

COLORED BLOCKS

Notions of Race and Space in a Chicago Neighborhood

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Notions of Race and Space in a Chicago Neighborhood

Bachelor thesis 2014-2015

Cultural Anthropology and Development Sociology

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21102 words



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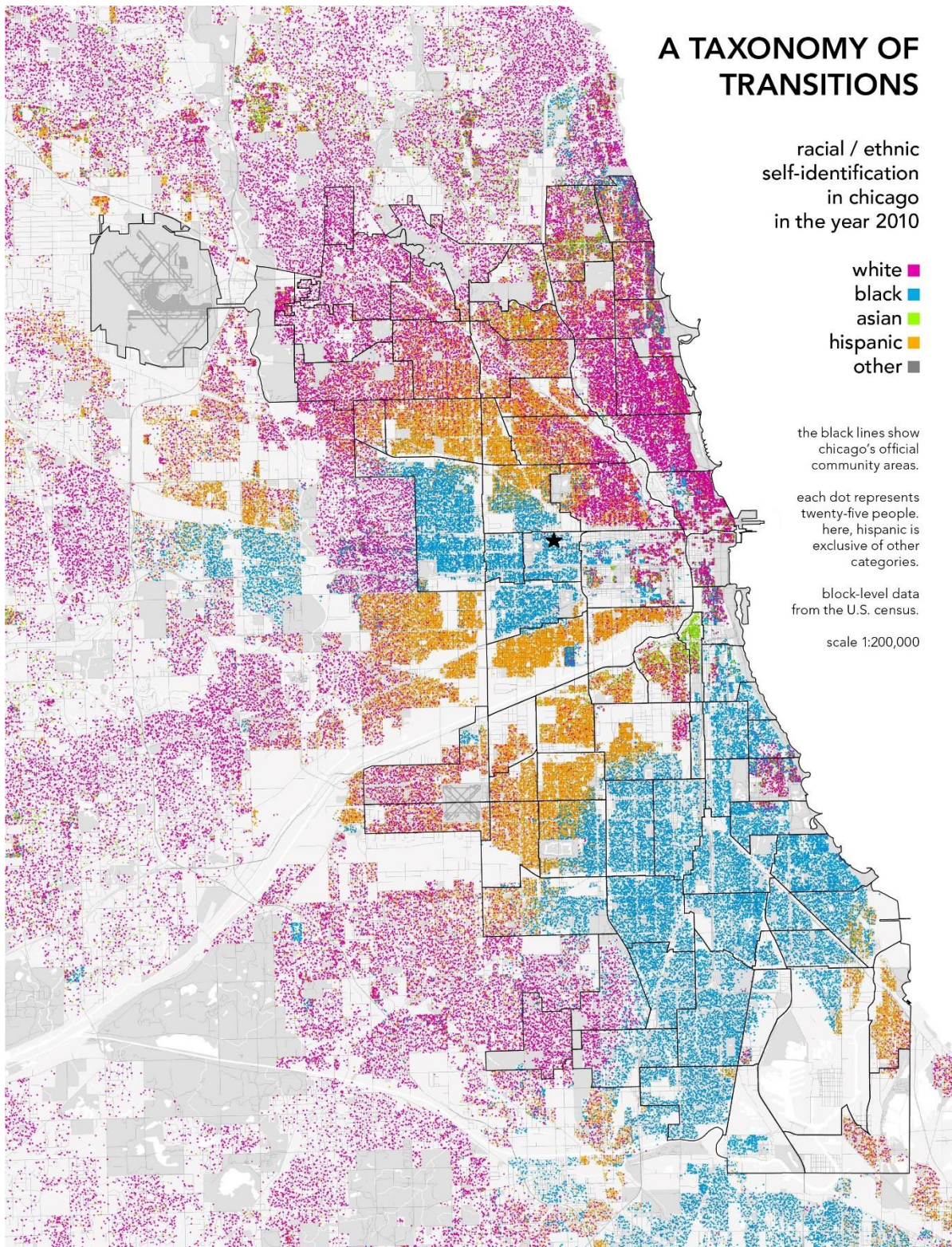
Maps

Map 1 - Chicago neighborhoods



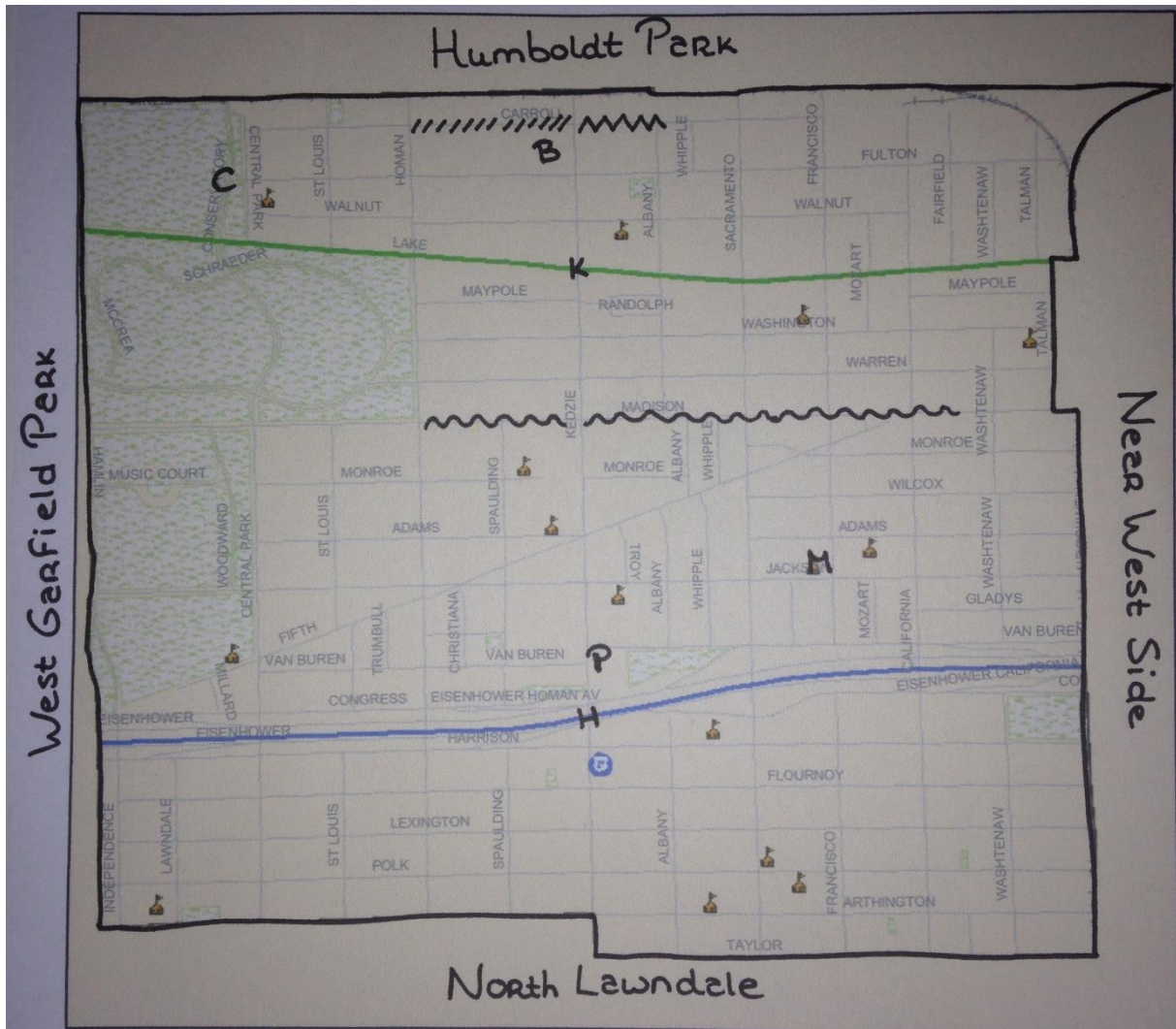
Peter Fitzgerald, Map of Chicago's community areas, grouped by color by "side".
http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Chicago_community_areas_map.svg, last accessed on 5-11-2015.

Map 2 - Chicago segregation





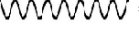
Bill Rankin, Chicago dots. <http://www.radicalcartography.net/index.html?chicagodots>, last accessed on December 19, 2014. The black star shows our location during the fieldwork period.

Map 3 - East Garfield Park



Chicago Maps: by the City of Chicago. June 2010 version.
http://www.cityofchicago.org/content/dam/city/depts/doit/general/GIS/Chicago_Maps/Community_Areas/CA_EAST_GARFIELD_PARK.pdf,
 last accessed 5-21-2015.

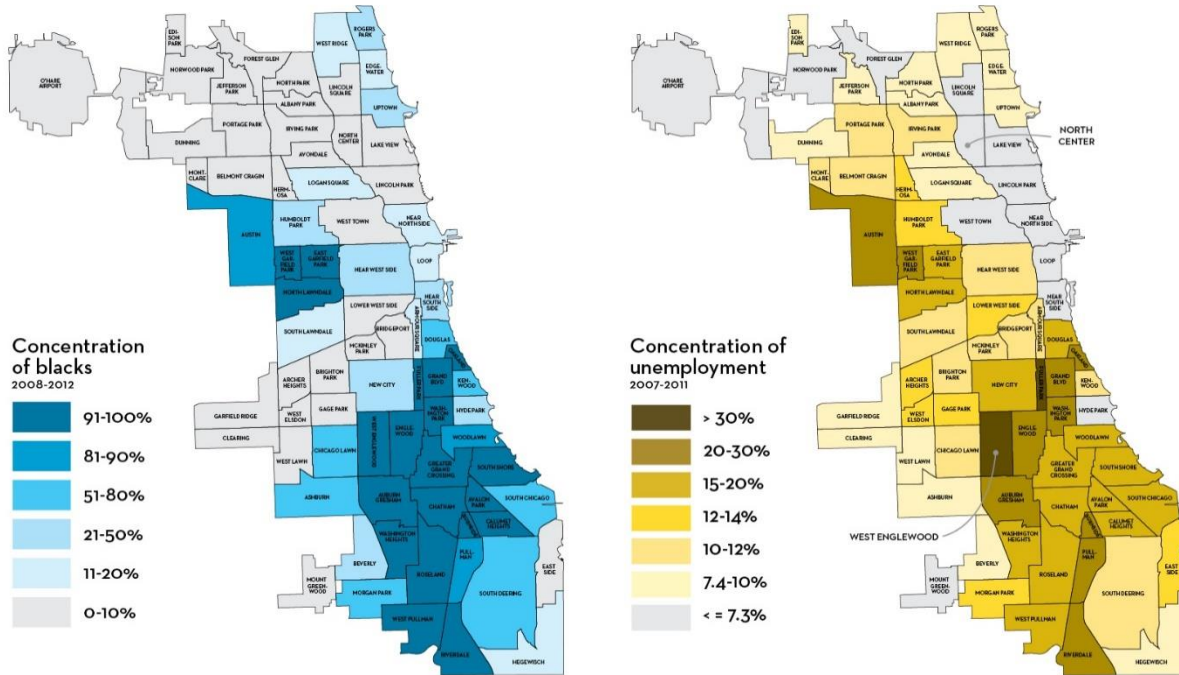
Legend

-  = artists' block
-  = location of our block
-  = Madison Avenue – commercial strip
- B = Breakthrough
- C = Conservatory
- H = Kedzie-Homan Blue Line 'L'-stop
- K = Kedzie Green Line 'L'-stop
- M = Marillac House
- P = Pete's Place diner

Map 4 - Chicago unemployment

A city divided by race and by opportunity

In West Englewood, the unemployment rate is nearly eight times what it is in North Center.



SOURCES: SOCIAL IMPACT RESEARCH CENTER ANALYSIS OF THE CENSUS BUREAU'S 2008-2012 AMERICAN COMMUNITY SURVEY; CHICAGO DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC HEALTH

Chicago Department of Public Health: Social Impact Research Center Analysis of the Census Bureau's 2008-2012 American Community Survey. http://www.chicagoreader.com/chicago/still-separate-unequal-and-ignored/Content?oid=16347785&utm_content=buffer5b4bb&utm_medium=social&utm_source=twitter.com&utm_campaign=buffer, last accessed on 6-11-2015.

Acknowledgements

Conducting anthropological fieldwork for the first time is a very special and exciting experience. After (in our case) four years of reading books and writing essays, the moment where we could put all this knowledge into practice had finally arrived. We were very excited that we had gotten permission to conduct our research in the United States, for we are both very interested in this country. Besides, going to America was extra exciting for us since the both of us had never travelled that far before and had never been away from home for three months.

When we arrived in Chicago, the city was quite overwhelming, but there were great people around to guide and support us. We would like to thank our host and other neighbors on our block for showing us around the neighborhood and the rest of Chicago, their hospitality and spending their free time with us.

We would not have been able to write this thesis if our informants would not have opened up to us about our research subject and let us into their lives. Therefore, we would like to thank them for sharing their stories with us, showing us around and letting us participate in their lives. We would also like to thank the organizations in the neighborhood for allowing us to join their activities: the 11th district of the Chicago police, the Garfield Park Community Council, Marillac House and Breakthrough. Finally, we want to thank Jesse Mumm for his academic and methodological guidance in the field.

After three intensive months, it is time to go home and put all of the data gathered in the field together into a coherent thesis. This writing process has taken a full academic year to prepare, for we had to go into the field with a research design and a theoretical framework. Our coordinator Katrien Klep has guided us through this entire process, providing us with feedback and support, both in the field and at home. We want to thank her for this support, especially when we were two weeks into our research and decided to change our research approach.

Finally, we would like to thank each other: the fieldwork period and this thesis would have looked very different if we had conducted this research individually. We really enjoyed having a research partner both in the field as well as during the writing process, for it provided us with a companion both in good and in stressful times.

Introduction

The gym is turned into a performance room: in the front, the floor is empty with a DJ-booth and music boxes, and in the back ten rows of chairs are placed to seat the audience. Photos of Barack Obama and Martin Luther King Jr. are hung up on the wall and the room is packed with black, yellow, red and green balloons: the colors of Africa. The performances and its performers are very diverse: a group of women dressed up in hippie-clothes line-dancing to disco tunes, little girls dancing to Shakira's 'Waka Waka', a teenage boy dancing a Michael Jackson tribute, a little girl rapping about violence, teenage mime players, an old woman impersonating a slave and a teenage band.

Between the performances, a man and woman take turns and give speeches. The woman talks fervently through the microphone: "In the past, the Black History celebration only lasted a week. But now, we get a whole month to be black! African-Americans form the fifth biggest ethnicity in the world, and the biggest problem is that we don't trust each other. We have to stick together!"

Two hours later, when we stand outside waiting for the bus and discuss the things we have seen and heard, questions pop up. What did the woman mean when she said 'getting a month to be black' and 'being black' overall? Why was Roos, besides the camera man filming for a local TV-channel and a girl working for the organization, the only white person present? Is something like *Black History Month* not intended to generate communication, understanding and cooperation on an interracial level as well? Are white people absent because they are ignorant or uninterested or because they feel uncomfortable, like Roos did when the presenters talked about the horrible things black people had to go through at the hands of white people? With these questions in mind, we get on the bus and ride back home.

From February until April 2015, we conducted anthropological fieldwork in East Garfield Park (from now on 'EGP'), an African-American neighborhood located on the West Side of the city of Chicago, Illinois, US. The vignette above describes a Black History Month-event we attended in the neighborhood, which clearly sketches the social reality in which we have conducted our research.

We arrived in the field with a research design and a conceptual framework focusing on race as an overall theme, wanting to explore local understandings of this concept by focusing on how interracial couples and multiracials give meaning to their racial identities within the

urban context of Chicago. Back home, a National Geographic article¹ had drawn our attention, portraying Americans with multiracial backgrounds, stating that “We’ve become a country where race is no longer so black or white.” The academic literature we consulted for our research design stated that racial color lines are fading through interracial mixing: e.g. Lee and Bean (2007:562) note that between 1960 and 2000, the number of interracial marriages has increased from 150,000 to 3.1 million. The year 2000 was also the first year when it was possible for Americans to tick multiple boxes while filling in their racial category in the national census. This option that was embraced extensively: anno 2007, one in forty Americans identified him/herself as multiracial, and it is predicted that this number will grow to one in five in 2050 (Lee & Bean 2007:563). With these developments in mind, we left for Chicago.

However, during the beginning phase of our fieldwork, the sharp racial divisions that characterize Chicago neighborhoods were impossible to ignore, for these were manifested in all facets of daily life. Walking around our neighborhood, participating in activities and speaking with residents, it became clear to us that in Chicago, the color line was not in the past, but still very much alive. The city’s segregated character, differences between neighborhoods and developments altering neighborhoods’ public space were subjects that informants were occupied with and deemed important. Studying anthropology, we have been taught to recognize and work with what the field brings forward. Therefore, we modified our approach to a research where the concept of race is still the research subject, but the lens through which we have examined this phenomenon has changed to our neighborhood and the perceptions of its residents. In this light, we have reformulated our central question to the following:

How do understandings of race shape public space and residents’ perceptions thereof in East Garfield Park, Chicago, Illinois?

The central question is divided into two subquestions. The first subquestion focuses on the neighborhood’s structure and serves as a foundational basis for the second subquestion – which focuses on the perceptions of people moving around in the neighborhood. In this way, the first subquestion provides an overview of the context in which EGP residents construct perceptions of their surroundings, which is the focus of the second subquestion:

¹ Lise Funderburg - The Changing Face of America. October 2013, <http://ngm.nationalgeographic.com/2013/10/changing-faces/funderburg-text>, last accessed on 6-9- 2015.

a) *How do notions of race shape the spatial structure of East Garfield Park?*

b) *How do understandings of race shape the ways in which residents of East Garfield Park give meaning to their neighborhood?*

In the field, Roos has focused on the first subquestion, and Frances on the second.

Relevance

The most prominent discussion surrounding the presidential elections of 2008 had nothing to do with policies, but with race. Public debates were replete with what it would mean for America if there was to be a “black” president. Barack Obama won the elections by employing his race and presenting it as a course for change. Today, supporters and adversaries of Obama use race as a way to explain their point of view, illustrating how this racial character rooted in U.S. society manifests itself. Recognizing this character and laying bear when, how and where race comes into play, contributes to an understanding of social, political and institutional issues in American society.

Regarding our fieldwork location, Chicago is known as the most segregated city of the U.S., based on U.S. census data, the media²³ and academic studies (Kaufman 1998:48). Informants mentioned the Chicago’s racial segregation as the city’s most fundamental problem. Our research will contribute to the theoretical debate surrounding race, and specifically, race and spatial structures. It provides a case study that helps to gain an understanding of how perceptions of race change over time and how these perceptions and urban space development mutually influence one another.

Our research questions show that we have studied race from a spatial perspective. By looking at the neighborhood’s spatial structure, processes and developments and the way its inhabitants perceive and negotiate this space, we have tried to grasp how notions of race and racial relations are shaped, maintained and contested. Space is infused with meaning and by studying a certain space closely, one may discern various social, political and historical

² Rachel Cromidas - Chicago Still Claims Dubious Honor Of Most Segregated City In The U.S. 5-7-2015, - http://chicagoist.com/2015/05/07/chicago_claims_dubious_honor_of_mos.php, last accessed on 5-11-2015)

³ John Dodge - Chicago Is The Most Segregated City In America: Analysis. 5-4-2015, <http://chicago.cbslocal.com/2015/05/04/chicago-is-the-most-segregated-city-in-america-analysis/>, last accessed on 6-11-2015

processes in play. Thus, a spatial analysis offers the anthropologist a powerful tool for discovering injustice or inequality, because these are frequently imposed through spatial and/or governmental control of the public space (Low 2011: 403). Both race and space are infused with inequality and difference, so researching these in the field and combining them in the analysis of data generates a clear and telling picture of how race and space interact and how they influence one another. In our theoretical framework, we will more extensively discuss these intersections of race and space and its academic relevance.

Methodology

In order to grasp both the spatial structure of EGP as well as residents' perceptions of this space, and the ways in which these two are connected with notions of race, we have predominantly participated in community-based activities such as police meetings and community council gatherings that focused on housing and community gardens. Through these activities, we met many of our informants, with whom we would plan informal conversations and unstructured interviews outside of these activities. We do realize that this means that we have primarily moved around in certain social circles consisting of a specific group of people (in terms of interests and mindsets). However, there were no other channels available to get in touch with inhabitants who were not present at the described activities and were talked about by our informants. EGP is lacking a large amount of organizations which would grant us access to these residents, which makes getting in contact with this group of EGP's residents a more time-consuming process. Considering we had only ten weeks to conduct our research combined with the discouragement by informants to visit certain *no-go* areas in the neighborhood, we have optimally utilized the channels and informants that were available to us.

For we used a spatial approach to research notions and dynamics of race, merely being and moving around in EGP provided us with a lot of data. The physical surroundings of the neighborhood as well as areas outside of its confines were relevant to record as data, for these reveal spatial and therefore, racial inequalities.

We mainly held informal conversations with informants, as race may be a loaded term and we wanted to avoid social desirability that may have occurred in a more formal interview setting. (Un)structured interviews were conducted with people occupying more formal positions, e.g. employees of organizations or EGP's alderman. With respect to our informants' privacy, we have anonymized their names.

'Black' and 'white': on being a biracial research team

Conducting fieldwork in EGP and being residents ourselves for a period of ten weeks, we have experienced the effects of skin-color on daily social interaction in an American city firsthand. We are both born and raised in the Netherlands, but have different physical appearances, as one of us has a darker skin and frizzy hair and the other is light-skinned. In U.S. racial terms, we are categorized as black and white. This racial difference has proved to be enriching our research as we have experienced race in a predominantly black neighborhood from a black as well as from a white perspective.

One of the most important things we have experienced about race while in the field, is that its significance and impact is contextual and personal. To Roos, who had never found herself (living) in a black neighborhood before, 'being white' had never been a conscious thought. Fieldwork experiences of being a minority and being addressed by skin color ("the white girl") resulted in a racial consciousness never experienced at home. To Frances, 'being black' in a black neighborhood has led to the assumption that she was where she belonged. With a simple bus ride from the West Side to the North Side, however, the color of the neighborhood as well as that of the passengers on the bus changes. Stepping on the bus on the corner of our street in EGP, all passengers are black. Riding past the border of the EGP and entering the Hispanic neighborhood Humboldt Park results in black people getting off and Hispanic and white people getting on. The more north the bus goes, the whiter it gets. Getting off the bus in hip, gentrified Logan Square, Frances caught herself searching for dark-skinned individuals and realized that in this neighborhood, she was a minority. These illustrations show that even though we were not raised in a race-based society, we did become part of one when we arrived in Chicago. Maneuvering in the field means being subjected to understandings of race that are prominent in that context. Therefore, we would like to emphasize that our personal reflective data have played a significant role in our research analysis.

When we are discussing the color line, we are using the terms 'black' and 'white'. We will continue to make these distinctions in the course of this thesis and when referring to informants. As 'black' and 'white' are the colors that dominate the lives of our informants, whether on a conscious and/or visible level or not, we believe that these indications are necessary to make our argument clear. 'Black' and 'white' are loaded terms in this context, and we do not use them to downplay or overvalue certain stories/sides. Furthermore, we

employ these terms as they are part of the language of our informants and the reality they live in.

Thesis structure

In the following chapter, we will provide conceptual and analytical tools to lay out the theoretical landscape in which we have conducted our research. We will discuss the broad concepts of race and space and its intersection before we go deeper into the racially infused spatial processes of segregation and gentrification of which we have encountered manifestations in the field. The chapter concludes with the analytical concepts of concerning the mobilization of history for the identity formation of racial groups and the conceptualization of U.S. race relations. Then, a contextual chapter reviews the history of U.S. race relations, and more specifically, those of the city of Chicago with a focus on the racial structure of the West Side, the area where we have conducted fieldwork.

The two empirical chapters each focus on one of the subquestions. The first chapter will lay out the structure of the neighborhood on four levels, namely the physical, historical, social and institutional. By providing an overview of EGP's physical appearance and historical development, it will be shown how notions of race and space intersect and how these in turn shape social relations and the neighborhood's institutional structure. The second chapter will illustrate this interaction through the lens of residents' perceptions of their neighborhood. A distinction is made between four racially infused themes that were recurrent in the field, where race was implicitly or explicitly mentioned. Here, we argue that residents' perceptions determine their movement in EGP and that the mobilization of history plays a part in the formation of these perceptions. In our final chapter, we will combine the answers to our subquestions and lay out our general findings in four grand argumentations with which we provide an answer to our central question.

Theoretical framework

Because our research is centered around the interaction of race and space, it is relevant to gain an understanding of the separate concepts from an anthropological perspective, existing debates surrounding the intersection of race and space, spatial processes, and the ways people approach and give meaning to these processes.

We will start this chapter by setting out the theoretical debate in which our research is rooted. A theoretical overview of the concepts of race and space is provided to demonstrate how these social and dynamic constructs are crossing on both a physical and a social level, and how an anthropological study on this intersection may reveal group inequalities and processes of in- and exclusion. Then, we will go deeper into spatial processes that we have encountered in the field. Segregation and gentrification processes influence spatial structures as well as group dynamics within this space, uncovering (racial) power relations. These two concepts are being discussed as they are racially infused and part of residents' perceptions of the neighborhood. Residents give meaning to segregation and gentrification by reaching back into the past. Therefore, we will conclude this chapter by explaining how history can be employed to establish group boundaries, give meaning to race relations and how these processes are related to space.

Race and space in the city

written by Roos

Before turning to a discussion of the intersection of race and space and emphasizing the relevance and value of researching them together, we have to touch upon these extensive concepts separately and review them with an anthropological lens.

Race

Analytically, race might be one of the most complex concepts – historically, politically and socially. Although it might seem to be an antiquated term from a contemporary European perspective, race is very much alive and constantly being defined and redefined on different (social, cultural and scientific) levels.

During the eighteenth and nineteenth century, following the Western colonial enterprise and encounter with 'new' or 'other' people, scholars identified and ranked variations in humankind based on physical and hereditary characteristics: in this perspective, race is a *biological* concept (Omi & Winant 1986:58). Differences between people, e.g. in temperament, sexuality or intelligence, were deemed to be racial in character.

Today, cultural anthropology and the other social sciences agree upon the argument that race is not a scientific term (Eriksen 2010; Hollinger 2000; Omi and Winant 1986). In the 1920s-30s, the term *ethnicity* erupted as a reaction to the paradigm of race being embedded in biology. The ethnicity-concept, focusing on group formation based on culture and descent, has largely replaced "race" in Europe as a paradigm of the modern sociology of race (Omi & Winant 1986: 14-15). It does not mean, however, that because of the rise of ethnicity, the concept of race has become irrelevant. Thomas Eriksen (2010:6) states that the concept of race is still important to the extent that it influences people's actions, making it a *cultural construct*. Race exists in people's minds as an identification and categorization tool, especially when the term has been institutionalized in the political, judicial and administrative organization of a society. Smedley (1999:690) argues that in the U.S., race is a main form of human identity for in this society, it is used to stratify the social system. Here, the U.S. census comes to mind to serve as an example of this institutionalization: it uses racial labels to classify people. This is not so much the case in European countries, where race may play a minor to no role at all in identity formation, and ethnicity may be a more important identity marker. Here, the importance of the contextual embedding of the concept of race in one's

environment is evident. Thus, anthropological interest in race (relations) focuses on the cultural and social relevance of the *notion* that race does exist, i.e. the *social construction* of race. Howard Winant (1994:14) emphasizes this point convincingly:

“...the central task is to focus attention on *the continuing significance and changing meaning of race*. It is to argue against the recent discovery of the illusory nature of race; against the supposed contemporary transcendence of race; against the widely reported death of the concept of race; and against the replacement of the category of race by other, supposedly more objective, categories like ethnicity, nationality, or class. All these initiatives are mistaken at best, and intellectually dishonest at worst.”

To summarize, in the U.S., where the concept of race is still used on a daily basis on both personal and institutional levels, and where the concept covers a significant part of people's communication to one another, the meanings people attach to this concept and the influence this concept has on their lives should be studied.

Space and race

Like race, space is a social construct: the sociologist Henri Lefebvre (in Low 2011: 392) states that “...space is never empty: it always embodies a meaning.” Space starts out neutral but is given a function, character and meaning by the people who shape it, turning space into a *place* (Massey in Knowles 2003:96). Thus, space is socially constructed by the everyday movements of people, who hereby produce place and landscape (Low 2011:392).

In our introduction, we stated that during our fieldwork, we have researched notions and perceptions of race in Chicago from a spatial perspective, by conducting neighborhood research in a West Side neighborhood. Looking at the structure of (public) space and the ways in which people move within this space is a fruitful approach to study race. A spatial approach exposes power relations which are visible in the public space, e.g. by distinguishing practices of in- and exclusion: who is in and who is out? These power relations may be racial in character, and by using a spatial perspective one can uncover how racial inequalities are embodied by the physical and social environment. Low (2011:392) states that both race and space are social constructs that are shaped and transformed through people's social exchanges, memories, emotions, images and daily use of the material setting. Besides their social construction, Brooke Neely and Michelle Samura (2011:1934) name other similarities

between race and space, namely that they both vary across time and place, involve political contests over their meaning and that they are co-constitutive and dialectical. In her work on 'the spatial dimensions of race-making, Caroline Knowles' (2003:97) argues that space is an "...active archive of the social processes and social relationships composing racial orders". Space is an "active archive" for it both carries on historical legacies of past race relations, as well as it is fluid and constantly redefined in the present-day. The "racial orders" refer to the ways in which race and racial differences are given meaning as a result of these processes and relations, and how these understandings become part of the daily social reality of people, hereby producing racial power relations. In this way, space is one of the possible lenses through which it is possible to discern how the concept of race is shaped, mediated and modified by people moving inside this space: i.e., "race-making". These racial meanings are not just produced internally, within the boundaries of a space, but also externally, e.g. by the media or government (Pérez 2002:41-42). This means that in the empirical field, race and space cross each other and hereby influence the way occupants of a certain space understand these concepts. Knowles (2003:105) names four ways in which racial and spatial processes intersect empirically: the contestations over the built environment, the everyday embodied and performed social lives of people, the movement of people (placement and displacement) and the social relationships individuals and groups engage in. Thus, combining the concepts of race and space in research is possible because of these intersections: a spatial perspective reveals the dynamic character of race, and how, in turn, these dynamics are visible in the physical environment.

Changing space: race in segregation and gentrification processes

written by Frances

To investigate the interaction between race and space, we need to look at spatial processes in which race is exposed and negotiated. Within the sphere of spatial processes, we have selected two that were recurrent in the field, namely segregation and gentrification. These processes create the groundwork for a deeper understanding of how race plays a part in spatial processes. Therefore, we need to gain an understanding of how these processes emerge and what forces are involved.

Segregation

When we focus on segregation, we are looking at processes that involve the separation of people based on a specific characteristic, e.g. income, age, gender, religion or race. Segregation is driven by historical as well as social, institutional, economical and racial processes and has been researched by many scholars to gain an understanding of spatial dynamics in urban areas (Saltman 1991; Caldeira 1996; Musterd & Ostendord 2013). Since the civilization of Mesopotamia, elite groups have tried to enhance their power and wealth by secluding themselves from the lower classes (York et al 2011; Nightingale 2012). There are different arguments regarding the main forces that drive segregation, depending on the lens through which segregation is viewed. How segregation has manifested itself in Chicago and the ways in which race and space are interwoven in this process will be explored in the contextual chapter.

There has been some debate about the term segregation surrounding the perception that it is racial in character. Clark (in Sandoval 2011:611) argues that *separation* is a more suitable term when referring to “spatial clustering of populations”: residential settlement patterns are to a lesser extent driven by discrimination and more by economic constraints and social preferences. *Segregation*, he argues, implies that discrimination is the main force behind residential spatial structuring. Galster (in Sandoval 2011:611-615) disagrees as he implies that the clustering of racial groups is also embedded in social and economic structures and therefore not *independently* driven by discrimination. Clark and Galster’s debate shows that segregation is not always assigned a racial character. However, Galster’s argument shows

that race is hidden behind a socio-economic approach of segregation. Race relations play a part in the social and economic structure on which the socio-economic approach is based.

Sandoval (2011) discusses two models regarding residential mobility, namely the spatial assimilation and the physical stratification model. The spatial assimilation model argues that urban segregation is related to class rather than race. With immigrants in mind, the model suggests that minorities gain more social and human capital as they assimilate and thus enter the better neighborhoods. Implicitly, the white neighborhoods are the better neighborhoods in this model (Sandoval 2011:615). This model is relevant when looking at racial segregation, as white neighborhoods are considered to be desired to reside in. Therefore, although stating otherwise (focus on class), the model is racial in character. The place stratification model argues that race is the driving factor in the spatial distribution of groups (Sandoval 2011:615). There can be two manifestations of race as a main factor behind residential composition: a neighborhood can have residents from one racial group in one socio-economic class, or vertical integration occurs, where affluent middle-class and lower-class members of the same racial group live together (Hilfiker 2000:1).

When divisions between groups occur along racial lines, these divisions can be explained by referring to economic and social status or processes, but also to race. In our research, we are looking at how residents perceive and experience segregation and how these perceptions are related to race: power relations that are racially infused may be revealed when focusing on segregation processes, being visible in space and discourses on it.

Gentrification

Gentrification is a process that occurs in deteriorated urban areas and changes the spatial distribution of people. It initially involves the arrival of middle to high-income households and businesses in a lower income area (Brown-Saracino 2013; Freeman 2011; Mumm 2008).

A number of scholars (Hackworth & Smith 2001; Wyly & Hammel 2001) divide gentrification in the U.S. into three different periods, which they refer to as “waves”.

The first wave began in the 1950's and relied on public subsidies and urban renewal. It was directed at countering suburbanization and led by owner-occupiers. The 1973 crisis put a stop to these urban programs and the financial back-up by subsidies. The second wave came into motion due to lower property values as a result of the crisis and was led by entrepreneurs, owners and the local state, who invested in private markets and thereby indirectly supported gentrification processes. The recession in the early 90's resulted in a decrease of gentrification

processes as capital became scarce. The third and current wave began in the late 90's. It is characterized by a coalition of state and private developers that mobilize gentrification as a strategy for redevelopment (Bounds & Morris 2006:107). Brown-Saracino (2013:1) argues that, for instance, the city sells city owned property for a low price or introduces tax incentives to attract middle class households and businesses to settle in the area that is planned for redevelopment.

The current wave of gentrification shows that these gentrification processes are driven by individuals and businesses who are supported by the state as a means to incite redevelopment. Two scholars have researched how capital enters the neighborhood in gentrification processes by looking at the role of artists. Cameron and Coaffee (2005) argue that artists are attracted to working class neighborhoods because they want to free themselves from the middle-class and are drawn by the low rents. Upon entering, they provide cultural capital and as a result, the neighborhood becomes attractive for businesses that utilize the art for commercial purposes, followed by middle-class households (Cameron & Coaffee 2005). Thus, the arrival of artists in a neighborhood may be an indication that gentrification processes are commencing.

Scholars try to explain gentrification from either the supply side, which is centered around landlords, developers and capital, or the demand side, where the focus lies on the agency of the gentrifier. These two different angles are focused around capital and the middle-or upper class. However, it is important to acknowledge that gentrification involves group relations, specifically, between newcomers and 'natives'. Freeman (2011) argues that the supply and demand sides of gentrification do not reveal how newcomers influence the neighborhood they enters what impact the process has on its residents. Therefore, it is important to look at gentrification from the perspective of residents to gain a more comprehensive understanding of its effects. One of the much debated effects of gentrification is displacement which entails forced movement from space. Actions of native residents which are driven by fear of displacement may have an influence on the relationship between them and newcomers. In a case where certain racial groups are positioned in a certain socio-economic position, the spatial process of gentrification becomes racial in character. If in this situation, gentrification is a colored process, the native-newcomer relationship becomes racial in character. Therefore, looking at gentrification from the perspective of residents will help gain understanding of how race is experienced and how this interacts with space.

Besides displacement, native residents may experience other effects of gentrification as well. Brown-Saracino (2013:2) gives the example of housing a yoga studio in a

neighborhood, merely to facilitate newcomers, as a cultural and social change in a gentrified neighborhood. Changing the established culture in the neighborhood also influences the relationship between newcomers and natives.

Regarding the relationship between race and gentrification, Mumm (2008:16) argues that scholars and residents treat race as a given in gentrification, and, in their argumentation, gentrification "...may produce racialized effects, but does not necessarily remake the ways race operates". From this perspective, gentrification may change the racial composition of a neighborhood, but it does not affect power relations between racial groups. However, Mumm (2008:17) argues that gentrification is "...both a moment that reveals race" and "...a process that constructs and transforms race through the medium of urban space". As a moment, gentrification makes color differences explicitly visible as white newcomers enter a black neighborhood. As a process, gentrification influences group relations within a neighborhood. When gentrification is colored, these group relations are also race relations, hereby influencing understandings of race.

In our research, we will focus on indications of gentrification in physical space, i.e. artists residing in the neighborhood and the arrival of new businesses, as well as on current residents' perceptions of gentrification and displacement.

Remembering and forgetting: trauma and amnesia

written by Frances

The field has revealed that understandings of history (i.e. the historical development of physical space and the formation of group (race) relations) are important to consider when analyzing the ways in which people give meaning to the previously described spatial processes. This section focuses on the latter, as the former will be discussed in detail both in the contextual as well as the first empirical chapter. To grasp the ways in which racial groups struggle over space, we must gain an understanding of how race identities, attitudes and relations are shaped by the mobilization of history. Memory, whether it is individual or collective, is never constructed in isolation but in relation to others in the contexts of community, politics, and social dynamics (Thelen 1989:1119). Therefore, memory is always a group memory, also because a group becomes aware of itself through the constant reflection upon a shared memory (Eyerman 2001:6). In this process, "... 'we' are remembered and 'they' are excluded" (Eyerman 2004:162). Thus, collective memory plays a large part in the construction of group identity and, therefore, group boundaries.

Cultural trauma and chosen trauma

One form of collective memory is a *cultural trauma*. It is defined by Eyerman (2001:2) as

"...a memory accepted and publicly given credence by a relevant membership group and evoking an event or situation which is (a) laden with negative affect, (b) represented as indelible, and (c) regarded as threatening a society's existence or violating one or more of its fundamental cultural presuppositions."

The term refers to an attack on a group's identity which has resulted in a tear in the social fabric of that group which may in turn lead to rootlessness. The group engages in a process searching for meaning to make sense of the cultural trauma. Hereby, the group identifies the "nature of the pain, the nature of the victim and the attribution of responsibility" (Eyerman 2001:3). This process of identification is a search for meaning whereby the group confirms its boundaries and determines an 'us' and 'them', victims and perpetrators. The trauma does not need to be perceived as a trauma or directly experienced by all group members (Eyerman

2004:160). However, all group members engage in the search for meaning as a cultural trauma is regarded as unforgettable.

A *chosen trauma* occurs when the search for meaning goes beyond identifying victims and perpetrators, and the cultural trauma and its mental representations or emotional meanings become a part of the group's identity (Volkan in Buckley-Zistel 2006:134). As several traumas may lay in the shared past, a trauma is 'chosen' to be part of the group's identity and is evoked when perceived necessary. This necessity may occur on occasions when a group perceives its identity is being threatened or a drastic change has taken place and the group's identity needs to be reconfirmed (Volkan 2001). The spatial processes outlined in the previous section, change the physical, cultural and social structure of a neighborhood. Chosen traumas may be revoked to give meaning to these changes.

Chosen amnesia and colorblindness

Opposing chosen trauma lies *chosen amnesia*. The term refers to the collective inability to remember. There does not need to be a different interpretation of the past, but a group chooses not to access the memory in the present (Buckley-Zistel 2006:134). Cohen (in Buckley-Zistel 2006:132) argues that entire societies may choose to forget distressing knowledge and turn it into 'open secrets' as they become "...known by all, and knowingly not known".

A racially loaded technique that comes forth from chosen amnesia is colorblindness. Hereby, race is noticed but not considered (Gotanda 2013:35), and leads to the perception that socio-economic success is a result of hard work without racialized effects. However, Gallagher (2003:26) argues that the colorblind perspective "...removes from personal thought and public discussion any taint or suggestion of white supremacy or white guilt while legitimating the existing social, political and economic arrangements which privilege whites". In relation to space, by "noticing but not considering race", the racial character and consequences of the struggle over space, e.g. segregation and gentrification processes, is not acknowledged by people who are 'colorblind'.

Remembering and forgetting are part of the identity construction of a group. Representations of the past reveal group identities and group relations in the present. In light of the formation of race relations and racial identities, it is the shared memory of slavery and its commemoration that plays a large role in the formation of the collective identity of African-Americans. Therefore, this cultural or chosen trauma can be seen "as a cultural marker, a

primal scene and a site of memory in the formation of African American identity” (Eyerman 2004:163). Forgetting the role that white Americans played in historical processes that formed today's race relations in American society, has led to the belief that inequality based on race is no longer present, i.e. colorblindness. In the second empirical chapter, it will be shown how these two different ways of understandings race have an effect on the ways physical space is experienced.

Context - U.S. race relations and the city of Chicago

written by Roos

A history of race relations in the U.S. demonstrates that race is a social construct, (de)constructing, transforming and maintaining social hierarchies and power relations over time. This *racial formation* is defined by Omi and Winant (1986:61) as "...the process by which social, economic and political forces determine the content and importance of racial categories, and by which they are in turn shaped by racial meanings", and shows the deep embedding of race in American society.

The dynamics of race in the United States

From the beginning of the 16th century and onwards, when African slaves were transported to the New World, they were divided into occupational categories based on skin-color and were kept separate from people with the same place of origin or language in order to prevent them from keeping a sense of group identity. This policy led to a de-ethnification of African identities and the development of a distinctive 'black' category in the U.S. (Eriksen 2010:100). After 1680, when the distinction between Africans and Europeans was primarily made on the basis of color, the black/white color line emerged (Tehrani 2000:830). This dichotomy is actually a divide between white and nonwhite (people of color), since any racial intermixture makes a person nonwhite. This classification of individuals with the slightest phenotypical trace of African descent as black is known as the one-drop rule (Eriksen 2010:101). As it is rooted in US slavery history, Lee and Bean (2007:562) note that the color line "...consigns blacks and whites to different positions in the social order and attaches a different set of rights and privileges to each group." Both slavery and the subsequent black-white divide can be seen as precursors of the current inequality between the black and white racial categories, which will become manifest in our empirical chapters once we discuss differences between black and white Chicago neighborhoods.

After World War II, prevailing (white) public definitions of the meaning and rights associated with being black were challenged by African-American activists and intellectuals, instigating the struggle over the definition of blackness during the civil rights movement of the 1960s and '70s (Winant 1994:24-25). While early movement rhetoric emphasized the ideal of a 'race-free' American society, this position shifted to the re-articulation of black

collective subjectivity: the meaning of black racial identity was redefined, leading to movements who named themselves, for instance, *Black Power* or *Black Is Beautiful* (Omi & Winant 1986:93). The impact of the civil rights upsurge on American racial politics was enormous. The mobilization led to new state activities and reorganized state institutions: for example, avenues of economic and social mobility, the reform of immigration laws and the destruction of de jure segregation (Winant 1994:25). Thus, racial identity, the racial state, and the nature of racial politics were radically transformed during and after the civil rights movement, and the racial meanings established during this period continue to shape politics (Omi & Winant 1986:91). Referring to the last theoretical segment, African-Americans mobilized collective memories of slavery and employed these in processes of empowerment. In this way, the case of the civil-rights movement shows the dynamic character of the concept of race: the meaning people attach to it and the ways in which they use and emphasize it change over time, influencing state policies and ways of thinking about the overall concept of race and racial identity.

Similar to the instigators of the civil rights movement at the start of the movement, David Hollinger (2000) contemplates the idea of a post-ethnic America. However, he (2000:21) argues that this idea is deeply alien to many features of American history and that it exists in tension with a current system of entitlements that are predicted on clear, enduring and monolithic racial identities. Reducing the importance of or getting beyond racial categorizations is an unlikely vision for the future, as race plays such an important role on and in so many different levels and contexts.

To summarize, it is clear that in the U.S., race is the central axis of social and, as illustrated above, political relations: it is a salient, pervasive component of society that has held ideological and material currency for years, and without its racial identity, the U.S. is in danger of having no identity (Omi & Winant 1986, Winant 1994). It is essential to take into account this rooted, racial character of the country while in the field, because this institutional context individuals live in will certainly influence the ways in which these people experience, construct and negotiate their racial environment, identities and perceptions.

Chicago

Following New York City and Los Angeles, Chicago is the third most populous city of the U.S. and the biggest of the state Illinois and the American Midwest area with 2.7 million

residents⁴. In 2010, 45 per cent of this population was white, 33 per cent was black and 29 per cent was Hispanic⁵.

When Chicagoans explain where they live, they usually refer to a neighborhood or to a Side of the city. Chicago is divided into the North, South and West Side and has 77 community areas or neighborhoods⁶, and carries the commonly used nickname 'city of neighborhoods'. Map 1 shows Chicago's neighborhoods or community areas; the different colors demarcate the different Sides of the city⁷.

The city of Chicago and its agglomeration are highly segregated, and this segregation predominantly follows neighborhood, or, when zooming out, Side-lines. The West and South Sides of the city are predominantly African-American, while the North Side has a mainly white population. Looking at the specific neighborhoods, Kaufman (1998:48) cites a study from 1993 that shows that half of Chicago's 77 community areas have a 85 percent or higher black or white population: this leads him to conclude that the Chicago area is the most hyper-segregated metropolitan area in the U.S. More than twenty years later, this hyper-segregation is still very much reality in Chicago. Map 2 clearly illustrates the racial distribution of the city⁸: instead of depicting perfectly homogeneous neighborhoods, cartographer Bill Rankin uses dots to represent the racial categorizations of people living in these areas. However, if one looks at the dots from a distance, they turn into big pink, blue and orange blocs, showing Chicago's enduring segregation. Because of Chicago's striking urban and segregated character, it is a perfect "social laboratory" for theorizing the city, and many academic research has been conducted in the city (Pérez 2002:44). However, Pérez (2002:44) notes that there is a lack of ethnographic research that focuses on the relationship between space, place, race, identity and class. This relationship is what our research questions are about, and hereby we want to contribute to the theoretical debate surrounding these concepts.

We have conducted fieldwork in EGP, a neighborhood on the West Side of the city. Seligman (2005:14) notes that after its foundation in 1830, Chicago initially grew north- and southward, with just a few settlements west of the Chicago River; however, after the Great

⁴ The United States Census Bureau, 2013 estimate. <http://quickfacts.census.gov/qfd/states/17/1714000.html>, last accessed on 5-11-2015.

⁵ See note 4

⁶ The Socioeconomic Change of Chicago's Community Areas (1970-2010) - Appendix. University of Illinois at Chicago: Nathalie P. Voorhees Center.

http://media.wix.com/ugd/992726_028c5126ae504dfca146a882d0d85376.pdf, last accessed on 5-11-2015.

⁷ Peter Fitzgerald, Map of Chicago's community areas, grouped by color by "side".

http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Chicago_community_areas_map.svg, last accessed on 5-11-2015.

⁸ Bill Rankin, Chicago dots. <http://www.radicalcartography.net/index.html?chicagodots>, last accessed on 12-19-2014.

Fire in 1871, which destroyed almost the entire city, the West Side neighborhoods started to fill up between the 1880s and 1920s. After World War II, the city wanted to rebuild the center (“the Loop”) to become a regional, national and global financial and administrative hub (Pérez 2002: 48). The city also wanted to develop a “buffer zone” to protect the investments downtown from the large number of poor and/or minority people who were living in the surrounding neighborhoods, which is why the northern neighborhoods Lincoln Park and Old Town started to gentrify during the 60s and 70s. The previous inhabitants were displaced in a westward direction because of these policies of urban renewal and moved to Chicago’s West Side (Pérez 2002:49). This uneven development continues to go on today, and the city center and its accompanying gentrification keep expanding to the west, now influencing the predominantly Hispanic neighborhood Humboldt Park and approaching its southern neighbor EGP, our fieldwork location.

In 1967, Robert Park, one of the leaders of the famous Chicago School of Sociology, already acknowledged Chicago as the ‘city of neighborhoods’ when he described its neighborhoods as a “mosaic of little worlds which touch but do not interpenetrate”; in 2008, anthropologist Jesse Mumm (2008:18) adjusted this quote to “worlds that interpenetrate but do not touch” to demonstrate that even though racial mixing or gentrification has been happening in neighborhoods – which is visible if one looks closely at the dotted map – there is still little to no interracial contact or cooperation. It is in this environment that we have conducted fieldwork and looked at how racial and spatial processes intersect. In the following empirical chapter, more specific information about the EGP neighborhood will be provided. We would like to show the ways in which individuals constitute and give meaning to their racial environment and identity, and how these processes are embedded in the national context of the U.S., the personal or social context of living in a highly segregated neighborhood, and the local, urban context of the dynamics of living in a metropolis.

Empirical chapters

Intersections of race and space in East Garfield Park

written by Roos

In our theoretical framework, we emphasized how it is fruitful to study the concept of race from a spatial perspective, for race and space are concepts that intersect on different (physical and social) levels. We also demonstrated how segregation and gentrification processes transform public space and how they are influenced by notions of race. The first subquestion primarily focuses on this interaction of racial and spatial processes:

How do notions of race shape the spatial structure of East Garfield Park?

The most essential segment of the question is “notions of race”: while conducting fieldwork, we tried to grasp the ways in which race (relations) and its connections to public space in EGP are perceived and mediated, and how these neighborhood dynamics are positioned in the context of the rest of the city of Chicago. How is race understood and how are these understandings visible in EGP’s spatial structure? Neely and Samura (2011:1934) name four characteristics that race and space share: they are contested, fluid and historical, interactional and relational and defined by inequality and difference. With these four characteristics in mind, I will provide an analysis of racial and spatial structure, which will be infused with ways in which residents’ perceive and negotiate these structures in the second empirical chapter.

I will analyze the research data and answer the subquestion by dividing EGP’s structure into four different levels: physical, historical, social and institutional. Above, I argued that race and space intersect on a physical and social level: I have added the historical and institutional level in my analysis to incorporate the neighborhood's history and present institutions. These levels are of course very much interconnected and considerably overlapping, but it provides a clear framework through which to interpret racial processes in EGP’s public space and how these processes can be connected to overall Chicago racial dynamics and, in the following chapter, how residents perceive these processes.

Physical level

In this chapter, I will demonstrate how racially infused processes are visible within EGP's physical shape by analyzing its borders, position within Chicago, structure and physical appearance. EGP is a predominantly African-American neighborhood situated on Chicago's West Side. Map 3 contains a map of EGP⁹, which shows its borders, streets and public transport connections. We have modified the map and incorporated locations that have been important during our fieldwork period. The map shows how EGP borders the neighborhood Humboldt Park (Franklin Boulevard) in the north, the Near West Side or East Ukrainian Village in the east (Rockwell Street), North Lawndale in the South (Taylor Street), and West Garfield Park (Independence Boulevard) in the west, divided from EGP by Garfield Park. EGP is bisected by the Eisenhower Expressway, cutting up the neighborhood into two areas.

West Side position

EGP's positioning on Chicago's West Side largely influences the neighborhood's physical structure according to many residents: they feel that the city does not invest in the West Side at all. Most attention goes to the (predominantly white) North and (predominantly black) South Side. The South Side gets more support and thrives better because the African-American community over there is more established: the Bronzeville neighborhood on the South Side used to be the center of Chicago's *Black Belt*, the area in the city where 90 per cent of the city's black population resided around 1945, and still forms the cultural heart of African-American Chicago (Seligman 2005:31, Cayton 1970:12). The black community entered the West Side much later (after WWII), which, according to informants, is the cause of residents' feelings of rootlessness and a lack of foundation, cultural identity and activities and community organizations like they do exist on the South Side. Beau, who works at the Breakthrough organization, commented that the black South Side neighborhoods are vertically integrated, hosting African-Americans with both high and low socioeconomic statuses¹⁰. In contrast to this vertical integration, the West Side is largely comprised of lower-class black households, which is appointed by informants as a reason as to why EGP lags behind development-wise. In the next segment, I will go deeper into the formation of EGP's lower-class population and demonstrate how this was driven by historical developments.

⁹ Chicago Maps: by the City of Chicago. June 2010 version.
http://www.cityofchicago.org/content/dam/city/depts/doit/general/GIS/Chicago_Maps/Community_Areas/CA_EAST_GARFIELD_PARK.pdf, last accessed 5-21-2015.

¹⁰ Unstructured interview, Beau, Breakthrough, 4-1-2015.

The Conservatory: a colored attraction

The neighborhood is well connected to downtown and the rest of Chicago: there are two stops of the 'L'-train's Green Line ('Kedzie' and 'Conservatory'), one stop on the Blue Line ('Kedzie-Homan', which runs parallel to the Expressway) and multiple bus lines that will bring one to both the city center and the South and North Side. The Green Line Conservatory-stop was moved from Homan Avenue to Central Park Drive in order to reduce the walking distance for people visiting the Garfield Park Conservatory, an indoor tropical garden located on the northwest corner of the neighborhood (see map 3). Visitors are facilitated in their journey to this attraction: they only have to walk down the street to reach their destination. Who, then, are visiting the Conservatory? Sharon, a black woman who works at a mental health institution on Kedzie Avenue, said that the Conservatory is for white people¹¹. When she took a group of EGP residents to the Conservatory once, these people did not know about the existence of this venue in their neighborhood. This anecdote shows how even though the Conservatory may be located in EGP physically, it is not a part of the neighborhood socially, for the majority of its residents are misinformed or do not think it is intended for them. Thus, physical and social neighborhood boundaries may not necessarily overlap and determine where different people move within a certain confined space.

Reputation

Tina, a black resident of EGP, remarked that at night, the lighting at the Conservatory-stop is brighter than at other stops: she, like Sharon, linked this to the facilitation of visitors coming from other parts of the city as well as to EGP being known as a dangerous, violent neighborhood¹². Informants from both in- and outside EGP consider this label to be truthful. To illustrate: when we told informants that we lived in EGP, we would usually receive reactions such as "Really? You girls should be careful", "Let me give you a ride home", or "You really haven't experienced anything bad over there?" These reactions flow from crime rates and numbers on drug trade in the area, which are provided to Chicago residents by local media and the police during communal meetings. During one of these gatherings, the commander of the 11th police district, in which EGP is located, stated that in 2014, 144 shootings and 51 homicides occurred and that robberies were prevalent. She also noted that there are over 70 open drug markets inside the district. Although EGP has an overall negative image, informants divide the neighborhood into 'bad', 'good' or 'better' areas. The area north

¹¹ Informal conversation, Sharon, Bobby Wright Center, 3-30-2015.

¹² Informal conversation, Tina, EGP residence, 3-07-2015.

of Lake Street (the Green 'L'-train runs above this street), where we lived while conducting fieldwork, is generally considered to be a safer and better place to live than south of this divide. Again, once we were more specific about our location to informants and told them our address, we usually received reactions such as "Oh, on that block? Well, that's okay then." This northern area where our block is located, is also the place where (white) 'newcomers' enter the neighborhood: 'artists' (Cameron & Coaffee 2005) reside in empty factories one block east of our address (see map 3). Some of these 'new' residents may believe that they live in Humboldt Park instead of East Garfield, because the residence has been sold or rented to them by real estate agents under this label. Because Humboldt Park is an up-and-coming, gentrifying, and therefore considered to be a "better" neighborhood (Mumm 2008), this label carries more value and permits agents to raise housing prices.

East Garfield Park blocks

Because Chicago, as many other metropolitan areas in the US, is structured by a gridded street system, streets, avenues and boulevards can go on for miles. This is why residents, when talking about their home, addresses and issues going on in their neighborhood, refer to the specific block where something is occurring (e.g. "on the 3200 block of Fulton (Avenue)"). This visualization and structuring of public space by informants in terms of 'blocks' shows how each block has its own character, dynamics and issues. Chicago residents thus use this 'block-by-block'-discourse because each block is a little world on its own: regarding safety, our block is perceived to be very different compared to other EGP blocks.

Although "every block is different"¹³, EGP has some physical characteristics that are visible regardless of what block one finds him/herself on. There are many empty residential and commercial lots, sometimes multiple in a row, which may result in entire strips of vacant land. Appendix 1¹⁴ shows one of the vacant lots in EGP. Furthermore, the streets and sidewalks are scattered with litter, predominantly consisting of junk food wrappers and empty liquor bottles. EGP's alcohol-issues come forward seeing the great amount of empty liquor bottles on sidewalks and the group of (predominantly) men standing outside the liquor store at the crossroads of Kedzie Avenue and Lake Street, hanging around holding drinks wrapped in brown paper bags. Tina remarked how this 'drinking-culture' becomes embedded in the neighborhood's physical and social dynamics: "One time, I bought a bottle of liquor in one of the liquor stores in the neighborhood. The cashier gave me a plastic cup with it, so he

¹³ Informal conversation, Sharon, Bobby Wright Center, 3-30-2015.

¹⁴ Vacant lots on St. Louis Avenue. Photo by Roos, taken on 2-17-2015.

assumed that I was going to drink it right-away in my car. And I was like, what are you thinking? I'm taking this home!"¹⁵

Appendix 2¹⁶ shows a EGP sidewalk, which clearly demonstrates the neighborhood's waste issue. Residents link this abundance of waste to a disinterest in the area: residents do not care about the physical appearance of their neighborhood. Facilities in EGP are scarce: the neighborhood lacks large supermarkets or other corporate chains, restaurants and bars. There are some small neighborhood markets (where customers have to point out the products they want from behind bullet-free glass), liquor stores and a handful of diners. According to residents, both big food chains as well as small entrepreneurs do not want to start up a business in EGP because of the belief that this will not be profitable, which in turn leads to a disinvested neighborhood. The thriving drug business is also linked to underinvestment by informants: police sergeant Marcus noted that neighborhoods where a lot is happening (e.g. busy restaurants, bars or stores that attract large numbers of people) are too "hot" for an open drug market, and that therefore, EGP is a perfect location for it. Carl, a white resident of EGP, more specifically linked the drug business to the neighborhood's waste issue: "Criminals like to live in filth, where they can hide their stash in the garbage lying around"¹⁷.

Border crossing

Since underinvestment in EGP is especially interesting in the context of other, prosperous Chicago neighborhoods, getting outside EGP's confines was just as necessary to our research as was moving within them. Benjamin, a longtime, black resident of the West Side, took us on a trip through Chicago's North Side, and sometimes, considering the differences and inequalities between EGP and this area, it was hard to believe that we were still in the same city. When we were driving on Kedzie Avenue, the street that crosses our block but now a few miles up north, it was unbelievable that this was the same street. These North Side blocks were packed with stores, restaurants and bars, there were no empty lots and there was scarcely any litter on the sidewalks. Boundaries between black and white neighborhoods were physically visible: neighborhood boundaries are embodied by certain streets, and on our way home, we crossed Austin Boulevard to get from the white, suburban Oak Park to the black Austin neighborhood, where Benjamin grew up. Immediately, there were no bars, restaurants, supermarkets and coffee houses anymore, and the amount of litter and vacant lots started to

¹⁵ Informal conversation, Tina, EGP residence, 3-7-2015.

¹⁶ Sidewalk litter. Photo by Roos, taken on 3-30-2015.

¹⁷ Informal conversation, Carl, EGP residence, 2-25-2015.

increase. At the moment we crossed, Benjamin joked: "Watch out, 'cause now we're in niggerville!"¹⁸ By using this word, Benjamin wanted to emphasize the black-white neighborhood boundary and physical inequality that was visible once this boundary was crossed.

In line with Neely and Samura (2011:1934), space and race are both infused with inequality and difference. Regarding EGP's physical appearance and its comparison to other Chicago areas, neighborhoods' physical characters overlap considerably with their racial composition. Moving both inside as well as outside EGP showed how in Chicago, black and white neighborhoods have certain physical characteristics. Heikkila (2001:266) agrees with this by noting that racial identities can become closely linked to particular spaces: he gives examples of 'the ghetto' and 'the inner city' to illuminate how these are spatial manifestations of a racial phenomenon. In this segment, I have shown how in EGP, the Conservatory and the general absence of facilities are examples of this connection between racial group identity and public space: the Conservatory is 'a white thing', whereas the rest of the neighborhood is 'black'. In this way, race is spatialized and space is racialized.

Historical level

Above, I have shown how race and space go together to assign certain racial characters to Chicago neighborhoods, which are clearly demarcated by boundaries which determine who moves where. However, both EGP's physical structure as well as the huge physical differences between Chicago neighborhoods can also be largely explained by taking into account both the neighborhood's history and Chicago's overall racial history, showing the developments that have led to the neighborhood having this racial and physical character.

Color shift

In the 1920s, EGP was mostly comprised of white European immigrants (Bennett 1990:64). At this time, Chicago's African-American population mainly resided on the South Side, in and around the Bronzeville neighborhood. Informants stated that from the 1950s and onwards, working-class or 'blue collar' residents from the South Side started moving to the West Side because there was a need for manual labor in the factories situated here, while upper- and

¹⁸ Informal conversation, Benjamin, during North Side car tour, 4-4-2015.

middle class blacks stayed on the South Side. Bennett (1990:66) adds that in the Black Belt, rising housing pressures due to African-Americans immigrating to Chicago from the southern U.S. (called the Second Great Migration) combined with the central area development that we discussed in our contextual chapter, which also pushed blacks out of the Belt, also resulted in this move to the West Side. Informants told that during this period, white residents in EGP started to leave the neighborhood, because they were either afraid that their house would devalue because of this new population moving in, or because they were afraid of their new neighbors. They referred to this development using the term 'white flight'. Appendix 3¹⁹ shows a class photo taken in 1956 at EGP's Calhoun School, and evidently demonstrates the transition period during which EGP shifted from being a white to an African-American neighborhood. The class is racially diverse, with already a majority of African-American students: by 1960, more than half of EGP's residents was African-American (Seligman 2005:106). The concept 'white flight' insinuates the speed with which whites abandoned their block once African-Americans moved onto it (Seligman 2005:4), but this picture demonstrates that the white-to-black racial shift of EGP was a slow, gradual and block-by-block process. To illustrate, Nicole, one of the sisters at Marillac House, commented on the photo: "You can see how there was still a lot of black-white diversity in Garfield Park in the fifties. It looks great, doesn't it? That's the way things are supposed to be..."²⁰

Riots

In 1966, Dr. Martin Luther King moved into the Lawndale neighborhood where he started advocating for fair housing policies. He had an office in one of the churches in EGP, Brethren Church. Legal segregation had been ruled out two years earlier with the Civil Rights Act, but the practice of *redlining* (arbitrarily denying or limiting people of color financial services, such as insurances or loans, for specific neighborhoods²¹) still confined African-Americans to specific areas. In EGP, lending institutions redlined the neighborhood by selling houses 'by contract': through monthly payments on a very high-interest loan (Bennett 1990:67). Real estate practices like these have spurred Chicago's hyper-segregation and its "city-of-neighborhoods"-character and may still be in play: Jack and Anna, an interracial couple living on the South Side, told the story of when they wanted to buy a house in Bridgeport, a predominantly white and Latino neighborhood. Anna: "We weren't able to get the house we

¹⁹ Photo courtesy of Marillac House.

²⁰ Informal conversation, Nicole, Marillac House, 3-18-2015.

²¹ D. Bradford Hunt: Redlining. The Encyclopedia of Chicago, <http://www.encyclopedia.chicagohistory.org/pages/1050.html> , last accessed 4-9-2015.

wanted because according to the realtor, some other couple had just signed a five-year lease. No one ever signs a five-year lease. They just didn't want to give us the house because I'm black."²²

The day after dr. King was assassinated on April 4, 1968, rioters, angry at the white community, got out on the streets. They destroyed entire strips of businesses and stores on Madison Avenue, the commercial heart of EGP, as well as other residences: many of these lots have never been rebuilt (Bennett 1990:67-68). Brad, a white resident of EGP, reminisced about the riots: "I remember when I was standing on the porch. It was fifty years ago, and I saw the horizon lighting up. My father stood next to me and said: "The West Side is burning"²³. The big amount of vacant lots in current EGP is the result of these riots, as well as the remaining white residents and businesspeople leaving the area: by 1970, 98 per cent of EGP's population was black (Bennett 1990:68).

Deterioration

During the 1960s, factories on the West Side either shut down or became automated, replacing workers for machines, leading to residents who were skilled in manual labor to lose their jobs and not being able to find new employment. Many informants point out this period as a turning-point in which EGP went downhill: people started drinking and hanging out on the streets and/or got into the drug trade to generate an income. David Hilfiker (2000:2-3) underlines this by naming three events that contributed to the deterioration of neighborhoods like EGP from the 1960s and onwards. The first event was carried out through Federal Interstate Highway programs, where newly constructed superhighways razed black neighborhoods. During the 1960s, the construction of the Eisenhower Expressway (see map 3) took up space that was intended for housing and split up EGP in half, disrupting its physical and social structure (Bennett 1990:66). Hilfiker's (2000:3) second event was the gradual loss of blue-collar jobs due to mechanization; an argumentation EGP residents predominantly used. Today, almost thirty per cent of EGP is unemployed, which informants also link to a lack of available jobs in the neighborhood, increasing susceptibility to a career in EGP's drug circuit. Map 4 shows how race and unemployment rates largely overlap in Chicago²⁴. Finally, disintegration of black neighborhoods happened because of the

²² Informal conversation, Anna, during South-Side car tour, 2-6-2015.

²³ Informal conversation, Brad, Brethren Church, 3-18-2015.

²⁴ Chicago Department of Public Health: Social Impact Research Center Analysis of the Census Bureau's 2008-2012 American Community Survey. <http://www.chicagoreader.com/chicago/still-separate-unequal-and->

abolishment of *de jure segregation*. This historical event allowed affluent African-Americans to move out of deteriorating neighborhoods, taking resources with them (Hilfiker 2000:3). This still happens in EGP, and social organizations located here pointed at this phenomenon as the most destructive force. Therefore, they aim to assist EGP residents in their development, hoping that when they have acquired capital, they will stay in EGP and thereby help rebuild its impoverished character.

EGP's racial history largely explains the neighborhood's current physical and social structure. EGP has gone through major transitions which have altered its racial composition from white to black. This development demonstrates how both race and space are historical and fluid concepts (Neely & Samura 2011:1934): historical developments have not only changed EGP's racial and spatial layout; race itself and the ways in which race relations are negotiated on a national, legislative level are also subject to change through time (e.g. the abolishment of legal segregation).

Social level

In this segment, I will expand Neely and Samura's (2011:1934) argument of race and space being contested, by demonstrating how EGP residents occupy and negotiate its space, and how they perceive racial and spatial processes like segregation and gentrification differently. In the second empirical chapter, these social discourses will be further ethnographically illustrated by Frances.

Segregation dynamics and discourses

EGP is highly racially segregated: in 2010, EGP had 20,000 residents, of which 94% was black, 3% white and 2% Hispanic²⁵. During our fieldwork, we lived on a predominantly white block in EGP, which provided us with an interesting lens to examine both segregation as well as racial bridging, cooperation and communication. By intensively participating in the daily lives of the white people on our block, we found that these residents physically live in EGP, but socially, they stay within the confines of their block, leading to some sort of a 'white

[ignored/Content?oid=16347785&utm_content=buffer5b4bb&utm_medium=social&utm_source=twitter.com&utm_campaign=buffer](#), last accessed on 6-11-2015.

²⁵ Appendix: The Socioeconomic Change of Chicago's Community Areas (1970-2010). University of Illinois at Chicago: Nathalie P. Voorhees Center. <http://www.voorheescenter.com/#!/gentrification-index/ccmx>, last accessed 4-8-2015.

island' originating in a black neighborhood. When they want to go out to dinner or a bar, or if they want to do groceries, they take the car and drive to northern, 'up-and-coming' neighborhoods like Humboldt Park or Logan Square. One might say that because these residents primarily stay around their house and do not make use of neighborhood facilities, the block may be termed a *bedroom community*. To illustrate, when we told one of our neighbors, who lives in EGP for more than twenty years, that we had been hanging out in Pete's Place, one of the diners on Kedzie Avenue a few blocks south with a primarily black clientele, he said that he had never heard of that place before. In his discussion on Chicago segregation and gentrification, Jesse Mumm (2008:17) puts forward the concept of *intimate segregation*, where people from different racial categories live closer to each other than they would in the classical notion of the concept segregation, but still do not communicate or cooperate with each other, thus living their lives separately. Although EGP is an almost entirely African-American neighborhood, white residents that do live here are socially dissociated from the rest, living intimately segregated.

Chicagoans each use their own discourse with which to explain Chicago's hyper-segregated character. I have summarized matching discourses together to three argumentations through which Chicago's segregation is interpreted:

1. The socio-economic argument: racial difference is not the primary reason Chicago is so segregated: it is socio-economics. Because of the slavery past, African-Americans form a disadvantaged racial category in the US. Informants explained that people live together with others who share their socio-economic status. African-Americans' racial demographic overlaps with a lower-class socio-economic demographic, because of structural, historically influenced processes that make it harder for this group to thrive than the white category. In this way, race conflues with class, explaining Chicago segregation: there are upper-, middle- and lower class neighborhoods, and race has nothing or little to do with this. "It's a class thing", "it's about socio-economics"²⁶, or "it's not just about race, it's also about class"²⁷ are phrases heard in the field that accompany this argumentation, predominantly from white people and/or people occupying an institutional position, e.g., EGP's alderman.

²⁶ Informal conversation, James and Lisa, EGP residence, 1-31-2015.

²⁷ Informal conversation, Anna, during South-Side car tour, 2-6-15.

2. The racial affiliation argument: people want to live in neighborhoods where people like them live. Here, "being alike" refers to belonging to the same racial category. This argumentation was predominantly used by African-Americans.
3. The fear argument: this argumentation can be interpreted as a somewhat negative interpretation of the racial affiliation argument and refers to the idea that whites are scared to live around African-Americans. This argumentation is dominant under African-Americans, and may be linked to African-Americans and black neighborhoods being negatively portrayed in the media. Local news sources post articles about West- and South Side shootings and gang activity nearly every day. This may lead to the framing of African-American people and neighborhoods as violent or dangerous and invoke fear in residents living in other neighborhoods.

The gentrification question

After EGP shifted from being a predominantly white neighborhood to being African-American during the 1950s, its racial composition has remained somewhat the same. The neighborhood's white population has grown, but not with large percentages (from 0.7 to 3.1 per cent between 1970 and 2010)²⁸. Other neighborhoods, however, have been racially diversifying during the past decades: examples are Logan Square and Humboldt Park, that are predominantly Hispanic neighborhoods that started to attract whites. These processes have been referred to by informants as gentrification. As was argued in the theoretical framework, gentrification is a process that centers around class differences and inequality. In the city of Chicago, gentrification goes hand in hand with race: a Chicago neighborhood is gentrifying when white people start to move into a Hispanic or black neighborhood. This *racial gentrification* can be linked to the assumption that "whiteness" corresponds with development, resources and capital, and community, a connection that both black and white informants made while talking about EGP and ways in which the neighborhood can be improved. To illustrate, Sharon, an African-American woman who works at a mental health center in EGP, said the following regarding white families moving into the neighborhood: "At first, people will steal from them. If they stay, friends and family coming over will be like, "wow! Your house is still intact!" and figure out that it's not that bad to live here. Then, they will start moving in here too and then, you'll have a community."²⁹

²⁸ See note 13.

²⁹ Informal conversation, Sharon, Bobby Wright, 03-30-15.

In 2007, a Business Week article pointed out EGP as the next up-and-coming area in Chicago³⁰: the neighborhood was expected to start gentrifying soon. From an academic perspective, this never happened, for there has not been an influx of higher-class households to EGP that has significantly changed its residential distribution. However, EGP residents have differing views regarding this matter. Those who think EGP is not gentrifying, give the explanation that it is not happening because the neighborhood is too segregated. Other informants perceived EGP to be at a tipping point where it would not take much longer before gentrification would commence. Beau referred to the artists living on our block “in their studios”³¹, and that soon, others, and thereby facilities such as restaurants, bars and coffee houses, would follow. These diverging opinions are very much influenced by one’s context. Tim, who works at the EGP Community Council, explained how gentrification is a contested concept that is infused with understandings of race:

"Gentrification is all about perception and where you come from. I come from San Francisco, where I saw grave gentrification firsthand. Gentrification isn't happening in EGP, but, it is personal. If you've lived in EGP your entire life and you see condo's being built for newcomers, you may experience this as gentrification."³²

Regarding EGP's social, interracial dynamics, it is evident that the neighborhood is highly segregated. Informants described the city's neighborhood structure in terms of black and white neighborhoods divided by Hispanic 'buffer-zones', which serve as transition-areas one passes through going from a black neighborhood into a white one. To get from EGP to the white North Side, one has to cross Hispanic Humboldt Park. Local explanations for Chicago segregation and responses to the question if this composition is about to change differ significantly. I argue that although boundaries between black and white neighborhoods remain stark, racial blurring does occur in the borderlands. This small-scale mixing of black and white racial categories remains predominantly physical. Black and white live together without interacting: the example of our neighbor and Pete's Place underlines this argument.

³⁰ Maya Roney – America's Next Hot Neighborhoods. 3-6-2007, http://www.bloomberg.com/ss/07/03/0307_nabes/source/3.htm. Last accessed on 4-11-2015.

³¹ Unstructured interview, Beau, Breakthrough, 04-01-15. Similarly, a Chicago Tribune article states “how this surprisingly vast and varied niche of artists fits into what is arguably one of the more depressed neighborhoods on the West Side”. Lauren Viera - EGP: The next artists frontier. Despite reputation for crime, neighborhood has become an artists haven. 7-28-2011, http://articles.chicagotribune.com/2011-07-28/entertainment/ct-ott-0729-neighborhood-watch-garfie20110728_1_east-garfield-park-artists-creative-community . Last accessed on 4-12-2015.

³² Unstructured interview, Tim, the Conservatory, 2-24-15.

Social racial blurring and bridging in EGP occurs in organizations like the church, meetings concerning the neighborhood gardens at the Community Council and the social organizations Breakthrough and Marillac House, where residents from different racial groups come together and cooperate. In the following segment, I will look at EGP's organizational structure more closely.

Institutional level

In the physical segment, I argued that EGP generally lacks facilities. However, the neighborhood is supported by a number of institutions and organizations that contribute to its wellbeing in different ways. In the social segment, I also stated how these organizations largely contribute to interracial contact and cooperation within the neighborhood. Thereby, organizations play an important part in the shaping of EGP's public space. Because of these arguments, it is advantageous to shortly take into account (the role of) these institutions in this segment.

The organizations that are present in EGP can be divided into three categories: the Community Council and the alderman are civil institutions, the police is focuses on justice and control and Breakthrough and Marillac House are social organizations. On this institutional level, EGP is situated within different areas. The Chicago Police divides the city into different districts where they operate: EGP is located in the 11th district. Every police district is divided into smaller beats, comprised of a number of blocks. Chicago's aldermen, who together form the city's town council and the city's legislative branch, operate in wards: EGP is situated in ward 28.

Police beat-meetings provide residents with an opportunity to get in contact with the police, hear about the area's crime rates and voice their concerns about their block and the neighborhood. These meetings were primarily attended by black seniors, who were concerned about the rising temperatures and the thereby increasing criminal activity. The second empirical chapter will focus more thoroughly on EGP residents' perceptions of the police.

EGP has a Community Council which hosts monthly gatherings which are primarily attended by both black and white residents who own community gardens in the neighborhood and/or are interested in purchasing a residence or an empty lot in the area. In 2014, the City of Chicago started with the 1 Dollar Lot-program: residents were able to buy a city-owned lot for

one dollar, provided they fence and insure it³³. This program can be seen as a way in which the city tries to improve the neighborhood and potentially get the gentrification-process started (Brown-Saracino 2013:1). Tim said the following regarding the program: "The process just started, so it's not sure yet what people are going to do with their lots, but I think a lot of people are going to turn it into a garden. A lot of people buy the empty lot next to their house, but I don't think they're gonna build on it, because you don't have to."³⁴ Community Council meetings are thus mainly centered around improving EGP's physical and residential structure and attracting enthusiast residents who want to invest in and contribute to the neighborhood.

Both Breakthrough and Marillac House (see map 3) are Christian organizations that focus on targeting poverty and unemployment in EGP by assisting the homeless, hosting food pantries, and offering after-school programs. Both organizations point out that their goal is to stop the departure of people with resources from the neighborhood. This process is part of a downward spiraling process: a neighborhood deteriorates, resulting in affluent residents to leave, which results in a disinvested area, which in turn will result in more deterioration. On its website, Breakthrough states that it is its mission to "...empower adults in the community to achieve self-sufficiency and break the cycle of poverty."³⁵ Instead of leaving EGP when thriving, people should stay in the neighborhood to invest their capital in the community and hereby gradually improving its situation.

Conclusion

Borders of Chicago neighborhoods and the spaces within these borders are infused with race. Neighborhoods have racial characters that are defined by both its residents as well as by historical, political and social processes, determining what a neighborhood will look like. Moving through different neighborhoods, these characters can be easily discerned, not just by looking at the skin color of people that are walking down the blocks, but also by taking into account the residential, commercial and recreational surroundings of the area.

Neely and Samura (2011:1934) argue that race and space share the following four characteristics: they are contested, fluid and historical, interactional and relational and defined by inequality and difference. In this chapter, I have demonstrated how race and space come together by analyzing EGP's structure on four levels: physical, historical, social and

³³ <http://largelots.org/>, official website for the program. Last accessed on 6-17-2015.

³⁴ Unstructured interview, Tim, the Conservatory, 2-24-2015.

³⁵ <http://www.breakthrough.org/>, last accessed on 6-17-2015.

institutional. The data brought forward in these segments reveal how these levels are very much interconnected and have empirically shown Neely and Samura's characteristics. On a physical level, I have shown how EGP serves as an example to show how neighborhoods' racial compositions can come to overlap with their physical outlook: one needs only to travel from black EGP with its surplus of waste, vacant lots and high crime and drugs rates to a northern, white neighborhood such as Lincoln Park, with its snow-shoveled, waste-free sidewalks and its surplus of restaurants and supermarkets. I used the example of the absence of facilities in the neighborhood to demonstrate how this physical characteristic becomes part of a racial (black) identity: race is spatialized and space is racialized.

On a historical level, I have argued how EGP's this overlapping racial and physical character is historically rooted: historical developments (racial turnover and white flight) have determined its current physical and racial composition. However, these developments demonstrate that EGP's racial character is not fixed but fluid, changing while different people move from and to its borders, crossing and influencing them and either interacting and bridging interracially or living close but separate, intimately segregated, from one another: I have shown this in the social segment. Using the example of the Conservatory, I tried to demonstrate how race and space are contested: residents construct notions about a certain space and for whom this space is intended, while others may disagree and try to redefine what the space is about. Institutions in EGP have a significant role in the possible transformation of the neighborhood's physical as well as social structure: these may improve resident communication and help redefining spatial and racial notions.

Getting back to the subquestion, *how do notions of race shape the spatial structure of East Garfield Park?*, I argue that this question can also be phrased the other way around, i.e. *how the spatial structure of EGP shapes notions of race?* Since it was argued in the theoretical framework that race and space are intersecting concepts (Knowles 2003), this argument on the rephrasing of the subquestion is a logical step. When regarding EGP's physical structure with its racial composition in mind, notions of black- and whiteness may take shape. An example of such a notion is Sharon's comment on whiteness corresponding with community. The next empirical chapter will go deeper into these notions and how these are formed by racial, historically embedded, discourses.

Race in residents' perceptions of East Garfield Park

written by Frances

In the theoretical framework, we emphasized how race and space intersect. Notions of race form space, which are also formed by space as people move within a physical area with these notions in mind. Therefore, race is visible in the spatial as well as in the social world, as these worlds overlap. The previous chapter laid out the spatial structure of EGP, formed by historical, physical and social processes. In this chapter, I will outline how understandings of race influence the movement of residents and how they perceive the neighborhood by focusing on the second subquestion:

How do understandings of race shape the ways residents of East Garfield Park give meaning to their neighborhood?

For the purpose of this question, I have distinguished perceptions of four different themes that were recurrent in the field where race was either downplayed or emphasized. These themes are part of the social realities of EGP residents and are manifested in their physical world.

Recent developments in EGP may indicate that the neighborhood may be next on the list of Chicago's gentrifying neighborhoods. Therefore, I will begin with the analysis of perceptions of residents regarding possible gentrification in EGP. Secondly, I will interpret the discourses surrounding segregation by means of residents' perceptions of the availability of food products in EGP. As the police is actively present in EGP and interacts with residents on a daily basis, I will additionally focus on residents' perceptions of the police. Finally, I will analyze what arguments residents give for the physical state of the neighborhood and how they shape these arguments.

I am using these four themes and the discourses surrounding them, to indicate how understandings of race affect residents' perceptions of the neighborhood and, therefore, their movement within its physical space. Although not all informants acknowledge race to play a role in neighborhood dynamics, it does invade their daily social, and thus, physical reality.

'Racial diversity' and Displacement: Perceptions of Gentrification

An increasing number of artists, drawn by low rental prices, are residing on the northern edge of EGP. The arrival of artists in a low-class neighborhood is an indicator of the triggering of gentrification processes (Cameron & Coaffee 2005; Hackworth & Smith 2001; Wylie & Hammel 2001). Artists bring cultural capital which attracts (white) middle-income households. Although a number of informants state that the number of white residents is low, they anticipate more coming into EGP. One of these informants is Benjamin, who moved to EGP as it lies close to the downtown area and because he saw gentrification processes take place in the neighborhoods west of downtown. Benjamin believes that EGP is next in line to become an “up and coming neighborhood”:

"I wanted to be ahead. Right now, we have a say in what's gonna happen, how we want the neighborhood to be and shaped. [...] I see the neighborhood changing. [...] I see white people moving in. I want similar processes to take place in Garfield Park as in Wicker Park. Little businesses and shops owned by people living in the neighborhood. No big chains."³⁶

Benjamin identifies the different phases of gentrification. To him, “being ahead” means getting involved in development initiatives before large businesses and chains follow the artists and white middle-class households that are already settling in the neighborhood. Benjamin sees gentrification as a positive process, but believes that it can only be positive for the current residents if they get involved from the beginning, so they have a say in the future of the neighborhood. What is also apparent in Benjamin's statement is that he has noticed that there have been white people moving into EGP and perceives this to be a positive development.

Q: What do you want Garfield Park to be like?

A: "Rogers Park, Hyde Park, University Village. [see map 1] Those neighborhoods have the character of racial diversity."

Q: What does racial diversity mean to you?

³⁶ Semi-structured interview, Benjamin, EGP residence, 3-7-2015.

A: "Racial diversity means equality. When I first went to school, I went with all black kids. I didn't feel at ease. I didn't fit in. I liked comic books. I was the only one. I went to another school with a more diverse program and diversity in students. The school had to have one third black kids, one third white, and one third Latino. They always tried to achieve that. I learned a lot studying in a diverse environment. Racial diversity means equality and opportunity."³⁷

Benjamin, in line with Mumm (2008), perceives gentrification as a way to redefine race using urban space as a medium. He implies that living together on a spatial level leads to mixed social worlds resulting in equality and new understandings of the racial other. The gentrification process, in this context, has a racial character. Therefore, it does not merely involve the relocation of income, but it is also a colored process. As a consequence, the entering of another racial group, i.e. white households, in EGP, is expected to lead to a change of the color line, not only in space, but also in social realities.

Magda, a long-time resident of the West Side and member of the Brethren church, has also noticed white people moving into EGP. She sees this as positive for the neighborhood itself, but not for its black residents.

"There have been white people moving into the area. I don't know how many, but they are coming. It is changing again. I believe in twenty years, it will be white again. The old people are gone then and the young don't care. The black people get chased away again and white people return. I call it 'recycling'".

Q: Is this a good thing or a bad thing?

A: "There needs to be change, but it is the black people who [get the short end of the stick]."³⁸

Magda associated reinvestment in a black neighborhood with displacement and overall negative consequences for black residents. This is embedded in the collective memory, but also in the personal memory of Magda. When she states that "it will be white again", she remembers the neighborhood being white before. Magda set up home in EGP in 1962 during the demographic shift of the neighborhood from predominantly white to a balance between black and white. From her perspective, the neighborhood was overall white. When the riots

³⁷ Semi-structured interview, Benjamin, EGP residence, 3-7-2015.

³⁸ Semi-structured interview, Magda, Brethren church, 3-26-2015.

occurred, most white residents left the neighborhood (“white flight”) and more black people settled in EGP. The fear that the black community will be displaced when more white newcomers arrive, is a manifestation of memories of historical events that contribute to the formation of a power relationship between black and white. This fear has resulted in resistance by some black members of the neighborhood to initiatives in EGP which are perceived to put gentrification processes in motion. Benjamin has encountered residents who want to obstruct his plans to bring more businesses to the area. When I asked him what he believes is the reason for resistance, he explained:

"Because of the riots, people in East Garfield Park feel they have a sense of entitlement. That it is their neighborhood, because they [fought for it]. A lot of people in the neighborhood feel that people with a different skin color [white] will take the neighborhood away, so they don't accept help."³⁹

The riots Benjamin refers to, are the riots that took place in EGP after the assassination of Dr. King in 1968, as described in the previous chapter. The “sense of entitlement” is a result of the memory of the riots that is now part of the collective memory of African-Americans, specifically long time black residents of EGP. The riots were a way to ‘take back the neighborhood’ with the belief that it is ‘black ground’. When new businesses may arrive in the neighborhood, black residents may fear that these have white owners and be afraid that they are getting pushed out again. It is the memory of decades of displacement that formed this “sense of entitlement” which Magda also articulated. Mumm's research (2008) on gentrification in Humboldt Park has shown that a neighborhood that was predominantly Latino now has a majority of white residents. Other neighborhoods in Chicago that are in different stages of gentrification processes have experienced its indigenous residents moving out, leading to a change in racial composition from e.g. Latino or black to white. As it has happened in the past, and as they have seen it happen in other neighborhoods, black EGP residents do not believe that it will be different in their neighborhood.

Gentrification, from the perspective of black informants, is racial in character. On the one hand, it is perceived as positive when associated with development and capital brought by white newcomers. On the other hand, ‘white’ is associated with memories of displacement and feelings of continued inequality.

³⁹ Semi-structured interview, Benjamin, EGP residence, 3-7-2015.

'Food desert': perceptions of segregation

Benjamin sees gentrification as a way to achieve racial diversity in EGP, which will lead to equality among black and white. However, looking at the current white residents living in the neighborhood, integration between the two racial groups is largely absent. Segregation processes might become less visible in space when focusing on gentrification processes, but these are still present in the neighborhood. I will illustrate this by means of the 'food desert', a term used by multiple informants.

James and Lisa, a white couple living down the street from where we resided, have been living in the neighborhood for over a decade. When I asked them how they perceive the condition of EGP, they responded by referring to the neighborhood as a 'food desert'. They argued that it does not mean that there is an absence of food, but that it is of poor quality with a low nutritious level. For them, this means processed, fried and prepackaged products. In an effort to bring products into the neighborhood that Lisa qualifies as "good" and "healthy", she volunteered at a food truck. Once a week, the truck set up tables packed with fruits and vegetables on Carroll avenue (see map 3). The produce was free and available to everyone. The day after the truck set up shop the tables were empty, but the trash cans were full with the products. Lisa explained this by saying that "they didn't know what to do with it."⁴⁰, and James argued that "people do not know what to do with organic vegetables. They know how to prepare fried and processed food."⁴¹ When I asked them who "they" are, Lisa as well as her husband referred to the low-income residents of EGP. From their perspective, the 'food desert' is a result of food- and nutrition ignorance as a result of a low income level. Although the overlap of low income households and African-Americans households is a fact (see map 4), Lisa and James, as well as other white informants, never explicitly named race as an indicator. They used the socio-economic argument described in the previous chapter, by stating that the 'food desert' is a result of underdevelopment and poverty, and therefore a socio-economic issue. The overall color of areas with low income housing is recognized, but race in itself as a driving force in segregation processes is not. Race is made a side issue in the occurrence of inequality, here illustrated by 'food desert'. Implicitly, however, the 'food desert' is given a racial character by white informants. By stating that "*they* didn't know what to do with it" and "*they* know how to prepare fried and processed food", it is implied that the

⁴⁰ Informal conversation, Lisa, EGP residence, 2-18-2015.

⁴¹ Informal conversation, James, EGP residence, 2-18-2015.

kind of food products that are available, is part of a "black culture". This can also be derived from the following statement regarding the shops in EGP by Carl, a white EGP resident: "There is nothing here. We live in no man's land." When I asked him what he wanted to be available in EGP, he answered: " I need little shops within a walking distance, places to go. There is one grocery store [...] There are shops but nowhere where I want to shop."⁴²

Carl describes the shops that are present in EGP as deficient. This is in line with what is referred to as the 'food desert' by Lisa and James: food is not absent but of insufficient quality. Brown-Saracino (2013) argues that cultural, social and political changes occur in gentrified neighborhoods to facilitate newcomers. In other words, the 'food desert' is used by white informants to express the lack of facilities for their needs. What is available in EGP is perceived to facilitate the low-income residents, i.e. the black community, making the 'food desert' and present facilities a "culture thing" which is implicitly racial in character.

Conversations with white EGP residents reflected the belief that white people living in EGP, only have their house located here, previously referred to as a *bedroom community*. People have their house in EGP, but they work, go to school, shop and conduct recreational activities outside their neighborhood. In other words, they live their social lives outside the neighborhood, and return home at night. Integration with the black community in EGP is minimal or even absent. The two racial groups live together in the same space, but their social worlds do not incorporate. Mumm (2008) came across this reality during his research in Humboldt Park and refers to it as *intimate segregation*, where "residents develop ways to avoid, structure and confront interracial contact" (Mumm 2008:17).

Without using the term 'food desert', black informants residing in EGP also qualified the food products available in the neighborhood of insufficient quality. Benjamin noted how "...you can't get the everyday things in Garfield Park that you can get in Austin."⁴³ As white informants see the 'food desert' as a "culture thing", they implicitly describe what they perceive to be poor quality products as a part of 'being black'. However, Benjamin makes a distinction between two neighborhoods, where Austin provides quality products and EGP is insufficient in this area. The neighborhoods are both predominantly black, but he perceives them as inherently different. This reveals that Benjamin uses criteria other than race to make a distinction between the neighborhoods, i.e. the quality of available food products. The notion of a "culture thing" disputes the nuances made between black neighborhoods by not looking past color and disregarding other characteristics of a neighborhood.

⁴² Semi-structured interview, Carl, EGP residence, 2-25-2015.

⁴³ Semi-structured interview, Benjamin, EGP residence, 3--2015.

The 'food desert' refers to a physical space, i.e. EGP, but is also used by white informants to talk about race without explicitly naming it. By perceiving the "food desert" as a "culture thing", the term is perceived as a characteristic of black neighborhoods. However, black informants emphasized that black neighborhoods can be inherently different, where the 'food desert' is not a general characteristic.

"Nothing has changed": perceptions of the open drug market and the police

Another theme that is racially infused is the open drug market in EGP. As has been previously indicated, EGP is a low-income neighborhood with a high unemployment rate and underinvestment by private as well as state capital. The connection between urban poverty and drug abuse as well as production and distribution, has been demonstrated by various scholars (Bourgois 1995; Curtis 1998; Krivo & Peterson 1996). The same can be said for the relation between drug markets and crime. Chicago is known for having some of the biggest open drug markets in the U.S., in which the West Side seems to be leading. During beat meetings, talks with informants, through own observations and crime rate numbers⁴⁴, it appears that drug dealing and abuse are out in the open and not uncommon in EGP.

Alice, a black waitress at Pete's Diner (see map 3), was told by her family and friends that hard work does not pay off, because 'being black' means accepting what is given to you by the 'white hand' and accepting your situation. She ended up dealing and using drugs, and doing time in prison.

Bourgois (1995:8) calls 'inner-city street culture' "...a set of beliefs, symbols, ways of interaction and ideologies that have emerged opposing mainstream society". It is a culture of resistance, where illegal activities lead participants into lifestyles of violence and substance abuse. Therefore, Bourgois (1995:9) argues that there is a contradiction in this street culture as "...it emerges out of a personal search for dignity and a rejection of racism [but] ultimately becomes an active agent in personal degradation and community ruin". Alice was told that 'being black' means having no opportunities in mainstream, white society. As an informal economy, the drug market can be seen as a way for (predominantly) black residents in EGP to create an own set of rules and means for living outside mainstream society which they feel excluded from. The drug market is part of the public space in EGP. Dealers are standing on street corners, demarcating and defending their territory, and users know where they are

⁴⁴ <http://crime.chicagotribune.com/chicago/community/east-garfield-park>, last accessed 6-11-2015.

located. During a patrol, neighbor and police officer James was approached by a young man asking him if he knew where "...the dope is at". James responded that he did not see any dealers because of the cold, snowy weather. The drug market is a system in which buyers and sellers know the rules, locations and the appropriate behavior regarding transactions.

The police are actively present in EGP because of high numbers of narcotics and drug-related crime. Residents, black and white, experience being subjected to racial profiling, which is defined as the "...use of race as key factor to stop and interrogate citizens" (Weitzer & Tuch 2002:435). A number of black informants have experienced being pulled over or stopped by the police with the assumption that they, in most cases, were selling drugs. A fourteen year old boy at a spring break youth program⁴⁵ said that there were two occasions where he was stopped by the police. Once, he was confused with a suspect because he fit a physical profile, and on another occasion, when he was waiting for a friend on a corner, officers approached him because they suspected him of selling drugs. Benjamin expressed coming into contact with police without any exhortation from his side: "I've been pulled over a couple of times and I've complied. When they look at my license and pull up my information they see I'm clean. No record, nothing. So [...] they let me go on my way."⁴⁶

White people moving around EGP are also subject to racial profiling. In a conversation with Jack⁴⁷, Roos was warned that she should not be surprised when she would get approached by police: they would assume that she was there to buy drugs. Although Roos has not experienced it herself, the assumption that 'being white' in EGP is associated with buying drugs shows that 'white' people do not belong in a black neighborhood according to, in this case the police. On several occasions, Carl and his husband experienced that being a resident of EGP and 'being white' seem to be mutually exclusive considering racial profiling by the police. Biking or walking around their own neighborhood, just a few blocks from their house, they have been stopped by the police and asked to empty their pockets.

Although black as well as white are subjected to racial profiling, the experience is different as 'being black' is experienced as a high level of exposure to the police. A lecture given during the Black History Month tackled the issue of stereotyping black young men as dangerous and guilty of crimes before any investigation or interrogation has been conducted. The audience primarily consisted of black people, of whom several expressed their concerns

⁴⁵ Spring break program took place on 4-17-2015 which was an initiative of the EGP police department to facilitate a dialogue between local youth and police. A panel discussion took place including three children and three police officers. All attendees, including the panel members, were black.

⁴⁶ Informal conversation, Benjamin, during a tour on the North Side, 4-4-2015.

⁴⁷ Informal conversation, Jack, during a tour on the South Side, 2-6-2015.

during the Q&A session regarding the stigmatization of blacks. One woman commented: “I live in fear. I have a son who is eighteen years old. He is a good boy, but being a young black male in the U.S. is dangerous.”⁴⁸ This woman explicitly states that race is related to personal safety. Being black equals a higher risk of being harmed. In the context of the lecture, she is not directly referring to racial profiling by the police, but to being black in general. This can be linked to the collective memory of the African-American community. In the time of slavery, being black meant being property and being treated as such. After the abolishment of slavery, African-Americans formed a group that was socially, politically and institutionally marginalized in society. The lynching of black people was condoned: it was not or lightly punished. During the civil rights movement, African-Americans fighting for their right to be treated as citizens encountered violence on many occasions by people who wanted to crush the movement. Although African-Americans are now equal to white Americans by law, having the same rights and obligations, the memory of (physical, economic and social) violence that they were subjected to, is still very much alive. The recent wave of shootings, where young black men were injured or killed by the police, is experienced as history repeating itself.

After an activity of Kate’s Meet-up group, we talked about what it means to be black in America. She mentioned the movie 'Do the Right Thing'⁴⁹: “the cops accidentally kill a young black man. Nothing has changed. Cops are still killing young black guys. And what is it now? 25 years later?”⁵⁰ She specifically refers to the trauma of police officers killing black men as part of the collective memory of African-Americans. Her statement shows that it occurred in the past, but is also happening in the present. The trauma is not only part of the collective memory as an event that was experienced by group members in the past, but also by members living in the present day (Eyerman 2004:160). It is a trauma that is actively relived when reports of Ferguson⁵¹ and Baltimore⁵² are overflowing the news. During the spring break program, one of the boys in the panel mentioned a shooting at school involving the police. He asked the children in the audience: "do you know [name of boy at school]?", to

⁴⁸ Participant observation, woman during Q&A session after the lecture Unreasonable doubt: Emmett Till, Trayvon Martin, Michael Brown and the presumption of black guilt, 2-5-2015.

⁴⁹ Do the right thing (1989) was directed by Spike Lee who also played a lead role. The movie is set in Brooklyn, New York on the hottest day of the year, and addresses racial prejudices that ultimately lead to an explosion of violence.

⁵⁰ Informal conversation, Kate, in the Loop, 2-11-2015.

⁵¹ Michael Brown, an unarmed black teenager, was shot and killed on 8-9-2014, by Darren Wilson, a white police officer, in Ferguson, Missouri. The shooting prompted protests that took place in the area for weeks.

⁵² Freddy Gray, a black man, died on 4-12-2015, a week after he was injured while being arrested by Baltimore police. Peaceful demonstrations erupted in violence.

which the children yelled “yes!” When the boy told the children that he was killed by police officers, he asked them: “what color were those cops?”⁵³

By asking this question, the boy implies that the race of the officers matters. The cultural trauma of police officers shooting black men is relived. To make sense of the mentioned situation where a police officer shoots a black boy, it is important to know the race of the officers. A local rapper, who was also present, stated the following directed at a group of black police officers: “It’s not you. It’s the white cops. I feel safe getting pulled over by you.”⁵⁴ This statement shows underlying distrust towards white police officers. The cultural traumas of slavery and other incidents, past and present, where black men are killed by the police, has led to the association of white, in this case officers, as threatening. The police are in a power position. When they abuse their power, whether intentionally or not, race is an important factor to make sense of the situation. Here, the rapper expresses feelings of safety associated with a black officer, and feelings of fear and unfair treatment with a white officer.

Perceptions of black informants of the police show the racially infused power relation between residents and the police. Residents perceive their skin-color to be a decisive factor while anticipating how they will be approached by the police. As such, this power relationship and thus their skin color determine the meaning residents give to their experiences with the police.

“It’s generational”: Perceptions of the condition of EGP

Besides the drug market that is out in the open and a great number of abandoned houses and empty lots, EGP streets are filled with litter. This results in a deteriorated image of the neighborhood, which has come up in various conversations with informants. Many residents seem appalled by the people who litter the streets and do not take proper care of their residences. All informants concurred that the appearance of EGP, accompanied by the high crime rates and substance abuse, is a generational problem. Lisa states the following: “Older generations know what hard work means. They had time to develop. The younger generation is getting children on an early age. They are still children themselves. They have no time to develop.”⁵⁵ Lisa perceives that the younger generation lacks development in comparison to the older generation. Although they do not racialize the generation gap, they are talking about

⁵³ Participant observation, boy in panel, during Spring Break Program panel discussion, 4-17-2015.

⁵⁴ Participant observation, rapper, during Spring Break Program panel discussion, 4-17-2015.

⁵⁵ Informal conversation, Lisa, EGP residence, 2-19-2015.

EGP residents. Here, the technique of colorblindness applies, as the neighborhood is predominantly black, but this is not considered to be a part of the generational issue. Benjamin and Magda go further by arguing that the littering, drug market and overall disconnection of the younger generation to EGP is not merely generational: they add that 'being black', in other words, race, plays a part.

"Slavery messed the African-American up. They lost their roots. I can't go back more than a couple generations. My wife [who is born and raised in Bermuda] has a whole family tree. I want that for my daughter. She is an American, but she can also go back to her roots on her mother's side."⁵⁶

Here, the uprooting of different people that are now considered to be one group in light of classification purposes in the time of slavery, i.e. de-ethnification (Eriksen 2010:100), is put forward as a reason why African-Americans are "lost". Slavery is assigned as the chosen trauma that is perceived by Benjamin as one of the explanations for why black people in EGP do not feel a connection with their neighborhood, and therefore feel indifferent to its problems. Magda said the following about this process:

"Roots are important. It is important to know where you are coming from and pass this over to your children. If they don't know where they are coming from, they don't know who I am. I am the fourth generation. I left the South like many others and a lot of people forgot their roots."⁵⁷

When I asked her what it means to "know your roots", she answered by saying that

"If you know your roots, if you know where you come from, you are proud. You can learn from your ancestors, you know right from wrong. [...] A lot of kids don't even know what Selma⁵⁸ meant for us. They don't know what kind of fight their previous

⁵⁶ Semi-structured interview, Benjamin, EGP residence, 3-7-2015.

⁵⁷ Semi-structured interview, Magda, Brethren church, 3-26-2015.

⁵⁸ In 1965 Martin Luther King led a march from Selma to Montgomery as part of the Voting Rights Movement. The event became known as Bloody Sunday as the police used violence against demonstrators to break up the march.

generation went through. That is why there is no cohesion in the neighborhood. People are lost.”⁵⁹

Where Benjamin connects the loss of roots to the cultural trauma of slavery, Magda sees the loss of roots as result of a lack of knowledge of the struggle of the civil rights movement. Magda refers to the importance of passing on group memories. By doing so, group identity is reaffirmed over and over, and cohesion is present. The struggle of African-Americans for black-white equality has influenced the way black Americans are part of American society today. The march to Selma, organized by the civil rights movement led by Dr. King, is part of that memory. Not knowing what Selma signified for the formation of the African-American group identity, the struggle, pain and victory, suggests that a piece is missing from the puzzle that is the group identity of African-Americans.

The statements made by Lisa, Benjamin and Magda reveal a division within the black community along generational lines from the perspective of the older generation. It shows that distinctions within a racial group are made by its own members as well as by outsiders. In this situation, on the one hand there is the hard-working older generation, who experienced struggle first-hand and appreciates overcoming this struggle. On the other one finds the younger generation who has minimum to no knowledge of the struggle previous generations underwent to gain the current position African-Americans hold in American society. As a result, Magda and other longtime residents perceive the gap in knowledge of African-American's collective past as a reason why the younger generation has little connection with the neighborhood.

The generational gap, perceived by informants as dividing the community, is seen from a colorblind perspective by white informants. The gap is racialized by black informants with use of the chosen trauma of slavery and memories of the struggle of African-Americans for equality.

⁵⁹ Semi-structured interview, Magda, Brethren church, 3-26-2015.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have outlined how notions of race influence the movement and perceptions of EGP residents to answer the question:

How do understandings of race shape the ways residents of EGP give meaning to their neighborhood?

I have set out the colorblindness technique employed by several white informants against the ways in which black informant emphasized race. The 'food desert' was used by white informants as a way to bypass race when talking about the neighborhood. The term also identified physical space in the neighborhood through indicating where insufficient food products were available. Perceptions of informants on the physical appearance of the neighborhood were also racialized. Its deteriorated condition was argued to be a generational issue by all informants, but black informants gave meaning to this gap by reaching back into the past. De-ethnification as a cultural trauma and a disconnection from collective memories were given as factors to why young black residents feel detached from the neighborhood.

I have analyzed the discourses surrounding gentrification processes that seemed to commence in EGP as it was deemed racial in character from the perspective of black informants. In the physical landscape, it was seen as diversifying the racial composition of the neighborhood, and, by some black residents, as the repeating of history by anticipating displacement. From a social perspective, the racial diversity that would be established after gentrification may lead to more equality, thus a shift in the power relation between black and white.

By looking at residents' perceptions of the police, I have illustrated that the relationship between police and residents is experienced to be racialized. In the neighborhood, a specific approach by the police is anticipated by residents in light of their skin-color.

In this chapter, I have illustrated that race shapes residents' perceptions of their neighborhood. Notions of race, hidden for some and out in the open for others, give meaning to the ways residents experience their neighborhood and are embedded in collective memory. Consequently, it determines their movement within the physical space, crossing and maintaining physical as well as social boundaries that may run parallel to one another.

Discussion and conclusion

In this thesis, we have illustrated how race is mediated through the lens of a confined public space. We have looked at how EGP residents maintain, challenge or bridge both physical and social racial borders by using the space they occupy, an approach that resonates with the title of this thesis, 'colored blocks'. The central question we have formulated covers both these physical as well as social processes shaping both race and space:

How do understandings of race shape public space and residents' perceptions thereof in East Garfield Park, Chicago, Illinois?

In this final chapter, we will begin by summarizing the answers to our subquestions before we discuss our general findings. We have divided these findings into argumentations surrounding four themes, i.e. segregation, gentrification, power relations, and race and class. We will conclude by bringing these four argumentations together to answer our central question and point out suggestions for further research.

How do notions of race shape the spatial structure of East Garfield Park?

The first empirical chapter was centered around the question of how notions of race shape the spatial structure of EGP. This structure was divided into four interconnected levels: the physical, historical, social and institutional. This interconnectedness was shown by arguing that EGP's physical structure is shaped by the other three levels: the way EGP looks (e.g. vacant lots, waste and community gardens) is a result of historical (e.g. the 1968 riots destroying businesses), social (alcohol issues) and institutional (e.g. the Community Council trying to improve empty lots by selling them or turning them into gardens) processes. Then, the social structure is also influenced by the other three levels: EGP's physical structure determines who moves where (the Conservatory), historical processes have influenced who lives where (discriminatory housing practices) and institutions are bridging actors encouraging (interracial) resident communication and cooperation. Finally, the institutional environment of EGP is connected to the other levels in the sense that these levels determine what these institutions look like and what their goals should be: to illustrate, physical improvement can be brought by tackling the issue of the empty lots, and the social structure can be improved by supporting current residents in employment and subsequently

encouraging them to invest their acquired capital into the neighborhood instead of leaving, which has been the general pattern until today.

The interconnectedness of the levels resurfaced when it was concluded that the first subquestion could also be rephrased by making space the subject and race the object of the question: how do notions of space shape race? Race and space are intersecting concepts, thus spatial processes also influence the ways in which residents perceive race. In this way, notions of “being black” and “being white” originate.

How do notions of race shape the ways residents of East Garfield Park give meaning to their neighborhood?

The second empirical chapter illustrated how notions of race shape the ways residents of EGP give meaning to their neighborhood and how these notions influence the movement of residents. By discussing four themes where race was downplayed or emphasized, namely, gentrification, segregation, police and the generational gap, the chapter demonstrated that race is implicitly and explicitly mentioned in discussions of daily life in EGP. White informants downplayed the role that race plays in their neighborhood by employing the colorblind technique. By doing so, they did not acknowledge that spatial processes, i.e. segregation and gentrification, were racially infused. Race was not seen as a (main) characteristic of the neighborhood: other terms were used, e.g. ‘food desert’, to avoid talking about race. Black informants emphasized the role of race in their perceptions of the interaction between social and spatial processes. By reaching back into the past, they gave meaning to the four themes by linking (past) race relations that infuse these themes to power relations visible in space.

Downplaying and emplacing race are mechanisms that are supported by mobilizing history. Being colorblind means choosing to forget memories that are tainted with suggestions of white supremacy or white guilt. Therefore, it justifies the existing power balance which is visible in the social and spatial reality of EGP, without acknowledging the racial character of this power balance. Emphasizing race is done by employing specific historical events, i.e. chosen trauma, to give meaning to current power relations in EGP.

The two subquestions are interconnected in the sense that the second question can be seen as an extension of the first question’s social level. From an anthropological perspective, this level is most relevant for it reveals how notions of race and space are formed by social relationships, movement and group dynamics. In the field, we have found four overarching

themes that capture the ways in which both EGP as well as overall Chicago residents perceive race and space. The following discussion of these themes - segregation, gentrification, power relations and race and class - serves to show how discourses on spatial processes and issues such as inequality are colored or racialized - an argument which we will further expand in the central conclusion.

Segregation

EGP is but one example of how Chicago neighborhood's borders are aligned with racial borders: neighborhoods are either predominantly white, black or Hispanic. These racial compositions are historically rooted through spatial processes such as white flight and redlining, which spurred further segregation. These processes have led to EGP shifting from a predominantly white to a black neighborhood. In the first empirical chapter, three different argumentations with which EGP residents explained the (hyper)segregated character of both their neighborhood as well as that of Chicago overall, were discerned: the socioeconomic, the racial affiliation and the fear argument. It was also argued how these are colored discourses, for the first argument was a primarily white argument, whereas the other two were primarily employed by blacks. The first discourse does not name race as a driving factor leading to segregation. The second empirical chapter employed the example of the 'food desert' to illustrate how users of the socioeconomic discourse may point out physical and spatial characteristics of their environment as a manifestation of the socioeconomic argument: the considerable overlap between a percentage of African-Americans in an area and the absence of healthy food is because of socioeconomics, not race. The other two discourses, however, explicitly point out race to be spurring Chicago's segregation: here, notions of race or "being black or white" are evident: examples of these notions are white people being scared to live close to blacks, or people wanting to live close to people from the same racial group, for they have more in common with them. The three argumentations largely overlap with Sandoval's (2011) models concerning residential mobility: his spatial assimilation model, where segregation is linked to class, resonates with the socioeconomic argument, whereas the racial affiliation- and fear argument can be used as empirical examples of the physical stratification model, where race drives spatial group distribution.

Gentrification

We have encountered two debates in the field concerning residents' beliefs surrounding gentrification processes in EGP.

The first debate focuses on the nature of gentrification, specifically the role of race in these processes. On the one hand, gentrification is characterized as a process that will bring capital to EGP, an impoverished, low-class neighborhood. Middle- to higher class income households enter the neighborhood accompanied by businesses and increasing investments. Here, economic factors are seen as the driving forces of gentrification and race is made a side issue, downplaying the skin color of both newcomers as well as current residents. On the other hand, gentrification is seen as a colored process, where race is a driving force. The capital enters a black impoverished neighborhood through white newcomers.

The second debate revolves around the question whether gentrification is a positive or negative development. From a positive perspective, gentrification is seen as a process that revitalizes an underdeveloped neighborhood by bringing in affluent households and businesses who will upgrade its physical and socioeconomic status. From a negative point of view, gentrification may lead to the displacement of current low-income residents who are no longer able to keep up with rising housing prices due to the neighborhood's increasing popularity, caused by the new residents and investments.

In the field, we have encountered several combinations of these two debates, manifested in residents' perceptions of gentrification. One of these is the perception that racialized gentrification is a negative process. This perception was embedded in the memory of the struggle over space as part of the collective memory of EGP's black community. This memory is manifested in a "sense of entitlement" to the area by a number of black residents.

Indicators of early gentrification processes are present in EGP, i.e. artists moving to the borderlands of the neighborhood, as well as a small amount of white, middle-class households. In EGP, gentrification is a racialized process, as it is in overall Chicago, defined by white newcomers entering colored (Hispanic or black) neighborhoods. Considering class-or-race discourses, we argue that gentrification is driven by both race and class. As race and class categorizations considerably overlap in Chicago, the move of higher-class populations into lower-class neighborhoods is a colored process. However, we argue that in EGP, gentrification is lingering in the first stage we described above. The "pioneers" are here, but businesses and other investments have not yet followed. As a result, the higher-class, white residents move outside the neighborhood to lead their social lives, previously referred to as a bedroom community.

Power relations

In the thesis introduction, we stated that both race and space are infused with inequality and difference. Therefore, researching spatiality will make power relations visible in the physical world. The three power relations that will be discussed are colored and thus connected to the formation of race relations in EGP.

The most prominent power relation revealed in space as well as in the perceptions of space in the field, was the relation between black and white. In- and exclusion were visible in the public space of the Conservatory, which was not perceived to be a part of the black community, although it is confined within EGP's physical borders. The 'food desert' as a discourse on physical space showed a hierarchy where the available food products in EGP were placed at the bottom and sufficient for black residents, but unacceptable for white residents. The fear of displacement as a gentrification effect reveals that black residents perceive that white newcomers have the position to push them out of the neighborhood.

The second racially infused power relation is the relation between the police and residents. The police are in a power position and as residents experience racial profiling, race is a decisive factor in treatment by the police. In EGP, both white and black are approached with suspicion, but black people generally experience a higher exposure to the police.

The final power relation that came to the surface in the field was racial as well as generational in character. The older generation was placed above the younger, by all informants regardless of skin-color, by assigning positive characteristics to the former. Black informants emphasized the struggle the older generation went through, to establish more equality for their children. However, this struggle is perceived by informants as disregarded by the younger generation. The power relations discussed are all racial in character and negotiated through space.

Race and class

In the segments on segregation and gentrification above, it has become clear that class is one of the important factors playing a role in discourses on these processes. Within these discourses, informants primarily point out either class or race to be a driving factor. We have found, however, that in the empirical field, race and class are interconnected concepts. In EGP, as well as in many other Chicago neighborhoods, race and class overlap: a neighborhood has a color and a socioeconomic status. In EGP, the color is black and the

socioeconomic status is lower-class. In the North Side neighborhoods, residents are white and higher-class. This race-class overlap may have significant consequences for the notions of race that were discussed in the empirical chapters: what it means to be white or black will get a socioeconomic character.

However, the race-class overlap is not the rule in Chicago: the South Side is commonly known as an area with one color but multiple socioeconomic groups. Informants perceived this vertical integration to be a step forward in terms of improving one-class and one-colored neighborhoods, although many pointed out that a neighborhood that is vertically integrated as well as racially diverse, is ideal.

Conclusion

By intensively researching racialized spatial processes, i.e. segregation and gentrification, we have shown how race and space interplay: notions of race shape space, and are in turn shaped by space. Race and space are hereby both processes as well as products, shaping and being shaped (by) the other.

Both in the introduction as well as in the contextual chapter, we discussed the US black-white color line. This color line is clearly visible in Chicago, for it largely divides black and white residents into different neighborhoods, and shows how race and space interplay. Lee and Bean (2004:237) discuss the dynamic character of color lines by stating that boundaries between different racial categorizations may be fading, but that not all these boundaries erode at the same pace. They argue that instead, ethnic lines within the white category are fading, leaving the more rigid categories of black and nonblack. Hispanics and Asians, for example, are placed closer to whites than blacks are to whites, putting them ahead in a racial hierarchy in which many blacks find themselves continuing to experience disadvantages and inequality for structural reasons, similar to within the traditional black-white color divide (Lee & Bean 2004:237). We have found that Lee and Bean's black-nonblack divide clearly appears in Chicago's neighborhood structure. Chicago is racially segregated along a black-nonblack divide: Hispanic neighborhoods that used to form a buffer-zone between black and white neighborhoods in the city, have been racially gentrifying since the 1970s/80s, lumping these groups together into one category. In this way, two segregated categories of black and nonblack areas and neighborhoods remain.

With the four themes we discussed above, we tried to emphasize that in EGP, whether it is explicitly named or not, race is always present. When residents give meaning to the outlooks and social dynamics of their neighborhood, they use racialized discourses to shape this meaning. Thus, race is always an operating factor in these shaping processes, although it may be hidden under the surface or under other names, such as the 'food desert'. The four themes reveal that regardless of the subject at stake, the discourses that are used to give meaning to these themes are colored. Combining the data flowing from the four themes, we have discerned two main discourses that are used to support informants' understandings of their surroundings. The first is a predominantly white discourse which downplays the role of race in spatial and social processes that may lead to inequality, but emphasizes class (differences) as a driving factor steering, e.g., segregation or gentrification. The second discourse has a predominantly black color and emphasizes race (relations) as the most prominent explanation of inequalities in Chicago space.

These discourses may be colored because of opposing collective memories. The socio-economic argument that makes race a side issue is a product of colorblindness which is a result of chosen amnesia. Emphasizing racial differences and inequality is a result of the utilization of chosen traumas. The main discourses have social consequences: collective memories, which in this case belong to certain racial groups, influence social relations. Because these are parallel discourses, providing explanations for the same phenomena using different driving forces (i.e. race or class), social and/or racial distance may arise. This social distance has come forward in what we have referred to as intimate segregation: physical, interracial residential blurring does occur without much social interaction and cooperation.

Thus, the (black-nonblack) color line persists in Chicago, driven by historically rooted racial collective memories. Regarding the color line, Lee and Bean (2007:562) have noted that because of historical developments, the black and white category have different social positions, rights and privileges. Since the color line is persisting in Chicago's residential structure, this also means that power relations hidden in this divide will persist and stay colored.

Returning to our central question, we have found that in EGP, understandings of race are centered around the question if race is considered to be an issue or driving factor in, considering the context of our research, spatial processes. We want to emphasize the value of repetitive research in EGP within a 5 to 10-year time-span, allowing the neighborhood time to

continue with its spatial and social processes. Since a neighborhood changes racially and spatially through time, such research will, for example, indicate whether EGP will fully gentrify or remain predominantly segregated. We also want to point out that a fieldwork period longer than ten weeks would have allowed us to gain more insight in discourses used by the EGP residents that are more difficult to reach because they do not participate in community activities.

On a final note, we would like to emphasize that even though EGP has a long road ahead to become a developed, unified neighborhood, there are actors present that are committed to achieve this goal. Many informants in the field asked us to acknowledge the resources and developments happening in EGP: “there are good people who are doing good things because they do care about the neighborhood”. Churches, the police, social organizations and the community council are initiating and supporting projects to revitalize EGP. Ideally, these projects will contribute to integrating EGP’s intimately segregated character, both on an interracial (black-white) as well as a generational level.

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Appendices

Appendix 1 - Vacant lots



Vacant lots on St. Louis Avenue. Photo by Roos, taken on 2-17-2015.

Appendix 2 - Sidewalk waste



Sidewalk litter. Photo by Roos, taken on 3-30-2015.

Appendix 3 - Calhoun school class photo



Calhoun School class photo, 1956. Photo courtesy of Marillac House.

Appendix 4 - Thesis summary

From February until April 2015, we have conducted anthropological fieldwork in Chicago, Illinois. The main subject of this research was race (relations). Race is institutionally embedded in U.S. society, and regarding recent events in Ferguson and Baltimore reveals that the black-and-white color line is still the most prominent and contested race relation in the U.S. We have chosen to study race from a spatial perspective as we observed that in Chicago, sharp racial divisions overlap with spatial, i.e. neighborhood, borders. The goal was to gain an understanding of how race and space interplay and what meanings are given to this relation by residents. Therefore, the central question was formulated to the following:

How do understandings of race shape public space and residents' perceptions thereof in East Garfield Park, Chicago, Illinois?

East Garfield Park is a neighborhood located on the West Side of Chicago, where we have researched these notions of race and space. In this way, this neighborhood serves as a case study to help gain understanding of how perceptions of race are formed and may change over time, and how these perceptions are connected to urban space. It uncovers race relations in the confined space of a predominantly black neighborhood and shows the perceptions that contribute to the formation of these race relations, which are in turn manifested in physical space. To answer the central question, we formulated two subquestions where we made a distinction between the role of race in the formation of the spatial structure of the neighborhood and the role of race in the formation of residents' perceptions of the neighborhood.

Our research is embedded in theoretical debates surrounding race and space. A discussion on race reveals the continuing significance of this concept in societies where it is socially constructed in the minds of people, both from an institutional level as well as an interpersonal level. One of the ways through which to study race is from a spatial perspective, for race and space are crossing on a physical as well as on a social level: this intersection is visible in the built environment as well as the movement and social lives and relationships of people occupying a certain space.

Two spatial processes where notions of race and race relations come to the surface are segregation and gentrification. For these are the two racialized spatial processes most relevant in the Chicago context, we outlined these concepts in the theoretical chapter. We argue that in

Chicago, segregation processes, involving the separation of people based on a specific characteristic, have a racial character. Segregation based on income is colored as race relations play part in social and economic structures. In the process of gentrification, race is revealed as both the color of newcomers and of native residents are made explicit in physical space. Therefore, the group relations that emerge between newcomers and residents as a result of this process, are race relations.

In the field, we found that residents give meaning to their neighborhood by mobilizing history. Memories are always constructed in relation to others and may therefore be collective. Through collective memories, group identities and group boundaries are constructed. Chosen traumas are memories that are revoked to give meaning to sudden or drastic changes, e.g. the effects of segregation and gentrification. Colorblindness is a racially infused technique of forgetting. Hereby, race is considered not to play a role in social, political, economic and spatial processes.

In order to embed the theoretical concepts discussed above in the U.S., and more specifically, the Chicago context, we describe a history of US race relations and Chicago's hyper-segregated character in a contextual chapter, where it is shown how race is a fluid, dynamic concept and how the ways in which people think about race may change over time (illustrated by the civil rights movement), and how these changes may have spatial consequences (e.g. the abolishment of *de jure* segregation).

The first empirical chapter centers around the question of how notions of race shape the spatial structure of EGP. In this chapter, we show how race and space intersect in East Garfield Park on four different levels: the physical, historical, social and institutional. The data demonstrating these intersections indicate that the four levels are interconnected. The neighborhood's physical characteristics such as the vacant lots are a result of historical processes (1968 riots), but also of social and institutional processes (city and corporal underinvestment). The social level reveals that there are different ways in which residents perceive Chicago's segregated character, where either race or class is pointed out to be driving segregation processes.

The interconnectedness of the levels resurfaces when we conclude that the first subquestion can also be rephrased by making space the subject and race the object of the question: how do notions of space shape race? Race and space are intersecting concepts, thus spatial processes influence the ways in which residents perceive race as well. In this way,

notions of “being black” and “being white” originate, which is the focus of the second subquestion.

The second empirical chapter focuses on how residents give meaning to the different structures of the neighborhood. By analyzing these perceptions, we show that the meaning residents give to East Garfield Park influences their movement. In the field, four different themes were recurrent where race was either downplayed or emphasized. The first theme that is discussed is the perception of gentrification coming to the neighborhood. Gentrification processes were assigned a racial character by black informants as the capital that entered the neighborhood was perceived as accompanying (exclusively) white newcomers. Gentrification was also approached with fear of displacement. Memories of displacement that occurred in the past has spurred a number of black residents to resist new businesses from coming into the neighborhood.

Another theme that came forward from conversations with informants and was visible in physical space, is segregation. White informants used the term ‘food desert’ to refer to the neighborhood as a contained area where the available food products are of insufficient quality. They did not assign race to play a role in segregation processes and perceived the ‘food desert’ to be a result of socio-economic processes. However, the ‘food desert’ provides these informants with a way to talk about race without explicitly naming it. Although black informants did not use the term ‘food desert’, they did perceive the products as being of poor quality. However, they emphasized that the ‘food desert’ does not characterize all black neighborhoods.

The third theme covers residents’ perceptions of the police. Residents, black as well as white, experienced racial profiling and therefore anticipated a specific approach by the police that is connected to their skin- color.

The fourth theme centers on the generational gap that was pointed out by black and white informants as the underlying cause of the open drug market, abandoned houses, empty lots and high amounts of street litter, in short the deteriorated character of the neighborhood. Although white informants do not explicitly consider race to play a part in this gap, black informants gave meaning to this gap by reaching back into the past and assigning a racial character to this gap. De-ethnification as a cultural trauma and the young generation's lack of knowledge of the African-American struggle over space, were given as causes for the gap.

These findings have led us to conclude that the interaction between race and space is historically, socially and institutionally embedded. Collective memories, which in this context belong to certain racial groups, influence social relations. As residents provide explanations for spatial and social processes by assigning different driving forces (i.e. race or class), social and/or racial distance may arise. This social distance has come forward in what we have referred to as intimate segregation: physical racial residential blurring does occur without much social interaction and cooperation. The (black-nonblack) color line thus persists in Chicago, driven by historically rooted racial collective memories. Regarding the color line, Lee and Bean (2007:562) have noted that because of historical developments, the black and white category have different social positions, rights and privileges. Since the color line is persisting in Chicago's residential structure, this also means that power relations hidden in this divide will persist and stay colored.