

Pop-Up Urbanism and the Right to the City: Identity, Power and the Lincoln Park Music Festival

“Pop-Up” interventions often have an insurgent, combative cast, in intention if not always in form. They challenge the fundamental assumptions underlying control of urban land. But while these overnight interventions may have a galvanizing effect, the process of social change requires a careful and collaborative engagement that neither begins nor ends with that catalytic moment. This paper is the story of the long gestation and lasting impact of a pop-up cultural event—a music festival and an overnight “health and wellness village”—in Newark, New Jersey.

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“RIGHT TO THE CITY”

French sociologist Henri Lefebvre’s provocative proposition has been subject to multiple interpretations over the past half century. Of these, David Harvey’s emphasis on “the exercise of a collective power to reshape the processes of urbanization” perhaps comes closest to the core issue.¹ In the end, all “right to the city” variants boil down to a vision of an inclusive, heterogeneous, democratic city in which a broad array of people share equitably not only the fruits of urban life—domicile, workplace, services, culture and civic discourse—but also an active role in guiding urban evolution.

Activism in defense of a “right to the city” often targets gentrification, a largely market activity that produces dramatic physical, economic, and demographic change in working class neighborhoods as expanding real estate markets drive up rents and purchase prices and drive out residents who cannot sustain the elevated charges. Indeed, gentrification can be characterized as the transformation of a neighborhood, in terms of race and class, through the renovation of its housing stock. In recent years a wide range of spontaneous, small-scale overnight interventions, loosely grouped under the banner of ‘pop-up urbanism’, have sought to transform the current urban environment, notably with respect to replacing car-dominated streets with greener, more social spaces, as in the now annual and international “park(ing) day” events that temporarily replace parking spaces with “parklets”.² “Pop-Up” interventions of this sort often have an insurgent, combative cast, in intention if not always in form. They challenge the fundamental assumptions underlying control of urban land. But while these overnight interventions may have a galvanizing effect, the process of social change requires a careful and collaborative engagement that neither begins nor ends with that catalytic moment. This paper is the story of the long gestation and lasting impact of a pop-up cultural event -- a music festival and an overnight “health and wellness village” -- in Newark, New Jersey.

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we wouldn't have looked at each other passing by on the sidewalk. Now we're having a great conversation about change and community, and that's the first step in the right direction.

NEWARK

There is another urban pattern unfolding in older, "legacy" cities³, where gentrification pressures have yet to materialize, characterized by development activity that privileges the downtown over the neighborhoods, the core over the periphery. This is the case in Newark, where substantial public and private money has been invested in the downtown heart of the city: the refurbishment of Military Park, its historic commons; new office towers for Panasonic and Prudential; the conversion of a vacant department store to market-rate apartments with a new Whole Foods supermarket; and condo towers in the works by the New Jersey Performing Arts Center and a group fronted by basketball legend and Newark native Shaquille O'Neal . A second node of downtown development has emerged around Prudential Center, the hockey arena and event space completed in 2007. It includes market-rate apartments, restaurants, two new hotels, and "Teachers Village", a six-building infill rental apartment complex designed by Richard Meier, who was born in Newark. Much of this construction was launched during the mayoralty of (now) Senator Cory Booker, who, though celebrated nationally, was less popular among Newark residents for his perceived focus on downtown to the neglect of the neighborhoods.

Following Booker's elevation to the US Senate, Ras Baraka rode to victory in the mayoral election of June, 2014, on the slogan "When I am the Mayor, we are the Mayor", emphasizing his populist vision to include all Newarkers in his stewardship of the city. During his first year, the city continued to assist the downtown projects underway, largely to reassure the private sector that while he was committed to an inclusive vision, he was not anti-business. Notwithstanding the flurry of activity in the city center, the Newark market cannot yet sustain unsubsidized private development, and Baraka surely understood this. But at least investors are interested in downtown. They are as yet reluctant to invest in neighborhoods still bearing the scars of disinvestment after Newark's well-publicized civil unrest in the 1960s.

MODEL NEIGHBORHOODS

Baraka's administration has advanced a "Model Neighborhoods Initiative" focused on two neighborhoods in the South and Lower West wards of the city. Notably, the first step in the city's effort was a "Better Blocks" program featuring pop-up interventions made with donated materials. On a sunny Saturday in June, 2015, a series of gathering places including a health clinic, an art gallery and a wine-tasting station were set up on two blocks along Bergen Street, an important thoroughfare in the Clinton Hill neighborhood. The interventions were designed by volunteer artists and designers, including graduates of NJIT's School of Architecture. This is an example of pop-up urbanism acting with, not against, officialdom in pursuit of a common goal. The NJIT grads designed and built a small parklet featuring sitting areas that demonstrate how a simple intervention can have a significant impact. As one local resident observed,

This parklet is something we need all over the city. I really like how the benches face each other; it makes you talk to people you normally wouldn't have otherwise. Normally, we wouldn't have looked at each other passing by on the sidewalk. Now we're having a great conversation about change and community, and that's the first step in the right direction.⁴

This initiative was accompanied by municipal support for the construction of two mixed-income condominium buildings on vacant lots on the same block, so the pop-up event was



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linked to a visible, more permanent improvement. In so doing, it served to publicize and spark interest in the changes to come. Fruitful as this exercise is, however, a larger question looms: is there in place a strong community-based entity that can assure that current residents are included in the market-led redevelopment that will eventually come to Bergen Street? This fundamental question about the role of pop-up interventions in urban redevelopment asks how communities establish their presence and their identity as a force to be reckoned with in determining the future of their neighborhood. How do they say, “We are here. We are not without power.”?

LINCOLN PARK

Just a mile east of the Bergen Street “Better Block”, another revitalization effort is taking shape in the neighboring adjoining Lincoln Park, the southernmost of three triangular parks that punctuate Broad Street, Newark’s main north-south artery. Here, a community development corporation has coalesced local residents and community stakeholders into an articulate and effective agent of change. Over the past fifteen years the organization and its predecessors have set out to implement a long-standing agenda to create an arts district including housing, job training, urban farming, and performance venues. The centerpiece of this effort is an annual Music Festival, an example of pop-up urbanism that has grown in ten years from a shoestring operation with an attendance of 2,000 to an annual event that attracts over 50,000 people for three days of music in the open air --- gospel, jazz, house and hip-hop. The Lincoln Park story has many threads. It shows how a temporary “pop-up event” like the music festival resonates when it is embedded in a long-term development strategy led by a committed local organization. It demonstrates the connections between different scales of development—the neighborhood, the city and the region. It shows how a community development corporation, through nimble and flexible planning, can survive turbulent economic and political times when guided by a dedicated staff and a consistent vision.

The Music Festival was a turning point in a campaign dating back to the 1980s aimed at revitalizing the Lincoln Park neighborhood and giving it a distinct identity as an arts and cultural district. These efforts were spearheaded by visionaries who imagined not only the rebirth of a neighborhood but the creation of a national center for African American music and culture that would resonate as an art form and also act as a force for economic and social development. It is rooted in both the black arts movement and the black power movement, two histories in which Newark figures prominently.

Figure 1: Pop-Up Parklet, Bergen St. Newark, Photo: NJIT



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Originally known as South Commons and then South Park, Lincoln Park was renamed after the 16th president following his assassination.⁵ From the mid-19th century, during Newark’s extended manufacturing boom, Lincoln Park was a fashionable residential district, home to key figures including brewers Christian Feigenspan and Gottfried Kruger as well as Forrest Dryden, son of the founder of the Prudential Insurance Company.⁶

By the early 20th century it boasted a number of doctor’s offices, owing to its easy access to nearby Beth Israel and St. Barnabas hospitals.⁷ Two medical office buildings, constructed in the first quarter of the twentieth century, marked Lincoln Park’s second phase of development.⁸ The decision by the Shriners, a Masonic Order, to build a 3000 seat concert hall on Broad Street at Lincoln Park was a further sign of the quality of the neighborhood. Initially called Salaam Temple, and known locally as “The Mosque”, the building was noted for its acoustical properties and was home to New Jersey’s major music groups, including the New Jersey Symphony, the Newark Boys Choir, the New Jersey State Opera and the New Jersey Ballet Company. With the suburban exodus, however, the Mosque fell on hard times; it was taken over by the city in 1964 and renamed Newark Symphony Hall. Through the twentieth century Lincoln Park’s residential population declined with the migration of the middle class to the suburbs accelerated by favorable mortgage terms following World War II and the construction of new highways in the 1960s. The civil disturbances in 1967—the “riots” to some, a “rebellion” to others—were the final straw, and Lincoln Park entered its third transitional period, losing much of its residential base and becoming a locus for drug and alcohol rehabilitation programs.⁹

THE NEWARK MUSIC PROJECT

Community-based revitalization efforts began in the 1980s, when a grass-roots coalition organized as Renaissance Newark, Inc. put forward a “Lincoln Park Cultural and Historic District Plan,” which was incorporated into the City’s 1990 Comprehensive Master Plan. The Lincoln Park Plan sought short term stabilization and clean-up efforts while advocating for restoration and preservation of the neighborhood’s physical character with a long-term focus on creating an arts and cultural district. In 1997, the Newark Music Project put forward the Barbary Coast Plan which called for the renovation of Symphony Hall; repopulating the Lincoln Park neighborhood with new and renovated mixed-income housing; and changes

Figure 2 Lincoln Park Music Festival from stage with tent city in background, Photo: LPCCD

in zoning to encourage a mix of ground floor uses including restaurants, art galleries, night entertainment venues, craft stores and street vendors. This effort was led by Amiri Baraka (1934-2014), the poet, playwright and activist (and father of the current Mayor), who was a central figure in efforts to imbue the area with a specific character linked to its earlier history as part of the “Barbary Coast”, the jazz district that flourished in Newark in the mid-twentieth century.¹⁰ Baraka argued for daylighting this hidden history: “By archiving all the music (and with that the musicians, venues, movements, trends, producers, record companies, memorabilia, information, audiovisual recordings) and by making oral histories, we can project a new image of the city.”¹¹

Baraka’s essay, written in 1997, is essential to understanding the larger context of the current redevelopment efforts, for it lends insight to both the historical roots and the political intentions of the project. In honoring Newark’s rich jazz legacy, Baraka was laying the groundwork for broad-based social transformation:

By identifying the city with its own legacy and making that legacy accessible to a new generation of people we will be restoring that city to a stature organic to its history but now hidden by social economic decline. We will be raising a new city, a New Ark...to contribute to new employment, new business, safer streets, more revenue circulating within the city’s limits, a broader form of popular education, and the root of new ideas for social development.¹²

LINCOLN PARK COAST CULTURAL DISTRICT, INC.

This was the grass roots vision that informed the involvement, starting in the late 1990s, of the Regional Plan Association, the nation’s oldest private, non-profit regional planning association, whose New Jersey office was based, at the time, in Newark. In January, 1999, the RPA organized a three-day charrette in the Terrace Ballroom, a performance and event space in the basement of Symphony Hall. Over a hundred people came together representing city officials, neighborhood residents, artists, local non-profits, and planning and design professionals. This exercise yielded a commitment to resurrect Lincoln Park as an arts district, building on the legacy of Symphony Hall and expanding the mission beyond the single physical structure. It was Baraka who inserted the name “Coast” into the discussion, carrying forward the Barbary Coast plan of the Newark Music Group. The charrette generated a consensus on several key components: to renovate Symphony Hall; to build artist housing; to increase arts and cultural programming in Lincoln Park; and to make the Lincoln Park community “green”.

Over the next three years, the RPA continued to support the momentum from the charrette, holding conferences, leading walking tours, talking with potential developers of market-rate and affordable housing, and, most importantly, maintaining a collaborative community process. Architecture students from New Jersey Institute of Technology devoted design studios to the project producing, notably, a “Jazz Map” of Newark that located the 104 clubs identified in Barbara Kukla’s book, *Swing City: Nightlife in Newark 1925-1950*.

This effort also led to the incorporation of Lincoln Park Coast Cultural District Inc. in July, 1999, “To plan, design and develop a comprehensive cultural and arts district in the Lincoln Park/Coast area of the City of Newark”.¹³ In the succeeding years Newark City Council adopted a series of redevelopment plans, designated LPCCD as the redevelopment agent and conveying to the organization, at nominal cost, a dozen parcels of vacant land as well as the remaining portions of the South Park Presbyterian Church, a historic structure that had suffered a devastating fire in 1992 that left only the entry portal and towers intact.¹⁴

With ownership of land LPCCD set out to grow a new neighborhood literally from scratch; as described by current Executive Director Anthony Smith, Lincoln Park was “a carcass”. LPCCD’s



Figure 3: Newark Jazz Heritage Map, Credit: NJIT

vision never lacked for ambition, advancing four central programmatic components: housing, a performance space and community garden behind the church façade, an annual music festival, and museum of African-American music.

BUILDING A NEIGHBORHOOD

From the outset the goal was to create a mixed-use, mixed income neighborhood, with ground floor space for clubs, restaurants, galleries and shops and housing above, the latter a mix of market and affordable rental and condominium units. LPCCD moved quickly to construct new housing, breaking ground in 2006 for six townhouses on Washington Street, each composed of two apartments above ground floor commercial or office space. The buildings were successful in terms of their urbanism, their programming, and their energy-conscious design, earning a LEED gold rating. But they hit the market simultaneously with the housing market collapse in 2008, and could not be sold. The resulting economic pressures forced LPCCD to partner with other developers for the remaining housing sites, producing, in all, 85 units of market-rate and affordable housing. 5

During this period of financial duress LPCCD managed not only to keep afloat but to expand their involvement into two critical “green” areas—a green collar training program involving weatherization and insulation skills and the Lincoln Park Community Farm, part of a growing movement toward urban agriculture. The Community Farm was sited on the lot behind the façade of the South Park Presbyterian Church, where the sanctuary stood before the fire. With raised earth beds and a hydroponic green-house, the Farm offered demonstration classes on sustainable agriculture for local high school students, a small cooperative buyers’ club, and a vegetable stand offering fresh produce for Newark residents.

The development of the church façade site is the key to cementing LPCCD’s role as a visible, year-round arts center in Newark. The centerpiece is the installation of a stage and canopy immediately behind the façade, linked to Broad Street by a “Newark Jazz Walk of Fame”. Behind the seating area are a hydroponic greenhouse, raised growing beds, and a concession stand that will serve pizza made Fig. 4 Church Façade stage and garden Credit: LPCCD with fresh vegetables from the gardens. The performance will build on the momentum of the Music Festival by extending programming through three seasons.

The first phase in the project, following stabilization of the façade itself, was creating a mural, “The Emancipation of Music”, which celebrates Lincoln Park Coast district’s historic role in Newark’s musical life. The mural includes images of Billie Holliday, who performed in the city, and singer Sarah Vaughan and saxophonist James Moody, who were both from Newark. The mural also references Africa and slavery, an allusion to the role of the South Park Presbyterian Church in the abolitionist movement.

THE LINCOLN PARK MUSIC FESTIVAL

The mural also links Lincoln Park to its most ambitious long-range project -- the creation in Newark of a national Museum of African American Music. Initiated in 2002 by LPCCD, the museum is intended to bring together for the first time all genres of music associated with the African American experience in the United States—gospel, jazz, blues, rhythm-and-blues, rock-and-roll, hip-hop and house music. The museum would also represent the culmination of Amiri Baraka’s Newark Music Project, foregrounding the city’s rich music legacy as part of a broader campaign of social and economic redevelopment. The museum remains a long-range project of the organization.

While the museum project awaits the necessary capacity and resources, it has generated one significant offspring, the Lincoln Park Music Festival. As Anthony Smith, organizer of the Music Festival, explains,



Figure 4: Church Façade stage and garden, *Photo: LPCCD*

Figure 5: “The Emancipation of Music”. Mural dedication, 2013, *Photo: LPCCD*

ENDNOTES

1. David Harvey, "The Right to the City", *New Left Review* 53, September-October 2008, accessed online 9/19/15, <http://newleftreview.org/11/53/david-harvey-the-right-to-the-city>
2. See, for example, "Parkmaking: Pop-Up Parks, Parklets, Parkmobiles", in Mike Lydon & Anthony Garcia, *Tactical Urbanism: Short-term Action for Long-term Change* (Washington D.C., Island Press, 2015), pp. 132-149.
3. The term "legacy city" was coined in 2011 at a meeting convened in Detroit to consider the future of older, former industrial cities in the United States facing population loss, Convened by The American Assembly of Columbia University, the Center for Community Progress, and the Center for Sustainable Urban Development of Columbia University's Earth Institute, the project seeks ways to reinvent these cities toward a productive future without insisting on returning to previous population levels. See Alan Mallach, ed. *Rebuilding America's Legacy Cities: New Directions for the Industrial Heartland* (New York: The American Assembly, 2012).
4. Quoted in Shydale James, "Design Intervention: COAD Alums Build Parklet for Newark's Better Block Program". Emphasis added. NJIT website, <http://www.njit.edu/features/alumni/better-block-newark.php>
5. Many Newarkers believe that while passing through the city en route to his second inauguration Lincoln addressed a crowd from the steps of the South Park Presbyterian Church at the edge of Lincoln Park, although there is no historical corroboration of this anecdote. There is irony, moreover, in naming of the park after Lincoln, since neither Newark nor the state of New Jersey gave him a majority of the popular vote, a function largely of the local economy being dependent in part on exports to southern clients.
6. It is for Forrest Dryden, who also served as president of Prudential, that "Dryden Mansion" on Lincoln Park is named. The house, however, was initially built and occupied by Thomas N. McCarter, founder of Public Service Corporation, a transit company (later the utility PSE&G, Public Service Electric and Gas) and the law firm of McCarter and English, one of the oldest and largest law firms in the country. McCarter Theater in Princeton and McCarter Highway are named for him. Dryden Mansion, at 59 Lincoln Park, was restored by Crawford Street Partners in 2007 and is now headquarters for a number of Newark non-profits and foundations.

Figure 5: "The Emancipation of Music".
Mural dedication, 2013, Photo: LPCCD

The music festival came out of an effort to create a museum of African-American music. We decided to open the doors before the museum opened. We looked at Newark and the four African-American genres that we wanted to celebrate: gospel, jazz, house music and hip-hop. Then we built a festival around that.¹⁶



The first festival, in 2006, drew 2,000 people for two days of Hip-Hop and Afro-Punk music. The 10th anniversary festival presented over sixty performers and ten hours of programming each day. As in the past, the festival kicked off with a Friday afternoon jazz concert by the NewArkestra, this year in tribute to its founder and guiding spirit Amiri Baraka.

In ten years Mr. Smith has built the festival from a shoestring production operating at a deficit with a few thousand in attendance to a week-long extravaganza that draws over 50,000 people each year, boasts over 60 sponsors, and operates in the black with a budget of over \$100,000. Smith estimates that the festival has an annual economic impact on the city of over \$5-million. Some of this impact was visible at the site itself. Throughout the park white tents lined the walkways where vendors sold art and crafts and food. A healthy lifestyle pavilion offered free screenings, massage and yoga, while other tents sold fresh organic produce from the Lincoln Park Community Farm. A "green/sustainable" market showcased products and services offered by local and regional producers. The festival also programmed specific activities for children and families, including games, storytelling, skateboarding and sports clinics. Thus the Lincoln Park Music Festival is more than an event. It is about branding Lincoln Park as a venue for art and music and building a sense of community.

If the focus on music as a central component of African American identity and pride builds on the cultural aspects of community development, the emphasis on healthy lifestyles and sustainable development references another antecedent, and that is engaging local residents, and youth in particular, in social activism. In this sense, the forebear of the music festival is the first National Hip-Hop Political Convention, held in Newark in 2004. This three day event, attended by over 3000 mostly young people, aimed at capturing the energy of the "hip-hop generation" and turning it to productive political activity. The convention concluded with the adoption of an agenda for future action around five central issues: education, economic justice, criminal justice, health and human rights.¹⁷

The convention was chaired by Ras Baraka, then a Newark councilman, deputy mayor, and vice principal of Central High School in the city. Bayé Adofo-Wilson, the founding executive director of LPCCD, was one of the national co-chairs. So Newark's role extended well beyond providing the venue. The Hip-Hip Convention was only the latest in a series of political events of national scope that took place in Newark, going back to a national Black Power Convention in July, 1967, shortly after the civil disturbances rocked the city, and the election of Kenneth Gibson in 1970 as the first Black Mayor of a major northeastern city.¹⁸

THE LINCOLN PARK ACHIEVEMENT

At this point in its development, it is possible to summarize the ambitious goals of LPCCD:

- A sustainable neighborhood in Lincoln Park (housing, nutrition, landscape, public safety, services, shops);
- An urban arts district in Newark (the Façade Project, City Without Walls Gallery, Symphony Hall, Newark School of the Arts)
- A regional magnet for African American music (Lincoln Park Music Festival);
- A national destination for African American culture (Museum of African American Music)

Of these four goals, only the third, the music festival, has been fully realized. The magnitude of this accomplishment cannot be overstated, both for its intrinsic success and its larger role in building identity and recognition for the Lincoln Park Coast Cultural District. Significant progress has also been made in building a sustainable neighborhood, primarily through the construction of housing (77 units complete so far and another 18 ready to open soon), the Community Farm, and the green collar jobs training program. At the same time, however, a considerable amount of abandoned, derelict buildings and vacant land still remains, drug activity infests several privately owned local properties, and the population density has not yet reached the point where local retail is once again viable. On the bright side, two other developers have completed substantial new housing developments on the periphery of the district, and the owner of the largest two vacant parcels, the Newark-based RBH Group, is the developer of the successful Teachers Village project.

Progress on the urban arts district component rests largely on the completion of the façade project. While the mural dedication was a highlight, and the Community Farm a good use of the open land behind the façade, ground has yet to be broken for the performance stage. The Museum of African American Music, whose conception represents the culmination of the ideas first put forward in the 1980s as part of the Newark Music Project, remains a somewhat distant proposition. Nonetheless it is possible to assert that LPCCD has established itself as a force in the future development in the area. It has achieved professional recognition through its designation as New Jersey's first LEED ND (Neighborhood Development) and its inclusion on two occasions as continuing education events of the American Planning Association as an example of sustainable development. It has achieved national recognition from cultural institutions through its designation as a Smithsonian Affiliate and exemplar of Creative Placemaking by the National Endowment for the Arts. It has made Newark a destination city in the region each July for the Lincoln Park Music Festival. It has contributed in many ways to the local economy through its construction activity, its job training, and the ripple effect of the festival. Most importantly, it has established itself as a viable community development organization that is central to collaborative efforts at revitalizing the Lincoln Park neighborhood.

In celebrating the significance of the Music Festival in the trajectory of LPCCD it is critical to acknowledge the years of groundwork that paved the way in both pragmatic and conceptual terms. Together these factors describe the rooted gestation and strategic deployment

7. Beth Israel, still in operation, was purchased by the Barnabas Hospital Network in 1996. St Barnabas Hospital, originally located on High Street (now Martin Luther King, Jr, Blvd.) just blocks from Lincoln Park, relocated to Livingston, New Jersey, in 1964. http://www.livingplaces.com/NJ/Essex_County/Newark_City/Lincoln_Park_Historic_District.html.
8. With doctor's offices following the suburban migration of their client base, the two Medical Arts buildings were converted to other uses: one became the Newark School of the Arts, a private non-profit institution, founded in 1968 by two music teachers from Newark's public schools; the taller building was renovated in 1980 into low and moderate income senior apartments now known as Lincoln Park Towers.
9. Foremost among these are CURA and Integrity House, which each year assist over 2,000 individuals with their recovery from substance abuse. Because of the intensive supervision involved in running successful programs with drug offenders, these inpatient rehabilitation programs helped stabilize the neighborhood during the 1970s and 1980s when there was little investment or attention from other sources. Integrity House, notably, rehabilitated several fine town houses along with their carriage house back-buildings, helping preserve the architectural character of the Lincoln Park neighborhood.
10. The essential resource on this history is Barbara Kukla's book, *Swing City: Newark Nightlife, 1925-1950* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2002).
11. "Newark's 'Coast' and the Hidden Legacy of Urban Culture", in Baraka, Amiri. *Digging: The Afro-American Soul of American Classical Music* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010; ch. 14 pp 101-105). Baraka's political evolution led him through a series of allegiances, from Black Arts to Black nationalism to Marxism and Maoism.
12. Baraka, *ibid*. In the 2010 republication of the original essay, whenever mention is made of the Newark Music Project, Baraka inserted, in parentheses, "now Lincoln Park Coast cultural district".
13. Lincoln Park/Coast Cultural district Inc. Certificate of Incorporation, recorded with New Jersey Department of State, July 30, 1999.
14. For a history of LPCCD see the organization's website, <http://lpccd.org/> and "The Newark Music Project: The Long Gestation and Careful Exploitation of Pop-Up Urbanism in Newark's Lincoln Park", unpublished manuscript available from author.

of a pop-up event. The LPCCD story suggests the power of these temporary events to educate and mobilize as well as delight and entertain. They remind us that if pop-up urbanism is intended as a catalyst for social change, it needs to connect to deeper currents of social change. Noted scholar Peter Marcuse, in parsing the notion of “right to the city” (what rights? what city?) argues that “the main immediate contribution of the Right to the City: ...is a claim to a totality, to something whole and something wholly different from the existing city, the existing society.” It is this expression of a transformed society that distinguishes the Lincoln Park project. Following on Amiri Baraka’s early formulation of the Newark Music Project it projects a future Newark in which African American culture is honored as a crucial part of the American experience, where a flourishing arts district is part of an equitable urban society and where everyone’s human potential is nurtured. This would surely be different from the city as we know it today, riven by divisions of race and class. And suddenly a single pop-up event takes its place as a harbinger of social change.

15. Four properties were sold to Ingerman, a major developer of affordable housing in the Mid-Atlantic Region, who built 65 rental units using the Low Income Housing Tax Credit program, the main available funding for new housing construction at the time. In 2014 LPCCD divested itself of all housing holdings and undeveloped land and sold these properties to Community Asset Preservation Corp. (CAPC), a well-established non-profit whose mission—to stabilize and revitalize communities—meshed with that of Lincoln Park. CAPC is presently completing 18 affordable condominium units on Washington Street, just down the block from the original townhouses.
16. Anthony Smith, Interview with author. Sept. 8, 2015.
17. For an account of the convention see Jalylah Burrell, “Newark hosts first-ever National Hip-Hop Political Convention”, PrefixMagazine, July 26, 2004. <http://www.prefixmag.com/features/national-hip-hop-political-convention/newark-hosts-first-ever-national-hip-hop-political/12488/>
18. For an account of the convention see Jalylah Burrell, “Newark hosts first-ever National Hip-Hop Political Convention”, PrefixMagazine, July 26, 2004. <http://www.prefixmag.com/features/national-hip-hop-political-convention/newark-hosts-first-ever-national-hip-hop-political/12488/>
19. Peter Marcuse, “From critical urban theory to the right to the city”, *CITY*, Vol. 13, Nos. 2–3, June-September 2009, p. 194.