

Evaluating Community Advocacy in Response to Mayor de Blasio's Homeless Shelter Development

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Abstract

In the United States, cities like New York, San Francisco, and Washington, D.C., the three metropolitans that are wealthy and have excessive cost, all share one common struggle: homelessness. With a policymaking effort regarding homelessness that were experimented within a highly dependent system of mayoral administration, hence my paper primarily focuses on new homeless shelter policy under NYC Mayor Bill de Blasio's second term that started in 2017 until 2022. Under his 2017 plan 'Turning the Tide on Homelessness', the City has targeted to open new ninety shelters across the City by 2022. Under his 2017 plan 'Turning the Tide on Homelessness', the City has targeted to open new ninety shelters across the City by 2022. This target has drawn different responses from local neighborhood community level that has forced the City to engage in complex situations, such as opposition and protest that require clear communication to push the goal to happen. Community advocacy and the way local residents negotiate has been central in influencing the City to open a new homeless shelter, with the notion that the local will always challenge any siting if its within their neighborhood area, activating their 'not in my back yard' (NIMBY) response that arises by simply selfish or uninformed beliefs and responses by residents.

This paper uses single case study (n=1) on West 58th St. Coalition in Manhattan to support detail examination based on the hypotheses that community advocacy that takes place in an affluent neighborhood (higher median income, higher educational attainment, higher median gross rent than the City's average) is more likely to be powerful to oppose the City's plan on developing new homeless shelter in their neighborhood. This community is chosen as a case because it has more accessible resources, therefore, it can provide more support to this research. To provide a fair comparison, West 58th St. will be supported by the other cases of community advocacy from different place such as Crown Heights shelters in Brooklyn and Maspeth shelters in Queens.

Keywords: community advocacy, homeless shelter, Mayor de Blasio, NIMBY.

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Chapter 1. Introduction

In the United States, cities like New York, San Francisco, and Washington, D.C., the three metropolitans that are wealthy and have excessive cost, all share one common struggle: homelessness. In 2018, the federal Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) has placed New York City (NYC) to be the number one city in the U.S with the highest homeless population, estimate based on the number of people living in the public spaces. Based on annual report from an advocacy group, Coalition for the Homeless, in March 2019, there were 23,029 homeless people (including 15,193 homeless families with 22,412 homeless children) that use NYC municipal shelter system. The homeless shelter has become the policy consequences of homelessness that Main stated 'to be without shelter is to be without a basic necessity of life' (2016). The latest 2019 Mayor's report shows that NYC has 647 types of homeless shelters (traditional, apartment clusters and hotels) mostly concentrated in Bronx. The question may be, why Bronx? This may be caused by the origin location of the homeless population, the location for available land for the new shelter development, the high acceptance of the neighborhood community in response of the new shelter proposal, or all the above.

It has been a long history for New York City in homelessness, with trial and error since the 1960s, started out with the hotel families and marked by the case of Callahan v. Carey in 1981 that resulted the city to provide shelter to anyone who requests it with a court-recognized and enforceable policy. Since then, policymaking efforts regarding homelessness are experimented with a highly dependent system to a mayoral administration. From Dinkins, Giuliani, Bloomberg, and de Blasio, homeless shelter policy has evolved from centralized, highly constrained, and entitlement-based system to a much more decentralized and privatized (Main, 2016). Hence my paper primarily focuses on new homeless shelter policy under NYC Mayor Bill de Blasio's second term that started in 2017 until 2022. Under Mayor de Blasio's published plan in 2017 'Turning the Tide on Homelessness', together with Department of Homeless Services (DHS) and Human Resources Administration (HRA), the City has targeted to open new ninety shelters across the City by 2022. Up until now, the City has achieved almost 50 percent of the ambitious target. However, this target has drawn different responses from local neighborhood community level that has forced the City to engage in complex situations, such as opposition and protest that

require clear communication to push the goal to happen. since the City must go through the local community when proposing a new homeless shelter, community advocacy and the way they negotiate has been central in influencing the City to open a new homeless shelter. It does not matter if it is a major issue or not, the local will always challenge any siting if its within their neighborhood area, activating their ‘not in my back yard’ (NIMBY) response that arises by “simply selfish or uninformed beliefs and responses by residents” (Lyon-Callo, 2001).

This paper uses single case study (n=1) on West 58th St. Coalition in Manhattan to support detail examination based on the hypotheses that community advocacy that takes place in an affluent neighborhood (higher median income, higher educational attainment, higher median gross rent than the City’s average) is more likely to be powerful to oppose the City’s plan on developing new homeless shelter in their neighborhood. This particular community is chosen as a case because it has more accessible resources, therefore, it can provide more support to this research. To provide a fair comparison, West 58th St. will be supported by the other cases of community advocacy from different place such as Crown Heights shelters in Brooklyn and Maspeth shelters in Queens.

1.1. Research Questions

This paper is using single case study on West 58th St. Coalition in Manhattan to support detail examination based on the hypotheses that community advocacy performed in an affluent neighborhood (higher median income, higher educational attainment, higher median gross rent than the City’s average) is more likely to be powerful more than the less affluent ones in opposing the City’s proposal on developing new homeless shelter in their neighborhood. Acknowledging that opposition varies according to characteristics of the neighbors, in general, middle and upper class neighborhoods are more likely to oppose facilities than less affluent ones and it is the need for the community to voice their opposition to correct past inequities in terms of facility saturation, to seek justice, and to empower themselves. The overarching question for this research is: “What kind of community advocacy strategy that is performed by West 58th St. Coalition that help them negotiate in opposing new homeless shelter proposal from the City?”

This question can be broken down into several detailed ones:

- a) to what extent does community advocacy can influence the City's decision in developing new homeless shelter proposal in their neighborhood?
- b) what makes one community in a neighborhood successfully delivered their message out to the City?
- c) how do the community arrange themselves to have one consistent voice?
- d) how do The City administration engage with the community in the neighborhood in developing new homeless shelters?
- e) what is the communication method that The City has been using in pushing this agenda?

1.2. Data Collection

The data collection will be base on two methods: technical documentation and in-depth interviews that will help explain the two main objectives of the research: understanding the type of community advocacy and the type of homeless shelter proposal from the City.

1.2.1. Technical documentation

Firstly, technical documentation uses legal documents and local media coverage to explain two important objectives: the characteristic of community advocacy and the type of homeless shelter. The first objective is by identifying the demographic, social, economic, capacity for technical assistance, and the form of organization they have, the type of connection they have with the government. The second objective is by identifying the new homeless shelter proposal based on its type (traditional, hotel, or cluster apartments), the population target (women and children, adult men, family, seniors), the context of the location (the neighborhood characteristic and the context in New York City), and the shelter service provider (for-profit organization that is responsible for the shelter daily operation).

The first sections of the secondary data collection consists of cross-tabulations of the characteristic of the community advocacies from the two neighborhoods using existing literature and documentation that covers the topic. The existing literature are cross-referenced with the actual tools that were used by the community to address their concern to assess to what extent the concept from the literature complies to the process “on the ground”.

The primary source for this paper is a compilation of New York Times articles between 2014 and 2019 to identify (1) community advocacy in response of the shelters, (2) New York's communication about new shelter, and (3) homeless shelter policy. This media analysis help shape the public information regarding the city's approach to response homelessness in general that happened to be less transparent in their formal statement that were released by the mayor's office or the government instances.

While interviews provided the individual's perspective, the public documents released by the city and community boards is the parameter of the punctuality and the intention in the homeless policy. The first tabulation addresses their demographic characteristics of the district from where the community was originated from. By assessing their population, their race origin, key socio-economic indicators such as median income, educational attainment, crime, employment level, and poverty measure. The second tabulation will map out the players that activates the community based on their former job position to the degree of influence they have to the city.

The third tabulations addresses the approach or the tool they use for community advocacy such as: form of communications, such as official community website, social media page, the formal government's channel of communication they used to complaint (the city website, Department of Buildings website, etc) the rally or protest they had managed, the evidence of public hearing, the kind of negotiations they offer, and whether or not they file a lawsuit against the city's plan.

The third tabulation addresses the level of coverage they made in mass media as it related to the community power to influence.

The source of data collection will be the official documentations, reports released by government and agencies that are involved in homeless shelter plan, mainly Mayor de Blasio, commissioner Department of Social Services, Steven Banks, DHS, HRA, and service providers contracted by the city, for-profit agencies such as Westhab and CORE Services Group. The documentation will also be equipped with cross-references of coverage from the statement they have made to the mass media, mainly to newspaper article.

1.2.2. In-depth Interviews

Secondly, an in-depth interviews method that helped elaborate with the result from the first finding by interviewing community organizations, shelter providers, the city, and the media that has covered the issue closely. The last part of the research incorporates open-ended and semi-structured interviews with the main agencies that are involved and experts that have breadth views about the case studies. The interviews goal is to obtain the perspective on the community advocacy, the city's homeless shelter plan and the city's procedure to make it happen. The questions were conducted based on the literature that grounds the issue and the actual series of actions that were done in both neighborhoods. The semi-structured interview encourages the interviewer to form an extensive discussion with the interviewee, allowing the possibilities of new concepts related to the issue to be introduced.

The interviewee were decided upon their involvement and the importance of their perspective to the issue. They range from an community organizations from 1200 Dean Street Block Association, Brooklyn and West 58th St. Coalition, Manhattan; city officials from NYC Department of Homeless Services and NYC Human Resources Administration (HRA), shelter provider agencies from Westhab and CORE Services Group, academic researchers, and journalists (Nikita Stewart, The New York Times). Their high exposure to the issue is one of the important aspects that will develop the research to be more objective in the process. Questions are listed in Appendix A (p. 34).

Chapter 2. Literature review

2.1. Homeless Shelters and Community Advocacy

The community advocacy in response to shelter development proposed within their neighborhood is highly drawn by “not in my back yard” (or NIMBY) argument, and it is a much more complex situation “than simply selfish or uninformed beliefs and responses by residents” (Lyon-Callo, 2001). The first explanation will draw on Lyon-Callo’s question on how and why some people organize opposition to shelter services, and what types of understandings about homelessness are pinpointed both by those who support and those who oppose homeless services, which the paper will focus on. It is his response to previous journal written by Takahashi and Dear four years earlier, they mentioned that the opposition that came from the community may represent two sides to political participation: (1) reactive—to protect existing amenities and distribution of resources; and (2) empowering (to correct past inequities), although these two points of view were mentioned it is still a connotations of exclusion by marginalizing one’s share in terms of regional and societal needs (Takahashi & Dear, 1997). Both of their perspective has established an important framework to discuss community and their advocacy towards government’s human service facilities in an appropriate planning context. Instead of classifying it into negative connotation, the NIMBY syndrome is now viewed as a shift toward broader political participation where the mobilization and organization required to initiate and maintain opposition which requires a great deal of knowledge, skill, and effort.

On the other hand, Gaber tries to identify the trajectory from the New York’s government side in homeless shelter siting. The first notion is, communities react to a proposal, rumor, or action on the part of the City (Gaber, 1996), where both parties have portion to anticipate each other’s responses and how they moved toward negotiating their responses in better understanding stating and opposition from the case of Crown Heights and 58th Street. Furthermore, Garber argues that by examining New York City’s responses in homeless shelter development in the 1990s, there are three clear types of siting location for new shelters: first, they sought physical and political/economic isolation “out of sight, out of mind”); it then moved toward avoidance of community confrontation by proceeding the shelter operations under the community radar (“sneak ‘em in”);

and, finally it was forced to begin some planning for the geographic distribution for the shelters to locate equally in all five boroughs.

Table 2.1 City and Community Cycles of Response to Proposals to Site Controversial Facilities

City Actions	Community Response
(1) <i>Isolation</i> —City anticipates potential for opposition, suggests relatively unpopulated location	(1) <i>Youthful</i> —Community opposition closest to proposed development; NIMBY sentiments blunt; irrational
(2) <i>Circumventional</i> —City recognizes community success in opposing facilities and opts to avoid discussion of issue with community	(2) <i>Maturity</i> —Debate moves into public forum; opposition rhetoric more tempered, less irrational
(3) <i>Cooperational</i> —City negotiates with community and establishes more equitable guideline for siting controversial facilities	(3) <i>Old Age</i> —Conflict resolution, arbitration; community and city make concessions

Source: Dear, 1991,1992

The “maturity” stage shifted from the plain NIMBY sentiments to a calculated opposition to fit the public forums that are no longer visceral, with the logical concerns. To first understand the level of influence of community advocacy, the research will clarify that citizen participation is a categorical term of citizen power (Arnstein, 1969), and it is the strategy that was produced by the community in determining how information is shared, goals and policies are set. How the fundamental of citizen power can be break down into the divergent points of view, significant cleavages, competing vested interests, and splintered subgroups. Arnstein argues how community’s power differentiates the result of their action depends largely on two factors: the quality of technical assistance they have in articulating their priorities; and the extent to which the community has been organized to press for those priorities. The demographic characteristics such as community that considered to have high median income and has access to strategic representative of the community that has the knowledge of the city have the leverage to push the direction of the government plan towards approval or the other way around, whereas community that does not have access to such power may have lesser influence to change government’s decision to implement their plan.

Furthermore, the rationality of clear communication when both community and government grounded in dialogue and joint learning to discuss a specific plan, it poses the idea that if certain conditions are met for inclusion in and conduct of dialogue, consensual conclusions will be, in an important sense, rational (Innes &

Booher, 1999) and consequently, the most vocal and organized community mobilizations appear to be aimed at preventing the location of services for homeless people in “their” neighborhoods (Lyon-Callo, 2001).

The latest argument that draws argument between community advocacy and social service facilities was written in the 1995 by Rick Herz who argued that local community opposition of building service facilities as the result of misinformation could be remedied through education and communication, and the local government could amend their zoning codes to allow service facilities, with reasonable restrictions, as a matter of right to engender less community pressure on local government than an effort to site a specific facility, since the perceived harm to neighbors would be hypothetical in that no facility would be contemporaneously planning to move in nearby. This being said because the siting of services often costs a lengthy and costly litigation that frequently ensues when the local government or a provider tries to develop in the area with no zoning provision for social services and the goal for the local government is to provide a forum to mediate complaints about existing programs and aid in the siting of new ones in a non-confrontational way, and whether or not the site is worth the fight. Acknowledging that opposition varies according to characteristics of the neighbors, in general, middle and upper class neighborhoods are more likely to oppose facilities than less affluent ones and it is the need for the community to voice their opposition to correct past inequities in terms of facility saturation, to seek justice, and to empower themselves.

2.2. Planning Homeless Shelters

Previous mayors of New York City had been continuously putting homelessness in the center of their political commitment. The City has depended its policy with its “strong-mayor form of government”

Bloomberg was ambitious in reducing the city shelter population by two-thirds through his Home Base five-year plan program in 2004, previously stated “make the condition of chronic homelessness effectively extinct in New York”. He did not meet his goal, and instead achieved an all-time high shelter population of sixty thousand people. It was under him that priority assignment of NYCHA units and Section 8 vouchers to shelter families was stopped, along with Advantage, the limited rental subsidy program.

Homeless people could not advocate for themselves as their primary needs are not yet fulfilled. City homelessness policy was shaped by the entitlement or right to shelter that has risen the shelter budget ever since. Combined with the rapidly expanding demand, shelters have dispersed in many areas in order to place more people ranging from small neighborhood-based to commercial welfare hotels, while it is still argued whether the entitlement has costed the city to make more low-quality shelters and increase the entries of shelter system itself while the placing into subsidies would have decreased more placements, not increased the shelter population (Cragg & O'Flaherty, 1994).

Advocacy groups such as Coalition for the Homeless has addressed their concern in this direction, which is the quid pro quo factor of offering homeless shelter. This angle has pushed the city homelessness policy to develop shelter systems with large, court supervised, and concerned with delivery of emergency accommodations.

The research in homelessness and shelters in the past ten years revolves around behavioral sciences study of the characteristic of the people who lives in it (Burt M. R., 1994), how they came into the problem of homelessness (Bassuk & Rosenberg, 1988), and how the country economic situation created homelessness (Timmer, 1994). Few scholars have identified how the planning aspects of homeless shelter, the decision making of location it will take place in what kind of neighborhood, and how its assigned to serve certain type of population (kids, women, men) is sensitive to how community will approve the idea of the plan.

By including Peter Rossi's widely used definition of homeless, for example, includes, anyone who "lacks regular access to a conventional dwelling" (Rossi, 1991). Rather than evaluating the implementation of the homeless shelter itself and how it affects homeless individuals that lives in the facilities, the paper will focus on the previous step in the shelter approval. Homeless shelters are one of the most crucial parts of the U.S. safety net (O'Flaherty, 2009), hence quality of accommodations they offer, for instance, what help they give to people who leave—is important. When the city decides the type of homeless shelter, age and gender will influence the community approval as those are indicators that has a medical history of mental hospitalization, chemical dependency treatment, or history of felony (Burt & Cohen, 1989).

When a city starts using hotels as shelters, it is unavoidable to immediately think that the government is allotted too much money for the homeless people and not addressing the right remedy for the homeless population by providing affordable housing. Sometimes a dangerous stopgap, it is not that simple to repurpose a hotel into a shelter and met the requirements to provide security to protect residents, simply because it was not designed to function as shelters and not to mention it will not come with a low-price tag. It was deemed as a desperate act, and hoped to be the city's last resort.

Chapter 3. Background

Today in 2019, according to Coalition for The Homeless website the number of homeless people in New York City shelters each night strikes at 63,839 people with almost 36 percent of it are kids in families, 35 percent adults in families, and 28 percent single adults. The Mayor de Blasio's administration has opened 15 homeless shelters under his shelter development strategy with Department of Homeless Services (DHS) that was enacted across New York City's five boroughs. While the DHS operates on the homeless shelter provision, the Human Resources Administration (HRA) operates on the prevention side with the objective to provide homelessness prevention assistance to families and individuals with housing emergencies and to those seeking shelter, from rental arrears payments, ongoing rental assistance at Job Centers, Housing Courts, DHS shelter intake, and HomeBase locations. Together with DHS and HRA, Mayor de Blasio is on his way to make a major restructuring of homeless services in New York City are delivered. DHS and HRA under the Commissioner of the Department of Social Services, Steven Banks are assigned to prevent homelessness before it occurs and help individuals and families transitioning to permanent housing and self-sufficiency. Particularly, DHS will receive location proposal for homeless shelter from nonprofit organizations that will be processed into new shelter establishments. The city has allocated \$300 million for the new shelters which could be in buildings already existed, and then renovated, or in new establishments, depending on what is available what will be proposed by the nonprofit organizations, and then will continue to be selected by Competitive Sealed Proposal method in response for every open ended request proposals given, pursuant to Section 3-03 (b)(2) of the Procurement Policy Board Rules. According to city officials, additional service costs are strictly limited because of the budget earmarked for hotels and clusters that will be shifted to the new shelters. When facing with the obstacles from the neighbors, the mayor responded, "that does not mean if there's protest, we will change our mind."

The goal is to open 90 new shelters and expand approximately 30 existing shelters as close as possible to their own neighborhoods and on a path to get back on track with the primary goal to house them in the communities in which they became homeless, quite a contrary but the City also needs to locate them in nearby places with job opportunities such as in the middle of Manhattan. The plan targeted to open 20 new shelters in

2017 and 2018, continuously until it reaches 90 new ones in 2019. In December 2017, the city just opened its 10th new shelter—an alarming indication that their future plan may fall short of its objectives while facing with many obstacles, both from the administrative process and constant community resistance. Based on the reports gathered from DOB complaints, the inherent challenges that caused the city’s delay was caused by: 1) building permit process 2) negotiation with neighborhood communities, 3) negotiation rates with nonprofits, and 3) construction-related issues (safety issues—fire hazard, alarm control, etc).

Figure 3.1 Homeless Population Based on Shelter Types

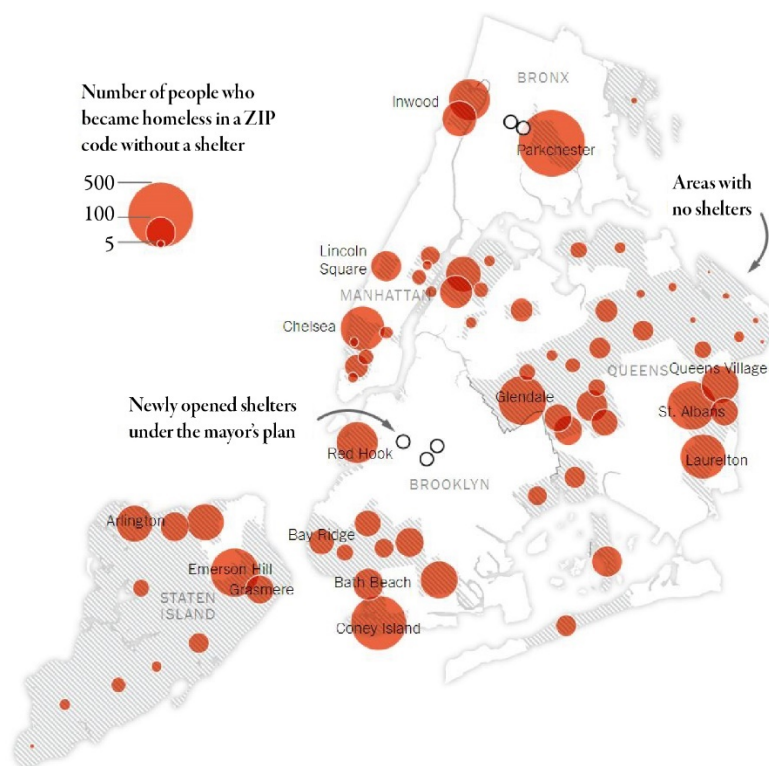


Source: Stewart, Fessenden, & Wallace, 2017.

Figure 3.1 shows that NYC mostly has traditional shelters followed by hotels and cluster apartments across the city. Since early 2010s, the City has places thousands of homeless families into cluster apartments (formed in a scatter-site housing) using private apartments that are already torn down as an expensive way to meet the needs of legal mandate to provide shelter to those who requests. The City began to rely more on cluster sites compare to the two other options under Mayor de Blasio, which has been the biggest failure of his administration. In 2017, the Mayor announced to convert some of the clusters into affordable housing. The plan would use public investments to support nonprofits to buy roughly a third of the existing apartments used by the homeless to convert it into affordable apartment units, helping the mayor to achieve two goals:

combatting homelessness and increasing the affordable housing unit (Stewart, 2017). Shifting from the costly cluster apartment options, the City attempted to use even costlier hotel rooms that costs around \$400,000 in a day.

Figure 3.2 People Who Became Homeless in Areas With No Shelters



Source: Stewart, Fessenden, & Wallace, 2017.

Figure 3.2 shows that some areas, including parts of Staten Island, northeast Queens and Bay Ridge, Brooklyn have produced homelessness, yet the City did not locate provide shelters at all. Currently the number of homeless shelter type has been consistent with the origin of the homeless population, shown in Table 3.1 below. This table shows most shelters are built in Bronx, however if we match it up Queens may need more homeless shelter as there are still areas with no shelters although it is the origin location where people become homeless.

Table 3.1 Homeless Shelters in New York City by Type

	Manhattan	Brooklyn	Queens	Bronx	Staten Island	TOTAL
Shelters	80	93	26	87	1	287
Clusters	13	48	0	215	0	276
Hotels	16	22	40	6	0	84
TOTAL	109	163	66	308	1	647

Source: Office of The Mayor of New York City, 2019.

Figure 3.3 Research Sites

(left-right) Location context; Park Savoy Hotel at West 58th St
 Source: www.shelterlistings.com

Figure 3.3 shows Park Savoy Hotel is a hotel located in 158 West 58th St. that stands in between skyscrapers of Columbus Circle just nearby central park in ‘Billionaire’s Row’. In 2018, Mayor Bill de Blasio reportedly quietly sent letters to local officials that intend the building to be a shelter for 150 homeless men (Gonen, Keil, & Rosner, 2018). Through the official DOB information of the building profile, the property is owned by New Hampton LLC, which bought it for \$3.875 million in 2004.

The Park Savoy Hotel is similarly one of the targeted goals of reducing the approximate 80 hotel, among others that are being used as shelter facilities, a place that were occupied by 7,500 New Yorkers, a number that accounts almost a third of the people in all DHS shelters (The City of New York, 2017). It is not new for a city to convert a hotel into a supportive housing, in the 1970s, The Prince George Hotel on 28th St. between 5th Avenue and Madison was converted for 416 single occupancy apartments. Although, Park Savoy may differ as

the hotel is a buy-out for the city as the place already bankrupt in 2017 and waiting to be bought by any interested buyers.

For Park Savoy, the city reportedly would pay the owner for \$2.6 million for annual rent payments (Carmiel, 2018), giving the owners benefit by getting paid for a non-discounted room, and since it will be a direct deal with the city, the owner will not bear any distribution costs.

Steven Banks, the city's commissioner of social services said in an interview with Nikita Stewart from The New York Times in January 2018 that Mayor de Blasio's ambitious goal are planned to keep commitments to providing better client services for the homeless and more community engagement (with the neighbors living in the adjacent area). Earlier in October 2016, Mr. Banks was on his toes while facing city's initiatives to tackle homelessness when civic associations from Maspeth and other parts of Queens chartered themselves a bus to make a trip to Mr. Banks' Brooklyn home to continue a protest (Stewart, Steven Banks Was Hired to Stem New York's Homelessness Crisis. It Didn't Happen., 2016), opposing the idea of homeless people that are being given hotel beds such as from Holiday Inn Express in their Queens neighborhood.

Banks, 59, the same man who was in his 20s protested for a legal fight for the New York States constitution to maintain a "right to shelter", adding obligations for the state to provide temporary housing to anyone who entered an intake center and asked for it. It was almost forty years later, an unforeseeable situation that the regulation puts the pressure on his table, for the shelter system he is currently trying to manage. Therefore, laying out the experience that the community had made through opposition battles with the City becomes an imperative step to understanding the movement that happened to define what form of confidence that brought them success and what learnings that may translate into broader forms of political participation, involving other issues that happened within their neighborhood. The legitimacy and the validity from the formal political institutions (local/regional/state government, and planning agencies) that they get as a community group has drawn an importance for the city to take the engagement with a serious consideration.

It was not very explicit in the documents, on the considerations of the city's choosing Westhab to be the for-profit organization that will manage the homeless shelter for the Park Savoy Hotel in West 58th St, the only document that was found on the internet was 'Public Hearings on Contract Awards' a contract public hearing

on February 15, 2018 prepared by Jacqueline Galory, Calendar Director of Mayor's Office of Contract Services. Westhab won a contract that costs \$60,895,001.00 (New York City Calendar Director, 2018), roughly \$6.7 million a year to operate as a Stand Alone Transitional Residence for Single Adults, effective from February 1, 2018 to June 30 2026. It was stated on the report that the draft copy of the proposed contract is only available for public inspection at the NYC HRA office, available by a call appointment to a directed officer.

From Westhab's 2017-2018 impact report, the organization earned \$42,218,099 in revenue, government's housing shelter contract such as this case, accounts for \$6,819,932, 16% of the total revenue. Since the city would pay Park Savoy's owner for the annual rent, Westhab would not manage the property under their own assets, they will manage the day-to-day process of homeless shelter residents, providing staffing and facilities that handle the city's essential social services. The staff will help the city to work on the homeless residents' case management, housing placement assistance, and employment programming. To give a big picture of the organization, it claims to have opened 87 units of new affordable housing representing \$31 million investment, provided 1,678 affordable and supportive housing in Westchester County and New York City, placing 154 families and 130 individuals with 271 placed in jobs since in 2017.

Chapter 4. Findings

Main stated that exercising the power in New York City involves getting things done in a highly fragmented political environment, with the state and the city's crucial jurisdiction over the shelters. With that being said progress in community advocacy towards homeless shelter puts power to the court system in achieving real power to win their case. With the cases that are being argued in this thesis, community advocates have had a great say in the shelter system, leaving the mayor with few choices besides defying the court or going along. This case is reflected through W58C victory to put the new homeless shelter in their neighborhood on pause from being constructed. They continued to won an appeal of an earlier ruling by Manhattan Supreme Court Justice Alexander Tisch, who denied the activists a preliminary injunction earlier this month.

4.1. Neighborhood Characteristics and Community Advocacy

4.1.1. West 58th St.

Figure 4.1 W58C Advocacy Timeline in 2018-2019



Source: Author (2019)

From the past homeless shelter policy period of the Bloomberg era, the locational patterns of shelters in New York City were such that new shelters opened in economically and politically isolated areas (Bronx, Central Brooklyn). That are make sense because it will suppress the cost of land acquisition for the shelter development, yet put the homeless population faraway from the quality jobs that they need.

The shelter citing indicates the whole process would be smooth sailing or not, therefore the advance notice is central in deciding tremendous opposition.

Figure 4.2 W58C Rally Poster and Residents Protest



(left) A rally poster on W58C's Facebook page. (right) The residents that showed up, shown in the corner right of the picture—from right was Robert Mascali, a former deputy commissioner for NYC DHS now an advisor for W58C, and Suzanne Silverstein, The President of W58C.

Source: Courtesy of W58C, accessed via W58C Facebook page.

When the City gave notice for the Community Board 5 neighbors in January 9th 2018, the negative sentiment from a neighborhood with \$122,173 median income (NYC Feedback, 2008), was not very surprising. CB5 has 51,700 residents with 60.9% White residents (Non-Hispanic) followed with 16.2% Asian residents (New York City Department of City Planning, 2010). The district boundary is where the 'Billionaire's row' on 57th St. was located between the same avenue as the hotel, the row where in February 2018 set record to sold NYC's most expensive piece of real estate (Clarke, 2018), a penthouse in One57 tower for \$100.47 to Michael Dell, founder of Dell Technologies. A contrast, ironic comparison of what the New York City consists of.

Under the shelter plan, the city mentioned that they commit to giving communities at least 30 days' notice before opening a shelter to allow input. However, the reality differs, and it was less than a week prior to the city's intervention into renovating the building to make it ready for the homeless people to live in. The notice was later defined as perfunctory and the opposite of providing clear communication nor meaningful engagement with the residents who live in the neighborhood. It was then, the 'affected' residents act independently and detached from Community Board 5 by forming a committee—West 58th Street Coalition

(W58C), to continue fighting effectively and to practice their rights to oppose the upcoming homeless shelter. The coalition consists of concerned residents and business owners that live and work in 58th St., led by Suzanne Silverstein, a mid-50s woman that has lived in the area since 2005. Through her LinkedIn profile that can be seen publicly, she is a senior executive with an extensive background in both retail and wholesale who has previously worked in high-end luxury department store, such as Saks Fifth Avenue and Nordstrom. From an interview with The New York Times, she explained her belief that de Blasio administration is trying to make an example of her and her neighbors.

“Yes, we live comfortably, but he’s not sticking it to billionaires, he’s sticking it to people like myself who work 100 hours a week. We’re not bad people. We’re just trying to get ahead.”

– Suzanne Silverstein. (Gay, 2018).

The coalition has built a powerful series of advocacies ever since. From the same interview in early May, Ms. Silverstein said she wouldn’t rule out a lawsuit if the city put its plan into effect. The residents expressed their concern of the safety of their family, particularly their own kids. Helen Ohw Kim said the site would be better served as a shelter for women and young children so “my 3-year-old daughter won’t get punched in the face,” (Gay, 2018). Considered a very ill-mannered statement that shows an extreme stigma of homeless people from one of ignorant representatives of New Yorker. It was started small, when she, along with the other representatives from the neighborhood have requested a thorough response from the city officials regarding the issue and stated the possibility of negotiating a security plan: at least two security guards, 56 surveillance cameras (assuming inside and outside the building), and a 10 p.m. curfew for the shelter residents, if and only if they can’t stop the city in the end. Adding security plan and putting more men from The New York Police Department (NYPD) is not that cheap for the city, as it spends annual security spending of \$217 million for the whole traditional homeless shelters in the city, only for the DHS facilities with a doubling number since 2013. The negotiation is a common pattern that had happened elsewhere when facing a homeless shelter plan from the city, such as in Maspeth, Queens and Crown Heights, Brooklyn that will addressed further in the paper.

The negotiation did not arise by itself, the coalition was backed by its powerful player such as Robert Mascali, a former Deputy Commissioner for NYC DHS that surprisingly, via his fully updated LinkedIn profile stated as a senior consultant in W58C, his duties include advising the coalition and manage the media relations. W58C effort was legitimized by their sleek website and completed their advocacy in media through Facebook, Twitter and YouTube account, and a petition in change.org with a title “The Park Savoy Hotel Homeless Shelter - Bad for the Homeless, Bad for West 58th Street” signed already by 1.985 out of targeted 2.500 people. The coalitions’ Facebook page, synced with their twitter account constantly posting of link of media coverages that criticize de Blasio’s homeless shelter plan, in line with their mission and also featured on the Facebook page was Mascali himself in a video explaining the shelter plan’s bad influence, equipped with colorful special effects.

What differs from the citizens from the have-not to the other, is the redistribution of power, of how information is shared and goals and policies are set (Arnstein, 1969). When placing W58C in Arnstein’s ladder, the scrutiny was pointer to the coalition’s power that rapidly progresses through a lawsuit that illustrate higher level of tokenism, and with all the resources they have, the residents hardly considered as the have-nots. Learning where the coalition power came from, by figuring its members and their position they took in the society is vital. Arnstein argues, that the degree of placation depends on two factors: the quality of technical assistance to articulate their priorities; and the extent to which the community has been organized to press for those priorities.

The first one was apparent as the protest took place in a high income neighborhood, it has equipped them with the strategic help that the coalition need; two former commissioners from the city’s departments as an adviser, hired a public relation, and hired high-profile lawyer, Randy Mastro also a former officials of the city. Unclear whether or not W58C must paid for all of their services and at what rate but until now, it seems the players have addressed their expertise in W58C’s favor, to dig everything the city is lacking on bind it altogether in a lawsuit against the city. The public relations’ work is very much can be seen in W58C Facebook, Twitter, Youtube and a press release that was held on April 2018 in front of The Park Savoy Hotel (Mai & Blau, 2018). It clearly shows that with position comes power, and with resources such as money and time the kind of advocacies have become affordable for them. In a similar case in 2017, a protest in Maspeth, a blue-collar area

of Queens was sparked with riot when a local Holiday Inn Express was converted into a shelter, accusing the city of running the motel illegally (Marsh, 2017). Marsh later mentioned that the resident filed a Freedom of Information request in August 2017 to seek demographics for the shelter residents, including employment information, last known addresses, reasons for their homelessness, drug use and length of stay, a rigorous labor intense work that needs human resources to be completed. The residents formed COMET (Communities of Maspeth and Elmhurst Together) to address their concerns (Giudice, 2016) to Acacia Network, an organization that will run the shelter. COMET arranged hundreds of residents to protests on the streets in Maspeth and in front of Holiday Inn and the news barely reached to major newspaper such as The New York Times, it may be covered with New York Post however the news was mainly covered by the local medias, making it hard to gather data from the internet alone.

The latter factor was related with their series of efforts: 1) addressing 44 complaints to DOB that led to a stop-work order in February 8, just a month after the city gave notice to the CB5 neighborhood, 2) aforementioned official website, Facebook, Twitter, Youtube account, and petition in change.org, 3) collecting information of the city's lack of due diligence related to building permits and safety permits that was filed in a lawsuit in March, now cased under Manhattan Supreme Court and 4) arranging their own rally and press conference in April 5, inviting local newspaper. Those four initiatives were done in the year 2018 alone left the city somewhat outpowered, as the city's response was hardly covered by the media nor official-release document on the internet it is safe to question the city's position; if they said they will keep continue opening the shelter, how are they progressing? What is the overall response to W58C advocacies?

4.1.2. W58C's Lawsuit Against The City

Based on New York State's Article 78 which allows citizens to appeal an action taken by a government agency and aim to raise at least \$300,000 to mount possible court challenge submitted under Manhattan Supreme Court (Li, 2018). The case was trusted to lawyer Randy Mastro, a former chief of staff and deputy mayor for operations under Rudolph Giuliani, now a partner at Gibson, Dunn & Crutcher LLP. Mastro, a high-profile lawyer also handled New Jersey Gov. Chris Christie's case in 2014. (Brodesser-Akner, 2017), and was reported in the same year, that Mastro charged upwards of \$1,000 an hour for his service (Bekiempis, 2014), a hefty price tag that is somewhat affordable for W58C residents to pay to fight against the city. While Mastro himself lives twenty five blocks away from the site in the Upper East Side in 83rd St. (Stulberg, 2016), outside the Community Board 5, in an interview with Carmiel from Bloomberg News, Mastro expressed his confidence to fight the cause of W58C, "Who better to know when government screws up than a former deputy mayor who also litigates? To locate the facility at this venue is just out of whack, it's inexplicable." The lawsuit explore all legal avenues to challenge what it views as a poor use of public funds as the city decides to spend \$50,000 per year in Park Savoy Hotel shelter—a number that is far bigger than has ever been spent before, 38% higher than \$36,300 average spending per person (Gonen, 2018). The splurge was caused by the expensive annual rent the city must pay to the owner of Park Savoy Hotel, partly because of its location, where a simple burger can costs \$20 and it has little rationales on how the future homeless residents' accessibility to food within the area. However, the number was denied by DHS officials in a public hearing, saying that traditional shelters receive about \$54,000 per year, while the average annual cost of housing a family in a shelter is \$41,000 (The City of New York, 2017, p. 23). In average, the city spent \$117 a day to house single adults in the city facilities (New York City's Office of the Mayor, 2018). In favor of the case, it is a number that came up in the middle of city's affordable housing effort scrutiny on top of the city's overall constrained resources in housings and supports Mastro to tell the public that it is basically a *fait accompli* to use the fund for such amount of money, and later he said not only it is intolerable, it is also illegal. It is the argument that will be further addressed as taxpayer's money misconduct instead of the city's offering a long-term solution with reasonable funding.

The lawsuit grounds to the city's questionable building permits, after the building renovation had continued to operate without a permit and NYC Department of Buildings (DOB) have recorded to have 44 complaints in 2018 out of 78 that recorded since 1991. Those complaints were addressed by the residents in 58th St., ranging from several premature construction work without a permit, building windows blacked out to hide the construction happening inside, violation of working on the weekends that took place after a partial stop work order was issued in February 8th by DOB, yet the City stubbornly continued the renovation of the building. By 'partial', meaning a certain work in a particular area is prohibited, except remedial work required to make the site safe. This building permit issue led to W58C's first lawsuit towards violation of Stop Work Order (SWO), mentioned in Section 29-207 .2.2 of the NYC Administrative Code that was written: "for any individual with knowledge or notice of a SWO to allow, authorize, promote, continue or cause to be continued any work covered by the SWO.", the department will not rescind the order until \$5,000 civil penalties for first offence have been paid and up to \$10,000 for subsequent offenses, it is unclear whether or not the city have paid its duty regarding the violation. The lawsuit says an order is needed because of the building:

"Not only is the building unsafe, but crime and loitering, threat to the health, welfare and safety of the public and future residents of the shelter" (Li, 2018) that will lead to "irreparable injuries that have been found to warrant emergency injunctive relief to block the opening of a homeless shelter," (Sanderson, 2018)

Over the summer, W58C added the fire safety issues to their lawsuit (Smith, 2018), this lawsuit was addressed by another strategic player Robert Skallerup, Former Manhattan Borough Commissioner of NYC DOB under Bloomberg administration teamed up with Robert Kruper, former Fire Department officer that hired by W58C, that mentioned the shelter has a dangerous firetrap with only one means of exit from the upper floors. Although the 107-year-old building was later claimed fireproof by NYC Fire Department after the sprinklers installment. Still, it is mandatory for the building to update with the city regulations accordingly.

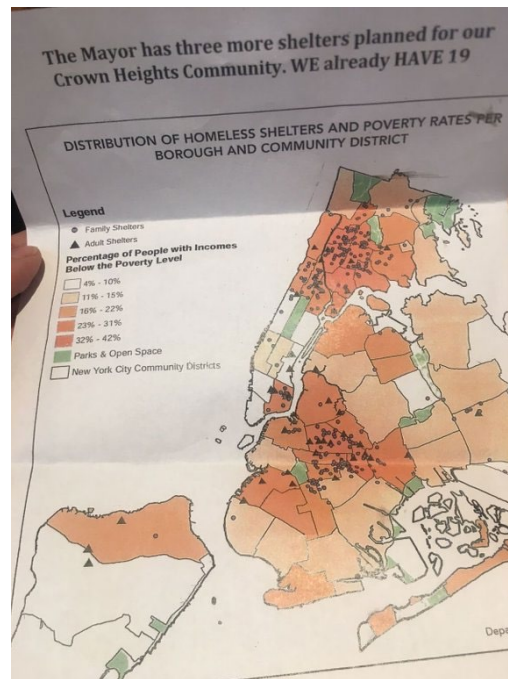
However in April 29th 2019, the Manhattan Supreme Court gave city officials approval to open a new homeless shelter after longstanding opposition from the coalition. The community argued that the proposed shelter is not up to modern safety standards and may be danger for both homeless residents and neighbors.

State Supreme Court Justice Alexander Tisch rejected the arguments from the community that while the current entrance is too narrow, “these are all aspects for which the City and its agencies are supposed to be given deference.” Not a complete shut-out. The city granted the shelter a partial temporary certificate of occupancy that demonstrates to the Court that the building is presumably safe and in compliance with applicable, later Justice stated that the 58th St neighborhood already had more than ‘fair share’ of shelters were ‘without merit’ (DeGregory & Golding, 2019). Commissioner Steven Banks stated that the City will begin serving the neighborhood as soon as possible (no exact date provided), the City claims that it is a win for hard-working New Yorkers experiencing homelessness who will have the opportunity to get back on their feet.

4.1.3. Other Cases: Crown Heights and Maspeth

One of the reasons that caused the community advocacy to rise is that the City had not chosen to inform them in advance, in the agreed period of time of the plan to convert the previous building into a traditional shelter. This is the main weapon that the community used in the public meetings that caused a backlash for the City and became a rough start to process. In 2017, the City proposed three new homeless shelters in Crown Heights, while they already have nineteen other shelters in their city district. Focusing on one of them that had received a strong backlash, located in the repurposed building for toddlers classrooms, it was shifted into 11 sleeping quarters to help accommodate 104 homeless men, ages 62 and up. “Why here? Two words: Why. Here? ... Answer that! Answer that!” Ms. Baker, 68, a retired school employee threw the question in the first public community board meeting, attended by the crowd of concerned residents (Stewart, Fury Over Brooklyn Shelter Reflects Difficulty of Curbing Homelessness, 2017).

Figure 4.3 Crown Heights Community Shelter Protest-Justification Cheat Sheet



Source: (Wilson, 2017)

Figure 4.1 shows the map that is made by the Crown Heights community to oppose the homeless shelter proposal during community board meeting in 2017. According to Community Board 8 (CB8) minutes of meeting published in May 2017, the CB8 assisted the opposition in what would be the Crown Heights shelter at 1173 Bergen Street that was scheduled opening in March. They won three restraining orders that had delayed the shelter to open, and brought the case to Brooklyn Supreme Court that was arranged by The Block Association (Community Board 8, 2017). Crown Heights, a working-class and middle-class community is located in the gentrified neighborhood in Brooklyn, just on the east of Prospect Park. The community was not just battling the three new shelters, but also the area's first Citi Bike docking station, a form of gentrification icon of the city, yet balanced with the shelters that are equated with blight and crime. They backed their arguments with data saying that between 2002 and 2012, Crown Heights North, Stuyvesant Heights, and East New York each produced more than 2,000 families in need of shelter (New York Independent Budget Office Fiscal Brief , 2014). In the late 2017, the City managed to open one shelter for women, then one for men, and another for families.

The protest that took place in Crown Heights with the men's shelter had brought the most opposition among all since the parents were mostly concerned about the security that made the City to ensure the nonprofit organization that will operate the new men's shelter, CORE Services Group will do a screening to exclude sex offenders and give the preference will be given to men from the local area. After the negotiation with the community, 1200 Dean Street Block Association, Steven Banks, the commissioner for the Department of Social Services agreed to raise the minimum age requirement for the new shelter in Crown Heights to 62, from 50, after hearing the concerns at the community meeting.

Figure 4.4 Crown Heights Resident Protest Against Bergen Houses Shelter



Source: www.gothamist.com, 2017

Figure 4.2 shows that community advocacy in Crown Heights were organized to file a lawsuit in March 2017, represented by Rawle Pantaleon as the attorney represented the neighbors versus the opponent from six pro-shelter attorneys—representing the city, the Department of Homeless Services, the developer, and the private shelter operator, CORE. but eventually received permission to open by Judge Katherine A. Levine in the end of 2017. The agreement is granted by the judge of Brooklyn Supreme Court and the community after two-months legal battle.

4.2. The Role of Government Agencies

The city initially sought physically isolated locations, but then moved toward politically economically isolated locations, preferably in minority communities with low-income, where such community advocacy is notably rare, mostly because of the lack of information and resources to begin and sustain and organized opposition strategy (Takahashi & Dear, 1997).

The reaction from the community was hardly supportive as they felt the shelter would alter the purpose of the neighborhood, the policy to locate shelters in isolated locations was based on the anticipated community reaction and the City's perception of homeless people as "different" and "disruptive" (Gaber, 1996). It is the role of the government agency to justify the belief that certain shelters are acceptable to be within the neighborhood, this entail to the city's policy to place shelter in which location. If the notion is to locate in isolated area as possible so it will not disturb the communities, then first the City must find and get approval to keep up with the demand. As more shelter space need to be developed by the City, it has prompted them to initiate a new method of locating homeless shelters in isolated areas, and included politically/economically isolated locations, promoted the location in primarily low-income, minority communities.

The back-to-back argument mentioned that developing new homeless shelters in low-income neighborhood would further "degrade" the community, this happened if the community was chosen out of the consideration that they have become the origins of the homeless population itself in the beginning, this argument relates to the research that people that become homeless were struggling to get back on their feet if detached from their original community fabric that represents their familiarities, yet the siting process should not be limited to the 'fair share' concept that would locate them only in their original communities as other boroughs must be part of the overall plan, and observed the "geographical criteria" (Gaber, 1996). While the City also argues that locating in isolated areas may risk the homeless population from not getting a better-quality job that will extend the period of homelessness, hence better to locate new shelters in area where the communities have higher median income and affluent to access to better jobs.

In relation to the shelter citing considerations that are mentioned above, it is not a new thing for the city to not communicate clearly and in advance to the community to avoid necessary opposition, the lack of suitable

responses to the Mayor Koch's call for shelter sites reinforced the City's belief that consultations with the community could be avoided (Gaber, 1996).

According to the Mayor's primary document for the homeless plan, "Turning the Tide on Homelessness in New York City" the report did state the importance of handling the community at least 30 days in advance to gain their input as it needs elaboration the need to develop new homeless shelter by distributing equally across the city, including areas in Manhattan to increase access to jobs and it will not be easy if the community continuously trying to stop the development. The existence of DHS is to promulgate better cooperation between the City and the communities to restructure the homeless service provision in one city agency:

Engaging with local groups must be established to proof credibility and expertise, to earn trust and respect, and to demonstrate a track record of prior decision, where fear and frustration among local residents is to be expected... The process is one of communication and cooperation (Commission on the Homeless, 1992, p. 103)

Referring back to Dear's Table 2.1, the City's approach in West 58th shelter can be categorized in "circumvention" because the City announced the development just a month before the opening in the public community board meetings, derailed from the established guidelines for the siting facilities. Aside from the expensive siting in the premium area, this action has led to strong opposition from the community and question the legitimacy of the city government, a lot of "why don't they tell us the plan sooner?" and may feel that "they want to play hide-and-seek." Presumably, the community may assume the worst case scenario of violation and may increase the public scrutiny level for the government.

4.3. Shelter-Service Provider

The image of third-party provider has been publicly shaped that shelters are necessary to be managed professionally by trained staff to solve local homelessness through reforming and retraining deviants (Lyon-Callo, 2001). Furthermore, Lyon-Callo stated that homelessness reveals that local sheltering industry itself contributed to the public images by symbolically representing homelessness as the result of deviant and dysfunctional individuals in need of reform and retraining in order to obtain more donations and support grant

applications to solve those issues mentioned. The issues were carefully unaddressed, as one shelter staff mentioned through interview, “Issues in regard of sponsors and donations to the shelter is uncommon to talk about. It is hard to criticize the problem once you are working from the inside.”

Reported in 2017, the city has another battle with leaders of some nonprofits (Stewart & Neuman, De Blasio Calls for ‘Blood and Guts’ War on Homelessness. Is His Plan Gutsy Enough?, 2017) over delayed payments and uncertain rates for their services provision to keep up with new standards that the city itself set; community spaces and child care within homeless shelters. Frederick Shack, a chief executive of Urban Pathways, a shelter provider to the city said, the new requirements clearly increase staffs needed, and it is his organization’s responsibility to pay for them. At the same time, Mr. Shack is one of the representatives among several nonprofit executives that has found the good side of mayor’s new approach. It was refreshing that rather than overpromising, the administration is being realistic, with the process of the approach, facing fury from the community, among others.

On the other hand, the reason why payment issues were apparent was because both the city and the nonprofits provided inadequate documentation and, in various cases, safety violations that led to a hold up from the city’s elected-comptroller, Scott M. Stringer that responsible as the city’s chief fiscal officer and audit the city’s expense, who previously held the position of Borough President of Manhattan.

Chapter 5. Conclusion

Community advocacy in response to homeless shelter shows that in order to resolve homelessness, the community would need to be involved in grassroots discussion about the City's direction, where it is going, and what problems do exist in the city. The discussion would happen with both parties' willingness where both organized NIMBY mobilizations to allow social-service programs to be implemented in the right direction.

It is crucial to identify the power and class dynamics between the City and the communities, and within the communities itself and the willingness to make a discursive representation of what homelessness and homeless people portray to the wider mass. The discussion has led to where the configuration of shelter and services for the homeless is central to their chances and choices for reintegration into the homed community (Wolch, 1991). Cities and communities can identify at which level they are operating and begin to work toward cooperation and negotiation to resolve the NIMBY syndrome.

The tension between W58C and DHS plan under De Blasio's can be viewed as an obstacle that have caused a delay to New York City's interest to put homeless people in more shelters and have put the issue of homelessness at stake. The urban politics between the neighbors' and The City's mission to build a homeless shelter are constantly happening citywide, and it is always been a challenge for The City to control its own land and space to address a raising social concern. Though the mayor repeatedly boast about a lower crime rate among other accomplishments, his effort did not slow down the number of homeless populations, not fast enough to build and preserve affordable housing across the city. It was then perceived as a rash initiative of his administration as he seeks for re-election in 2017, one of them was by focusing toward moving homeless people out of hotels and so-called cluster apartments, and into more stable shelters where they can receive effective services and get on a path to permanent housing. Now already re-elected, the problem of homeless shelter development is facing the same issue, and previous cases have shown that to make it happen, tension with the community is inevitable. It is believable that it would be a big win for the city if they got it settled with W58C. It might be the administration have appeared to have underestimated the backlash that the city's initiative would provoke. Not only white, or wealthy neighborhood, from Maspeth to Midtown Manhattan, the message is often

the same: Not on my block. Not in my backyard (Gay, 2018). Although as a scholar, we must be careful to use the pejorative term, 'NIMBY'.

Revisiting the city's pledge to give 30 days' notice for the neighborhoods before new shelters are created, the resentment and protest from them continues to date since their the city has not changed that much, opening new shelters on an emergency basis and with little to no local input. The constant resistance from the community could grow into a fight with the City Council, which currently considering reviewing a city law related to the distribution of homeless shelters, the city must move onward and strengthen its backbone to stand up for its liberal principles, no shady, unclear communication with the community, though it's almost always hard to not withhold sensitive information within the administration.

With the latest decision from the Manhattan Supreme Court, it is a wise opportunity for the City to proceed the building renovation in appropriate manner, it may be delayed for quite some time but the legal mandate has power of deference and most likely to succeed. It is the duty for a local community to explore the avenue where the City might make mistake, to be in an affluent neighborhood may put more power in the community advocacy process, and so far, the city has fought for a rational process amidst its various violation that presses the time to communicate with the local community. The community may gain power for some quite of time In the very beginning, especially if it has spotlights from the media, however there is still hope to fight for homeless shelter as the homelessness urgency can overpower the 'fair share' advocacy. There is progress in de Blasio's effort to make new shelters across the city, might not be 90, yet it will progress slowly, certainly.

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Chapter 7. Appendices

7.1. Appendix A. Interview Questions

Questions asked for the in-depth interviews are as follows:

1. What is your specific role in understanding community advocacy and Mayor de Blasio's homeless shelter plan?
2. Are you aware of Mayor de Blasio's 2017 new homeless shelter plan and how it has progressed until now?
3. By comparing the newly opened shelters in Crown Heights, Brooklyn and the current opposition that is happening in West 58th St. against the plan, what do you think differs the situation?
4. What do you think about the power dynamics between the community and the city in response to homeless shelter plan?
5. How do you think the city should approach the neighborhood that will be the location for new homeless shelter? Do you think that 30 days' notice before the opening works to communicate with the residents in the neighborhood?
6. Do you think the type of homeless shelter (kids, women, men, elderly, family) affects the community to give their approval? If yes, or no, to what extent?
7. Do you think that the demographic characteristics of a neighborhood affects their approval of new homeless shelter? If yes, or no, why?
8. Do you think that the demographic characteristic of a neighborhood affects their capacity to response the plan?
9. What are your recommendation of the possible of improvement in community advocacies in the neighborhood in response to the government plan?
10. What are your recommendation of the possible procedure improvement that could be done by the city?

7.2. Appendix B. Complete List of Interviews Conducted

Interviewee	Date of Interview	Length of Interview
Community Board 5, Manhattan	22-Feb-19	1:03:12
West 58 th St. Coalition	27-Feb-19	0:52:27
The New York Times	12-Apr-19	0:42:43
Columbia University professor	5-Apr-19	1:25:11