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The duality of space: The built world of Du Bois' double-consciousness

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Abstract
Using Du Bois' concept of double-consciousness, this article explores African Americans' responses to urban redevelopment strategies that undermine their claims to urban space. Set in post-Katrina New Orleans, this study centers residents' visions for urban redevelopment, which reveal the severe economic, social, and spatial inequalities that they have historically faced but also the beauty and vibrancy of these communities. This article explores the spatiality of black residents' double-consciousness and argues that space's material and symbolic functions contribute to residents' subaltern visions for urban development, views which counter the denigration of spaces inhabited by people of color with more socially and racially just visions for the future of the city.

Keywords
Black geographies, New Orleans, urban development

Introduction

In his seminal work, *The Souls of Black Folk*, Du Bois' (1903 [2005]) argued that blacks' identities are multi-faceted. In their double-consciousness, blacks see themselves through the eyes of white America, but also through their own eyes. ''Gifted with second-sight'', blacks in America see their denigration through the eyes of a white power structure and the possibilities of a world where they are not considered a *problem*. In a similar essay on Negro Art, Du Bois' (1926) argued that, ''We who are dark can see America in a way that white Americans cannot'' and questioned whether blacks were ''satisfied'' with America's ''present goals and ideas'' (n.p.).

Although originally written in 1903, Du Bois' theoretical construct remains useful today. It provides a foundation for understanding African Americans' responses to urban development epistemologies that undermine their claims to space and spatialization of memory, the latent geographies of racial processes, spatialized relationships between resistance and oppression, and the symbolic and material aspects of space. Despite a long

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history that has unequally shaped black geographies and the vulnerability of land claims amidst the triumph of neoliberalism, this "second sight" is a critical counter-narrative that presupposes liberation from domination and hegemony and articulates an alternative to "socio-spatial demonization" (Woods, 2007: 47). Using Du Bois' (1903 [2005]) conceptualization of second sight as a foundation bridged with recent black geographies scholarship, this article examines black residents' narratives and visions for resisting the dismantlement of the black urban sphere. Space is viewed as critical to blacks' liberatory worldview and this article interprets residents' responses to the spatialization of racial processes through a Du Boisian concept of urban space.

Drawing on qualitative research conducted in post-Katrina New Orleans, this article analyzes residents' diagnostic, interpretive, and liberatory narratives in two predominantly and historically black communities – Treme and the Lower Ninth Ward.[1] By considering residents' visions for how the city should redevelop in the wake of a storm that revealed the city's severe inequalities, this article argues that the spatial aspects of blacks' double-consciousness counter redevelopment paradigms steeped in expanding capital and white privilege while intensifying the vulnerability of blacks' land claims. Residents interviewed in this study diagnosed the racialized aspects of urban development by detailing the racial undercurrents of historical and contemporary development paradigms. At the same time, residents envisioned a different future where their social and spatial denigration would not be used as the basis of regenerative urban schemes that further fractured their urban histories and futures. This liberatory vision emphasizes the duality of space, the hidden beauty and resident's spatially embedded social, economic, and ecological lives. Ultimately, I argue that spatializing double-consciousness raises both theoretical and empirical questions for unearthing the intrinsic relationships between race and space, oppression and liberation.

A Du Boisian theory of space: Space and time, oppression and resistance

> It is a peculiar sensation, this double-consciousness, this sense of always looking at one's self through the eyes of others, of measuring one's soul by the tape of a world that looks on in amused contempt and pity. One ever feels his twoness – an American, a Negro; two souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings; two warring ideals in one dark body, whose dogged strength alone keeps it from being torn asunder. (Du Bois', 1903 [2005]: 7)

In this section, I develop a Du Boisian theory of space using the conceptualization of double-consciousness and then articulate how the work of more recent scholars, including McKittrick (2006, 2011), Woods (1998, 2007, 2010), Shabazz (2014, 2015), Lipsitz (2007, 2011) and others, expands the theoretical, methodological and analytical possibilities of this foundation. This theoretical framework is the backbone for the empirical work explored in the following sections.

Du Bois' historical contributions on the sociology of space and life in black America shape our understanding of the ways that racial processes are worked out through spatial structuring. His framing of the color line as "the problem of the 20th century" (1903 [2005]) demonstrates how space was intrinsically bound up in the spatial imaginary of white supremacy and its segregatory impulses at the turn of the 20th-century. While separate but equal legal doctrines have been overturned, a Du Bois' concept of double consciousness continues to offer insight into how race and space are intimately bound up in processes of oppression and resistance. Using a Du Boisian theory of space, we can trace

the ways that racial processes are constituted and resisted across different temporalities of racism.

Du Bois' conceptualization of double-consciousness, which focuses on blacks' experiences in America, centers blacks' insights into the workings of whiteness and their ideals as unreconciled with the "flood of white Americanism" (8) and its spatial hegemony. Just as Du Bois' (1899 [1996]) study of black Philadelphia called attention to the environmental and social workings of white supremacism and racialized capitalism, double-consciousness plants "the flesh of black experience" (Wilson, 2002: 32) across space and time, historically contextualizing and spatializing the impacts of racial oppression. Calling our attention to the "vast veil" (Du Bois', 1903: 6) between blacks and whites, this "twoness" situates blacks' experiences as insight into the ever-present and "relentlessly narrow, tall and unscalable" (7) geographies of racial oppression. As a spatial consciousness, double-consciousness illuminates experiences across the veil, elevating ongoing geographic and social racisms that anticipate (and therefore critique) the ways that racial processes are taken up through development paradigms. Beyond its diagnostic lens, double-consciousness communes a fuller breadth of blacks' experiences, knowledge and hopes, capturing how space is also the site through and in which beauty is revealed and cultivated. Double-consciousness is inherently geographical; it is a duality of space.

This duality is reflective of ongoing, locally contextualized racial processes, calling attention to how space is a site of and means through which racial oppressions are worked out and where racial categorizations are scaled and made salient. Spatializing double-consciousness allows us to think about the temporal and spatial specificities of racial processes (how the macro relates to the micro) while still holding constant white colonial and racialized capitalism in the Americas. At the same time that it brings hegemony home, double-consciousness can unsettle the ideological logic of (neo)plantation and modernist ontologies that emphasize the temporal linearity of progress, contain and delineate what *is* knowledge, and present place as a static, blank slate devoid of racialized experiences and structuring. In contrast to an emphasis on space as a container, a Du Boisian sense of space, as the empirical work presented in this article suggests, views space as inherently raced, relational and fluidly historical, material, distributional and symbolic. In its duality, space is the site of imagining the "unreconciled strivings" (Du Bois', 1903 [2005]: 7) of more racially just geographies.

To think about space this way draws out more nuanced and complex knowledge systems – space is both oppression and resistance, both past and present. Spatializing double-consciousness endows empirical analyses with more historical weight in order to contextualize and analytically connect the past with the present (Du Bois', 1899 [1996]; Wilson, 2002). The insightful power of twoness also lies in raising up historical and contemporary structures not only as evidence of geographic racisms, but also as tools of memory and desire. As a theory of space and "double ideals" (Du Bois', 1903 [2005]: 221–222), double-consciousness combines critique and vision, both of which are imperative to building racially just geographies and moral, human futures based on freedom (Kelley, 2003) and liberation. Urban space then is not only a container or a location where developers and gentrifiers can "maximize profit, location, and aesthetics" and normalize the "discourse that black experiences and histories as embodied in the landscape are expendable" (Crutcher, 2006: 35) – it is simultaneously a site where the social, material and symbolic needs of non-dominant groups are met and where alternative futures are imagined.

While Du Bois' double-consciousness is historically situated, as a theory of space it unearths geographical expressions of oppression and resistance across space and time, just as racial projects "capture the simultaneous and co-constitutive ways that racial meanings

are translated into social [and spatial] structures'' (Omi and Winant, 2014: 109) and freedom dreams are (and have always been) imagined (Kelley, 2003) through new spatial paradigms. A Du Boisian theory of space requires that we think about the built environment of the American city as the material and symbolic sites of ongoing racial processes *and* the resistance to these processes.

Recent work on black geographies expands the theoretical potential of a Du Boisian theory of space by relating colonial and plantation processes across diasporic urban contexts and temporalities and centering how ''race is produced by space'' (Lipsitz, 2011: 5) and ''black matters are spatial matters'' (McKittrick, 2006: xiv). Black geographic scholarship elevates the unreconciled ''terrain through which different geographic stories can be and are told'' (McKittrick, 2006: x). While this scholarship demonstrates how space operates to symbolically naturalize landscapes as immutable (Kohn, 2003), it also maps ongoing forms of resistance and imagination – the human and decolonized imaginaries that transcend the hegemony of whiteness.

Analytically, spatializing double-consciousness dislodges historical racial oppressions (Balfour, 1998) and ongoing colonial and plantation practices that foretell racial futures. Countering a white racial frame (Feagin, 2013) that segregationist plantation ideologies are the only spatial structure of racial apartheid, spatializing double-consciousness re-presents ongoing racial histories and the entanglements of race and place (McKittrick, 2011). Empirically, double-consciousness maps the ''seeable and unseeable'' (McKittrick, 2006: x) contours of racial processes and critiques how these processes and the spaces through which they take place are imbued with racial meanings and bound up in racial imaginaries (Lipsitz, 2011) that are worked out through environmental and developmental racisms. As a theoretical frame, it symbolizes the complex geographies of ''exploitation and subjugation as well as resistance'' (Inwood, 2009: 490; McKittrick, 2006: xi).

While its critiques illuminate the lived experiences of racially oppressive geographies (mapping what, through development is unmapped), second sight also diagrams resistant geographies and employs ''alternative geographic formulations that subaltern communities advance'' (McKittrick, 2006: xix). As McKittrick (2006) and Kelley (2003) show, racial geographies conceive of different futures and allow us to ''reconfigure geographic realities'' (Inwood, 2009: 490) into new development paradigms. For planning and design disciplines, dual conceptualizations of space alter the potential futures within which racial processes unfold and therefore disrupt the linearity of modernist development paradigms. ''The geographic significance of double-consciousness emerges both from the identity it describes...and also the ways that identity calls into question the 'natural geographic arrangements' which form the basis of modernity'' (McKittrick, 2006: 146 as quoted in Inwood, 2009: 490). Second sight resistently maps space, producing what Lipsitz (2007) calls ''moral geographies'' of non-white supremacist spaces that challenge racial processes (Cheng, 2013).

Second sight's moral geographic imaginary counters ongoing socio-spatial paradigms that privilege whiteness. A white spatial imaginary, Lipsitz (2011) argues, ''idealizes 'pure' and homogenous spaces, controlled environments and predictable patterns of design and behavior. It seeks to hide social problems rather than solve them,'' (29). Dwyer and Jones (2000) similarly argue that white spatial epistemologies are characterized by Euclidean individualism, while Harris (1993) and Wilkins (2007) draw our attention to the ways through which whiteness operates spatially through structures of property and spatial appropriation. Whiteness is also ontologically and procedurally bound up in visual order and seeks to spatialize and control blackness (Browne, 2012, 2015) through geographies of racialized privilege.

Thus, racial geographies and categories are, as Pulido et al. (1996), Pulido (2000), Cheng (2013) and Shabazz (2015) also argue, "shored up" (Shabazz, 2015: 15) by (and as) spatialized expressions of white supremacy through the micro-level and state-sponsored violence and surveillance of the (re)containment practices of Euclidean control and urban policy. Both the plantation and prison are spatially and historically rooted in the impulses racial oppression (McKittrick, 2011) and in geographies that have always been both punitive and legal (Shabazz, 2015). The importance of historically linking the prison and carceral state to plantationism, as McKittrick and Shabazz do, is to elevate the persistence of racial oppression as an ongoing project that *takes place* within and across different socio-political contexts and temporalities. The geographies of the Jim Crow South, the redlined and violently segregated communities in the American North and the geographies of economic decline and urban abandonment of post-Civil Rights cities represent the regional specificity of "race-connected practices" (Wilson, 2002: 37), but so too do the new geographies of gentrification, dispossession and neoliberal, race-blind urbanism. These more recent regenerative narratives privilege economic expansion and inner-city revitalization while remaining largely silent on racial equality. They too can be framed as geographically expressed, seeming immutable forms of spatialized racial oppression that fit within a spatial logic of whiteness. Neoliberal colorblindness, the now "hegemonic racial project" (Omi and Winant, 2014), and state-led attempts to promote a "post-racial rhetoric" (Woods, 2007: 48) can be seen *taking place* in the transformed inner-city landscapes of dismantled public housing, increased surveillance and the speculative redevelopment of inner-city neighborhoods (Brenner and Theodore, 2002: 23–25).

These spatial practices are "knotted [in the] diasporic tenets of coloniality, dehumanization, and resistance" that are given, again and again, a "geographic future" (McKittrick, 2011: 949) through new development paradigms and, as we see in the study presented here, responses to crises such as environmental change. The "sedimentations of past sociospatial practices embedded in cumulative urban form" (Schein, 2006: 942) are the context within which we situate redevelopment work such as that which unfolded in post-Katrina New Orleans. These racial geographies are, as I argue in this paper, taken up by residents' critiques of *past and present* experiences of racial geographic oppression that delineate "the ways in which seemingly race-neutral urban sites contain deeply embedded racial assumptions" (Lipsitz, 2011: 13). A Du Boisian theory of space diagnoses the ways that white spatial ontologies are worked out locally through development paradigms and the "constantly reemerging plantation blocs" (Woods, 2007: 58) of neo-plantation economies and spatial ontologies.

Yet this critique is balanced by second sight's resistant epistemology. A black spatial imaginary, as Lipsitz (2011) argues, counters the spatial reductivism of whiteness with its own collective complexities and irreducibility to valuation through a white racial frame. Work that (re)situates and scales the experiences of racial oppression, in both a geographic sense (Harris-Lacewell, 2004; May, 2001) and in a political sense (Boyd, 2008) and that maps untold, cleared histories (Pulido et al., 2015) articulates the twoness of space by showing how space can *also* provide a sanctuary where blacks are free from everyday racism (Boyd, 2008; Kelley, 1994; Morrison, 2004). These homeplaces (hooks, 1990) shelter black spatial imaginaries, providing a *subsidy* for resistant epistemologies and ideological resistance (Harris-Lacewell, 2007; Scott, 1990) that make demands on the state based on shared solidarities and public goods (Lipsitz, 2007) and imagine radical futures and "alternative habits of being" (hooks, 1990: 41–49).

An analysis that (re)represents resistant geographic imaginaries humanizes landscapes, validates blacks' experiences of racist development paradigms, and centers blacks' insights

for different geographic futures. Studies, such as the one presented here, that center polyphonal geographic knowledge and blues epistemologies (Woods, 2007: 54) and counter-publics (Inwood, 2011), ''alternative mapping practices'' (McKittrick, 2011: 949), maps of cultural genealogies (hooks, 1995), microspaces (Kohn, 2003) of resistance, spatial claims that elevate racial consciousness (Cheng, 2013), and every day resistant activities defend, produce and (re)value black geographies and center more socially just visions of the built environment. Mapping ''representational spaces'' (Lefebvre, 1991) that center critical sites in the construction of double consciousness make visible the tactics and imaginaries that can open up an opportunity for a radical reordering of urban landscapes (Tyner, 2006; 2007).

The dual impulses of double-consciousness, its critique of racially oppressive geographies and its vision for more racially just geographic futures, link race, space, and time across diasporic contexts and historical trajectories. Double-consciousness calls our attention to the relational and racial aspects of urban distributive decisions (Brand, 2015), thereby dismantling the neutrality of development paradigms. In this study, black residents' spatial practices and narratives are a way of building and defending, loving and cherishing place, community and self. These sites contribute to the use of space for resistance to hegemony – elevating the ''centrality of race'' (May, 2001: 7) and countering the ''homogenizing forces'' of gentrification and the ''deterritorialization'' of black communities that are linked to ''the withdrawal of physical space from which blacks can organize their experience into a politics and culture of resistance'' (Haymes, 1995: 106–107). Space is the material, social and symbolic foundation of double-consciousness. It is essential for (re)imagining a more racially just world.

Research methods and setting

Pre-Katrina, New Orleans was predominantly black (67%) and it was this population that was most affected by the city's failing public schools, tourism-dependent economy, and deep environmental racism. Black residents lived in geographies with higher rates of abandonment and poorer access to open spaces, health services and public transportation. The city's black population, now 59.6%, suffered the most substantial population loss from Katrina (Plyer, 2011). The city has become whiter, more affluent and less affordable (Plyer et al., 2008) due to a confluence of rebuilding strategies that focused on the closure of public housing, gentrification, a revitalized tourist economy (Gotham, 2007) and entrepreneurial economic development approaches that all but ignore racial equity.

The research settings for this research were chosen for their racial demographic and for their pre- and post-Katrina redevelopment contexts. Like many American cities, New Orleans is highly segregated by race and income, although this segregation is more nuanced within micro-neighborhoods (Campanella, 2006). This nuanced racial segregation was most prevalent in the Lower Ninth Ward, a larger neighborhood district that is predominantly African American (95.3% in 2000 and 92.4% in 2010) but whiter and wealthier toward the high ground along the Mississippi River. Treme's racial demographics are changing more rapidly than the Lower Nine. Whereas blacks made up 92.4% of the population in 2000, they were only 74.5% of the population post-Katrina and whites, 4.9% of the pre-Katrina Treme population, were 17.4% of the population in 2010.[2]

Both the Lower Ninth Ward and Treme are historically and predominantly black communities. Treme, developed in the late 18th-century as a home for Free People of Color and Black Creoles (Hirsch and Logsdon, 1992), is known for its rich culinary and musical cultures. Located just north of the city's French Quarter, it is on higher ground and saw little of the extensive flooding seen in the Lower Ninth Ward during Katrina. However,

given its higher ground and adjacency to the city's gentrifying neighborhoods along the river, Treme has become a much-contested neighborhood in terms of its development and gentrification pressures (Brand, 2014). The Lower Ninth Ward is home to a historically rooted community and was one of the first neighborhoods where African-Americans could purchase homes. Devastated by flooding and the loss of life during Katrina, the Lower Nine has been one of the slowest neighborhoods to recover, despite its high levels of home-ownership[3] and activism.

Together, the Lower Ninth Ward and Treme represent the extremes of over-development and under-development in black urban spaces in the 21st-century (Brand, 2015). The empirical work presented below draws on research conducted in New Orleans between 2009 and 2012, with additional qualitative research in 2015–2016. Unstructured interviews with residents, activists, and community leaders in both the Treme and Lower Ninth Ward and participant and non-participant observations at neighborhood meetings and community events were the primary data for this research. Over 20 interviews were conducted and between 70 and 100 hours of participant observations were made in each setting. Data was transcribed and analyzed using grounded theory (Charmaz, 2006). During the course of data analysis, I utilized black geographic scholarship and Du Bois' work on double-consciousness to make sense of residents' insights into development processes and the planning imaginaries unfolding in the city. In other words, Du Bois' was the foundation for analyzing residents' narratives that evoked the racism inherent in development paradigms and imagined another future for the city.

Treme

Treme's history signifies how socio-cultural identities are constituted by the relationship between place, history, and race. Treme, originally a plantation, emerged from New Orleans' historical patterns of racial segregation (Campanella, 2006) and racial intermixing (Hirsch and Logsdon, 1992). Black Creoles and Free People of Color, who owned property and businesses during slavery, built a substantial black middle class by the mid-20th-century. It is a dense neighborhood, where music halls, bars, and corner stores intermix with Creole cottages and shotgun houses with small stoops where residents talk with neighbors and people passing by. The community was once dominated by black-owned businesses along Claiborne and Orleans Avenues and green spaces along Claiborne's wide neutral grounds – all of which were shaped, until the mid-20th-century, by blacks' exclusion from the city's main shopping corridor on Canal Street (Crutcher, 2010). Treme's built environment forms the backbone of residents' socio-cultural practices, including its now revered jazz funeral, second-line, and brass band traditions. While these practices and use of space grew from practices of racial exclusion, they also became the foundation for residents' subaltern worlds and double-consciousness (Du Bois', 1903 [2005]).

Despite its rich traditions, Treme has always been vulnerable to capitalist urban development paradigms that elevate the growth of the tourist economy at the expense of black residents' claims to space. Residents' interviewed in this study emphasized this in their recollections of the significant changes brought to the community by major urban planning interventions by the mid-20th-century (Brand, 2014). The construction of the I-10 overpass along Claiborne Avenue in the late 1960s "killed Treme"[4] and, with the urban renewal construction of the tourist centered Louis Armstrong Park, the development of a middle class black community in New Orleans East, and the construction of two public housing developments, led to the demolition of homes and green space, the further segregation of the community and the demise of Treme's commercial corridors.

Residents interviewed paired their recollections of the ways their community had suffered from racialized development and decline alongside equally vivid and positive recollections about the built environment and the socio-cultural spaces that provided a sense of dignity and pride. Many described Treme as a neighborhood "where everybody knew ya" and where many "community strongholds" such as bars and corner stores made up the fabric of the community.[5] Blacks are geographically "rooted in these areas," one activist explained.[6] Explaining the rich psychology of residents' socio-spatial practices that include taking a half an hour to make it to the corner store because you have to stop and talk to your neighbors sitting on their stoops, one resident noted, "Treme is a way of life more than a place." For others, the simple space of the stoop functions as a place where they build their sense of a connected community. One activist noted that growing up, he could not get away with anything because his grandparents, aunts, and family friends would all sit on their stoops and watch over him.

Further explaining the connections between the built and social environments, this activist noted that black residents' spatial practices emerged from the fact that poor blacks have always had to be resourceful and make do with less. In this sense, the built environment and its emplaced networks help residents survive the unequal economic and development system they live within. Local businesses allowed poorer black residents to meet their everyday needs within walking distance. Longtime residents recalled the history of truck farming and the memory of hearing truck farmers coming through the streets shouting out, "I got bananas, I got okra."[7] Commenting on the intrinsic connections between social, economic and built worlds, one activist noted, "I know how to survive in a town where I come from – it is far tougher in another city where I was displaced."[8]

The connections between the built environment and blacks' socio-cultural worlds are historical as much as they are contemporary. Although Treme currently has fewer black-owned businesses, residents' memories of these places remain present in their ways of valuing the community (Brand, 2014). Residents talking about Candlelight Inn as a current hub for brass bands simultaneously recalled bars such as Joe's Cozy Corner, Berthas, and Caldonia's and other black owned businesses of the past in the same breath. Black residents, including ones who had never lived in Treme, also stressed its historical importance as an emplaced black community. This simultaneity is critical in the spatiality of double-consciousness because it disquiets the silencing of history and clearance and disrupts the linear logic of modern notions of progress.

In addition to the historical roots and socio-economic wellbeing, residents stressed how the emplaced community had contributed to their own positive identities. The traditional cultural practices of social aid and pleasure clubs provide "dignity and discipline" explained one organizer. For instance, the Black Men of Labor intentionally focus on traditional forms of brass music and keeping the music in the streets. This focus is further detailed in practices such as maintaining the traditional formal dress of brass bands and honoring members' African roots by wearing traditional Senegalese fabric. This organizer connected this focus to recognizing former black organizers and activists that had been "knowledgeable and brave enough" to try to create change in the black community and to ensure that outsiders viewed them with integrity. "You're not going to identify us like that...You can't put us all in the same box," explained this activist. Similarly, residents' spatial practices such as masking at Carnival, allow them to transform their experience of denigrated spaces by celebrating their own autonomy and freedom.[9] Explaining how Mardi Gras became "culturally different" once he started masking, one activist explained that his experience of segregation was transformed spatially and socially by celebrating his identity as a black man. The wife of a local Mardi Gras Indian also

noted how important masking was to participants' sense of beauty despite the racial oppression they faced.

Although respondents richly accounted the community's spatially rooted socio-cultural identity, they also elevated its persistent vulnerability. Residents interviewed connected the historical pattern of racialized development in Treme – from which their community has suffered spatially, economically, and socially, with their current concerns and fears about "history repeating itself"[10] through heightened gentrification and redevelopment. The post-Katrina redevelopment pressures include the redevelopment of the Iberville and Lafitte public housing projects, a new bio-medical district, the Lafitte Greenway, the potential redevelopment of Claiborne Avenue, and the city's streetcar expansion (Brand, 2014). One residents noted that Treme's problems and the black community had been ignored until there was a need to "use that area"[11] for tourism and gentrification. Activists' and residents' fears that future development will affect Treme's affordability and livability for current and long-time black residents point to the essential vulnerability of low-income minoritized neighborhoods in the persistent face of urban redevelopment paradigms focused solely on racialized exchange values. Their concerns highlight the instability of their land claims within capitalist redevelopment agendas and their memories show these fears to be historically valid.

By linking the past with the present, residents point out how their place in the city has suffered because of racism, but also how they have historically resisted internalizing this racism. The *presence of the past* in residents' narratives can be seen as an act of survival – one through which residents recall not only the importance of past denigration, but also one where residents recall their neighborhood as a place of refuge and dignity. Treme residents conceptualize a socio-spatial ontological truth through their work to fight for the neighborhood's continued existence as a historical and living black neighborhood, but also through their non-denigrated mental maps of the neighborhood. Residents' narrative about the undercurrent of racialized decline is paired with their sense of Treme's continued vitality. Thus, Treme residents' dual socio-spatial ontologies are constituted by processes of "socio-spatial demonization" (Woods, 2007: 47) *and* reclamation. The sites and places of Treme, both historical and current, and the socio-spatial practices are more than the backdrop for these mental struggles against internalizing racial oppression, they are they means through which non-denigrated view of self and racialization occur.

Lower Ninth Ward

Much like Treme, the Lower Ninth Ward is a historical home to blacks in New Orleans – a neighborhood steeped in strongly emplaced familial roots and a tradition of porch sitting and visiting. Pre-Katrina, it was a mix of homes with neighborhood bars, corner stores, churches, and schools. Despite being a place that residents fought to come home to after Katrina, the Lower Ninth Ward is also a neighborhood that has historically been the last to benefit from urban development and technological advances. It was the last neighborhood in the city to benefit from the city's drainage efforts in the early 20th-century (Lewis, 2003) and the last where city services were restored and residents were allowed to return to after Katrina (Green et al., 2007).

While the Lower Ninth Ward was devastated by Katrina, much of the media's racialized denigration of the Lower Nine as unsalvageable fueled early planning efforts led by the Mayor's Bring New Orleans Back Commission (BNOBC) to designate the majority of the neighborhood as future green space (Green et al., 2007). Residents interviewed in this study noted that although community activism pressured then Mayor Nagin to retreat from

planned shrinkage, "de facto" underdevelopment has persisted in the years following the storm. Stymied efforts to get a grocery store in the community elucidate the deeply political and unequal nature of recovery which, residents explained, has stemmed from a combination of overt redevelopment prohibitions and racialized prohibitions such as the Road Home program that originally awarded less money to Lower Ninth Ward homeowners than to homeowners whose property values reflected their affluence.[12] In pointing these prohibitions out, residents also pointed out their own work to reclaim the community through their activism and support of sustainable development agendas, including major redevelopment projects like Make it Right and Global Green and smaller scale urban agriculture, bayou reclamation, and open space projects, all of which link the imaginative to the social, practical, racial and visionary aspects of *recovery as space*. The community has, in the wake of Katrina, maintained their deeply rooted community activism and attempts to shape development to meet their aspirations.

For Lower Nine residents interviewed in this study, the neighborhood closely intertwines the spatial with the social and their living history shapes meaning and security. Much like Treme, the Lower Ninth Ward's history and urban development patterns inform residents' socio-spatial ontologies. Across the neighborhood, both long-time and recent residents use porches as critical social spaces for gathering and talking. Residents' constellations of being are captured in their emphasis on the importance of these spaces for building community and connecting with family, friends, and neighbors. "You knew people not by name but because they sat on their porch" one resident explained.[13] This resident further noted that one of the first things she bought after Katrina was a bench for her porch, so that she could "come home" by sitting on her porch and reconnecting with the folks. For many Lower Nine residents, porches are the spaces where relationships are even built across racial and class lines and across the lines between new comers and old timers. "You know, air conditioning really took a bite out of that – but you do still see people sitting on their porches and sitting on their stoops...I see my neighbors – those neighbors are out almost every evening," said one resident.[14] "I've got porches that I visit that are blocks away," she further noted.[15] "People always speak here – you know, 'Hi, How you doing?'... although I think they might be a little more friendly down here – I think that's a country thing" noted one resident.[16] One resident described the Lower Nine as a "homestead" – where she was raised and where everyone she knew came from.

> [The porches are] places where you build community – like on a beautiful day like this – go and sit outside and [talk with] people who walk the block... People release things when talking. [This] emotional attachment pervades every place. [When I returned after the storm, I] walked around to talk to the people and see Louisiana license plates. Made me feel so good because I knew I was home and I knew that nobody else could make me leave from here...we had that connection of just "wow! I'm home"... and it was because we watched out for one another, we still watch out for one another.[17]

Residents view the Lower Nine's land not only as a part of their social fabric but as an economic and material resource for a community that has always had less and had to make do under the inequalities of capitalism (Haymes, 1995). Residents memories of "making do" through local farming and fishing and crabbing in Bayou Bienvenue capture the connections between place and subsistence. "They would go back there and fish... and go hunting and go out in boats," explained one resident.[18] This older black resident recalled that north of Claiborne Avenue, prior to the full development of the neighborhood, there were large lots of land being used for local farming efforts that served residents directly (with fruits and vegetables) and economically (residents sold produce out of trucks). Space became vital

to the community in different ways after the storm. Churches, some of the first community spaces to come back after the storm, offered community space for residents and became critical sites for community-driven planning meetings that yielded residents' sustainable development visions for rebuilding after Katrina.

Despite the low property values, lack of urban amenities, the private development market's reluctance to site retail spaces and grocery stores here both prior to and after Katrina, and historically poor city services, residents pointed out places of value and beauty in their community, including churches and community spaces. They noted that despite the lack of urban amenities they were committed to living in this specific neighborhood. "There is nowhere in New Orleans where you can walk up onto the levee and have such an expansive and truly glorious view of the sky" noted one resident.[19]

In the Lower Nine, political activism has always been a dominant part of the community's socio-spatial identity and much of this activism is directed toward development and environmental racism. The school desegregation movement (Landphair, 1999) and residents' continued fight against the widening of the Industrial Canal are a part of this tradition, one now steeped in post-Katrina activism to rebuild an affordable and sustainable community (Gadbois, 2013). Residents' activism contributes to their identity as being resilient and resourceful. They actively reconstruct their neighborhood, pushing against private development markets that do not function the same way they do for more affluent white communities. Residents' political activism is rooted in restructuring space to meet their needs and demand better outcomes from urban planning and development. In this sense, Lower Nine residents' visions link the political with the spatial and critique the unequal urban development paradigms that perpetuate inequality through space. In the way that hooks (1995) links the political with the imaginative and built worlds of blacks' vernacular architecture, residents use space to document the differences they experience spatially in order to fight for improvements to their neighborhood.

Lower Ninth Ward residents' narratives stress the importance of the neighborhood's racial history for those who have historically had less power. They use history (their political and environmental activism within a racialized landscape) to promote a positive racial identity beyond their recognition of racial oppression. As in Treme, Lower Nine residents identified the persistently racialized urban development paradigms that shape their community, connecting the degradation of their built environment to an environmental racism that makes them more vulnerable to flooding and to the unequal impacts of economic expansion through development.[20] Lower Nine residents pair this narrative of disinvestment with one of their own resilience and work to shape the spaces of their neighborhood. As one explained, "if you live in the Lower Nine post-Katrina you are surviving."[21] These discordant yet simultaneous memories of oppression and resilience critique environmental and developmental racism while imagining a more just geography that fundamentally centers on their right to inhabit urban space. The duality of these interpretations offer a more complex understanding of racial experiences that go beyond simplistic descriptions of degraded, racialized places, a narrative that paves the way – as it always has – for clearance and erasure.

Lower Nine residents challenge the denigration of their neighborhood. Racial oppression – which has had and continues to have economic, spatial, psychological, and political repercussions, has a counterpart and counter-space in a resistant, politicized spatial imaginary. Residents use their history, experience, and solidarity to conceptualize their own sense of self and community as, as Langston Hughes writes, beautiful and not ashamed of their emplaced and historical denigration.[22] Lower Nine residents resist normative meanings of landscape by constructing their own visions, interpretations,

and practices of independence and survival – an example of their double-consciousness (Du Bois', 1903; Haymes, 1995).

Spatializing Du Bois' double-consciousness – Theoretical and empirical concerns

To think about space from the perspective of residents in Treme and the Lower Ninth Ward raises theoretical, methodological and analytical questions that can inform not only our scholarship but also planning and design decisions that actively reshape the city by evoking resident participation and constructing built environments. Using the empirical work presented in the previous sections as a foundation, in this and the following section I ask the following questions: If racialization is and has always been geographical, how might resistance also be geographical, territorial and spatial? If the history of empiricism requires verification and reliability, how might interpretive and symbolic knowledges be elevated and valued to resist and counter the ongoing processes of racialized dispossession in the 21st-century? Finally, how might this resistance to ongoing processes of violent dispossession and dis/emplacement of black bodies be not only the material substance of double-consciousness, but also its liberatory potential?

In post-Katrina New Orleans, the deployment of neoliberal urban redevelopment strategies (Woods, 2007) has obfuscated black geographic claims to imagining what an equitable recovery of the city might be (Brand, 2015) and undermined blacks' claim to space. This has occurred through development, but also through public engagement processes (Brand, 2015; Reardon et al., 2008). Though the dominant urban development paradigms through which black spaces are expendable or appropriated is not new, the late 20th and early 21st-centuries mark new spatial iterations of these racial/spatial processes.[23] While there are parallels across time and space, racial geographies take place differently in and across different contexts given local topography, politics, historical economic vulnerability, and development trajectories/interests. While Hurricane Katrina did present a moment from which the city's racial topographies and geographies would be reinscribed, it is critical to evaluate both how historically racialized geographies were at work in the remaking of the city and where redevelopment paradigms reflected new spatial ontologies of racial oppression and resistance. Treme and the Lower Ninth Ward were founded on and grew out of a common history of racial oppression, yet they are vulnerable in different ways in the 21st-century. What we see in the cases presented here is that residents' claims call out the specificities of how racialized redevelopment has been deployed and contextualized over time and how these processes are being reinscribed through new development modes. Thus, we see that the post-disaster over-development and gentrification of a historically black neighborhood like Treme *and* the under-development of a historically black neighborhood like the Lower Ninth Ward are both linked to new racial/spatial ontologies. In this study, residents' narratives linked the macro processes of racialization to the local and micro spaces of the built environment across different temporalities of development racisms and their new iterations in a post-disaster moment.

Yet at the *same* time that black geographies are vulnerable to plantation logics, they also evidence – and have always evidenced – resistant strategies and ontologies. Treme and the Lower Ninth Ward are not *only* the sites of blight, abandonment or cultural appropriation. Treme is *also* a world built largely by Free People of Color and black tradesmen. It is a neighborhood where woman historically owned property and where a once vibrant black business core is meaningful for memory and evidencing history just as it was meaningful

to everyday existence. Treme is *also* a place where the underpass of a bisecting expressway has been reclaimed for ritual and celebration (Brand, 2014). The Lower Ninth Ward is *also* a site of black owned property, expansive social connections, land cultivation and beauty. It is a community that fought to come back and envision a future for themselves in this specific geography; a community that reclaimed an abandoned Walgreens for a church and community meeting space and a bayou as their connection to nature.

This duality is the substance through which black residents in this study interpreted and challenged their literal and symbolic place within redevelopment paradigms that would yield clearance, abandonment and displacement for those who had long struggled to resist in place. Residents' diagnosis of the historical racism that has structured their communities and experiences and their hold on a history of their own activism and dignity are the substance for their second sight. Space is not just a container of unequal outcomes – it is *also* the foundation for countering oppression through resistant imaginaries that refuse denigration as the defining characteristic. Residents in Treme and the Lower Ninth Ward presented their communities as ones that have struggled and resisted the stigmatization of their homeplace. They have constructed socio-spatial ontologies that challenge positivist limitations. The materiality and subsidy of spaces such as stoops and black-owned businesses provide tangible economic and social benefits and residents' spatial practices, such as second-lining and gathering together, make use of these spaces to construct subaltern worlds.

This duality manifests in residents' non-denigrated views of their communities. While respondents in Treme and the Lower Ninth Ward interpreted space through the lens of historical racism, they also conveyed their own interpretations of space. Rather than accepting the visible conditions of their neighborhood and the devaluation of their land as the only indicator of their community's worth, they saw their neighborhoods as beautiful and vibrant, alive and full. Residents drew on their history of resistance to articulate the importance of their emplaced geographies for their cultural, social, and economic survival. This view counters dominant modes of valuing land for its (depressed and historically structured) economic values and places emphasis on community and history. Residents' connections between history and memory validate their concerns for their own vulnerability and illuminate the ways the city is developed unequally. By making both discursive and interpretive connections between their landscape and larger societal constructs, Treme and the Lower Nine residents diagnosed the causes of these inequalities and challenged the internalization of denigration. Residents (re)claimed and used space to merge their "double self into a better and truer self" (Du Bois', 1903[2005]) by emphasizing the material, ephemeral, and symbolic aspects of space.

Treme and Lower Ninth Ward residents' narratives reveal the duality of resilience and survival and city-led (re)(de)construction. Space for residents in both neighborhoods is critical to constituting this duality. Space provides tangible resources and emplaced networks that validate residents' memories and experiences, provide refuge from direct discrimination and help residents overcome the impacts of economic and racial discrimination. Residents in Treme and the Lower Ninth Ward *use space* to construct their knowledge of the world and reinterpret their racialized landscapes. Space therefore (re)constitutes knowledge systems that are relational and dynamic, interpretive and diagnostic. In both neighborhoods, residents' temporal and spatial knowledge helped structure the possibility for more racially just landscapes, particularly given that forms of resistance produce their own geographies (Wilson, 2002) and their own definitions of beauty. This fluid simultaneity is core to a Du Boisian sense of space.

The tape of a world

> Everything has to be proven. We know this shit, but we always have to prove it based on ways of measuring in the dominant culture.[24]

The logic of racial oppression is spatial – it is Cartesian, mappable, knowable, rational, linear and ahistorical. These dominant narratives, or what Lefebvre (1991) called representations of space, are "dangerously linear" (McKittrick, 2011) and overly emphasize and therefore naturalize the statistical differences between whites and non-whites (McKittrick and Woods, 2007), re-inscribing them onto the landscape. When applied to urban development, this overly essentialist depiction of blacks' lives can dismantle blacks' spatial and social claims by detailing the outcomes of systemic racial inequality rather than their structural roots. This abstraction foretells its own racial futures.

The reduction of urban space to these frames has been used to justify urban revitalization schemes, a history well told in the history of urban renewal (Fullilove, 2005) and in more recent displacement, gentrification and public housing reform processes (Smith, 1996; Vale, 2013). The reduction of black geographies to numbers of inequality astructurally and ahistorically obscures the forces through which racial processes are spatialized and negates the ongoing implications of shared plantation and colonial pasts and therefore racialized capitalist futures.

We can *see* Treme and the Lower Ninth Ward through the lens of high rates of poverty, unemployment, poor education, blight, abandonment, and any other myriad of descriptive statistics that amplify the ways in which structural racism and advanced capitalism have reproduced and emplaced racial inequality – but this is only one way of seeing. We can also see Treme and the Lower Ninth Ward as sites of resistance to development paradigms that render blacks' claims to space vulnerable, as sites of beauty and emplaced community and as sites that validate a history or racial processes and resistance to these processes. Just as residents in this study understood their space in the city, we can see and therefore utilize second sight as a diagnostic lens *and* as a lens to articulate the deep resonance of these spaces.

The hegemony of a modernist analytical frame, with its linear temporality and presentation of *facts*, omits the nuanced critiques and spatially resistant strategies of double-consciousness and thus narrows the platforms from which we might imagine justice. In obscures black communities' everyday claims on the state, as well as their claims for equity-based redevelopment paradigms through democratic platforms such as urban planning (Brand, 2015). Treme and the Lower Ninth Ward residents observed these intertwining layers of racialized oppression and how their existence has been reduced in many ways to these "measurable facts" (Du Bois', 1903; McKittrick and Woods, 2007). Their emplaced knowledge points to the deep repercussions of socio-spatial neglect – that "place not valued translates to people not being valued" (Woods, 2007: 47).[25] By illuminating the deeper history, residents' diagnostic (as opposed to descriptive) view of space and time opens up the possibilities for questioning the ongoing coupling and entwined entanglements of race and place and therefore opens up new empirical paths for city building.

If the history of empiricism requires verification and reliability, then how might Du Bois' second sight pose different analytical questions that elevate interpretive and symbolic knowledge that resist and counter the ongoing processes of racialized dispossession in the 21st-century and to imagine more just futures? A second sight ontology allows us to see and give weight to the rich terrain outlined in the empirical work above. It disrupts the

immutability and naturalized ordering of space in a way that also challenges the inevitability of racial/spatial formation. By disrupting this positivist reduction of black bodies to the ''where'' of essentialized facts (McKittrick and Woods, 2007: 6), Lower Ninth Ward and Treme residents denaturalized their racialized landscapes and re-presented their ongoing efforts to create different geographic futures. Using a Du Boisian theory of space and recent work by McKittrick (2006), Shabazz (2015), Lipsitz (2011) and others, we can develop new methodological approaches to understanding the spatial production of subaltern knowledge systems that can counter development paradigms that decenter black geographic experiences.

Residents' own gaze of these communities as beautiful and socially vibrant and their community and development aspirations are a form of knowledge that can be mapped in order to reconstruct reconstruct erased histories (Woods, 1998) and new modes of thought, resistance and being in space. Subaltern critiques, found in forms of cultural and spatial reconstruction throughout the American North and South (hooks, 1995; Woods, 2007) and found here in residents' epistemological understandings of the ways they have shaped their communities over time, can also be mapped in ways that ask new empirical questions and form new possibilities. Residents in this study thus reframe the ''problem'' of the 21st-century not as just one of displacement (Fullilove, 2005) or the color line (Du Bois', 1903) but also as one where the continued workings of racism are spatially reconstructing cities through narratives of environmental justice, gentrification and appropriation that work to dismantle black geographic claims. Residents in this study recast this tangled history and evaluate its new spatial contours, yet by emphasizing the duality of space through resistant ontologies that counter the linearity of history and pose different analytical questions, they call for a deeper understanding of how racial processes *and* resistance to these processes are *taking place* in a post-disaster city.

The reification of black death, as linked to the intertwined spatial logics of plantationism, colonialism and racialized capitalism (McKittrick, 2011; McKittrick, 2013), calls for, as do residents in the Lower Ninth Ward and Treme, new methodologies that can elevate residents' double-consciousness. While double-consciousness diagnoses the ''where'' of blackness, it challenges the empirics behind white supremacy as a ''highly structural and spatial form of racism'' (Pulido, 2000: 12) and imagines different black geographic futures. Methodologically, this approach spatializes the social while also socializing the spatial in a way that values residents' contributions, narratives and epistemological critiques and their second sight as a spatialized knowledge system. At the very least, this methodological approach unearths the historical and longitudinal aspects of the geographies of racial oppression and maps the power of assigning (and undermining) value based on capital exchange in the form of land. Countering a capitalist logic of exchange, where racialized inequality and oppression are perpetuated through disciplines such as urban planning, residents here critique traditional planning and participation methods as geared toward representing consensus where dissent to existing regimes is actually a necessity to racial justice paradigms.

Residents' dual sight *also* calls for methodological approaches that trouble the binary of positivist assumptions by re-presenting communities through complex, multimedia accounts that contextualize and represent communities' lived experiences as geographical, historical and human. More recent multimedia work in urban planning by Sandercock and Attili (2010) and similar approaches in sensory ethnography and participatory action research question how our intellectual pursuits and the spatial projects that ensue from this data can pose questions that can decolonize this empiricism. Other research which calls out the relational nature of racial processes (Brand, 2015; Lipsitz, 2011) is also critical to this

methodological approach that can decolonize our analytical lens in order to map genealogies of resistance (hooks, 1995: 151). The research presented here draws out the ways that black communities claim and use space to meet their symbolic, material and social needs. Although decolonized approaches raise questions about power and (re)presentation, complex, multi-media and thick accounts and methodological strategies allow us to understand and present the more dynamic processes through which places are made and (re)made. Analytically elevating the plurality and complexity of urban space, shaped through processes of attachment, memory, resistance and racialization brings forth richer substantive knowledge from which development paradigms can be challenged. These methodological possibilities unhinge the colonial racial project that disciplines like urban planning and policy making are bound up in.

The streak of blue above

Although Du Bois' himself understood that double-consciousness is in part an affliction of "no true self-consciousness" (Du Bois', 1903[2005]: 7), I want to suggest and open for debate the liberatory potential of this analytical concept as one that proposes more racially just geographic and social futures. How might resistance to ongoing processes of violent dispossession and dis/emplacement of black bodies be not only the material substance of double-consciousness, but also its liberatory potential? If the hegemony of white colonial, plantation and capitalist land economies conceive of liberation within a system that "*requires* land exploitation, colonialism, and racial condemnation" (McKittrick, 2011: 950), the liberatory potential of double-consciousness exposes the white supremacist undercurrents of property and capital while simultaneously elevating a concept of liberation that is outside the boundaries of exchange and capital value. A duality of space values black bodies and black spaces outside of this system of racial oppression, casting them as resilient and beautiful rather than blighted and abandoned.

This duality is a struggle for land and for the mind (King, 1991: 1). Second-sight reinterprets space and creates different knowledge systems, while it also poses different analytical questions, reframing the problem as structural, rather than individual, relational rather than discrete. The "problem" (Du Bois', 1903[2005]) is reframed as the sedimentary accumulation and spatialization of racial oppression, the colonial connections across and within space and time, between plantations (McKittrick, 2011) and neo-plantations (Woods, 1998, 2007) and between the abandoned and revitalized geographies of black geographies at the turn of the 21st-century. Reframing the problem allows us to think more critically and engage different spatial epistemologies, pierces the veil and elevates racially just spatial ontologies "A streak of blue above" (Du Bois', 1903[2005]).[26].

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Notes

1. The Lower Ninth Ward is located east of the Industrial Canal and is made up of two neighborhoods: The Lower Ninth Ward to the north and Holy Cross to the South. I refer to the ''Lower Ninth Ward'' as the larger combined district as research was conducted in both neighborhoods post-Katrina. I also refer to the Lower Ninth Ward and Lower Nine interchangeably, as this is how the area is known locally.
2. The Date Center, Neighborhood Profiles, www.datacenterresearch.org/data-resources/neighborhood-data/
3. The Lower Ninth Ward had a 54% homeownership rate prior to Katrina, compared with the City's rate of 46.5%. The Date Center, Neighborhood Profiles, www.datacenterresearch.org/data-resources/neighborhood-data/
4. Treme resident, Interview, 2010.
5. Pat Evans 2010, Interview.
6. Treme resident, Interview, 2010.
7. Treme resident, Interview, 2010.
8. Treme resident, Interview, 2010.
9. Masking is a term used by local Mardi Gras Indians. Mardi Gras Indians wear elaborately beaded and feathered costumes that link their common heritage of oppression with Native Americans.
10. Treme resident, Interview, 2010.
11. Treme resident, Interview, 2010.
12. Greater New Orleans Fair Housing Action Center, www.gnofairhousing.org/2011/07/07/state-ammends-problematic-hurricane-relief-program/
13. Warrenetta Cheneau-Banks, Interview, 2009.
14. Lower Ninth Ward resident, Interview, 2009.
15. Lower Ninth Ward resident, Interview, 2009.
16. Lower Ninth Ward resident, Interview, 2009.
17. Warrenetta Cheneau-Banks, Interview, 2009.
18. Lower Ninth Ward resident, Interview, 2009.
19. Lower Ninth Ward resident, Interview, 2009.
20. Lower Ninth Ward resident, Interview, 2009.
21. Lower Ninth Ward resident, Interview, 2009.
22. Langston Hughes, ''I, Too, Sing America''.
23. There is more nuance here than I have time to address in this article. On the one hand, black culture has been used as one of the main drivers of economic regeneration post-Katrina through the tourism economy. While some producers of this culture benefit, the sheer magnitude of social and physical displacement of the black community since Katrina (itself ongoing) nevertheless maintains the larger process of dispossession. See Kelley (1994) and Gotham (2007).
24. Kelley (1994) and Gotham (2007).
25. Treme resident, Interview, 2010.
26. Du Bois' WEB (1903 [2005]).

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