Exclusion and Space in Washington, DC:
Exploring the Neighborhood Terrain of Race, Class, and Gender

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Abstract of Thesis:

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Gentrification in Washington, DC has been the subject of widespread attention after the most recent Census data revealed that the city's African American population would fall below 50 percent for the first time in over 50 years. This research—based on an analysis of 15 months of ethnographic field observations, in-depth interviews, and detailed transect walks—investigates the neighborhood terrain of those demographic changes and the socio-cultural processes of exclusion that prevent racial integration and inclusion in the gentrified context. In this research, I employ an intersectional reading of Henri Lefebvre's theory of the production of space to identify how white gentry residents' spatial practices produce a context in which African American residents—both those who have lived in the neighborhood for decades as well as those who have moved to the neighborhood as part of a gentry group—experience exclusion from public space. This exclusion operates in three arenas: 1) interracial interactions characterized by social friction in restaurants and at public meetings, 2) circumscribed memories of neighborhood history, identified through gentry spatial practice, and 3) the exclusion of black visitors to Bloomingdale through gentry residents' surveillance of black church-goers' parallel parking practices. I ultimately argue that space is a social structure that is mutually constituted with race, class, and gender. Residents' perceptions of race, class, and gender inform their spatial practices and produce sites of exclusion; and in turn, these spaces of exclusion reciprocally constitute new raced, classed, and gendered archetypes.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Gentrification in Washington, DC has become the subject of considerable public debate after new census data in 2010 revealed the city's black[1] population would fall below 50 percent for the first time in 50 years (Tavernise 2011). Meanwhile, other racial and ethnic groups have grown significantly in the past ten years: the population of whites increased by 31.4 percent, the population of Asians by 38.6 percent, and the Hispanic population (of any race) by 21.8 percent (Warton-Boyd and Marus 2011). With a total population growth within the city of only 5.2 percent (Neighborhood Info DC 2011), and the number of black residents declining by approximately 35,000 over ten years[2], these numbers reflect significant change in the racial makeup of DC's neighborhoods.

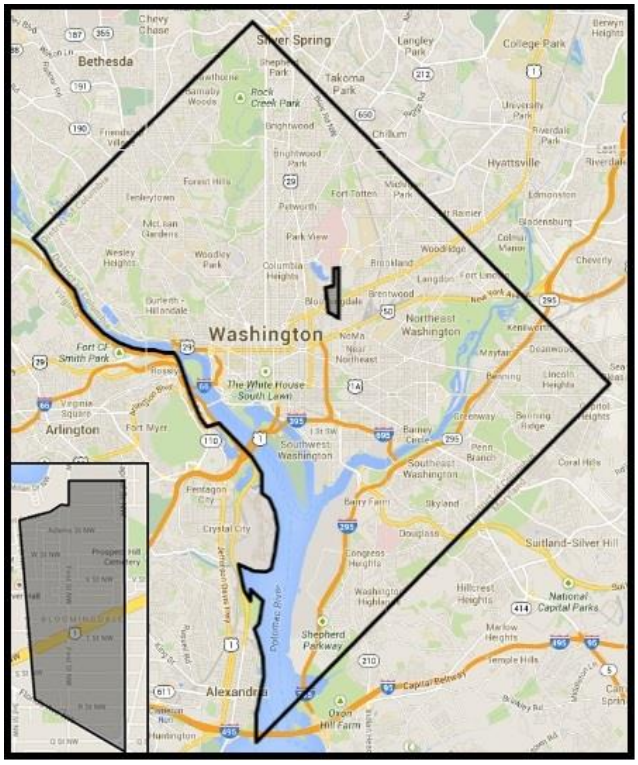
DC's rapid gentrification over the past twenty years has exposed what one news article called the "city's fault lines along income, class, and race" (Morello and Keating 2011). These "fault lines" are so pervasive and pronounced that National Public Radio's local affiliate WAMU 88.5 published a web magazine from 2010 to 2012 solely devoted to issues of race and class in the District (http://dcentric.wamu.org/) with a particular emphasis on gentrification. Meanwhile, gender dimensions of gentrification are frequently overlooked: women of color who are heads of their households are least likely to have access to affordable housing in the District (Washington Area Women's Foundation 2010), making them among the most vulnerable to displacement as a result of systematic gentrification. At the same time, many DC residents have expressed frustration and concern—in the news, in the blogosphere, and at neighborhood council

[1] The terms black and African American are used interchangeably in this study.
[2] Population count retrieved from American FactFinder using US Census Data for 2000 and 2010.

meetings—that higher-income whites moving into DC are out-pricing 'long-term residents' from their homes and neighborhoods (Gowen 2011; Morello and Keating 2011; Tavernise 2011) and in so doing, changing the culture of the city.

In this study, I articulate and analyze some of the social processes of exclusion related to gentrification in one particular neighborhood—the Bloomingdale neighborhood—centrally positioned in DC approximately two miles north of the US Capitol. Bloomingdale is located in the northwest quadrant of Washington, DC and bounded by 2nd Street to the west, Bryant and Channing streets to the north, Florida Avenue to the south, and North Capitol Street to the east. It is situated directly on the dividing line between the NW and NE quadrants, and east of Rock Creek Park, a boundary notable for persistent racial residential segregation dividing east and west neighborhoods.

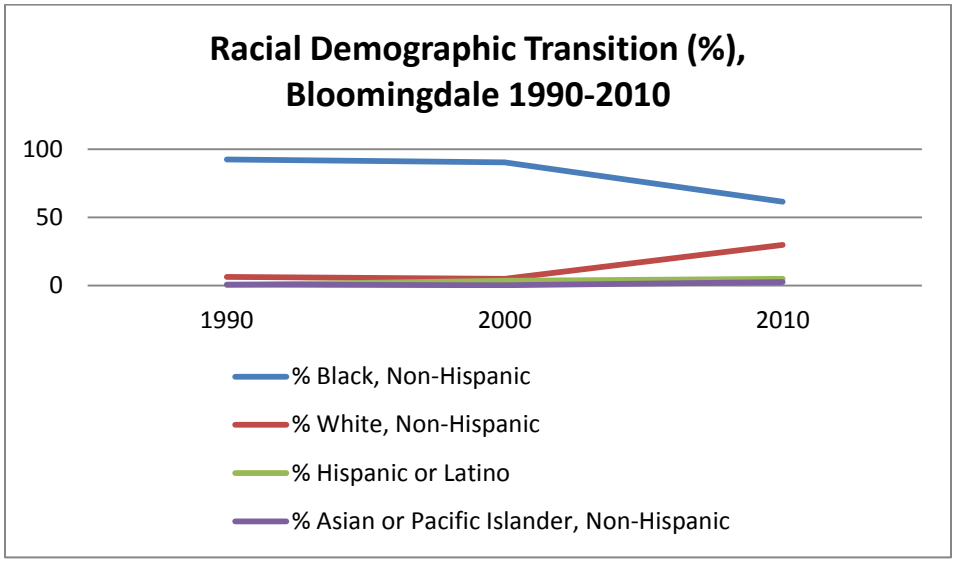
Figure 1: Bloomingdale Neighborhood in Washington, DC



Originally located outside the city boundaries in the plan drawn up by Pierre L'Enfant in 1792, the area now called Bloomingdale began as a collection of estates and orchards. Victorian row houses were built around the turn of the 20th century and by the early 1900s this neighborhood and its surrounding area became a site of settlement for black Americans who fled to DC prior to and after the abolition of slavery (bloomingdaledc.org).

Historically a black neighborhood, Bloomingdale's population in the year 2000 was approximately 90 percent African American. By 2010, census data reflected an increase among whites in the area to 32.8 percent, making Bloomingdale part of a zip code named the "most whitened" in the nation (DeBonis 2012). While the population of non-Hispanic whites in Bloomingdale slightly decreased over the course of the 1990s, the recent demographic transition likely includes both increases in the number of white residents who have moved into once vacant properties, as well as the exclusionary displacement of lower-income, predominantly black residents who are increasingly unable to afford housing as real estate values rise. The median home prices for single-family homes in the two census tracts that comprise Bloomingdale were $127,000 and $161,000 in 1995 and these figures rose to $581,000 and $599,000 in 2012 (NeighborhoodInfo DC 2011). Bloomingdale has become a site for the type of systemic displacement that characterizes gentrification and distinguishes it from neighborhood revitalization.

Figure 2: Racial Demographic Transition in Bloomingdale, 1990-2010



Source: Neighborhood Info DC, Urban Institute

In addition to systemic displacement of lower-income residents, which can be explained through a critical analysis of economic and political forces that produce the circumstances under which gentrification has flourished in Bloomingdale, there are also socio-cultural processes of exclusion at work that prevent racial integration and inclusion in contested neighborhood spaces. While Bloomingdale's gentrification is popularly characterized as having "successfully blended" longer-term and gentry residents (Persley 2013a), some longer-term residents describe anxiety over rising housing costs and others report exclusion from new businesses they cannot afford (Persley 2013b). Lower-income African American residents have been displaced as a result of predictable and preventable economic processes, while many of those who have remained in the neighborhood experience an exclusion of a different kind. Peter Marcuse refers to this type of exclusion as "displacement pressure," or the process that occurs when

> a family sees the neighborhood around it changing dramatically, when their friends are leaving the neighborhood, when the stores they patronize are liquidating and new stores for other clientele are taking their places, and when changes in public facilities, in transportation patterns and in support services all clearly are making the area less and less livable, then pressure of displacement is already severe. (Marcuse, quoted in Slater 2009)

In order to better understand how displacement pressure operates in the day-to-day lives of residents of Bloomingdale, I draw on Henri Lefebvre's (1991) theory of the production of space and analyze how exclusive spaces in the gentrifying neighborhood of Bloomingdale are produced and mutually constituted by raced, classed, and gendered social processes.

Guided by this theoretical framework, I expand Marcuse's concept of displacement pressure to include the symbolic messages and hostile social practices that are produced and performed by some gentry residents and employees of new businesses in Bloomingdale. Based on my analysis of a combined 15 months of ethnographic field work, in-depth interviews, and detailed "transect walks" in the neighborhood, I argue that these symbols and behaviors make up different types of *spatial* practice, and together they produce a context in which African American residents—both those who have lived in the neighborhood for decades as well as those who have moved to the neighborhood as part of the gentry group—experience exclusion from public space.

In my analysis of these spatial practices, I identify three arenas in which exclusion is produced: 1) interracial interactions characterized by social friction in public places, such as restaurants and public meetings, 2) gentry residents' circumscribed memories of

Bloomingdale's history, demonstrated through their spatial practices, and 3) the exclusion of black visitors to Bloomingdale through gentry residents' surveillance of church-goers' parallel parking practices. I ultimately argue that space is a social structure that is mutually constituted with race, class, and gender. Residents' perceptions of race, class, and gender inform their spatial practices and produce spaces of exclusion; in turn, these spaces of exclusion reciprocally constitute new raced, classed, and gendered archetypes.

Chapter 2: Gentrification and Space in Washington, DC

Gentrification is both a global and a national phenomenon, one that has increasingly gained media and academic attention in the most recent decade (Lees, Slater, and Wyly 2008). The term refers to the socio-economic, political, and cultural processes that occur when higher-income residents move into lower-income areas, displacing lower-income residents and consequently changing the "social fabric" of the neighborhood (Byrne 2003:406). At its root, gentrification is a capital-driven process exacerbated by class inequalities, but race and gender intersect with class to produce unequal circumstances for different groups of people in different gentrified neighborhoods.

This is true in Washington, DC where the gentrification of lower-income black neighborhoods by predominantly higher-income white residents has occurred over the past twenty years, producing circumstances in which lower-income African American residents—particularly women who are heads of their households—are especially vulnerable to displacement. Feminist writer Taigi Smith draws attention to these intersecting dimensions of race, class, and gender in gentrification with her alternative definition of the term. She describes it as:

> the displacement of poor women and people of color. The raising of rents and eradification[sic] of single, poor, and working-class women from neighborhoods once considered unsavory by people who didn't live there. The demolition of housing projects. A money-driven process in which landowners and developers push people (in this case, many of them single

> mothers) out of their homes without thinking about where they will go (Smith 2002; cited by Peterson 2007).

Despite the negative consequences described by Smith, scholars, city planners, and residents who are not themselves at risk of displacement disagree about whether gentrification is a "good" or a "bad" thing. As is the case in DC, the influx of higher-income residents is often accompanied by an increase in the city's tax base and a stimulation of the local economy—a boon to cities where high poverty rates, numerous vacant properties, and poor housing stock have been produced in black urban neighborhoods through years of strategic disinvestment (Lees, Slater, and Wyly 2008). Gentrification is also frequently (though sometimes erroneously) thought to generate race and class integration across the city at large: while urban neighborhoods were home primarily to people of color in the latter half of the twentieth century, a more contemporary "back to the city" movement has attracted higher-income white residents to buy property in the city, including those who might have chosen to live in the suburbs in previous decades (Lees, Slater, and Wyly 2008).

Some writers and gentrification advocates conceptualize this "back to the city" pattern as the opposite of white flight, the historical pattern of higher-income whites moving to the suburbs to avoid living in racially integrated neighborhoods. One journalist, for example, evoked the imagery of a "racial u-turn," claiming that "gentrification has reversed white flight" in Manhattan (Dumenco 2010). But the economic and political processes that spur gentrification and increase the share of comparatively higher-income residents in urban neighborhoods while enabling the

displacement of lower-income residents are not the *opposite* of those that produced white flight—instead, these processes share many similarities.

In the canon of US sociological scholarship on gentrification, race and class are of principle concern. Gender, however, is frequently overlooked as an axis of oppression in housing access and residential mobility. There is a paucity of research on the gendered dimensions of gentrification and a conspicuous absence of gender in the public discourse. Such a silence can wrongfully imply that the spatial segregation of lower-income African Americans into concentrated neighborhoods of poverty had nothing to do with gender relations; that gentrification equally disadvantages men and women; and that affluent home-buyers moving into lower-income neighborhoods are just as likely to be women as they are men. Feminist scholars argue that these assumptions do not hold. In the following section, I describe the spatial organization of lower-income African American women and men into urban neighborhoods of poverty and the transition in DC from policies of strategic disinvestment to strategic gentrification. Wherever possible, I include the existing literature on gender and its relationship to housing access and urban spatial patterns.

GENTRIFICATION AND URBAN SPATIAL PATTERNS

The term gentrification was first coined by sociologist Ruth Glass to describe the displacement that occurred in London in the mid-1960s when middle class households moved into working class neighborhoods, displacing lower-income residents and in the process changing the "character" of those neighborhoods. Her use of the word "gentry" was, at the time, partly intended to poke fun at middle class "snobbish" attitudes about

urban living, attitudes that influenced incoming residents to decorate their new homes with rustic, rural accents. Accordingly, the word gentry had a double entendre, referring back to England's historic "rural gentry" who occupied a middle class position in relation to peasants and rural estate owners (Lees, Slater, and Wyly 2008). The root of Glass's term, referring both to a middle class group and simultaneously one that replaces or displaces a lower-income group from a particular neighborhood, is still relevant today, and it draws our attention not only to the consequence of displacement that is inherent in gentrification, but also to what is fundamentally a class-based process in spite of the complicated nexus of socio-cultural, political, and economic influences that play a role in producing gentrification.

These various influences generally fall into two categories*: production explanations* (which focus on the macro-economic and political structures that enable gentrification to flourish) and *consumption explanations* (which focus on the decisions of gentry residents to purchase or rent homes in particular neighborhoods) (Lees, Slater, and Wyly 2008). Each of these influences is raced, classed, and gendered, though the preponderance of gentrification research in the US focuses primarily on the raced and classed dimensions.

Production explanations take a macro-sociological approach to understanding the underlying economic circumstances, existing opportunity structures, and political machinery at work in cities that influence the behavior of gentry groups to buy or rent housing in lower-income neighborhoods. In their textbook summarizing decades of research on the causes and consequences of gentrification, Loretta Lees, Tom Slater, and Elvin Wyly (2008) describe production explanations as "theories that explain how the

possibility of winning enormous fortunes provides powerful incentives that shape the behavior of individuals, groups, and institutions that have a stake in what happens in the urban frontier" (2008:42).

One powerful production-side explanation that has garnered significant attention in gentrification research is Neil Smith's "rent gap hypothesis." Smith argued that gentrification is only able to flourish when a significant gap grows between a building or neighborhood's "capitalized ground rent," e.g. the actual rent collected from current tenants at "present land use," and the "potential ground rent," e.g. the maximum rent that *could be* collected if the present land were redeveloped to capitalize on its "highest and best use" (Lees, Slater, and Wyly 2008:53). This "rent gap" tends to be highest in neighborhoods that have suffered from strategic disinvestment, resulting in poor housing stock and vacant buildings or land. Often buildings and land acquire higher "potential ground rent" when they are situated in a broader economic context of a tight housing market and a high rate of central city employment, creating greater demand for housing in the central city (Lees, Slater, and Wyly 2008). Neighborhoods previously considered undesirable by affluent households become more desirable when housing demand is strong; housing providers, in turn, are able to capitalize on this demand.

While gentrification may take root at a neighborhood level or house-by-house, it often follows a spatial pattern related to the uneven development of urban neighborhoods. This uneven development predicts where housing providers, businesses, and home-owners eventually choose to re-invest capital. Smith refers to this geographic pattern as a "locational seesaw" in which "the development of one area creates barriers to further development, thus leading to under-development, and [that underdevelopment creates]

opportunities for a new phase of development" (2008:50). Importantly, this approach to understanding the devaluation of properties in urban black neighborhoods emphasizes the role of capitalist development; while older urban sociological arguments theorized an "invasion and succession" model of spatial organization in which neighborhoods declined *after* lower-income residents moved-in, Smith's arguments emphasize how lower-income residents can only afford to live in a particular neighborhood *after* it has been "devalorized" and higher-income residents move elsewhere (2008:54).

These economic processes intersect with existing race and gender inequalities: that is to say, underserved black neighborhoods have been systematically disadvantaged not only through economic processes that exacerbate class inequality, but also through racist public policy (Jackson 1985). Additionally, feminist scholars (Collins and Mayer 2010) have argued that a gendered division of labor in which women's work is devalued in comparison to men's also influences spatial patterns of disadvantage in cities. These arguments help to underscore how contemporary gentrification is not the "reverse" of processes like white flight or mid-century segregation; instead, gentrification and segregation are two sides of the same coin.

In the early half of the twentieth century, many black families migrated from the south to northern cities to acquire jobs in manufacturing, but they were systematically denied housing in higher-income white neighborhoods. Federal housing policies, such as the redlining policy of the federal Home Owners Loan Corporation (HOLC) and the Fair Housing Administration (FHA) were informed by racist "invasion and succession" theories of neighborhood decline and these policies institutionalized racial residential segregation through federal legislation. Redlining refers to a rating system in which black

neighborhoods were "redlined" and deemed high-risk for mortgages and other housing-related financial services. Other factors, such as restrictive housing covenants prevented homes from being sold to black families; racial steering practices by real estate agents who directed black and white families into segregated neighborhoods; "block-busting" by real estate agents who were able to turn a profit by convincing whites to sell their homes if a black family moved to their neighborhood; as well as the racially motivated "white flight" of white households to suburban neighborhoods combined to limit housing access for African American households and entrenched racial residential segregation in northern cities (Wilson 2009; Jackson 1985; Massey and Denton 1998; U.S. Riot Commission 1968).

One example of the influence of these policies in the segregation and devaluation of black neighborhoods in Washington, DC were the unequal commitments of the Federal Housing Authority in 1937 to insure lenders for mortgages almost exclusively in the white neighborhoods of DC's metropolitan area rather than majority black neighborhoods in the central city. Kenneth T. Jackson, in his study of suburbanization, quotes the FHA's perspective on DC during this period, and the quote is illustrative of the invasion and succession theory of neighborhood decline. The FHA justified their decision to only insure mortgages in the predominantly white suburbs by saying that "the 'filtering up' process, and the tendency of Negroes to congregate in the District, taken together, logically point to a situation where eventually the District will be populated by Negroes and the surrounding areas in Maryland and Virginia by white families." Jackson notes that the FHA followed this "segregationist policy" for the next two decades, essentially ensuring that their prediction would come true. He notes that through the end of the

1960's, suburban neighborhoods in the DC metropolitan area received seven times more mortgage insurance than did the city (Jackson 1985:213). Black women faced an additional burden in that the FHA used not only race, but also gender to determine the eligibility of an individual home-buyer for a mortgage; women were consistently evaluated less favorably than men (Reid 2010). Furthermore, housing discrimination has continued in DC into the contemporary period. Respondents who answered a telephone survey administered by the George Washington University Center for Survey Research in 2001 reported racial disparities in housing choice. When asked if they had ever experienced discrimination during an effort to obtain housing or while seeking financing to purchase a home, black respondents were three times more likely than whites to have experienced discrimination and only 16 percent of black respondents thought they had the same "choices and opportunities in the local housing market" as white respondents (Squires, Friedman, and Saidat 2002:166).

In the post-1950s, economic restructuring and the global transition to a service economy resulted in mass joblessness in many black neighborhoods. Factories moved out of US cities at rapid paces and large numbers of African American men lost their access to manufacturing jobs. At the same time, a growing number of service sector jobs paid substantially less than manufacturing, and wages continued to drop (Wilson 2009; Collins and Mayer 2010). African American women's employment as domestic workers was not threatened to the same extent as African American men's employment in manufacturing, but gendered domestic labor was not unionized and also paid less than manufacturing jobs, which had tended to offer a "family wage" high enough for a male breadwinner to support a household (Collins 2000; Collins and Mayer 2010). This gender division of

labor and the devaluation of women's work worsened conditions of poverty for black households when African American men's access to manufacturing jobs declined.

After the civil rights movement, the Fair Housing Act of 1968 made residential discrimination illegal and many higher-income black families who could afford to do so moved to suburban neighborhoods while lower-income households remained in the central city (Wilson 2009). These trends combined with the earlier patterns and policies of residential segregation to produce a concentration of poverty so severe in black neighborhoods that "ground rent" could drop to an all-time low, making urban neighborhoods ripe for gentrification (Lees, Slater and Wyly 2008). Thus, the predominant US pattern of relatively affluent white residents moving into lower-income black neighborhoods is related to both gendered inequalities in the value of work and historical racial residential segregation which together concentrated poverty in black urban neighborhoods.

These patterns took hold in Washington, DC like many other US cities over the course of the twentieth century. In fact, Lees, Slater and Wyly (2008) argue that the earliest documented "systematic occurrences" of gentrification in the US took place in Washington, DC (as well as Boston and New York City) in the context of the post-war 1950s capitalist economy. Federally subsidized highways—largely intended to facilitate car travel for predominantly white suburban residents to attend work in the city—were designed by planners to cut through black neighborhoods; meanwhile the Housing Act of 1949 provided funds for the demolition of majority black neighborhoods under the pretense of "neighborhood revitalization" (Wilson 2009). James Baldwin famously referred to these "urban renewal" programs as "Negro Removal" (PBS American

Experience 2012), alluding to the discriminatory nature of the plans, which consistently demolished neighborhoods characterized as "derelict" or in need of renovation, spurred gentrification, and further cordoned off historically black neighborhoods from others in the city through the segregationist planning of highway grids.

Related to these systematic policies of disinvestment in DC's urban black neighborhoods, the total population of residents in DC dropped significantly after 1950, declining from approximately 800,000 residents in 1950 to only 572,000 in the year 2000 (Comey, Narducci, and Tatian 2010:87). More recently, policies that have produced systemic gentrification across the District were implemented once again in DC in the 1990s, spurring a growth in the total population to over 600,000 as of the 2010 census; meanwhile, the share of African American residents in the District declined both in percentage and in absolute numbers.

In a discussion paper produced for the Brookings Institution Center on Urban and Metropolitan Policy in conjunction with PolicyLink, Maureen Kennedy and Paul Leonard (2001) identify a constellation of policy maneuvers implemented in DC that resulted in its gentrification. These included home-buyer tax credits that incentivized relatively affluent first-time home-buyers to purchase homes in the District; strategic expansion of public metro trains into neighborhoods previously underserved by public transit; and the demolition and de-concentration of public housing (Kennedy and Leonard 2001). Additionally, public subsidies and investments in brownfield redevelopment, such as the development of empty lots or former industrial sites into commercial space and high-end housing, served to compound conditions of displacement for lower-income residents in adjacent neighborhoods and has further limited affordable housing options for low-

income household (Cook 2013). Each of these policies has served to attract higher-income residents to neighborhoods they may not have previously considered moving, while at the same time have failed to protect affordable housing for DC's most vulnerable residents, particularly lower-income women of color who are heads of their households.

Home-buyer tax-credits implemented by the District government in 1997 were particularly effective for attracting higher-income residents to DC neighborhoods. The program was intended to "encourage middle class persons to buy residences in the District [and to] increase the value of existing District homes and encourage the conversion of rental units to owner-occupied unites" (Dearborn and Richardson 1999:1). The program was called the "Taxpayer Relief Act of 1997" and it granted a credit of up to $5,000 to first-time home-buyers. In order to be eligible for the credit, home-buyers needed to earn income above the threshold for federal tax liability (thus excluding very low-income earners); eligible recipients could earn up to $90,000 as a single person household or up to $130,000 as a married couple household (Dearborn and Richardson 1999).

In 1999, the Greater Washington Research Center administered a survey of home-buyers who purchased homes in D.C. during the year 1998. Of all those who purchased homes that year, a majority—70 percent—claimed the home-buyer credit for a total payout of $14.9 million dollars in federal funds. Of those who claimed the credit, about 40 percent moved into the District from either the surrounding metro area or from other states; 51 percent of those who claimed the credit said that it influenced them to buy at that time instead of waiting, and 43 percent said it influenced them to buy in the District instead of in the suburbs. This wide usage of the home-buyer tax credit is directly linked

to the influx of higher-income residents to lower-income neighborhoods: the tax credit was designed to provide the greatest financial incentive for middle-class households to purchase lower-valued homes (Dearborn and Richardson 1999).

Meanwhile, publically subsided housing for the District's poorest residents underwent significant changes through the HOPE VI program of the US Department of Housing and Urban Development. The nationally implemented HOPE VI program provides funds for demolition and revitalization to city housing authorities to demolish large public housing complexes deemed problematic due to infrastructural problems or high crime rates, and to redevelop these sites into mixed-income housing. Under the program—which stands for "Homeownership and Opportunity for People Everywhere"—former public housing residents received vouchers to seek housing on the private market and up to a third of these residents were permitted to return to the original site of the complex once the redevelopment to mixed-income housing was complete. The mixed-income component of the program required that private developers (who received subsidies to build on the site of former public buildings) make one-third of the new units available to public housing eligible residents, one-third of units could be rented at "affordable" or subsidized rates, and one-third of units would be rented at market rate.

Response nationally to the HOPE VI program is mixed. In a volume of research on HOPE VI outcomes published by the Brookings Institute, G. Thomas Kingsley writes that "research shows that the majority of former residents who used vouchers to relocate from distressed public housing sites under HOPE VI experienced meaningful improvements in their quality of life […]. They moved to better-quality housing in neighborhoods that were much less poor and dramatically safer […]" (Kingsley 2004).

Other researchers have found disparate outcomes. Danielle Pelfrey Duryea (2006) writes that while it is true that HOPE VI residents move to *less* poor neighborhoods than those where they had been concentrated, approximately 60 percent of residents displaced by HOPE VI move to "other poor and extremely poor neighborhoods" (2006:585). This possibility is especially exaggerated in cities like DC where there is a tight housing market.

George Washington University law professor Lynn Cunningham argues that in the context of DC's constrained rental market and lack of affordable housing, the goals of the HOPE VI program were actually impossible to achieve. While the program was intended to de-concentrate high-poverty neighborhoods, spur economic development, and provide some lower-income households with the opportunity to live in mixed-income neighborhoods, public housing units in DC were demolished and new mixed-income units were constructed in the context of a rapidly growing rental market. Cunningham writes that the projects "overcompensated for high concentrations of poverty by drastically reducing access by low-income residents to their former neighborhoods" (2001:357). Cunningham refers to these developments as "islands of affordability in a sea of gentrification" (2001:353), suggesting that property values around HOPE VI projects rose to such an extent that the new mixed-income units were the only affordable housing left in the neighborhoods.

While most of the literature I have summarized in this section does not directly analyze the interconnectedness of gender and race with economic policies that have spurred gentrification, the drastic reduction in affordable housing related to HOPE VI redevelopment and gentrification in DC is likely to have had the most deleterious effect

on low-income African American women. Duryea writes that "the statistical predominance of African American women-headed households in HOPE VI target sites strongly suggests that those who have suffered the brunt of the program's acknowledged shortcomings are extremely poor African American women" (Duryea 2006:582). In the context of DC, this is likely to be true. While only 7.4 percent of white women and girls live in poverty in the district, 26 percent of African American women and girls live in poverty (much higher than the national average). Additionally over a third (37 percent) of female-headed families live in poverty; African American women in DC who are heads of their households are more likely than all other household types to lack affordable housing (Washington Area Women's Foundation 2010).

The policies summarized in this section have had significant effect on the spatial organization of residents into DC neighborhoods characterized by high poverty rates and the devaluation of housing stock in the post-1950s, and then later by gentrification and the reinvestment of public subsidies and private capital in the 1990s and thereafter. A historical context of housing discrimination and chronic disinvestment in black, urban neighborhoods, combined with gender disparities that produce a feminization of poverty and the devaluation of women's work, come together to produce the conditions under which gentrification has flourished in DC. But these socio-economic and political processes describe only the forces that produce housing patterns like segregation and gentrification and the corresponding displacement of those who are least likely to have access to affordable housing, often women of color. Even when some longer-term residents are able to remain in their increasingly gentrified neighborhoods, despite rising costs of living, they may experience a displacement of a different kind—that of

"displacement pressure." In the following section, I describe some of the socio-spatial processes gentrification, introducing the concept of "social space" and the different interpersonal and cultural conflicts that arise within neighborhoods of gentrification.

GENTRIFICATION AND SOCIO-SPATIAL EXCLUSION

African American residents whose families have lived in Washington, DC for multiple generations and who may have remained in their home neighborhoods despite increased gentrification may experience what professor of urban planning Peter Marcuse calls "displacement pressure"—a different kind of displacement than the direct removal of residents from their homes (Mazer and Rankin 2011; Slater 2009). Marcuse distinguishes between four types of displacement: direct last-resident displacement (when someone is directly displaced by a rent increase or structural problem, such as cutting off the heat); direct-chain displacement (includes residents who may have had to move out for similar reasons prior to last-resident displacement); exclusionary displacement (when households of a certain type or income level are no longer able to obtain housing in a particular neighborhood, even if they were not directly displaced); and displacement pressure (the sense that displacement is inevitable as a result of changing businesses or home-sale values) (Slater 2009). The characteristics of displacement pressure that Marcuse identifies are each related to residents' depleting access to amenities, social services, and businesses that they once relied on.

In addition to this kind of displacement pressure, residents may also experience socio-cultural tensions and hostilities: for example, Michelle Boyd's study of gentrification in Chicago found that residents of a majority black neighborhood

experienced less fear over a changing social fabric or loss of cultural norms when the gentry group moving into the neighborhood was also black (2005; 2008). The types of activities and social practices that constitute exclusion or hostility for residents who remain in gentrified neighborhoods—and a thorough understanding of the social mechanics that *produce* spaces or symbols of exclusion—is an important and understudied part of the gentrification story.

There is a very small, but growing collection of scholarship on these socio-spatial dimensions of gentrification. These studies, many of which were prompted by Henri Lefebvre's theorization of space as a social thing, employ ethnographic techniques to learn how different social spaces take on certain social characteristics. One example of how social spaces and their symbolic meanings facilitate gentrification is Carpenter and Lees summary of the "aesthetic signifiers" that indicate "upward social mobility" and how these signifiers "contribute to the process of gentrifiers 'reclaiming space'" (Lees, Slater, and Wyly 2008:116). Similarly, David Harvey argued that "the production of images and of discourses is an important factor of activity that has to be analyzed as part and parcel of the reproduction and transformation of any symbolic order" (Lees, Slater and Wyly 2008:xx). Paying attention to "space" helps to identify these social and cultural processes, and as anthropologist Setha M. Low argues, helps to "[uncover] systems of exclusion that are hidden or naturalized and thus rendered invisible to other methodological approaches" (Low 2009).

In the following chapter, I discuss Lefebvre's theory of the social production of space and the mutual constitution of space with other structures of exclusion, namely race, class, and gender. Paying attention to these social processes and practices enables a

critical examination of the mechanisms through which segregation and exclusion are produced within neighborhoods, and contributes to a better understanding of the understudied experiences of longer-term residents who remain in neighborhoods that are characterized by gentrification and displacement. Additionally, studying the social construction of exclusive spaces in turn helps us to identify how the structuring properties of space produce new forms and symbols of race, class, and gender.

Chapter 3: Untangling Space from Race, Class, and Gender

> *Social relations, which are concrete abstractions, have no real existence save in and through space. Their underpinning is spatial.*
>
> Henri Lefebvre (1991:404)

Henri Lefebvre's theory of the production of space debuted in France with the publication of his text *The Production of Space* in 1974, but his ideas did not make their way to a US academic audience until the mid-1990s after the text was translated into English and well-received by a new school of urban sociologists. These new urban sociologists were influenced by Marxist problematizing of capital in urban (re)structuring and they contested the traditional ecological framework associated with the Chicago school. While sociologists of the Chicago school often situated individuals as the unit of analysis in the study of urban spatial patterns, urban sociologists in the post-1960s US adopted a new paradigm that refocused attention on macro-political and economic structures operating within cities (Gottdiener and Feagin 1988). Research in this new paradigm, such as Harvey Molotch's oft-cited "growth machine" theory (1976; 1993), drew on Anthony Giddens' (1984) theory of structuration to describe the interactive relationship between individual agency and structural factors, like profit-driven redevelopment projects, driving growth in cities. Given the political orientation of this new urban paradigm, Lefebvre's ideas—rooted in Marxism and symbolic interactionism—were well-received. They formed the basis around which a "socio-spatial approach" in urban sociology emerged, one that theorizes the interrelationships between urban infrastructure, political economy, and everyday social life (Gottdiener and Budd 2005; Gottdiener and Hutchison 2010).

Lefebvre's interest in analyzing capitalism through the lens of social space makes his theory especially well-suited for a study of the gentrified urban landscape—a housing pattern that is, at its root, a capitalist enterprise. When Lefebvre writes about the production of space, he employs the term *produce* with a Marxian meaning. Space is not merely a physical place or an empty container to be filled; instead, it is a hegemonic network of social relationships and the outcome of a *mode of production* that is driven by capital to benefit capitalists (1991). "Space" is thus positioned as a medium through which capitalist enterprise operates, much like a factory: it both produces capital and is produced by capitalism.

Lefebvre's term for this kind of space is "abstract space"—a space that is policed and homogenized in order to produce a setting that facilitates capitalist accumulation. One example of this, in the context of the gentrified Bloomingdale neighborhood, is a new commercial corridor found on a residential block where gentry businesses are thriving. Proprietors of these new businesses employ raced and classed décor and other symbolic messages to attract relatively wealthier, white patrons while simultaneously excluding lower-income African American residents as consumers, community members, and sometimes employees, resulting in spaces that aid business owners in the accumulation of capital. It is important to identify the ways that *space* operates in the lives of Bloomingdale's residents—how it "inhabits" us (Sundstrom 2003), just as we inhabit it—so that the social practices that create hostility or exclusion can be identified and mitigated.

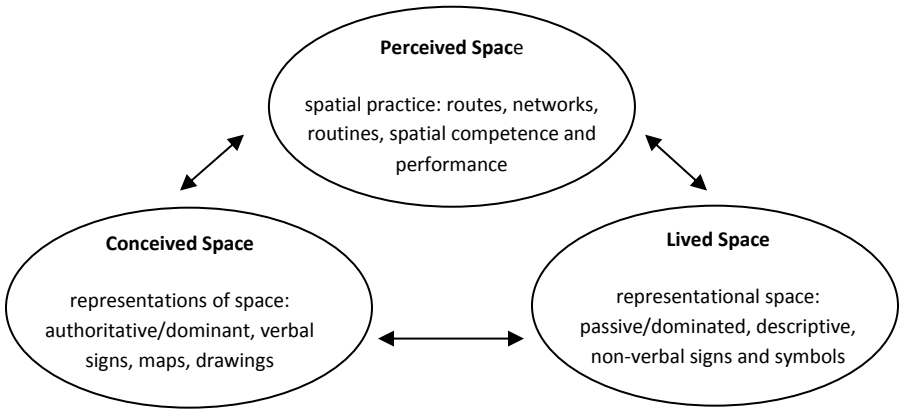
SOCIAL SPACE IS LIVED, PERCEIVED, AND CONCEIVED

If space is a mode of (capitalist) production, how exactly does it operate? And how is it produced? Lefebvre introduces the concept of an interactive and trialectic relationship between three different types of space which together produce *social space,* or space produced by social networks, relationships, and practices. These include 1) perceived space (or spatial practice), 2) conceived space (or representations of space), and 3) lived space (or representational space) (1991). These three different types of space are distinct, but they also overlap and interact in mutually constituting ways.

Perceived space, or spatial practice, refers to actors' patterned practices and routinized interpretations of signs and symbols. Imagine a person walking down the sidewalk in their[3] neighborhood; they see something—another person, or an object—they perceive it and adjust their routine accordingly. This patterned practice produces a "social space": it is a routine enactment of social relations that connect the resident, the sidewalk, and the object together through spatial practice. Lefebvre writes that "the spatial practice of a society secretes that society's space" (38), drawing attention to how physical or natural landscapes are perceived, conceived, and lived through our daily activities. Importantly, perceived space does not merely *interact* with the other types of space: lived space (better described as nonverbal signs and symbols, including artwork or décor) and conceived space (better described as verbal signs and symbols, such as maps and blueprints); it is *constituted* by them. It is both composed of and made by these types of space (see Figure 3).

[3]Following feminist convention, I use "their" as a singular pronoun.

Figure 3: Social Space, as described by Lefebvre



In Bloomingdale, an example of the spatial triad at work is illustrated by the presence of a large mural located on the side of a privately-owned row house bordering an alley. The artwork, known among residents as "the women's mural," depicts images of prominent historical and contemporary women of color, including for example Mary Church Terrell (b. 1863-1954) who lived just a few blocks away on T Street NW and whose African American and women's activist work led to numerous victories, including the integration of eating places in DC in 1953. This mural is an example of Lefebvre's "lived space" in that the historical memory of women's leadership is painted on the brick side wall of a row house, as visages of women of color. The mural itself has symbolic meaning, and its presence shapes how women residents of Bloomingdale perceive their access to public space, ranging from gendered perceptions of mobility that sociologists refer to as the "geography of fear" (Valentine 1989) to impressions of how the alley is *conceived* in public documents, changing the alley from a private and relatively invisible space belonging only to the home-owners and renters adjacent to it, into a public place of which images are disseminated in social media and neighbors are invited to visit.

Figure 4: “Women’s Mural” (author’s photo, July 2013)

These elements of “lived space” and “conceived space” constitute residents’ perceptions of space and their spatial practices. Indeed, the organization that created the mural, known as AlbusCavus, announced in their artistic statement that their goal was to “visually *transform the area* and provide a forum for discussion relevant to women [sic] rights in our local and global communities” (AlbusCavus 2012, emphasis mine). One white woman resident of Bloomingdale wrote that the mural “girlifies” her block and makes the neighborhood more “female-friendly,” declaring that “Bloomingdale is quickly becoming a queer girls’ paradise” (Cauterucci 2012). While this comment emphasizes the significance of this particular piece of art for gender and sexuality, the mural is also raced and classed: by featuring prominent women of color, the mural reflects instead of erases

local knowledge about the achievements, critical intellectual contributions and struggles for justice of black women and Latinas in Bloomingdale and greater Washington, DC. It therefore produces a new type of social space—one that is raced, gendered, and classed—through its mutual constitution with perceived and conceived space.

THE MUTUAL CONSTITUTION OF SPACE WITH RACE, CLASS, AND GENDER

Although Lefebvre's theory of the production of space was rooted in a Marxist critique of capitalism, by the time his text was translated into English, US feminist scholars had already begun the work of interrogating Marxism for its inattention to gender and race. Economist Heidi Hartmann (1994) is now widely acknowledged within feminist circles as the first scholar to explain, in 1978, how capitalism and patriarchy are intertwined and interrelated systems of exploitation. This position came to define the "second wave" of feminist scholarship (Conaghan 2009). While Hartmann did not conceptualize patriarchy and capitalism as mutually constituted social structures (as do contemporary intersectionality scholars), she argued that the subordination of women was upheld by class and capitalist oppression. In other words, capitalism was the vehicle through which patriarchy was maintained (but not vice versa).

In 1990, sociologist Patricia Hill Collins published *Black Feminist Thought* which brought intersectional theorizing to prominence within sociology and characterized a shift to the "third wave" of feminist activism. With this text, Collins deftly demonstrated what black women intellectuals had argued in academic scholarship and popular discourse

since as early as Anna Julia Cooper's[4] 1892 article "The Colored Woman's Office" (1999) or Sojourner Truth's 1851 speech "Aint I A Woman?" (1851): black women's shared experiences and critical intellectual perspectives are unique from those of black men and white women. Collins emphasized that privilege and disadvantage cannot be understood by investigating gender exclusion, racial exclusion, or class exclusion each on their own, but that race, class, and gender are interlocking structures of oppression that expand and restrict opportunities, and they must be studied together (2000). Accordingly, in the late 1990s, some urban sociologists and geographers began to integrate analysis of race, class, and gender in their applications of Lefebvre's space, arguing that in the US context, it is inappropriate to conceive of space as something produced only by capitalism, when race (McCann 1999; Soja 1996; Wright 1997) and gender (Soja 1996; Wright 1997; Massey 1994) are also primary social structures intertwined with space to organize the lives of those in US cities.

Feminist intersectional theorists who study how race, class, and gender operate together conceptualize these social structures as *mutually constituted*. My use of the term is influenced especially by Ivy Ken's exploration of the concept in her text *Digesting Race, Class, and Gender* (2010). She writes that "social structures, in their most basic form, are those entities that add order and predictability to our lives. They literally structure—order—our chances in life, our days, our relationships with each other, our bodies, our identities, and the common conditions we face" (33-4). For these entities to be mutually constituted means that the social construction of each is tied to that of the

[4] Anna Julia Cooper (b. 1858-1964) also lived in Washington, DC, and her former home is located near Bloomingdale's NW border. Residents of Bloomingdale and the nearby LeDroit Park affably disagree about which neighborhood boundaries the home originally belonged to (Onwukwe 2010).

other. The social processes that cohere to maintain these mutually entwined structures are both rigid and predictable when enacted through routine social practice, but also adaptable and amenable by participants' conscious engagement and awareness. As Ken explains, "the term 'mutually constituting' indicates movement, development, change, and time, and reminds us that race, class, and gender categories are under continual construction" (2010:37). The theory of 1991; Hancock 2007; Walby, Armstrong, and Strid 2012), the term *constitute* to describe systemic or structural properties is also invoked in much of the geography and urban sociology literature these structures' *mutuality* provokes the question of whether the construction of one—race, for example—could even exist without that of the others—gender, and class (Ken 2010).

Although this concept of mutual constitution is particular to feminist sociological scholarship (Ken 2010; Glenn 2004; Collins 2010; Sundstrom 2003; Samson 2010; Wright 1997; McCann 1999; Fraser 2004; Mazer and Rankin 2011) that I draw on in my interpretation of Bloomingdale's exclusive spaces. If, as Lefebvre argues, space is a social thing that orders our experiences, adds predictability to our social circumstances, influences how our bodies move and where we feel welcome and what our common conditions might be, then space is a social structure. If space is a social structure, then it must follow that it is mutually constituted by race, class, gender, and other social structures that order our experiences. In the Bloomingdale neighborhood, the data I have collected suggests that this is true: exclusive spaces are created through social practices that are raced, classed, and gendered, and these spaces in turn order residents' experiences and incite new symbols of race, gender, and class that did not previously exist.

A handful of theorists have discussed how space is mutually constituted with other social structures like race, class and gender (Sundstrom 2003; Samson 2010; Wright 1997; Massey 1994; Soja 1996), and I draw on their work to identify the spatial practices employed by residents of Bloomingdale in the construction of exclusive space. In the spatial theory literature, the terms "constitute" and "constitution" are important rhetorical devices used to signal attention to the structural properties of space—a structure that is both material and ideological (Samson 2010; Wright 1997; Mazer and Rankin 2001). This characterization of space as an entity composed of both economic and cultural properties resonates with other sociological theories of structure, such as William H. Sewell's (1992) discussion of structures as dialectically constituted by actors' access to economic resources and their deployment of cultural schemas.

Spatial theorists and empirical researchers have drawn on similar ideas in their examinations of urban spatial organization. Sociologist Eugene McCann (1999), for example, evokes the concept of mutual constitution in his analysis of the racially patterned spaces of Lexington, Kentucky. He writes that "subjective identity and material urban spaces exist in a *mutually constitutive* relationship" (164 emphasis mine). Similarly, geographers Katie M. Mazer and Katharine N. Rankin invoke intersectionality when they write that "social space is experienced differently depending on one's social location […] and it is *constituted* in relation to the mix of material and social forces that lie beyond it—e.g. urban and economic policy, planning practice, [and] processes of capital accumulation" (824 emphasis mine). Melanie Samson (2010), drawing on feminist geographer Doreen Massey's (1994) assertion that space must be gendered because it is composed of social relations, finds that "focusing on the social processes

through which [an economic process is] constituted can illuminate struggles hidden from view in both aspatial and geographic analyses that overlook the *constitutive role* played by racialized, gendered, social relations" (410 emphasis mine). Each of these writers' empirical findings substantiate the theoretical assertion that urban space(s) operate like a social structure—in both material and ideological ways—to order and predict the social circumstances and marginality of different groups.

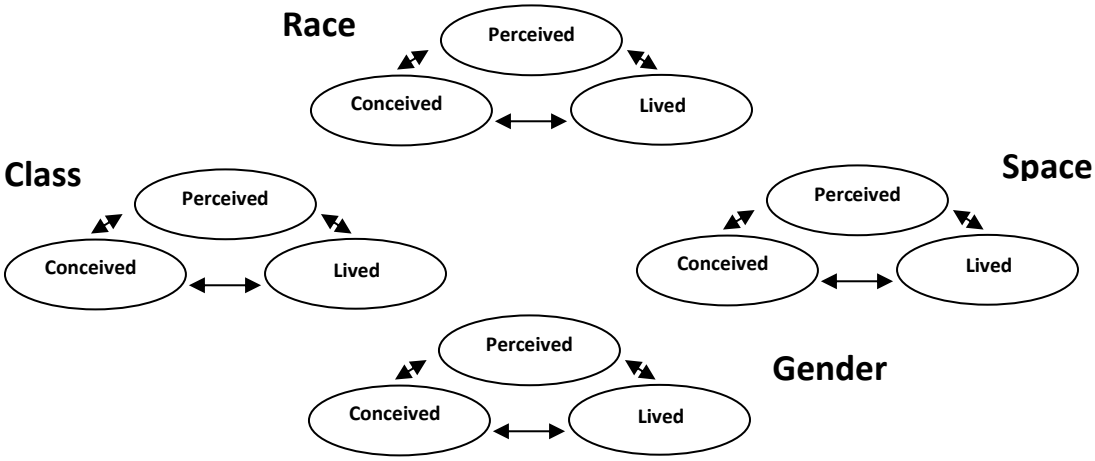
The economic reality of gentrification as a fundamentally capitalist and material process is well documented in urban research (Lees, Slater, and Wyly 2008), but examinations of the ideological or cultural modes of production that influence spatial organization in the gentrified landscape are far less common. These socio-cultural and spatial processes operate together to produce both 1) exclusive spaces, and 2) new social categories of neighbors and residents. For example, in his study of the gentrified Columbia Heights neighborhood in Washington, DC, James C. Fraser (2004) finds that in the wake of ongoing economic displacement of lower-income residents, socio-cultural battles over the right to public space persist and result in the marginalization and exclusion of vulnerable groups who remain in the neighborhood. He writes that a "central *constitutive* moment in the formation and maintenance" of different social groups in the neighborhood "is the claiming of rights to space" (438 emphasis mine). In this regard, it is residents' access to public space that directly influences their cohesion into different sets of social groups or communities.

The notion that spatial practice produces different categories of people is an excellent example of the mutually constitutive relationship between space and other social structures like race, class, and gender. Philosopher Ronald Sundstrom refers to this

as the production of different "human kinds," arguing that the "spatial organization of groups is *constitutive* of the social production of groups, and there is a looping effect between spatial experience and group constitution" (84 emphasis mine). Sundstrom's use of the term "spatial experience" evokes what Lefebvre called "spatial practice"; and it is through these socio-spatial practices that space comes to inhabit us, just as we inhabit it.

An ethnographic exploration of spatial practice enables us to identify the cultural schemas—be they raced, classed, and gendered—that make up this dimension of spatial structure. To explain this further, sociologist Talmadge Wright (1997) draws on Lefebvre to explore what he describes as the role of the "social imaginary" in actors' deployment of spatial practice. The social imaginary is a system of meanings—"not arbitrary […] but fixed through social practice"—that underlies the decisions we make about how to move and interact in public space. Wright explains that our "microactions are informed at the most basic bodily level by networks of meanings established through the production of symbols […] arranged in patterns that give coherence—symbolic meaning and symbolic networks—to one's thoughts as well as one's action" (42). Given the theoretical position that race, class, gender, and space are mutually constituted, the following figure illustrates how the social imaginaries for each of these structures could be composed, in part, by spatial practice (and vice versa).

Figure 5: Social Imaginaries of Race, Class, Gender, and Space (author's figure)



Collecting ethnographic observations about how our raced, classed, and gendered imaginations influence spatial practice helps us to move beyond simply describing a typology of different spaces (such as lived, conceived, and perceived) to an "analytical examination of *how* social and physical spaces are assembled within our society" (Wright 1997:53 emphasis mine). In the Bloomingdale neighborhood, what has become clear through my collection and analysis of ethnographic data about residents' spatial practices is that these practices *do* produce new types of "human kinds," as Sundstrom would say. New tropes—the "church parker," for example, and the racialized and gendered distinctions between "old" and "new" residents—arise from raced, classed, and gendered spatial practice. At the same time, socio-cultural spaces of marginalization and exclusion persist despite increased racial diversity at the neighborhood level. In Bloomingdale, the social structures of space, race, class, and gender interact in mutually constitutive ways.

IDENTIFYING 'MUTUAL CONSTITUTION' AT WORK

In my analysis of the social production of space in Bloomingdale, I identify three arenas in which spatial exclusion is produced through raced, classed, and gendered processes. I pay particular attention to the trialectic domains of socio-spatial construction that Lefebvre described—that of lived space, conceived space, and perceived space—and I identify raced, gendered, and classed elements at work in each of these three different spatial types. To do so, I draw on Lefebvre's discussion of "spatial architectonics" to further explicate the concept of mutual constitution and identify specific social objects and practices that are tangled together in space.

The term *architectonics* draws attention to the social mechanisms within each of these types of space that together build a spatial structure. Sociologist Mark Gottdiener (1993), based on his interpretation of Lefebvre's original French text, describes these three types of space as the physical world that participants encounter and interpret (e.g. perceived space), the mental world where participants store their conceptions of space (e.g. conceived space), and the medium in which bodies interact and social and spatial relationships play out (e.g. lived space). Lefebvre's trialectic of perceived, conceived, and lived space "ties together," as Gottdiener says, the *physical, mental* and *social* dimensions of space (131). As illustrated in Figure 3, each of these domains of space—the physical, mental, and social—are indicated by particular social mechanisms: 1) perceived (physical) space is indicated by our spatial practices, or the routes, networks, and pathways we travel, 2) conceived (mental) space is indicated by the maps and discourse we use to represent that space, and 3) lived (social) space is indicated by the associated symbols and images that influence our spatial practice.

In my analysis of exclusionary practices in Bloomingdale, I have found these broader terms—physical, mental, and social—to be helpful for identifying and classifying the specific objects and materials (physical), concepts and codes (mental), and relationships and practices (social) that residents employ in their routine production of exclusive space. These objects, codes, relationships, and practices operate together to produce exclusive spaces, and these spaces in turn socialize residents, affecting their choices and behaviors. The field data I have collected in Bloomingdale provides demonstrable examples of the raced, classed, and gendered elements of Lefebvre's spatial triad; but in these examples, the different domains of perceived, conceived, and lived space are often difficult to disentangle. I identify and separate them whenever possible, but this confusion between the different spatial types, and the sense that their elements may not be mutually exclusive, is an intentional design of the theory (Lefebvre 1991) and it underscores the *mutually constitutive* relationship between the different dimensions of space.

It is also uncommon for all three of the different types of space to be identifiable *simultaneously* in a single social observation. This is also congruent with Lefebvre's theory, whose ontological conception of space is that of a social object produced *over time*. The physical environment that participants encounter and interpret (perceived space) influences the social relationships participants enact within that space (lived space), and thus these two domains of space interpenetrate and are frequently identifiable in a single observation. Conceived space, however—the mental world of space—is different. While it is *theoretically* interpenetrative with the other domains of space during participants' routine spatial practices, it is difficult to identify its co-occurrence with the

others through ethnographic field observation alone. In order to identify residents' conceptions of space, I rely on in-depth interviews, cognitive mapping, and social artifacts like a map of a neighborhood scavenger hunt. These methods are described further in the following chapter.

In the concluding chapter of Lefebvre's *Production of Space*, he writes that "social relations, […] have no real existence save in and through space. Their underpinning is spatial" (404). If we are able to conceive of space not as an empty place but as a web of social relations, then it is possible to imagine how space is the landscape on which we can trace our social relationships. It is not simply a physical place, like the curbside of a public street, but it is a network of relationships and a system of meanings. Space—as a social structure—has the capacity to act, to order our experiences, and to constrain our opportunities. Through its constitution with other social structures, it takes on social meaning and an agentic capacity for reproducing inequality. All social networks then have a spatial form; and all spaces act like social structures.

Chapter 4: Data and Methodology

In order to identify *how* space operates as a social structure in the gentrified context of Bloomingdale, I collected data about residents' experiences through in-depth interviews, ethnographic field observations, and detailed "transect walks." I began collecting data in April 2012 and continued through July 2013; however, as a resident of the neighborhood for almost five years, my ethnographic observations began long before I conducted formal data collection. As a single white woman and a member of the gentry group, I lived in Bloomingdale from the age of 24 to 29 and this positioned me both as an "insider" and an "outsider," affording me opportunities to develop relationships and social networks with my neighbors long before I took interest in studying the neighborhood's exclusive spaces, but also positioning me as someone unable to relate to the experiences of longer-term and African American residents who lived in Bloomingdale prior to its gentrification.

I employed a grounded theory design for data collection and analysis. The earliest three interviews I conducted in 2012 were intended to be exploratory and only loosely structured to uncover participants' observations of changes in Bloomingdale. Similarly, my earliest field notes were lengthy and indiscriminately descriptive—I took copious notes about everything I could see or sense, such as the shape and construction of doorways to restaurants; the aroma of red mustard greens served on bone china; and the words, gestures, and interactions exchanged between neighbors at meetings or between people I passed on the street. Over the course of a year, I conducted irregular but frequent field observations and began to notice patterns of exclusionary processes at work in Bloomingdale's public spaces. Accordingly, in contrast with the earliest interviews, the

twelve others I conducted between April and July 2013 were intentionally designed to uncover participants' perceptions of neighborhood places and spatial practices (a schedule of interview questions is included in the appendix). In what follows I describe the collection of my ethnographic observations, the transect and cognitive mapping techniques I used, and the analytical techniques that guided my coding and analyses of these data.

ETHNOGRAPHIC OBSERVATIONS AND TRANSECT MAPS

The importance for this research of ethnographic field observations and my active participation in neighborhood activities cannot be overstated. John Hartigan (1999), conducting field work in Detroit, writes about how racial identities and racial boundaries are not static categories that persist over time; their meanings and symbols are continually constructed, challenged, evaluated and constituted through everyday actions and events. The same can be said for classed and gendered actions and events. In order to uncover the mechanisms through which exclusive spaces are constituted by these other social structures, detailed descriptive accounts of public activities are necessary. Field observations like those I have collected—in public restaurants, on transect walks, and in my daily activities as a resident of the neighborhood—have been crucial for assembling a catalogue of information to investigate the architecture of meanings associated with everyday actions. In addition to these activities, I also attended, participated in, and took careful field notes at advisory neighborhood commission (ANC) and civic association meetings. The ANC meetings are public meetings hosted by a neighborhood commissioner, an elected official who represents approximately 2,000 constituents and

who fields public comment on issues affecting the neighborhood, such as traffic, redevelopment, parking, and police issues. The civic association is also concerned with issues affecting the neighborhood, but is composed primarily of home owners who pay yearly dues in order to be voting members. Both meetings are open to public participation.

Hanging out at neighborhood bars, participating in meetings, ordering food in restaurants, and visiting with neighbors on the sidewalk enables what Shulamit Reinharz (1992) calls "complete observation," a field practice that collapses the distinction between the researcher and those she studies and enhances epistemological inquiry. In order to participate fully in neighborhood activities, I typically jotted down field notes using a notepad or smart phone and transcribed these into detailed type-written accounts within 24 hours of the observation.

In order to better understand the spatial organization of the neighborhood and its businesses, I conducted two transect walks. This method is typically employed in international research as part of the participatory rapid appraisal framework (Chambers 1994): qualitative researchers who are new to a town or village will embark on locally guided walks through the ethnographic site to record observations and construct a map of the environs. In the case of Bloomingdale, I was already familiar with the ethnographic site through my daily activities as a resident, so I adopted and modified the method of the transect walk to disrupt my routinized relationship with neighborhood space. To record my spatial observations, I used the TripJournal iPhone application. Although the app is marketed to travelers and backpackers who wish to geocode photographs and notes about their travels, it served as an excellent research tool: I was able to activate the app's GPS

capabilities and as I walked around the perimeter and cross-streets of the neighborhood, the app tracked my path and mapped it onto a Google Earth document. As I walked, I took photographs of churches, businesses, street art, sidewalks, and lawn decorations, pausing on the sidewalk here-and-there to type detailed notes into my phone. Each of these photographs with their corresponding field notes were geocoded and tagged on a map of the neighborhood. I then exported these GPS files to Google Earth; using the historical timeline feature and the 2011 Google Earth layer, I was able to observe how photographs taken on my transect walk in 2012 compared to the same geographic sites in previous years: a dramatic contrast for a neighborhood rapidly undergoing gentrification.

Throughout the period of the study, I also collected artifacts and materials that were produced and made public by neighborhood leaders, committees, and other organizations, such as fliers posted in public places, advertisements of community events, and the website "Where Would Jesus Park in Bloomingdale?" (www.wwjpinbloomingdale.blogspot.com). Typically I kept fliers when they were free to the public, but I occasionally photographed these items using the MaxQDA smart phone app which enabled me to geocode the photos, record field notes in real time, and import both into the MaxQDA qualitative analysis software program on my home computer to be coded and analyzed.

ETHNOGRAPHIC INTERVIEWS AND COGNITIVE MAPPING

After completing approximately four months of periodic field observations, I introduced a wave of semi-structured, in-depth interviews in order to speak with residents directly and hear about their interpretations of neighborhood changes and public places.

In total, I conducted sixteen ethnographic interviews with participants who either lived or worked in the Bloomingdale neighborhood. I recruited participants through my existing social networks with non-probability sampling methods, including "purposive sampling," or intentional recruitment of appropriate participants, and "snowball sampling" based on referrals (Corbin and Strauss 2007). I attended public events, meetings, coffee shops, restaurants, and stores in the neighborhood, identified myself as a researcher and a resident of Bloomingdale, and invited people to participate in interviews. I purposively sought interviews with some residents whom I knew to be involved in neighborhood leadership or activism (including two neighborhood commissioners and two restaurant owners) as well as with residents who did not participate in any organized neighborhood activities. I also purposively sought interviews with black and white residents of diverse characteristics; however, the age range of participants skews younger, particularly for women. Most of the women in the study were recruited through snowball methods or targeted for their public leadership in the neighborhood. In contrast, I was able to recruit some older African American men because I had already established relationships with them through their public activity of visiting with friends on neighborhood sidewalks—a practice that I rarely observed older women engage in. I stopped recruiting new participants once I reached theoretical saturation, gaining little new information in participants' responses to the semi-structured interview schedule (Corbin and Strauss 2007). However, I continued to interview some participants past this stage whom I had already recruited and who were eager to participate.

While participants were diverse in age, gender, and number of years living in the neighborhood, it is important for me to note that I did not ask residents to discuss

sexuality. As a result, I am not able to address patterns of exclusion related to this topic, though previous research on gentrification in Washington, DC (Paris and Anderson 2001) as well as anecdotal evidence within Bloomingdale suggests that gay men and women make up a prominent part of the gentry group. One participant described Bloomingdale as "the gayest place on earth." Additionally, I was not able to interview any participants who raise children in the neighborhood, nor was I able to interview anyone who identified as a member of non-white or non-black racial groups. This oversight in part reflects the dominant demographics of the neighborhood in which approximately 62 percent of residents identify as African American; 30 percent identify as white; and only 17.8 percent of households include children under the age of eighteen[5]. The information gleaned from the interview data about the neighborhood's spatial organization might have been different had I interviewed a more diverse group of residents regarding sexuality, caregiver status, and race. The pseudonyms, genders, races, and ages of the 16 interview participants, along with the numbers of years they have lived or worked in Bloomingdale, appear in Table 1.

Table 1: Interview Participants[6]

Women			
Name	**Race**	**Age**	**Number of Years Living/Working in Bloomingdale**
Jacquie	Black	30	8 yrs (moved home with parents)
Lorine	Black	33	2.5 yrs
Sherry	Black	40-45*	13 yrs
Joy	Black	36*	5 yrs
Michelle	Black	30	3.5 yrs
Katherine	White	32	5 yrs

[5]Based on 2010 Census and American Community Survey 5-year Estimates 2007-2011.
[6] Participants selected their own pseudonyms or were randomly assigned a name. I recorded age data whenever it was self-reported; the asterisks in Table 1 indicate age estimates based on life stage or other details shared during the interview.

Abby	White	23	1 yr
Marilyn	White	60-65*	1.5 yrs (bought and renovated home 4 yrs ago)
Stacey	White	27	4.5 yrs

Men			
Name	**Race**	**Age**	**Number of Years Living or Working in Bloomingdale**
Franky	Black	59	10 yrs
Travis	Black	31	31 yrs (born and raised in Bloomingdale)
Julius	Black	48	22 yrs
Rob	White	27	5 yrs
Patrick	White	35	Unknown
Jared	White	37*	10 yrs
Tim	White	58	28 yrs

Interviews typically ranged from one to three hours and participants had the option to select the location of the interview. The majority of the sixteen interviews were conducted in public places, including coffee shops, restaurants, and participants' workplaces, while five interviews were conducted in private homes. Some of the interview questions elicited sensitive information; participants were guaranteed confidentiality and verbal consent was obtained before beginning each interview. I asked participants to share the changes they had observed during their time living in the neighborhood; their positive and negative experiences; and whether they had personally experienced any racial tension, a phenomenon reported by a local politician in 2012 to be at an "all-time high" in Bloomingdale (see appendix).

In order to glean candid and honest information about racial dynamics in Bloomingdale, it was important for me to establish trust with interview participants. Research has shown that same-race interviewers are likely to be more successful than different-race interviewers in establishing rapport with participants (Berg and Lune

2012), particularly when discussing race. In order to mediate this challenge, I occasionally asked black participants at the end of the interview if they had advice for me about how to create a sense of comfort and candor for participants when probing on sensitive racial topics. Participants often suggested that I share information about my own racialized experiences in order to signal that I am comfortable discussing race as well as critical of racial inequality and white privilege. Jacquie, a black woman age 30, said

> I guess, being very honest, when I think of the people I know where I'm like, okay, this person is somebody where it's safe for me to talk about some of these things, they've often exposed to me not just their intellectual curiosity about topics related to race, but they've also demonstrated in some way a more sophisticated um… a much more sophisticated understanding of the history of this community and of race in this country.

Jacquie's suggestions, and those of other participants, echo established feminist approaches for building rapport with interviewees: self-disclosure, transparency, and active engagement through emphatic listening build trust with participants and elicit more sincere narratives (Reinharz 1992), while at the same time challenging (though not completely eliminating) the power imbalance between researcher and participant (Berg and Lune 2012). I took Jacquie's advice and employed this technique when participants appeared to be particularly hesitant or uncomfortable and often participants opened up or appeared more relaxed once I disclosed my critical view of racial inequality or asked their advice about discussing race with other participants.

In addition to open-ended questions about neighborhood change, I also asked participants to look at a blank map of the Bloomingdale neighborhood and to indicate,

using a pen, the routes they travel and the businesses or places that they typically patronize. This method, referred to by geographers as "cognitive mapping" (Mazer and Rankin 2011; Sundstrom 2003) enabled me to learn how different participants interpret their neighborhood spaces, as well as to identify the pathways and locations where they feel safe and welcome. I typically asked participants to complete this exercise at the end of every interview, but very often the practice of mapping one's routes and habits prompted participants to voluntarily extend the interview and to talk more openly than they previously had about the nuanced reasons for inhabiting or avoiding different locations. Although I did not ask participants to reflect on raced or gendered decision-making, some did so of their own accord, commenting candidly on how these factors influence their habits. This "cognitive mapping" technique proved to be crucial for identifying some of the mechanisms through with space is mutually constituted with race, class, and gender in the context of Bloomingdale. Additionally, it tapped into the perceptions of space and the spatial practices that Lefebvre refers to as the spatial triad (1994) and philosopher Ronald Sundstrom refers to as "spatial cognition," or the looping effect between "operative space" (e.g. spatial practice) and "symbolic space" (e.g. culturally-produced conceptions of space) (2003:92).

CODING AND ANALYSIS

Interviews were recorded with a digital audio device then de-identified and transcribed. I imported typed field notes, artifacts, photos, and interview transcripts into MaxQDA, a qualitative analysis software package which facilitated open coding techniques rooted in grounded theory, such as line-by-line coding of field notes and

transcripts to develop a conceptual scheme of recurring patterns. MaxQDA is particularly well-suited for a grounded theory approach due to the architecture of its interface, which enables researchers to easily create "in vivo" codes (or "living" codes that arise from single words or concepts) while reading through transcripts, and to draft memos that are linked to both codes and data segments (Saillard 2011). Additionally, MaxQDA includes a "geo-linking" feature, in conjunction with Google Earth, which allowed me to integrate geocoded notes and photographs collected with the MaxQDA smartphone app into the primary analytical document.

Some axial themes began to emerge during the course of data collection, and I gradually noticed consistent patterns in spatial practices and participants' discussions of neighborhood changes. These axial themes arose iteratively between the first and second stages of coding as I compared and related the open codes to one another, finding and grouping them into themes, and then considered how these themes related to the existing literature on spatial practice. I kept these emergent themes in mind, but created my initial coding scheme entirely from "open codes," or codes that are grounded by the specific words and concepts employed by participants or observed in the field data (Berg and Lune 2012); I often interrupted this coding phase to type brief interpretations and theoretical memos. As I continued coding, certain categories emerged in how interview participants referred to different groups of people who live in the neighborhood—for example, references to "guys hanging out" was often racially coded language for older black men, while the term "younger people" often referred to white residents of the gentry group. Overarching themes in the types of racialized exclusion either experienced or produced by different residents in the neighborhood also emerged. As I continued to

collect and code data, and to think about these data in the context of literature on spatial practice, my coding process became more purposive. As themes emerged, I employed the content analysis tool, "MaxDictio," inMaxQDA to conduct a more thorough search of the terms related to these themes. For example, after I identified spatial themes around the topic of church parking in Bloomingdale, I ran a search of all memos, transcripts, field notes, and coded data for the term "parking" and other related terms. This final step helped to ensure that I did not overlooked any relevant data during the early coding process.

Overall, my analytical approach alternated between inductive and deductive methods: while the themes I summarize in the following chapter emerged directly from the data itself, my interpretation of these themes is filtered through a theoretical understanding of the social production of space, and an eye for specific spatial practices that were illustrated in the data. The following chapter describes how the spatial exclusion of African Americans in Bloomingdale, and the displacement pressure they experience, is mutually constituted with raced, classed, and gendered processes.

Chapter 5: Exclusion and Public Space in Bloomingdale

In this chapter, I identify and describe three arenas in which Bloomingdale residents' socio-spatial practices produce raced, classed, and gendered sites of exclusion. First, I describe the "social tectonics" (Butler and Robson 2001) that characterize residents' interracial interactions and the "junction points" (Lefebvre 1991)—in restaurants and other public places—where these residents meet and reify contiguous yet segregated neighborhood spaces. I then describe white gentry residents' circumscribed memories of Bloomingdale's history: memories that are traceable by their spatial practices and serve to perpetuate a myth that, prior to gentrification, the neighborhood existed solely as a hotbed of drug-related crime. Finally, I describe the transformation of a public site—that of the curbside—into a space of racial hostility and exclusion through the constitutive relationship between lived, perceived and conceived space. I demonstrate how the spatial relationships surrounding public curbsides produce a new, racialized "human kind" (Sundstrom 2003): the church parker. This production of a new "human kind" demonstrates the reciprocal and mutually constituted relationship between race, class, gender, and space.

I have deliberately organized the following three sections—each one denoting a different arena of exclusion for African American residents of Bloomingdale—so that each includes a description of the raced, classed, and gendered social objects and practices that are classified in the three domains of lived, perceived, and conceived space. The first of these arenas, described in the next immediate section, elucidates the interracial and gendered encounters in Bloomingdale that are typified by tectonic social relationships

SOCIAL TECTONICS OF INTERRACIAL AND GENDERED ENCOUNTERS

The first arena of spatial exclusion for African American residents of Bloomingdale is comprised of the mobile "junction points" that are created as a result of tectonic social relationships produced in routine interracial encounters. Sociologists Tim Butler and Garry Robson coined the term "social tectonics" to describe the paradox that occurs in gentrified neighborhoods when residential integration across race and class is impeded by residents' "voluntary segregation" within neighborhood spaces (2001:2157; Mazer and Rankin 2011). They write that the "'tectonic' social structure […] celebrates diversity in principle but leads to separate lives in practice," recalling the metaphor of two tectonic plates (or social groups) that rub shoulders against one another and never integrate. In Bloomingdale, there are numerous examples of these tectonic relationships between white and black residents, but it would be inaccurate to describe them as *self*-segregating. Unlike the "cosmopolitan canopy" described by Elijah Anderson (2011), a space in which racially and ethnically diverse groups of people come together to interact and appreciate diversity despite wider residential segregation, tectonic social processes are hostile at their worst and unfriendly at their best, and they produce spaces of active racial *exclusion* rather than inclusion or voluntary self-segregation.

The gendered and classed spatial practices that white gentry residents' in particular enact during tectonic interracial encounters are mutually constituted with race to reify the boundaries of exclusive social space, forming what Lefebvre referred to as "junction points," or "places of passage and encounter" characterized by social friction (1991:193). These tense and racialized spaces are traceable by ethnographic observation,

cognitive mapping of residents' neighborhood boundaries and routes, and stories residents tell about their experiences in the neighborhood.

One of the settings in which tectonic interracial encounters are evident is black and white neighbors' brief interactions in restaurants and while crossing paths on the sidewalk. Black residents of Bloomingdale whom I interviewed—both gentry and longer-term residents—discuss persistent feelings of exclusion as a result of these unfriendly interactions with white neighbors and restaurant employees. The behaviors that whites exhibit are usually subtle and often unconscious or unintentional, but they are nevertheless exclusionary. Psychologist Derald Wing Sue calls these "microaggressions"—social practices that on the surface appear to be neutral or positive, but "contain […] demeaning meta-communications or hidden messages" that result in the social marginalization of targeted groups. These microaggressions are deployed by whites as part of their everyday interracial interactions, and according to Sue, they occur outside of the realm of cognitive awareness for those who deploy them (Sue 2010; Sue and Rivera 2010).

In Bloomingdale, these microaggressions frequently take the form of dismissive or nonresponsive behaviors among whites; but for the purposes of this study, it is important to consider how these psycho-social aggressions influence residents' *spatial practice*. When a white barista provides inferior service to a black customer, or when a white woman crosses the street to avoid walking next to her black neighbors, these microaggressions—which are raced, classed, and gendered—take on a spatial character and they are fixed through routine spatial practice, in turn coding the lived spaces and locations where they occur with racialized and gendered meanings. Often whites whom I

interviewed justify these actions with narratives that draw on stereotypes of black residents as perpetrators of criminal activity, revealing the racialized schemas and stereotypes that form white residents' "spatial imaginary" (Wright 1997) and influence their spatial practice.

Importantly, during semi-structured interviews, I did not ask white or black participants whether they had personally experienced racial exclusion. Instead, participants often described these experiences in response to the following questions:

- Since living in Bloomingdale, what are some of the changes that you've noticed?
- Looking back on your time living in Bloomingdale, are there any experiences that stand out to you as particularly negative? Are there any experiences that stand out as particularly positive? If so, what?
- Last year, a council member said that racial tension in Bloomingdale was at an all-time high. Do you know what he was referring to or have you had any personal experience with racial tension?

In response to these questions, both black and white residents described the unpleasant and awkward tension they sometimes feel when interacting with one another. While the majority of participants—both black and white—went on to tell me that they love living in Bloomingdale and would prefer to stay in the neighborhood as long as possible if they could continue to afford to do so, their stories and experiences with interracial tension present an opportunity for a critical assessment of the ways that exclusion persists in the gentrified context.

Lived Spaces: Race, Class, Gender, and Interracial "Junction Points"

My interviews with black residents of Bloomingdale yielded several descriptive accounts of the "lived spaces" which served as junction points for black and white residents to cross paths and interact within the neighborhood. Lefebvre explains that socially produced spaces fit one of four characteristics: they are 1) "accessible for normal use," such as a public route or a pathway, 2) they may have boundaries and are prohibitive to certain groups under certain circumstances, 3) they are places of abode, or 4) they could be "junction points," or places where different groups encounter one another and experience friction (1991:193). In Bloomingdale, public restaurants and sidewalks form a backdrop on which each of these different socially produced spaces occur. The character of these spaces—whether they are open and accessible, bounded and exclusive, or junction points serving as places of encounter—changes depending on the raced, classed, and gendered mechanisms at work in the *lived* relationships between black and white residents.

Lorine, a black gentry resident age 33, described the tension she feels when walking down the street in her neighborhood. She remarked "I guess I've felt tension a little bit, very mildly, I think when [white] people look at me, they avert their eyes or they may not say hello." Her description of this experience and her characterization of it as tense provide a context to consider these routine interracial encounters as mobile spaces of social friction or "junction points." Describing what she perceives to be an unfriendly interaction with white neighbors, she commented that "no matter how many times I've seen them […], no matter how many times they've seen me, they won't speak."

Lorine's observation that white residents refrain from speaking with her when they cross paths in the neighborhood, and her interpretation of this social distancing as something that is unfriendly, is a description that is echoed by many other black residents whom I interviewed. However "mild" this tension may be (to use Lorine's term), it illustrates an example of "displacement pressure" (Slater 2009): while it is unlikely that white residents intend their social distance to be interpreted as unfriendly or hostile, in the context of a rapidly gentrifying neighborhood these differences in expectations of social practice have consequences that compound African Americans' feelings of exclusion from the quickly changing neighborhood culture.

As neighborhood residents walk towards one another on a public street, they enter into a social and a spatial relationship, however temporary it may be, and this relationship is governed by expectations of routine social practice. A resident's decision whether or not to engage with a neighbor whom he or she passes is influenced by that residents' "social imaginary"—or the cultural schemas that inform their spatial practice. Lorine wondered aloud about the reasons that white residents resist socializing with her and she speculated that "If I'm just walking through Bloomingdale, maybe the white residents think I live in one of the low-income housing projects, maybe they… perhaps there's some perception of 'other' there." Lorine's reference to the low-income housing that borders Bloomingdale's perimeter demonstrates her concern that white residents may be stereotyping her as lower-income and therefore they may interpret her presence in the neighborhood as problematic; at the same time she reifies classist difference by implying that whites' fear of women who live in subsidized housing would be more rational than their fear of a higher-income professional woman, illustrating how gentry perceptions of

black women's belonging in the neighborhood are patterned by class as well as race and gender.

Similar to the social distancing Lorine describes, Franky, a recently retired black man in his 60s, describes how some of his interactions with whites in the neighborhood lead him to feel ignored and unrecognized. When asked whether he had experienced any racial tension during his time living in the neighborhood, he commented:

> There are a lot of mean spirited people. Some people don't speak, don't even look at you. But it doesn't bother me. Since I can't own other people's issues, those issues aren't mine. So I just gotta make sure I be the best person I can be. I was raised that way; I speak to everybody, I say hi or whatever. I don't want anything from you. […] I don't want anything, just hi. I see you, hi [laughter]. That's all you really want, that's all *I* really want.

When Franky explains "that's all you really want, that's all I really want," he is alluding to his perception that some white gentry residents may think that he says hello in order to ask for money or to impose some other request. He goes on to explain that when he says hello he is not expecting anything in return besides acknowledgement. Referring to white residents, he says "most of the people are pretty cool. They'll speak, at least, but there are a lot of people that they just don't say anything to me."

Similarly, Travis, a thirty-one year old black man who was born in Bloomingdale and has lived in the neighborhood for all of his life intimated that when a new white neighbor moves to his street, he and another neighbor who has lived in the neighborhood for many years joke to each other and make guesses about how long it will take the new

resident to recognize them as neighbors and say hello when passing by on the street. He commented:

> We always laugh and talk about how people in the neighborhood don't speak to each other and I told [my neighbor that] I see people come and you say hello to them and they look at you like 'Who are you? Why are you talking to me?' And it's like we've gotten that far that people just don't speak to each other anymore.

Travis's comments allude to the changes he has witnessed over the course of his 31 years living in Bloomingdale. He says "we've gotten that far," alluding to the trajectory of demographic change in the neighborhood.

Both Travis's and Franky's comments about the reasons white residents may dismiss them in public allude to a concern that white residents are demonstrating, through their dismissive behavior, their fear of black bodies in public places—particularly those of black men on public, city streets. While both black men and women whom I interviewed described their confusion about whites' dismissive behavior when passing by on the sidewalk, the reasons that white women I interviewed gave for their social distancing were distinctly gendered.

Katherine, a 32 year old white woman who has lived in the neighborhood for 5 years, demonstrated these raced and gendered fears when she discussed the apprehension she feels when walking in the vicinity of a group of black teenage boys. I include the following excerpt from our interview because, while long, it demonstrates the racialized thinking that some white women employ when they encounter their black neighbors on public streets. When asked about how the neighborhood has changed in the years that she has lived in Bloomingdale, Katherine responded as follows:

Katherine: I see a lot less crime notices […]. Like we used to have a lot. And I paid a lot more attention because there was a roving band of teenage guys who would kind of bug people, that would hang out on the V, W, U Street and 1st kind of stretch. And there was a lot of reports of somebody getting mugged on their way home

Allison: And the teenagers, were they people who lived around here?

Katherine: Yeah, because they were always around. And they didn't usually… Like I don't know that they were the ones doing any of the muggings, but they were just hanging out all the time. And they liked to yell at people. And they weren't really…I never saw them doing anything particularly bad, but you could tell that they just wanted to make people uncomfortable.

Allison: So I'm curious, what are some of the… Did you ever see them yelling things out or anything?

Katherine: I never really saw them like harassing anyone, but I definitely saw them congregate all over an area. And you kind of have to walk a pretty wide swath just to get through. Or like you know, you could tell they just didn't have anything else to do so they were just hanging out on the street corners. I mean, like I said, I never saw them do anything actually bad, but they just kind of hung out. And there were enough reports of getting mugged by two teens that look, for all intents and purposes, you're describing 5'10 or 6 foot

> tall black teenager with dreads and wearing a baseball cap. And there's like ten of them hanging out on the corner.

In this example, Katherine collapses the association between black teenage boys who congregate on a public street with the possible presence of unseen criminals who commit crimes and muggings and who gentry residents have written about on the neighborhood listerv. While Katherine acknowledges that she doesn't know whether the teens have *actually* committed any crimes, nor has she actually witnessed them harassing anyone, she expresses fear and apprehension about their presence and explains that one would have to "walk a pretty wide swath" to get around them. Katherine says that "*you could tell* they just didn't have anything else to do" and "*you could tell* they just wanted to make people uncomfortable" (emphasis mine). These comments are illustrative of a white racial and gender frame (Feagin 2009; Frankenberg 1993) in which circumscribed experiences in interracial contexts result in inappropriate and racist stereotyping. In other words—a white woman who hears of a mugging committed by a white man in her neighborhood may not make the same assumption that white teenagers whom she comes across during the course of her day will also commit a mugging. Social psychologists refer to this as "selective perception" or "selective attention" (Trawalter et al 2008) in which whites' perceptions of black men's bodies conform to racist stereotyping about criminal activity.

Katherine's comments illustrate a type of spatial practice that produces racialized microaggressions. While Katherine identifies that she would need to "walk a pretty wide swath" to avoid the teenagers, her decision to do so is informed by racist and gendered stereotyping of African American residents. While she may feel uncomfortable near the

bounded social space that is qualitatively indicated by black teenagers' bodies, it is not *she* who is the target of a hostile act: her decision to "walk a pretty wide swath" is a spatial practice that carries a hidden social meaning, reifying the racial and gendered boundaries of the sidewalk space.

Katherine's fear of walking near black teens, coupled with Travis's account of the patterned ways he is ignored by white residents who have recently moved to his street, demonstrate how the routine enactment of race, class, and gender relationships on public sidewalks connect black and white neighbors together in networks of exclusion: whites' dismissive behaviors towards black residents—though they may be subtle or unintentional—create patterned and systematically negative experiences for their black neighbors, while simultaneously contesting who among Bloomingdale's residents has the right to congregate in its public space.

This question of who has a right to congregate in the public space of an urban neighborhood is one that feminists have analyzed before. Dolores Hayden (2002) discusses the social problem of street harassment—in which men gaze at women's bodies and comment on them as though they are part of public property—as an urban spatial issue. She writes that the sexist query, "'what's a nice girl like you doing in a place like this?' has defined attitudes toward women in public space" since the mid-twentieth century transition of higher-income white women from their homes into public workplaces. These attitudes, she argues, continue to influence what she calls "spatial stereotypes" about women's mobility and their access to public places (225).

Women whom I interviewed, both black and white, discussed the gendered and racialized comments men make about their bodies as they walk through the

neighborhood, prompting feelings of anxiety and fear. One black woman commented that a man shouted at her across the street that he wanted to "sweat [her[afro out," employing racialized and sexualized imagery to call public attention to her body as she walked home. Comments like these reinforce racist and sexist spatial practices, and Hayden argues that these attitudes are rooted in the sexist perception that 'a woman's place is in the home.' She writes that "the working woman was no one urban man's property (her father or her husband had failed to keep her at home), she was every urban man's property" (226). Hayden's description of women's work is circumscribed in that it fails to acknowledge the comparatively longer work histories of women of color, single women, and lower-income white women who (unlike married white women with class privilege) worked outside of the home long prior to the women's movement; but her description does illuminate the hegemonic attitudes that underlie harassment of women in urban, public space.

Unpleasant experiences with street harassment have undoubtedly influenced the spatial practices of the women whom I interviewed. Importantly, however, white and black women talked with me about these issues in different ways. When I asked participants to reflect on where they spend time in the neighborhood and on the routes and networks where they travel, black women discussed their experiences with street harassment as well as their unfriendly and tense interactions with white men *and* white women neighbors, like those described by Lorine. In contrast, white women's discussions about the times they feel uncomfortable in the neighborhood focused exclusively on their interactions with black men, often admitting to me, sometimes with a self-consciousness

and awareness of racial bias, that they feel fearful or tense when approaching their black neighbors.

An excerpt from my interview with Abby, a 23 year old white woman who has lived in Bloomingdale for approximately one year, is illustrative of the type of tension described by other white women I interviewed. Abby explained that when she walks home at night from the train station, she often walks through the middle of a group of older, middle-aged black men who frequently chat together on the sidewalk. She said "I always hated doing that because they always said things to me. And they were never bad or scary [things], but they would wait until I was right up close to them and they would tell me things like 'you're protected' or 'hurry home.'" Commenting on what she eventually perceived to be a benign and routine interaction, she said:

> They just kind of hang out and chat with each other and that's just the place where they want to do it, but it's also the place that I needed to walk through. […] That time the man said 'Miss, you are protected,' it kind of stood out, because that is not what I was expecting him to say, but it was also a little more aggressive than I like from a passerby. […] It was this weird protective/aggressive middle-ground. And I don't know, at the time I kind of thought it was because they knew that I would think that they are frightening. […] It took a little while to figure out that was kind of how things worked [in the neighborhood], so I think [there was] a point where I was walking around looking very stoic and staring straight ahead. Once I started saying hello to people, sometimes they wouldn't be as aggressive about saying hello to me. Now, if I walk past them, I'll say 'excuse me' or 'how's it going?' or 'have a good night' and it diffuses it a little bit.

The tension that Abby senses as she approaches the group of men on the sidewalk is an example of what social psychologist Nancy Henley calls "body politics"—the nonverbal ways that people assert power over one another through the strategic positioning of their bodies in space (1986). One of the examples Henley identifies is the way that men gaze boldly at women's bodies, which, although passive and nonverbal, carries a hidden meaning like that which Abby identifies as "aggressive" (Hayden 2002). The encounter Abby describes, however, is complicated by her own position of power in relationship to the men she encounters. She comments that she thinks the men spoke to her because they anticipated that she would think they are "frightening," acknowledging that her fears in this context were racialized. After several encounters walking past different groups of black men in the neighborhood, Abby concluded that she need not be afraid and commented that once she engaged with her neighbors in a friendly way, saying hello and greeting them as she passed by, both the racialized and gendered tension she routinely felt during previous encounters was "diffused."

The encounter Abby describes is an illustrative example of the bounded spaces and "junction points" that are created, however mobile or temporary, through residents' raced, classed, and gendered spatial practices. The social space that is created through the relationships between the black men standing on the sidewalk chatting with one another becomes a point of juncture when Abby approaches: there is a palpable tension that she senses, and her comments imply that the men sense it as well. Abby's spatial practices, like those of the men she describes, influence whether that tension builds or is diffused. When Abby stares stoically forward and avoids making eye contact she is practicing the type of social distancing that some black residents identify as exclusionary; in contrast,

when she "figures out how it works" and adopts the cultural practice of greeting her neighbors when she passes, the tension she previously experienced dissipates. While these two different types of spatial practice—staring stoically versus saying hello—may seem minute in their effects, in this example they have the capacity to transform the "lived space" of the public sidewalk from a "junction point" of racialized tension to what Lefebvre would consider an accessible space governed by established rules and social norms (1991:193).

In addition to the temporary and peripatetic "junction points" that are created through lived relationships between black and white residents on Bloomingdale's sidewalks, public neighborhood restaurants also serve as junction points where some black residents describe dismissive and exclusionary behaviors practiced by some white employees. Jacquie, a black woman age 30 who has lived in Bloomingdale for eight years, describes consistent experiences in two different neighborhood restaurants in which white women employees have treated her or other black customers dismissively by not making eye contact, not smiling as they do with other customers, displaying nervous body language, or providing inferior service. She tells a story about a time that she was unemployed for six months and visited a sandwich shop every day in order to work on her laptop. Since she spent a lot of time there, she was able to observe how the white women employees interacted with their customers. Thinking about these experiences, she reflected as follows:

> There is a lady there—bless her heart—I think she's racist. [Laughs]. And I think everybody thinks so too. It's funny because whenever she serves a black person,

> if she's looking away, the black person will look at me and make a gesture, like *[rubs two fingers on her forearm to indicate skin color],* "This lady's racist."

Similar to Lorine's comments about her encounters with white neighbors on public sidewalks, Jacquie's comments provide a description of the tectonic relationships played out in gentry restaurants: places that provide a location for intergroup contact and encounter, but are rife with social friction. What Jacquie describes is a sense that new gentry businesses may not always serve the best interests of black patrons, creating conditions of exclusion through their employment of whites who actively create unwelcome spaces for black residents. One of the spatial practices Jacquie describes—the gesture of rubbing two fingers on one's forearm—produces an affiliation between black customers in response to the white employee's dismissive acts. These relationships must be understood, then, as oppositional and interdependent. The black patron, in this case Jacquie, is sitting across the room and notices the gesture; she exchanges a knowing glance with the other customer about the white barista's unfriendly behavior, and through this exchange of nonverbal communication the two women are networked together by their shared interaction. This social relationship is traceable in space.

When I asked Jacquie if she could share specific examples with me of what an employee might do that makes black customers feel unwelcome, she commented that often:

> There was just sort of a—I guess I don't know how to explain it—a patronizing attitude. And I guess you know when people are racist, sometimes you're thinking to yourself okay maybe I might just be sensitive. But then when other people pick up on it too, it's like okay maybe…you know I'm not just making up that this

> person is really being condescending. You know also she didn't have the same standard of customer service. So she was very polite, very ingratiating when certain people…she was serving certain people [white people]. Other people, [black people], she seemed to act like okay can you just…let's just get this done with as quickly as possible. And not looking people in the eye. You know, just a tone that said look, I really don't care about you as a customer. I just want to get this done with. But the second someone else comes in, [a white person], suddenly it's all "hi" and […] let's make conversation and crack jokes.

In the example above, Jacquie identifies some of the spatial practices that the employee of this particular restaurant employed. Like the gesture of rubbing one's forearm with two fingers, the actions of this employee take on racial significance because of their relational effects: it becomes noticeable to Jacquie and other patrons that the employee behaves differently when she serves white and black customers, and the employee's racial identity and appearance influence how black patrons interpret these actions. Although the biases white employees demonstrate through their spatial practices may not be intentional, their differential treatment of black customers is noticeable to black residents and perceived as racist. Thus, when gentry businesses employ white workers who are uncomfortable serving black residents of the neighborhood, they collude in creating racially segregated spaces. While both gentry and long-term black residents, as well as black residents of all income levels, are vulnerable to racially biased treatment from white employees—e.g. the distinctly *racial* dimension of this exclusion affects black residents regardless of class—one additional effect of spaces that are hostile to black residents is to reinforce and

bolster a gentry business climate that is amenable to higher-income white residents' preferences about the types of places where they choose to spend their time and money.

Black participants occasionally indicated that they found it difficult to explain exactly what made them feel unwelcome or tense when interacting with white neighbors or employees. Participants also reflected on their own reliability when relaying their experiences—some displayed self-consciousness and concern that it might seem they are just "explaining anything based on racism" or that they could be personally responsible for producing uncomfortable interactions with whites. Despite these deferential gestures—often accompanied by long pauses, thoughtfulness, self-reflection, and concern—black residents consistently affirm that their negative experiences with whites are patterned and ongoing and predictable.

In this section, the examples that I've described illustrate the ways that race, class, and gender relationships shape the lived experiences and spatial contexts of what Lefebvre refers to as "lived space." Black and white residents, both men and women, draw on raced, classed, and gendered perceptions of the bodies they encounter in ways that influence their own spatial practice and affect the type of space that they produce—be it a "junction point" of friction and encounter, or an accessible space where the tensions and pressures of gentrification are diffused. These examples of the "social tectonics" within Bloomingdale, however, are also traceable in perceived and conceived space. The following section analyzes the physical domain of space (perceived space) and its relationship to race, class, and gender in the junction points of gentry restaurants.

Perceived and Conceived Space: Race, Class, Gender and Gentry Restaurant Décor

The racialized microaggressions exhibited by white employees of gentry restaurants have spatial consequences, as described in the previous section, but these behaviors also gather meaning through their relationship with elements of perceived space—or the physical world of space—such as the décor, menu options, music choices, and symbolic meanings attached to the bodies of other patrons and workers in gentry restaurants. Over the five years that I lived in Bloomingdale, one coffee shop exemplified how these choices in décor and ambiance can influence the extent to which black patrons feel welcome there. Black residents whom I interviewed discussed how this particular coffee shop—formerly a corner store—had a poor reputation among longer-term residents in the early years after it opened for being hostile to black customers. Participants described the unwelcoming and dismissive behaviors of baristas, like those behaviors that Jacquie specified, as part of these hostilities. During the year of field work for this project, however, and in the most recent year preceding it, this particular coffee shop hired several black employees and other employees of color; they also made changes to the décor of the restaurant that signaled their interest and investment in serving black residents. One excerpt from my field notes is as follows:

> At the time I sat down [9:30pm], there were 21 patrons including me in the dining room. Four are black women; two are Asian women; one is an Asian man; and 14 are white (9 women, 5 men). Everyone appears to be in their mid-20s to mid-30s. […] I am surprised by the racial diversity in the dining room. Susan, a black woman who has lived in Bloomingdale for 20 years, gave me the impression that black residents considered this coffee shop to be only a white space from the time

it first opened. She told me the owner never stayed open past 5pm because 'he's too afraid' of crime.

During the fall of 2012, this particular coffee shop installed an art series that displayed framed historical photographs of black men and women in urban contexts of previous decades. The walls were freshly painted with white paint and the new photos replaced a mélange of other artwork that had featured white subjects, such as a large canvas depicting a thin white woman with orange hair wearing a bra, panties, and knee-high striped leg warmers. I stopped by to grab a coffee one morning and noticed the walls appeared to be different, commenting on them to the white woman barista in her mid-20s who was standing behind the counter. She explained to me that the walls used to be "less white and people had written on them and pushed thumb tacks into them. And we had a lot of local art, which was really nice, but we just needed something… more… uniform." She stumbled over her words, unsure of how to describe the changes, and then commented, "change is good." Another white woman customer standing near us laughed and said "it's funny that you say the walls were *less* white!" This patron's joke refers to the symbolic messages that the prior artwork had communicated to restaurant patrons: this is a white space; these are images of white people. When she joked that the walls are now "*less* white," she was referring to the new photographs of black men and women, and to the corresponding perceptions that patrons, both black and white, could form about the space—the possibility that this gentry business is no longer a place where only white patrons are actively welcomed.

The distinctions between lived space and perceived space are mutually constituted. Lived space, which includes the relationships between black and white

residents on sidewalks and in public restaurants comes into being in part through perceived space, which includes physical aspects of space like décor and artwork. Likewise, these physical aspects of space are given meaning through the dynamics of lived space. To indicate this, Lefebvre complicates his trialectic typology of space by providing overlapping definitions for the three different dimensions (1991). He describes lived space as "directly lived through its associated images and symbols […]. This is the dominated and hence passively experienced space which the imagination seeks to change and appropriate" (39). In contrast, he described perceived space (the physical world of space) as the routes and networks and practices that take place in a given space and codify that space with particular boundaries. This mutually constitutive relationship is apparent in the relationship between restaurant décor and spatial practice: the material that tables and doors are made from, the shape of dishes, the color and texture of vegetables—these each have social meaning. As Lefebvre described, these objects are passively dominated by our social imaginaries, but they also take on an active role in the trialectic in that they constitute and influence residents' spatial practice and the choices they make about where to spend their time in the neighborhood, how comfortable they feel in those places, and the habits they form about where to bring their bodies.

Indeed, many of the gentry restaurants in Bloomingdale employ raced, gendered, and classed décor through their use of rural and rustic elements that evoke a gentrified landscape: a landscape that is no longer "urban," but something different. For example, a large mural of a brown bear is painted on the exterior of the coffee shop I described previously. A hunting guide is displayed near the register and antlers hang over the doorway. Similarly, a nearby whiskey bar uses a heavy, sliding barn door that one must

push open in order to enter the venue. Other gentry businesses have painted murals of roosters and hens near their doorways, use wood fire ovens, and employ other rustic design choices.

Ironically, British scholar Ruth Glass who first coined the term "gentrification" in 1964 did so in part to poke fun at the rural (or "landed gentry") tastes of new urban residents of London. Summarizing this sentiment, Lees, Slater, and Wiley (2008) say that the term was partially intended to make "fun of the snobbish pretensions of affluent middle-class households who would still prefer a rural, traditional way of life if given the chance (just think of all those classic gentrifiers' homes with stripped wood floors, Aga stoves, open fires, and natural wood and material furnishings)" (5). Although there are many rural black communities in the US and around the DC metropolitan area, the term "urban" is often coded language for "lower-income black" (Moss et al 2001), and in this particular neighborhood, the rustic and rural accents that gentry restaurants employ seem to be meant to denote something "other than urban," or "other than lower-income black." Gendered meanings play a role in producing and communicating these racialized codes as well: the hunting guide near the register and the antlers hanging over the doorway connote an ironic appropriation of rural white masculine gun culture, one that is juxtaposed in direct contrast with the stereotypes of urban black masculine gun violence that pattern gentry mythologies of a DC once notoriously described as the murder capital of the country. In this way, gender and race work together to produce an aesthetic that is noticeably classed, distinguishing the landscape of the gentry restaurant from that of the corner stores or Chinese take-out restaurants whose price-points, unlike gentry restaurants, enable lower-income residents of Bloomingdale to patronize them.

The physical world of space—in this case the décor of gentry restaurants and the meanings that the décor carry—both affects meaning and gains meaning through residents' spatial practices, and these processes influence residents' conceptions of space or their mental world of space (conceived space). I asked one black women participant whether there were any gentry restaurants that she perceived to be diverse and inclusive spaces. She thought for a moment and then commented that when "you go into a place and you don't see yourself reflected in there, you may not feel as comfortable depending on what your past experiences have been." She went on to explain that her educational experience attending an Ivy League university had exposed her to predominantly white social spaces before, so she does not feel as uncomfortable in gentry restaurants where she cannot "see herself reflected there." These comments allude to a mental world of space: the choices residents make about where to spend their time and the ways that these choices are raced and classed.

In order to gather information about this mental world of space, I asked participants to indicate on blank maps of Bloomingdale the places where they spend time in the neighborhood. This cognitive mapping exercise exposed different patterns in the routes and networks that residents' follow in their neighborhood activities. White participants consistently indicated that they patronized primarily the gentry businesses located on the new commercial corridor of 1st Street NW. Their choices to patronize these particular businesses is telling because often participants walked past other commercial centers, corner stores, and restaurants in order to reach this particular area where gentry businesses are flourishing. In contrast, some of the longer-term black residents I interviewed mapped more diverse routes and networks. Franky indicated that he routinely

patronized several longer-term businesses located on North Capitol Street just one block away—such as a liquor store that sells snacks, a Chinese take-out restaurant, a barber shop, and a car wash. The maps residents drew to indicate their pathways form a window into their conceptions of neighborhood space—indicating the spaces where they perceive they are welcome and where they choose to spend their time.

In this section, I have described the first of three arenas in which African American residents experience spatial exclusion in Bloomingdale. This first arena is characterized by tectonic social relationships and residents' shared experiences with interracial tension. White and black residents whom I interviewed describe the gendered and classed perceptions of their neighbors that influence their spatial practices and produce peripatetic "junction points" where racial exclusion is reinforced. These junction points are produced during routine interracial encounters on public sidewalks as well as in the context of gentry restaurants, where the raced, classed, and gendered elements of perceived space inform residents' perceptions of those spaces and influence their choices about where they wish to spend their time. These choices are then traceable in the mental maps they make of their neighborhood. In the following section I describe in more detail how perceived and lived spaces are mutually constituted through residents' public deployment of raced, classed, and gendered practices.

CIRCUMSCRIBED MEMORIES OF BLOOMINGDALE'S BIOGRAPHY

The second arena in which African American residents experience exclusion in Bloomingdale is through gentry residents' circumscribed memories of Bloomingdale's history. Newer residents' memories of Bloomingdale's history are often limited by their

comparatively short personal histories of living in the District: many of those whom I interviewed moved to Washington, DC from other states or cities, and their ideas about what it must have been like to live in Bloomingdale prior to recent economic redevelopment often fixate on a past that included drug-related neighborhood crime. In contrast, residents who have lived in Bloomingdale for ten years or longer draw on holistic memories of their experiences with community events and activities, their activism against drugs and violence, and their fellowship with neighbors and families. The partial and often distorted memories that gentry residents draw on in their understandings of Bloomingdale are traceable in each of the three domains of perceived, conceived, and lived space. In the following sections, I describe field observations in which the mutual constitution of perceived and lived space is evident.

Public Places and Interbodily Space: Observing Exclusion in Real Time

This distinction between gentry residents' circumscribed memories and longer-term residents' more holistic accounts of neighborhood life was most apparent to me one cool fall night when I left my home in Bloomingdale a little after dark to walk to a nearby restaurant. In the process, I traversed two different social spaces—each bounded by symbolic practices of race, gender, and class. As I walked down the sidewalk in front of my house I approached the first of these social spaces: a stoop where a group of older black men were chatting and telling stories on the sidewalk. I waved and smiled at Randall, who refers to himself as the unofficial "Mayor of Bloomingdale," and a man I had never met held out his hand and offered to escort me on my walk. He introduced himself as Alonso and as we walked down the street he told me that he had lived with his

family in Bloomingdale for 35 years before they moved and that he loved the block, loved the neighborhood, and loved coming back to visit. He told me that only about eight families remain on the block from the days when he had lived there and as we walked, he pointed to houses and affectionately recalled the names of his neighbors—"the Jones, the Robinsons, the Jacksons…".

Alonso and I parted ways shortly after and I continued onto 1st Street, where a new commercial corridor is quickly developing. In the past three years, eight to ten new businesses have opened where before there were none, including a high-end tapas restaurant offering valet parking, a wood-fire pizza restaurant, a gourmet sushi and pan-Asian restaurant, a yoga studio, an organic dry cleaner, an all-natural and organic pet store, and a shop that offers vegan specialty pizzas. Around the corner, three other new businesses have opened: an Irish whiskey bar, a bar with specialty beers on tap, and a gourmet cupcake shop. As one young white DC resident put it, the neighborhood "is really coming along." I walked up the steps of one of these restaurants and chose to sit on the patio, where I took field notes in my notebook about the décor and the surrounding environs. I ordered a garlicky navy bean spread with fresh-made pita bread and a plate of roasted cauliflower for $11—a steep price in a neighborhood where up to 12 percent of all families have an income below the poverty line.[7]

As I sat at my table, I overheard a white man who appeared to be in his late-20s or early-30s talking to friends at one of the ironwork tables nearby. He was discussing his recent decision to buy a home in Bloomingdale, and as he spoke loudly to his friends I scribbled in my notebook. He remarked, "[this is] not a place where I would have, for the

[7] This statistic is drawn from American Community Survey data for the census tract 33.02.

life of me, wanted to live 10 years ago, but you know things change." He continued, "gentrification has its pluses and minuses… one good thing is [this neighborhood used to be] drug infested; this was the crack center of DC 15 years ago." This new homeowner's comments, spoken a few minutes after I'd talked with Alonso a couple blocks away about his pride and nostalgia for the past, illustrate the circumscribed "memories" that new residents draw on in their justifications of gentrification.

Indeed, crime rates have fallen sharply in DC between the years 2000 and 2010, a trend that is consistent across the nation (Comey, Narducci, and Tatian 2010). The average rate of violent crime in the two census tracts that comprise Bloomingdale decreased from 16.5 incidents of crime p/1,000 people in the year 2000 to only 6.1 incidents p/1,000 people in the year 2011, and this number is well below the city's average (NeighborhoodInfo DC). Many longer-term residents whom I interviewed, both black and white, shared stories with me about their experiences with crime, often describing the neighborhood as "rough" in prior decades and showing me different street corners or buildings that were known in the past to be sites for drug sales, drug use, gang activity, and sex work. Some residents shared stories with me about family members or loved ones who had been killed or injured as a result of gang- and drug-related violence.

In this sense, the stories that gentry residents have heard about crime in Bloomingdale's past are not incorrect, but frequently these narratives were employed by gentry residents to justify the displacement of longer-term black residents: gentry residents seem to interpret the drop in crime rates as a logical extension of their own presence in the neighborhood, and longer-term residents—both black and white—identified this attitude as a source of frustration and underlying racial tension in the

neighborhood. Comments like those made by the young, white homeowner occur in other public neighborhood spaces too, and they operate to establish a rigid binary between "old" and "new" residents—those who are constructed through white discourse and spatial practice as people who tolerated and failed to resist drug activity in their neighborhood versus those who favor change and who perceive that their presence brings with it an array of social benefits. While gentry residents' memories and fears about black crime are rooted in stories they have heard and told about the past (rather than their actual lived-experiences in the neighborhood), longer-term residents frame their memories of Bloomingdale more holistically: not as a place where they never would have wanted to live, but as a place where they *did* live, where many of them *chose* to live and continue to enjoy living. Additionally, longer-term residents' memories of Bloomingdale as a *black* neighborhood in particular expand beyond the gentry's circumscribed conceptions of neighborhood history, which tend to reduce the totality of the residential experience in a majority black neighborhood to stories about its crime and danger. The white homeowner's comments characterizing Bloomingdale as the former "crack center of DC," were a fleeting moment, overheard by me and only a handful of the other patrons at the restaurant that night. They are, however, illustrative of gentry residents' circumscribed memories and the homeowner's public performance of these "memories," in the setting of a recently established gentry restaurant, shapes how Bloomingdale residents go on to perceive that space.

Lefebvre writes that the most basic qualitative indicator of a social space is the presence of the body (1991:174)—and in this particular field observation, the body of the homeowner has racial, class, and gender meaning. As other actors within the space

perceive his body, associating his comments with his race and his class status as a new homeowner, the space is *indicated* by his actions as a gentry space. He expresses a fear of living in the neighborhood during the years prior to gentrification, a fear that is patterned by race and class and in turn socially permitted despite norms of masculinity that discourage men from expressing fear. The restaurant's patio—codified by the bodies and discourse within in—also gains meaning through its relationship with other, oppositional spaces, both geographic and social, such as the sidewalk where African American men told stories as I passed by. Lefebvre writes that spaces have "contours and boundaries only through a thought which abstracts; as one network among others, as one space among many interpenetrating spaces" (191). The juxtaposition of these two spaces—the bodies within each, and the contrasting comments about Bloomingdale's history—position longer-term African American residents and white gentry residents in conflict, while at the same time drawing racialized and classed boundaries around the spaces in which they occur.

This binary between "old" and "new" residents was reinforced and racialized at a civic association meeting I attended several months later. The association's membership is composed of a prominent group of homeowners who pay annual dues to be voting members and who often participate in activism in the neighborhood. During the election of a new civic association president, the contested nature of Bloomingdale's biography took center stage. A younger black woman was running for president against an older white man, and while the votes were being counted, one of the association's board members, an older black man named Martin, took the floor. The excerpt from my field notes is as follows:

> Martin said, "At the end of the day, we're all neighbors," and he talked about the greatness of Bloomingdale. He referred to a time, "back in the day," when the neighborhood was "bullet-riddled," and he said that he and others would "walk the streets" and "take it back from drug dealers." He said he was glad to see it "come back" through new development and he was happy about two of the new businesses that had recently opened. While he was speaking, Jeff, a white man sitting next to me, dressed in khakis and a fitted sweater with slightly graying hair, began muttering aloud while Martin was speaking. When Martin said, "We would walk the streets," Jeff muttered in annoyance, "And [you] destroyed it." When Martin said, "to take it back from drug dealers," Jeff muttered, "No you didn't!"

The comments made by Jeff are illustrative of an attitude in which white gentry residents perceive themselves to be more resourceful or devoted to neighborhood improvement than longer-term residents who are predominantly black. This attitude, like gentry residents' incomplete knowledge of Bloomingdale's past, forms part of what Talmadge Wright referred to as the "social imaginary," or the schema of cultural concepts and constructs that influence our social practices and perceptions (1997). It is possible to trace how the social imaginary is inscribed and reified through spatial practice, and the example of Jeff's posture and the gestures he makes with his body are an appropriate place to start.

As discussed in Chapter 3, Wright explains that our "microactions are informed at the most basic bodily level by networks of meanings established through the production of symbols," and he explains that these symbolic meanings are "not arbitrary […] but

fixed through spatial practice" (42). Jeff's microactions during this community meeting influenced how I and others sitting at our table interpreted the stories that Martin told about the neighborhood's past. Although the majority of the tables at this particular meeting were racially integrated, two self-segregated black and white groups formed over the course of the night and evidence of these groups' political opposition became obvious over the three hour meeting through a series of racialized and gendered microaggressions, like those displayed by Jeff.

The mutually constituting relationship between lived (social relations) and perceived (physical) space is apparent in this example, and elements of race, class, and gender provide the mechanics for these two types of space to cohere. Jeff's spatial practices are raced, gendered and classed: his posture during the meeting (leaning forward angrily at his table, shaking his head, muttering under his breath) as well as his appearance (a white man dressed in a "business casual" style) each ignite for the observer a series of raced, gendered, and classed meanings. Jeff's body, along with the table where he sits and the peers he sits by, becomes part of perceived space. His public intransigence regarding Martin's stories about neighborhood activism are observed and overheard by other residents sitting nearby and his relational opposition (both social and political) to Martin's story is demonstrable through his spatial practice.

Lefebvre refers to this type of interaction between our bodies and the politicized spaces around them as "interbodily space," commenting that "the accomplishment of gestures […] implies the existence of affiliations" (1991:213). For Lefebvre, these gestures are never accidental nor arbitrary: they are "assets" that represent "behavior patterns, conditioning—what we sometimes call stereotypes" (213). Indeed, the ideas we

may have had about Jeff's appearance could have existed in our "social imaginary" prior to the spatial actions he displayed at the meeting—but these symbolic meanings of whiteness, masculinity, and class are then reified and fixed through his spatial practice. In turn, the self-segregated table, at which only white residents sat, became a hostile, exclusive space—a type of "lived space," or the space of social relations, that is unwelcome to African American residents who attended the same meeting. This is one micro-example among numerous others recorded in my field notes that night, as well as over the course of the study, in which white gentry residents' spatial practices reify an oppositional relationship between themselves and longer-term residents whose presence in the neighborhood is racially coded and perceived to be obstructive to positive neighborhood changes.

The gentry "social imaginary" in which longer-term residents are perceived by white residents to be obstructive to positive neighborhood changes is influenced by class and race. Patrick, a white resident age 35 who has attended many commission meetings says, "a lot of ugly stuff comes up" there, and in detailing one such cluster of "stuff" he demonstrates a leap some gentry residents make between generation, age, and race when they discuss what they perceive to be longer-term residents' obstinacy towards change. Patrick comments:

> It's not the young black professionals blowing against [the new businesses]. It's the people who have lived here for ten or fifteen years or more, and feel entitled to, for example, a parking space directly in front of their house because, "That's the way it's always been so it better stay that way. Nothing better change around here. And how dare you young people want to change everything." And all the

> young people are moving in, like, "Holy shit, why isn't everything changing faster? Let's increase the rate of change by ten times." And that really freaks out the old people.

By referring to "young black professionals," Patrick's comments distinguish black gentry residents from older, "entitled" black residents—the inaccurate implication being that longer-term residents may not have the education or cultural values that gentry group residents, assumed to be "professionals," share. Patrick's coded description of older black residents hinges partly on his use of the term "professionals" to contrast older and younger residents by class status.

In contrast Lorine, a 33-year-old black woman resident who works in public policy and has lived in the neighborhood for only two years, identified precisely this attitude of disregard for longer-term residents as a point of racial contention. Although she herself is part of the gentry group, she identifies the critiques that some white gentry residents make about longer-term residents to be distinctly racialized and she takes offense at what she perceives to be an unearned "entitlement" among whites who wish to change the neighborhood quickly. Lorine says:

> It' just the sense of entitlement that gets to me, you know. [White gentry residents] know that maybe they're a little bit more organized, perhaps, you know, they've been… they realize that their culture is a culture of power, they're like, "You know what? I'll organize. There's power in numbers. We'll use our connections and our network and make this happen because this is ours, it's supposed to ours, we've bought into it." It's just the lack of inclusiveness and lack of even trying to understand another person's voice.

Lorine's comments allude to the socio-structural and economic contexts that have enabled gentry residents to be successful in advocating for the renovation of nearby parks or the addition of bike lanes, while at the same time she implicitly acknowledges the involvement and activism of longer-term residents who advocated for neighborhood improvements many years prior to gentrification. Lorine's use of the term "entitlement" is especially interesting in comparison to Patrick's use of the same word to describe what he perceives to be longer-term residents' resistance to change: what their comments reveal is racialized and classed tug-of-war over neighborhood space in which white and black *professional* gentry residents are positioned in opposition to the interests of longer-term black residents. This relationship in turn characterizes the political positions that some longer-term residents take in opposition to the neighborhood's increased commercial development as misinformed and obstructive.

Joy, a black woman age 36 who currently occupies a position of leadership in the neighborhood, identifies attitudes like these as offensive and racially charged, and says that she is not sure how to mediate these incidents when they occur in public meetings. When I asked whether she was aware of any racial tension in the neighborhood, Joy replied that "it absolutely exists" and went on to give a specific example. She said:

> I think perhaps [white] people don't recognize it because it can be in very, very subtle ways. I was having a conversation with a resident the other day and we were talking about [a new building project] and she was saying that [the developers] missed their opportunity to railroad it through because now they have the attention of all these new people who moved into the neighborhood. And she was like, 'now we're at a point where we've got all these really capable and smart

and brilliant people to work on this issue so they better watch out!' […] I think that's perceived [by black neighbors] with a lot of offense.

The stories Joy and Lorine tell about their perceptions of white gentry entitlement underscore the ways that "older" residents are racially coded and socially constructed through gentry rhetoric and spatial practice. Comments like those from Jeff, the white resident who publicly contested Martin's telling of neighborhood history, as well as the comments that Joy observed in a public meeting, transform what could be public, democratic social spaces into hostile spaces of race and class exclusion. Additionally, these spatial practices and gentry rhetoric demark older African American residents as obstructions to social change—the implication being that if only they changed their political positions, or if they no longer lived in the neighborhood, the "rate of change" (to borrow Patrick's terms) could increase tenfold. These exclusionary narratives expand the "displacement pressure" (Slater 2009) already experienced by African American residents when businesses they used to patronize close and home values rise.

The previous examples from my field notes and from interviews with Bloomingdale residents illustrate the raced, classed, and gendered social mechanisms (such as Jeff's posture and his comments) that mutually constitute *perceived* and *lived space*, creating socially exclusive spaces (such as the racially segregated tables at a community meeting) that are hostile to older African American residents. Additionally, the comments made by Joy, Lorine, and Patrick illustrate how longer-term residents are constructed by gentry residents as obstructive to neighborhood change. These gentry constructions of longer-term residents and revisions of Bloomingdale's history are also observable in conceived space (the mental world of space). In the following section, I

discuss how an artifact of conceived space—a scavenger hunt produced for a neighborhood festival—perpetuates these revisions of Bloomingdale's history.

Implications for Conceived Space: A Neighborhood Scavenger Hunt

Lefebvre (1991) describes conceived space as that which belongs to the map-makers and the city planners. One of its most salient characteristics is its veneer of authority: maps, zoning codes, and other such documents communicate something about the spaces that they represent, and users of these often officious materials are obliged to trust in their authority. For this reason, maps and other such representations of space constitute perceived and lived space in that they *direct* residents' spatial practices. At the same time, these representations of space spring from resident's raced and classed perceptions of space, influencing the types of maps that are created.

I collected one of these "representations of space" in the form of a flier for a neighborhood scavenger hunt in the fall of 2012. Gentry businesses in collaboration with a local non-profit redevelopment group whose mission it is to "serve as a catalyst for neighborhood commercial revitalization" (North Capitol Main Street 2013) advertised the scavenger hunt as part of a neighborhood festival. The festival was called "Celebration of Three Communities – Past, Present, and Future – Bloomingdale, Bates, and Eckington."[8] Copies of the scavenger hunt were distributed as fliers in gentry businesses and advertised on a website that posts neighborhood news and events. Participants in the scavenger hunt were given clues about eight different locations in the neighborhood; the winner would need to be able to figure out the clues and visit all eight locations in order

[8] Bates and Eckington are neighborhoods that border the Bloomingdale neighborhood.

to win. Of the eight locations, seven were restaurants, bars, or coffee shops, the majority of which were white-owned businesses and businesses that had opened in Bloomingdale within the past three years. One business stood out from the others, a black-owned Jamaican take-out restaurant that had opened in Bloomingdale prior to the most recent waves of demographic transition. During my interview with Jacquie, a 30-year-old black woman, I asked her if there were any restaurants in the neighborhood that were no longer operating, and this reminded her of the scavenger hunt and of the Jamaican restaurant. She told me that she thought the restaurant was "plugged in" in some way to redevelopment efforts, because it seemed to her that the organizers

> had picked places in the community that were kind of these fixtures, that everybody is just going to kind of know about… or should know about. And it was of note to me that they chose that Jamaican restaurant. I mean they could have chosen any of those Chinese restaurants. They could have chosen…I mean there were a bunch of places they could have chosen, but they chose that.

Jacquie's comments about the places and restaurants that Bloomingdale residents "should know about" allude to the authoritative characteristics of conceived space. The scavenger hunt, an example of conceived space, is advertised by the festival organizers as a fun activity to celebrate Bloomingdale's "past, present, and future," but the organizers' uneven selection of longer-term and gentry businesses skews the messaging about Bloomingdale's past and prioritizes a conception of commercial space in Bloomingdale where gentry businesses are celebrated as the places residents should know about, visit, and patronize. In this artifact of conceived space, material and ideological properties are apparent: the scavenger hunt demonstrates an ideological bias towards gentry businesses

but it also directs residents' spatial practices by instructing them to visit the featured businesses in order to complete the scavenger hunt. Even if residents choose not to participate, the inclusion of the scavenger hunt on neighborhood listservs and websites ensures that people who utilize those resources have an opportunity to read about it. This artifact of conceived space demonstrates how *social space* becomes a vehicle through which capitalist enterprise operates.

In this section, the example of the neighborhood scavenger hunt (conceived space) along with residents spatial practices (perceived space) in the public neighborhood meetings (lived space) illustrate how gentry, often white, residents' partial and circumscribed understandings of Bloomingdale's neighborhood history influence the production of conceived, lived, and perceived space, resulting in spaces that are exclusionary and sometimes hostile towards older, African American residents who have lived in Bloomingdale for many years. Additionally, these examples demonstrate how raced and classed constructions of longer-term residents as obstructive to redevelopment and neighborhood change, as well as the raced and classed omission of more longer-term businesses from the neighborhood's scavenger hunt, facilitate a consumer climate in which gentry restaurants are constructed as positive additions to the progression of the neighborhood. Residents' racialized spatial practices and conceptions of space produce lived spaces that facilitate the accumulation of capital for gentry businesses, illustrating the mutual constitution of space and race with class.

The two arenas of exclusion that I have described so far in this chapter demonstrate the spatial domains in which African American *residents* of Bloomingdale experience exclusion. In the following section, I describe how gentry residents' spatial

exclusion of African Americans expands to affect black visitors of Bloomingdale who seek to attend church in the neighborhood on Sundays.

SPATIAL EXCLUSION OF BLACK VISITORS TO BLOOMINGDALE

The third arena in which some white gentry residents produce racially exclusive space in Bloomingdale is through public and web-based activism against African Americans who park cars in the neighborhood on Sunday mornings to attend black churches. While it is unlikely that the majority of white gentry residents take issue with black church parking, the vocal and visible actions of a few have wide-reaching consequences for producing racialized spaces of exclusion that target African Americans. The social exclusion produced by gentry residents' surveillance of public parking expands displacement pressure beyond that which affects both longer-term and gentry African American residents; this third form of exclusion also affects black church-goers who visit Bloomingdale on Sundays from other parts of the DC metropolitan region.

While public parking may seem like an innocuous social practice, in Bloomingdale it has taken on racialized significance. Different spatial practices—like the creation and maintenance of the parking surveillance website "Where Would Jesus Park in Bloomingdale?," as well as racially charged arguments at public meetings and the use of racially coded language among white gentry residents, come together to transform the site of the public curbside into an exclusionary space that operates at each of the levels of Lefebvre's perceived-conceived-lived triad. These spatial practices in turn create a new "human kind," to borrow Sundstrom's term (2003): the black church-goer is transformed in the social imaginary into a perpetrator of illegal activities.

Racial conflict over public parking is not a new phenomenon for DC's gentrified neighborhoods. Blaire A. Ruble, a historian at the Woodrow Wilson Center, discusses parking-related hostilities in his biography of the historic U Street neighborhood of central Washington, DC. The U Street area and the surrounding neighborhoods (of which Bloomingdale is one) were originally settled by black men and women who liberated themselves by escaping enslavement in the mid-1800s, founding churches that still stand today in what is now DC's central city. Ruble discusses how, one hundred and fifty years later, street parking at these black churches on Sunday mornings and Wednesday evenings became an issue of contention after white residents moved to historically black neighborhoods undergoing gentrification. With the influx of higher-income residents who owned automobiles, the demand for parking in urban neighborhoods increased. With the reduced supply of available parking space, church-goers (many of whom commuted from suburbs to attend church in the city) often parked outside of standard zoning areas and, to accommodate these parkers, enforcement officers rarely issued tickets on Sunday mornings (Ruble 2012).

The demand for street parking near black churches in DC is related both to the spatial segregation of black residential neighborhoods from major mass transit hubs as well as patterns of racial residential mobility from 1950 to the present, described in Chapter 2. After the civil rights movement and the implementation of the Fair Housing Act, many black residents who could afford to do so moved to suburbs in the metropolitan DC area, but continued to commute on Sundays to the District's historically black churches. It was in this context that many white residents, new to DC neighborhoods, began lodging complaints against church parkers, with one white resident

creating a website called "Where Would Jesus Park?" to draw attention to what they perceived to be illegal parking practices (Ruble 2012). In response, black churches strategically and successfully evoked the concept of racial inclusion in their public response to complaints, raising the question of whether DC could continue to be a racially diverse city if black church-goers were harassed away from using the community institutions they had patronized in the past. Ruble identifies this strategic response as the reason that public officials, in the mid-2000s, refrained from enforcing any additional ticketing or zoning near black churches (2012).

Although the racialized parking fiasco described by Rubin came to an end in the U Street and Logan Circle neighborhoods of DC in the year 2008, the practice of parallel parking continues to take on racial and gendered meaning in Bloomingdale as residents contest the same issue. Parking near the Mount Bethel Baptist Church is one particular Bloomingdale location around which disagreements about public access to street parking continues to be inflamed. This church, like those described by Ruble, is credited by parishioners as one of the District churches originally founded by black men and women who escaped enslavement. It is also one of the churches targeted by Bloomingdale's own parking surveillance blog: "Where Would Jesus Park in Bloomingdale?"

Conceived Space: Producing Lived Space through Cyber Space

The existence of the blog "Where Would Jesus Park in Bloomingdale?" provides ample fodder for an analysis of conceived space. It does exactly what Lefebvre argues that conceived spaces do: it identifies, with some degree of officiousness, "what is lived and what is perceived [through] what is conceived" (Lefebvre 1991:38). In this case, the

domain of conceived space, or the mental world of space, is traceable by the discourse and photographs portrayed on a public website, adding a public character to conceived space that is different from the mental world depicted by residents' cognitive maps described earlier in this chapter. The website, as a domain of conceived space, is theoretically interpenetrative with lived space and conceived space, but as noted in Chapter 3, the co-occurrence of conceived space with the physical and social dimensions of space is difficult to identify simultaneously, since exclusive spaces are produced over time. The ethnographic material I describe in this section provides some evidence that the exclusionary language and surveillance practices demonstrated on the website reflect spatial practices and attitudes about public parking that transform curbsides into sites of exclusion..

The writer of the website, a gentry resident who reveals that he has lived in the neighborhood for approximately a year and a half, uses racially coded language and images that transform public curbsides into private space and black church-goers into "illegal" parkers. He identifies problem areas where parking practices are especially contested. These areas—the intersections where Rhode Island Avenue, T Street, and Seaton Place cross 1st and 2nd Streets NW—are the site of three historically black churches: the Mount Bethel Baptist Church, the Mount Pleasant Baptist Church, and the Medhane Alem Eritrean Orthodox Church. These churches, while not all named explicitly in the blog, are targeted because they are located at the intersections where parking is perceived to be the most congested.

This area of the neighborhood is also—not coincidentally—the same site of the recently developed commercial corridor, as well as several of the gentry businesses that I

have previously described in this chapter. I asked one white woman whom I interviewed which churches the residents thought were at the root of the parking problems and she replied "they're all bad," indicating that there are many churches and therefor many church-goers coming into the neighborhood on Sundays who do not own or rent homes in the area. But parking is also congested due to the commercial redevelopment of the area. For example, some longer-term residents identify the new neighborhood farmer's market as a weekly event that contributes to reduced parking in the area.. The farmer's market takes place in the middle of a street on Sunday mornings, and though it is somewhat integrated by race, it is popularly characterized as a majority white and gentry space, bolstering the perception among some residents that the tensions in Bloomingdale surrounding church parking are indeed racially charged.

The complaints against church-goers who park in Bloomingdale are framed by residents primarily as a safety issue. Residents who voiced their concerns at neighborhood council meetings gave examples of cars that blocked alleyways or double-parked in the street, making it difficult for other cars to move through the neighborhood. While these concerns tend to be framed as residential problems, some gentry businesses may also stand to benefit from reduced parking congestion. For example, when customers are easily able to find parking, there are fewer obstructions dissuading them from making a trip for Sunday brunch to a Bloomingdale business that is otherwise not well-connected to any nearby subway lines. (Some evidence that parking may be difficult for some patrons is one new restaurant's decision to offer valet parking in the neighborhood). Accordingly, residential and commercial access to street parking near these churches and

businesses has consequences for commercial development as well as racial and class exclusion.

Church-parkers who travel to Bloomingdale from other places in the DC metropolitan area are depicted in the discourse of the "Where Would Jesus Park in Bloomingdale?" website to be less entitled to neighborhood space than homeowners and renters because they do not live in the neighborhood. One of the functions of the website is to demarcate between Bloomingdale residents who are positioned as insiders with legal and economic access to street parking through their status as renters, home-owners and "tax payers," compared to black church-goers who are positioned as outsiders and perpetrators of illegality. The writer of the website contrasts the issue of church-parking with student parking (which he says has inflamed frustrations in other neighborhoods). He argues that while students pay for parking permits, people who attend church in Bloomingdale park for free and do so illegally. He goes on to write in an open letter to DC Councilman Michael Brown that while he is aware that past administrations have not enforced Sunday parking restrictions, he "will press to make this a bigger issue until one of [his] elected officials decides they want to help out the tax paying citizens of the District" (WWJPB 2012). By invoking the issue of paying for parking permits and paying taxes, the economic citizenship and right to the neighborhood for black church-goers is called into question.

White residents also use racially coded language to discuss the parking "problem" in the neighborhood. When asked about parking tensions during an interview, Patrick, a white gentry resident approximately age 35, expressed that "it just really pisses off younger, law-abiding residents who follow the process and go through all these damn

hurdles […] and then someone breaks the law outright, on a Sunday, in front of their house." The hurdles Patrick refers to are the bureaucratic processes to obtain a residential parking permit, which usually requires showing proof of residency and paying a fee. His use of the phrase "younger, law-abiding residents" is racially coded as white residents of the gentry group, while his reference to "someone [who] breaks the law" recalls inaccurate perceptions of black residents as criminals. In this example, Patrick extends this narrative of black lawlessness to include not only residents and former residents of Bloomingdale, but black visitors to the neighborhood as well.

The "Where Would Jesus Park in Bloomingdale?" website also features photos of "illegal" parkers. While most of the photos are images of vehicles parked too closely to a stop sign or a crosswalk, some of the photos are images of black men and women, either walking near a car, sitting inside a car, or standing outside of a church. The blog writer occasionally employs racially coded captions to describe these images. For example, under a photo of an SUV, the caption reads "maybe the sign in front of my car doesn't apply since I'm rolling in a Land Rover." The strategic imitation of the term "rolling" (a word often used in popular rap music to describe driving around a neighborhood) paired with the reference to the land rover (a symbol also associated in popular music with status and wealth) produces a racially coded conception of "illegal" parking activities. The writer also calls attention to conceptions of lived space by referring to the "sign in front" of the car which is deemed to be an arbiter of legal, zoned parking rules (and which only expands parking rights for residents who can afford to live in the neighborhood and purchase permits). This sign, another example of conceived space and

a representation of class-based zoning codes, constitutes residents' perceptions of the space located at public curbsides.

Some stories residents shared with me during interviews indicate that these curbsides can also be considered "lived spaces," characterized by the tectonic tension associated with Lefebvre's junction points, where residents' spatial practices indicate hostility and conflict. Unlike the social tectonics that characterize relatively passive interracial encounters on Bloomingdale's public sidewalk, curbsides were identified by two of the gentry residents I interviewed as places of active and overt hostility. These residents had heard about or witnessed violent incidents that occurred between white Bloomingdale residents and black church parkers visiting the neighborhood. For example, Marilyn, a white woman approximately age 60, identified church parking as "the main racial issue" when I asked her if she was aware of any racial tension in the neighborhood. She commented:

> I saw one ugly incident Monday and I cannot be sure it was parking related. But a guy threw a bottle, a guy driving a car threw a bottle at another car, and I knew the car that the bottle was thrown at was from the Eritrean church because I can tell by the way they're dressed. I think they had a fight over a parking place or something. But I don't know if the person who threw the bottle, if that was a church person or a neighbor or a visitor to the neighborhood or whatever.

The incident Marilyn describes clearly exemplifies a hostile spatial practice: an argument over public space and over whom as rights to it, and one can easily imagine how a bottle thrown at a visitor's car could cause that visitor to feel unwelcome. An intersectional reading of Lefebvre's spatial triad enables us to expand our understanding of this

particular violent incident to consider how it is also racialized through the network of meanings attached to the bodies of the white gentry resident and the Eritrean church-goer, mutually constituted by the class dimensions of the public zoning codes (conceived space), racialized dimensions of the spatial practice of throwing the bottle (perceived space), and finally the curbside itself (lived space).

The physical dimension of this altercation—the white residents' decision to throw a bottle at a black church-goer's car—indicates that the social space of the curbside is contested: it has not been successfully maintained as public, democratic and racially inclusive space, but it also has not yet been claimed by the gentry solely for their use alone. Residents' activism on this issue, however, could conceivably lead to that outcome if they are successful in persuading law enforcement to ticket church parkers or persuading the city the restrict parking by instituting new zoning codes in the neighborhood, a risk that expands displacement pressure felt by black visitors to the neighborhood beyond interpersonal verbal or physical altercations and into the realm of public policy, potentially transforming their presence in the neighborhood from "unwelcome" to "illegal."[9]

A second incident of racial and gendered hostility around the issue of public parking was reported to me by Joy, a black woman resident approximately age 36 who occupies a leadership position in the neighborhood. I asked her if she was aware of any tension around parking issues and she explained that parking is a very sensitive issue. She

[9] During the final months of field work completed for this project, a group of residents succeeded in petitioning the city to restrict curbside parking on one block to residents-only. While this effort was not targeted towards church-goers, and black residents as well as white residents signed and organized the petition, it nevertheless resulted in the privatization of formerly public space.

said she can understand both the frustration of home-owners who have trouble finding parking near their homes, while at the same time acknowledging how these residents' actions are exclusionary toward black visitors. She recounted a story that a Pastor at one of the neighborhood churches told her:

> The pastor told me that he was outside walking from wherever and saw one of his parishioners parking. She had parked and I guess gotten out of the car and a [white] neighbor had accosted her and was literally, like, cussing her out. An old lady! And he was just shocked and I can tell you that it is something that just generally doesn't happen in the black community, but especially not in the black church. I don't think it happens in a white church, I don't think it happens in an Asian church, I don't think in any church you're accustomed to old people being cussed out. […] So, wrong as she may have been in parking wherever she was parking… Now I wasn't at the conversation, so I don't know if it started off where he came up and said, 'ma'am would you mind so and so' and then she said something really offensive, could have been. But on the retelling, it certainly didn't sound like that was the likely chain of events. So you have that and then you have those stories going back to the church members and the church's perspective is we have been here even longer than you have. We built this community. We helped build this community and we have been here for this neighborhood.

Joy's comments illustrate how, in the context of the gentrified landscape, the exclusionary actions of white gentry residents take on added significance. Black

parishioners feel that they are not just being excluded from a neighborhood, they are being excluded from a neighborhood that they belong to and one which belongs to them.

Joy explained that a Pastor once asked her why residents would not treat the church like a neighbor, why they would not come directly to the church to speak with someone in person about a parking issue or to ask someone in the moment, face-to-face, if they could please move their car. White gentry residents who oppose church parking, however, conceive of these parkers as outsiders, not neighbors. When I asked Marilyn whether she knew of any racial tension in the neighborhood she immediately thought of the parking issue, but commented that:

> It's sort of racial, and it's sort of not, it's the churches. There's conflict between the churches and neighbors over parking. So that's somewhat racial, but the funny thing is, the people who go to these churches, the reason there's a problem is because they don't live there. They live in Maryland and Virginia and they drive here and park.

Marilyn's comments deflect attention from the racialized aspects of the parking conflict and rationalize the conflict as an issue of insider-outsider hostility rather than racially charged exclusionary practices. Nevertheless, her comments underscore how tension around parking in Bloomingdale results in exclusionary space and hostilities towards black visitors. Whether or not the anger from white gentry residents against church parkers is intentionally or overtly racial is not particularly important; the result of their actions, regardless of intent, create racially hostile spaces.

The racially coded language employed by white residents who discuss church parking and by the writer of the parking surveillance blog as an officious dimension of

conceived space reframe black church-goers as people who break the law, and these conceptions of space interact in a mutually constitutive ways with residents' spatial practices and the lived space created by these perceptions and conceptions. The risk—beyond experiences of interpersonal hostility alone—is for these racially coded practices to bleed into the domain of public policy, an explicit goal of the "Where Would Jesus Park in Bloomingdale?" website. This emphasis on the *illegality* of black church-goers' parking calls into question their right to public space in a racially contested and gentrifying neighborhood. The resulting outcome of "social space"—the actual curbsides that are deemed legal or illegal for parkers—are not merely absolute or concrete landscapes, but represent a network of social relationships that collude to hinder black church-goers' access to neighborhoods where they were formerly welcome.

THE CONSTITUTION OF EXCLUSIVE SPACE

In this chapter, I described three arenas of Bloomingdale's public space in which residents' socio-spatial practices operate together to produce exclusion. In the first arena, residents' routine spatial practices—such as their interracial interactions on public sidewalks and in public meetings—create mobile junction points that are characterized by social friction. In the second arena, gentry residents' circumscribed memories of Bloomingdale's history are reflected in the interbodily spaces I observed in public meetings and restaurants. These impartial understandings of Bloomingdale's history are also traceable in the cognitive maps residents make of their routes and practices, and in the production of officious documents, such as the neighborhood scavenger hunt. In the third arena, black visitors to Bloomingdale are excluded through gentry residents'

surveillance activities related to public parking—these surveillance practices operate in each of the domains of lived, conceived, and perceived space.

The data analyzed in this chapter provides evidence to support Lefebvre' primary theoretical argument—that space is not empty or meaningless, but a social object. It is a system of relationships networked together through actors' routine socio-spatial practice, through their perception of spatial objects and symbols, and through their lived experiences and spatial imaginaries. These mental, physical, and social dimensions of space are simultaneously raced, classed and gendered, and in turn these spatial structures operate in collusion with gender and class to produce new racial archetypes—such as the "church parker" or the "young professional." The production of these new archetypes demonstrates the reciprocal relationship between space and other social structures that constrain or expand our experiences.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

I moved away from Bloomingdale in 2013 after five years of residence and approximately one year of ethnographic field work. On my last day in the neighborhood I walked to the coffee shop where I spent many days collecting field notes, feeling full of nostalgia (or whatever word describes nostalgia about a place one has not yet left). This particular coffee shop, described earlier in this study, installed a new art series earlier in the year, featuring photographs of black men and women that made the walls "less white" as one patron joked. This time, there was a new piece I had never seen. It was a large black and white photograph by DC resident and artist Stephen M. Cummings and it depicted the site of the coffee shop under previous ownership, back when it was a corner store. In the photo, there was snow on the ground. Placards advertised "DC Lottery" and iron grills covered the front door and windows. An older black man leaned against the side of the building, dressed in a long wool sweater and cap, and gazed directly into the camera. The title of the photograph was "Chocolate City Rest in Peace," and it was hanging very prominently in the space where coffee patrons gather near the register and wait to pay.

Of course, the title of this particular piece of art does not make sense unless the viewer knows the context of the present day café—a place that evokes many aesthetic symbols of the gentrified landscape. The title of the photo does not describe its subject; it describes what has come to pass since the photo was taken. I felt a deep sense of grief gazing at it from my place in line behind the register: a set of antlers hung above the door, a hunting guide rested against several bags of gourmet coffee sitting on the counter, and I could not help but feel that, in this context, the photograph evoked the vibe of a

trophy animal—"Chocolate City Rest in Peace"—provoking patrons to reflect on the conflicts and contradictions inherent in gentrification and its myth of neighborhood revitalization.

The findings I have summarized in this study are oriented around the "junction points" identified within the gentrified context—socially created spaces of conflict that are built by residents' raced, classed, and gendered practices. These practices operate within three dimensions of social space—the physical, mental, and social domains—and they are informed by residents' perceptions of race, gender, and class. As a result, African American residents report experiences of exclusion from public spaces where they were formerly welcomed: these include new gentry businesses, public sidewalks, public meetings, and even parallel parking.

My goal in analyzing these social processes was to identify and explain how exclusion operates in lives of Bloomingdale's residents through their everyday actions and interactions; accordingly, these findings also point to avenues for resistance. In place of city-wide policies that spur gentrification could be policies that protect affordable housing and facilitate economic integration and neighborhood revitalization—policies that facilitate the rehabilitation of housing stock, promote race and class integration, and improve conditions of health and safety in lower-income, disinvested neighborhoods without simultaneously displacing economically vulnerable residents from their homes. Similarly, in place of new gentry businesses that create an unwelcome aesthetic and hire employees who are unprepared or untrained to serve a racially diverse clientele could be a business culture that is committed to hiring local DC residents and training employees to foster racially inclusive spaces.

Most of all, there is a need for residents, policy makers, city planners and legislators to distinguish between policies that produce gentrification and those that produce integration. Research has shown that racial and economic integration across cities is associated with increased access to education, healthcare, employment, and other supports that have been systematically disinvested from urban neighborhoods of concentrated poverty (Hartmann and Squires 2010; Cashin 2005). But gentrification is different. Rather than expanding opportunities for lower-income residents, it displaces them from their homes; in turn, the social practices of gentry residents combine with a rising cost of living to produce a socio-economic "displacement pressure" felt by lower-income residents who remain in the neighborhood. In Bloomingdale, this displacement pressure is produced in part through gentry residents' social practices that transform public places into spaces of racial hostility and exclusion. Distinguishing between gentrification policies and integration policies is crucial for building broad-based public resistance against the displacement of DC's most vulnerable residents. Furthermore, it is incomplete to think of these processes as solely raced and classed when displacement is also a gendered phenomenon: lower-income women of color who are heads of their households are the least likely household type to access affordable housing and the most vulnerable to displacement. Gentrification is a gendered problem that produces gendered disparities.

In order to prioritize policies that produce integration rather than displacement, DC residents should demand protections for affordable housing from the DC city government as well as from real estate developers. Gentry residents especially should join in these efforts. Increased protections for affordable housing could have mitigated

the negative effects of HOPE VI demolitions of public housing in DC and the subsequent conversion of former public housing into mixed-income apartment complexes, which Lynn Cunningham described as "islands of affordability in a sea of gentrification" (2001:353). Affordable housing protections can take the form of rent control policies, one-for-one replacement of public housing units, increased access to rental vouchers for low-income households, inclusionary zoning policies which require a percentage of units in any new development to be reserved for lower-income households, and incentives for real estate developers to include in their plans affordable, 3+ bedroom units suitable for family housing.

Community benefits agreements (CBAs)—or contracts between a new developer and community groups—can also be powerful tools for protecting affordable housing. For example, ONE DC, an organization located in the Shaw neighborhood, was successful in negotiating a CBA in 2011 that guaranteed 51 units of affordable housing would be prioritized in a newly built apartment complex for lower-income residents who were displaced from the Shaw neighborhood as a result of gentrification and residential redevelopment (ONE DC 2011). Certainly, if we can implement policies that are designed to provide a financial incentive to higher-income residents to purchase homes in DC, such as the home-buyer tax credit described in Chapter 2, then we can also implement, protect, and expand existing policies that make affordable housing more accessible and enable lower-income residents to remain in the city.

It is also important to prioritize employment access for lower-income residents. To this end, DC's First Source law requiring large contractors to meet a quota that at least 51 percent of their employees are local DC residents is helpful, though it only applies to

contracts over $300k. Small, gentry businesses could also benefit were they to prioritize affirmative hiring and explicitly train their employees to produce racially inclusive environments for patrons, reducing the displacement pressure experienced by African American residents who encounter hostile receptions in gentry businesses.

Finally, gentry residents must learn to talk about race, gender, and gentrification openly, sensitively, and publically with neighbors; they must read widely and listen emphatically to their neighbors' concerns. Many of the gentry residents whom I interviewed expressed concern about the displacement of their lower-income neighbors, but resisted talking explicitly about race. When asked about racial tension in the neighborhood, one white resident described to me how, when she first purchased her home in the neighborhood, she had heard that the civic association planned to hold a discussion about race tension in the neighborhood, but they never did. She commented "there was talk about having some kind of seminar about racial conflict. Well to me, and this may be naïve and just inexperienced, but sometimes I think things like that are made worse by talking about them. I think it exacerbates it and makes a mountain out of a molehill." White gentry residents may feel uncomfortable discussing race and thinking critically about their complicity in the process of gentrification, but it is crucial that gentry residents take seriously the concerns of their neighbors if they truly wish to live in friendly neighborhoods where racial exclusion is minimized. Building coalitions across diverse networks, including civic associations, ANC meetings, and nonprofit organizations such as ONE DC, whose mission it is to protect housing for low-income residents in DC, are good places to start.

The recommendations I suggest here were generated from my analysis of three complicated arenas of exclusion that became visible to me over the course of 15 months of data collection: 1) mobile "junction points" characterized by social friction on public sidewalks and in public restaurants, 2) gentry residents' circumscribed memories of Bloomingdale's history, traceable by their cognitive maps and other conceptions of space, and 3) the exclusion of African American visitors to Bloomingdale through gentry surveillance of public parking practices. African American residents who generously shared their experiences with me, both in the context of formal in-depth interviews and informal interactions at public meetings and in public restaurants, shared stories about their exclusion in each of these three arenas. At the same time, white gentry residents whom I interviewed expressed an awareness of gentrification and concern about their complicity within it, but simultaneously employed rhetorical strategies and social practices that functioned to justify and normalize gentrification, and in turn worsen the conditions of displacement and exclusion for their African American neighbors.

As described in Chapter 5, these gentry practices ranged from discourse that ignores or diminishes critical conversation about the harmful consequences of gentrification; spatial practices and behaviors that reflect gentry residents' circumscribed memories of Bloomingdale's history; cognitive maps and other conceptions of space that demonstrate how residents' spatial networks are segregated by race and gender; and gentry residents' symbolic practices and social cues that heighten the exclusion of black residents from public space, including the microaggressions deployed by white women whose hostile social practices on public sidewalks and in gentry businesses connect them to African American men and women in networks of exclusion, as well as the interbodily

spaces produced by white men's gendered and racialized bodywork in public neighborhood meetings and at public restaurants.

My critical attention to the different domains of space articulated by theorist Henri Lefebvre—the physical, the mental, and the social domains of space—opens up possibilities to witness these social practices of exclusion in real-time, allowing for an analytical approach unique to ethnographic methodology. Focusing on networks of exclusion in contemporary gentrified neighborhoods illuminates the experiences of African American residents who have remained in their changing neighborhoods, an underutilized approach within gentrification literature (Lees, Slater, and Wyly 2008).

In this study, I have argued that space is a social structure that operates in collusion with race, class, and gender to order our experiences and constrain opportunities. Space is not an empty thing, but a network of social relationships: neighborhood spaces of friction and exclusion are erected from symbolic practices of race, class, and gender, and in turn, these raced, classed, and gendered spaces—like the curbsides of public sidewalks—take on an agentic capacity, colluding with residents' social practices to produce new racial archetypes, like that of the "church parker." Identifying, naming, and specifying these social practices of exclusion can help to interrupt their otherwise normative power and call attention to avenues for resistance. Distinguishing between social processes of integration and those of exclusion is critical if we are to design policies and practices that produce inclusive neighborhoods, so that all of DC's residents may feel at home where they live.

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Appendix

Semi-Structured Interview Questions

1. How long have you lived in Bloomingdale?

2. Why did you decide to move to this neighborhood?

3. Looking back on your time living in Bloomingdale, are there any experiences that stand out to you as particularly negative? Are there any experiences that stand out as particularly positive? If so, what?

4. Since living in Bloomingdale, what are some of the changes you have noticed?

5. Last year, a council member said that racial tension in Bloomingdale was at an all-time high. Do you know what he was referring to? Have you had any personal experience with racial tension?

6. Here is a map of Bloomingdale. Can you show me on the map the general areas where you usually move around in the neighborhood? What are some of the routes you take and the places you go?

7. Are there any businesses or restaurants in the neighborhood that you frequent? If yes, can you tell me about your experiences there?

8. Are there any businesses or places that you do not usually go? If so, why?

9. Do you have anything you would like to add that I have not asked about?