supply side scholars suggest that gentrification and displacement is a function of theories such as rent gap and value gap. The supply side

theorists also describe the actions of urban and national policymakers, real estate agents, and investors as the drivers of the process of gentrification and not simply the preferences of individuals or the middle class being motivated by a back-to-the-city movement as the underlying premise of the consumption-side proponents (Blasius, Friedrichs & Ruhl, 2016).

The rent-gap theory of gentrification. The supply side of the gentrification literature owes its origin to a framework of classical urban studies. A pivotal successor to the Marxian urban theory, in the gentrification literature, is Smith's 1987 rent-gap theory. A geographer and anthropologist, Neil Smith, had an economic explanation for the phenomenon of gentrification and he is widely quoted and debated in the literature of urban studies. The rent-gap theory, as postulated by Smith, has maintained a prominent position in the urban theory and gentrification literature. In its purest form, the rent gap, as explained by Smith, describes the economic difference between the existing rental income of a property and the potentially achievable rental income, based upon characteristics specific to the local market. Smith (1987) suggested, that

Gentrification occurs when the gap is wide enough that developers can purchase shells cheaply, can pay the builders' costs and profit for rehabilitation, can pay interest on mortgage and construction loans, and can then sell the end-product for a sale price that leaves a satisfactory return to the developer. (p. 545)

The rent-gap explanation of the cause of gentrification is a supply-side argument that is ingrained into the gentrification literature. The rent-gap theory, although accepted by gentrification scholars, is not without its critics.

Bourassa (1993) was a principal critic of the rent-gap theory postulated by Smith (1987). Bourassa's (1993) first criticism is the difficulty in applying the theory to any empirical examples. Bourassa (1993) suggested that the abstract concept of highest and best use postulated by Smith is exceedingly difficult to measure (Bourassa, 1990). Bourassa's (1993) claim centered on the fact that, in his opinion, there had been no empirical studies conducted that proved the rent gap existed. His second critique was that the theory was the rent-gap theory has no theoretical foundation in economic theory. Bourassa (1993) suggested that Smith (1987) should not attempt to find antecedents for the rent gap in the history of economic ideas such as the Marxist or neoclassical economic theory. Bourassa's (1993) third critique was terminological. According to Bourassa (1993), an immediately obvious problem with Smith's (1987) exposition of the rent-gap theory is that he misused terms that had well-established meanings in the land economics literature (Marxian as well as neoclassical). These terminological mistakes are relatively minor in comparison to the basic problem of the rent-gap hypothesis. They merit discussion here only because they suggest that Smith's (1987) formulation of the rent-gap notion was at least somewhat naive and that the basic concepts underlying the rent-gap theory needed careful critical scrutiny (Bourassa, 1993).

Ley (1986), in his empirical work set in Canada, found no evidence of rent gap as the cause of gentrification. Ley's criticism of the rent-gap theory was based on the observation that it does not accurately reflect what occurs in the areas in question, and it could not be predicted. Ley (1986) held that if a rent gap exists, gentrification should be evident by the existence of massive development. In Ley's (1986) study, the rent-gap-to-gentrification nexus was not evident, while the critics of the rent-gap theory in the

gentrification scholarship have continued to argue the limitations of its usefulness.

Several arguments support the continued utility of the rent-gap theory in the literature.

The principal proponents of the rent-gap theory in the gentrification field and who argue in favor of the rent-gap theory as a viable theoretical contribution to the gentrification literature are Clark (1988, 1995) and Slater (2011, 2017).

Clark (1995) found Bourassa's (1993) critique to be flawed on three accounts. It equated an abstract concept (actual land rent) with a concrete event (contract rent), it sought the relevance of the rent gap at times of redevelopment, and it diminished rent-gap theory into an equation for calculating the profitability of redevelopment. This re-examination argued that: (a) actual land rent is not equal to contract rent, (b) the significance of the rent gap extends over a more extended period prior to redevelopment, and (c) rent-gap theory should not be reduced to a break-even point in real estate accounting. Clark (1995) felt that it is a political-economic theory of uneven development on the urban scale, and, as such, it cannot be divorced from the social relation and power struggles involved in the creation and capture of values in the built environment.

Slater (2017) argued that Smith (1987) never wanted the rent-gap theory to be about abstract lines and curves on a graph or reduced to squabbles in the journals with neoclassical economists or liberal geographers. The rent-gap theory, Slater (2017) posited, is as relevant today as it was when Smith argued it in 1979. Slater (2017) believed the rent-gap theory is relevant today because of its simplicity and accuracy.

Proponents and opponents of gentrification throughout North America, to understand the gentrification process, utilize rent-gap theory. Although Bourassa (1993) and Ley (1986)

criticized the rent-gap theory on empiricist grounds, the theoretical foundations of the theory remain as sound scholarly discourse.

The argument on the validity of the rent-gap theory and its applicability in the theoretical and empirical gentrification literature continues. The theory continues to be used as a theoretical basis in the current gentrification scholarship (Lees, 2003; Liu, O'Sullivan, & Perry, 2018; Slater, 2017; Williams & Needham, 2016). Scholars have recognized the value of the rent-gap theory by suggesting that, “if the mark of the good theory is that it compels us to ask illuminating questions of reality, then the rent gap theory is ‘a good theory’” (Yung & King, 1998, p. 540).

According to Slater (2017), Smith (1987) encouraged severe critical engagement with his theory and would welcome and learn from critics who understood, from the outset, the roots of the rent gap in Marxist urban theory. As proponents of the rent-gap theory, Clark (1995) and Slater (2017) validated the ongoing scholarly discourse that had been central to the debate in the context of Marxist urban theory and the evolution of rent-gap theory.

The validity of the rent-gap theory has become an essential debate in the gentrification literature. The above gentrification scholars contributed over two decades of research to the argument. Arguments between the foremost scholars of gentrification continue. The consensus in the debates is beneficial to enhancing the validity of the scholarship, in general. The gentrification literature has emerged into a global discussion of a phenomenon that has had widely held sociological, geographic, and behavioral implications. An attempt to discover gentrification's impact on human interactions is enhanced through the scholarly debates of the 1970s through 1990s.

The debates in the gentrification literature have focused considerably on the origins of the causes of the phenomenon of gentrification. Central to the debates is what role has early gentrification scholars played in the development of the primacy of the various approaches to understanding the causes of gentrification? The supply-side versus the consumption-side explanations of the gentrification debate have not been concluded. The literature suggests that the debate is at an impasse. This perceived impasse has resulted in increased scholarship about gentrification leading to three decades of scholarly contributions to the analysis of the rent-gap and value-gap theories as they apply to the gentrification. The gentrification debates continue in the literature. A review of the literature, along the fault lines of the consumption and supply-side theorists, will be discussed.

Gentrification debates between the consumption-side and supply-side theorists continue in the literature with the goal of determining the cause of gentrification (Ley, 1986; Smith, 1982). The theoretical and empirical studies continue to present nuanced, scholarly debate. Rich qualitative and rigorous quantitative studies continue as scholars identify place-based contextualized applications of how the gentrification literature and its associated theories apply in large urban neighborhoods of favorite U.S. and U.K. cities, focusing on urban succession or social justice context (Smith, 1982). After five decades of scholarly debate, gentrification has propelled scholars in other locales into the discussion (Brown-Saracino, 2010). This had occurred particularly in established urban communities in locations such as China, South Korea, South Africa, Indonesia, and Australia (Atkinson, 2009; Jeong et al., 2015; Williams & Needham, 2016; Yoon & Park, 2018). Compared to the decades of gentrification scholarship, there is a scarcity of

theoretical and empirical studies of the impact of gentrification on small business, commercial/retail, or general management strategy. In the next section of the review of the literature, a discussion of the gentrification literature targeted to impact gentrification on commercial business activity is explored.

Business gentrification. Neighborhoods undergoing a period of gentrification may experience increased levels of commercial or retail activity, which may be caused by the gentrification (Meltzer, 2016). Residential gentrification literature discusses the changing environment that is caused by shifts in the middle-class population in the city center from traditionally low-income residential areas (Meltzer, 2016). Neighborhood change in the gentrification literature has considered the importance of businesses and business owners as essential elements of the social, cultural, and economic character of a neighborhood (Liebow, 1967). The economic and social importance of local business as an emblem of the importance of local retail in neighborhoods continues to play a significant economic and cultural role in neighborhood livelihood and development (Liebow, 1967; Meltzer, 2016). Considering the long history of local businesses' social, economic, and cultural impact on the neighborhood, the displacement of businesses due to gentrification may result in a significant shift in the economic and demographic character of the existing residents and business owners (Liebow, 1967; Meltzer, 2016). Business gentrification, as an area of study in the field of gentrification, can be a useful addition to the body of knowledge in the field, particularly if examined through a social justice lens. Pratt (2009) defined industrial or business gentrification as a process by which businesses are replaced by either higher-value commercial or residential uses. The recent studies on business gentrification have yielded useful information, adding to the

body of gentrification literature (Ferm, 2016; Hoylman, 2017; Jeong et al., 2015; Mermet, 2017; Patch, 2008; Williams & Needham, 2016; Yoon & Park, 2018).

The study of residential gentrification and displacement has been explored extensively in the literature (Meltzer, 2016). When compared to residential gentrification, business gentrification has not been explored in the same depth. This presents an opportunity for scholarly examination of the quality, characteristics, and qualitative and quantitative change occurring for businesses. Business gentrification, itself, can be perceived positively or negatively. The neutral perception toward business gentrification may be the reason why researchers have not explored the impact of gentrification on businesses. Likewise, government policy, as it relates to the negative impacts of gentrification, has primarily been concerned with the residential impact. A possible cause of the lack of national attention on business gentrification may be that business owners are perceived to be in less need of government policy intervention to control the market forces inherent in the gentrification process. Business gentrification may contribute to the social, cultural, and economic loss in a neighborhood undergoing gentrification. The importance of local businesses to the local and greater economy is well documented (Liebow, 1967).

Scholars have expanded the scope and definition of gentrification since Glass (1964) originally coined the term. According to the viewpoint of earlier researchers, district change may result in displacement as an outcome of the gentrification process. Grier and Grier (1980) described the process of displacement that occurs when any household is forced to move from its residence by conditions that affect the dwelling or immediate surroundings and make continued occupancy by that household impossible,

hazardous, or unaffordable. The experience of displacement, as defined by Grier and Grier, may apply to businesses and their owners in a neighborhood going through gentrification.

The impact of gentrification on businesses has been discussed formally as part of the evolution of neighborhood change. According to Zukin et al. (2009),

At least since the 1970s, certain types of restaurants, cafes, and stores have emerged as highly visible signs of gentrification in cities around the world.

Although the archetypal quiche-serving “fern bars” of the early years have long since yielded to wine bars and designer clothing boutiques, these stylish commercial spaces still embody, serve, and represent a powerful discourse of neighborhood change. (p. 47)

The debate of the impact to the business owners and residents experiencing gentrification is mixed. Gentrification is viewed positively or negatively, depending on which side of the argument they are on. Lees et al. (2008) devoted a full chapter in her book on the question of whether gentrification is positive or negative in its impact to a neighborhood. Other scholars in the literature discuss the impact of gentrification on business owners. Freeman (2006) suggested that commercial gentrification and the boutiques that develop can easily become a stalking horse for long-term residents’ fears of displacement. Freeman suggested that existing low-income Black and Latino residents often identify upscale consumption spaces with gentrification. Freeman found that the notion persists despite the better goods and services that new stores make available to all residents of the neighborhood (Freeman, 2006). This observation indicates that resentment of the implication that White newcomers are responsible for the improvement

in the neighborhoods adds to the distrust of low-income resident within the gentrification process.

In a study conducted by Columbia University researcher, Maurrasse (2006), qualitatively focusing on displacement from the perspective of residents of Harlem, the researcher explored changes in the aspects of the small businesses. In conversations with the residents, Maurrasse (2006) observed the impact of displacement on the small businesses owned by the residents of African descent. Maurrasse found that 36% of respondents indicated knowledge of one to three Black-owned businesses that had closed in the last 5 years of his inquiry. This current study provides insight into the social, cultural, and economic impact of business gentrification on residents of the targeted area.

Gentrification scholars conclude that retail services, particularly in mixed-use settings, not only provide material needs for those living nearby but less-tangible social and cultural capital as well (Deener, 2007; Hyra, 2008; Zukin, Trujillo, Frase, & Jackson, 2009). This perspective is essential to this researcher's approach to the study subject area. An examination of gentrification and displacement—as it relates to the impact on local small businesses—has been minimally explored in the literature in comparison to the literature concerning housing. This study contributes to the scholarly discourse by examining gentrification and the displacement of business owners through the lens of the individual and entities impacted.

The definition of gentrification and displacement, when applied in their broadest sense, may describe a range of neighborhood changes, including rising incomes, changing racial composition, shifting commercial activity, and the displacement of original residents (NYU Furman Center, 2016). A report analysis, sponsored by NYU

Furman Center, provides practical examples of NYC's gentrified neighborhoods and found dramatic demographic shifts and rates of district change. This dramatic change results in shifting commercial activity, thus impacting business owners. The NYU Furman Center series of reports provide a recent analysis of the impact on business owners in the gentrified neighborhood of Bradhurst.

Scholars of gentrification have offered operational definitions that are briefly reviewed in this paper. Gentrification is the transformation of a working-class or of vacant areas of a central city into middle-class residential or commercial use (Lees et al., 2008, p. xv). Gentrification is viewed as the process of neighborhood regeneration by affluent incomers resulting in the displacement of lower-income groups through investment substantially in improvements to homes and infrastructure (The Dictionary of Human Geography, 1994). Gentrification is "the middle-class settlement in renovated or redeveloped properties in older, inner-city districts, which were formerly occupied by a lower income population" (The Dictionary of Human Geography, 2009, pp. 478-479).

Meltzer (2016) conducted an empirical study that suggests gentrification can impact the operating cost of existing businesses in local neighborhoods by studying business existence before and after a period of gentrification in NYC. Meltzer's (2016) study is a recent example of the empirical treatment of the concept of business gentrification. Her study focuses on the commercial services change under conditions of gentrification. The research tested a citywide analysis of business displacement and replacement. Meltzer conducted a comparative analysis of three case neighborhoods and then compared the results to citywide census data. The coverage of the study reached 95% of the census tracts from the 2010 decennial census.

Meltzer (2016) found that the redevelopment of a community caused by gentrification affected how small business owners operated their businesses in several fundamental ways. Meltzer concluded gentrification is associated with both business retention and disruption; most businesses stay in place, and displacement is no more prevalent in the typical gentrified neighborhoods than in non-gentrified neighborhoods. Gentrified neighborhoods are more likely to attract new types of services than non-gentrified and higher-income neighborhoods, and they more often attract multiple-establishment businesses (chains) to replace displaced businesses. Last, cases exist in neighborhoods undergoing gentrification where business is lost without the upside of new amenities.

Williams and Needham (2016) conducted a qualitative research study to explore how small businesses can compete with demographic change brought on by gentrification. The theoretical framework the researchers incorporated into their study was the rent-gap and stage model of gentrification. The study was conducted using a purposive sampling method of 20 small business owners in Harlem, NY. The research study period was conducted between 2001 and 2012. Williams and Needham used eligibility criteria for their purposive sample of operating a business in Harlem, NY, before the gentrification, operating a business during the gentrification of Harlem between 2001 and 2012, and having insight on gentrification's impact on small businesses. The researchers did not report data on the businesses' profitability, capitalization, or operation strategy.

Williams and Needham (2016) found that gentrification has a substantial impact on the small business community. They concluded, based upon their case analysis, that

gentrification does affect how small business owners operate their businesses in different ways. Many small businesses experienced closures, while others adapted to the changing demographics, resulting in increased business. The Williams and Needham research suggests that the gentrification process results in various types of changes including cultural changes, business closure, job loss, vacancies due to landlord warehousing retail locations, and other adverse impacts to a neighborhood.

Williams and Needham (2016) concluded that gentrification impacts residents and small business owners of the gentrified community, and gentrification is associated directly with the displacement of the existing residents and small businesses owners. Changes in the demographics influence on how small business owners operate their businesses. Other conclusions were that gentrification may cause many small business owners in the community to close or relocate their businesses because of displacement and the rises in rent prices.

Yoon and Currid-Halkett (2015), in an empirical study on the impact of industrial gentrification in West Chelsea, NY, found that, overall, for industries opened before the year 2000, the subject area was not a favorable environment for business survival. The researchers were mainly concerned with the relationship between artistic industries and economic development. To analyze the relationship, the researchers conducted a discrete-time survival analysis to determine which businesses survived and which did not. Yoon and Currid-Halkett (2015) cited that their purpose was to test the extent to which economic restructuring and gentrification affected the viability and vulnerability of the industries, with a specific focus on the arts and cultural industries in West Chelsea from 2000 through 2012, as they fared from the outset of the process.

Like the Williams and Needham (2016) qualitative study, the Yoon and Currid-Halkett (2015) empirical study examined an adjacent neighborhood from a limited sample for contextualization. Both approaches yielded exciting findings useful for the future researchers to build upon. However, they may not have provided information that is generalizable.

Ferm (2016) conducted a study to determine if measures exist for preventing the displacement of small businesses through commercial gentrification. The Ferm study site was in London. The research question inquired whether affordable workspace policies were the solution to commercial gentrification. Policy interventions were considered widely in the London context with mixed results. The researcher critically evaluated intervention by local authorities in London with the goal of providing policies that would protect businesses from commercial gentrification (Ferm, 2016).

Ferm (2016) concluded that local authorities were using the affordable workspace to both prevent and promote commercial gentrification. In the study, the researcher sought to evaluate a government-led effort to gentrification. The local authority's use of affordable workspace incentives was based on their goals and objectives (Ferm, 2016). The researcher indicated in the findings that affordable workspace policy to promote or restrict commercial gentrification did not result in the sustainable policy interventions predicted.

International business gentrification. Atkinson (2009) argued “that small towns are a neglected topic of study in South Africa, as well as internationally” (p. 271). The researcher discussed business and gentrification in a case study of Aberdeen, South Africa. The study revealed that gentrification of the small-town economies led to positive

economic growth, in some cases, and they led to negative impacts in other cases. The researcher concluded “that gentrification promises to add to the local economy, but substantial social inequalities may continue or even intensify” (p. 286). The mixed results in the Atkinson (2009) study show the uncertain outcome of gentrification in a small town or in ethnic enclaves.

The Atkinson (2009) research reveals the expanding international exposure of gentrification in local contexts, generally and specifically, in the growing impact of business gentrification as a tool for government-led gentrification policies. Government-led gentrification measures have been used in other locations including South Korea.

Jeong, Heo, and Jung (2016) examined commercial gentrification in the city of Gyeongridan, Seoul, Korea. The researchers acknowledged that gentrification literature tends to focus on the housing sector (Jeong et al., 2016). A critical shift is occurring in the gentrification literature, even in the international realm, as several scholars are focusing on place-based contextualization of how the gentrification process applies to different locales. The researchers conducted in-depth interviews of long-term business owners to investigate the impact of gentrification on the businesses and the owners’ lives. This qualitative approach resulted in findings that are like studies in other neighborhoods and urban cities. Jeong et al. further conducted surveys among 50 shop owners of a local business association. The members of the association were also long-term residents of the neighborhood. The researchers received 30 surveys out of the 50 distributed or a 60% response rate. The researchers examined the business operators from three themes that included business owners who were distressed, who were accepting of the gentrification, and business owners who were ambivalent toward the gentrification (Jeong et al., 2016).

Jeong et al. (2016) concluded that the changing local retail landscape is more complicated than often described in the existing literature. This may suggest that more research is needed to confirm the impact of commercial gentrification on businesses and business operators, particularly within smaller homogenous location. The researchers argued that “the current trend of commercial gentrification and its impact on long-term residents is not reducible to the diversification or sophistication of consumption culture, but more of a worldwide phenomenon, which causes social exclusion and further gentrification” (Jeong et al., 2016, p. 152).

Commercial gentrification studies have several common themes. Gentrification is a dynamic process that impacts business and retail operations in the neighborhoods impacted. The gentrification process includes stages where commercial gentrification, displacement, and succession are evident on local and international spheres. The process of commercial gentrification is beginning to attract scholarly research both within the qualitative and quantitative areas. These studies are being conducted in large cities and in a small neighborhood in the United States and the United Kingdom, as well as in other less accessible locations. Based upon a review of the literature, an opportunity exists to analyze business survival and the thriving and extinction of businesses during a period of gentrification in emerging neighborhoods before full gentrification takes place.

Commercial gentrification is considered one type of gentrification, according to the stage-model theory of gentrification. Although acknowledged in the literature as one of the stages of gentrification, scholars continue to assert that compared to residential gentrification, the commercial form of gentrification has been given very little attention in the literature. This presents an opportunity for researchers to examine, test, and

evaluate the phenomenon of gentrification as it has impacted commercial, retail, industrial, and management operations and processes. Practitioners, business leaders, governmental policy makers, and residents have a stake in the neighborhood change, in general, and in the change regarding retail goods and services during periods of gentrification and economic change.

Empirical Research Synthesis

In this review of the literature, the chapter was intended as an examination of the relevant scholarly work in the field of gentrification. To explore the required scope and breadth of the scholarly and academic literature present in the field of gentrification scholarship, the strategy was to review the early seminal work of scholars in the field, and then to progressively narrow the focus of the review to the specific areas in this study. Gentrification was conceptualized broadly in the 1960s, and it was originally thought to be a class struggle within the broader context of Marxian urban studies. The origin of gentrification in the literature was summarized as being driven by consumer preference for returning to the city center from the suburban based upon a shared desire for a new or authentic urban experience. The class conflict of the original gentrification literature is not surprising considering the period and the social change of the time. In the 1960s and 1970s, major urban areas in the United States and the United Kingdom underwent a civil rights movement and a social justice liberal struggle. In the United States, many major urban cities were the ground zero of racial conflict and class struggle. The 1960s race riots and civil unrest occurred in Harlem, NY; Detroit, MI; Newark, NJ; and other major urban centers, which may have caused a complete divestiture in the housing and small businesses in the urban core of many major cities experiencing the phenomenon or for fear of more urban unrest. Hence, gentrification did not appear in the literature in a vacuum that was absent from these social realities.

The theories underlying the gentrification literature developed into a large body of literature including rent-gap theory (Smith, 1979), stage-model theory of gentrification (Clay, 1979), and the supply demand side of gentrification (Hamnett, 1991; Hamnett &

Randolph, 1986; Lees et al., 2008; Smith, 1986). The topic that is relevant to the review of the literature in this present case is gentrification, generally, and the business changes resulting from the phenomenon of gentrification, specifically. The criteria for the review of the literature were focused on gentrification and the impact on businesses. Therefore, general gentrification and specific business-change criteria were selected to achieve a narrow focus of the inquiry.

Chapter Summary

Gentrification literature has evolved over the past five decades since Glass coined the term in 1964. The core theories underlying the gentrification literature include theories such as the rent-gap theory (Smith, 1987), stage models of gentrification theory (Clay, 1979), and the supply and demand side theory (Hamnett, 1991; Hamnett & Randolph, 1986; Lees et al., 2008; Smith, 1986). Residential-focused gentrification in the literature concentrates on the causes and actors underlying the phenomenon of gentrification' impact on the displacement of incumbent residents in favor of new, higher income residents.

Gentrification also has real and perceived impacts on businesses and their owners in neighborhoods becoming gentrified. The literature review revealed a gap in the scholarly discourse relating to business gentrification compared to the residential form of gentrification (Meltzer, 2016). A review of these scholarly discussions in the gentrification field was necessary to grasp the scope and breadth of the focus of the field over an extended period. A summary, analysis, and synthesis of the gentrification literature exposes an opportunity to examine gentrification's impact on local small businesses. A focus on Black-owned businesses in traditionally or formerly majority-

Black neighborhoods during a period of gentrification provides an opportunity to understand the impact of gentrification on minority neighborhoods, its residents, and its businesses.

The gentrification literature provides a history of the various scholarly debates, theories, and models of gentrification as it relates to the phenomenon. Chapter 2 reviewed these various aspects of how gentrification has evolved over the 40-year period of the scholarly debates. Business gentrification is the subject of this study as it relates to a local community. The review of literature, however, revealed that business or commercial gentrification is not just a local phenomenon, but it is an international process that is occurring in local environments worldwide. Chapter 3 focuses on designing a methodology for the implementation of the study.

Chapter 3: Research Design Methodology

Introduction

Gentrification has been a topic in scholarly discourse in the literature and in popular media (Brown-Saracino & Rumpf, 2011; Ferm, 2016; Lavy et al., 2016; Meltzer, 2016; Williams & Needham, 2016). In contrast to business gentrification, residential gentrification is defined as the process of renewal and rebuilding in formerly deteriorated areas. The rebuilding is typically accompanied by the influx of middle-class or affluent people into deteriorating areas, resulting in the displacement of the more impoverished residents (Glass, 1964). Business gentrification has been referred to in the literature as street gentrification (Patch, 2008), retail gentrification (Ferm, 2016; Mermet, 2017), commercial gentrification (Jeong et al., 2015; Williams & Needham, 2016; Yoon & Park, 2018), and high-rent blight (Hoylman, 2017). In this study, business gentrification is defined as the displacement of small businesses in a district being gentrified as the result of increases in operating costs, ethnic succession, and market preferences caused by demographic and socioeconomic change (Ferm, 2016; Ficano, 2013).

Noticeable demographic and socioeconomic change that is typical of business gentrification is the influx of larger brand stores, such as Whole Foods, the Gap, and the Olive Garden. These visible retail store investments by larger brands and other business entrants into the Harlem marketplace provide the signs of gentrification's impact on such neighborhoods. The impact of rapidly changing demographics in neighborhoods being gentrified may be of concern for the small businesses operating in a traditional minority

or ethnic neighborhood. An example of the impact of gentrification on small businesses is illustrated in The NYC Comptroller's published report on the state of small businesses in the City of New York (Stringer, 2017). The Comptroller's report detailed compelling evidence of the impact of gentrification for Black-owned small businesses in gentrified areas in NYC. The report, published in April 2017, indicated that,

Although gentrified neighborhoods have contributed to the city's economic growth over the last 15 years, with new storefronts and companies increasing by 45%, Black-owned businesses, particularly in Harlem, are increasingly on the decline. Between 2007 and 2012, Black-owned businesses plummeted by 30%. (Stringer, 2017, p. 18)

The NYC Comptroller further stated, "Among the 25 largest US cities with over 500 Black-owned businesses, NYC is one of only three to see a decline, along with Detroit and Jacksonville" (Stringer, 2017, p. 18).

The impact of the loss to business owners may result in a significant loss in economic activity, employment opportunities for entry-level workers, and the sustainability of local economies in neighborhoods being gentrified. The study of residential gentrification and displacement has been explored extensively in the literature while business gentrification has not (Meltzer, 2016). The study of successful business owners as vital elements of social, cultural, and economic stability in such urban neighborhoods may yield useful recommendations to inform government policy and business practices. The study of successful business owners would also contribute to the literature examining this understudied phenomenon. The study of business gentrification

can provide the knowledge necessary for businesses to align their operations with the economic changes that occur during a period of gentrification.

Problem Statement

The Black-owned small businesses in the Bradhurst area were an essential element of the social, cultural, and economic character of that neighborhood. The Black-owned small businesses were challenged by the change in the district demographics. As gentrification in Bradhurst spread, small businesses in the area were impacted by increased costs in rents and the preferences of the changed customer base. As new businesses entered the Bradhurst neighborhood, the small business owners accommodated the new entrants and often failed to serve the needs of their original residents. The loss of customers resulted in a significant loss in economic activity, employment opportunities for entry-level workers, and the sustainability of the local economy that relied on Black-owned small businesses in Bradhurst.

Statement of Purpose

The purpose of this study is to understand through a mixed-methods explanatory sequential design the rates of Black-owned small business survival and the factors that contributed to the survival of the Black-owned small businesses in Harlem during the period of business gentrification from 2000 through 2015.

Quantitative Research Questions

The quantitative research questions that guided this study were

1. How many Black-owned small businesses existed before and after the period of gentrification in the Bradhurst section of Harlem from 2000-2015?

2. What percentage of Black-owned small businesses survived gentrification in the Bradhurst neighborhood in Harlem between the years 2000-2015?
3. What percentage of Black-owned small businesses started during the period of gentrification in the Bradhurst section of Harlem from 2000-2015?

Qualitative Research Questions

The qualitative research questions that guided this study were

1. What were the factors that contributed to Black-owned small business survival during the period of business gentrification in Harlem between 2000-2015?
2. What resources were used by Black-owned small businesses in surviving or thriving during the period of gentrification in Harlem between 2000-2015?
3. How did Black-owned small business owners perceive the likelihood of their success before and after the gentrification between 2000-2015?

Research Design

This study focused on business gentrification, separately from residential gentrification, to explore business gentrification's impact on the businesses still existing in Bradhurst. Governmental policy makers, management practitioners, business owners, developers, and real estate brokers would benefit from an examination of the impact of gentrification on the commercial activity in affected neighborhoods. Business gentrification has not been explored to the same depth as residential gentrification. Patch (2008) suggested that retail change, or *street gentrification*, is vital to understanding neighborhoods going through gentrification. This study sought to examine business survival through the understanding of the business owners' operational decisions in a

neighborhood amid gentrification. This chapter includes a review of the research methodology and design for this study.

To answer the research questions, this study incorporated a mixed-methods approach (Tashakkori & Teddlie, 2009). The mixed-methods design is a complex and nuanced research design. Mixed-methods research has not resulted in a consensus in the literature. Mixed-methods researchers have attempted to define, in a cross-sectional study, how scholars in the field have defined the term, mixed-method research (Johnson, Onwuegbuzie, & Turner, 2007). Johnson et al. (2007) stated,

Mixed methods research is the type of research in which a research or team of researchers combines elements of qualitative and quantitative and approaches (e.g., use of qualitative and quantitative viewpoints, data collection, analysis, inference techniques) for the purposes of breadth and depth of understanding and corroboration. (p. 123).

Creswell and Plano Clark (2018) suggested that mixed-methods research is a research design that requires that the research collects, analyzes, and mixes both quantitative and qualitative data in a single study or a multiphase program of inquiry. For the purpose this study, the researcher operationalized the definition of the mixed-methods design that was presented by Creswell and Plano Clark (2018). The collection and integration of quantitative and qualitative data allowed the researcher to benefit from the strengths of each research method, and it mitigated the weaknesses of each method when they are used individually.

The reason for using a mixed-methods approach in this study is based upon a pragmatic philosophy. This researcher believes that knowledge of the present research

problem is best acquired by collecting both quantitative and qualitative data. Scholars have asserted that building knowledge on pragmatic grounds is compatible with mixed-methods research approaches, the identification of variables and units of analysis, and research designs that seek to integrate both quantitative and qualitative data (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2018; Tashakkori & Teddlie, 1998). The collection of both numeric and interview data enhanced the researcher's ability to analyze the research data and understand the research problem.

A mixed-methods research design requires the researcher to explain, in detail, the processes used to develop and complete the research methodology. There are three basic mixed-methods designs in mixed-methods research studies (Creswell, 2015). They are the convergent, the explanatory sequential, and the exploratory sequential. The purpose of the convergent design is to collect qualitative and quantitative data, concurrently, and then to merge the data during the analysis phase. The purpose of the explanatory sequential design is to collect quantitative data, first, and then to explain the quantitative results through a qualitative phase and analysis. The purpose of the exploratory sequential design is to collect qualitative data in the initial phase and then to develop quantitative measuring instruments for the administration and analysis.

This study used an explanatory sequential mixed-method research design (QUAN. → qual). The explanatory sequential mixed-methods design is a recognized research methodology in the social, behavioral, and health sciences (Creswell, 2015). The explanatory sequential mixed-methods design involves the collection, analysis, and integration of both quantitative and qualitative data (Creswell, 2015). This researcher reviewed the mixed-methods designs and determined that the most appropriate design

was the explanatory sequential design. The explanatory sequential design involves collection and analyzing quantitative data, first, and then explaining the quantitative data through the collection of qualitative interview data. The quantitative phase allows the researcher to analyze and report, numerically, the level and extent of the research problem. The qualitative phase allows the researcher to collect and report the impact of the research problem on the participants. The integration of the two forms of data provide an in-depth analysis of the research problem, data, and results.

The mixed-methods explanatory sequential design used for this study incorporated a quantitative component and a qualitative component. The initial phase is the quantitative research approach. The quantitative research component specifically identifies what is occurring related to the phenomenon of business gentrification as it relates to Black-owned small businesses during the period between 2000 and 2015. The second phase is the qualitative research approach. The second phase inquired as to how Black-owned small businesses survived the business gentrification. The data was then be integrated and analyzed. The data integration and analysis are reported at the conclusion of the two-phase process.

Quantitative research design. The initial step was to determine the population of the Black-owned small businesses existing in the Bradhurst area between 2002 and 2012. A population is defined as a group that a study describes or is the subject of a study (Vogt & Johnson, 2016). The method of the identifying the population was to develop a demographic survey of the Black-owned small businesses in the subject area.

The quantitative research component is an appropriate design for this study. The quantitative inquiry seeks to determine the rate of the survival of Black-owned small

businesses during the gentrification. A quantitative approach was used successfully to understand the rates of business survival during the business gentrification (Deller & Conroy, 2017; Meltzer, 2016). The quantitative research approach is a primary research method that examines the situation as it exists in its current state (Williams, 2007). The approach to data analysis was a descriptive and inferential statistical analysis procedure to describe the status of the identified variable. This method of research is systematic in structure. Descriptive statistics designs seek to provide a structure for understanding a phenomenon through numerical illustrations. Descriptive designs are most useful for describing phenomena or events about which little is known or for identifying new or emerging phenomena (Dulock, 1993).

Qualitative research design. There are multiple classifications of qualitative research designs that have been described in the literature. Mertens (2015) identified five types of qualitative research designs common in education and psychology disciplines: ethnographic research, grounded theory, case study, participatory action research, and phenomenological research. A qualitative research design is conducted when a problem or phenomenon needs to be explored, and an understanding of the context in which participants in a study address a problem is warranted (Creswell & Poth, 2018). The qualitative data collection methods for this study will be semi-structured interviews and will explore the impact of business gentrification.

The explanatory sequential mixed-method design is a “form of mixed methods beginning with a quantitative strand and then conduct a second qualitative strand to explain the quantitative results” (Creswell, 2014, p. 38). The researcher will use a quantitative descriptive research approach to analyze archival data of Black-owned small

business survival rates and to collect and analyze qualitative data of Black-owned small business survival through semi-structured interviews of the business owners.

Research Context

The Bradhurst area study site is unique in three distinct ways that support it as an optimal setting for a mixed-methods study. Compared to any other location in Harlem, the Bradhurst neighborhood is unique in that it is demonstrative of the stage models that are prevalent in gentrification studies for their pre-gentrification and post-gentrification demographic character. First, the Bradhurst neighborhood possessed an existing available population of Black-owned small businesses. Second, there have been visually significant changes during the timeframe specified that is characteristic of street gentrification (Patch, 2008), which is illustrated by the changing demographics. Third, Bradhurst is zoned as a mixed-use area of high-density residential property with retail activity prevalent in the district. This mixed-use character during the period spanning 2000-2015 continued through the time of this research, which enhanced the likelihood of the availability of willing participants who could provide the relevant data to accomplish this study.

The demographic and geographic characteristics of the Bradhurst neighborhood in Harlem are essential to this study. The Bradhurst neighborhood is relevant to this study because it is a gentrified neighborhood in NYC with a majority population of Black residents. The Bradhurst section of Harlem in NYC is a primarily ethnically homogenous neighborhood, prior to and through the 2010 census, and it has been undergoing gentrification. Bradhurst—consisting of 40 square blocks—is bounded in northern Harlem between West 138th and West 155th Streets, from Edgecombe Avenue and

Bradhurst Avenue, on the west, to the Harlem River, on the east. According to a 2015 interim census survey, the demographic make-up of the Bradhurst neighborhood was 70% African American, 18% Hispanic, 9% White, and 3% other (Harlem Congregations for Community Improvement, Inc., 2016).

Compared to greater Harlem, the Bradhurst neighborhood has maintained a consistent demographic character over the past three decades. However, since the 2010 U.S. Census, the demographic characteristic of the Bradhurst area appeared to experience rapid district change consistent with the phenomenon of gentrification defined by Glass (1964). Bradhurst area has been through the addition of new housing and the revitalization of older building stock, which is consistent with the gentrification phenomenon. The commercial business activity in the Bradhurst corridor primarily occurred in mixed-use buildings. The business owners operating in the mixed-use corridor of Bradhurst are an essential pillar of the community, as local businesses are, as discussed by Liebow (1967). Black-owned small businesses may be considered by the residents as elements of the social, cultural, and economic character of the neighborhood.

The Bradhurst section of Harlem was designated in March 1996, by the City of New York, as the Bradhurst Urban Renewal Area by operation of law. Designation as an urban renewal area requires that a geographic area be suffering under substandard or unsanitary living conditions. The conditions in the Bradhurst neighborhood in the 1990s had deteriorated into a haven for crime, drugs, urban blight, disinvestment, and depopulation. At its lowest point, Bradhurst small businesses struggled to remain open, and a small level of goods and services persisted to be exchanged as financial institutions avoided making local investments into the small businesses and by not offering loans to

its residents. The result was a community that was underserved, unemployed, and where businesses lacked investment.

As gentrification in Bradhurst spread, small business owners in the area were impacted by increased costs in rents and a shift in the needs or wants of the changing customer base. New businesses entered the marketplace to accommodate the new demographics. From 2007 to 2012, for example, the number of Black-owned businesses in the city declined by more than 30%, even as Black business ownership increased in other big cities around the country (Stringer, 2017). Among the 25 largest U.S. cities with over 500 Black-owned businesses, NYC is one of only three to see a decline, along with Detroit and Jacksonville. In Central Harlem, a gentrified neighborhood in NYC, business growth has increased from 614 to 1,223 business or 99% during the years 2000 to 2015 (U.S. Census, n.d.).

Research Participants

Quantitative participants. As of this writing, there are over 500 Black-owned businesses in the City of New York. For the purpose of this study, a small business is defined as being consistent with The NYS Senate, Chapter 15 of the Economic Development Law, Section 131 (n.d.): “a small business shall be deemed to be one which is resident in this state, independently owned and operated, not dominant in its field and employs one hundred or less persons” (para. 1). The participants in this study were selected from existing Black-owned businesses in the Bradhurst area. The survey of the targeted area was limited to the Bradhurst Urban Renewal Area and it included the small businesses that were operating between the years spanning 2000 to 2015. The participants were recruited through a census of the Black-owned small businesses matching the

demographics of the targeted population. A census method was used to determine how many Black-owned small businesses existed in the study area.

The procedures for informed consent were incorporated into the survey process pursuant to the participant recruitment protocol. Recruitment proceeded through the informed consent form (Appendix A). The research participants were asked about qualifying demographic questions, such as age, ethnicity, and business type. The eligibility criteria for the participants included businesses operating during the period of gentrification, from 2000 to 2015, in the Central Harlem neighborhood called Bradhurst. Small business for this study were defined as a business with less than 100 employees, ground floor retail, owner operated, and not a franchised business. A total of 110 Black-owned small businesses were identified in the Bradhurst area zip codes of 10030 and 10039. For the purpose of this study, the 110 identified Black-owned small businesses were considered the population.

Qualitative participants. The participants of this study came from the population of Black-owned small businesses and their owners in the Harlem neighborhood of Bradhurst. One of the criteria for inclusion in this study was being a business that existed prior to the year 2000 and continued to operate in the study area through 2015. The business had to be operating in the Bradhurst neighborhood, before, during, and after the beginning of the business gentrification. The selection of the interview participants was purposefully done by the researcher to ensure the businesses met the inclusion criteria of the study. Purposeful sampling is a non-probability sampling technique used widely in qualitative research design (Patton, 2002). In purposeful sampling, generalizability of the researcher findings is not a goal of the researcher, rather, the understanding and

explanation of the phenomenon is the objective of the study. The purposeful sampling technique relies on the expert knowledge of the population of the researcher to identify individuals or groups of participants with the requisite experience relating to the study inquiry (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2011). The interview participants were purposefully selected. A total of six qualitative interviews were conducted.

Sample

Quantitative sample. The estimated population size of the Black-owned small businesses in the Bradhurst neighborhood was 225. The survey of the Black-owned businesses was limited to those small businesses operating between the years spanning 2000 to 2015. The participants were recruited through a letter of invitation (Appendix B), and a website was created based upon the letter of invitation. The respondents were selected based upon a sample of convenience with the sample matching the demographics of the targeted population in the absence of a random sampling procedure. A sample of convenience was the method of recruitment for this study because the researcher has extensive knowledge of the area, has worked with a large social-service agency for 12 years in the area, and was able to develop and maintain the support of the community stakeholders in the location of this study. The small businesses used for this study were defined as a business with less than 100 employees, ground floor retail, owner operated, and not a franchised business. The preliminary eligible population in the targeted area was estimated to be 225 businesses. However, a total of 110 Black-owned small businesses were identified in the Bradhurst area zip codes of 10030 and 10039. Out of the 110 businesses identified, 74 (*N*) Black-owned businesses were eligible for the study.

Qualitative sample. The qualitative participants of this study came from the population of Black-owned small businesses and their owners in the Harlem neighborhood of Bradhurst. One of the criteria for inclusion in the study were businesses that existed prior to the year 2000 and that continued to operate in the subject area through the year 2015. The businesses had to be operating in the Bradhurst neighborhood, before, during, and after the beginning of the business gentrification. The researcher contacted the participants through the United State Postal Service (USPS) by a letter of invitation and created a study website to promote, invite, and screen potential participants. After the receipt of all the respondents, the selection of the interview participants was purposefully done by the researcher to ensure the respondents met the inclusion criteria of the study. Purposeful sampling is a non-probability sampling technique used in qualitative research design (Patton, 2002). This sampling technique relies on the expert knowledge of the population to achieve the representation of the sample. The sample size in the qualitative phase was to be between six to 10 respondents or until saturation was met.

Instruments Used in Data Collection

Instruments/measures used for quantitative data collection. The quantitative phase of this study used survey instruments and the collection of field census data to develop a database of existing Black-owned small businesses in the study area. The rates of Black-owned businesses were calculated and determined to meet the criteria for survival in the targeted area. The archival survey data were researched, reviewed, and collected from public and private sources. The primary dataset for this phase of the study was archival information that was available from the U.S. Census Bureau's Annual

Business Survey (ABS), the Statistics of U.S. Businesses (SUSB), the Survey of Business Owners and Self-Employed Persons (SBO), and the NYS and NYC Minority and Women Owned Business Statistics as well as other local publicly available sources. Private databases were examined and analyzed such as, “the National Establishment Time-Series (NETS) Database. The NETS database is a longitudinal, establishment-level database maintained by Wall & Associates, Inc. from the Dun & Bradstreet business register” (Meltzer, 2016, p. 61). A published Harlem business marketing guide was also reviewed to determine if a Black-owned small business database existed. The marketing guide was a periodical of information from several years, however, the information did not delineate the businesses into ethnic or racial categories.

The database developed during this research possessed unique characteristics essential to this study. The analysis of the databases resulted in statistical information that determined if the Black-owned small business had declined or thrived during the period of gentrification in the Bradhurst area. The extent of business gentrification was determined through an analysis of the archival data in this study area, then the qualitative interviews informed the research to answer the impact of surviving in a Black-owned small business during a period of gentrification.

In addition to publicly and privately available databases the researcher conducted a district-wide survey of the ground-level small businesses in Bradhurst to determine what Black-owned small businesses existed in the study area during the time frame of 2000-2015. The researcher conducted a series of three face-to-face meetings with a local consultant who published a Harlem business listing and marketing guide, annually, for 10 years. The consultant also sponsored restaurant week activities, hosted business

forums with local business associations, and provided technical assistance to several businesses' merchants' associations in the area. The consultant was selected because of the consultant's content expertise in the Harlem neighborhood. The purpose of the series of meetings was to discuss and specify the procedures for data collection, the presentation of the survey criteria, training the consultant on the guidelines for confidentiality and protection of human subjects, instrument design, and to review the overall strategy for data collection. It was agreed that a consultant team of two supervisors and two field surveyors would be employed. In addition to the three face-to-face meetings with the lead consultant weekly, conference calls were held between the consultant team and the researcher.

The 15-question survey was administered, face to face, at each business that qualified as a Black-owned business. The survey objective was to obtain a census of the Black-owned small businesses in Bradhurst. The time period allotted for the survey data collection was 6 weeks, beginning in April 2019. The survey was administered in Harlem in the zip code areas of 10027, 10030, and 10039. The survey responses were recorded by the field surveyor, reviewed by the supervisor for consistency and accuracy, and then the survey responses were transferred to a spreadsheet. The supervisor conducted verification telephone calls to the respective survey participants to maintain response reliability. The researcher canvassed the district to provide further verification that the addresses and locations of the Black-owned businesses were accurate.

These procedures were done to cross check small businesses against any publicly available databases to validate the archival database. The objective of the quantitative phase of this study was to answer the quantitative research questions and present the

findings through descriptive research and descriptive statistical analysis to summarize, illustrate, and graph the data.

Instruments/measures used for qualitative data collection. In qualitative research, the researcher is the instrument (Creswell, 2015). The researcher possessed certain expertise of the study site that was relevant to the data collection process. At the time of this study, the researcher was the chief executive officer at a community-based organization located in the study area. As a result, the researcher was able to garner the trust of certain participants who had certain information and perspectives relevant to the research questions. The level of trust between the researcher and participants is particularly important under conditions of social tension as is common during gentrification. The qualitative phase was conducted as semi-structured interviews administered to six purposefully selected participants who were identified by the researcher. Face-to-face, semi-structured interviews were used to collect data from the participants selected from the quantitative sample.

In an explanatory sequential research design, the quantitative phase of the study is conducted first (Creswell, 2014). The qualitative phase is then used to explain the quantitative data. The qualitative interview questions (Appendix C) in this study were anticipated based upon the research questions. The semi-structured interviews were 40-60 minutes long. The interviews were conducted at the participants' places of business or at the researcher's private conference room in an office reserved for the purpose of the interviews. The interviews were administered confidentially, in a comfortable and enclosed office, to maintain the participants' anonymity and to preserve the participants' privacy. This procedure reduced the risk of identification in the future and the inadvertent

discover of the participant's identity. The procedure for data collection complied with the standards of care required by the National Institutes of Health, Office of Extramural Research Protecting Human Research Subjects.

The data collection procedure began with the distribution of an introductory letter to the eligible sample prospective participants. The letter to the participants explained the purpose of the study, the method of preserving confidentiality or anonymity of the participants, as well as a prequalification survey for determining the eligibility of the proposed participants. The potential participants received an explanation of the procedures under the guidelines of National Institutes of Health, Office of Extramural Research Protecting Human Research Subjects informed consent protocol.

The data collection consisted of three stages conducted over a 6-week period. In Stage 1, the target participants were contacted electronically by email communication. In this stage, an explanation of the purpose of the study, the importance of the research, research design, data collection, and identity protection protocol were communicated. A prescreening survey was employed to verify the participants' eligibility and to ensure that the potential participants met the study qualifications and population characteristics. Stage 1 was completed within 1 week. In Stage 2, the semi-structured interviews were administered to the qualifying participants. The interviews were audio recorded and transcribed. Two weeks were reserved for this process. In Stage 3, follow-up emails were sent to those who did not respond to the invitation, to prompt them to complete the survey questionnaire. This stage was used to determine if the potential participants continued to be interested in participation. Two weeks was reserved for this stage. The final week was reserved for collecting, organizing, and managing of the responses. The

participants were contacted for follow-up interviews to clarify responses that were collected in the initial interviews as a form of member checking to increase the reliability of the data.

Procedures for Data Collection and Analysis

Procedures for quantitative data analysis. The quantitative analysis consisted of a 2-step process. The initial analysis provided descriptive statistics of the survival rates of Black-owned small businesses over the study period of 2002-2012. The survival rates were analyzed over the term, and they were segmented into three 5-year intervals. The set of quantitative research questions each received the same treatment. The second step was to identify the neighborhood characteristics associated with the survival rates before and after the demographic change that resulted from the gentrification effort over the study period of 2000-2015. The next step was to apply descriptive and analytical analysis to the data sets. Descriptive statistical analysis (Bernard, 2011), a basic descriptive statistic method that incorporates the use of median, mean, and correlation coefficients to interpret the quantitative data were used in this study (Saldaña, 2016). The researcher used the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) to conduct the quantitative analysis. The data analysis stage of this phase of the study was completed within 4 weeks.

Procedures for qualitative data analysis. The sequential explanatory mixed-methods design requires that the study and analysis be conducted in two phases. In this study, the quantitative phase was the initial phase where the data collection, transcription, and analysis were completed. The transcription of the data was accomplished through a third-party transcription service. To triangulate to ensure accuracy, the audio transcript

was transcribed by two professional transcription services. The researcher retained two third-party transcriptions services to ensure accuracy. Qualtrics, a qualitative software package was used for the data analysis. The interview data was then coded and subjected to thematic analysis. The researcher began the coding process by developing a codebook. The codebook technique incorporated a priori and emergent codes that were derived from the thematic content of the semi-structured interview transcript. Coding is an essential procedure for qualitative analysis (Saldaña, 2016). The coding procedure ensures that the mixing of qualitative data with the quantitative strand used in this study was through magnitude coding (Saldaña, 2016). The analysis preparation procedure included verification with the participants in the process known as member checking for validation and clarification. The choice of the coding technique is unique to this study methodology (Saldaña, 2016). In mixed-methods, methodologists have suggested that the quantization of qualitative data for statistical analysis can be accomplished (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2011; Saldaña, 2016; Tashakkori & Teddlie, 2010; Vogt, Vogt, Gardner, & Haeffele, 2014).

Data integration. In the explanatory sequential design, data analysis and integration can occur at multiple points and times within a study (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2018). An essential characteristic of analyzing data in a mixed-methods research study is the process of data integration (DeCuir-Gunby & Schutz, 2017). The mixing of quantitative and qualitative data is a required component of the data integration process. The researcher must plan the integration strategy in advance. Researchers have several integration methods that may be best suited for their research design and their approach

to answering the quantitative, qualitative, and mixed-methods research questions (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2018). According to Creswell and Plano Clark (2018)

The procedure for conducting integrative data analysis in the explanatory sequential design occurs in three phases: the analysis of the initial quantitative data, an analysis of the follow-up qualitative data, and an analysis of how the qualitative data helps to explain the quantitative data to answer the mixed methods question. (pp. 234-235)

The following steps and procedures were used in this study for data analysis and integration.

1. Analysis of the archival quantitative database, noting statistical results, centered on rates and trends of the displacement during business gentrification in the Black-owned small businesses that needed further explanation.
2. The researcher determined the Black-owned small business types that were best suited to explain the findings detailed in the quantitative phase. This purposefully selected sample was the qualitative interviewee.
3. Collection and analysis of the qualitative data occurred.
4. A joint display in the form of a graph or table were used to illustrate the qualitative explanation of the quantitative collection, analysis, and findings.

The data transformation and reporting approach in this study was in the form of joint displays using visual means of data integration. The visual joint display reporting method was supplemented by a narrative approach to describe and interpret the meaning, conclusions, and reporting.

Summary

To meet the objectives of this study the research design is an explanatory, sequential, mixed-methods design. The explanatory, sequential, mixed-methods design, an emerging methodological discipline, provided the structure and flexibility to address the research questions. The methodological emphasis of this study was the quantitative phase. The quantitative phase consisted of an analysis of archival survey data that was available from public and private databases covering the period of 2000-2015 as explained in the data collection section of Chapter 3. The qualitative phase was conducted as semi-structured, in-person interviews of 30-45 minutes with purposefully selected participants that were identified by the researcher. The qualitative interviews were transcribed, coded, and analyzed; and then integrated with quantitative data Chapter 4.

Chapter 4: Results

This research examined Black-owned businesses' survival and the factors that contributed to the survival of Black-owned small businesses in Harlem during a period of business gentrification. This study incorporated a mixed-methods design to understand, examine, describe, and explain the nature of business gentrification as experienced by Black-owned businesses in a traditionally homogenous ethnically changing neighborhood. The mixed-methods research design incorporated quantitative and qualitative approaches to the research subject. In this study, the quantitative data was collected from archival databases, which were available through public and private sources. The study-area small businesses were canvassed and surveyed to build a database of Black-owned small businesses. The building of a database of Black-owned small businesses in the study area was required because the archival data available did not segment small businesses on the census tract level by the race or ethnicity of the business owners. The qualitative data was collected through semi-structured interviews of six purposively selected Black-owned small businesses, which were derived from the database of Black-owned small businesses in the Bradhurst neighborhood and compiled for the study. All the Black-owned small businesses owners selected for the interviews operated their businesses during a period of business gentrification within the specified timeframe.

Chapter 4 presents the results of the study, and it is organized sequentially into five sections. The first section summarizes the demographic characteristics of the study

area before, during, and after gentrification. The second section discusses the quantitative findings. The third section discusses the qualitative findings. The fourth section shows the integration of the quantitative and qualitative findings, which is an essential characteristic of a mixed-methods research study. The final section summarizes the findings of the chapter.

Research Questions

Quantitative research questions. The quantitative research questions that guided this study were

1. How many Black-owned small businesses existed before and after the period of gentrification in the Bradhurst section of Harlem from 2000-2015?
2. What percentage of Black-owned small businesses survived gentrification in the Bradhurst neighborhood in Harlem between the years 2000-2015?
3. What percentage of Black-owned small businesses started during the period of gentrification in the Bradhurst section of Harlem from 2000-2015?

Qualitative research questions. The qualitative research questions that guided this study were

1. What were the factors that contributed to Black-owned small business survival during the period of business gentrification in Harlem between 2000-2015?
2. What resources were used by Black-owned small businesses in surviving or thriving during the period of gentrification in Harlem between 2000-2015?
3. How did Black-owned small business owners perceive the likelihood of their success before and after the gentrification between 2000-2015?

Sample Characteristics

There were two non-probability sampling techniques used for this study. The quantitative sample was obtained using convenience sampling, and the qualitative sample was obtained using purposeful sampling.

A convenience sample was appropriate given that the sample matching the demographics of the target population was available in a limited population. A sample of convenience was the method of recruitment for the study because the researcher had extensive knowledge of the study area, worked with a large social-service agency for 12 years in the study area, and was able to develop and maintain the support of community stakeholders in the location of the study. To limit unintended bias by the researcher, an independent survey team conducted the surveys of the small business population in the targeted study area.

The selection of the interview participants was purposefully done by the researcher to ensure they met the inclusion criteria of the study, to achieve a convenient sample of the study population, and so that the researcher could extract expert knowledge from the sample. A purposeful sample was used because the intention of the study was not generalizability; instead, it was to describe the phenomena and characteristics of business gentrification and its impact on Black-owned small businesses in the Bradhurst section of Harlem, NYC, NY.

Data Analysis and Findings

Quantitative results. The study methodology was structured as a mixed-methods sequential explanatory design. The quantitative analysis consisted of a 2-step process. The initial analysis provides descriptive statistics of the Black-owned small businesses

over the study period of 2000-2015. The percentages are presented in three 5-year intervals. All the quantitative research questions received the same treatment. The second step identified neighborhood characteristics that were associated with the Black-owned small business survivors of gentrification over the study period of 2000-2015. Archival and survey data during the study period guided the data analysis and findings for the first phase of the study. In Chapter 4, the quantitative research questions are presented, and they are followed by the analysis.

At the time of the research study, the Bradhurst section of Harlem had been a hub for small business activity as a mixed-use neighborhood. The period prior to the demographic change that occurred as a result of gentrification and business gentrification is useful in describing the study area leading up to the study period. The following analysis illustrates all general small business counts in the zip code districts of 10030 and 10039, corresponding to the Bradhurst section of the Harlem neighborhood, which is available from public databases including the U.S. Department of Commerce, the federal agency that administers the U.S. Census. The small business counts include all small businesses in the target area. The small business counts do not exclude any businesses based upon the ethnicity of the business operator.

Table 4.1. describes the small business counts in the Bradhurst area, according to the zip codes of 10030 and 10039, according to the U.S. Census 1994, 2000, 2010, and 2016 records.

Table 4.1

All Small Businesses in the Bradhurst Area (zip codes 10030 and 10039)

Year	10030	% Increase	10039	% Increase
1994	151	—	78	—
2000	193	21	97	19
2010	237	17	183	46
2016	301	21	204	19

Note. Adapted from “Zip codes Business Patterns (ZBP) APIs (1994-2016),” U.S. Census Bureau, n.d.

To guide the quantitative findings and for descriptive purposes, a review of all the small businesses in the Bradhurst area are presented here. All small businesses are included here in the Bradhurst area, according a review of the archival data available in the U.S. Census reports of the county business patterns in the zip codes of 10030 and 10039. These results were useful in examining the Black-owned small business survivors compared to the general business patterns in the Bradhurst study area.

In the Bradhurst section of Harlem, when describing the business patterns in the relevant zip codes in the decade between the year 2000 and 2010, small business activity had increased by 18% and 46%, respectively. The Bradhurst section of Harlem further experienced a change in business patterns in zip codes 10030 and 10039 in the interim census period between the years 2010 and 2016, in small business activity, resulting in an increase of 21% and 10%, respectively. The Bradhurst section of Harlem appears to have benefitted from the business gentrification during the study period years of 2000-2015.

Black-owned business data, tracked through the U.S. Census over the past three decades, provides findings that are relevant to this study. There was a steady increase in

Black-owned businesses over the period measured (2000-2015) throughout the United States and NYS. However, in NYC, while Black-owned small businesses experienced a decline of 1,769 businesses or 7% between 2007 and 2012, it should be noted that in this period of decline, Black-owned small businesses declined in NYC overall. Table 4.2 illustrates the Black-owned businesses patterns in the relevant categories.

Table 4.2

Black-Owned Businesses in the United States, NYS, and NYC from 2000-2015

Year	US	NYS	NYC
2002	1,197,567	129,329	16,008
2007	1,921,864	204,004	26,628
2012	2,584,403	219,036	24,859

Note. Adapted from U.S. Census Bureau database 2002, 2007, and 2012.

The business patterns appear to have changed positively or negatively based upon the location and geographic area measured by the available data. Table 4.2 shows the Black-owned businesses in the United States, NYS, and NYC from 2000 to 2015. The research questions in this study inquire further into the Bradhurst section of Harlem.

Quantitative Research Question 1

The first research question was, “How many Black-owned businesses existed before and after the period of gentrification in the Bradhurst section of Harlem from 2000-2015?” Research Question 1 was answered by a review of the demographic change and small business patterns of Black-owned small businesses in relations to their survival before and after business gentrification.

The earliest existing opening date occurred in 1950 and the latest exit date occurred in 2019. The Black-owned small businesses in Bradhurst had start dates ranging from 1950 to 2019, and it was noted in the analysis performed by SPSS. The distribution of the of the starting dates of the businesses clustered on the late end of the spectrum, which suggests that Black-owned business starts increased toward the period between 2010-2015. This clustering of new Black-owned small business starts may indicate that business gentrification has had a positive impact on some of the Black-owned small businesses surveyed in this study.

Table 4.3 presents the results of the description of the Black-owned businesses in the Bradhurst area.

Table 4.3

Description of Black-Owned Small Businesses in Operation in Bradhurst from 2000-2015

	<i>N</i>	Minimum	Maximum
Years in Business	74	1950	2019
Valid <i>N</i>	74		

Table 4.3 shows the amount of Black-owned small businesses existing during the period of business gentrification in the Bradhurst section, as defined in this study, of the Harlem neighborhood. The Black-owned businesses surveyed were existing before or during the period of gentrification examined in this study. The Black-owned small businesses selected for this study also maintained operations during and after the period of business gentrification between the years 2000 to 2015. These characteristics were deemed as evidence of the small businesses being survivors of the business gentrification.

Surviving Black-owned small businesses were the focus of this study. A survey of the Bradhurst section of Harlem represented an opportunity to understand the patterns of business as they are impacted by the demographic changes corresponding with a period of gentrification. An understanding of the patterns of business turnover during the period of this study is best described through descriptive statistics, frequencies, averages, and standard deviations. Table 4.3 and the subsequent figures provide a description of the Black-owned small businesses in operation during the period in this study.

Figure 4.1 illustrates the frequency of Black-owned small businesses in operating during the date or period specified during the study parameters.

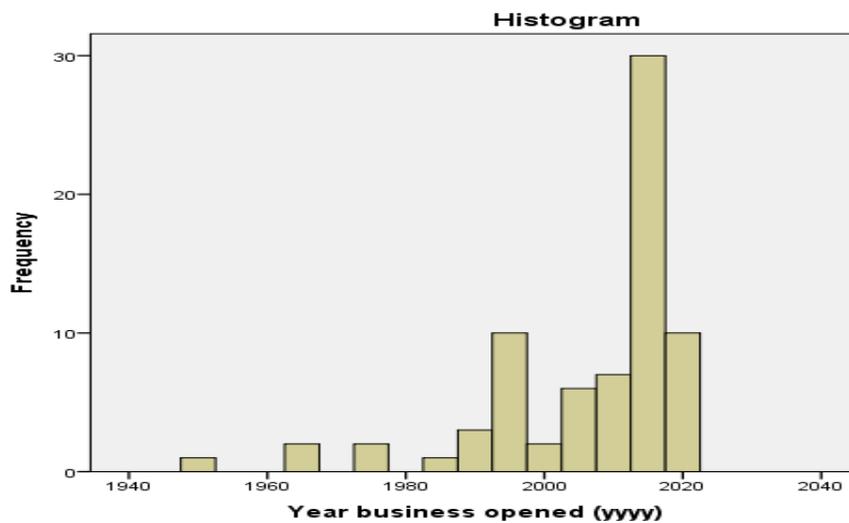


Figure 4.1. Black-owned small businesses in operation in the Bradhurst section of Harlem.

Quantitative Research Question 2

The second research question asked, “What percentage of Black-owned small businesses survived gentrification in the Bradhurst neighborhood in Harlem between the years 2000-2015?”

The study results included that out of the 74 (*N*) Black-owned small businesses surveyed, 21, or 28%, existed prior to, and survived in business during and after, gentrification. The study results further suggested that of the surveyed Black-owned small businesses, 13, or 18%, of the Black-owned small businesses were created during and survived the gentrification. The results indicated that of the surveyed Black-owned small businesses 40, or 54%, of the surveyed Black-owned small businesses were started after the period of 2000 to 2015 gentrification began, and still existed as of the completion of this study.

Quantitative Research Question 3

The third quantitative research questions asked, “What percentage of Black-owned businesses started during a period of gentrification in the Bradhurst section of Harlem from 2000-2015?”

The results of the surveyed Black-owned small businesses in the Bradhurst section of Harlem, 13, or 17%, of the Black-owned small businesses were started during the period of business gentrification between 2000 to 2015. The results included that 17% of the 74 (*N*) Black-owned small businesses surveyed were started during the period of business gentrification and remained in operation after the time frame identified in the study. Research Question 3 is answered by the percentage of Black-owned businesses started during the period of gentrification in the Bradhurst section of Harlem. This study provides a description of the business patterns in the study area.

Summary of the Quantitative Findings

The quantitative findings reveal that the Black-owned small businesses were impacted by the changes occurring during a period of gentrification in the Bradhurst

section of Harlem. In contrast to the research approaches found in the literature, this study focused on the survivors and excluded the businesses that did not survive. Aldrich and Reiss (1976) concentrated on racial succession in the context of White-owned businesses being succeeded by Black- and Puerto Rican-owned businesses. Because this area's gentrification was in the beginning stage, this study focused not on the businesses that did not survive but, instead, concentrated on the Black-owned small businesses that did survive. The scholars of business gentrification focused narrowly by focusing on a specific context (Ferm, 2016; Hoylman, 2017; Jeong et al., 2015; Meltzer, 2016; Mermet, 2017; Williams & Needham, 2016; Yoon & Park, 2018). This study focused on Black-owned small businesses survivors, a context that was not previously researched by the business gentrification scholars. This study, therefore, closes a gap in the literature while opening in an area of research for further investigation.

The descriptive statistics reveal a numeric illustration of the characteristics of the Black-owned small businesses in the Bradhurst section of Harlem. As in previous studies on small business succession, gentrification was viewed as a method of urban succession (Aldrich & Reiss, 1976). In urban succession, gentrification resulted in changes in the demographic character of the impacted neighborhoods.

The quantitative questions (Appendix D) in this study sought to determine how and to what extent gentrification resulted in urban succession in the Black-owned small business community of the Bradhurst section of Harlem. In the Bradhurst section of Harlem in the zip code areas of 10030 and 10039, despite a reduction in Black-owned small businesses in NYC of 30% during the period from 2007 to 2012, there was an increase in Black-owned small businesses.

The next section of Chapter 4 examines, through semi-structured interviews, the above findings from the perspective of Black-owned small business owners. The purpose of this qualitative phase is to determine the factors that contributed to the survival of the Black-owned small businesses.

Qualitative results. The qualitative results section illustrated the findings of the semi-structured interviews with the Black-owned small business owners in the Bradhurst area of Harlem. The qualitative phase of the study presents the Black-owned business owners experiences, in their own voices, leading to their survival through the business gentrification. The results include the impact of business gentrification on their businesses, how it impacted their business operating costs, and the resources they employed to survive.

The results are presented by illustrating the alignment of the interview questions with the research questions in Table 4.4, a description by gender of the interview participants in Table 4.5 and length of business tenure in Table 4.6, a review of the qualitative research questions, an analysis of the themes and subthemes in Table 4.7 and concluding with a summary of the qualitative results and findings.

Table 4.4 lists the interview questions with their respective alignment to the research questions.

Table 4.4

Interview Questions in Alignment with the Research Questions

Interview Questions	Aligned Research Questions
Describe the business opportunities Bradhurst area prior to the start of the gentrification of your neighborhood.	1
What challenges did your business face during the years 2000 – 2015 in relation to the issue of gentrification?	
How did your business survive gentrification?	1
How did the change in demographics in Bradhurst caused by gentrification change your customer base?	1
According to your observations, how has gentrification changed the business community in Bradhurst?	1
From your perspective, how does gentrification influence the survival of a Black-owned small business?	
What resources were available to your business enabling it to survive during gentrification?	1,3
What were the resources you took advantage of that led to the survival of your business during gentrification?	1,3
Please explain how the local government, not for profit organizations or business associations, if any assisted your business to survive during gentrification.	2
What do you believe the city and state government agencies should do to lessen the negative impacts of gentrification for Black-owned small businesses?	2
What are the negative impacts of gentrification for your business?	1,2
What are the positive impacts of gentrification for your business?	1,3
	1,3
Please explain in your own words how your perception of your business success before and after gentrification.	3
	3
Reflecting on your business survival during gentrification, are there any business decisions you would have made differently?	1,2,3
Is there anything else that you would like to add that has not been addressed in the previous questions related to business survival during gentrification.	3
	1,2,3

Table 4.5 presents the gender characteristics of the Black-owned small business owners.

Table 4.5 *Qualitative Interview Gender*

Participant Number	Gender
1	Female
2	Male
3	Female
4	Male
5	Male
6	Female

Table 4.6 shows the participants' pseudonyms and business tenure.

Table 4.6 *Qualitative Interviewee Business Pseudonyms and Tenure*

Participant Number	Business Tenure
1	2015
2	1992
3	1994
4	2008
5	1964
6	1995

The business owners operated their small businesses exclusively in the Bradhurst neighborhood of Harlem in the City of New York. The interview participants' beginning tenure of business operations spanned the years 1964, 1992, 1994, 1995, 2008, and 2015.

The business owners are not referred to by name in Chapter 4 or anywhere throughout this study. To preserve the participants' identities and to maintain their business anonymity, the researcher assigned a pseudonym for each participant by using a

business type in lieu of the business name when referring to the participant interview data.

Qualitative Research Questions

The qualitative research questions that guided this study, were

1. What were the factors that contributed to Black-owned small business survival during a period of business gentrification in Harlem?
2. What resources were used by Black-owned small businesses in surviving or thriving during a period of gentrification in Harlem between 2000-2015?
3. How did Black-owned small businesses perceive their likelihood of success before and after gentrification between 2000-2015?

Table 4.7 presents the themes and subthemes derived from the analysis of the qualitative interview data.

Table 4.7 *Identified Themes and Subthemes*

Theme	Subtheme
Economic, Political, and Cultural Change in the Community	Business preferences Quality of life issues Organizational power Political and cultural change
Business Opportunities	Black-owned small businesses resources Business capital
Capital Structure	Customer income levels Business access to capital
Technical Assistance, Education, and Leadership Development	Technical assistance Growth opportunities Certifications as MWBE
Survival Strategies	Remarking/rebranding Real estate values/Prices operating cost Negotiations, concession, provisions. and release clauses

Theme 1: Economic, political, and cultural change in the community. The first theme, economic, political, and cultural change in the community, examined the factors that contributed to Black-owned small business survival in the Bradhurst neighborhood during the period of gentrification in Harlem. Through the semi-structure interviews, the participants shared their perspectives of the economic, political, and cultural changes that occurred in their community. All the business owners agreed that gentrification was a significant phenomenon in the Bradhurst neighborhood that impacted theirs and others' Black-owned small businesses. There were differences in experiences as to how that business gentrification affected their business operations and decision making in response to the changes that were occurring during this period. For example, in response to the interview question regarding how the change in demographics caused by gentrification changed the business' customer base, Participant 1 responded:

That's kind of like a double-edged sword question. There has been a thing with business owners that I've heard within the community, the small businesses that I've talked to, that we kind of were interested in a resurgence of new people coming into the neighborhood because it brings disposable income, it brings a new customer. But what I've found as a business owner [is] that's not always true. If someone isn't from the community, they may have a service provider that they're already used to and just go within NYC or Manhattan, which is kind of a viable thing. Or they may find other businesses within the community that are not African American or Black-owned businesses to utilize. But yes, we do see new customers come in. So, it didn't increase our sales in a tremendous way, as I think people expect it to happen. I don't think the initial gentrification is going to

happen. I think we must survive within the community for the complete gentrification . . . and be one of the landmark stakeholder businesses that are here. So, we must survive for the next 10 years and for the customers to say, “Oh, that’s a viable business.” (Participant 1, p. 7)

Participant 1 continued to discuss the need for Black-owned businesses to survive the business displacement caused by gentrification by becoming community stakeholders. Participant 1 expressed the following strategy to prevent the systematic displacement of Black-owned small businesses in the Bradhurst section of Harlem:

Yes. I think that we must survive and become a community stakeholder to new people; that they get to see us into the future. Because what happens is, people move in and then you see a bunch of businesses closing. And so, new businesses may replace those old ones. And so, the older businesses that are here, prior to gentrification, must survive and become a community stakeholder. (Participant 1, p. 8)

The Black-owned small business owner Participant 1 understood that gentrification had the potential to benefit her business because “new people coming into the neighborhood, because it brings disposable income,” but she articulated reservations based upon purchasing preferences and behaviors of the new people coming into the neighborhood.

Participant 3 voiced a similar, but slightly different, interpretation of the economic, political, and cultural change in the community theme. Participant 3 suggested that the changes are more aggressive than a passive demographic change. Here, the participant described the struggle that Black-owned small businesses faced in maintaining

contracts when the demographics of their customers began to change. She further observed that there appeared to be a cultural and philosophical struggle between the incumbents and the incoming residents. For example, Participant 1 illustrated this point through the following observation:

You started to see an influx of other cultures moving into the neighborhood, and they tend to want to take over when they come in. And it was a struggle. We did lose some buildings because of that. For instance, a building where there was a board and you had gentrification, and the whole structure of the board changed, and they felt again that, what can a minority company do? It doesn't matter that we have been around for years, and we were operating and doing things with limited resources. They just looked at us and said, "Oh, they can't do it." And found everything possibly wrong to say why we couldn't do it, and we did lose some buildings, once that change came about in those buildings. But there were other groups where the people in power were still minority and felt that we want a minority company, and I think that's what has been one of the most powerful things in helping us to survive. Our people thinking that, "We want our people to be the ones here," and actually fighting, and they have had to fight to get us in and to allow us to stay in business with that particular development. (Participant 3, pp. 30-31)

Urban succession theory suggests that gentrification is a struggle between existing lower income and in-moving higher income residents. This tension is illustrated in the response by the Black-owned small business owner whose business became the battleground where this economic, political, and cultural change occurred. In this case,

the decision makers, if they were from the existing residents who were there prior to gentrification, were attributed to by the Black-owned small business as the reason for their survival as a company during this period.

Participant 4 described the cultural changes that had occurred and attributed them to the gentrification in the Bradhurst neighborhood. The changes impacted the cultural identity of the community in which the business was operated. It is illustrated here to underscore the presented theme. Participant 4 four exclaimed:

So, what's interesting about gentrification is the residents who are coming to gentrify [the] neighborhoods, their requirements for services are a little bit different. So, there are, what we would consider, quality of life issues, what they would consider quality of life issues, which were never a quality life issue prior to them moving into the neighborhood. So, things like . . . I'll give you an example. I used to live Where I lived in Central Harlem, there used to be a . . . I lived across the street from a park, and there was a group of guys on Saturdays who would just play the drums, African drums every Saturday. And when the neighborhood became gentrified, they were asked to move to a different location because they were in front of the windows of folks who didn't recognize that. Me, being who I am, a Black man from Harlem, had no problem with it, but . . .

(Participant 4, p. 51)

The first theme, economic, political, and cultural change in the community, offered a gateway that contributed to the Black-owned small business owners' understanding of the factors that led to their survival in the Bradhurst neighborhood during the period of gentrification in Harlem. The participants all agreed that

gentrification and business gentrification had an impact on their business decision making and overall survival. The participant statements revealed that economic, political, and cultural change were closely aligned with the research questions. Research Question 1 inquired as to what the factors were that contributed to the Black-owned small business survival during a period of business gentrification in Harlem. The economic, political, and cultural changes during the period of business gentrification was better understood through the lens of the Black-owned small business owners who experienced it. Increases in income levels brought upon by gentrifiers, the political struggle between the existing and the in-moving residents, and cultural preferences all informed and signaled the Black-owned small businesses that a business market change was imminent.

Theme 2: Business opportunities in Bradhurst. The second theme, business opportunities in Bradhurst further examined the research question regarding what factors contributed to the Black-owned small businesses' survival in the Bradhurst neighborhood during the period of gentrification in Harlem. The business opportunity theme included subthemes of Black-owned small business resources, capital, and expertise. The interviewed participants responded to the interview question to describe the business opportunities in the Bradhurst area prior to the start of gentrification by providing their unique perspective of the business environment available to them. This question served to solicit the participants' viewpoints on the factors that contributed to their survival through their perception of the business opportunities before, during, and after gentrification.

Participant 1 stated that prior to the onset of gentrification, "the neighborhood probably had lots of small locally owned businesses, probably owned by residents of Bradhurst" (p. 5). The Black-owned small business owner concluded that based upon her

environment, that prior to gentrification many of the local businesses were owned by residents of Bradhurst. This signaled that business opportunities were available and neighborhood residents took advantage of the opportunities.

Participant 2, in response to the interview question, suggested that Black-owned small businesses may have been motivated by a need for independence, however, resources were required to accomplish this objective. For example, Participant 2 described:

I think, first and foremost, there was a concern of commercial space available in Harlem. Unfortunately, a lot of minorities, especially Blacks, could not avail themselves to who owns the business to rent these spaces, because, first, they didn't have the resources. I always sought the respect of entrepreneurs if I accessed the capital. Because you need resources in order to put this, whatever prospective endeavor, which you expect to participate in. Whether it be a coffee shop, restaurant, whatever it is, you need money. I have often talked about people that want to go into business because they want to be in a position where they can control their own destiny, and, plus, I think there's some gratification of being able to do it for yourself and to be in control of your situation, and I guess be a positive role model for your community. (p. 19)

Participant 2 articulated that in some cases, Black-owned small businesses lack resources to enter the market. The participant also acknowledged that if a prospective small business owner wanted to conduct business in Bradhurst, they must have resources to sustain the business operation.

Participant 3 suggested that Black-owned small businesses did not have the same opportunities and resources to compete with other businesses during the period of business gentrification. Participant 3 stated:

They don't have the same amount of opportunities, the same amount of resources, to be able to compete. So, the standard can't be the same unless you provide those resources that allow them to be the same. Okay? So, to hold my company, who has to do more and get less, at the same standard as this company that has millions of dollars, and to judge my company compared to that company, it's not fair. But it's the reality that we live in. (p. 37)

Participant 4 revealed that as a property owner, his business was in control of retail spaces that offered commercial opportunities for Black-owned small businesses. This business owner experienced that there was a supply of retail store locations that were underutilized by prospective Black-owned small businesses. Opportunities existed that were not taken advantage of. This condition became attractive to other type of business uses from nontraditional small businesses owners. A change in the retail uses of local stores in Bradhurst appears to have been a sign of the changing demographics and services demanded from the emerging market. Participant 4 described the changing market demand that impacted his business as a property owner manager in the Bradhurst neighborhood:

So, when you think about the commercial opportunities here, I think it's I first think of storefronts, right? So, there were various storefronts available throughout the Bradhurst community, some as small as 300 square feet up to, I would say, the average size is probably around 1,000-1,500 square feet. So those

typically host retail businesses. However, we have come to find that this is

When I've had vacancies in this neighborhood, it seemed that there was a limited request for these spaces, and they usually came from grocery stores, beauty salons, barber shops, and there were discount stores. I remember getting a lot of calls regarding discount stores. So, at that time, prior to gentrification, those were the services that were seeking to move to the neighborhood. Post-gentrification in the Bradhurst area, the services have changed slightly. I still get a lot of requests from beauty salons, barbershops, not so much discount stores. Grocery stores, I still get those, but I've also received calls from pharmacies, clothing stores. So, the business type is definitely starting to diversify post-gentrification. (p. 50)

Participant 5 responded to the question of what business opportunities and typical business types existed prior to gentrification by describing the reason for his relocation from lower Manhattan to the Harlem neighborhood of Bradhurst. Participant 5 stated:

Business opportunities. My particular product, which is apparel, which is a fashion product, what really made me want to move into Harlem was the amount of churches that were in Harlem . . . and the likelihood of getting all of these customers, all the women and men of the church, the first ladies of the church. That was my target audience in the very beginning. I actually moved to Harlem from downtown. I had a small shop in Soho back in the '80s. So, it's been 30 years since I've been up here (p. 75).

Participant 6 recalled that Bradhurst consisted of customers from the middle- to low-income household income bracket. This business owner stated that Bradhurst was a community with a majority Blacks in the population. The businesses reflected the

community demographic and provided the goods and services that were typical for a stable neighborhood. Participant 6 was familiar with the neighborhood and the customers served by her business. The small business owner's response was expressed in an intimate tone of voice. Participant 6 provided a historical portrayal of the Bradhurst neighborhood that could only be provided by a unique and long-standing business in the community. Participant 6 conveyed their experience as follows:

Well, mainly they're middle- and low-income families that live in the area primarily. Okay. Well, I started my business in 1964. At that time, most of the businesses in the area were primarily, I'd say, 75% Black owned. And one of the factors that I was reminded of, "Why would I go into this area where there was so many other areas that were in my industry?" And my response was that I felt that I was well prepared by my training that I envied competition. (pp. 99-100)

The responses by the interview participants to the second theme, business opportunities in Bradhurst, provided a consistent and descriptive experience of the Black-owned small businesses. The research question regarding what factors contributed to Black-owned small business survival in the Bradhurst neighborhood during the period of gentrification in Harlem was answered by their rich lived experience in a nostalgic tone of voice. The interview participants reflected on the opportunities available and lost to the Black-owned small businesses prior to the gentrification of the neighborhood. Expression of fear and hope of the capitalization on the demographic and socioeconomic changes associated with gentrification were expressed. The participants described the business opportunities in the Bradhurst area, prior to the start of gentrification, by providing their unique perspective of the business environment available to them. The participants

responses served to provide their viewpoint on the factors that contributed to their survival. This theme further provided the Black-owned small business survivors with an opportunity to record and preserve their perception of the business opportunities before, during, and after gentrification.

Theme 3: Challenges of access to capital for businesses. All the participants recognized that Black-owned small businesses in the Bradhurst neighborhood had challenges in procuring access to capital for their businesses. This was a universal theme for all the interviewed business owners. Access to capital was important to these small businesspeople during the period of gentrification because the demographic and economic changes associated with gentrification presented challenges to the businesses in the form of meeting the market demands of the new customers. The interview participants were asked what challenges their businesses faced during the years 2002 through 2012, in relation to the issue of gentrification. An illustration of this finding is described by the participants.

Participant 1 remarked, “one of the main issues was disposable income within the community in Bradhurst to purchase goods and service during the gentrification ramp up” (p. 5). Participant 2 observed,

So, let’s see. I think, first and foremost, there was a concern of commercial space available in Harlem. Unfortunately, a lot of minorities, especially Blacks, could not avail themselves to who owns the business to rent these spaces, because, first, they didn’t have the resources. I always sought to the respect of entrepreneurs if I accessed the capital. (p. 19)

Participant 3 suggested,

The negative impact has been that there's more competition, more companies looking to come into the neighborhood, more companies with more resources than we necessarily have. So again, it comes back to competition, and being able to compete to get the contracts to be able to stay in business. I think that's the biggest impact of all. (p. 39)

Participant 4 advised to place the responsibility of knowing your business and its market on the Black-owned small businesses. Participant 4 suggested:

So, I think if you're a . . . especially if you're a retail business, I think there needs to be acknowledgement by the current owned business, whether it's a Black-owned, minority-owned business, or even if it's not. You have to understand your market. If your community is starting to change, that means your market's starting to change, and you may have to change your services or . . . what you sell, because the market is changing. So, sometimes it just may be a matter of we're not ready to make those changes, or we don't recognize those changes, or we recognize them too late. So, I think it's important just to know what's going on around you. (pp. 55-56)

Participant 5 explained that his traditional customer faced challenges that filtered down to his business operations. Challenges in the economy that impacted the business customers' access to disposable income was an impact to this participant's business. Retirement and relocation of the traditional customer, prior to gentrification, was presented as a contributing factor. The participant also faced challenges in attracting new customers. Participant 5 stated;

I think one of my biggest challenges was really the economy, more so than anything. People just not having that disposable income that they used to. And since a lot of my customers were older, a lot of senior citizens, my challenge was getting new customers, as my current customers either moved to Florida or South, period. When they retired, they left New York. A lot of them passed away because they were older people. So, my biggest challenge was getting new customers and getting younger customers. (p. 77)

Participant 6 expressed that initially gentrification was just a remote concept not having any perceived impact on her business. However, as gentrification migrated gradually to the Bradhurst neighborhood near her business, the participant expressed that almost without warning, the participant's business was impacted. Participant 6 explained;

Okay, well that. See, gentrification didn't It was just a word. It did not have any impact on my business, not until they began to rebuild 8th Avenue and going up towards Sugar Hill, because very few Caucasians were coming in this area and if they were, they weren't walking down 145th Street, they were coming out at night, basically, to walk the dogs. No, so . . . it did not. Regentrification did not have an impact until they built the Towers. Going up towards 145th and Macombs, . . . towards Amsterdam Avenue. And then it changed over. It used to be the bank building, but that was the first one. I can't think of the name, now, but it was the bank right on 145th and Amsterdam. And when that building began to change over, then that's when a lot of my customers who were already living in that building, was recommending the new customers, just like the doormen at 300

145th. The doormen are recommending the new customers, for those who want my quality work. (p. 102)

The participants responses revealed a consensus through a consistent message regarding the unpreparedness of the Black-owned small businesses to face the challenges of obtaining the resources they needed during the period of gentrification. Although, conceptually, gentrification promised the inflow of higher socioeconomic classes of residents with disposable income, the Black-owned small businesses appeared concerned that they lacked the financial resources to meet the new customers' demand for goods and services that met their specific needs. The Black-owned small business owners suggested that they had a basic understanding of the concept of gentrification during the early stages of the process, however, they lacked the knowledge or resources to prepare or prevent it from impacting their businesses. The participants expressed a general misunderstanding of the new customers and exhibited an inability to adjust their business operations to accommodate the emerging market demands.

Theme 4: Technical assistance, education, and leadership development.

Theme 4 consisted of technical assistance, education, and leadership development as its core concepts. The subthemes were technical assistance, growth opportunities, and certifications as minority and women-owned business enterprises. Theme 4 focused on answering the research question regarding what resources were used by the Black-owned small businesses in surviving or thriving during a period of gentrification in Harlem between 2000 to 2015? The interview questions associated with the research question were how does gentrification influence the survival of a Black-owned small business? What resources were available to your business, enabling it to survive during

gentrification? What were the resources you took advantage of that led to the survival of your business during gentrification? How did the local government, not-for-profit organizations or business associations, if any, assisted your business to survive during gentrification? What do you believe the city and state government agencies should do to lessen the negative impact of gentrification for Black-owned small businesses?

Participant 1 provided a prescriptive strategy for surviving gentrification by listing the elements of the factors and steps she had taken to insulate her small business from the effects of demographic change and customer preferences. Participant 1, in response to how did she survive indicated

We are [still] operating because we have favorable lease terms (p. 7). We have been trying to find customers outside of the Bradhurst area to sell our goods and services to. We became M/WBE certified, to see if we could get some contracts. We started soliciting schools, universities, hospitals. We did some other different marketing to make sure that we could stay open, and we still struggle within the survival of our business. (p. 7)

Participant 2 expressed his reliance on community assistance through referrals to lending opportunities as a reason for the business' survival. Participant 2 stated

As far as resources go and seed money, I got my first loan, a friend of mine, he was a car dealership. I went there and borrowed \$500, and he said, "I won't loan you \$500, but I will send you to my banker." And he gave me a reference, and I got the \$500. So, I was able to, with another friend of mine, he did this little minor construction [that was] necessary. (p. 20)

Participant 3 was able to obtain assistance from local organizations, such as nonprofits, and leveraged the business relationships she built over time. The reason for the business' survival for Participant 3 was expressed as a bank of goodwill that provided the business with the political backing needed in a time where demographic change contributed to the risk of business displacement. Participant 3 offered the following description to explain how displacement of her business contracts was avoided due to political capital built over years of business in the Bradhurst neighborhood. Participant 3 explained.

Especially the nonprofits, even when agencies didn't necessarily want to give us the opportunity, we've had quite a few who went to these agencies and defended and argued and backed us and pretty much took a stance against the agency to allow them to give us the opportunity to manage. And I think that also has been a key part of our survival. Without those relationships, I don't think we would be here. (p. 36)

Participant 4 appeared to express a level of economic independence that was not typical of the Black-owned small business owners who were interviewed. However, this participant was aware of resources in the community, such as low-interest loans from quasi-governmental entities, nonprofits, and Black-owned banks. Participant 4 stated,

So, fortunately, I haven't had to take advantage of some, but I've looked at some, particularly low-interest loans. So, there are organizations, like the Empowerment Zone. There's the Empowerment Zone, there are some other business. . . not-for-profits that provide low-interest loans. So, there are a few in the community. Again, I just haven't had to take advantage of it, but I'd thought about it at one

point when I was going to upgrade my software, which was going to be a pretty expensive outlay, and I'd thought about taking out a loan to do it. But I was able to finance it in a different way. But yeah, so if you're a local business, there are those not-for-profits who lend. There are also some local banks, so Carver Bank, that's one of the banks that I've talked to. As a matter of fact, I'm talking to Carver Bank for a line of credit, about a line of credit related to investments that we want to make. So, the Carver Bank is one of those resources there, that's out there. Also, there's another Black-owned bank, City National Bank, who I did talk to at one point, but I know of other Black business owners who receive lines of credits from . . . from CNB Bank. So, those are some of the resources. (p. 56)

Participant 5 provided a description of organizations and disadvantaged business certifications that were instrumental in assisting with the business' survival during the period of gentrification. Participant 5 explained

I'm a member of the New York Women's Chamber of Commerce. I became certified recently, as a minority in a women-owned business. And so, moving forward . . . I have the ability to bid on government contracts, so . . . I'm also a member of the Harlem Chamber of Commerce. They've been wonderful over the years. The Harlem Business Alliance. There have been many, many organizations that have helped with training, and they want us to survive; they want us to do well. (p. 82-83)

In Theme 4, the participants provided confirmation that technical assistance, education, and leadership development, as concepts, were essential to their survival. The subthemes of technical assistance, growth opportunities, and certifications as Minority

and Women Owned Business Enterprises were utilized by the participants to increase the likelihood of their survival. The research question regarding what resources were used by Black-owned small businesses in surviving or thriving during a period of gentrification in Harlem between 2000- 2015 was answered by the participants' accounts of their experiences as Black-owned small businesses facing business gentrification. The next theme discusses the specific strategies the business owners used for their survival.

Theme 5: Strategy for survival. Theme 5 consisted of strategies for survival. The subthemes included remarketing, rebranding, real estate values/prices, operating cost, negotiations, concession provisions, and release clauses. The participants expressed key strategies that they used to survive gentrification. These strategies consisted of certain key technical methods used by the business owners such as operational adjustments of rebranding and remarketing their products and services. Strategies included forward-looking practices, such as negotiating the terms of leases for future economic changes that might be difficult to predict. The participants mentioned strategies for survival in different contexts that provided answers to the research question related to their survival during the period of business gentrification. The research question answered by Theme 5 included what resources are used by Black-owned small businesses in surviving or thriving during a period of gentrification in Harlem between 2000-2012? The interview questions posed to the interview participants included, please explain how the local government, not-for-profit organizations or business associations, if any, assisted your business to survive during gentrification? How did your business survive gentrification? The researcher and interview questions provided the participants with an

opportunity to express, with their own words, how gentrification impacted their business and what methods they used to survive gentrification.

Participant 1 provided a rich description of the survival strategies her business used to survive gentrification. The reliance on local nonprofit organizations was a key element of Participant 1's survival strategy. Participant 1 stated:

I think some of the not-for-profit organizations that own real estate have definitely helped me in leasing space to me at great rental rate. And as I mentioned before, some of the other not-for-profits in the community and associations have lent my business money during the thing for survival or growth to build out, do marketing campaigns to get new customers. Yes, I think that there's community organizations that are helping existing businesses to stay afloat, open, and give them some insight and knowledge into what is expected for the future within their own individual businesses. (p. 9)

Participant 1 sought a special designation, recognized by the federal, state, and local governments, to assist disadvantaged business enterprises to improve their ability to obtain lucrative government contracts that are set aside for minority businesses.

Participant 1 explained the pursuit of government contract's set aside strategy as follows:

We had to . . . figure out a way within the business to go further away from the community to extend our goods and services for survival. We became M/WBE certified, to see if we could get some contracts. We started soliciting schools, universities, hospitals. Now, we did some other different marketing to make sure that we could stay open, and we still struggle within the survival of our business. (p. 7)

Participant 1 described its collaboration with local nonprofit organizations who provided general operating support in the form of technical assistance. Participant 1 mentioned several well-known community nonprofits that aided in its survival:

We've utilized Harlem Congregations for Community Improvement; we've utilized Harlem Business Alliance; we've utilized Harlem Community Development Corp; we've utilized Harlem Entrepreneurial Fund, Harlem Commonwealth Council; we've utilized Bradhurst Merchants Association, West Harlem Group Assistance, West Harlem Development Corp. We've utilized the . . . Washington Heights Inwood Development Corp. I've personally reached out to many agencies within the community to see how I can partner with these agencies to make sure everyone knows that I have a business that is operating and that we are seeking customers. (p. 7)

Participant 1 described trainings, loans, and grants that were available to promote the survival and thriving of Black-owned small businesses during the period of business gentrification. Participant 1 revealed:

Washington Heights Inwood Development Corp offered loans, but they also have some other training. They have bilingual assistance, they help you with your lease, different things, they have different I didn't participate in that. I've used the Harlem Commonwealth Council. I did a course with them, Opportunities for Growth course, where we had to create a growth plan, and we learned how to use our M/WBE certification and how to go after bids and contracts. I've utilized Harlem Business Alliance for marketing my business and Harlem Community Development Corp gives seminars or classes about specific business topics

probably once a month. I attend those as my schedule allows me to. I continue to use those. There are monthly meetings with the Bradhurst Merchants Association for information regarding business. We have business topics, business leaders, or business support. People come into the meetings monthly, so I attend those on a monthly basis as my schedule allows. (p. 7)

Participant 1 provided a progress demonstration of its strategy for business survival by utilizing the broad support of local organizations, governmental entities and business-promoting programs. This provided the participant with strategies, tools, and techniques that were inexpensive, locally based, and promoted access to new customers, markets, and opportunities for survival and thriving during the business gentrification period of this study.

Participant 3 survived business gentrification by having been in business in the Bradhurst section of Harlem for the preceding 27 years. The business owner understood the changes in the business community having had longevity. Participant 3 described her experience as follows:

We have survived, we've been in business now for 27 years, it has been challenging, there were days when with my partners, we sat at the table and were very worried about whether we would be able to make it through and to continue, but somehow we've managed and we've survived and we're still here. (p. 30)

Participant 3 acknowledged that not all Black-owned small businesses survived the period of business gentrification. Participant 3 expressed:

I think a lot of the businesses that were around in the '90s, early 2000s, a lot of them are not around anymore. We went through a phase where when the re-

gentrification first started, and you saw all these businesses popping up, especially restaurants. And they didn't last past 6 months. Specifically, why? I don't know, maybe it was the wrong type of business for the neighborhood or the neighborhood wasn't ready yet for the level of that business, where the prices may have been too high, but the support just wasn't there. (p. 32)

The interview data provided a primary source of information on the circumstances that contributed to the survival or failure of some Black-owned small businesses in the Bradhurst neighborhood of Harlem

Participant 4 was succinct in the expression of survival. Participant 4 stated, "Yes, indeed, we survived it" (p. 51). This business owner continued to explain, "And, again, it's because we're not a typical retail, even though we're in the storefront, but we're not the typical retail space. We don't count on customers walking through the door to generate business" (p. 51). The participant offered that its membership in local organizations contributed to its survival as a Black-owned small business. These expressions of locally based support were significant. Participant 5 stated:

Well, I'm also a member of the Harlem Chamber of Commerce. They've been wonderful over the years. The Harlem Business Alliance. There have been many, many organizations that have helped with training, and they want us to survive; they want us to do well. (p. 83)

Participant 5 concurred with the recurring theme that survival depended on a series of adjustments that Black-owned small businesses were required to implement to increase their chances for survival. Participant 5 stated, "My business has survived, but it survived because I changed my whole focus of the business" (p. 77). The change in focus

was indicative of the business owner evaluating the market opportunities, including the changing demographic and customer preferences. The business owner recognized that for the business to survive, the business marketing strategy needed to be inclusive of all customers in the Bradhurst neighborhood, even the customer who was part of the changing demographic. The business owner pursued a global strategy versus a local marketing strategy by including an Internet presence as part of its business plan.

Participant 5 voiced this observation:

And I realized that I had to be inclusive of everyone. I could not just go after the church community or the Black church community, that my customers were from all over the world. I had to have an Internet presence, I had to have a website, so the whole world could be my customer, and I also had to become a different kind of designer because there is a whole world that I had not tapped into, and it's not a world that I didn't know about because my degree is in fashion. I graduated from FIT, but I had focused on this small community, and I understood that at that point, when things were changing, I had to be more inclusive of everyone, I had to start designing for magazine editorials, I had to start working, doing wardrobe for television and film. I had to really think about other places where my product would be wanted. (p. 77)

Participant 5's recognition of the need to expand his business reached to a global perspective that did not abandon its local approach. Participant 5 acknowledged the need to remain connected to the local business community in alliance with other Black-owned small businesses. Participant 5 continued his local approach by expressing:

Well, I'm also a member of the Harlem Chamber of Commerce. They've been wonderful over the years. The Harlem Business Alliance. There have been many, many organizations that have helped with training, and they want us to survive, they want us to do well. (p. 83)

The expansion of the Black-owned small business market beyond its traditional customer base was a key component to the successful survival strategies. Participant 5 expressed an awareness of the factor of survival.

Participant 6 expressed an intimate knowledge of the cultural implication of the business environment in the Bradhurst section of Harlem. The understanding of the neighborhood and street-level smarts were essential to survival in the Harlem neighborhood. Participant 6 began business in the community in 1964. Participant 6 possessed a unique historical and cultural contextual awareness of the survival through several cycles of neighborhood change. The participant interview presented as a compendium of economic, social, and cultural facts regarding the Bradhurst section of Harlem. The participant offered a darker side of the Bradhurst section of Harlem in the early days of his business, a side of the neighborhood that fueled success. Participant 6 described his early customers as follows:

When I first opened my business, I thought it would be my primary business forever. That was the only thing I was thinking about, because I was fresh out of school, and I wanted to maintain my skills, and the only way of doing that is continuing to practice, which in the beginning was tremendous. And the reason why the business was tremendous, because, no disparaging, but most of my customers were drug dealers, people who . . . didn't want to go downtown, they

wanted to stay within the core area. And that's where, I'd say, 75% of my business came from . . . to those who had more than just the average payroll. My customers changed when Rockefeller drug laws really took hold, which was about 1974. All my good customers went underground. (p. 100)

Participant 6 was forced to change the business practices as the prevalent culture in the Bradhurst section of Harlem changed from an illicit culture to a mainstream culture, resulting in a different customer for its business. Participant 6 witnessed other businesses fail during the period preceding business gentrification. The owner was keenly aware of the changes taking place because he was respected by the local business community, landlords, and political establishment. This local respect entitled the participant to be privy to information regarding business in the neighborhood. For example, Participant 6 was presented with an opportunity that contributed to his survival where other businesses failed. Participant 6 stated:

Well, in my business, really, I never Because, to me, that's like, "Okay, they come in and they're moving somebody out." Now big It depends on what kind of business, now that hardware store, now, I'd say he moved my buddy, my buddy never had a chance to come back. (p. 117).

Participant 6 benefited from the misfortune of another business failing to pay its rent. The landlord familiar with the participant's business practices and reputation was willing to provide the Black-owned small business owner an opportunity to lease a store with favorable terms. The interview participant used his credibility to secure favorable terms and survival of his business. Participant 6 stated:

Now, the old landlord, I just want to add this. When I first moved in, there were two brothers, the Howling brothers, they owned one, two, three, the corner, all the way over to about the mid They were the biggest, one of the biggest real estate folks and around the corner. Somehow or another, we took it. Well, I mean, we took a liking to each other because first I was paying my rent on time. Then his wife had some furs, that's when I started to dabble in furs, and the guy around the corner went out. I told you, there was a cleaner around the corner, and he didn't pay the rent, he just left all the clothes and everything. So, he came to me with a deal and said, "Look, this guy went out of here. Why don't you take this off my hands and then we'll just work it out?" I said, "Fine, I got space; fine." (pp. 117-118)

Summary of the Qualitative Findings

The qualitative data findings section illustrated the results of the semi-structured interviews with the Black-owned small business owners in the Bradhurst area of Harlem. The central purpose for the qualitative phase of the study was to explain the quantitative findings. The quantitative findings confirmed that business gentrification was present in the Bradhurst section of Harlem during the period of 2000 to 2015. The manifestation of business gentrification occurred in two distinct manners. First, through displacement of many former, long-standing Black-owned small businesses. Second, a resurgence of new Black-owned small businesses seeking to capitalize on the gentrification. A third manifestation resulted from the business gentrification, which was that a significant number of Black-owned small businesses remained in place prior, during, and after the period of business gentrification. The qualitative phase of the study focused on the Black-

owned business owners experiences leading to their survival through the business gentrification, the impact of on their businesses, the effect on their business operating costs, and the resources they employed to survive.

To verify the data collected from the public and private databases, a survey of the area businesses was collected. A district area survey was taken of the area businesses to identify and verify which businesses were Black owned, operated before and after gentrification, and had an organizational structure. The survey revealed a population of 74 (*N*) Black-owned small businesses. A purposive sample of six Black-owned small business owners were selected for interviews and were conducted. As indicated in Table 4.5, the owners of the Black-owned small businesses consisted three female and three male owners. The business owners operated their small businesses exclusively in the Harlem neighborhood in the City of New York. The interview participants' beginning tenure of business operations spanned the years 1964, 1992, 1994, 1995, 2008, and 2015.

The qualitative research method allowed the researcher to document the experiences from the voices of the Black-owned business owners including but not limited to the factors they concluded that resulted in their survival of the gentrification, the impact of gentrification on their businesses, the effect of gentrification on their business operating costs, and the resources they employed to survive. The next step in the mixed-methods explanatory sequential study was to integrate the quantitative and qualitative findings to answer the mixed-methods research question. In a mixed-methods study the aim is to explain the quantitative results with a qualitative follow-up data collection and analysis (Creswell & Creswell, 2018).

Mixed-Methods Findings

A mixed-methods design can be accomplished by either a fully mixed or partially mixed design. The research approach in this study, to account for the time constraint, was a partially mixed-methods design. A partially mixed-methods design involves conducting a study in which one mixes the quantitative and qualitative portions of the study at specific stages, such as at the sampling, data-collection, data-analysis, or data-inference stages (Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2009). Onwuegbuzie and Teddlie (2003) conceptualized that,

When analyzing quantitative and qualitative data within a mixed methods framework, researchers undergo at least some of the following seven stages: (a) data reduction, (b) data display, (c) data transformation, (d) data correlation, (e) data consolidation, (f) data comparison, and (g) data integration. (p. 490)

The mixed-methods data-integration phase involved in this study was focused upon the data-analysis and data-inference stages. The quantitative phase of the study discussed Black-owned small business survivors who were identified as businesses that operated before and after the implementation of the business gentrification in the Bradhurst section of Harlem. The mixed-methods findings in this section integrates and makes inferences between the quantitative and qualitative findings. Data integration is a recognized method of analysis in mixed-methods research (Onwuegbuzie & Leech, 2006).

The purpose of this section of the study was to integrate the quantitative survey with the qualitative interview data to draw inferences that resulted in a strengthening of the individual datasets that would otherwise not happen if the study was conducted using

one or the other methodological design. Integration of qualitative and quantitative data at the interpretation and reporting level occurs through three approaches: (a) integrating through narrative, (b) integrating through data transformation, and (c) integrating through joint displays (Creswell & Tashakkori, 2007; Stange, Crabtree, & Miller, 2006).

The approach in this study was to integrate meta-inference analysis to report the mixed-methods findings through narrative and joint displays. The integration of the quantitative and qualitative data was achieved by reporting the quantitative results and qualitative themes separately and then reporting the results and themes, narratively and jointly, through a table. The following steps and procedures were used in this study for data analysis and integration. A joint display in the form of a table is used to illustrate the qualitative explanation of the quantitative collection, analysis, and findings.

The data transformation and reporting approach in this study is in the form of an integrated joint display using a visual means of data integration. The visual, joint-display-reporting method is supplemented by a narrative to describe and interpret the meaning, conclusions, and reporting. Table 4.8 presents the integrative joint display of the quantitative and qualitative results.

Table 4.8

Data Integration Comparing Quantitative and Qualitative Results

Quantitative Results	Qualitative Results	Mixed-Methods Results
Black-owned small businesses corresponding with the respective zip code 10030 resulted in 58 and 16 in 10039. The total of Black-owned small businesses was 74 (N). The Black-owned small businesses in Bradhurst start dates ranged from 1950 to 2019 was noted in the analysis performed in SPSS.	Themes 1-5: All Black-owned small business employed a combination of the five key strategies used to survive business gentrification.	<i>Black-owned small businesses in the Bradhurst area of Harlem were not tracked. The study found that there are a broad range of businesses that existed before, during, and after business gentrification.</i>
The study found that 40, or 54%, of the surveyed Black-owned small businesses were started after the period of 2000 to 2015 when business gentrification began, and they still existed as of the completion of this study.	Theme 2: Identifying new business opportunities given the changing environment for these businesses was a key strategy for their survival.	<i>Of all the Black-owned small businesses, 17% identified new business opportunities as well as taking advantage of technical assistance to assist in their survival.</i>
The study found that 21, or 28%, of the Black-owned small businesses existed prior to, and survived in business, during and after gentrification between 2000 to 2015.	Theme 1, 3, and 5: The existing businesses managed change, secured financing, and increased their education and leadership to survive.	<i>Black-owned small businesses in the amount of 28% of the businesses surveyed were existing businesses prior, during and before business gentrification. These pre-gentrification businesses managed change, secured financing and sought appropriate education to survive.</i>

Summary of Results

Chapter 4 consisted of the findings of the study. The purpose of this chapter was to present the research findings and to understand, examine, describe, and explain the nature of the business gentrification as it was experienced by Black-owned businesses in a traditionally homogenous ethnically changing neighborhood. The study site was the Bradhurst section of Harlem in NYC. Bradhurst is significant as a study site because of its unique characteristics of maintaining a majority Black demographic population while the other sections of Harlem have been fully gentrified resulting in a reduction of the Black demographic to below half of the total population.

Through a review of the archived and publicly available databases, this study's quantitative findings confirmed that business gentrification was present in the Bradhurst section of Harlem during the period of 2000 to 2015. The publicly available databases were used to confirm a district survey of the Black-owned small businesses in the Bradhurst area. The manifestation of business gentrification occurred through the displacement of many former, long-standing Black-owned small businesses, the existence of Black-owned small business survivors, and a resurgence of new, Black-owned small business operators seeing the opportunities in Bradhurst that they perceived to be the result of gentrification.

The qualitative findings resulted in the identification of five key strategies that were employed by the Black-owned small business survivors during the period of gentrification from 2000 to 2015. The five key strategies in Bradhurst were (a) management of change in the business environment, (b) identifying new business opportunities, (c) securing capital financing for growth, (d) taking advantage of technical

assistance from local sources, and (e) increasing education and leadership development in business.

Chapter 4 presented the results of the study sequentially into four sections. The first section summarized the demographic characteristics of the study area before, during, and after gentrification. The second section discussed the quantitative findings. The third section discussed the qualitative findings, and the fourth section integrated the quantitative and qualitative findings. Chapter 5 presents a discussion and interpretation of the results found in Chapter 4.

Chapter 5: Discussion

Introduction

The objective of this research inquiry was to understand how a Black-owned small business community survived during a period of business gentrification from 2000 to 2015. The purpose of this study was to examine the rates of Black-owned small business survivors during that period of business gentrification. A second purpose of this study was to explain what factors contributed to the survival of Black-owned small businesses during a period of business gentrification from 2000 to 2015 in the Bradhurst neighborhood of Harlem in NYC.

The research methodology of this study was a sequential explanatory mixed-methods design. This methodology permitted the researcher to gain an understanding of the rates of Black-owned small business survivors of the business gentrification occurring in the Bradhurst neighborhood. This mixed-methods approach further provided a methodological design that allowed the researcher to explain what factors contributed to the survival of Black-owned small businesses during a period of business gentrification from 2000 to 2015 in the Bradhurst neighborhood of Harlem in NYC. This study also explained the entrepreneurial qualities, persistence, and perspectives of the Black-owned small business survivors.

The research questions for this mixed-methods, explanatory sequential design study consisted of quantitative and qualitative research questions. The purpose of this study was to examine, through a mixed-methods explanatory sequential design, (a) the

rates of Black-owned business survival, and (b) the factors that contributed to the survival of Black-owned small businesses in Bradhurst during a period of business gentrification from 2000-2015.

Chapter 5 presents a discussion and interpretation of the results found in Chapter 4 of this study. Chapter 5 is divided into four sections. The first section discusses the implications of the findings from the quantitative survey and qualitative interviews of Black-owned small businesses in the Bradhurst section of Harlem, NY. The second section describes the limitations of the study. The third section includes recommendations for future research; organizational procedures; professional practice; for executive leaders in government; and for community-based organizations, lenders, entrepreneurs and community planners, and organizers. The final section provides a summary of the chapter.

Implications of Findings

This study examined business gentrification as it related to Black-owned small businesses in Bradhurst. The site for the study was an enclave in Harlem that had maintained its demographic characteristics, which were consistent with the pre-gentrification era in sections of the Harlem neighborhood. Black-owned small businesses were impacted by the phenomenon of business gentrification and its associated demographic changes. Previous researchers examined the phenomena of gentrification and how it is associated with ethnic succession (Aldrich & Reiss, 1976; Fairchild, 2007).

Gentrification of businesses tends to follow the patterns of demographic change in a neighborhood. Urban succession (Aldrich & Reiss, 1976) suggests that changes in the racial composition of a neighborhood results in the changing of the small businesses in

that neighborhood. The existing demographic statistics, at the time of this study, in Bradhurst, compared to Central Harlem were 78% and 53% Black residents, respectively. The Bradhurst neighborhood has more Black residents than any other section of Harlem. Black-owned small businesses may have been concentrating in the Bradhurst area to take advantage of their traditional customer base and to take advantage of the lower rental rates compared to the central business district in Harlem.

This study suggests that business gentrification placed a strain on the Black-owned businesses in the Bradhurst district, thereby impacting their ability to continue to operate successfully in a gentrified neighborhood. Black-owned small businesses declining in NYC is considered a social justice issue by the stakeholders in the community. Business gentrification is viewed as part of the larger residential gentrification trend, resulting in demographic, cultural, and economic displacement. The increased operating costs, changing demographics, and competition from large well-financed brand entrants to the marketplace, minimally capitalized small businesses, and the lack of or failure of Black-owned small businesses to take advantage of locally based resources are considered the by-products of urban succession brought on by gentrification. These trends are considered causative factors leading to Black-owned small business failure to survive during a period of business gentrification.

A contrasting observation that impacted the Black-owned small businesses ability to survive business gentrification included the increase in business activity in the Bradhurst district due to the favorable rents, when compared to other commercial districts in the Central Harlem area. The Central Harlem retail rental asking price, in 2015, in the central retail district in Harlem, extending from West 125th Street from the Hudson River

to the Harlem River was between \$70-\$330 per square foot (REBNY, 2016). However, in the Bradhurst area, particularly in the NYC Housing Authority location, during the same timeframe, retail rents were marketed at \$25-\$35 per square foot (NYC Housing Authority, 2015).

The contrast in retail store rents may have caused by real estate owned by nonprofit or community-based organizations who opted to provide below-market rents in line with their mission to preserve local small businesses. This below-market rental rate strategy resulted in favorable rents per square foot below the ranges recorded by the Real Estate Board of New York (REBNY, 2016). The below-market rental rates are often excluded from the information gathered by real estate brokers and market-rate rent-charging landlords because of their classification as a community facility in marketing materials, restricting business use types in contrast to retail. These findings suggested that in the Bradhurst section of Harlem, demographics and property ownership by local nonprofit and local profit landlords resulted in a stabilization of the cost of retail rents, operating costs, and customer loyalty in the central mixed-use business district of West 145th Street, compared to the Central Harlem central commercial district of West 125th Street.

In the context of the larger business gentrification which occurred in Harlem, although the minority-owned businesses community rose in every borough, according to a 2017 report released by Comptroller Scott Stringer measuring the business activity during the period of 2007 to 2012, the Black-owned small businesses declined from 2007 to 2012 in gentrified neighborhoods. Black-owned small businesses accounted for 3% of the NYC's business in 2012, a decrease from 5% percent in 2007 (Stringer, 2017). In

contrast, this study suggests that in the Bradhurst section of Harlem, Black-owned businesses survived for a longer period during the business gentrification than minority-owned business including the Black-owned small businesses in NYC during the same period.

The examination of the Black-owned small businesses in the Bradhurst neighborhood of Harlem seems to suggest that the Black-owned small businesses benefitted from the gentrification. Characteristics of business gentrification, before, during, and after the period of business gentrification described in this study, such as higher operating cost, landlords negotiating increasing prices per square foot through warehousing retail, or general business displacement, appear to have not impacted the Black-owned small business community in this section of Harlem. The study findings suggest that as a result of the cost structure of operating Black-owned small businesses, the demographic consistency of a majority of the Black residents during the period, and the products and services, appealing to the needs of the customer base, were factors that sustained the Black-owned small businesses in that neighborhood. These factors contributed to the slowing of the pace of urban succession as it relates to small businesses.

To curtail business gentrification, manifested by property owners' warehousing business-zoned area real estate, to command premium rents for store space, the NYC Council took legislative action. The City of New York Council introduced legislation to prevent the displacement of small businesses which underscores the social justice concerns against the patterns of displacement identified by government reports and popular media. According to the findings in this study, Black-owned small businesses

declined in the initial stages of the business gentrification. However, the Black-owned small businesses began to increase toward the conclusion of the business gentrification period that was examined in this study. The researcher considers this increase in business activity an indication that the Black-owned small business owners adjusted to the customer market and sought to participate in the benefits of the gentrification through meeting the new customers' demands. Since the period of this study, new establishments, such as restaurants, barber shops, coffee shops, and pet-grooming stores, have emerged in the Bradhurst area. The emerging business locations have been opened by Black small business owners who lived in or near the Bradhurst area.

This study might provide practical strategies for small business survival for Black-, minority-, and women-owned businesses, and other disadvantaged business enterprises, with ways to avoid business failure during a period of business gentrification. Black-owned small businesses have been impacted by the increased economic activity and changing demographics in the Harlem neighborhood due to gentrification. Business gentrification is the phenomena that has impacted Black-owned small businesses in NYC, which decreased by 30% during the years 2007 to 2012, according to a report by the NYC Comptroller's Office (Stringer, 2017). The Bradhurst neighborhood is a sub neighborhood in Harlem, and it has maintained its demographic characteristics more than any other section of Harlem.

Small businesses operators, governmental officials, policy makers, nonprofit leaders, educators, and practitioners in the Bradhurst neighborhood may benefit from a description of the rates of survival and factors that led to the survival of Black-owned small businesses and other small businesses during the period of gentrification. The

implications of the findings in this study include a description of the urban succession as it applies to Black-owned small businesses by other businesses in a traditionally ethnically homogenous neighborhood, and strategies for the survival of Black-owned small businesses and other minority- and women-owned businesses, during a period of gentrification.

The quantitative findings confirm that business gentrification was present in the Bradhurst section of Harlem during the period of 2000 to 2015. The manifestation of business gentrification occurred in three distinct manners. First, business gentrification occurred through the displacement of many former, long-standing Black-owned small businesses. Second, Black-owned small businesses were survivors of the gentrification. Third, there was a resurgence of new Black-owned small business operators who saw the opportunities available in the neighborhoods that were subject to the gentrification.

The qualitative findings can be summarized into five key strategies employed by the Black-owned small business survivors during the period of gentrification from 2000 to 2015. The five key strategies that were employed by the Black-owned small business survivors of business gentrification in Bradhurst were (a) management of change in the business environment, (b) identifying new business opportunities, (c) securing capital financing for growth, (d) taking advantage of technical assistance from local sources, and (e) increasing education and leadership development in business.

Limitations

Limitations of this study included the lack of available quantitative business data on the census tract and zip code levels. The U.S. Census measures or maintains data on the county level only and does not measure or maintain business data that drills down to

the micro neighborhood level. To obtain census tract or zip code-level data, private sources must be referenced.

A second limitation was that the U.S. Census Small Business Owners survey databases for 2017 had not been published as of the date of the publication of this study. The 2017 data, when available, will have additional quantitative data to allow researchers to include Black-owned small business trends on the county level, through the current period, to determine how business activity has changed.

Recommendations

Further research on the impact of business gentrification in gentrified neighborhoods should be considered. The impact of gentrification on small businesses still requires further scholarly development. Since business gentrification has not been extensively studied in the literature, there is an opportunity to expand the research in this area. Future researchers in gentrification studies should consider the constraints in locating displaced residents or businesses, which will make it difficult to determine rates or circumstances of their displacement. The research in this study was limited to a small geographic area with a small population of remaining Black-owned small businesses. There are three recommendations for future research.

Recommendation 1. A case study should be done of the oldest continually existing Black-owned small businesses in Bradhurst. A narrative or historical case study is recommended. A qualitative case study would seek to understand the meaning that participants derived from, and constructed in, social interactions and setting as Black-owned small businesses with the longest tenure in the neighborhood.

Recommendation 2. Given that Black-owned small business declined by 30% in three major cities in the United States between 2007 and 2012, the second recommendation focuses on understanding that process. A study of business gentrification in New York, NY; Detroit, MI; and Jacksonville, FL, the cities where Black-owned small businesses have declined, would provide an opportunity to understand why those businesses failed or survived in these locations in a qualitative comparative study.

Recommendation 3. A quantitative survey of all Black-owned small businesses existing in Greater Harlem is recommended. This study would document and preserve an archival database for future studies to determine the patterns of business gentrification over an extend period.

Conclusion

In this study, business gentrification was defined as the displacement of small businesses in a gentrified district due to increases in operating costs, ethnic succession, and market preferences caused by the demographic and socioeconomic change (Ferm, 2016; Ficano, 2013). The study of Black-owned small businesses in the Bradhurst section of Harlem was generally relevant to the gentrification research. Business gentrification is a type of restoration that specifically impacts businesses. In neighborhoods that are traditionally low-income, ethnically homogeneous, and underserved, small businesses are essential to the social, cultural, and economic character of their community where they are operating.

In Bradhurst, as in other neighborhoods that were traditionally Black ethnic-majority neighborhoods, Black-owned small businesses provided employment

opportunities for low-income residents who often were unable to find entry level employment opportunity elsewhere. Black-owned small business tends to employ low-income, underemployed, and unemployed members of a low-income community. The displacement or gentrification of Black-owned small businesses from ethnic homogenous neighborhoods have impacted the local social, cultural, and economic character of those communities.

Black-owned small business survivors of business gentrification in the Bradhurst section of Harlem faced challenges during a period of gentrification emerging in the two decades preceding 2020. Bradhurst is a densely populated sub neighborhood in the traditionally, ethnically Black community of Harlem, and it was a hub for Black culture and business activity. Alteration of the demographic and income levels brought upon by urban revitalization programs sponsored by the City of New York and community-based organizations to address urban blight, crime, and abandonment may have had unintended consequence of displacement for the residents and businesses. Black-owned small businesses were challenged to remain in operation during the revitalization by increasing business operating costs and by increasing residential rents, which displaced many of their traditional customers.

In Bradhurst, when Black-owned small businesses were constrained in their growth and survival from this condition, it consequently caused a reduction in entry-level employment opportunities, which were typically reserved for the incumbent residents. Business advocacy groups, nonprofit organizations, and governmental entities consider the displacement of residents and businesses caused by gentrification a social justice issue. This researcher believes that describing and understanding how Black-

owned small businesses survived the business gentrification of Bradhurst provide academics and practitioners with a pragmatic roadmap to develop the appropriate response to business gentrification.

In an earlier study, Black-owned small businesses were more likely than White to operate in the central-city areas and minority neighborhoods of NYC (Bates, 1993; Simms & Allen, 1997). According to Boston (1999), Black-owned businesses tended to recruit workers in low-income minority communities much more than nonminority businesses of similar size. The survival of Black-owned businesses is, therefore, essential to the economic sustainability of low-income residents and their neighborhoods. A decline in Black-owned businesses affects employment opportunities for minority residents. The Black-owned small businesses rely on the local labor pool. A loss of local labor and local customers leads to Black-owned small businesses reduced likelihood of survival. The NYC legislative council affirmed the legitimacy of a social justice approach to regulating small businesses and job creation through a proposed law that would guarantee small businesses the right to renew their leases in the neighborhoods affected by gentrification.

The core theories underlying the study were rent gap (Smith, 1987), stage models of gentrification (Clay, 1979), and the supply and demand side (Hamnett, 1991; Hamnett & Randolph, 1986; Lees et al., 2008; Smith, 1986). Residential focused gentrification in the literature focuses primarily on the causes and actors underlining the phenomena of gentrification its impact on displacement of incumbent resident in favor of new higher income residents. However, gentrification also has real and perceived impacts on businesses and their owners in gentrified neighborhoods.

The quantitative findings confirmed that business gentrification was present in the Bradhurst section of Harlem during the period of 2000 to 2015. The manifestation of business gentrification occurred through the displacement of many former long-standing Black-owned small businesses, through the existence of Black-owned small businesses survivors, and through a resurgence of new Black-owned small businesses operators who were seeking opportunities available in Bradhurst, which were perceived to be the result of the gentrification. There were 74 (*N*) Black-owned small businesses existing, according to the study during the 2000 to 2015 in Bradhurst. Of the Black-owned small businesses surveyed, 28% of the Black-owned small businesses existed prior to and survived in business during and after the gentrification; 17% of the Black-owned small businesses were started during the gentrification period; and 53% of the surveyed Black-owned small businesses were started after the period of gentrification began, and they still existed as of the completion of this study.

The qualitative findings resulted in the identification of five key strategies employed by the Black-owned small business survivors during the period of gentrification from 2000 to 2015. A summarization of the five strategies, which were employed by the Black-owned small business survivors of the business gentrification in Bradhurst, were management of change, identifying business opportunities, securing capital for growth, taking advantage of local sources of assistance, and skill development.

Management of change was a prominent topic discussed by the participants in this study. Management of change in the business environment provided the Black-owned small business owners with a focus on transforming their businesses to meet the demands of the current business environment and not simply remaining nostalgic about an era in

the past. The surviving Black-owned small business owners sought to make the appropriate adjustments to their business operations, to provide a product mix, and to also provide a level of customer service to meet the demands of their new customers. They did not abandon their relationship with their traditional customer base; rather, they invited their traditional customer to change along with the business. Management of change afforded the Participant 5 with opportunities to shift from its traditional drug dealer-type customer to a more mainstream urban working-class customer base. This management of change in the business environment concept allowed the Black-owned small business to survive while other similar businesses failed.

Identifying the business opportunities is essential during a period of business gentrification. The surviving Black-owned small businesses owners understood the importance of communicating to their existing and prospective customers that the business would cater to their respective demands for goods and services. In a neighborhood that is going through gentrification, new residents have different tastes in food, leisure, and lifestyles. Participant 1 now offers pick-up and drop-off services to their customers. The old and the new customer benefits from this amenity that meets the needs of the younger urban professional.

Securing capital for growth was viewed by the Black-owned small business owners as an essential element to their survival during the period of business gentrification examined in this study. The interview participants included the concept of securing capital for growth as a strategy for taking advantage of the opportunities created by new customer contacts and preserving existing customers who were driven by gentrification.

Taking advantage of technical assistance from local sources was important to the interview participants. The Black-owned small business owners understood the importance of retooling their skill set through initiatives that were designed to help small businesses survive the changing business environment. The participants referred to local nonprofit organizations, such as Harlem Business Alliance; Harlem Congregations for Community Improvement, Inc.; Northern Manhattan Improvement Corporation; Greater Harlem Chamber of Commerce; and the Harlem Commonwealth Council, as local sources of technical assistance to help their businesses survive the changes brought on by gentrification. Governmental entities, such as the NYC Small Business Services, was also a source of assistance that Black-owned small business owners relied upon.

The value of increasing education and leadership development skills that would benefit their businesses was discussed by the interview participants in this study as a factor contributing to their survival. The interview participants generally acknowledged that the challenges of business gentrification required that the business owner develop new skills and leadership abilities to meet the demands of the market. Increases in educational and leadership skills manifested by linking with local nonprofits, attending seminars, working with banks, such as the JP Morgan Small Business and Columbia Universities entrepreneur leadership programs, leading to financing opportunities for Black-owned small businesses and other disadvantaged entities.

The researcher concluded that the Black-owned small businesses could increase the likelihood of their survival during a period of business gentrification if they followed the roadmap of the researcher participants. Survivors of business gentrification must take deliberate and proactive steps to improve their likelihood of survival and success as

businesses in a neighborhood going through gentrification. Aldrich and Reiss (1976), concluded that the most important factors facing small business survival in ethnically changing neighborhoods during urban succession was national and economic trends and economic status of the incoming residents. In Bradhurst, gentrification was characterized by White residents of higher income succeeding the existing Black residents. Survival for the Black-owned small businesses are not merely an economic trend, it is a cultural, economic, and social phenomena. Black residents, and thereby Black-owned small businesses, historically have been relegated to homogenous neighborhoods by the social normative constructs of racial segregation. This reality requires Black-owned small businesses, who are facing business gentrification, employ proactive strategies for survival.

This study provides the foundation for a prescriptive process for Black-owned small business survival. The Black-owned small businesses surveyed and interviewed in this study survived business gentrification, and their story provides other businesses with a roadmap for similar results. The proposed model has three stages that Black-owned small business must master during the process of business gentrification. The first stage is survival, the second stage is stabilization, and the third stage is growth. Survival of Black-owned small businesses during a period of business gentrification can be achieved through the management of the changing business environment and identifying new customers and business opportunities. Identifying the first signs of gentrification or perhaps the early signs that an area might be the target of business gentrification. Black-owned small businesses, taking steps to improve their likelihood of survival, should be proactive in the implementation of this prescriptive process.

Stabilization for Black-owned small businesses can be achieved by securing access to enough capital to effectively manage the market change during the period of business gentrification. The stabilization stage includes meeting the demands of new and existing customers, funding new product and service launches and capturing enough of the customers non-discretionary and disposable or discretionary income over the period of business gentrification to sustain the business. In a period of business gentrification new residents are infusing higher incomes in the neighborhood. Black-owned small business must capture the non-discretionary and disposable or discretionary income of the residents moving in the gentrifying neighborhood.

Growth for Black-owned small businesses can be achieved through mastering the previous two stages on a sustained basis coupled with rigorous financial management and being alert to possible mergers, collaborations and partnerships. Additionally, the likelihood of success in the growth stage is achieved through the utilization of technical assistance of local business experts, governmental and nonprofit advocacy groups, strategic business planning as well as educational and leadership skill building.

References

- Aldrich, H., & Reiss, A. (1976). Continuities in the study of ecological succession: Changes in the race composition of neighborhoods and their businesses. *American Journal of Sociology*, 81(4), 846-866.
- Atkinson, D. (2009). Economic decline and gentrification in a small town: The business sector in Aberdeen, Eastern Cape. *Development Southern Africa*, 26(2), 271-288, doi:10.1080/03768350902899595
- Bates, T. (1993). *Banking on Black enterprise: The potential of emerging firms for revitalizing urban economies*. Washington, DC: Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies.
- Beauregard, R. A. (1986). The chaos and complexity of gentrification, in N. Smith & P. Williams (Eds.), *Gentrification of the city* (pp. 35-55). Boston, MA: Allen & Unwin.
- Bernard, H. R. (2011) *Research methods in anthropology: Qualitative and quantitative approaches* (5th ed.). Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press.
- Beveridge (2008). *An Affluent, White Harlem?* Gotham Gazette: The Place for New York Policy and Politics. August 27, 2008. Retrieved from <https://www.gothamgazette.com/index.php/demographics/4062-an-affluent-white-harlem>
- Billingham, C. (2015). The broadening conception of gentrification: Recent developments and avenues for future inquiry in the sociological study of urban change. *Michigan Sociological Review*, 29, 75-102.
- Blasius, J., Friedrichs, J., & Rühl, H. (2016). Gentrifikation in zwei Wohngebieten von Köln. *Kölner Zeitschrift für Soziologie und Sozialpsychologie*, 68(3), 541-559. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11577-016-0372-7>
- Boston, T. (1999). *Affirmative action and Black entrepreneurship*. London, England: Routledge.
- Bourassa, S. C. (1990). "Another Australian view of the rent gap hypothesis" by Badcock. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 80(3), 458-461.
- Bourassa, S. C. (1992). Economic effects of taxes on land: A review. *American Journal of Economics and Sociology*, 51(1), 109-113.
- Bourassa, S. C. (1993). The rent gap debunked. *Urban Studies*, 30(10), 1731-1744.

- Brown-Saracino, J. (Ed.). (2010). *The gentrification debates*. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Brown-Saracino, J., & Rumpf, C. (2011). Diverse imageries of gentrification: Evidence from newspaper coverage in seven U.S. cities, 1986-2006. *Journal of Urban Affairs*, 33(3), 289-315. doi:10.1111/j.1467-9906.2011.00552.x
- Clark, E. (1988). The rent gap and transformation of the built environment: Case studies in Malmö 1860-1985. *Geografiska Annaler*, 70(2), 241-254.
- Clark, E. (1995). The rent gap re-examined. *Urban Studies*, 32(9), 1489-1503.
- Clay, P. (1979). *Neighborhood renewal: Middle-class resettlement and incumbent upgrading in American neighborhoods*. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books.
- Creswell, J. W. (2015). *A concise introduction to mixed methods research*. Los Angeles, CA: Sage.
- Creswell, J. W., & Creswell, J. D. (2018). *Research design: Qualitative, quantitative and mixed methods approaches* (5th ed.). Los Angeles, CA: Sage.
- Creswell, J. W., & Plano Clark, V. L. (2018). *Designing and conducting mixed methods research* (3rd ed.). Los Angeles, CA: Sage.
- Creswell, J. W., & Poth, C. N. (2018). *Qualitative inquiry and research design: Choosing among five approaches* (4th ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Creswell, J. W., & Tashakkori, A. (2007). Editorial: Developing publishable mixed methods manuscripts. *Journal of Mixed Methods Research*, 1(2), 107-111.
- DeCuir-Gunby, J. T., & Schutz, P. A. (2017). *Developing a mixed methods proposal: A practical guide for beginning researchers*. Los Angeles, CA: Sage.
- Deener, A. (2007). Commerce as the structure and symbol of neighborhood life: Reshaping the meaning of community in Venice, California. *City & Community*, 6(4), 291-314.
- Deller, S. C., & Conroy, T. (2017). Business survival rates across the urban-rural divide. *Community Development*, 48(1), 67-85. doi:10.1080/15575330.2016.1246459
- Dulock, H. L. (1993). Research design: Descriptive research. *Journal of Pediatric Oncology Nursing*, 10(4), 154-157. https://doi.org/10.1177/104345429301000406
- Evidence from New York City. *Urban Studies*, 54(13), 3022-3057. https://doi.org/10.1177/0042098016661268
- Fairchild, G. (2007). *Ecological succession via gentrification: The response of incumbent entrepreneurs*. Darden Business School Working Paper No. 1019574. https://dx.doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.1019574

- Ferm, J. (2016). Preventing the displacement of small businesses through commercial gentrification: Are affordable workspace policies the solution? *Planning Practice & Research*, 31(4), 402-419. doi:10.1080/02697459.2016.1198546
- Ficano, C. (2013). Business churn and the retail giant: Establishment birth and death from Wal-Mart's entry. *Social Science Quarterly*, 94(1), 263-291. doi:10.1111/j.15406237.2012.00857.x
- FindLaw. (2019). *New York consolidated laws, general municipal law - GMU § 502*. Retrieved from <https://codes.findlaw.com/ny/general-municipal-law/gmu-sect-502.html>
- Freeman, L. (2006). *There goes the 'hood: Views of gentrification from the ground up*. Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press.
- Freeman, L., & Braconi, F. (2004). Gentrification and displacement New York City in the 1990s. *Journal of the American Planning Association*, 70(1), 39-52.
- Fullilove, M. T., Green, L., & Fullilove, R E. III. (1999). Building momentum: An ethnographic study of inner-city redevelopment. *American Journal of Public Health*, 89(6), 840-844.
- Glass, R. (1964). *London: Aspects of change*. London, England: MacGibbon & Kee.
- Gregory, D., Johnston, R., Pratt, G., Watts, M., & Whatmore, S. (Eds.). (2009). *The dictionary of human geography* (5th ed.). West Sussex, UK: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Grier, G., & Grier, E. (1980). Urban displacement: A reconnaissance. In S. B. Laska & D. Spain (Eds.), *Back to the city* (pp. 252-268). Pergamon.
- Hackworth, J., & Smith, N. (2001). The changing state of gentrification. *Tijdschrift voor economische en sociale geografie (Journal of Social and Economic Geography)*, 92(4), 464-477. doi:10.1111/1467-9663.00172
- Hamnett, C. (1984). Gentrification and residential location theory: A review and assessment. In D. T. Herbert & R. J. Johnson (Eds.), *Geography and the urban environment: Progress in research and applications, Vol. 6* (pp. 283-319). West Sussex, UK: John Wiley & Sons.
- Hamnett, C. (1991). The blind men and the elephant the explanation of gentrification. *The Institute of British Geographers Transactions New Series*, 16(2), 173-189.
- Hamnett, C., & Randolph, W. (1986). Landlord disinvestment and housing market transformation: The flat break-up market in London. In N. Smith & P. Williams (Eds.), *Gentrification of the city* (pp. 121-152). Boston, MA: Allen & Unwin.
- Harlem Congregations for Community Improvement, Inc. (2016). *Bradhurst Brownfield opportunity area study*. Unpublished manuscript.

- Hoare, A. (1994). *The dictionary of human geography* (3rd ed.). Sussex, UK: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Hoylman, B. (2017, May 24). Bleaker on Bleecker: A snapshot of high-rent blight in Greenwich Village and Chelsea. *New York State Senate*. Retrieved from https://www.nysenate.gov/sites/default/files/press-release/attachment/bleaker_on_bleecker.pdf
- Hyra, D. S. (2008). *The new urban renewal: The economic transformation of Harlem and Bronzeville*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Jeong, Y., Heo, J., & Jung, C. (2015). Behind the bustling street: Commercial gentrification Gyeongridan, Seoul. *Procedia Social and Behavioral Sciences*, 170(27), 146-154. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.sbspro.2015.01.024>
- Johnson, R. B., Onwuegbuzie, A., & Turner, L. (2007). Toward a definition of mixed methods research. *Journal of Mixed Methods Research*, 1(2), 112-133.
- Lavy, B. L., Dascher, E. D., & Hagelman, R. R. (2016). Media portrayal of gentrification and redevelopment on Rainey Street in Austin, Texas (USA), 2000-2014. *City, Culture, and Society*, 7(4), 197-207.
- Lees, L. (2003). Super-gentrification: The case of Brooklyn Heights, New York City. *Urban Studies*, 40(12), 2487-2509. <https://doi.org/10.1080/0042098032000136174>
- Lees, L., Slater, T., & Wyly, E. (2008). *Gentrification*. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Lees, L., Slater, T., & Wyly, E. (2010). *The gentrification leader*. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Lejano, R. P., & González, E. R. (2017). Sorting through differences: The problem of planning as reimagination. *Journal of Planning Education and Research*, 37(1), 5-17. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0739456X16634167>
- Ley, D. (1986). Alternative explanation for inner-city gentrification: A Canadian assessment. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 76(4), 521-535.
- Liebow, E. (1967). *Talley's corner: A study of Negro streetcorner men*. Boston, MA: Little, Brown.
- Liu, C., O'Sullivan, D., & Perry, G. L. W. (2018). The rent gap revisited: Gentrification in point Chevalier, Auckland. *Urban Geography*, 39(9). [doi:10.1080/02723638.2018.1446883](https://doi.org/10.1080/02723638.2018.1446883)
- Marcuse, P. (1985, January). Gentrification, abandonment, and displacement: Connections, causes and policy responses in New York City. *Journal of Urban and Contemporary Law*, 28, 195-240.

- Maurrasse, D. J. (2006). *Listening to Harlem: Gentrification, community, and business*. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Meltzer, R. (2016). Gentrification and small business: Threat or opportunity? *Cityscape: A Journal of Policy Development and Research*, 18(3), 57-85.
- Meltzer, R., & Capperis, S. (2017). Neighbourhood differences in retail turnover: Mermet, A (2017). Global retail capital and the city: Towards an intensification of gentrification. *Urban Geography*, 38(8), 1158-1181.
doi:10.1080/02723638.2016.1200328
- Mertens, D. M. (2015). *Research and evaluation in education and psychology: Integrating diversity with quantitative, qualitative and mixed methods* (4th ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- New York City Housing Authority. (2015). *Store leasing*. Retrieved from <https://www1.nyc.gov/site/nycha/business/store-leasing.page>
- NYC Business. (2019). *Minority and women-owned business enterprise (M/WBE) certification program* [Website]. Retrieved from <https://www1.nyc.gov/nycbusiness/description/minority-and-womenowned-business-enterprise-certification-program-mwbe>.
- NYU Furman Center. (2016, May 9). *Report analyzes New York City's gentrifying neighborhoods and finds dramatic demographic shifts*. Retrieved from <http://furmancenter.org/thestoop/entry/new-report-analyzes-new-york-citys-gentrifying-neighborhoods-and-finds-dram>
- Onwuegbuzie, A. J., & Leech, N. L. (2006). Linking research questions to mixed methods data analysis procedures 1. *The Qualitative Report*, 11(3), 474-498. Retrieved from <https://nsuworks.nova.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1663&context=tqr>
- Onwuegbuzie, A. J., & Teddlie, C. (2003). A framework for analyzing data in mixed methods research. In A. Tashakkori & C. Teddlie (Eds.). *Handbook of mixed methods in social and behavioral research* (3rd ed., pp. 351-384).
- Patch, J. (2008). "Ladies and gentrification": New stores, residents, and relationships in neighborhood change. In J. DeSena (Ed.), *Gender in an urban world (Research in urban sociology, Vol. 9, pp. 103-126)*. Bradford, UK: Emerald Group Publishing Ltd. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S1047-0042\(07\)00005-0](https://doi.org/10.1016/S1047-0042(07)00005-0)
- Pratt, A. (2009). Urban regeneration: From the arts 'feel good' factor to the cultural economy: A case study of Hoxton, London. *Urban Studies*, 46(5-6), 1041-1061.
- Real Estate Board of New York. (2016, October 24). *3rd Quarter 2016 New York City residential sales report*. Retrieved from

- https://www.rebny.com/content/rebny/en/research/residentialsales/3rd_Quarter_2016_New_York_City_Residential_Sales_Report.html
- Roof, K., & Oleru, N. (2008). Public health: Seattle and King County's push for the built environment. *Journal of Environmental Health*, 71(1), 24-27. Retrieved from <https://pdfs.semanticscholar.org/6315/7a403f36a9c1c40e41f0b27c5a219ebb482c.pdf>
- Saldaña, J. (2016). *The coding manual for qualitative researchers* (3rd ed.). Los Angeles, CA: Sage.
- Simms, M., & Allen, W. (1997). Is the inner city competitive? In T. Boston & C. Ross (Eds.), *The inner city* (pp. 213-219). New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers.
- Slater, T. (2011). Gentrification of the city. In G. Bridge & S. Watson (Eds.), *The new Blackwell companion to the city (Wiley Blackwell companions to geography)*, pp. 571-585). West Sussex, UK: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Slater, T. (2017). Planetary rent gaps. *Antipode*, 49, 114-137.
- Smith, N. (1979a). Toward a theory of gentrification: A back to the city movement by capital, no people. *Journal of the American Planning Association*, 45(4), 538-548. doi:10.1080/01944367908977002
- Smith, N. (1979b). Gentrification and capital: Practice and ideology in Society Hill. *Antipode*, 11, 24-35.
- Smith, N. (1982). Gentrification and uneven development. *Economic Geography*, 58, 139-155.
- Smith, N. (1986). Gentrification, the frontier, and the restructuring of urban space. In N. Smith & P. Williams (Eds.), *Gentrification of the city*. (pp. 15-34). Boston, MA: Allen & Unwin.
- Smith, N. (1987). Gentrification and the rent gap. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 77 (3) ,462-478.
- Smith, N. (1996a). Of rent gaps and radical idealism: A reply to Steven Bourassa. *Urban Studies*, 33(7), 1199-1203.
- Smith, N. (1996b). *The new urban frontier: Gentrification and the revanchist city*. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Stange, K. C, Crabtree, B. F., & Miller W. L. (2006). Publishing multimethod research. *Annals of Family Medicine*, 4(4), 292-294.

- Stringer, S. M. (2017, April). The new geography of jobs: A blueprint for strengthening NYC neighborhoods. *New York City Comptroller*. Retrieved from https://comptroller.nyc.gov/wp-content/uploads/documents/The_New_Geography_of_NYC_Business.pdf
- Take Back NYC. (2015). *The Small Business Jobs Survival Act is a simple, fair, and effective solution to several of the city's major economic problems* [Website]. Retrieved from <http://takebacknyc.nyc/sbjasa>
- Tashakkori, A., & Teddlie, C. (1998). *Mixed methodology: Combining qualitative and quantitative approaches: Applied social research methods* (Series 46). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Teddlie, C., & Tashakkori, A. (2009). *The foundations of mixed methods research: Integrating quantitative and qualitative techniques in the social and behavioral sciences*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- The New York City Council. (2010). *Small Business Jobs Survival Act*. Retrieved from <https://legistar.council.nyc.gov/LegislationDetail.aspx?ID=3458244&GUID=D10860C6-E6C7-416E-8F05-563B4551EDB7>
- The New York State Senate. (n.d.). *Economic development law, Section 131: Definition of small business*. Retrieved from <https://www.nysenate.gov/legislation/laws/COM/131>
- Thrall, G. (2002). *Business geography and new real estate market analysis (Spatial information systems)*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
- U.S. Census Bureau. (2000). *Data highlights in American FactFinder*. Retrieved from <https://www.census.gov/census2000/states/us.html>
- U.S. Census Bureau. (2007). *2007 Survey of business owners*. Retrieved from https://www.census.gov/content/dam/Census/library/publications/2007/econ/black_table1.pdf
- U.S. Census Bureau. (2010). *2010 Census – Census tract reference map: New York County, NY*. Retrieved from https://www2.census.gov/geo/maps/dc10map/tract/st36_ny/c36061_new_york/DC10CT_C36061_001.pdf
- U.S. Census Bureau. (n.d.). *Zip codes business patterns (ZBP) APIs (1994-2016)*. Retrieved from <https://www.census.gov/data/developers/data-sets/cbp-nonemp-zbp/zbp-api.html>
- U.S. Census Bureau. (2016). *County business patterns (CBP) APIs (2016)*. Retrieved from <https://www.census.gov/programs-surveys/cbp/data/datasets.html>

- U.S. Census Bureau (2017). Hispanic or Latino Origin by Race American Community Survey 1-year estimates. Retrieved from https://censusreporter.org/data/table/?table=B03002&primary_geo_id=79500US3603803&geo_ids=79500US3603803,04000US36,01000US
- Vogt, W. P., & Johnson, R. B. (2016). *The SAGE dictionary of statistics & methodology: A nontechnical guide for the social sciences* (5th ed.). Los Angeles, CA: Sage.
- Vogt, W. P., Vogt, E. R., Gardner, D. C., & Haeffele, L. M. (2014), *Selecting the right analyses for your data: Quantitative, qualitative and mixed methods*. New York, NY: Guilford Press.
- Williams, C. (2007). Research methods. *Journal of Business & Economic Research*, 5(3), 65-71.
- Williams, T. (2014). *Community transformation: Gentrification and its influence on small business owners* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). Walden University, Minneapolis, MN.
- Williams, T. L., & Needham, C. R. (2016). Transformation of a city: Gentrification's influence on small business owners of Harlem, New York. *Sage Open*, 6(4), 1-8. doi:10.1177/2158244016673631
- Yoon, H., & Currid-Halkett, E. (2015). Industrial gentrification in West Chelsea, New York: Who survived and who did not? Empirical evidence from discrete-time survival analysis. *Urban Studies*, 52(1), 20-49. doi:10.1177/0042098014536785
- Yoon, Y., & Park, J. (2018). Stage classification and characteristics analysis of commercial gentrification in Seoul. *Sustainability*, 10(7), 2440. doi:10.3390/su10072440
- Yung, C.-F., & King, R. J. (1998). Some tests for the rent gap theory. *Environment and Planning A: Economy and Space*, 30(3), 523–542. <https://doi.org/10.1068/a300523>
- Zukin, S., Trujillo, V., Frase, D., & Jackson, T. (2009). New retail capital and neighborhood change: Boutiques and gentrification in New York City. *City & Community*, 8(1), 47-64. Retrieved from <https://eportfolios.macaulay.cuny.edu/benediktsson2013/files/2013/04/Boutiques-and-Gentrification-in-New-York-City.pdf>

Appendix A

Informed Consent Form

St. John Fisher College

INFORMED CONSENT FORM

Title of study: Black-Owned Small Business Survivors of Business Gentrification in Harlem, New York

Name(s) of researcher(s): Malcolm A. Punter

Faculty Supervisor: Dr. Kushner

Phone for further information: 914_____

Purpose of study: The purpose of this study is to determine, 1) The rates of black owned business survival; 2) and Black-owned small businesses survived in Bradhurst during a period of business gentrification from 2000 – 2015.

Place of study: Harlem, NY, Bradhurst

Length of participation: 60 Minutes

Method(s) of data collection: Semi-structured interview, recorded, transcription.

Risks and benefits: The expected risks and benefits of participation in this study are explained below: The researcher perceives minimal risks to you or your small business physically, economically or emotionally from your involvement in this study. As a participant you have the option to withdraw from this study at any point. The minimal risks that may potential occur include discussing topics that could be uncomfortable or painful as it relates to the study subject. Possible benefits of participation will be to contribute to Black-owned small business development, education, governmental policy improvement, access to business financing and technical assistance.

Method for protecting confidentiality/privacy of subjects: No participant or small business will be identified by the researcher. Each participant will be solely identified by a confidential coded information only available to the researcher.

information that could personally identify or connect participants to this study. Other materials, including notes or paper files related to data collection and analysis, will be stored securely in unmarked boxes, locked inside a cabinet in the private home of the principal researcher. Only the researcher will have access to electronic or paper records. The digitally recorded audio data will be kept by this researcher for a period of five years following publication of the dissertation. Signed informed consent documents will be kept for five years after publication. All paper records will be cross-cut shredded and professionally delivered for incineration. Electronic records will be cleared, purged, and destroyed from the hard drive and all devices such that restoring data is not possible.

Appendix B

Letter of Invitation

Dear Small Business Owner/Operator,

I am a doctoral candidate at St. John Fisher College, enrolled in the Doctorate in Education Program in Executive Leadership. I am conducting this study under the supervisor of Dr. Remigia Kushner, a full-time faculty member at Saint John Fisher College located in Rochester, NY. I am conducting a study of the rates and impact of gentrification in Harlem on Black-owned small businesses. The purpose of this study is to understand Black owned business survival in Harlem during a period of business gentrification from 2000 – 2015.

If you meet the following criteria, then I believe your experience as a business owner and operator could be useful to help other business owners faced with similar circumstances in other communities.

1. You must have owned a small business in the Harlem community of Bradhurst. Bradhurst --consisting of 40 square blocks-- is in Harlem between West 138th and West 155th Streets, from Edgecombe Avenue and Bradhurst Avenue on the west to the Harlem River on the east.
2. Your business existed in the Bradhurst area prior, during and after 2000 – 2015,
3. Your business has less than 100 employees, and
4. Your business is at least 51% owned by a person of Black, African, or African American descent.

If you agree to participate in this study, you will not be asked to provide any identifying information. All information obtained will be held confidential by the researcher. Confidential means that at no time during or after the study will any reports or publications generated from the data collected will include any information which will identify you or the small business as a participant. In this study you will be asked semi-structured questions in an in-person interview expected to be approximately 45-60 minutes.

The researcher perceives minimal risks to you or your small business physically, economically or emotionally from your involvement in this study. As a participant you have the option to withdraw from this study at any point. The minimal risks that may potential occur include discussing topics that could be uncomfortable or painful as it relates to the study subject.

It would be greatly appreciated if you would consider being part of this research and indicate your willingness to do so by (2 weeks from date of this letter).

Please feel free to share this invitation with others. Sincerely,

Malcolm A. Punter, Education Doctorate Candidate and Researcher St. John Fisher College (917) _____@sjfc.edu

Appendix C

Qualitative Interview Questions

Q1. What are the factors that contributed to Black-owned small business survival during a period of business gentrification in Harlem?

1. Describe the business opportunities Bradhurst area prior to the start of the gentrification of your neighborhood.
2. What challenges did your business face during the years 2000 – 2015 in relation to the issue of gentrification?
3. How did your business survive gentrification?
4. How did the change in demographics in Bradhurst caused by gentrification change your customer base?
5. According to your observations, how has gentrification changed the business community in Bradhurst?

Q2. What resources are used by Black-owned small businesses in surviving or thriving during a period of gentrification in Harlem between 2000 -- 2015?

6. From your perspective, how does gentrification influence the survival of a Black-owned small business?
7. What resources were available to your business enabling it to survive during gentrification?
8. What were the resources you took advantage of that led to the survival of your business during gentrification?
9. Please explain how the local government, not for profit organizations or business associations, if any assisted your business to survive during gentrification?

10. What do you believe the city and state government agencies should do to lessen the negative impacts of gentrification for Black-owned small businesses?

Q3. How did Black-owned small businesses perceive their likelihood of success before and after gentrification between 2000 -- 2015?

11. What are the negative impacts of gentrification for your business?
12. What are the positive impacts of gentrification for your business?
13. Please explain in your own words how your perception of your business success before and after gentrification?
14. Reflecting on your business survival during gentrification, are there any business decisions you would have made differently?
15. Is there anything else that you would like to add that has not been addressed in the previous questions related to business survival during gentrification?

Appendix D

Quantitative Survey Questions

If you meet the following criteria, then I believe your experience as a business owner and operator could be useful to help other business owners faced with similar circumstances in other communities. To meet the criteria for inclusion of your business:

1. You must have owned a small business in the Harlem community of Bradhurst. Bradhurst—consisting of 40 square blocks—is in Harlem between West 138th and West 155th Streets, from Edgecombe Avenue and Bradhurst Avenue on the west to the Harlem River on the east.
2. Your business existed in the Bradhurst area prior, during and after 2000 – 2015,
3. Your business has less than 100 employees, and
4. Your business is at least 51% owned by a person of Black, African, or African American descent.

Survey Questions

1. Name of business _____
2. Business address _____
3. Business zip code _____
4. Year business opened (yyyy) _____
5. Business contact number (xxx-xxx-xxxx) _____
6. Business website address _____
7. Owner's name _____
8. Owner's email address _____
9. Best contact number for owner (xxx-xxx-xxxx) _____
10. Brief description of business (2-3 sentences) _____

11. Is this business a storefront? _____
12. Category _____
13. Subcategory – restaurants _____
14. Subcategory – retailers _____
15. Subcategory – services _____

Appendix E

Interview Instrument Permission

trenessalwilliams <_____@yahoo.com>

Thu, July 26, 2018 at
10:57 PM

To: "Punter, Malcolm A." <_____@sjfc.edu>

Hi Malcolm,

You have my permission to utilize my survey questionnaire with the intent to modify and adapt it to your intended population. Do you need me to sign a form stating that I am giving you permission? My advice to you is to be relaxed and welcoming to the views of those you are interviewing on the topic of your research. I got a lot of information just by having an open dialogue with them. There might be some people that will just give you the answer to your questions. While there might be others that will give you a lot of information. Emotions might be high because this is a touchy issue. It has impacted a lot of people especially small business owners. Many are going to see this to inform people about what is going on in their community. Here is my number _____, call me if you have any questions.

Trenessa

Sent from my Sprint Samsung Galaxy Note5.

----- Original message -----

From: "Punter, Malcolm A." <_____@sjfc.edu>

Date: 7/26/18 9:34 PM (GMT-05:00)

To: _____ <trenessalwilliams@yahoo.com>

Subject: Re: Transformation of a City: Gentrification's Influence on the Small Business Owners of Harlem, NY

Good Evening Dr. Williams,

I contacted you back in September 2017 to discuss the possibility of my expanding on your research of the Gentrification's Influence on the Small Business Owners of Harlem, NY. At that time, I was hoping to gain insight from you regarding your experience working in Harlem. I am not sure if you received the most recent report from the U.S. Census Bureau Survey of Small Business Owners revealing that black-owned businesses have declined by 30% in New York City between 2007 and 2012. The NYC Comptroller in a recent report stated, that although gentrified neighborhoods have contributed to the city's economic growth over the last 15 years, with new

storefronts and companies increasing by 45%, black-owned businesses, particularly in Harlem, are increasingly on the decline. Between 2007 and 2012, black-owned businesses plummeted by 30% (New York City Comptroller, 2017).

Your study focused on small business in Harlem in general. However, considering the above alarming statistic, I consider black-owned businesses in Harlem on the verge of extinction and therefore worthy of a study concentrating on capturing the perspectives of this vulnerable population critical. I would like to request your permission to utilize your survey questionnaire with the intent to modify and adapt it to concentrate on my intended population of black-owned small businesses remaining in Harlem.

If you have any insights or comments that may be helpful you are welcome.

Regards,

Malcolm A. Punter
Doctoral Candidate, Cohort 9
St. John Fisher College
Education Doctorate in Executive Leadership (Ed.D.)
Iona College Extension Site
715 North Ave
New Rochelle, NY 10801
www.iona.edu
Iona Campus Map
E-mail: _____@sjfc.edu
Mobile: _____